

LASALLIAN STUDIES



AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE
INSTITUTE OF THE BROTHERS OF THE
CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

THE 19TH CENTURY
(1805 - 1875)

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FOREWORD

The present volume (LS 9) {1805-1875} is the continuation of those which appeared in 1994 (LS 5) {1651-1726}, and in 1997 (LS 6) {1726-1804}. The collection *Lasallian Studies* numbers these volumes in the order in which they were published. Nevertheless the *Introduction to the History of the Institute* forms a whole which pursues a well-defined objective which was explained at the beginning of LS 5 and which we recall here.

As the title indicates, it consists of placing at the disposal of a public interested in the History of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, a solid basis, while at the same time helping us to see the limits of our knowledge. It is the Institute, under diverse aspects, which is the object of this History and not primarily the various establishments run by the Brothers. When we speak of these establishments, it is merely by way of giving examples.

For each of these volumes, the break-up into large periods takes account of the gaps to be found in the History of the Institute, placing them within the evolution of the societies to which they belong. The different chapters follow the historical development, while the 'complements' after each chapter develop one or other aspect, often in a more synthetic perspective. If some of the 'complements' seem difficult to certain readers it is possible to avoid dwelling on them during a first reading. These studies are given by way of examples: others more in keeping with the expectations of the readers involved, could be proposed in the various Regions.

The period studied here is limited to the years 1805-1875. This is on the one hand to avoid making the volume too 'heavy' and on the other hand because this period constitutes for the Institute a fairly homogenous 'block', coming before a period which will see notable change in the life of the Brothers, mainly in France - a change which will have a profound effect on the entire Institute.

For the next stage the project will be the study of a period which will take in the last quarter of the 19th Century as well as the first years of the 20th, then the part of that century which is directly related to the preceding 30 years.

In ending this introduction, the author and myself would like to thank the Brothers of many Districts who contributed to bringing about this volume by replying to a questionnaire about the beginnings of the Institute in their country, and those who agreed to read over the paragraphs concerning their country. In anticipation we would also like to thank those Brothers who would like to contribute in the same way to the next volume.

Br. Alain Houry, Director of *Lasallian Studies*

Explanations

In the text:

- The sign * sends the reader to the glossary (p. 234).
- Double quotation marks “ ” are used when the expression comes from documents contemporary to the facts reported.
- Single quotation marks ‘ ’ indicate an expression or quotation from a historian of another period.

The family name and Christian name of Brothers is given in general the first time they are mentioned.

– The word “Brother” when used on its own refers to a Brother of the Christian Schools. Whenever it refers to a Brother of another congregation, this is indicated.

– The names of cities are given in the language of the country except in the case of large cities whose names are normally translated into other languages.

– For French cities, the *Département* to which they belong can be found by consulting the map on p. 69.

– When books are quoted or given in reference merely under the name of the author, the title of the book has been given above but more complete information on these works can be found at the end of this volume.

– Some maps have been introduced into the text by reason of their special character.

LS: Indicates the Lasallian studies in English followed by the number of the volume and the page.

CL: Indicates the volumes of the collection *Cahiers Lasalliens*.



INTRODUCTION: GENERAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It is impossible to give a complete outline of the History of the 19th Century for the whole world. Here, therefore, we will confine ourselves to certain aspects which have influenced the History of the Institute during the first three quarters of the Century, limiting ourselves to Europe and its former dependencies on the American continent.

Two major facts influenced the 19th Century. On the one hand there was the progress and the spreading of the principles which had inspired the American and French Revolutions at the end of the 18th Century; and on the other hand, industrial development. A certain number of consequences of these facts have a bearing on the study we wish to carry out in the present work.

Repercussions of the spreading of the revolutionary principles

Those involved in the American and French Revolutions found their inspiration in the philosophy of the Enlightenment (“les Lumières”).

The principles on which their work was based called into question the very basis of political, social and religious order which constituted what has been called the “Ancien Regime” *, notably:

- they substituted for dynastic principles that of popular sovereignty;
- in the name of the primacy of individual freedom they suppressed the ‘intermediary bodies’ between the individual and the State: trade guilds, Religious Orders;
- in recognizing that everyone had a right to follow the religion of his choice and in freeing political power from ecclesiastical authority they went against the notion of a State religion.

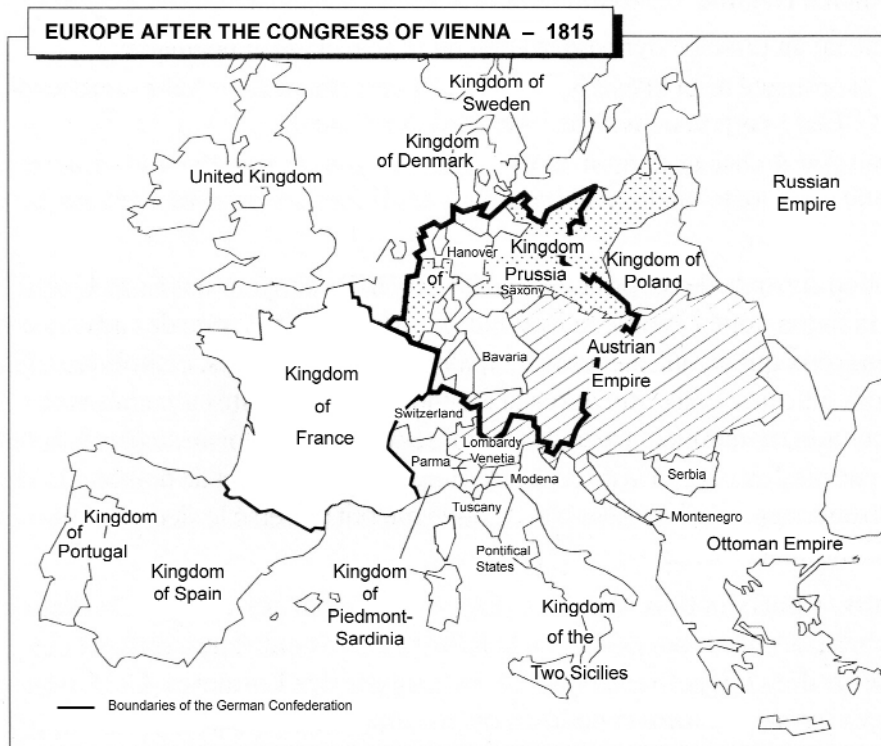
The concrete application of these principles brought about the union of the citizens of the United States.

In France, the way in which the Revolution evolved brought it into conflict with determined adversaries, especially among those who had been its chief victims - nobles, Catholics. In contrast to this there were also many, who, after the Revolution, remained attached either to its attainments or to its principles, notably among the members of the bourgeoisie for whom the new order of things allowed them to accede to running public affairs and dominating political life. From this resulted confrontations of an ideological nature which continued throughout the century, even if their form was not always the same.

Besides, the introduction into the countries conquered by the Revolutionary or Napoleonic armies, of principles inherited from the Revolution, contributed to the spread of these principles and the rallying to them of areas already affected by the philosophy of the “Lumières” (Enlightenment). This also gave rise in those countries to a national sentiment which, in turn, brought about what has been called the ‘nationalities movement’.

– The ideological clashes

When he came to power at the end of 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte made an effort to reconcile the partisans and the opponents of the Revolution. He appeased the Catholics by signing a Concordat with Pope Pius VII (see LS 6 p. 258) and even if he later came into conflict with the Pope and the Church of France, it was more for political reasons than for any wish to persecute the Church. On the other hand he gave pledges to the partisans of the Revolution by consolidating what it had gained and by making himself the instrument of its continuation, including when he had himself named and crowned Emperor and when he monopolized power by restricting liberties.



In France and in the countries placed under Imperial domination, it must not be supposed that the *antagonism* between the opponents and supporters of the Revolution had died out. It simply could not erupt openly as long as the Empire lasted.

The political aspect

At the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire, the dominant tendency was that which aimed at restoring the old order. The Congress which brought together in Vienna the representatives of the European countries in 1814-15 reorganized Europe on the basis of the monarchical principle. The principal monarchs - the Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia - set about maintaining this reorganization and they managed to do this for almost half the Century.

This “restoration” gained the support of those who wished to return to the state of things which prevailed before the Revolution. As against this, it ran into opposition from those known as “liberals”. In so far as France is concerned, a compromise solution was, in fact, established between these different political forces. In other European countries such as Spain and in Latin America, the clash between these two forces was often violent; elsewhere it showed itself in a strong opposition to the regime in place. In England and the United States of America the opposition between parties of different tendencies was not of the same nature.

The clash between opposing forces gave rise in Europe to a wave of revolutionary movements. In 1820 a first episode affected primarily southern Europe: Spain, Portugal, the Kingdom of Naples, Piedmont. In 1830 the revolutionary movements which broke out in France and Belgium ended in the establishment of political regimes of a liberal nature, while those which affected Germany and Italy were quickly suppressed. In 1848 a new series of revolutionary movements of liberal inspiration spread across Europe. After a brief victory, they were defeated in the following two years.

This liberal current lasted beyond the middle of the century. So it was that in Italy, after the repression of the liberal movements which broke out in 1848, the Risorgimento movement was dominated by liberals and it was under their guidance that the Italian unity, which will be discussed later, came about. But onto this current was grafted another which both prolonged it and at the same time opposed it: this was the democratic movement. In particular, whereas for the liberals power was to be exercised by an élite formed of those who had money and knowledge, for the democrats it was to be confided to representatives chosen by all the citizens, thanks to what was known as “universal suffrage”.

The democratic movement, no less than the liberal movement, found itself at odds with the forces considered conservative. This was because the granting of political rights to the common classes worried the proponents of "order" who saw these classes as a threat. The United States had not experienced this resistance when universal suffrage was established during the revision of the Constitutions of the States of the Union in the 1870s. In France, following the victory of the liberal and popular forces during the 1848 Revolution, universal suffrage was established. But the conservatives used this acquisition to their own benefit up to the definitive installation of the Republic starting from the end of the 1870s.

The religious dimension

The members of the Catholic Church, having been among those who suffered most from the French Revolution, could not but be among its opponents. This was true in France but equally so in countries which were victims of the revolutionary or imperial conquests. When the monarchy was re-established in France or in the conquered countries, the Catholics applauded this restoration.

They hoped that the Church would regain the role which it played under the Ancient Regime and that it would recover the property which had been confiscated, but that did not happen. In France especially, the period was marked, at the same time by an intense effort at re-Christianization which relied very much on the preaching of "parish missions" and the multiplication of schools run by religious.

Liberal opinion saw in these claims and this effort by the Catholic Church, especially the clergy, a wish to bring civil society under its influence. From this there developed a reaction later called 'anticlericalism'. In France the same type of reaction developed in both urban and rural areas among the common classes who had already shown their rejection of religion at the time of the Revolution. This type of reaction also took place in other countries just as it did in the Papal States, where the temporal authority of the Pope had become confused with his spiritual authority.

Depending on the rotation of politicians and according to whether they showed themselves favourable to the Church or not, the latter was either given a place in institutions or was restricted or suppressed. As a result, Catholics either supported the regime in power or refused to support it. This was clearly the case in France during all this period but was also to be found in places such as Spain and Latin America. The propensity of States to exclude the Church from public affairs became more accentuated from the mid-

dle of the Century. This contributed to reinforcing among Catholics a tendency, which, since the end of the Revolution, inclined them to turn towards Rome: this became known as “ultramontanism”. The reinforcement of Roman centralisation and the affirmation of the absolute sovereignty of the Pope which culminated with the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1870, contributed to reinforcing the image of a powerful Church. In France especially, between 1850 and 1870, Catholicism experienced a real ‘golden age’: priestly and religious vocations multiplied and many primary and secondary schools were confided to priests and religious.

Nevertheless, both in France and elsewhere, the gap between the Church and those hostile to it, increased. Rationalism, relying on the progress of science, took the form of “positivism” which accepted as true only that which could be proved scientifically. The way in which Pope Pius IX denounced “modern errors” inflamed the conflict. Even the progress of Catholicism accentuated anticlericalism.

– **The nationalities movement**

In their Declaration of Independence of July 4th 1776, the United States of America affirmed the right of a people “to take among the Powers the rank of independence and of equality to which the laws of nature and of the god of nature gave them the right...” (quoted in *Le Monde et son Histoire* VII, p. 259). This right, inspired by the philosophy of the “Lumières”, saw itself applied for the first time. In the course of the 19th Century it would be invoked by other peoples. Because of this fact, the American Revolution had an influence, direct or indirect, on what was called the ‘nationalities movement’.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen adopted in France in 1789 supported the view that “the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation”. In thus substituting national sovereignty for that of royal or princely dynasties, this Declaration in its turn gave a new basis to the formation of nations. In the countries conquered or annexed at the time of the Revolution and of the Napoleonic Empire, such a principle turned against these two regimes by helping to fuel national reactions. Elsewhere other motives, notably religious, could intervene, such as was the case in Christian countries under Ottoman domination. As a result of their main inspiration, the national movements of the 19th Century were created or supported by those who shared the ideals of the American and French Revolutions and therefore mainly liberals. Depending on the form these national movements took, one can distinguish three types.

The conquest of National Independence

By this, one wishes to consider the movements which led diverse peoples to obtain their independence by freeing themselves from the sovereignty of a State under which they were placed. The first states to constitute themselves in this way were those of Latin America. In that part of the world this was not the revolt of oppressed peoples but it was on account of the role played by “creoles”, descendants of the conquering Spanish and Portuguese. In colonial society they were preeminent. Now, towards the end of the 18th century they felt threatened by new arrivals, representing the politics of the mother country, whose numbers were increasing. Equally, they did not like the retention of the system called “l'exclusif”, which reserved to the colonial powers alone, the right to trade with their dependencies. The philosophy of the “Lumières” had spread among some of these “creoles”. Such was the case especially, among those who had studied in Europe. We cannot therefore doubt that ‘the formation of the United States stimulated the supporters of natural rights and that the principles of 1789 [...] had a powerful echo overseas. The liberal ideology was easily able to work on spirits who envisaged from then on, political confrontation as a guarantee against the control of the motherland’ (*Histoire Générale des Civilisations* VI, 79).

But what speeded up the movement was the Napoleonic Wars, which led the Iberian colonies to trade with other countries, especially Great Britain and the United States America and to govern themselves. It was also the great upheavals which happened in Europe which ‘transformed the ideas of liberty and the wish for independence’ (*Histoire du XIX^{ème} siècle*, 158). A first series of risings took place in Buenos Aires in 1810, Caracas in 1811, Mexico 1808-11 and 1812-13. At the end of this first phase, only Argentina, liberated by San Martin, remained independent. The repression which followed the reinstallation of King Ferdinand VII of Spain provided new motives for the secession movement which developed: Mexico 1820-21, Venezuela and New Granada 1817-21; the liberation of Chile by San Martin in 1818; the definitive conquest of Peru by Bolivar 1821-24. The independence of Brazil was proclaimed in 1822 by the heir to the throne of Portugal.

In Europe it was in the Balkan peninsula that different nations achieved their independence. The break-up of the Ottoman Empire raised the hopes of the Christian peoples living under its domination and the rivalry between the great European nations anxious to extend their influence in the region favoured the independence movements which arose, so:

– in 1820 the Greeks drove out the Ottoman troops and proclaimed their independence in 1822, but the Turks crushed the rebellion. Anglo-French intervention in 1827 led the country to obtain its complete independence in 1830;

– the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, autonomous since 1858, formed a single state, Romania, in 1862.

The problem was that the situation never stabilised completely and the new States came into conflict with each other several times.

Movements of National Unification

In Italy and Germany, opposition to Napoleonic domination gave rise in each case to a desire to belong to a single nation, which brought about a wish to end the carving up of these regions into several States which had been re-established by the Congress of Vienna.

In the Italian Peninsula the seven States reconstituted in 1815 were more or less under the protection of Austria. In all these States the representatives of national movements which had appeared in the Napoleonic era, brought about the union of liberal and national opposition which came together in the Risorgimento movement after 1830. United in their opposition to Austrian rule, the members of this movement were divided as to the methods to be used to gain freedom and the nature of the regime to be installed. It was in the end the King of Piedmont and his minister, Cavour, who united Italy.

The Germany of the Congress of Vienna was made up of 38 states forming the German Confederation presided over by the Austrian Emperor. National sentiment arose following the Napoleonic conquests. In 1848 the revolutionary movements which broke out in the southern States were supported by liberals who already had German unification in mind. The National Parliament which convened in Frankfurt in 1849 formed a provisional government. But the repression of the revolutionary movements put an end to this attempt to unify Germany by democratic means.

King Frederick Wilhelm IV of Prussia, who dreamed of bringing about German unity, ran into opposition from the Emperor of Austria who intended to keep his supremacy in Germany. The new king, Wilhelm I, took up the same project with the authoritarian Chancellor Bismarck and brought about German unification.

National claims

Belonging to different States, peoples began to claim their national rights but without success.

In 1830, the Poles under Russian domination, revolted. The following year the Czar's army retook Warsaw and by means of bloody repression restored 'order'.

Ireland, being, with Great Britain, part of the United Kingdom since 1801, remained in fact an English colony. At first, Irish Catholics did not try to break with Great Britain. It was only at the start of the 1840s that the problem of a special statute for the island arose. In 1848 the Irish national movement was reborn in a more radical form and demanded independence. In 1870 a more moderate nationalism asked for simple internal autonomy or Home Rule.

After the troubles of 1848, the Austrian Empire relied on force as well as the will to unite the diverse peoples who composed it. It had difficulty, however, in containing the national pressures which developed. In order to conciliate the most powerful minority, the Hungarians, the Emperor Franz-Joseph in 1867 organised the political system called "the double monarchy". But this "compromise" annoyed other races. In the Austrian region the Emperor ran into resistance from the Czechs who demanded autonomy. In the area dominated by the Hungarians, the politics of assimilation led by them, aroused the opposition of Croats, Slovenes...

Industrial development and its consequences

The 19th Century, at least in Europe and North America, saw a considerable increase in the economy. Agriculture had progressed; trade had multiplied both within countries and across the world. But the major fact had been the development of industry, whether considered on its own or on its consequences.

– Industrialisation

What was called industrialisation had begun towards the end of the 18th century in England and a little later in France and some regions of Europe (see LS 6, 2) but it was in the 19th century that it really took off. To describe the transformation that resulted, one spoke of the "industrial revolution", distinguishing, however, between what was called the first industrial revolution and the second which took place from the second quarter of the 19th century.

In the course of the first industrial revolution, industrialisation was characterised, first of all, by the use of coal to transform iron ore into castiron, but above all for the production of steam as a driving force. This new source of energy allowed the use of many machines which could be grouped together in large buildings called "factories". Besides,

its use in new means of locomotion - railways or steamships - made for increased speed of transport and so favoured trade.

Up to the middle of the century, Great Britain held the lead which it had already acquired and became the first industrialised country. In France industrial development started later and was slower. At the same time industrialised 'pockets' were created in Northern Europe such as in Belgium and also in Rhineland Germany and Northern Italy.

During the second phase (c. 1850-75) the industrialisation of Europe increased, coal remaining the basis of economic power. The metallurgy and textile industries kept their leading roles but metallurgy stole a march with the conversion of cast-iron into steel.

Great Britain continued to dominate the world economy; to facilitate its trade it adopted the first measures of free trade * in 1846 and 1852. France, under Napoleon III, was going through a time of prosperity. A free-trade agreement was signed with Great Britain in 1860. Other countries adopted similar measures. The contrast between North and South, West and Central Europe, did not disappear. However, after its unification in 1871, Germany saw its industrial power grow. It was the same for the United States after the Civil War 1861-65.

– Social Consequences of Industrialisation

The first half of the century

During the first industrial revolution the needs of production led to the concentration of large numbers of workers in establishments where working conditions were often very hard. This industrial revolution came about also at a time when the doctrine of economic liberalism was triumphing. This doctrine was based on "the law of supply and demand": to develop this, you had to reduce the costs of production. Work being considered as merchandise, the application of the same principle led to the employment, at minimum wage, not only of men but of women and children, to carry out the least 'qualified' jobs such as digging coal or working in textile mills. To make up for low wages these workers had to accept long working days (12-14 hours).

The living conditions of the workers were particularly difficult. Coming frequently from the countryside which had become overpopulated, working families arrived to swell the cities, crowding together in dwellings that were often unhealthy.

With the low wages already making it difficult to live, it quickly became misery when

- especially because of working conditions - an illness, an accident or a death of the head of the family occurred, or yet again when unemployment was rife.

The principle of economic liberalism also led to the wage-earner being left isolated against his employers. From this arose social rebellions, as in Great Britain from 1816, in France 1830-31 and in June 1848. In Great Britain, the right of association having been established in 1824-25, the first social emancipation movement appeared in 1836 and caused social agitation on three occasions between 1839 and 1848. In France the primacy accorded to individual liberty had led in 1789 to the suppression of corporations and the banning of professional associations. The political regimes which followed, maintained this state of affairs and so the workers movement had difficulty developing. Furthermore, the partisans of economic liberalism refused the State the right to intervene in the relations between employers and employees. However, in Great Britain, social laws removed the most glaring abuses. In France we had to wait till 1841 for the work of women and children to be regulated.

It was in this context that the socialist currents were formed. In France 'already under the Restoration, socialist ideas became more precise and more diversified with technical developments and industrialisation together with the series of crises, strikes and misery which accompanied it' (*Nouvelle Histoire de la France contemporaine*, 214). These currents saw themselves described as "Utopian" because they were too abstract and showed the characteristic of wanting to build a radically new society.

In Christian circles, especially Catholic, efforts were made to remedy the social situation of the workers by developing works of charity. So it was that Frederic Ozanam created the St. Vincent de Paul Society. But those who, like him, were attentive to the causes of these evils and recommended remedies to be applied were fairly rare. In general the Catholics shared, in fact, 'the will of the ruling classes to reduce the social question to a moral question' (*Nouvelle Histoire de la France contemporaine*, 214); in this way persons animated with a genuine charity could still feel a real revulsion for the popular revolts provoked by intolerable working or living conditions. As for the workers, often cut off from their Christian roots, many became alienated from the Church.

The third quarter of the century

During the prosperous period of the third quarter of the century, the workers situation began to improve, the increase in wealth helping them a little. The crisis which became rife afterwards, causing unemployment, brought a new deterioration of working

conditions. This period also saw the development of an intermediate class between bourgeoisie and workers: “the middle class”.

During this period the worker movement came to constitute a force which had to be taken seriously by industrial leaders. In Great Britain and the United States a reformist trade-unionism * developed; that of Great Britain formed the Labour Party. In Germany a mass trade-unionism with a political character was created. In France freedom of association and the workers’ right to strike were recognised in 1864.

Stressing the situation of English workers in the first half of the century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels who, in “*The Communist Party Manifesto*” of 1848, had already laid the basis for what they considered “scientific socialism”, developed Marxist doctrine in “*Das Kapital*” of which the first volume was published in 1867. This doctrine made the “class struggle” the driving force of history.

Catholic Action in favour of working-class areas continued in the second half of the century and its beneficiaries often showed their gratitude to Church people for their practical assistance. But, at least in France, among most Catholics, ‘the idea that dogma had a social dimension was still strange even to the clergy itself’ (A. LATREILLE, *Histoire du Catholicisme en France*, 443).

However, some ‘forerunners’ were analysing the social phenomenon more carefully and advancing the idea that institutional remedies were necessary. Albert de Mun along with René de la Tour du Pin launched in 1871 the “Catholic Circles” which for them were meant to be instruments of “social regeneration” by allowing the privileged classes to meet Christian workers. They were joined by Léon Harmel, who, in his Val-des-Bois factory ‘gave an example of a Christian and working fraternity between an manager and his staff’ (RIGAULT 7, 413).

Though the work of the “Catholic Circles” had little success, it did contribute to revealing to the Christian public the specific nature of the workers’ problem.

– Another consequence: European expansion

European predominance

It is a fact that in the course of the 19th Century, Europe, or at least some of its countries, exercised an inordinate influence over the rest of the world. To an important extent, predominance was linked to the industrial revolution. This revolution was itself the fruit of the scientific and technical progress which marked the century; but for a long time

Europe dominated science and technology. So, with the exception of the United States of America, almost all world-famous scientists and technical innovators came from Europe. The economic power which flowed from this was at first nearly the prerogative of European regions. Some technical progress, notably in marine transport, also helped European movement towards other continents.

Moreover, scientific and technical progress contributed towards developing among Europeans a superiority complex which led them to wish to make other countries 'benefit' from their form of civilisation. So, in the course of the Century they made efforts to spread their languages, ways of thinking and religions across the world.

European expansion

The coming together of these different factors brought with it a strong movement of expansion which took different forms.

The important demographic increase which Europe saw in the 19th Century provoked a flow of emigration principally towards the U.S. or towards the south of the American continent. This flow also brought about the development of certain 'colonies for population' such as Canada, South Africa, Australia for Great Britain, and Algeria for France.

European power showed itself in the colonial conquests begun in the first half of the century but which marked especially the second half. On the economic front, the aim was to get sources of raw materials and outlets for surplus industrial production. The objective was also to extend overseas what were considered the benefits of western civilisation. The work of missionaries often accompanied colonial conquests, something which was not without some ambiguity.

In addition, European nations made efforts to impose themselves on States whose sovereignty they respected, while at the same time ensuring themselves, by means of unequal treaties, the right to trade there freely and extend their political, cultural and religious influence. They also assumed the right in these countries to protect their own nationals and certain religious minorities: Catholics in the case of France, Orthodox Christians in the case of Russia.

SOURCES AND REFERENCE WORKS

Compared to other periods in the history of the Institute which have already been studied, the 19th Century provides us with sources which are considerably more plentiful and diverse. There is also no lack of reference works on which to base our knowledge of this particularly important period for the Institute.

Sources

The sources to which we have recourse to write the History of the Institute in the 19th Century consist, first of all, of documents which the Institute has preserved and which may be found:

- in the archives of the Mother House in Rome (RA),
- French Archives: Collection of Brothers' archives-former French District - in Lyon,
- in the archives of Districts,
- in houses of the Institute still existing.

We can also find documents concerning the Institute in Archives at various levels of administration in countries where the Brothers were present in the 19th Century; so, for France, where these have been most numerous, we can avail of:

- the National Archives in Paris (AN),
- almost all the archives of Départements (AD),
- the Municipal archives of localities where the Brothers had or have houses.

It is also possible to consult archives of other organizations or institutions which have had contact with the Brothers whether in the domain of public or religious affairs.

That which especially concerns the present work is connected to three principal levels of organization of the Institute.

– The Centre of the Institute

At this level, most of what one needs to consult is in the Mother House Archives (RA).

It is there that we find especially what relates to the central organization of the Institute, such as:

- registers of General Chapters and of the General Council,
- documents relating to different Superiors General,
- Circulars of Superiors General.

It is there also that we can find information about the whole Institute:

- statistics / registers of personnel / Circulars, biographies, other written works...
- works written for the Brothers or their pupils...

All this constitutes a relatively important collection, but as far as the 19th Century is concerned, it could have been greater if a substantial part of the archives kept at the Mother House in Paris had not been destroyed in circumstances which will be explained during our study of that period. So, we find little trace of the correspondence exchanged with Brothers and especially with Visitors and Directors by the Brothers Assistants, in the name of the Superior-General. Documents corresponding to some of those which disappeared can, no doubt, be found in the archives of Districts or houses.

The Mother House Archives [RA] also allow us to find traces of the relations of the Superiors with religious and civil authorities, especially those in charge of matters relating to teaching or religious congregations. We can also find there information which has its counterpart in the archives of these other authorities.

– Districts

By means of the archives dealing with it, we become aware of the importance attached in the Institute in the 19th Century, to the region called a District or Province depending on the expression used for a fairly long time to designate the equivalent divisions formed by countries other than France.

Documents relating to all the Districts created in the 19th century are preserved in the RA; some of these documents relate to the Districts as a whole: lists of personnel, statistics... Others relate more particularly to the relations of Brothers Visitors with the Superior General. But it is more in the archives kept by the Districts themselves that we find the elements concerning them:

- lists of entry into the Novitiate, of taking of vows, of deaths...
- correspondence with the Brothers Visitors...
- account books...

In these archives, but equally in the RA, we find “Historiques” referring to what happened in each District as a whole as well as in its different houses. Some are particularly remarkable such as that devoted to the District of Toulouse by Brother Lémandus. Even if they do not all attract a similar interest, it is still worth looking at them.

The archives of Districts, as well as those which correspond to them on the civil or ecclesiastical fronts, show the role played by the Brother Visitor in relation to the different bodies on behalf of the communities or establishments which were under their charge.

– Houses

It was under this name in the 19th Century that we continued to refer both to the communities of Brothers and to the establishments or works which depended on them.

Where these houses still exist one generally finds documents relative to their foundation and their functioning or administrative documents. These documents can be collected and preserved with care. They can also simply provide meager traces of what was, however, quite a long existence. For these houses, as well as for those which were closed, similar documents are preserved in the archives of Districts and even in the RA, especially for what relates to their opening, their development and gifts or foundations in their favor. Documents can also be found in the archives of localities where there are or have been houses of the Institute; in France the archives of *Départements* also keep such documents.

The archives of the Institute, Districts and houses also contain “historiques” of the various houses. Some, begun in 1884 at the request of Brother Irlide, Superior General, have given rise to research into the period prior to that: this has been particularly useful when documents have been reproduced on which are based our recollection of the past; it has been the same when successive editors of such “historiques” have had the same aims. In other cases these histories are nothing more than a chronicle of various events deemed important at the whim of the editor.

As a result these historiques of houses constitute a literary genre of unequal interest. They also present the peculiarity of relating more what concerns the establishments run by the Brothers, than what concerns the communities themselves.

To get some idea of life in the communities it is necessary to read whatever reports can be found of visits to the communities. But it is more in the correspondence of Brothers and especially Directors, with the Superior General, that we are able to trace what was happening in the communities. The problem is that so little of this correspondence remains.

To get to know about individual Brothers all we have at our disposal are the notices written on the occasion of their deaths. Although very stereotyped in character, these

writings, in some cases, bring out the quality of what had been the often modest lives of the Brothers in question. Some special biographies, or notes in community “histories”, make known to us certain more striking personalities.

– The extent of research carried out

The research carried out in view of the present volume has been mainly at the RA because these archives have the advantage of providing information on the different levels of organization of the Institute and the different countries where the Brothers were in the 19th Century.

Different District archives have also been consulted to find out about the running of these Districts, especially in regard to the arrival of the Brothers, their formation and their future.

It was purely circumstances which led to research in the archives of a certain number of houses or in those of municipalities or *départements* which held documents relating to these communities. The information relating to certain houses chiefly deals with educational establishments; since the objective aimed at here is not to relate the history of these establishments, a systematic research - impossible in any case, in view of the number of houses in the 19th Century - has not been attempted.

For countries other than France, what has been found at the RA has been supplemented by information resulting from questionnaires sent to Brothers Visitors. In addition, correspondents have been requested to read through texts concerning their countries or those where they work.

This present work has also made use of the important research carried out by Georges RIGAULT and authors who studied the history of the Institute in different countries.

Works of Reference

Fortunately, for what concerns the History of the Institute in the 19th century one has plenty of material. Important works have been devoted to this history both in a global context and in the framework of a certain number of countries. Studies at different levels have dealt with particular aspects. The Institute also figures in works dealing with different subjects, especially the history of religious congregations or of education. As for other works used, especially in what concerns placing the Institute in a wider context, these will be indicated only in reference or mentioned in the bibliography at the end of this volume.

– Works devoted to the History of the Institute

In the *General History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools* by Georges RIGAULT, volumes 4 - 6 published from 1942 - 48, are devoted to the period 1805 - 75. The dimension of the work achieved indicates the extent of the research carried out either by Rigault or on his behalf. Volume 4 gives an overall view of the Institute from 1805 - 30, years during which it had not spread much outside France. For the period 1830 - 74, Volume 5 on the Institute in France is supplemented by Volume 6 on the other countries where the Brothers were present. Although obviously influenced by the period in which it was written, this work nonetheless constitutes a base on which to rely.

More concise, the work of W.J. BATTERSBY (Br. Clair Stanislas) *the History of the Brothers of the Christian Schools*, 3 vols. We cite here vol. 2 (1800-1850) and vol. 3 (1850-1900). These two volumes hold the same interest as preceding ones by the same author because of his care to put what he writes about the Institute in its context; in addition these volumes have the advantage of shedding a special light on the presence of the Brothers in Great Britain, Ireland and the United States as well as on British dependencies in South-East Asia.

At the request of the Superiors, Br. Alban, Director of the Institute Bulletin for a number of years, wrote a 'History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools' carrying the sub-title 'Expansion OUTSIDE France (1700 - 1966)' which appeared in 1970. As he told us himself, the author consulted numerous sources which he researched himself or had communicated to him and unlike G. Rigault 'he adopted the more modest role of narrator'.

Furthermore, the History of the Institute in countries where it was established in the 19th century before 1875 has been the subject of important works which need to be cited:

- Felix HUTIN (Br. Macédone) published three volumes between 1910-14 dealing with the years 1791 - 1879 under the title *The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Belgium*.

- We owe to Br. Angelus GABRIEL a work entitled *The Christian Brothers in the United States* covering 1848 - 1948 and published in 1948.

- Written by a priest, Nive VOISINE, former professor at Quebec's Laval University, *The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Canada*, is in three volumes of which the first in 1987 deals with the period from 1837 - 80.

- A work by Br. Eduardo MUÑOZ BORRERO *The Lasalle Institute in Ecuador* presents the History of the Institute in that country from 1863 to 1998.

The interest of these works stems from the fact that they are the result of serious research and documentation and that they place the Institute in a framework broader than its own history.

For other countries we cannot find general works of the same scope. On the other hand, numerous more modest volumes about the work of the Brothers in different countries have been published, starting in the 19th Century in many cases.

To these different types of works we must add articles referring to different parts of the Institute, published in various reviews such as the Bulletin of the Institute.

– Studies of a particular aspect of the Institute

Brothers and other persons have become interested in specific aspects of the History of the Institute and have studied them, especially as part of university work (thesis, etc.) The objective could have been to highlight, for example, the contribution of the Brothers to special types of education, as done by Br. André PRÉVOT in his thesis on Technical education by the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the 18th and 19th Centuries, or to highlight their participation in the schools of certain countries or regions, as seen in the work of Raoul LUCAS The establishment of the school in a society dominated by slavery and colonisation: La Réunion 1815-46.

Subjects of the same nature can also have been treated during colloquia such as that held at Montpellier University in 1981, whose work was published as: The Brothers of the Christian Schools and their role in popular education. Articles in reviews deal with similar topics, such as the one in Rivista Lasalliana (RL) showing how the Brothers contributed to the introduction of decimal calculation in Piedmont.

The fact remains that the few examples cited, corresponding to the works used in the present volume, can give but a feeble idea of the amount shown in a more complete survey such as that given in Biographia Internationalis Lasalliana, covering up to the year 2000 and published by RL.

While the present volume was being written, some recent works on the general History of the Institute, or on certain of its aspects, were still in the course of development or translation. As a result they could only be availed of at the last minute. Still it is remarkable that certain conclusions arrived at in this volume are in line with those of the authors of these works. Such is especially the case with the books of Br. Pedro GIL and Bruno ALPAGO, entitled respectively: “Three centuries of Lasallian Identity” (LS 4) and The Institute in the educational service of the poor (LS 7). One can also pick out a

convergence with certain ideas of Br. Remo GUIDI in his book *Jean-Baptiste de la Salle: un problema storiografico del Grand Siècle* dealing with how the works of the founder were dealt with in the 19th century.

– **Works having some connection with the History of the Institute**

Studies and works of a wider nature can often have a bearing on the History of the Institute. So, studies of the history of Religious and especially Teaching Congregations obviously concern the Institute. Such is the case with the thesis of Pierre ZIND (Marist Brother) on *The new Congregations of Teaching Brothers* (1800-1830). Works relating to the history of teaching also involve the work of the Brothers in the 19th Century. Such, for example, is the case of Volume 3 of *Teaching and education in France* published under the direction of Louis-Henri PARIAS.

The interest of these works is that they provide a kind of view from the exterior of what runs the risk of being limited to the Institute's perception of itself.

A - RESTORATION (1805 – 1830)

The word 'Restoration' is well suited for characterising the new period of the History of the Institute which followed the arrival in Lyon, towards the end of 1804, of Br. Frumence. Living in Rome during the French Revolution, he had been named Vicar-General by Pope Pius VI in 1795. Coming back to join the Brothers already gathered in Lyon, his firm intention was to re-establish the Institute such as it had been before its official suppression in 1792. He devoted himself to this work until his death in 1810.

This work continued for twelve years under his successor, Br. Gerbaud, who at 49, was the youngest of those who had made perpetual vows before the Revolution and who, after having been dispersed, came together again. He had also been one of those Brothers who had been working to re-establish the Institute. His successor, Br. Guillaume de Jésus, had also been chosen from among the Brothers who had entered the Institute in the 18th Century. He strengthened the results already obtained by his two predecessors by, like them, drawing upon the former traditions of the Institute.

To bring this work to fruition the Superiors were able to rely upon the Brothers who had rejoined the Institute after the Revolution or who had continued as members in Italy or Switzerland during this time. Furthermore they could count on Brothers coming from the younger generation who had not known the Institute in the previous century but who had been formed in reference to that period.

Even if it was driven forward in continuity with the past, the Restoration of the Institute could not limit itself to a simple return to the past. The changes introduced by the Revolution had left traces which could not be wiped out. In addition, the Brothers who had lived isolated lives during the Revolution had developed habits which were not easy to give up in order to resume community life. The younger ones, although belonging to families reluctant to accept the heritage of the Revolution, were, however, marked by new conceptions underlying the changes brought about under that regime.

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The restoration of the Institute, from the end of 1804, took place within the framework of the Napoleonic Empire. When Napoleon Bonaparte had come to power in 1799, France had to be re-organised. He was involved in this during the time of what

was known as the 'Consulate'. He continued this work as Emperor of the French under the name of Napoleon I. Within the framework of the putting in place of a system of public teaching called "the Imperial University", the Institute saw itself once again officially recognised in 1809.

After the fall of the Empire, in 1814-1815, the power of the monarchy was re-established in France. During the time called 'Restoration', that of the Institute continued. In fact, the power put in place could not but be aware of the transformation brought about in the country. It had to come to terms with the partisans of the Revolution and it kept the principal institutions put in place by Napoleon. Among these was "the University". The Brothers therefore continued to be dependent on the public authorities. The latter, who, apparently, ought to have been favourable to the Brothers, tried, at least in the beginning, to assimilate them with other public teachers and to impose on them a method of teaching different from their own.

The period was next marked by the development of the Institute as well as by the birth of religious Congregations intending to fulfil the same mission as the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

In 1814-1815, the 'Congress' convened in Vienna reorganised Europe on the basis of the monarchical system and of the social order associated with the Ancient Regime. In two areas of the Institute, Italy and what was to become Belgium, the Brothers suffered in different ways from the consequences of the decisions taken in regard to one or other of these countries, at the Congress of Vienna.

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At the moment of the Restoration of the Institute, the older Brothers took up again their educational tasks with children as before the Revolution, even though many had not completely abandoned it during that period. The need to initiate a growing number of young Brothers to teaching, led Br. Gerbaud to re-edit "The Conduct of Schools" in 1811, adding to it the text (still only in manuscript form up to the 18th Century) relating to the "Formator" of new masters.

The return to old practices however, took place in a new context. Unlike the period of the beginnings of the Institute and of the 18th Century, when the organisation of teaching was in reality in the hands of the Church, from now on this organisation was controlled by the State. In so far as the Institute was concerned, the Napoleonic Empire having asked it to reorganise primary teaching, the Brothers saw themselves

approved collectively. During the Restoration of the monarchy, the attempt made by the public authorities to exercise their control over each Brother individually, aroused the opposition of the Superiors before a compromise solution was found. Under one or other regime, the dependence in which the Brothers found themselves with regard to the State had as its consequence that they were obliged to limit themselves to primary education.

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The three aspects presented here in a global manner will be the object of three successive chapters in this first part. However, the context in which the restoration of the Institute operated in France is so important that, to understand this phase in the History of the Institute, it is necessary to speak of it first.

Hence the order of the three chapters:

Chapter 1: Re-establishment of the Institute in France.

Chapter 2: Restoration of the Institute.

Chapter 3: Rebirth of teaching works.

As for 1830 being chosen as the end of the period considered here, it had been marked both by the death of the Superiors who had entered the Institute before the Revolution and by the revolutionary movements in Europe. These put an end to the legitimate monarchy in France as well as to the domination of the Dutch monarchy over the Belgian provinces, where the Brothers who had already been established there had to yield before the hostility of those who held power.

Chapter 1 - OFFICIAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INSTITUTE IN FRANCE

Orientation

After the resumptions which had marked the time of the “Consulate” (*see Lasallian Studies 6: 18th Century, 257-58*). This will refer in future to LS 6), the Institute, in order to develop, needed to be again officially recognized by the public authorities. In this chapter we shall see how this recognition was granted to it by Emperor Napoleon I and then how it continued to benefit from it when the Monarchy was re-established in France.

Since a large part of Italy found itself under the domination of Napoleon, the Brothers who were there suffered the consequences of the imperial policy with regard to the Church and the Pope. On the fall of the Empire these Brothers regained more liberty, while the attempts made to implant the Institute in the Belgian provinces attached to the kingdom of the Dutch Netherlands, failed.

Historical summary

For France, and more widely for Europe, the period 1805-1830 was comprised of two parts:

1. The Napoleonic Empire

Napoleon Bonaparte, who had taken power in 1799, was crowned Emperor on December 2nd 1804; he set out to re-organize France; in the field of education he created the Imperial University; he carried out a policy of conquests which made him master of a good part of Europe; he got into conflict with the Pope and showed himself hostile to the Church in France and in the Empire. In 1814 he was forced out of power; exiled, he returned to France in 1815 but had to abdicate in June.

2. The Restoration of the Monarchy

The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) re-organized Europe and re-established the Princes. The Italian States were re-constituted. Belgium was placed under the domination of the King of the Netherlands.

In France, the legitimate king was re-established in 1814; he returned definitively in 1815. Louis XVIII had to compromise with the supporters of the return of the Ancient Regime and the heirs of the Revolution. When Charles X became king in 1824, he relied on the Monarchists. In July 1830 he was overthrown by a revolution.

The Institute under the Napoleonic Empire (1805-1814)

– Official recognition of the Institute

Before becoming Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte had already “approved” the report which had been presented to him with a view to “allowing the Brothers of Christian Doctrine to set up their establishment in the city of Lyon” (LS 6-264). This decision had been communicated to the Brothers on November 12th 1804, some days before the arrival in Lyon of Br. Frumence, Vicar-General of the Institute. This authorization did not constitute a real recognition of the Institute. This would have to be accorded within the framework of the re-organization of education undertaken by Napoleon.

In the new organization of teaching which he wished to put into action, the Emperor took up again the plan of the Revolution to place teaching under the control of the State. Unlike the Revolutionary assemblies, he wished to make a place for the Church in this organization, but he did not wish it to play such a preponderant role as under the Ancient Regime.

For re-establishing elementary education, he counted on the participation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools but on this point he ran into opposition. This is why, during the session of the Council of State * of May 21st 1806 when the plan for creating what would be called the “Imperial University” was being drawn up, he said with regard to the Brothers:

“It is claimed that the primary schools run by the Brothers could introduce into the University a dangerous spirit; it is proposed to leave them outside its jurisdiction”.

“I cannot understand the kind of fanaticism with which some people are filled against the Brothers. It is real prejudice. Everywhere I am being asked to re-establish them; this general protest fairly demonstrates their usefulness...” (Copy in RA DF 359/2).

The law of May 10th 1806 created ‘under the name of the Imperial University, a body charged exclusively with teaching and education throughout the whole Empire’ (A. SOBOUL, *La Civilisation et la Révolution française* III: *La France Napoléonienne*, 100). The Imperial University was definitively organized by the decree of March 17th 1808. In fact, the re-organization being carried out was aimed above all at the teaching formerly given in colleges and from then on given by the “*lycées*”. The latter were intended to train the civil-servants of the country in the spirit inherited from the Revolution and in submission to the Emperor. Since the same stakes were not involved where primary schools were concerned, their organization was left to private initiative. Article 109 of the decree of

March 17th 1808 laid down that:

“The Brothers of the Christian Schools would be certificated and encouraged by the ‘Grand-Maître’, who would approve their internal statutes, receive their oaths, prescribe a special habit for them and have their schools supervised. The superiors of these congregations could be members of the University” (Copy in RA DF 359/5).

What was the impact of this article, especially with regard to the decision of 1803-1804 (see above)? The part specifically concerning the Brothers of the Christian Schools shows that a place had been made for them in the new organization of teaching and equally that they are recognized as a “body”. The second part, enlarged to include others, allows us to say that they are also recognized as members of a “congregation”; this notably removes the effects of the law of August 18th 1792 which had brought about the suppression of the Institute.

“Agrégés” (fully recognized as professionally qualified), “associated” with the University (according to the terms used by Br. Frumence in his correspondence), the Brothers had to submit to a certain number of requirements. How would these requirements be applied to them? The uncertainty which this caused to weigh on them, certainly worried the Brothers and especially the Br. Vicar-General. The choice of Fontanes, a Christian, as “*Grand-Maître* of the University”, in preference to Fourcroy, was somewhat reassuring for them. Thus, in reply to Br. Gerbaud who assured him of the confidence the Institute placed in him, Fontanes wrote:

“I know too well the value of religious education not to give to your State all the importance and the esteem which it deserves; I have not yet taken over my duties but just as soon as I do you will feel the effect of my good will” (RA EE 273/1, quoted in letter 62).

But in the persons of the Minister of Religious Cults and the Minister of the Interior, the Brothers found adversaries; they also often saw their actions hampered by the administration: among the politicians and the State personnel, there were many who remained attached to the revolutionary principles and were hostile to religion. There were also those who, while being favorable to the Church, did not wish to see it play too big a role in public affairs.

– The question of the “statutes”

When Fontanes asked for the statutes which required his stamp in July 1809, Br. Frumence simplified and corrected the text of “Extracts from the Regulations of the Institute” which had been presented to Portalis in 1804 (LS 6-265). In this, stress was placed above all on the pedagogical aspect (cf. RIGAULT 4-188). The text of these “statutes”

was sent to the *Grand-Maitre* on July 16th. But their examination dragged on for several months.

The process was speeded up because of the death of Br. Frumence on January 27th 1810. Brother Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre-Celestin of Lyon, who had been asked to govern the Institute together, by the Brother Vicar-General, in a letter to Cardinal Fesch (Napoleon's uncle), said that they hoped he could "facilitate for them the means of proceeding, according to their customs, to the election of a new head, without which their Society could not survive for long" (quoted in RIGAULT 4-200). But the Cardinal thought of provisionally naming an ecclesiastic as head of the Institute. On February 19th, the Brothers of Lyon replied that it was for them "absolutely impossible to innovate anything" and that, knowing the feelings of their confreres on this subject, they feared that such a move would create disunity in the Congregation (cf. RA EE 273/18, let. 305).

These Brothers then decided to turn to Fontanes. They asked Br. Gerbaud, their intermediary in Paris, to present to the *Grand-Maitre* of the University a letter dated March 24th 1810, in which they appealed for his approval in order to proceed to the election of a new superior. Fontanes gave a favorable reply on May 10th. On the 18th a Circular was sent from Lyon to notify the other Brothers and to ask for the necessary information on the "Professed Brothers with school vows" in order to draw up the list of electors. Another Circular, dated June 8th 1810, announced the holding of the Chapter in July. But as a result of comments from some Brothers, the opening was postponed until September 8th.

This delay would allow for obtaining the approbation of the statutes. On May 19th, Cardinal Fesch asked Fontanes to speed up the completion of this matter (cf. RA EE 273/11). A note added to the original of the reply from Fontanes shows that the obstruction came from the Minister of Religious Cults and also from the Minister of the Interior. 'The question of monastic vows, recognition of the rights of the Holy See, this is what held up the Imperial civil-servants' (RIGAULT 4-226).

Nevertheless, on August 6th, Fontanes sent to Lyon a copy of the official text signed on the 4th and stating that the *Grand-Maitre* "approved the statutes of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", while placing as a condition that the latter carry out the modifications indicated concerning the vows and their dispensation by the Holy See (cf. RIGAULT 4-227 - Copies in RA DF 359/4).

The three Brothers in Lyon replied that the items relative to this question would be submitted to the new Superior when he was elected. On September 8th the choice of the

Capitulants fell on Br. Gerbaud. On the 14th, the new Superior and two of his Assistants, in a letter which they addressed to Fontanes, thanked him for his protection and the approbation of the statutes, which implied that they agreed to the modifications requested, but in reality, the latter were never carried out.

– Other requirements to be satisfied

Article 109 of the decree of March 17th 1808 laid down other requirements. On the subject of the **habit**, in a letter probably addressed to Br. Gerbaud, Br. Frumence expressed the wish “that there should be no change made to our rules, nor to the old form of dress which we willingly take up again” (RA EE 273/1, let. 32). In fact, we don’t see any sign that the Brothers were in any way worried on the subject of the habit. The decree expected the Brothers to submit to the “oath”; in April 1809 Br. Frumence wrote: “as for the oath, it is out of the question” (RA EE 273/2, let. 127). In actual fact, the Brothers, at least in France, did not have to take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor.

The decree of 1808 also said that the Brothers had to be “certificated”. The application of this disposition proved delicate. Would the “**Brevet**” or certificate giving authorization to teach, be attributed to each Brother or to the Superior-General for all the Brothers? The expectation of Br. Frumence was certainly towards the second option when he wrote on September 14th 1809: “Based on the promise made to us by His Excellency the *Grand-Maitre*, we are expecting to receive the Brevet of the University” (RA EE 273/3, let. 143). This was also the position of Br. Gerbaud when he became Superior-General. Thus, during a dispute with the municipality of Ajaccio (Corsica), on July 28th 1811, he asked Cardinal Fesch to “certify [...] that the Brothers of the Christian Schools, forming a body approved by the government, have a single general diploma, which consists in the approval of their statutes by the *Grand-Maitre*” (quoted in RIGAULT 4-253-254). Besides, this was also the point of view of Fontanes.

Independently of the requirements which arose from the decree of 1808, a problem arose on the subject of the exemption for the young Brothers from **conscription**. Because of the successive wars of Napoleon, young people found themselves enrolled in the army. The Brothers wanted their young confreres to be exempt. Napoleon refused to take any general step in their regard. Every year the superiors had to ask for the necessary exemption through the intervention of Cardinal Fesch.

All in all, in France, thanks to the protection of Cardinal Fesch and the benevolence of Fontanes, the Brothers did not feel the ‘Imperial despotism’ too much. When, following the occupation of Rome by French troops in 1808 and especially after the arrest

and imprisonment of Pope Pius VII in 1809, the relations between Napoleon I and the Catholic Church became acrimonious, the Brothers suffered hardly any 'fall-out', even if problems of administration tended to accentuate the problems.

The situation was not the same in Italy. In the "Kingdom of Italy" created for himself by Napoleon in the north of the peninsula, the suppression of the Religious Orders brought about the end of the house in Ferrare. Rome having been annexed to the Empire, the French authorities set about incorporating the educational institutions into the Imperial University. Br. Guillaume de Jésus, Director of the house of *San Salvatore* and replacing Br. Frumence in charge of the Brothers present in Italy, refused to submit to the demands of those in charge of school administration. Fontanes expressed his astonishment at this in a letter to Br. Gerbaud on May 24th 1813. The latter defended his subordinate against the *Grand-Maître*, but he recalled Br. Guillaume de Jésus and put him in charge of the *Petit Collège* in Lyon.

Repercussions of the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire and the attempt to re-establish it

Following his military setbacks, Napoleon I abdicated on April 6th 1814 and the monarchy was re-established in France. The brother of Louis XVI, who took the name of Louis XVIII *, arrived in Paris in May 1814. The Br. Superior-General addressed a Circular to the Brothers inviting them to thank God for the return of the legitimate king. He also sent to the latter a notice about the Institute recalling its position before the Revolution and well as the position it now found itself in. In it he expressed the hope that "Your Majesty will deign to renew our letters patent, so that in the terms of the Bull we can exist in France..." (RA 274-1/14). It is, therefore, from a return to the order of things prior to the Revolution and the Empire, rather than from the Imperial decree of 1808, that Br. Gerbaud expects the definitive re-establishment of the Institute (cf. RIGAULT 4-310). Besides, many of the King's supporters wanted the University abolished.

On September 12th 1814, three Brothers were received by the sovereign. On the question of "ratification" of the old letters patent, the King gave an evasive answer. Inherited from the Empire, the University was being retained "provisionally". Thus 'the decision of the "usurper" continued to guarantee the existence of the Institute' (cf. RIGAULT 4-317).

The return of Napoleon, in March 1815, could have caused some worries for those who had freely welcomed the re-establishment of the monarchy. The Ministry of the Interior, which was in charge of education, was confided to a former revolutionary, Lazare Carnot. The report which he presented on April 27th 1815, recommended a type

of school different from that of the Brothers. It consisted of the “mutual teaching” method which we will be discussing after this chapter. Nevertheless no decision was taken which could cause problems for the Brothers. The Institute was even granted the right to receive legacies. We can never know how things might have been if the new powers had remained in place for some time. The defeat at Waterloo, in fact, put an end to the period known as “the Hundred Days”. Napoleon again abdicated on June 22nd 1815 and King Louis XVIII regained his throne.

The Institute at the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France (1815-1830)

After the return of King Louis XVIII * there began in France what was called ‘The Second Restoration’. The period which started then was marked by a succession of governments of diverse tendencies. In the field of education this resulted in a series of “Ordinances” * which brought about sometimes important changes. One fact stands out, however. The “University” inherited from the Empire was retained. Even those who wished for its destruction in 1814, judged it preferable to use it and remodel it in their own way. In so far as the Brothers were concerned as Rigault writes: ‘The Monarchy from which they requested confirmation of their “letters patent” treated them like Napoleon’ (Vol. 4-347).

– Problems with the Administration

The “Ordinance” drawn up by the King on February 29th 1816 constituted a veritable charter for primary education. The monopoly of the University continued in the conditions where the decree of 1808 had established it. The Institute began organizing primary education as it had done at the time of the Empire. Under the “very Christian” King it could only hope for greater facilities for fulfilling its mission.

In reality it was not long before a conflict broke out between the Minister of the Interior in charge of public education, Lainé, and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Keen on the “mutual education” style, Lainé wanted the Brothers to adopt it in their schools. Supported by the 1816 General Chapter, Br. Gerbaud gave an energetic refusal to the Minister’s request.

But it was above all on the subject of giving the Diploma to the Brothers that the Minister and the Superior of the Brothers clashed. The “Ordinance” of 1816 stipulated that to exercise the functions of a teacher one had to obtain a “diploma of competence” and authorization to teach. For a member of “religious associations” the ‘ordinance’

seemed to require a kind of 'global' authorization. But, in 1817, the "Council of the University" decided that no exception to the double obligation laid down by the ordinance could be allowed.

Br. Gerbaud refused to accept the granting of the diploma as teaching authorization to each Brother individually. On July 7th 1817, he wrote to the Minister of the Interior. He relied on the way things had been done during the Empire to justify claiming that the diploma "for the Congregation ought to be unique" and he declared that "to oblige each Brother to have an individual diploma would be to separate the members from their head and to destroy in France the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools" (quoted in RIGAULT 4-368). The Minister, far from giving in to these reasons, on the contrary took several measures of reprisal. So it was that during the discussion of a new military law at the end of January 1818, the project not anticipating any exemption for the Brothers, Lainé opposed letting it be given to them. Finally it was decided that Brothers would benefit from it like other teachers, provided they agreed to remain in public education for ten years (RIGAULT 4-363). The Brothers wanted to establish their Mother House in Paris. They had in mind a house which the municipality was ready to acquire for them. Lainé wanted, in exchange, the concession of the Brothers on the question of "mutual education". On July 7th 1818, the reply given by the Brother Superior remained negative. The Minister postponed the conclusion of the matter. In addition, on August 7th 1818, he made known that there would be no exemption from military service for religious teachers who had no diploma (RIGAULT 4-376). Also during the take-over of new schools by the Brothers, he asked the Rectors * to make the opening of classes conditional on the production of diplomas and teaching authorization; some school-opening projects were thus hindered.

The Institute found support in the Royal Family and among the bishops. However, despite a certain calming, the crisis continued. Br. Gerbaud decided to have recourse to the King. The latter recommended moderation but for all that, the matter had not finished. On December 5th, the school of Autun (Saône-et-Loire), which had been opened without the authorization of the Rector, had to close; other schools suffered the same fate at the beginning of 1819. However a change of Minister in January of the same year favored a solution. Appreciative of the visit made to him by Br. Gerbaud, the new Minister of the Interior, Decazes, accepted a compromise solution advocated by the auxiliary of the Archbishop of Paris. In the circular which the Br.Superior addressed to the Brothers on February 26th, he thus presented the solution adopted:

"The individual diplomas, towards which we have had the greatest and most justifiable aversion, because by themselves and without modification, they were tending towards the ruin of the

Institute, will no longer have anything for us to fear. Sent by the Rectors to the Superior-General on seeing the Obedience of each teaching Brother and without examination, each of these diplomas will last as long as the subject himself remains faithful to his duties...” (RA EF 305).

Br. Gerbaud attached the letter sent to him by the Minister on February 9th. He also quoted a letter of February 13th where the latter announced that he had authorized the Prefect * of the Seine region to put the Brothers “in possession of the Dubois house”; the one in which they wished to install their Mother House. In February 1820, the conditions for the agreement to be entered into in order to obtain exemption from military service for the young Brothers, were fixed.

– Development of the general situation

The assassination of the King’s nephew on February 20th 1820, caused the estrangement of Decazes and marked the beginning of an evolution which led in 1821 to the formation of a government of royalists keen on a more marked restoration of the old order. In the field of education, an ordinance of 1824 reorganized primary teaching and placed it under the control of the Church, while some intransigent Catholics would have liked to see the University suppressed. In September of the same year, the accession of King Charles X reinforced the union of the Monarchy and the Church.

Up to his death on August 10th 1822, Br. Gerbaud benefited from the evolution of the situation. It was the same for his successor, Br. Guillaume de Jésus. When, on the formation of a government of more liberal tendencies, an Ordinance of April 21st 1828 restricted the participation of the clergy in the control of primary education, it did not seem that the Institute would suffer as a result of this. The growing opposition to the power of the Monarchy, aroused by the measures taken by the King, provoked a new Revolution in the last days of July 1830. King Charles X had to abdicate. As a result of the close ties which had been established between the Monarchy and the Church, the Revolution took on a marked anti-Christian character from which the Brothers suffered. Br. Guillaume de Jésus did not witness these events because he had died on January 10th 1830.

The Institute in Italy and Belgium after the Congress of Vienna (1815-1830)

– Italy

The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) had re-established the Italian states. In the Pontifical States, the Brothers present in Rome and Orvieto continued to suffer an inter-

nal crisis (which will be dealt with in the next chapter) which was not unconnected with the Napoleonic domination. Now once again under Papal authority, they found themselves in a context more favorable to their apostolate.

Savoy, united with Piedmont in the Kingdom of Sardinia, had three Brothers in Chambéry since 1810. The sovereigns of the Kingdom, who came from this province, thus knew of the work of the Brothers. King Victor Emmanuel I accorded “letters patent” * to the Brothers of Chambéry. His successor, King Charles-Félix, envisaged introducing them into Piedmont. A project to start a school in Novara failed. Finally, in early January 1830, the Brothers took charge in Turin, of gratuitous classes belonging to the *Regia Opera MendicITÀ Istruita* (R.O.M.I.).

– Belgium

After the re-attachment of the Belgium provinces to the Kingdom of the Netherlands the authorities tried to introduce there the law of 1806 which had not only established in the old kingdom an education monopoly, on the French model, but had installed a common religious instruction for children of the different religions. However, in these provinces, the important needs in teaching, led the authorities there to accept the collaboration of the Religious Orders. It was thus that the Brothers arrived in succession in Dinant (1816), Namur (1818), Liège (1819) and Tournai (1821).

As members of Religious Congregations coming from France, the Brothers were the objects of suspicion on the part of the King’s entourage, especially the “Director-General of the Catholic Cult”, Goubau. A report for the Minister of Public Instruction, dated December 4th 1819, was nevertheless favorable to the Brothers (RA NC 200/1). Up till then the teaching and charitable Congregations were merely tolerated; Goubau asked them to have their “statutes” approved. The Brothers lodged theirs on November 21st 1820. One point promised to cause difficulties - that of their dependence on a foreign superior. In fact, after three years of prevarications, at the end of 1823, the Brothers were asked to make “within a month, and each one individually, a declaration that they were free and independent of all foreign heads and superiors” (quoted in RIGAULT 4-566).

The intervention of several persons in Belgium led Br. Guillaume de Jésus to give his agreement. In a letter of January 22nd 1824, he accepted that the Brothers could make the required declaration, the latter “having as its aim purely temporal matters” (RA NC 200/19). He did not hide the risks of a split which this move carried. The Brothers subscribed to the declaration demanded. Thus those of Tournai drew up theirs on January

30th 1824 (RA NC 200/15), but the restrictions they put in caused it to be refused and they had to draw up a new one. For all that, the Statutes presented by the Brothers were not approved.

However, the opponents of the Brothers did not stop there. At the beginning of 1824, an anonymous note delivered to the King denounced their “pernicious influence”. A commentator on this note accused them of cultivating ‘the sympathies of Belgium youth towards a nation of the same language and the same creed’ (RIGAULT 4-573). The King appointed an Inspector-General of Public Instruction, Walter, to inquire into the Christian schools. Walter accused the Brothers of cultivating fanaticism and suggested they be excluded from teaching. This was done in Namur and Dinant at the end of September 1825; in Liège the Brothers had to stop teaching on November 9th. They left Tournai a little later. Walter spread the word that the Brothers were keeping links with the Superior in France through the intermediary of the Bishop of Namur. The King was convinced. From October 3rd 1825, a decree, at first secret, ordered the expulsion of Brothers born outside the country. On the basis of the accusation against the Brothers and in spite of the denials of the Bishop of Namur, the King decreed on February 21st 1826 that “the Association of the Brothers of the Christian Schools could not be admitted” to the Netherlands. The French Brothers as well as those born in the Netherlands had already left the country in November 1825; the last Belgium Brothers followed them in March 1826.

Conclusion

In conclusion one might underline the fairly paradoxical character of the official re-establishment of the Institute.

This had been the work of Napoleon I, but he was far from being guided by religious convictions and had been involved in a struggle with the Pope and the Church. The Brothers were nonetheless grateful to the Emperor for having let them resume their apostolate. They also submitted loyally to the régime, it seems, even if their relations with the administration were not always easy. They did not have to suffer too much from the conflict between Napoleon and the Pope, at least in France. Also, one might admit that the Brothers in Italy who had to suffer the consequences of this conflict, had difficulty understanding the position of the Institute vis-à-vis Napoleon.

Nevertheless the return of the King was greeted with enthusiasm by Br. Gerbaud. The majority of the Brothers doubtless shared these sentiments. Even if Louis XVIII hardly

deserved the title of “very Christian King”, the Institute could hope to obtain the re-establishments of its rights and the restitution of its property from before the Revolution. But the King, through political realism, was not inclined to respond to such a wish. However, in spite of disappointed hopes, many among the Brothers remained then - and others after them continued for a long time - attached to the monarchical régime. This would not be without bringing upon them some unfavorable consequences.

1. *THE BROTHERS AND MUTUAL TEACHING*

On several occasions already there has been mention of the “mutual” method of teaching. We have seen, notably, how, on this subject the Brothers were in conflict with Minister Lainé at the beginning of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France (see p. 30). When one sees the importance which was attached to this question in France one might ask what was at stake. At the same time one might more particularly question the reasons which caused the Brothers to become involved in the debates between partisans and opponents of this method of teaching. Besides, such a topic provides a significant example of the difficulties encountered by the Brothers during the period of the Restoration of the Institute.

The basis of this study is the thesis written in French which Br. Robert TRONCHOT devoted to Mutual Teaching in France 1815 - 1833. Elements have been taken from different works cited in reference. The Histories of houses already existing or founded at this time show how this question of mutual teaching very often affected them. A study dealing with the school of Valenciennes (Nord), for example, has been carried out by Pierre PIERRARD. The circumstances have led to the question being studied more attentively in reference to the house of Auxerre (Yonne).

Mutual Teaching

- Origins and characteristics of the method

An article in the newspaper *Le Moniteur* of January 13th 1818, a copy of which was addressed to the Prefects by the Minister in charge of Public Instruction, found distant partisans for this type of teaching: “the ancients”, Erasmus, Rollin, Mme de Maintenon and initiators in France in the persons of Herbault who introduced it into the school for orphans of the Hôpital de la Pitié in Paris or Chevalier Paulet who used it in his Military Academy. Spread in England by Pastor Bell of the Anglican Church and by Lancaster *, a member of the Quakers, it was from there that the method returned to France.

The term “mutual”, used to qualify this form of teaching, indicates that it is the ‘instruction of the child by the child’ (RIGAULT 4, 339). The teacher, in fact, does not himself give the lesson to all the pupils in a class. First of all he trains some pupils judged to be more capable. Each of these, called a “monitor”, repeats what he has learnt and teach-

es it to a small group of pupils called a “squad”. A single teacher keeps order and directs the movements of the different groups from a platform placed at the entrance of a large hall capable of containing, in theory, several hundred children. The hall contains parallel tables while, in front of blackboards suspended from the walls, a space is marked out by a semi-circular support bar.

The groups of pupils worked alternatively in these spaces or on the tables. At the same time as learning to read, the pupils began to learn writing by tracing the characters on a slate or even, for the youngest, in a sand-box. So the basic principle was to associate the pupils with their own formation (RIGAULT 4, 340).

– Interest shown in the method

The mutual education method of teaching had already been introduced into France before 1815, but it is above all from this date on, that people became interested in it; thus a “Society for elementary teaching” was set up to promote it. As we have seen, on the return of Napoleon, the Minister responsible for Public Instruction presented a report advocating the general use of this method. A passage from the text of this report makes clear the motive of an economic nature which inspired Carnot, that is to say the desire to instruct a large number of children with a minimum of teachers and therefore with a minimum of expense.

“In all areas of political economics the great art is to do the most with the least means. This is the principle which has guided several philanthropists that one might regard as creators [...] of primary education; they wished to bring up the greatest number of children with the least expense possible and with the help of the smallest number of teachers...” (cf. RIGAULT 4, 323).

Under what was called the Second Restoration, the same preoccupation encouraged the development of the same method of teaching. It was that if the government authorities encouraged the multiplication of communal schools, the running of these schools was left to the municipal authorities and these were interested in whatever could reduce the cost.

Added to this reason of an economic nature there were others of a **pedagogic nature**. Thus, in the project of the decree, joined to this report, Carnot added that the methods used up till then in France in primary teaching had not obtained the results that it was possible to reach. The supporters of the mutual method considered, in fact, that it gave better results than other methods of teaching, whether one looked at the “individual” method used widely in rural areas or even in towns, or the “simultaneous” method prac-

ticed above all by the Brothers. Under the Restoration, those in charge of education supported this point of view. A circular addressed to the Prefects, dated October 6th 1817, showed “the advantages of a method which could not but improve education by making it easier, more rapid and less painful for the teacher” (AD Yonne, 30 T 3). Three advantages of the method, often invoked by its supporters, were mentioned.

With the mutual teaching method, instruction was made “easier”; this stemmed from its “simplicity”. The author of the article in *Le Moniteur*, already quoted, tries to demonstrate this when he writes:

“It lends itself to numerous divisions and subdivisions within the same body (of pupils) and under the eyes of the same teacher... the means are the pupils themselves, distributed gradually across all the points which the teaching aims to reach. By teaching each other, they themselves notice what they have learnt... Being in turn pupil and ‘repeater’, they simply transmit what they have received, sharing what they themselves have tried with success...” (AD Yonne, 30 T 3).

According to the promoters of the mutual method it was also more “prompt” that is to say more rapid in the sense that the learning of reading and writing took place at the same time, which meant time saved. For the supporters of this form of teaching it also made teaching less “painful” for the teacher, since the latter was not obliged to conduct the class himself.

But the question also had a **dimension** which one could call **ideological**: the favour accorded by some to the “mutual” school came from the fact that, for them it ‘represented the new state of social relations, where neither birth nor fortune outweighed capability or merit... The school became the image of the new society born of the Revolution, where equality demanded for all the right to instruction...’ (R. TRONCHOT, T. 1, 231). In effect, among the most ardent supporters of the new method were found the “liberals”, who saw in this form of teaching the means of transmitting the ideas of the Revolution and also of reducing the influence of the Church and even, for the most inveterate, of destroying this influence among children.

– Debates about the method

In answer to the arguments of those favourable to the method came the objections, especially from supporters of the simultaneous method. When it was a question of opening a school the **economic aspect** of the choice between the mutual method and the simultaneous method did not leave the municipalities indifferent, but ‘the argument lost its force with the passing of the years’ (R. TRONCHOT 1, 251).

On the **pedagogical level**, supporters and opponents of mutual teaching certainly clashed. What the former advanced to show the superiority of their teaching was disputed by the latter. If the method was said to be “easier”, those who opposed it did not hesitate to criticize the unwieldiness of putting it into action and to cast doubt on its supposed facility. As to the fact that the method should be considered “more rapid” and thus saving time, the supporters of the simultaneous method argued that the latter was a real advantage, because for them it was not enough to learn the rudiments of knowledge but that it was necessary to give a real education to children, something which required time. As for the argument that mutual teaching was “less painful”, one of the criticisms made of this type of teaching was that the teacher, not being directly involved with the pupils, could not have sufficient influence over them. Besides, the constraints weighing on the teacher trying to practice the method well were such that one could ask if his task was really less “painful”.

It was under the **religious angle** that the mutual method drew the strongest opposition. The Catholic Church was not hostile a priori to mutual teaching, even if the latter’s connection with Protestantism in England made it suspect. Besides, some members of the clergy were favourable to it and a Congregation such as the Sister of St. Joseph of Cluny practiced it. But it was the place made for the teaching of religion in this type of school and the lack of religious spirit which was noticed there, which worried notably bishops and vicars general.

The article in *Le Moniteur* of January 13th 1818 already mentioned, put forward, on the contrary, that “national and foreign” observers were able to notice that the mutual schools were:

“truly Christian schools where the simple reading tablets were given approval by the ecclesiastic authorities; where the books were precisely those which religion placed in the hands of the faithful; where one day a week was reserved exclusively for the teaching of religion; where this teaching was given in the same form as in all the Christian schools of the kingdom and under the inspiration of the pastors; where, finally, each lesson begins and ends with the prayers of the Catholic cult”.

In reality, in 1815, at the moment when the method was advocated in France, it was not planned to give such a place to religion in the schools which applied it. The intervention of Cardinal de Talleyrand-Périgord had, on December 13th 1815, led *The Society for Elementary Instruction*, which was spreading the method, to introduce into the mutual schools the religious exercises practiced in the Christian schools; but the promoters of

the method continued to recommend to the teachers to remain “neutral” in matters relating to the ‘domain of the faith’ (R. TRONCHOT, T. 1, 291).

Very often in this type of school, religious formation consisted solely of the study of the catechism (cf. R. TRONCHOT, T. 1, 293) but this mostly consisted of a mechanical repetition of the text word for word, under the leadership of the “monitor”. Furthermore, what the clergy denounced in the mutual schools was “the absence of a religious spirit”; the clergy themselves, however, bore part of the responsibility, because, in general, they refused to play the role which had been reserved for them in this type of school (cf. R. TRONCHOT, T. 1, 327).

As for the ideology underlying the method, it didn’t escape the perspicacity of those defying it. Thus, in a report drawn up by the Vicar-General of the diocese of Paris, Abbé d’Astros, on December 29th 1815, it was said in substance that: ‘to make children used to being in charge, to delegate teaching authority to them, making them judges over their comrades, is this not to oppose the “old education”, is not to transform each establishment into a “republic”?’ (RIGAULT 4, 343).

Jean-Marie de La Mennais, whose role in the foundation of the Brothers of Ploërmel we will see later (p. 82), denounced “the essential vice of the method” which, for him, was “to inspire in the young the pride of domination and the taste for independence” (quoted in R. TRONCHOT, 271). Others criticized the method for its *egalitarian and republican* (and as a result anti-monarchical) aspect (*id.*). From this came attacks from royalist supporters and the political dimension of the quarrel (cf. Antoine PROST, *L’enseignement en France 1800-1967*, 217).

– The Spreading of the Method

Depending on the position held in the direction of public affairs by supporters or opponents of mutual teaching, the latter developed or regressed alternatively. So it is that with Robert Tronchot, we can distinguish three periods at the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy:

- From 1816-1820, after the dismissal of the ultra-royalists, the government remained in the hands of men of liberal tendency. With the support of the Ministers in charge of Public Instruction, the schools applying the new method multiplied rapidly.

- From 1820-1824, mutual teaching suffered the counter-attacks of the royalist reaction which took place in those years. From 1821, the rate of increase in the number of mutual schools was lower.

– From 1824-1828, the functions of Grand-Master of the University having been re-established, Mgr. Fraysinous, who exercised them, offered no support to mutual teaching; the number of schools carrying it out decreased.

– From 1828-1830, the government making an effort to conciliate the liberals, mutual education was able to re-appear openly, but with prudence.

The Revolution which took place in 1830 allowed it to gain a new lease of life, since the liberals placed in charge of numerous municipalities favoured this type of teaching. Then, under the new régime called ‘the July Monarchy’, mutual teaching gradually declined. It was officially suppressed in France in 1853.

The Brothers facing Mutual Teaching

The Brothers were involved in the debate about mutual teaching because they best represented those attached to simultaneous teaching. Where they were concerned, there was another element which explains notably the clash between the Superiors and Minister Lainé. The latter was not necessarily an opponent of the Institute, but, anxious to defend the prerogatives of the State, he would have wished that the Brothers submit themselves to it as simple functionaries. The Superiors, on the other hand, intended to safeguard the autonomy of the Institute as a Religious Congregation. The consciousness which the Superiors thus had of defending the Institute by safeguarding its method of teaching, could not but sharpen the conflict between the Brothers and the supporters of mutual teaching.

– The attitude of the Brothers with regard to mutual teaching

The method of the Brothers was based on two principles: the division of the pupils into classes confided to a teacher and, in each of these classes, teaching given simultaneously to all of the pupils or to part of the class. It also differed on several points from the teaching given in the mutual school:

- the Brother himself did the teaching,
- the learning of reading, writing and arithmetic was done successively,
- if some responsibilities were given to the pupils, they did not substitute for the teacher for properly so-called teaching.

The Brothers assumed with certainty that their method, having been submitted to the test of time, was preferable to that being proposed to them. One may also suppose that they shared the grievances of those who considered the teaching given by the mutual

method as being too superficial and not allowing the teacher to have a real influence on his pupils. They were also certainly among those who judged that, in the mutual schools, one could not give a true Christian education to the children. Did they also notice the ideological motives underlying the method; did they see there a threat against the Catholic faith? It is difficult to confirm this. What is certain is that they were not disposed to change their method of teaching or even to look for compromises with another method.

– Rivalry between the Brothers' schools and the mutual schools

The mutual schools could not but enter into rivalry with those of the Brothers. In the beginning at least, the supporters of mutual teaching made an effort to minimize this risk but their attitude was not always so conciliatory. On their part, the Brothers, even if they did not necessarily seek to stir up antagonism, found themselves caught up in the quarrel between the supporters and opponents of both methods. Thus R. Tronchet says that he looked in vain for places where, from 1816 - 1824, here existed no animosity between the two types of school finding themselves face to face (T. 1, 455).

We have already seen the arguments advanced by both sides in the debate about the two methods of education. In what concerns more precisely the Brothers, certain aspects of the dispute were rather unfavourable to them; others were to their advantage. An example will illustrate this. When, in Auxerre, the Municipal Council was called, on May 2nd 1818, to deliberate on the opening of a school, the mayor invited them to choose between two methods of which:

– one had the disadvantage that, the teaching being confined to a single teacher could be interrupted for a longer or shorter time in the case of the absence, death or departure of the teacher; on the other hand this method offered “the advantage of a rapid and easy education”.

– the other, “assured in a more certain, less variable way by the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools” is considered, in contrast, to be “slower” (AD Yonne 1 D 18).

Elements unfavourable to the Brothers

With regard to the mutual method being regarded as “rapid and easy”, that of the Brothers was said to be “slower”. It is a fact that in the Brothers schools, since the learning of reading, writing and counting was done successively, this could demand more time than the acquisition of the basic elements of knowledge by the mutual method.

In reality, recourse to this argument had as its aim to show that a mutual school cost less than one run by the Brothers of the Christian Schools (also called ‘of Christian

Doctrine'). In fact, the creation of a school confided to the Brothers did involve fairly high expenses. Apart from the running expenses of the school, it was necessary not only to provide lodging for the Brothers, but to give them whatever they needed, including linen. A sum of 500, then of 600 francs, for the maintenance of novices, was also required to be paid as often as one obtained Brothers. Nevertheless the installation of a mutual school also turned out to be fairly expensive. Next, a municipality had to provide a salary of 600 francs a year for each Brother; a lower salary than for a teacher in a mutual school (between 1,200 and 1,800 francs) [R. TRONCHOT 1, 461]. But the Brothers of the Christian Schools could never be less than three, so the salary to be paid was multiplied by at least this number. A difficulty could equally arise between a municipality and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The latter, in fact, practiced absolute gratuity, in the sense that, regardless of the condition of the families, they did not ask anything for the education given to their children and they refused to let the municipality impose a contribution on parents judged able to afford it.

Advantages to the credit of the Brothers

If the principle of gratuity such as applied by the Brothers could provoke tensions with certain municipalities, it was, on the other hand, much appreciated by families who saw here an advantage compared to the mutual schools. If certain ones were gratuitous, often the municipalities were able to use their right to impose contributions on less indigent parents. This ran the risk, for these schools, of losing pupils to the Brothers' schools (R. TRONCHOT, 1, 461).

Furthermore, as the Mayor of Auxerre recognized, the fact of the Brothers being several and belonging to one Congregation allowed them to assure the continuity and duration of their teaching. As for the disadvantages attributed to their method, they must not have been so great since when a Brothers' school existed near a mutual school the latter often went downhill.

In favour of the Brothers, the Mayor of Auxerre advanced another argument which has not been mentioned yet. He added, in effect, that "mutual teaching confided to isolated individuals offers nothing reassuring in relation to morality" while "it is not the same with instruction confided to an association of men, well-versed in this and of recognized morality." Such a consideration surely translated into a real preoccupation on the part of those who had to make a choice between the two types of schools.

In the "expectations" of the mayor and the municipal council, on the other hand, one did not see any kind of concern expressed to ensure a Christian education for children.



Lasallian Brothers recognizable by the mantles on their shoulders, try to destroy the sign which symbolizes mutual teaching. One of them who has fallen to the ground, shows under his habit the body of a crayfish, a retrograde animal. The hair-knot of the assistant symbolized the Ancient Régime.

PARIAS, L.H., *Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France*, Vol. 3, p. 385
With the permission of the I.N.R.P. site of Rouen

Such a concern did exist, however; it was, in fact, the parish priest of the old cathedral, who, preoccupied with the lack of instruction and Christian education for children of the working class, had urged the mayor to ask for the Brothers. Given the defiance of the clergy and Catholic circles with regard to mutual teaching, this was surely a determining motive for calling upon the Institute.

Finally, did the existence of the mutual school hinder the development of the Institute from 1815 onwards? It doesn't seem to have done so, at least up to 1830. On the contrary, in a certain number of cases the Brothers were called upon in order to prevent the opening of a mutual school, or to compete with one where it already existed. If, during these fifteen years, the development of the Institute was not as impressive as it might have been, this was due to a lack of Brothers. As for the slowdown that will be noticed from 1824 onwards it happened at a moment when the number of mutual schools

opened was smaller and before the beginning of a rebound in favour of this type of teaching from 1828 onwards.

Outside France, where the Brothers were establishing themselves during these years, they also came across mutual teaching. In Bourbon Island (now Réunion Island), the method met a different fate than in France. Although the Sisters of Anne-Marie Javouhey put it into practice, it was not developed very much in boys' schools. The Governor of the island, de Freycinet, even succeeded, towards the end of 1821, in getting the Sisters to abandon it.

On the other hand, in what would become Belgium, mutual teaching produced a split rather similar to what existed in France. Thus, in the translation of a report to King William 1st of December 4th 1819, one can read:

“In the Flemish and Walloon provinces, the journalists - so it is said - are for the most part French immigrants and because of this, attached to the so-called Liberal Party. So they have never ceased, as is done in France, to praise the mutual method and to condemn the method of the Brothers, called by them ‘the ignorant Brothers’...” (RA NC 200/1).

But from 1820, the training college courses given to teachers in Hainaut Province, sought to replace mutual teaching by simultaneous teaching (cf. HUTIN 1, 103, note 1). When the Brothers arrived in that country they found no problems on that subject.

In Piedmont, this form of teaching does not seem to have aroused the same debates. So, Br. Hervé de la Croix (Jean-Baptiste Haye), “Provincial Director” in the early days of the presence of the Brothers, encouraged them to partially take inspiration from the method.

Conclusion

The mutual school was exposed to attacks mainly from the clergy. It suffered competition from the Brothers of the Christian Schools as well as from most of the teaching Congregations created at this time. But it mostly suffered from its own weaknesses: the difficulty of putting the method into practice, the lack of teachers having the ability to use the method appropriately... However, especially at a moment when France lacked teachers, it contributed to the progress of schooling. It introduced the practice of associating the learning of reading and writing, as well as procedures not used up till then: the use of blackboards and the use of the slate.

As for the Brothers, they saw in their competition with the mutual school, an encouragement to continue to apply strictly the simultaneous teaching method; which was not necessarily without causing problems:

– the Brother, alone before a class often exceeding a hundred children, was not always able to face such a situation, especially when he was a beginner; from this there was always the risk of rapid exhaustion;

– teaching in succession the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic made the courses of study much longer.

It was only after 1830 that, in the Institute, it was agreed to introduce into the practice of the Brothers some elements borrowed from the mutual method (as will be explained later, see page 123). On the other hand, the simultaneous learning of reading and writing was not introduced and the method used for reading was to remain unchanged for a long time. In a more general way one could ask oneself whether the opposition of the Brothers to the method of mutual teaching, favoured on their part a certain ‘fixation’, at least as regards teaching methods.

CONDUITE

DES

ÉCOLES CHRÉTIENNES,

PAR MESSIRE DE LA SALLE,

Prêtre, Docteur en théologie, et Instituteur des Frères
des Ecoles Chrétiennes.

NOUVELLE ÉDITION,

revue, corrigée et approuvée

PAR LE CHAPITRE GÉNÉRAL DE 1837.



A PARIS,

CHEZ J^U. MORONVAL, IMPRIMEUR-LIBRAIRE

des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes,

RUE GALANDE, PRÈS LA RUE SAINT-JACQUES.

1858.

Chapter 2 – THE RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTE

Orientation

The preceding chapter has shown how the legal existence of the Institute was once more recognized by the public authorities in France. Parallel to this, the Institute itself continued the effort to reconstitute itself. It is not without reason, that to show this effort, the word ‘Restoration’ has been used. During the period under consideration (1805-1830), three Superiors in turn were at the head of the Institute. Each had been a member of the Institute before the Revolution. For them the point of reference was the time preceding this latter period. It was necessary to return to what had been done formerly. It was necessary therefore to ‘restore’ the Institute as it had been founded and such as it had remained in the 18th Century, bringing into this movement both the Brothers who had gone through the torment of the Revolution and those who were entering the Institute again. This can be felt, more especially, in the work of the General Chapters and the action of the Superiors during these 25 years and showed itself in the reconstitution of a network of houses and a new increase in the number of Brothers.

Reconstruction on old foundations

– At the time of Br. Frumence (1805-1810)

On his return to France at the end of 1804, Br. Frumence, Vicar-General of the Institute, could count only on the Brothers who had belonged to the Institute before the Revolution and some young Brothers who had recently joined. The older ones who had endured the Revolution had been marked by the conditions which they had known during this time. Many had got into habits of independence and free use of money, which made their return to religious observance difficult. To one of his correspondents, Br. Frumence wrote: “you will agree with me that men are very difficult to govern, especially just after a Revolution.” (RA EE 272/3 let. 188) With understanding and patience, as his correspondence testifies, the Vicar-General made an effort to bring back each one to respect for his old obligations. His efforts were not in vain; writing to the Director of the house in Chartres, on January 15th 1810, he could tell him of his satisfaction on seeing the Brothers voluntarily observing the Holy Rules (cf. RA EE 273/8 let. 284). What is recalled for the older ones is obviously also valid for the younger ones.

We can know the topics dealt with by Br. Frumence and his two successors in their letters, notably to Directors, thanks to the rough drafts of letters found in the RA. For the Br. Vicar-General this applies only to the years 1809 - 1810.

It has been said how, in the negotiations in view of obtaining legal recognition for the Institute, the Br. Vicar-General was particularly attentive to the Institute being maintained such as it had been (see p. 29-30).

In all his actions, as G.Rigault suggests, Br. Frumence showed himself faithful to the recommendations which Br. Agathon had made to him in his letter of 1797, when he wrote: "Remove with great care all kinds of novelties; preserve your state in all its purity, simplicity and fervour..." (LS 6, 254).

Under the generalate of Br. Gerbaud (1810-1822)

Br. Gerbaud, Sébastien Thomas, elected Superior on September 8th 1810, died August 10th 1822. Born in Bréheville, diocese of Verdun (Meuse). On December 21st 1760. He entered the novitiate of Maréville on May 1st 1778 and made his perpetual profession on September 22nd 1786. "Arithmetic master" at St. Yon boarding-school, he was among the 60 Brothers of that house who, on June 3rd 1791, refused to take the constitutional oath. Later he became accountant in a large commercial house in Rouen. In the early years of the 19th Century we find him in St. Germain-en-Laye, where he re-opened the Brothers' old school. In 1803 he came to Paris to take over Gros Caillou. From that moment, Br. Gerbaud worked for the re-establishment of the Institute in France. On June 1st 1803 he wrote to Br. Frumence, Vic. Gen. in Rome to encourage him to return to Paris and France. (see LS 6, 262) When the Vicar-General established himself in Lyon, he used Br. Gerbaud as his emissary with the Government authorities. So it was quite natural that, on the death of Br. Frumence, he was chosen as the new Superior-General.



At the 1810 Chapter, with the election of Br. Gerbaud as Superior-General as well as three Assistants, the government of the Institute found itself re-established as it had been before. When this Chapter, convened after 23 very eventful years, decided not to make any new rules and decreed that “we will keep to what has been written” it could not mark more clearly its intention to be seen as a follow-up to that of 1787. The capitulants prescribed, however, that the robes “would remain in all their integrity, such as they were in 1787, with the sole exception of the sleeves of the mantles” and that those of the serving Brothers would be of the same colour as those of the school Brothers.

The representatives of the Brothers of Italy did not participate in the Chapter. They justified their absence by the length of the journey. But what they could have said was, that because of their situation at that time (see p. 25), they judged it preferable not to leave. (cf. Br. Rodolfo MEOLI: *La Prima Scuola Lasalliana a Roma*, 94)

In the circular printed on September 18th 1810, Br. Gerbaud commented on the resolution taken by the Chapter to keep to “what has been written”. He also recommended the reading of “the letters of the late Br. Agathon”, thus establishing continuity with the time when the latter was Superior-General.

The new Superior also broke the silence which surrounded the memory of his predecessor. It seemed, in fact that the latter had been the object of a certain suspicion: what had he become? Had he not in a way abandoned the Institute? We are definitely better informed about him than were the Brothers at the time. (see LS 6, 254-55)

In 1816, Br. Gerbaud called a General Chapter, announcing his intention of handing in his resignation. His resignation was not accepted. Br. Emery was kept as Assistant. Brothers Guillaume de Jésus and Eloi were also elected as Assistants, the latter being of the new generation. In a circular dated October 1st, the Superior General communicated to the Brothers some decisions which had been taken and he confirmed that the chapter had kept to the single ‘decree’ taken in 1810 (cf. RA EF 305). On one point the capitulants preferred to refer to the Holy See. A circular of December 10th 1816 made known to the Brothers the response received from Rome: it asked them to take up again their habit in its “old form and its original integrity” (cf. RIGAUT 4, 424)

But still more than a return to the traditional appearance, what mattered to Br. Gerbaud was that the Brothers conform to what their Founder wished. This is the subject of a circular he addressed to them on April 17th 1819 on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Monsieur * de La Salle and in which he invites them to honour the memory of the latter by imitating his virtues. (cf. RIGAUT 4, 425)

When Br. Gerbaud became head of the Institute, the work of restoration had not been completed. Shortly after his election, to get to know the situation better, the Br. Superior undertook a visit to the communities. Afterwards, by his letters, he prolonged this direct contact: 'Young and old teachers heard themselves addressed with advice, encouragement, criticism and orders which showed a will which never deviated from its aims and a very vivid affection of chief and father'. (RIGAULT 4, 165)

How did the Brothers react to these exhortations and directives? Some must have found difficulty in following them. Thus, Br. Gerbaud was still writing in November 1817, that he counted "on the Pupils (novices) of Br. Émery and not on the Directors emerging from the 'battle' of the Revolution." (quoted in RIGAULT 4, 446)

According to the correspondence of Br. Gerbaud, it seems that, for several years, his relations with the Brothers in Italy were marked by a real tension. Doubtless he didn't really understand the situation in which these Brothers found themselves under Napoleonic domination, while the Brothers in Italy did not understand how their confreres in France enjoyed the protection of a power which was enslaving the Church. Leaving Rome, in 1813, Br. Guillaume de Jésus judged the situation so precarious that he distributed the available money to the members of the two city communities; later he was to regret this decision because it contributed to the rise of irregularity, at least as far as the house of San Salvatore was concerned. After the fall of the Emperor, a very frank exchange of correspondence, in February 1816, permitted the necessary clarification. The election of Br. Guillaume de Jésus as Assistant in the same year, helped détente.

During the years of Br. Guillaume de Jésus (1822-1830)

On the death of Br. Gerbaud, in 1822, the Brothers Assistants called a General Chapter. This was held in the house occupied by the Superiors in Paris, in Faubourg Saint-Martin, since 1821. The capitulants again chose as Superior-General a survivor of the Brothers from the 18th Century.

Br. Guillaume de Jésus was elected in spite of being 74 years old. (see notice, p. 59). His election went down particularly well with the Brothers in Italy.

In his circular of December 2nd 1822, the new Superior took up again a habit of Br. Agathon of dwelling for some considerable time on certain points of regularity in regard to which some deficiencies had been communicated to the capitulants. He then enumerated 28 articles as having been the object of the Chapter decisions.

The contents of the known correspondence of Br. Guillaume de Jésus are rather administrative. Some more personal letters bear witness to a great affability. In addition we have some of his notebooks filled with lists, statistics... which show a methodical and even meticulous mind. As for the 40 circulars that he addresses to the Brothers, they deal rather with particular points, give information mainly about Brothers who have gone overseas, or give short notices about deceased Brothers, according to a custom which Br. Guillaume himself had established.

In the course of this new Generalate the work of restoration of the Institute continued, but with greater facility, because this work was already well advanced and the circumstances were more favourable.

Reconstitution of a network of houses in France

The progressive restoration of the Institute was linked to the increase in the number of schools confided to the Brothers, but this increase presupposed, obviously, an increase in “houses”, this term encompassing the Brothers’ communities and their works.

At the restart, however, there was not always ‘coincidence’ between the fact, for the older Brothers, of together keeping a school, and that of forming again a house of the Institute. Such a ‘duality’ appears when one examines the situation at the beginning of the year 1805. After that we see things gradually returning to normal. Our attention needs all the more to be drawn to the peculiarity that the ‘Histories’ (of the houses) confuse the re-establishment of a school with the reconstitution of a house.

The situation in 1805

In France, at the beginning of 1805, that is to say not long after the arrival of Br. Frumence in Lyon, how many among the groups of Brothers who had been maintained or reconstituted, could be regarded as constituting houses of the Institute in France? It seems difficult to reply to such a question, so varied were the situations. One can at least try to take stock at this date.

The Brothers regrouped in Lyon, assuredly formed the principal community of the Institute. The reply of the Prefect of the Rhône département to the Enquiry of the Year XIII gives for this house a total of 28 Brothers, novices and postulants (see LS 6, 272). The house was run by Br. Jean-François while Br. Émery was “master of the pupils”, that is to say the novices. On April 16th 1805, Pope Pius VII, returning from Paris, where he

had stayed since the crowning of Napoleon 1st, stopped at Lyon and blessed the Brothers' chapel.

One of the three Brothers who had remained in Chartres (Eure-et-Loire) during the Revolution having died in 1804, the two others established relations with the Br. Vicar-General from the time of his arrival in France. On December 10th 1804, Br. Jean-Louis received from him his obedience as Director. These Brothers would receive the religious habit again at Easter 1806.

In a 'History' concerning the house of Valence (Drôme) it is said that Br. Évariste and his confreres 'were very anxious to reunite themselves with the Institute... from its creation in Lyon in 1804' and that Br. Frumence named Br. Évariste as Director of the community. (RA NC 887/2). The terms used indicate that it was belatedly written up. When was it exactly?

In his reply to the *Enquiry of the Year XIII*, the Prefect of Seine-et-Oise said in regard to the three Brothers "reunited" at St.-Germain-en-Laye: "It seems [...] that they remain bound by the Rule of Doctor de La Salle." Like Br. Gerbaud who had at first been in this city, one may suppose that the Brothers who found themselves there at the end of 1804 quickly recognized the authority of the Br. Vicar-General. One can presume the same for the three Brothers who had not left Laon during the Revolution and about whom the Prefect of Aisne wrote during the same 'enquiry' that:

"these Rules (those of the Institute) are regularly and scrupulously observed by them" (RA NC 626/8)

At St-Omer in the course of 1804, the municipal council gave 6 teaching positions to former Brothers; three of them quickly resumed their religious names of Br. Jonas, Théodore and Lysamique. But Br. Jonas seeing "that it was not possible for him to observe the rule as before" left (RA NC 82164/1). The group which remained still delayed in forming a real community.

The Association established in Toulouse around Br. Bernardin, progressively transformed itself into a community; the 11 members present at the end of 1805 rejoined the Institute in 1806.

On the other hand, the group of former Brothers in Reims, united to look after the schools, was not ready to place itself under the authority of Br. Frumence even though Br. Vivien was in contact with him. (see LS 6, 252). It was the same for two former Brothers who looked after a school in Dole (Jura).

The subsequent period

Even after the reconstitution of a certain number of houses forming the Institute once more in France, certain peculiar situations could still be picked out. Thus, according to a letter of 1810 announcing to the Br. Superior the death of Br. Jean-Louis (RA NC 718-1/1), it was mentioned that this Brother had left Chartres on his own initiative in August 1806 to come and take over the direction of the school of Nogent-le-Rotrou (Eure-et-Loire).

Yet again, it is mentioned on the subject of the restoration of the school in Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) that “the Bishop, the Parish-Priest and several other persons have managed to assemble three former Brothers [who] have started classes since October 15th 1806.” Since it also says that “these Brothers have retaken the habit”, which one can place as having taken place on Christmas Eve of the same year, it seems that the situation had quickly been regularized.

Sometimes the return of the Brothers to a locality took place in fairly special conditions. In Bordeaux, in 1802, under the direction of a priest, Guillaume Chaminade, two school teachers had formed the embryo of a community. Their protector got Br. Frumence to send two Brothers; Brothers Séraphin-Marie et Alexandre de Jésus arrived from Lyon in May 1806. The two teachers joined the Institute as Brothers Éloi and Paulin in the first months of 1807. At Langres an “association for the Christian education of children”, asked for Brothers to form the teachers which they had assembled. After a lot of hesitation, Br. Jonas, who had come to run a school in the département of Haute-Marne, agreed to go to Langres. On February 8th 1809 the Br. Vicar-General sent him an obedience as Director.

If the death of Br. Frumence in 1810, delayed the rejoining of the Institute by the two Brothers in Dole, these two, who had been joined by some young Brothers, certainly formed once again a house of the Institute in 1811.

In 1814, Br. Gerbaud added to a “notice on the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools” which he sent to King Louis XVIII, a “list of our present establishments.” (RA EE 274- 1/14) According to this list, the Institute counted then in France: 50 “establishments” (in reality “houses”). Reims was also mentioned, even though the group of former Brothers there was not re-attached to the Institute till 1817.

The year 1815, marked by political changes, saw the arrival of the Brothers only in Beaucaire near Avignon (Vaucluse). In 1816, there was no foundation apart from Dinant

in Belgium. In spite of the problems with the representatives of royal power, the years 1817-1823 saw a notable increase in the number of houses, then the start of a decline became accentuated in the following years which, however, with the arrival of Charles X, should have been among the most favourable. A table drawn up thanks to data from a statement of statistics from Br. Guillaume de Jésus, helps bring out this evolution.

The statistical statement in question mentions the houses opened each year. The table is based on this data even if it seems that in certain cases it is imprecise. The names between brackets were added

Years	Houses established	
	In France	Outside France
1817	11 including Reims	Bourbon Island - Bolsena
1818	21	(Namur - Ste. Geneviève in Louisiana)
1819	26	(Liège)
1820	15	(Tournai)
1821	25	
1822	18	
1823	16	Cayenne
1824	8	Spoleto
1825	9	
1826	6	
1827	8	
1828	6	

In 1828, Br. Guillaume estimated the number of houses of the Institute in France and outside France to be 228.

Increase in the number of Brothers

At the beginning of the period being considered here, the situation of the Institute, in so far as its members were concerned, is well brought out in a letter which Br. Frumence addressed to the Prefect of the Tarn on March 18th 1806:

“We have indeed several active establishments; but I foresee that we will have great difficulty in supplying teachers... seeing that the Revolution caused us to lose a large number of members of our Society and that many of those who escaped the ‘wreckage’ are very old and will soon be in no condition to render service to the public. Furthermore we cannot have as many pupils (novices) as we would wish because of con-

scription... besides we have only one novitiate in the French Empire, which is in this city of Lyon; but this is in no way sufficient to supply Brothers to so many different places” (quoted in RIGAULT 4, 23).

The efforts of the three Superiors who succeeded each other from 1805 - 1830 aimed both at encouraging the return of former members of the Institute and favouring recruitment for the Institute from among the new generations.

The Return of former members of the Institute

As their correspondence testifies, the three Superiors multiplied their efforts among a certain number of former Brothers to convince them to re-join the Institute. Some did so, others failed to follow through. The question seems to merit our pausing on it at some length. It will be the subject of the Study following this chapter.

Looking for Postulants

Br. Frumence did not content himself with inviting those who asked him for Brothers, to send him postulants. He addressed to parish priests in 1808, a letter in which he said to them: “With the thought that there could be in many places, persons animated with a holy zeal for the glory of God, their salvation, that of other souls and especially those of children...” they should make sure to let them know about the novitiate in Lyon. He indicated, as well, the conditions the postulants should fulfil in order to be admitted. (RA EE 273/1, let. 337 quoted in RIGAULT 4, 160) Through the correspondence of the Br. Vicar-General we can see that several parish priests raised this concern. Former Brothers also got involved in sending postulants to Lyon. Thus Br.Frumence writes on September 16th 1809 to Monsieur (sic) Jean de Matha on the subject of three postulants from Privas, in the Ardèche. (cf. RA EF 273/3, let.144)

The risk was evidently that the life of the Brothers would not necessarily suit those sent in this way. We see it, for example, through the correspondence which the Superior of the Brothers had to exchange in 1818-1819 with the Prefects in order to repatriate some young Corsicans who had been sent to the novitiate in Lyon and who were asking to return to their families. (copies RA EE 274 - 1/7)

The Chapter of 1816 wanted the re-establishment of the “preparatory novitiate” which M. de La Salle had created in Reims, then had brought to Paris. But many years would pass before that would be done. (cf. RIGAULT 4, 466,467)

The formation of novices

The novitiate of Lyon was at first the only one. Placed under the charge of Br. Émery, it remained so after his election as Assistant in 1810 until his death in 1830. In 1806 seven novices took the habit there. According to the Register of the taking of the habit in the Novitiate of Lyon, the latter had already received 73 novices at the end of 1810; 183 by the end of 1814; 911 by the end of 1830.

A novitiate opened in Bordeaux, was at first directed by Br. Séraphin, then he confided it to Br. Paulin, one of the two disciples of Monsieur Chaminade. In 1809, the novitiate was transferred to a property belonging to a priest, which led Br. Florence to fear that the latter might exercise too much influence over the novices. While recognizing the solicitude of M. Chaminade and of Mgr. d'Aviau, Archbishop of Bordeaux, Br. Gerbaud, not wishing the Institute to be "captive", asked Br. Paulin to go to the novitiate of Toulouse with whatever novices wished to follow him. (cf. RIGAUULT 4, 301)

On his arrival in Langres, Br. Jonas took charge of the formation of the young teachers of "the Association for Christian Education". He formed a veritable novitiate. In a letter to Br. Frumence he said of his disciples: "they are the children of the Revolution, very different from what we were". (quoted in RIGAUULT 4, 174)

In 1810, Br. Paulin succeeded him. The latter re-edited "*The Method of Mental Prayer*" and "*The Meditations*" of J. B. de La Salle. (Archives de France: *Notes historiques du District de Lyon* 1, 156)

Novitiates were opened in different houses: Toulouse, St-Omer, Soissons. Br. Gerbaud attached one to the house of Gros-Caillou but because of the lack of space this could not be developed; in 1810 his novices were divided between St-Omer and Soissons. In April 1813, there were 34 novices in Lyon; 24 in St-Omer, 10 in Toulouse as well as in Langres or Soissons. (cf. RIGAUULT 4, 267)

At the time of Br. Gerbaud the tendency was to suppress what he called "small novitiates" in order to form bigger ones. The novitiates of Soissons and Langres disappeared to the benefit of that which had opened at the Mother House of Faubourg Saint-Martin in 1822. In addition to this novitiate there were other in Reims, St-Omer, Clermont-Ferrand, Lyon, Toulouse, Avignon, Ajaccio. (cf. RIGAUULT 4, 465 - a note also mentions Caen)

To be admitted, the postulants had to fulfil a certain number of conditions. According to the letter of Br. Frumence to the parish-priests, they must:

"know how to read, have a good constitution and sufficient strength to support the

rigours of the functions of teaching; an honest face; an aptitude for science; a good, solid and sociable spirit; great docility and Christian simplicity; a true pious disposition; a love for the education of the young; zeal for the salvation of souls and for the glory of God... They should not have any habitual infirmity or be too short-sighted and no natural defect such as weakness of the chest” (RA 273/1 - let.37).

As in the 18th Century, the formation given in the course of the novitiate properly so-called, was both pedagogical and religious; it was continued for at least one year in community.

Some days before his death, Br. Frumence wrote to Br. Rieul (called Br. Regolo), Director of the novitiate in Orvieto, Italy: “Your little novitiate seems, in general, well established with good subjects (quoted in RIGAUULT 4, 167). In spite of the events which took away the house at Ferrare, this novitiate was maintained; however, circumstances did not favour its development. This situation continued after the re-establishment of the Pontifical States in 1814. Under the direction of Br. Pio, from 1823-1826, its recruitment improved. In Savoy, a novitiate started in 1829.

In Belgium, from 1819, a novitiate was created in Namur. The results obtained were not negligible. A “Statement naming the members of the Association of Christian Schools” shows, in fact, that in 1825 at Namur, of 15 Brothers, 10 were natives of the country, that the 11 in Liège, 3 out of 4 in Dinant and 5 out of 6 in Tournai were also natives. (RA NG 200/25)

Conclusion

Br. Guillaume de Jésus was the last of the Brothers who had entered in the 18th Century to be at the head of the Institute. One could consider that with him ended the period of the restoration of the Institute.

During this period, the Institute was re-constituted numerically and outnumbered the total of 1791. (see LS 6, 197)

In March 1828, according to a count by the same Superior, the Institute numbered 1,717 Brothers:

408 professed, 632 with triennial vows, 487 without vows and 200 novices. (RA EE 175/17)

Furthermore, after the Revolution the Institute renewed its past: the old customs were re-established; the Brothers were animated with the same religious and apostolic spirit as their predecessors.

The hardship had generated a new dynamism. Even if, at the beginning, they sometimes had difficulty in picking up again the customs of the religious life, the Brothers who had endured the Revolution emerged affirmed and their example of fidelity carried along the younger ones. Much more than a restoration, it represented for the Institute a veritable resurrection.

2. *EFFORTS TO REINTEGRATE FORMER BROTHERS*

The role played by the Brothers who rejoined the Institute after the Revolution has already been emphasized. It would seem useful to pause here to look at the efforts made, notably by the Superiors, during the period we are examining, to convince former Brothers to return to the Institute, as well as assessing these efforts. For this purpose we will single out the years immediately following the arrival of Br. Frumence in France and the longer period when Brothers. Gerbaud and Guillaume de Jésus were at the head of the Institute.

The first years (1805 - 1810)

When Br. Frumence arrived in Lyon on November 19th 1804, he found a certain number of Brothers who had belonged to the Institute before the Revolution. How many could he count on among the 28 Brothers or novices listed for the Prefect of the Rhône at the beginning of 1805 with a view to enabling him to reply to the 'Survey for the Year XIII' (LS 6, 267)? It is difficult to say with precision. However, one can pick out the presence of a certain number of Brothers at the beginning of 1805.

- a Br. Maurille (Étienne François Bouhélier), companion during the Revolution of Br. Florence, former Superior-General. He was on his way towards celebrating a meritorious life on his 87th birthday in 1809.

- some Brothers already advanced in years, nevertheless continued to play an active role. Thus, Br. Jean-François (François Garcin), at the age of 74 was Director of the house of the Petit Collège. Br. Justinien-Marie (Joseph Celse) was still teaching at 70.

- others were still fairly young. Br. Pigménion (Jacques Juge), who initiated the regrouping in Lyon, was 57 years old; Br. Pierre-Célestin (Antoine Stablet) was 51; Br. Luc (Alexis Ville) former confrere of Br. Moniteur at St. Malo, was 46 and Br. Géronce (Louis-Joseph Cayer) was 44.

- one of the last to enter the Institute before the Revolution, Br. Servule (J.B. Faure), aged 40, had been one of the first to rejoin Br. Pigménion.

Besides, as we will see in the following chapter, former members of the Institute had already regrouped with a view to taking over again schools which had been run by the Brothers before the Revolution. Among them some had already rallied round or were quickly rallying round the Br. Vicar-General when he arrived in France. Such was the case, as we have seen, of Br. Gerbaud (Sébastien-Thomas, aged 44), one of the artisans of the Restoration of the Institute in France (see LS 6, 261) or the Brothers in Chartres:

Jean-Louis (Charles Richard, aged 74) and Montain (Claude-François Langlet, aged 67). Others later quickly re-attached themselves to the Institute, while some took quite some time to do so.

– New Rallying Round

If, among the Brothers who put themselves under obedience to Br. Frumence, there were some who did so in a spontaneous way, there were others who needed to be encouraged to do so.

It was to this that Br. Frumence applied himself on his return to France.

For him, the restoration of the Institute in France depended on the Brothers who were members before the Revolution, because even if the Institute already had some new members, one could hardly yet entrust responsibilities to them. So we see the Brother Vicar-General, in his correspondence, using the lack of former Brothers to justify his negative reply to certain requests he had received (ex. RA EE 273/3, let. 159/210/241).

It was necessary therefore, to encourage former members of the Institute to rejoin. So it was that, certainly with the approval of the Br. Vicar-General, Cardinal Fesch, on July 19th 1806, wrote a circular to the former Brothers, in which he asks them “to go as soon as possible to Br. Frumence in Lyon, to be employed according to your holy Institute” (quoted in RIGAULT 4, 27). Following this appeal, Br. Laure (André Gallet) then aged 49, left the pupils he had assembled in his native village between Loire and Haute-Loire, to join his former confreres. One of these pupils was to become Br. Philippe, future Superior-General (cf. RIGAULT 4, 28).

Br. Frumence was certainly well pleased with the letter which he received in 1807 from Claude-Antoine Trimaille, aged 62, who would be known as Br. Irénée, offering his services as well as those of his brother, Claude-François (Br. Donat-Joseph), who had escaped from the ‘pontons’ at Rochefort, then aged 67 (cf. LS 6, 270). Br. Vicar-General was also happy to see the former Br. Assistant Lothaire (J.B. Clerc), born in 1739, joining the community in Besançon in 1808, shortly before his death in the following year (see LS 6, 270).

The correspondence of Br. Frumence shows he was receptive of every request by former Brothers to rejoin the Institute. Thus he mentioned in 1809, doubtless to Br. Gerbaud, the desire expressed in this sense by M. Proisy (RA EE 273/1 - let. 26, 27). This was Br. Bertaud who had been condemned to the same sentence which had led to the deaths of his two confreres from Moulins, Brothers. Roger and Léon on the boats near Rochefort (LS 6, 236). There was a favourable response to this request. Similarly the Br.

Vicar-General did not oppose “the return of Brothers. Damien and Gondegrand, if their conduct has always been above reproach” (RA EE 273/1 - let.109). As regards the former, Dominique Mamel, who had taken the constitutional oath (LS 6, 214-15), this would suffice to explain why he was not allowed to re-enter the Institute; with regard to the second we can make no judgement.

The Br. Vicar-General himself intervened to encourage former Brothers to rejoin in order to confide a specific mission to them. One of the most characteristic examples is that of Br. Jonas (J.B. Mairez, aged 64 in 1808) who was asked by Br. Frumence to go to Langres to form the young teachers brought together by “the Association for Christian Education”. The Brother concerned, after a rapid visit in June 1808, did not follow up the proposition made to him.

Later, encouraged by Br. Lothaire, he said in a letter of January 31st 1809, that he was ready to do what was asked of him. He was then sent an obedience by Br. Frumence. Through the latter’s correspondence we can guess that the new Director got annoyed with the difficulties encountered. Finally things calmed down and Br. Jonas found himself in charge of a real novitiate (see p. 56). Others besides the Br. Vicar-General were able to call upon former Brothers. Thus, Br. Chérubin de Jésus (Joseph Ducord) who, at the suggestion of Br. Bernardin (Pierre Blanc) had been contacted by the Mayor of Castres, came back in November 1805 to the school in that town, which had been run by the Brothers in the 18th Century (cf. RIGAUT 4, 36).

– The Situation in 1810

We can take stock of the situation in 1810, at the time of the death of Br. Frumence, thanks to the lists drawn up for the elections to the Chapter ahead of the naming of the new Superior of the Institute. A first list contains the names of “the Brothers Directors of the principal houses”, members by right of the Chapter. With the exception of Br. Joseph-Marie (Joseph Bardou), Director of the house in Toulouse, the 15 mentioned belonged to the Institute before the Revolution. However, Br. Marc, listed as Director of the house in Reims, had not really rejoined the Institute. Among these Directors there were three who were in Italy during the Revolution.

A second list gives the names of “former Brothers having an active and passive vote”. All 51 named had been finally professed before the Revolution. But among those figure Brothers Vivien and Dizier of Reims and Brothers Antoine-Marie and Gregoire of Dole who had only a fairly loose connection with the Institute and Br. Jean-Damascène who would never fully rejoin.

Br. Gallican, who had been forgotten, was added to the list as an afterthought (cf. RA EE 27462/7 - let.5). Besides, 10 of these Brothers were, or had been, in Italy.

We then find the names of professed Brothers “who have only an active vote”, having been professed less than 15 years. Among the 15 who figure on this list, 9 had not been able to pronounce their final vows before the Revolution. Three made their profession in Italy; the 6 others did so three or four years before 1810.

These lists, therefore, give us a total of 75 Brothers who had belonged to the Institute before the Revolution. But since 16 had been in Italy during the Revolution and 6 others could not be considered as having been members then, we are left, at the beginning of 1810, with 53 who could not be considered as having effectively rejoined the Institute.

However, the lists of 1810 only mention the Brothers who were “school professed” (the only electors): thus Br. Laure, former ‘store-keeper at the Marseille boarding school’ (RIGAULT 4,28) does not figure on them. Similarly while Bros. Julien and Michée who were at St. Hubert in Belgium are mentioned, Br. Agapet is not. In a list drawn up in 1822 by Br. Guillaume de Jésus, these Brothers Laure and Agapet, as well as 8 others, are listed as “serving Brothers”

How many of these Brothers had returned in 1810? We can't say. Besides, in order to calculate the number of Brothers ‘returned’ to the Institute at this date, we need to add a dozen Brothers (including Br. Frumence) who died between the end of 1804 and the beginning of 1810. In all there would have been barely 70 Brothers who had rejoined the Institute before the Chapter of 1810.

The rest of the period (1810 - 1830)

– Relations of the Superiors with former Brothers.

Just as did Br. Frumence, Br. Gerbaud blamed the lack of former Brothers in explaining why he could not reply favourably to certain requests made to him. Thus he could not send Brothers to Montdidier (Somme) because, he wrote, “we have novices but we lack former Brothers to lead and direct them” (RA EE 274 -2/5 let. 140). It was necessary therefore to encourage the return of members of the Institute who had joined before the Revolution.

On October 2nd 1810, the Brother Superior addressed a collective letter to five former Brothers, including Br. François de Borgia who had been with Br. Agathon in Tours. The

Institute having been re-established as before the Revolution, “the same holy state presents itself to you with all the regularity and all the means of sanctification”, he wrote to them to encourage them to take up again this “state” (RA EE 274 - 2/7 - let. 23). The correspondence of the Superior, elected in 1810, shows that he also wrote personally to the Brothers; his success varied, as far as we can make out.

Of the correspondence which Br. Guillaume exchanged with former Brothers, we can find only a few letters to Br. Patrice (Antoine Radier) with whom he had taught in the boarding school in Marseille. One is struck by the tone of familiarity in these letters. Thus, in a letter of March 4th 1820, when he was still Assistant, he tells his former companion to remember every year “that March 24th [1792] at six in the evening... when we accompanied the venerable Macaire to the loge to refuse to take the oath. How we were verbally attacked and two days later at 8.30 in the evening! What a serenade at our door and on the Corderie! And on the 27th what a running-away of boarders: about 47 took off that day. Then on May 13th the kick in the arse! How to forget that? And July 26th around five in the morning when I passed in front of the Chateau d’If to go to Nice with my 7 companions” (RA EE 275/9).

Without doubt, the former Br. Patrice would have liked to rejoin the Institute but he was married. Br. Guillaume thus encouraged him on February 6th 1822 (same ref.):

“You are sighing like the dove which wants to re-enter the ark, but if it is the Lord who judged it suitable to have you leave, what to do? He will know how to have you re-enter if he judges it suitable for your salvation...”

Having become Superior-General, Br. Guillaume gave his friend the diploma of Affiliated Member of the Institute in 1824. The following year he eased the worries of his old confrere with regard to his dispensation from the vows. After he became a widower, Br. Patrice would rejoin the Institute but it would be after the death of his friend.

– New returns

One may suppose that the election of a new Superior encouraged a certain number of Brothers to return to the Institute at this time. Thus it was not in vain that on November 25th 1810, Br. Gerbaud wrote to Br. Jean de Matha (Joseph Boyer, than aged 56), a former serving Brother, to invite him to “retake the holy habit... in order later to take up again the exercise of the functions of being bursar and being in charge of the kitchen in our new establishment in Avignon” (RA EE 274 -2/5 let. 155). In fact this Brother reached Avignon that same year.

Twelve days after the election of Br. Gerbaud, Br. Philippe-Joseph (Nicolas Bienaimé, 52) said he was ready to take up the suggestion the Superior had made to him the previous year, of going to Nogent-le-Rotrou (cf. RIGAUT 4, 240). Although he had only temporary vows at the time of the Revolution, the latter did not diminish his ardour (see LS 6, 245). He pronounced his perpetual vows in 1817. At his death in 1836, he was 78.

Br. Corentin-Marie (Jean-Marie Martel, aged 74 in 1810) ‘very faithful in observing the Rule, while he taught the pupils of Vergézac’ (RIGAUT 4, 244) left Haute-Loire to rejoin the Institute. Br. Pompée (Jean-Baptiste Mosnier, aged 50 in 1810) who had not followed the advice in Card. Flesch's circular, decided to rejoin after the death of Br. Frumence (Rig. 4, 29).

On a “list of annual deaths” which we will be talking about later, one sees the name of Br. Seine (Claude Bertin, born in 1776). It is indeed the young Brother who spoke of his regret at having to leave the Institute in 1791 (cf. LS 6, 217). He had therefore rejoined the Institute, but when? When he died in 1836 he only been finally professed for 16 years.

The last letter of Br. Frumence on January 25th 1810, was addressed to Br. Vuillaume in Dole. The Br. Vicar-General said to him: “I see you are disposed to rejoining our society” (RA EE 273/18 let. 295). But the change of Superior delayed the date of his return. In March 1811, Br. Gerbaud still refused to send “subjects” to this Brother because he was not re-attached to the Institute (RA EE 274 - 2/7 let.47) but on April 21st he sent an obedience as Sub-Director to Br. Grégoire (Ferjeux Grégoire, formerly Br. Adelmé) who was also at Dole; and on June 1st he Br. Superior wrote to Br. Vuillaume under his religious name of Antoine-Marie, which suggest that the situation had been regularized.

The process of re-attachment of the house in Reims and the total adhesion of Br. Vivien (François René Gaudenne) would still need more time. Two things delayed this re-attachment: the schools were not gratuitous and they were placed under the ‘dependence’ of the “Bureau of Bienfaisance”. The Br. Superior came back often to the first point. On the second, in 1812, Br. Assistant Jonas tried unsuccessfully to get a return to the normal situation of schools; an agreement with the municipality would be reached only in 1817.

In spite of his peculiar situation, Br. Vivien did not stop corresponding with the Br. Superior. In 1816, although he was put on the lists drawn up in view of the General Chapter, he said in a letter to Br. Gerbaud that he was offended that he had not been informed that he had not been elected. However, he seemed disposed to go to Lyon and to hand over to the Superior “some precious relics” and some portraits that he had saved

during the Revolution (cf. LS 6, 260). Things happened differently but the situation evolved. On July 27th 1817 Br. Gerbaud invited Br. Vivien to Lyon and thanked him for sending the relics and pictures. In November Br. Vivien was sent as Director to Ornans. Later he was called upon to open or reinforce different houses and after an edifying old age he died in Paris in 1842, aged 87. In 1817, with one exception, the members of the Reims group accepted obediences which dispersed them to different communities (cf. RIGAULT 4, 429).

At the time of the 1810 Chapter, Br. Ferréol (Barthélémy Jacob, then aged 71), had just re-entered the Institute (cf. RIGAULT 4, 229). Br. Gerbaud put him at the head of the house of Ile St. Louis in Paris. But at least because of the hazardous way he ran the house, he merited reproaches from the Br. Superior; the latter called him to Lyon to give an account of his behaviour. Finally, in view of his lack of good will, Br. Gerbaud got him to leave the Institute (RIGAULT 4, 293).

– Irrevocably estranged

Although invited to rejoin the Institute or having thought of doing so, some former 18th Century Brothers remained permanently estranged. This was the case with the five to whom Br. Gerbaud sent a collective letter: neither Brothers Florentin, François de Paule, Castor, Honorat or even François de Borgia followed through on the letter which had been addressed to them.

A former member of the Grenoble community, Br. Théodorite, who had retired to somewhere near the city after refusing to take the oath, tried to get young Brothers for the Institute. In his letter of November 16th 1810, Br. Gerbaud, who thanked him for this, invited him to rejoin the Institute himself. But this call went unanswered (RA EE 274 - 2/5 - let.137).

It was a very pressing letter which Br. Gerbaud addressed on December 21st 1810 to the former Br. Jean Damascène, this former Director of the house of Rethel who was mentioned by Br. Agathon in his letter of November 5th 1796 to Br. Vivien (see LS 6, 252).

After thanking him for his wishes, the Br. Superior wrote to this correspondent:

“As for me, I confess that I cannot understand how a virtuous Brother, in a word a worthy son of M. de la Salle... I cannot understand, I tell you, how one can keep himself outside the reborn Congregation at the risk of being considered (by dying outside the holy state to which one is vowed) as an apostate in the eyes of God, of the angels and of men.” (RA EE 274 - 1/17 let.195)

The Brother in question was 79 at the time but was that the reason he remained outside the Congregation? We don't know.

Br. Gerbaud continued to keep in contact with former Brothers such as with M. Ludé, "ex-Brother in Roue", 'passing on the wishes of the Superior for the return of the Congregation to the capital of Normandy' (RIGAULT 4, 243); or with M. Dubois, formerly Br. Boniface, who having become a bookseller, rendered lots of service to the Br. Superior.

On the other hand we see Br. Gerbaud keeping certain former Brothers from rejoining.

Thus on March 28th 1810 he asks the Mayor of Guise to prevent the ex-Br. Zénas who had been "sent away in shame" (from St.-Germain-en-Laye and later Soissons) from wearing the religious habit (RA EE 274 - 2/5 let.161).

– Final Total

To try and know which Brothers rejoined the Institute we have different sources:

- a mortuary register in which the names of the Brothers who returned after the Revolution are marked with an R;
- an "annual list of the dead" where the details enable us to find out which ones were Brothers in the 18th Century. (RA GF 401 - 1 for both)
- necrological notices.
- various mentions of the presence of certain Brothers that we know for sure died in the Institute.

Among the Brothers thus known we must distinguish between those who had been dispersed in France or nearby during the Revolution and those who were in Italy, because the latter continued to form the Institute. The information collected can be grouped under these two headings:

Brothers	Mortuary register	List of dead	Other sources	Total
Dispersed	84	15	9	108
In Italy	10	4	3	17

A distinction must also be established between the Brothers who were finally professed before the Revolution and those who, not having been finally professed then, made their profession afterwards:

Brothers	Professed before Revolution	Professed after Revolution	Total
Dispersed	95	13	108
In Italy	14	3	17

To these numbers, established with as much precision as possible, one could add some Brothers that we know returned to the Institute but whose subsequent fate remains unknown. Even if there are some omissions they cannot be many. So we can emphasise on the one hand, that the number of Brothers who effectively rejoined the Institute after the Revolution and who certainly died in it, could only have been about 110, and on the other hand, that these Brothers were mostly finally professed.

The result thus obtained seems fairly similar to that reached at the end of the study for 'The Survey for the Year XIII' in the volume devoted to 18th century (LS 6, 268). But in fact the number of just over 100 given in the two cases does not cover exactly the same realities. The estimation of G. Rigault on which we have relied, includes Brothers "on trial", that is to say those who had entered recently; it seems also to count the Brothers present in Italy during the Revolution. Here, on the other hand it is solely taking into account Brothers who 'reentered' and certainly died in the Institute that we have arrived at a definitive number better than the preceding, even if only slightly so.

Conclusion

The findings that we have come up with give rise to some reflections. Among the Brothers who rejoined the Institute or who spent the Revolution in Italy, the finally professed represent about a fifth of the number who were professed in the Institute in 1791 (see LS 6, 198). Even taking into account those who died (some a violent death but most a natural death) between this date and 1804, one could say that it is a relatively small amount. One can measure in this the effects of the progressive 'reduction' that has been described in the section entitled 'DESTRUCTION' of the book devoted to the 18th Century. But one can also estimate, in regard to the trials undergone, that the number is not negligible and that it bears witness to the 'solidity' of these professed Brothers.

On the other hand, the ratio - between the number of those who had only triennial vows or did not have any, and the number of Brothers of these two categories who rejoined the Institute or who made profession In Italy during the Revolution - is still not

so good. In comparison with the 300 or so Brothers who were present in 1791, these Brothers were, in fact, little more than one in twenty. One understands of course that the others were more easily detached from the Institute because they were not finally professed.

But, nevertheless, one may ask, in view of the importance attached to the vows for insuring the cohesion of the Institute (see LS 6, 195), if the fact for the Brothers of not having any or of having only temporary profession did not contribute a contrario to weakening their link with the Institute, to the extent that they were not supported by a sufficiently strong conviction. If this is true, one could see in this, besides, a reason for the numerous departures which took place in the 18th Century in these two groups of Brothers (cf. LS 6, 81). Well, as we will be led to observe, what happened in the 18th Century will happen again in the 19th.

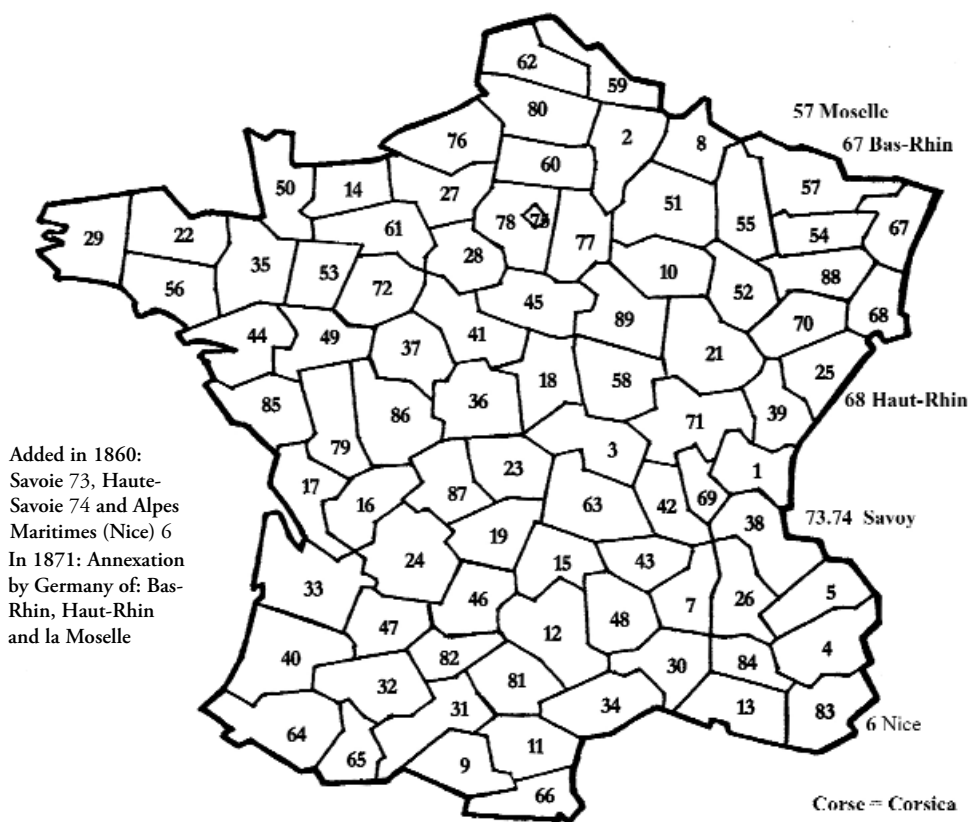
Br. Guillaume de Jésus, François Marre, elected Superior-General on November 11th 1822, died on June 10th 1830. Born in Carcassonne (Aude) on February 1st 1748; he was a pupil of the Brothers. Entered the novitiate at Avignon on June 16th 1863; made his final profession in 1773.

In the same year he was assigned to the boarding school in Marseille where he taught maths and navigation to future captains of the merchant marine. On March 24th 1792 he had refused to take the constitutional oath. Leaving Marseille in July, he stopped first in Nice; in October of the same year he joined the brothers in Ferrare.

In 1800 he was appointed Director of the house of Trinità dei Monti and in this capacity he was present when Pope Pius VII confirmed Br. Frumence in his charge of Vicar-General of the Institute. After the latter's departure in 1804, he replaced him as head of the Brothers in Italy as well as taking over as the Director of San Salvatore. His attitude towards the Imperial authorities led to his being recalled to France in 1813 (cf. p. 28). He was then placed in charge of the house of Le Petit Collège in Lyon. The Chapter of 1816 chose him as Assistant Superior-General.



However, to come back to the Brothers to whom we have been referring here, the evaluation made ought not to make us lose sight of what it represented for each one of them to take the step which led them to take up again their old form of life after the trials of the time of the Revolution. We have seen that they did so more or less easily or more or less rapidly. Whatever it may have been for any of them, it is in the end on these men, to a large extent, that the Restoration of the Institute rested.



1 Ain 2 Aisne 3 Allier 4 Basses-Alpes 5 Hautes-Alpes 7 Ardèche 8 Ardennes 9 Ariège 10 Aube 11 Aude 12 Aveyron 13 Bouches-du-Rhône 14 Calvados 15 Cantal 16 Charente 17 Charente-Inférieure 18 Cher 19 Corrèze 20 Corse 21 Côte-d'Or 22 Côtes-du-Nord 23 Creuse 24 Dordogne 25 Doubs 26 Drôme 27 Eure 28 Eure-et-Loir 29 Finistère 30 Gard 31 Haute-Garonne 32 Gers 33 Gironde 34 Hérault 35 Île-et-Vilaine 36 Indre 37 Indre-et-Loire 38 Isère 39 Jura 40 Landes 41 Loir-et-Cher 42 Loire 43 Haute-Loire 44 Loire-Inférieure 45 Loiret 46 Lot 47 Lot-et-Garonne 48 Lozère 49 Maine-et-Loire 50 Manche 51 Marne 52 Haute-Marne 53 Mayenne 54 Meurthe 55 Meuse 56 Morbihan 57 Moselle 58 Nièvre 59 Nord 60 Oise 61 Orne 62 Pas-de-Calais 63 Puy-de-Dôme 64 Basses-Pyrénées 65 Hautes-Pyrénées 66 Pyrénées-Orientales 67 Bas-Rhin 68 Haut-Rhin 69 Rhône 70 Haute-Saône 71 Saône-et-Loire 72 Sarthe 73 Seine 74 Seine-Inférieure 75 Seine-et-Marne 76 Seine-et-Oise 77 Seine-et-Marne 78 Seine-et-Oise 79 Deux-Sèvres 80 Somme 81 Tarn 82 Tarn-et-Garonne 83 Var 84 Vaucluse 85 Vendée 86 Vienne 87 Haute-Vienne 88 Vosges 89 Yonne.

Chapter 3 – REBIRTH OF SCHOOL WORKS

Even after the suppression of the Institute, many of its members had not abandoned their teaching vocation, as the results of the *Survey of the Year XIII* show (LS 6, 267).

The wish of Napoleon Bonaparte to associate the Brothers of the Christian Schools with the work of restoring elementary teaching, permitted them to take charge, once again, of schools in the localities where the Brothers had been present in the 18th Century or in a growing number of towns or villages to which they had been invited. This went slowly at first under the Empire but the movement accelerated at the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France. Besides, the Brothers had taken charge of new works in some other countries.

In their actions the Brothers had suffered a certain number of constraints and had encountered obstacles. But, on the other hand, especially towards the end of the period, future evolutions were announced.

Advance in the number of schools

After Napoleon Bonaparte's assumption of power in November 1799, at the time known as the "Consulate", he set about reorganizing elementary teaching, notably by the law of 11 Floréal of Year X (May 1st 1802). From the same year, municipalities, wishing to open primary schools in their communes, or other persons wishing to take over a school founded in the 18th Century, called upon former members of the Institute. These re-opening of schools were often a prelude to the re-establishment of a certain number of "houses" as we have seen in the preceding chapter (see p. 51). From the moment that the Institute was thus restored, the number of appeals made to it multiplied; either to return to localities where the Brothers had been present or to come to new localities.

– Re-establishment of schools in places where the Brothers had been present

It is not surprising that, where the Brothers had been appreciated, people wanted to benefit once again from their help. Thus:

– In Orléans (Loiret) on May 23rd 1806, the Municipality asked the Director-General of Public Instruction, Fourcroy, for "the re-establishment in the city of former 'scholar brothers'" (RA NC 733-1/2). Br. Libère, also called Br. Cendre (family name), who had stayed in the city, was called upon for this.

– In 1807, Br. Luc, former companion of Br. Moniteur at St-Malo (see LS 6-235) arrived in Grenoble to re-establish the former schools of the Brothers.

– Br. Pierre Martyr (J.A. Nignot) with the young Brothers Nicolas and Jean de la Croix, re-opened the school at Crest (Drôme) in 1809.

There is no need to multiply these examples. When Br. Frumence died at the beginning of 1810, one can estimate that the Brothers in France were again holding classes in about a dozen localities where the Institute had been present before the Revolution. Under Br. Gerbaud, up to the end of the Empire, this movement continued. In the list of communities which Br. Gerbaud enclosed with his letter to King Louis XVIII (see p. 28) one can pick out, that of the 51 “establishments” which they have in France, the Brothers are once again present in 30 of the localities where they had been in the 18th Century.

During the period of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France, the number of localities to which the Brothers returned after the Revolution followed an evolution similar to that of the “houses” as has been described in the previous chapter (see pp. 51-55). In all, according to the list of Br. Guillaume, on which we have relied, from 1814 - 1828 the Brothers returned to 55 of the localities where the Institute had been implanted in the 18th Century, which along with the 30 already counted, represents a sizeable total out of the hundred towns and villages where the Brothers had run schools in the 18th Century.

– **The taking over of schools in new localities**

At the time of the Napoleonic Empire, in many of these cases one can detect the influence of Cardinal Fesch. Thus he asked for Brothers for his native Corsica. In answer to his wishes two Brothers from Rome and three others sent from Lyon, found themselves in Ajaccio in 1806. The Cardinal also intended to get Brothers, to supply as a priority the diocese of Lyon of which he remained Archbishop, even though he was French Ambassador in Rome. Thus, under the direction of Br. Pigménion, a small community took charge of a school in Trévoux (Ain) in 1805. In the *département* of the Loire which was then in the diocese of Lyon, a community was established in Saint-Étienne in 1806; three other foundations followed. The Brothers were in Villefranche-sur-Saône (Rhône) from January 1807.

Under Br. Frumence, the Brothers were also called to different places. Even if he didn't take the initiative, former Assistant Br. Lothaire, gave his help in 1806, for the open-

ing of a school in the parish of the Cathedral in Besançon. Br. Géronce was sent as Director of the new house. It was to respond to the desire of the municipality of the small town of Ornans (also in the Doubs), that Br. Irénée, in spite of his age, suggested to the Br. Vicar-General that he would run a school there with his brother, Br. Donat-Joseph (see LS 6, 272); he became Director of the new community in 1808. The Brothers also became established in the Ile Saint-Louis in Paris in 1806.

At the time of Br. Gerbaud, up to 1814, the localities which obtained Brothers were almost all in the same regions as those already indicated. This was the case in the Lyon region for La Guillottière, at the gates of Lyon, Annonay, Roanne. Near Besançon were Vesoul and Gray. In Paris, the house of St-Nicolas-des-Champs was opened. The only exceptions were Auray in Brittany, where the Br. Superior acceded to the requests of the parish priest, and Chambéry, in Savoy, where the Brothers were called in 1810. Nearby, in 1813, an attempt to start a school in Geneva, which was also under French administration, failed because of the opposition of the Calvinists. In all, from the end of the Revolution up to 1814, the Brothers established themselves in 18 new localities in France.

Later, during the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy, the Brothers came to take over schools in towns and villages spread across the whole country. Based upon the list drawn up by Br. Guillaume de Jésus which we have already used, one can put at 98 the number of new “houses” established in France between 1814 and 1828 (compare with the table in the previous chapter).

Thus the total number of localities to which the Brothers returned and those in which they established themselves after the Revolution and up to the end of the period being considered here, is around 200, that is, twice as many as in the course of the 18th century.

– Implantation outside France

Already present in **Italy**, both in Rome where they had schools at *Trinità dei Monti* and *San Salvatore*, as well as in Orvieto, the Brothers saw their works enjoying a certain development from 1815 onwards.

In the Papal States, in 1817, a school was opened in Bolsena. Shortly after his election, Pope Leo XII showed his interest in the Brothers and their work by visiting the school in *San Salvatore*. He announced his intention to confide a school in Spoleto to the Brothers. In addition, he agreed with the King of France, Charles X to install in a former convent of the Minimes, some religious Sisters and Brothers of the Christian Schools of French nationality; but only the Sisters occupied this house. Four Brothers

who arrived in Rome on March 24th 1828 had to wait till June 13th 1829 to take possession of a house in the parish of *Santa Maria dei Monti*. The presence in Rome of these Brothers depending directly on the Superior-General, beside those of the two houses placed under the authority of the Brother holding the title of Vicar-General, was not without causing some difficulties, if only because of the difference in their roles. It has been mentioned how the Brothers who were present in Savoy, were introduced into Turin in Piedmont, at the beginning of 1830 (see p. 32).

In what is now **Belgium**, during the French Revolution, Bros. Julien and Agapet (Jean-Louis and François Joly) with Br. Michée (Jean-Nicolas Bourgeois) had run a boarding-school at Saint-Hubert (Ardennes) from 1791. After the re-establishment of the Institute they were considered as being part of it and their house was recorded in the list presented to King Louis XVIII in 1814. After the death of Jean-Louis (Br. Julien), François (Br. Agapet) and Br. Michée retired to Dinant where the Brothers had been called by the municipality to open a school in 1816. In the same way, so that the children of the commune could be educated in the Catholic faith, the mayor of Namur, supported by the Bishop of that diocese, called upon the Brothers; they arrived in 1818. Next it was some charitable persons in Liège, in 1819, and in Tournai, in 1821 who confided a school to the Brothers. What became of the schools opened in these towns, has been explained already (see pp. 32-33).

In the years following 1815, the Brothers were also called to distant regions.

During the Revolution some French priests were forced to leave for **the United States**. One of them having become Bishop of New Orleans, but living in St. Louis, and not having won his case with Br. Gerbaud, renewed his appeal by means of the Holy See. The Br. Superior after having given a favourable response, chose 3 young Brothers who embarked on July 3rd 1817 and arrived on September 4th. After a certain delay the Brothers taught together for three years at the Academy * of Sainte Geneviève, near St. Louis. But later, having been dispersed, they left the Institute.

Bourbon Island (now Réunion) having been given to France in 1815, the government authorities asked for some Brothers to open schools there.

A recent study shows that the objective was to educate the children of 'ruined' whites and freed blacks who, considering physical work as degrading - because it was reserved for slaves - were reduced to poverty. This work of Raoul Lucas entitled: *Putting schools in place in a society where slavery was followed by colonialism: Réunion Island (1815-1846)* can be found (in French) in RA under NM 360 (page 103).

In 1816, Br. Gerbaud asked for Brothers for this distant territory; he said that he himself was prepared to go there. On September 18th six Brothers headed for Rochefort; they landed at St-Denis on May 18th 1817. They were divided into groups of two, in three localities. Two quickly returned to France, two others left the Institute and the remaining two separated to look after a school each. There was just one Brother left when a new group of five Brothers arrived in 1826. These Brothers stayed together in St-Denis. They were talked into putting white and coloured children into different classes, which the Br. Superior said he would allow, in a letter of March 15th 1827 (RA EE 275/4). Two of these Brothers were replaced by two other in 1829.

In 1820, Br. Gerbaud was asked to send brothers to French **Guiana**. After a certain delay, on June 15th 1822 he asked for three Brothers for this mission. Finally it was Br. Guillaume de Jésus who in 1823 picked three Brothers for Cayenne. They embarked on July 17th and arrived on September 23rd. ‘The mixing of some sons of slaves with free-born pupils caused some protests’, writes Georges Rigault (4-497); the Brothers could teach only catechism to the former. In 1825 the Director of the community returned to France. Later his successor would cause the ruin of the establishment.

Using a statistical summary to be found following the alphabetical list of houses of the Institute established by Br. Guillaume de Jésus, which has already been used, it is possible to get an idea of the development of the school works of the Brothers towards the end of the period under consideration here. Based on these statistics, according to the number of classes depending on each of them, the “houses” of the Institute, both in France and outside France, were divided like this in 1829:

No. of classes	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	12+	
No. of houses	131	54	23	12	7	8	= 235

This table shows a division fairly similar to that in the 18th Century, with a marked predominance of houses having only a small number of classes to serve.

– Constraints endured

Napoleon I counted on the Brothers to teach the elements of knowledge to the children of the masses but equally to teach them religion considered as the basis of morals and submission to public authority. On this second point the objective of the Brothers was wider because they understood it to be not only to teach catechism to the children

but to give them a Christian formation. Still they had to enter into the views of the Emperor by educating the children to respect the established authority. To what extent did they use the *Catechism for the use of all Churches of the French Empire*, called “The Imperial Catechism”? This had been composed at the request of Napoleon and had a special chapter which dealt with ‘duties of citizens towards the head of State’ (RIGAULT 4-96). Protected by Cardinal Fesch, uncle of the Emperor, the Brothers ‘could not escape this mandate’, according to Georges Rigault (4-98).

As for the teaching given in the schools, it had to limit itself to reading, writing and arithmetic, as fixed by a decree of November 15th 1811. Besides, if the Brothers were “associated” with the University, it was solely to run schools. There was no question for them of giving an education like that which they gave in special classes or boarding-schools in the 18th Century. Even the right to take in boarders in primary schools was limited in 1812.

With the return of the Monarchy the objective fixed for elementary teaching remained the same. But as we shall see, the possibilities for widening the action of the Brothers began to emerge towards the end of the period.

– Difficulties encountered

As was already the case in the 18th Century, very often the Brothers encountered material conditions which hindered their work. They did not always get the 600 francs per year asked for to enable each of them to live. At the time of the Empire, since the central power represented by the Prefect controlled the budget of the municipalities, it happened that the sums set aside for the payment of the Brothers were reduced automatically. The buildings given to the community or to the classes were not always adapted; they were sometimes unhealthy, as in Besançon.

Linked to the above, an important source of difficulties for the Brothers came from attacks against the principle of gratuity. Since we will be dealing with this question later (see p. 194 ff) we won’t dwell on it here.

If, in France, at the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy, problems of a financial nature seem not to have been so acute, it was rather, at least in the early years, the attitude of certain people in power with regard to the Brothers which was an obstacle to their work (see p. 28 ff).

But the main obstacle to the development of the work of the Brothers came from their lack of numbers to deal with the constant flow of requests to open schools, which were

addressed to the Institute. If this problem posed itself even during the years when the Institute was going through a strong expansion (1817 - 1823), it was felt much more in the years that followed (1823 - 1829) as is testified to by the smaller growth in the number of houses (see p. 54). The correspondence of Br. Guillaume with those asking him for Brothers, echoes the decline noted. He tells them he has to postpone the sending of the promised Brothers because of unexpected losses. A letter of July 27th 1826 indicates different reasons for this:

“Death has taken from us this year a good number of subjects on whom we had hoped to count; many others have left to join the seminary or under other pretexts; the new congregations which have been established in different parts of France have also attracted many subjects who might have come to us...” (RA EE 272-1/22 - let. 367).

This delay caused some of those applying to him to have recourse to one of these congregations. But these were also contacted, in preference to the Institute, for other reasons: they agreed to send individual Brothers; they more easily agreed to let the communes collect a contribution * from well-off families; the installation of a new community did not lead to such high expenses nor was financial help required for the support of the novices as was the case with the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The **complement** which follows this chapter is devoted to these ‘New Congregations of Teaching Brothers’.

The beginnings of future developments

– During the time of Br. Gerbaud

At the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy, there was added to the increase in the number of schools the beginnings of diversification in the work of the Brothers. The ordinance of 1816 foresaw that certain important schools could offer lessons to candidates in “the art of teaching”. In some houses the Brothers participated in this way in forming teachers; so it was at Auray where a subsidy for this purpose was given to them in 1817. In Lyon, the Prefect who, under the Empire, had founded the first training-college in Strasbourg, asked the Br. Superior in 1821, to admit trainee teachers to the Petit Collège: 16 candidates followed the lessons of the Brothers during the second term of 1822. But Br. Gerbaud remained cautious for fear of overworking the Brothers (cf. RIGAUT 4, 471).

When it was a question of opening a “Sunday school” at St-Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris, Br. Éloi, who wrote to the Director of this house on August 8th 1820, recognized

the value of this but he thought that it “shouldn't start immediately”. On the other hand, the Br. Superior agreed that four Brothers should, from 1817, look after the children of the house of correction and apprenticeship of the “Refuge” in Paris (RIGAULT 4-454).

In Béziers, a priest, Jean-Jacques Martin, bought a house in September 1818 to establish a school run by the Brothers. They arrived in 1820. But the intention of the benefactor was that a boarding-school should be set up, since the buildings were sufficiently big. Br. Gerbaud, while wishing that the Brothers should devote themselves totally to popular education, gradually became involved in this project, but he never saw its realization.

– Under Br. Guillaume de Jésus

Under Br. Guillaume the diversification already begun took shape more fully. The negotiations already ongoing concerning the establishment of a Teachers' Training College in Rouen to be entrusted to the Brothers, ended with agreement in principle in 1823. The Superior would have liked it to be established at least on part of the property of Saint-Yon, but he had to accept that it be set up in the former Friary of Saint-Lô. In the end, the training-college, whose Director was to be Br. Calixte, only started in 1829.

As some people were in favor of the creation of classes for workers, the Brothers were asked to open some. Br. Guillaume showed himself reluctant, because of the excessive work this would demand from the Brothers. In 182, he declined an offer from the Mayor of Saint-Étienne in this sense. On the other hand, in Lille, a “school” run by the Brothers posted there, accepted workers between eleven in the morning and one in the afternoon; in a letter of April 6th 1826, while the Br. Superior expressed himself satisfied, he explained “the reasons which prevented him for the moment from opening a second” (RA EE 275/22 - let. 334).

Requests began to be made more and more clearly in favor of the creation or the re-establishment of boarding-schools. In Béziers, to benefit from the bequest of the priest Jean-Jacques Martin, who died on October 23rd 1824, the boarding-school wished for by the donor, had to be organized. The Br. Superior who had been for a long time at the boarding-school in Marseille, addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff, on February 28th 1825, a petition in which, after having recalled that the Brothers had run boarding-schools up to the time of the French Revolution, said that:

“the suppliant being required by several towns to re-establish the said houses, wishes, so as to

remove any fear on the subject of the vow [of gratuity] that Your Holiness will, if you judge it suitable, authorize the Brothers to re-open the boarding-schools” (quoted in RIGAULT 4-508).

The reply, given on March 21st, in the name of Pope Leo XII, left “to the judgement and the prudence of the Superior General, the faculty of re-establishing, on the advice of the Assistants, the holy and very useful houses for children in boarding-schools, in addition to houses created for public schools...” (quoted in RIGAULT 4-508).

The authorization of the Grand-Master of the University for opening boarding-schools was not accorded till July 21st 1829. A request coming from Nancy seeming to lean towards the re-establishment of a “boarding-school by force”, Br. Guillaume refused: “similar houses having caused too many serious problems in the past” (quoted in RIGAULT 4-510).

Conclusion

In a *Manual for Teachers* which he published in 1826, a Vicar-General of the diocese of Amiens, Denis-Auguste Affre, referred to the principles of the Founder of the Christian Schools as well as to *The Explanation of the 12 Virtues of a Good Master* of Br. Agathon. This priest felt, however, that the *Conduct of Schools* ought to be enriched with new supports. The revision of this book, which Br. Gerbaud had re-edited in Lyon in 1811, was called for by the Chapter of 1822; undertaken in 1827 this revision culminated in a new edition in 1828. One finds there, among other things, recommendations relative to the organization of schools of three classes, in the use of decimal arithmetic.

This edition reveals the situation in which the Brothers found themselves. On the one hand wishing to remain faithful to the pedagogical tradition of the Institute, orientated above all towards the teaching of children, they wanted to respect this text as much as possible; at the same time they were conscious of the necessity of taking into account a certain number of changes which had occurred. But, no doubt to avoid too much tampering with a venerable text, the modifications added remained timid.

3. *NEW CONGREGATIONS OF TEACHING BROTHERS*

In the big movement of re-christianisation which followed the Revolution in France, the school was considered an essential means because it was able to allow the formation of new generations in a Christian spirit. But in order that the school could bear this fruit it was necessary that the teachers be not only Christians but that they should be animated with apostolic zeal. It was necessary also that they should be sufficiently available and notably, in view of the miserable material conditions of the school masters, that they should not be obliged to take on another occupation. Only the members of religious Congregations devoted to teaching, were able to respond to such demands. Under the Empire, the Brothers of the Christian Schools had regained their legal existence, but they still remained few in number. Moreover, the conditions put in place for obtaining them, meant that they were quartered in the towns. As a result, in order to replace them, especially in the countryside, there was the start of a blossoming of religious teaching Congregations, in diverse regions of France.

This study will be based mainly on the thesis of Pierre Zind (a Marist Brother) published under the title of *The New Congregations of Teaching Brothers in France from 1800-1830*. As does this author, we will limit ourselves to male congregations and to France.

Initial Foundations

As has been noted, the motivation of the founders of Congregations was of an apostolic nature but in the realization of their project other considerations intervened.

Frequently what led to the founding of new Orders of teaching Brothers, was the desire to substitute for the Brothers of the Christian Schools, since the latter could not respond to all the appeals. The conditions which the Institute laid down for supplying Brothers (see p. 55), could have led to wishing to obtain Brothers who might have been only two or even one, which ended up less expensive and which allowed for a contribution being asked from some parents.

Some founders of Congregations for whom the “missions” preached in the parishes were the fundamental means of working at re-christianisation, considered the “secular Congregations” * and the Christian schools as necessary complements to these “missions”. They made an effort to gather into one Society, priests, Brothers and Sisters. It also happened that the founders of female Congregations intended for teaching girls, judged it necessary to create Congregations of men to take charge of schools for boys.

Certain founders also wanted Brothers who would also serve as assistants to parish priests of small country parishes.

For one or more of these reasons, a relatively large number of Congregations of Brothers were founded in France at the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy, sometimes with antecedents at the time of the Empire or even of the Revolution. These new foundations will be considered from the point of view of geographical location.

– In Bordeaux

A priest, Guillaume-Joseph Chaminade, at a time when he exercised his ministry in a clandestine manner, had already conceived the project, in 1796, of founding a new religious Congregation. Having been obliged to flee to Spain during a new wave of persecution, and seeing on his return the disastrous situation of youth, he encouraged two members of a “Marian congregation” which he had established, to open a Christian school; we have mentioned how these two teachers, Louis-Arnaud Lafargue and Joseph Darbignac joined the Brothers of the Christian Schools under the names of Brothers Éloi and Paulin (p. 55) and how the novitiate opened in Bordeaux became attached to that of Toulouse (p. 56).

The difficulties which still presented themselves at the time of the Empire in re-establishing religious life in France led M. Chaminade to think that one could live this religious life without giving it the external signs: habit, name... After the Empire, while keeping his idea of a religious life under a secular form, he dreamt of establishing real communities of religious men and women. The male branch took form when the first five members made a spiritual retreat under the direction of M. Chaminade in 1817. From its beginning the **Society of Mary of Bordeaux** offered the possibility of leading the religious life in the ecclesiastical state, as a lay educator or a religious servant. On December 11th 1817, the first seven “Marianists” pronounced private vows before the founder of their society, but he himself did not take on any engagement in the Society. The aims of the new Congregation were very broad but they were mainly centered on the running of teaching establishments and that of “secular congregations”. A secondary school was opened in Bordeaux before a primary school was taken over in Agen at the end of 1820.

– In the Lyon region

The Vicar-General of Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyon, Claude-Marie Bochard, took up again a project he had already thought of before the Revolution, of creating an

association of priests destined to replace the Jesuits. In the spring of 1816, eleven aspirants came together and marked the beginnings of the **Society of the Cross of Jesus**. The priests were destined to preach the missions and to provide seminary professors. The Brothers were intended to run primary schools.

In 1814, in the seminary of Lyon, Jean-Claude Courveille told a number of his confreres of his intention of founding a society of priests intended to preach in the countryside. On July 23rd 1816, the day after their ordination, twelve young priests consecrated themselves to Mary with a view to founding a Society of Mary; then they dispersed to exercise their ministry in different places.

Among the twelve was Marcellin Champagnat, who, having been named Vicar at Lavalla (Loire), was particularly interested in the welfare of children. Having himself experienced difficulties in learning the basics of knowledge, he wanted the country children to be able to receive a teaching like that given by the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the towns. For this purpose he envisaged founding a congregation of “Little Brothers”, as distinct from the “Big Brothers”, those of John Baptist de La Salle. With this objective in mind he gathered around him two young men who formed the first community of **The Little Brothers of Mary**. In 1818 he made his first disciples sign a promise of fidelity.

A member of the Society of the Cross of Jesus, André Coindre, who had contributed to the formation of a female congregation devoted to looking after children, wished to create one of men. With this in view, in 1820 he brought together three future schoolmasters. He left the Society of the Cross of Jesus and, as he was having difficulties in the diocese of Lyon, he agreed to go and found a Society of diocesan missionaries in the diocese of Le Puy (Haute-Loire). He also transferred there his novitiate of **The Brothers of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary**.

– In the West

Gabriel Deshayes, who had been ordained priest in Jersey in 1792, had during the Revolution led the dangerous life of a refractory * priest. Named parish-priest of Auray (Morbihan) in 1805, one of his first preoccupations was to give a Christian education to the children of the parish. He asked for some Brothers of the Christian Schools; Br. Frumence did not reply. But the intention of this priest was to found a Congregation of Brothers who would substitute for those of the Christian Schools, while being associated with them. In 1816, Br. Gerbaud having convoked a General-Chapter, Gabriel

Deshayes informed him of his project and asked him to submit it to the Chapter. But the Chapter was not interested. During this time the parish-priest of Auray had begun to gather some disciples. He tried in vain a new appeal to Br. Gerbaud. So his congregation of **The Brothers of Christian Instruction** became entirely autonomous.

Jean-Marie de La Mennais, then Capitular-Vicar of the diocese of Saint-Brieuc (Côtes-du-Nord), while waiting for a new bishop, asked in May 1817 for the sending of three Brothers of the Christian Schools to take over again the school which their predecessors had run in the Episcopal town before the Revolution. He was also in touch with Gabriel Deshayes. Thus, thanks to the latter, a Christian school was opened in a small parish of the diocese. However, J.M. de La Mennais continued to press Brother Gerbaud to hasten the arrival of the Brothers in Saint-Brieuc, as a mutual school was about to open there. This was because he and his brother Félicité were violently opposed to the "Lancastrian" * schools: to combat these it was necessary to multiply the Christian Schools.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools not being sufficient in number for this, J.M. de La Mennais and G. Deshayes made an agreement in June 1819. Together they created a school of the "Little Brothers" in Dinan. A novitiate of these Brothers was opened at Saint-Brieuc in June 1819; the fruitfulness of the novitiate allowed Monsieur de La Mennais to open schools, often with a single Brother, to counter the offensive of mutual teaching.

Auray remained the centre for the Brothers of Christian Instruction. A retreat combining the Brothers depending on each of the two Superiors was followed by the taking of the habit and religious profession in September 1820. But in 1821, M. Deshayes was called to the Vendée as superior of two Congregations founded by Grignon de Montfort. J.M. de La Mennais took charge of all the Brothers of Christian Instruction in Brittany. Some novices from Auray having followed M. Deshayes, this marked the beginnings of a new congregation of Brothers. In 1821, those known as **Brothers of Christian Instruction of the Holy Spirit** (from the name of the house in Saint-Laurent-sur-Sèvre) numbered eighteen.

The ordinance of February 29th 1816 forbade the Sisters to receive boys in their schools. In the diocese of Mans (Sarthe) the parish-priests of small parishes asked that there be created a work comparable to that of the "Little Brothers" of Brittany. In 1819 this was confided to a priest, Jacques-François Dujarié, who had founded a Congregation of the Sisters of Providence. The objective was to form masters who could also be sacristans and who, under the name of Brothers of Saint-Joseph, would go alone into the rural parishes.

– In the North-East

In Lorraine it was a Benedictine, Joseph Fréchar, who, after being exiled and having led the life of a refractory priest, gathered some young people in 1817 to prepare them for the role of ‘teacher-clerics of the Church’ to complement what was being done by the “Sisters of Providence” in the countryside. In this way there came into existence the congregation of **The Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Nancy**.

In Alsace, the Superior of the Congregation of “The Sisters of Divine Providence of Ribauvillé”, Ignace Mertian, got Dom Fréchar to send him some members of his congregation to run a “French school”. Called upon in October 1820 to give information on this school, the Mayor of the commune added that Monsieur Mertian proposes to create an establishment of Brothers for the two Rhine départements which could not get Brothers from Lyon (F.S.C.) because of the German language which had to be taught concurrently with French (cited in P. ZIND, 152). It is the first official mention of a diocesan foundation of the **Brothers of Christian Doctrine of the Diocese of Strasbourg**.

– In the South-East

A priest, Joseph Vernet, the Vicar-General of the Diocese of Mende (Lozère), had installed himself in 1803 in a village where he was Superior of a house of Sisters. Wishing to look after orphans and to instruct other children, he had planned to create a congregation of Christian teachers. But his effort failed. With the arrival of Louis XVIII, J. Vernet took up his plan again. Counting on the members of a religious association which was at the service of a pilgrimage, he formed a small group of **Brothers of Our Lady Help of Christians**, a name under which the Virgin Mary was honoured in this area, but all they could do was take charge of a small boarding-school.

Later evolutions

In the period which followed their foundation, the majority of these Congregations asked for the legal “authorization” required by the Ordinance of February 29th 1816. This authorization allowed them to provide school masters for the communal schools and to obtain a dispensation from military service for their young members. A copy of this document to be found in RA (EN 100/8) and dated 1839 gives a list of Congregations having been thus authorized and allows us to know what their situation was at the time. A table taking up only the details given as to the “authorization” received, will serve later, to say briefly what became of these Congregations and of some others which haven’t been mentioned, up to 1830 and sometimes a little beyond.

“Authorized” Congregations of Teaching Brothers

- 1. Association of Brothers of St. Anthony: authorized June 23rd 1820 for all of France;
- 2. Society of Mary of Bordeaux: authorized November 16th 1825 for all of France; united to this Society: the Congregation of Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Strasbourg: authorized December 5th 1821 for Alsace;
- 3. The Congregation of Christian Instruction of Ploërmel: authorization May 1st 1822 for Brittany;
- 4. The Congregation of Christian Instruction of the Diocese of Valence: authorized June 11th 1823 for Hautes-Alpes, Drôme and Isère;
- 5. The Congregation of the Brothers of Christian Instruction of the Holy Spirit: September 17th 1823 for Loire-Inférieure, Maine-et-Loire, Deux-Sèvres, Vendée, Vienne and Charente-Inférieure;
- 6. The Congregation of the Brothers of St. Joseph of the Holy Cross near Le Mans: January 25th 1823 (Sarthe and Mayenne);
- 7. The Society of the Brothers of Christian Instruction of the Diocese of Viviers: March 10th 1825 (Haute-Loire and Ardèche);
- 8. Institute of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine of St. Yon: recognized by decree March 17th 1808 for all France, today the Brothers of the Christian Schools, FSC.
- **N.B.** The Congregation of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Nancy which has ceased to exist: authorization July 17th 1822 for Meurthe, Meuse and the Vosges;
- Authorization of December 3rd 1823 of the Brothers of St. Joseph for all the rural communes of the Somme;
- Authorization of June 15th 1825 of the Brothers of the Cross for Oise, Eure, Seine-et-Oise, Eure-et-Loir, Seine-et-Marne.

Two older Congregations which do not come within the scope of the present study, figure on this list.

Cited first, the **Society of the Brothers of St. Anthony** was not new since it was a continuation of that of the Tabourin Brothers of the 18th Century (LS 6, 86). Reconstituted in 1802, it was the first to be authorized. It had schools in Paris, in Seine-et-Marne and in Yonne. Cited at No. 8, under the name of Institute of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, which was often applied to it at the time, is the Institute of **The Brothers of the Christian Schools**. It is clearly stated that it was “recognized”, unlike the other Congregations, which were “authorized”.

– First Foundations

Congregations cited in the list

Through its different branches, the **Society of Mary** spread across the Aquitaine region. In October 1822 the male branch counted twenty professed religious: four priests and sixteen lay-Brothers. That same year, under the cover of the Brothers, M. Chaminade tried to obtain legal authorization for the priests as well as the Brothers but the attempt failed. In addition, he responded to the expectation of the Rector of the Academy of Besançon by organizing for teachers, not only spiritual retreats but also “teaching courses”. For the Brothers of Mary, the formation of school-masters fitted in well with the spirit of their Congregation. Another distinctive feature of the Brothers of Mary was their interest in professional formation, especially rural; they added a section for this to their training-schools in Franche-Comté. After the Ordinance of February 1830 which foresaw the organization of at least one of these schools in each département, the Brothers of Mary drew up a plan of formation spread over three years, for this type of establishment. But following the Revolution of 1830 this plan collapsed. Before this, moves with a view to obtaining legal authorization succeeded in 1825.

On the list, in reference to the Society of Mary, there is mention of **The Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Strasbourg**. At the beginning of 1821, Ignace Mertian told the Bishop of Strasbourg of his intention of asking for legal authorization for his Congregation. The Bishop, who had wished to introduce the Brothers of the Christian Schools, nevertheless recognized the advantage of having a Congregation of Brothers knowing the local dialect. Official authorization was accorded. After a first attempt, the Congregation joined up with the Society of Mary in 1826. Later (in 1843), Ignace Mertian would use the benefit of this authorization to the advantage of a new Congregation known under the name of Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Matzenheim, from the name of the location of their main house.

At No. 3 there is mentioned the Congregation of **The Brothers of Christian Instruction of Ploërmel**. It was the university authorities who judged it best for this Congregation that it obtain legal authorization. On December 1st, J.M. de La Mennais sent to the President of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, a plan which he had drawn up with G. Deshayes in order to spread schools in the small communes. This plan was presented in the form of a prospectus which the Royal Council considered as giving the statutes of the Congregation; the authorization was accorded. The prospectus, having been widely distributed, brought about the arrival of many postulants. The Mother-

House of Saint-Brieuc was moved first to Josselin (Morbihan) and then to Ploërmel (same département) in 1824. J.M. de La Mennais foresaw that in addition to the novitiate at the Mother-House, secondary novitiates would need to be opened in various places; so he created one in Tréguier (Côtes-du-Nord), mainly for novices needing to know Breton, the language spoken in the region. The Brothers spread throughout three of the five départements in Brittany. At the end of 1824, they numbered 90 in 40 schools, several of which had only one Brother.

The branch of the **Brothers of Christian Instruction of the Holy Spirit** (or Brothers of St-Gabriel) created in the Vendée, also developed. To avoid rivalry between the two Congregations, the two founders, in August 1823, took the Loire as the line of separation. In June of the same year, Gabriel Deshayes took steps with a view to obtaining official authorization for his Congregation of Brothers; he was successful. With novices becoming numerous, the establishments were multiplied. In 1824 there were 14, including one in Provence which was to be the starting point for an extension of the Congregation in that region.

In the table, one then finds the Congregation of the **Brothers of St-Joseph of the Holy Cross** (near Le Mans). These adopted the statutes of the "Little Brothers" of Brittany. Their founder, having asked for legal authorization in October 1822, he managed to get it extended to Mayenne département, which was beside Sarthe. The schools run by the congregation spread rapidly.

At No. 7 we find the Congregation of the **Brothers of Christian Instruction of Our Lady Help of Christians**. The diocese of Viviers (Ardèche) having been established in 1823, the new bishop named a priest as superior of the Congregation and put him in charge of drawing up the statutes. The bishop approved these in 1824 and transmitted them to the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Instruction. The steps taken came quickly to fruition. The too hasty formation of the novices did not help the development of the Congregation, which later (in 1844) had to merge with that of the Little Brothers of Mary.

In the N.B. there is mention of the **Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Nancy**. With a view to obtaining legal authorization, their founder sent the statutes of the Brothers of Strasbourg. Having taken these with just indispensable modifications, he easily obtained recognition. The Congregation was not big in numbers but earned the praise of the localities where the Brothers worked. The document used above says that the Congregation had ceased to exist; we do not know when.

Congregations not given on the list

Among these is the **Society of the Cross of Jesus**. Its founder having been dismissed from his position as Vicar-General of Lyon, he organized it in Ain. It contained thereafter more Brothers than priests and developed especially at primary school level. But the founder did not get the authorization he had asked. He found himself accused of upsetting the clergy of Lyon by his words and writings. The confusion which this caused brought about the disappearance of the society.

Founded in Lyon, the Congregation of the Brothers of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary developed in the region of Le Puy. The bishop of the diocese tried to get a royal ordinance of authorization. In 1827 he met with a refusal. Since the Brothers of the diocese of Viviers were authorized, the bishops of Le Puy and Viviers agreed to combine the two congregations. An ordinance of November 29th 1829 extended the authorization of the Brothers of Viviers to the Haute-Loire; the Brothers of Le Puy considering themselves thus authorized, took the name of **Brothers of Christian Instruction of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary**. On several occasions the Congregation seemed on the verge of disappearing. Later, under the name of **Brothers of the Sacred Heart**, it was to experience new development.

The most astonishing thing is not to see on the list the **Little Brothers of Mary** who sprang into action after taking charge, in 1822, of a school in the little town of Bourg-Argental (Loire). In 1823 they founded as many schools as during the previous four years. They spread into the départements bordering the Loire. In 1824, the Brothers built, on some land they had acquired, Our Lady's Hermitage, where they placed their novitiate. That same year, Marcellin Champagnat gave to each Brother the fundamental rules of the Congregation. In 1825 he felt the moment had come to ask for official authorization but the difficulties brought about by two clauses in the statutes caused a delay and then a stop in the procedure. At the same time, while seeming to flourish, the Congregation had grave problems, notably because of the state of health of the founder. To strengthen the Congregation, Marcellin Champagnat understood that it was necessary to bind the Brothers by vows. The first taking of vows was on October 11th 1826 and in 1827 the Brothers put on a religious habit. A crisis broke out in 1828 because of a divergence between the Brothers and their founder over a method of reading and a detail of dress. Finally the vast majority of Brothers gave in. A new attempt to obtain legal authorization did not succeed in 1828 and another which was on the point of succeeding, fell through because of the 1830 Revolution. The Congregation would eventually be authorized in 1851.

– New Congregations

On the list of authorized Congregations, there figures at No. 4 that of **Brothers of Christian Instruction of Valence**. On the initiative of the Rector of the Academy of Grenoble, it was authorized even though it still hadn't a single member! A priest was put in charge of establishing it. In 1823 one, then several postulants presented themselves. When the presbytery where they were housed became too small, the parish-priest of St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme) suggested receiving the community in a former Dominican convent; they installed themselves there in October 1824. This Congregation would eventually merge with the Little Brothers of Mary in 1842.

In the N. B. one also sees two new Congregations mentioned. A Vicar-General of the diocese of Amiens, Denis-Auguste Affre, having suggested to his bishop to found a Congregation limited to the diocese, this bishop on August 20th 1823 announced the opening of a novitiate destined to provide school-masters for the countryside. The method of presenting the project led to some difficulties with the Ministry of Public Instruction. When the conflict was settled, the **Brothers of St. Joseph of Amiens** were authorized.

After the refusal by Rome to sanction a project to create an Order to defend “the Altar and the Throne”, the priest Poirier, who had been put in charge of this project, created a Congregation of **Brothers of the Cross**, intended to provide school-masters to assist the parish-priests of country parishes in the départements west of Paris. The Congregation was authorized but disappeared rapidly.

Besides the three new Congregations cited in the document, others were created. In the Jura département, the Bishop of Saint-Claude proposed that he too would found a Congregation of Brothers to provide school-masters and sacristans for small localities. He was helped in carrying out his plan by a layman, Gabriel Taborin. The new Congregation adopted the name and statutes of the Brothers of St-Joseph of Amiens. After a promising start, the Congregation of the **Brothers of Saint-Joseph of the Diocese of St. Claude** did not succeed in becoming stable. Gabriel Taborin, not wanting to merge with the Brothers of the Cross of Jesus, attempted a similar foundation in the diocese of Belley (Ain). This was destined to develop, from 1834 on, under the name of Brothers of the Holy Family of Belley.

The parish-priest of Vourles (Rhône), Louis Querbes, had the idea of founding a Congregation similar to that of the Brothers of St. Joseph of Amiens. He wished to provide the country parishes with school-masters who, having received the tonsure, would

help the parish-priests. In January 1829, Louis Querbes began to take steps with a view to having a Charitable Society of “Catechists of St. Viateur of the diocese and the Academy of Lyon” recognized. On January 10th 1830, King Charles X granted an ordinance which approved the statutes of “The Association of St. Viateur”, and authorized it, but under the title of ‘civil society’. When the Revolution of July 1830 broke out, the Association still existed only in theory. It was in November 1831 that the founder and his first two disciples became **The Clerics of St. Viateur**.

Conclusion

Among the first Congregations of teaching Brothers founded in the 19th Century, several were founded in reference to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In regard to the latter these new Congregations wished to be complementary; they also took them as a model. More or less rapidly, however, these Congregations became freed, not from a control which their ‘older Brothers’ had never wished to exercise, but from the role of complementarity which they had at first wished to maintain.

In the beginning, the needs were such that they didn’t have to fear a rivalry between “Little Brothers” and “Big Brothers”. But as soon as the former were themselves also established in the more important localities, this could have brought about competition, either because one group was being preferred to the other, or because the group in place was being driven out to be replaced by the other.

When all is said and done, it is because of these different types of relations that one cannot avoid being interested in the congregations of teaching Brothers founded at the beginning of the 19th Century.

Edmund Rice (1762-1844) and the Brothers of the Christian Schools

Edmund Rice, born in Ireland, was succeeding well in business when, aged 27, he lost his wife. This trial strengthened his faith. He became conscious of the need to create schools to educate Catholic children, often poor, according to their faith. In 1803, he built, at his own expense, a “monastery” and a school for boys. Several houses, independent of each other, opened on the same model. A Dublin priest encouraged him to unite these houses under the direction of a Superior-General and suggested they adopt the Rule of the FSC. After coming together in August 1817, the directors of these houses adopted this Rule with some adaptations. A Papal brief of Pope Pius VII approved the Institute on September 5th 1821. In 1822, Edmund Rice was elected Superior-General of the “Christian Brothers”.

It did not appear that at that moment these Brothers had been in contact with those of the Christian Schools. One can deduce it, however, from a letter dated May 8th 1826 which marks the beginning of an exchange of correspondence between the Superiors of the two Congregations. One of Edmund Rice's Assistants, addressing the Superior of the FSC, informs him, in effect, that "our Society has adopted your Constitutions and your Rules".

He also asks him for some information. The interest which Br. Guillaume de Jésus showed in the Congregation of Edmund Rice led him to attach a short notice on this Congregation in one of his note-books (RA EE 275/18); he also showed this interest by pursuing exchanges of correspondence with Edmund Rice, or one of his intermediaries, in a period which, according to certain letters, seems to have been fairly delicate for the young Congregation. This correspondence was continued by Br. Anaclet.

In 1838, Edmund Rice resigned as Superior: his successor kept up regular correspondence with Br. Philippe. Thus on October 10th 1844, the latter replies to his correspondent that he has received the letter announcing the death of "your Founder and Father, the venerable Edmund I. Rice" In the RA one finds a follow-up of this correspondence up to 1854.

B – PROGRESS (1830 – 1850)

After a phase during which it had been turned more towards the past, in 1830 the Institute entered a period when a certain number of evolutions led it towards progress of different kinds.

On the one hand this resulted from the accession to the head of the Institute of Superiors belonging to new generations of Brothers, Br. Anaclet and Br. Philippe. It was also due to the taking into account, by various types of general assemblies of representatives of Brothers, of demands which were coming to light, notably in the field of teaching.

As for the Institute itself this progress showed itself by a more and more substantial growth in numbers and by a pursuit of geographic expansion. This growth and this expansion led to some adaptations in the organs of government of the Institute. Notably, while maintaining a direct relationship between the central government of the Institute and the Brothers, an intermediate ‘layer’ was created under the name of District in France or Province in other countries. However, such a development was barely accompanied by any qualitative progress in the formation given to the Brothers, especially in the Novitiate.

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This progress was mainly felt in the field of education. In France, the beginning of this period was marked by the Guizot law of 1833 by which the State organized primary teaching, which until then had been rather neglected. The law gave a new orientation to this teaching by fixing the programs which defined the ‘contents’ to be taught at different levels. The Brothers were thus led to bringing in some adaptations to their ‘pedagogical code’, the Conduct of Schools. They did this during a “Committee” meeting held in 1834. This Committee also perceived the necessity of improving the professional formation of the Brothers. It made various propositions in this regard but these led only to rather restrained measures.

The law of 1833 also recognized the principle of “freedom of teaching” by widely offering the possibility of opening “free” schools. Thus the Brothers could more easily remain in places where they found themselves excluded from public education. In 1850, another law, the Falloux law, organized secondary education according to the same principles.

This latter law hardly concerned the Brothers, because all through this period, they continued to devote themselves almost entirely to primary education. The principal means open to them for enlarging their field of action was to extend it to adults by organizing evening classes. Since entry to work at the time was at a very early age in working class areas, the Brothers established the same type of class for young apprentices. They were also drawn to exercising their educational action in a certain number of prisons.

On the other hand the Brothers re-opened boarding schools with a view to offering to children and adolescents belonging to what one would call the 'middle class', the possibility of preparing themselves for their future profession in a Christian atmosphere. Furthermore, in keeping with their strong presence in primary education, the Brothers were also called to run some training colleges. Thus the work of the Brothers had a tendency to become diversified in different ways.

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The framework in which the above took place was that of 'the period of European Revolutions'. This period was characterized in fact by the alternation of periods when, in different countries, the political organization in place was called into question by revolutionary movements, and other periods when this organization was restored, or at least replaced by another fairly similar.

This was particularly true in France. In 1830 the legitimate monarchy was replaced by another called 'The July Monarchy'. In 1848, the revolutions which broke out in Paris put an end to this regime and re-established the Republic, but, very rapidly the organs of power passed into the hands of adversaries of the Republic. In that country the Brothers endured the consequences of these alternations in different ways.

At the same time, across Europe, revolutionary movements were threatening the organization of the continent put in place by the Congress of Vienna. In 1830, a movement of this type led to the Independence of Belgium. Under the regime put in place, the Brothers could return to the country and develop their work there. The troubles of national and liberal inspiration which affected Northern Italy in 1830 and 1848 were suppressed by Austria. Pope Pius IX having fled Rome when the Republic had been proclaimed in 1848, French troops put him back on his throne in 1850. The Brothers were not much affected by these events.

To the troubles of a political nature which affected Europe, others were added which found their origin in the social transformations resulting from the ongoing industrial revolution. The evolution of manufacturing conditions led in fact to the degradation of working conditions and of the lives of the workers in the new industries. They also threatened those in traditional trades which, in France, took the lead in revolutions of a social character which broke out in Lyon in 1831 and 1834 and in Paris in June 1848. Like the majority of Catholics, the Brothers were inclined to support the political leaders capable of protecting them from such disorder. This did not prevent some of them from being sensitive to the needs of the workers and working to try and respond to these needs.

The situation of continental Europe from 1830-1850 constitutes the context in which the History of the Institute during this period, is mainly set. For this reason it seemed judicious to get to grips with it in the first of the three chapters which will be dealt with successively:

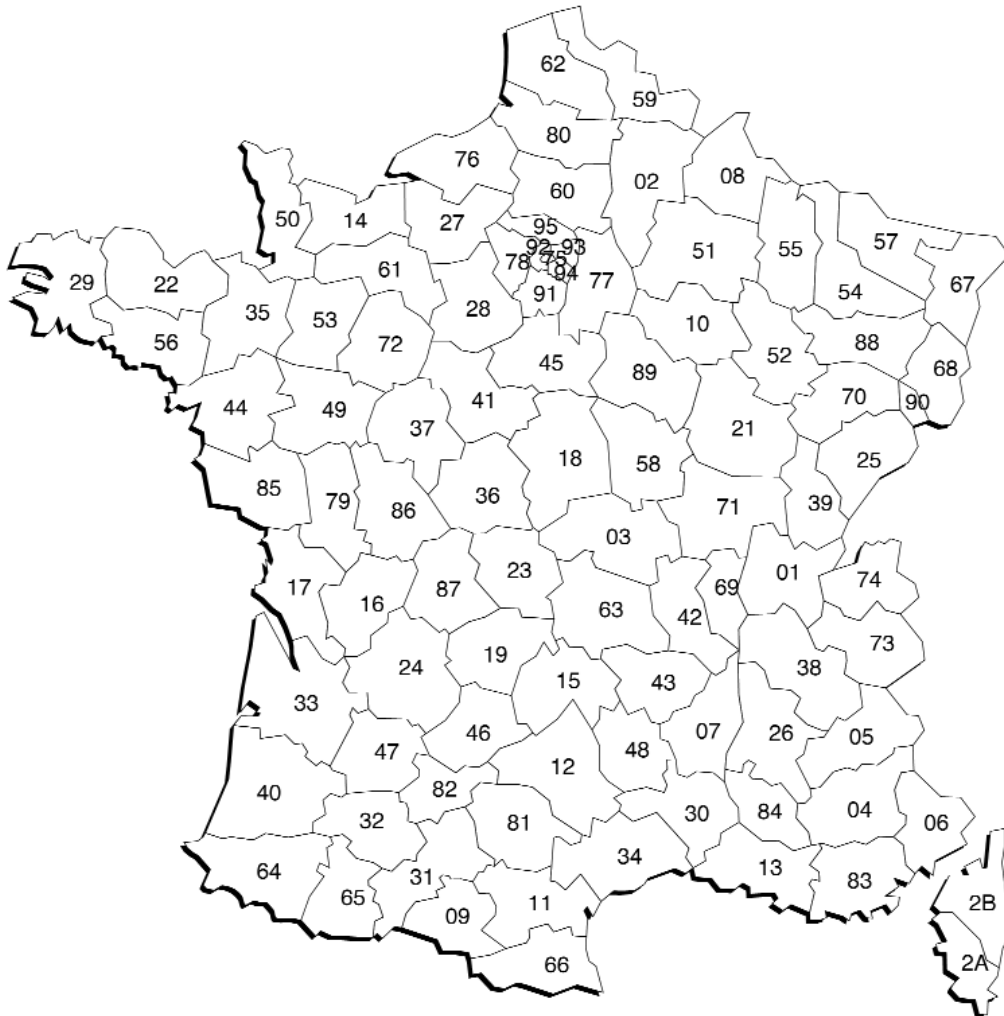
Chapter 4 - The Institute in the European context.

Chapter 5 - The Institute at the time of Br. Anaclet and at the beginning of the Generalate of Br. Philippe.

Chapter 6 - Advances in the work of the Brothers.

As for the date of 1850 being used to mark the end of the twenty years which are being studied, it is because on this date, almost everywhere, the events of 1848 had found their conclusion.

The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools between 1800 and 1838.
Number of communities by département.



The first number is the official marker of the département.

The second number, when marked, is the number of communities.

AIN 01 - 4

AISNE 02 - 2

ALLIER 03 - 1

ALPES-DE-HAUTE-PROVENCE 04 - 4

HAUTES-ALPES 05

ALPES-MARITIMES 06

ARDÈCHE 07- 5

ARDENNES 08 - 3

ARIÈGE 09 - 3

AUBE 10 - 2

AUDE 11 - 6
 AVEYRON 12 - 5
 BOUCHES-DU-RHÔNE 13 - 5
 CALVADOS 14 - 5
 CANTAL 15 - 2
 CHARENTE 16 - 1
 CHARENTE-MARITIME 17 - 1
 CHER 18 - 1
 CORRÈZE 19 - 2
 CORSE-DU-SUD 2A - 3
 HAUTE-CORSE 2B - 4
 CÔTE-D'OR 21 - 4
 CÔTES-D'ARMOR 22 - 1
 CREUSE 23 - 2
 DORDOGNE 24 - 1
 DOUBS 25 - 3
 DRÔME 26 - 4
 EURE 27 - 2
 EURE-ET-LOIR 28 - 3
 FINISTÈRE 29 - 2
 GARD 30 - 5
 HAUTE-GARONNE 31 - 3
 GERS 32 - 1
 GIRONDE 33 - 5
 HÉRAULT 34 - 8
 ILLE-ET-VILAINE 35 - 2
 INDRE 36 -
 INDRE-ET-LOIRE 37 - 2
 ISÈRE 38 - 4
 JURA 39 - 4
 LANDES 40 - 4
 LOIR-ET-CHER 41 - 1
 LOIRE 42 - 9
 HAUTE-LOIRE 43 - 4
 LOIRE-ATLANTIQUE 44 - 2
 LOIRET 45 - 4
 LOT 46 - 1
 LOT-ET-GARONNE 47 - 2
 LOZÈRE 48 - 1
 MAINE-ET-LOIRE 49 - 2
 MANCHE 50 - 5
 MARNE 51 - 6
 HAUTE-MARNE 52 - 5
 MAYENNE 53 - 1
 MEURTHE-ET-MOSELLE 54 - 2
 MEUSE 55 - 1
 MORBIHAN 56 - 3
 MOSELLE 57 - 1
 NIÈVRE 58 - 1
 NORD 59 - 12
 OISE 60 - 4
 ORNE 61 - 2
 PAS-DE-CALAIS 62 - 8
 PUY-DE-DÔME 63 - 4
 PYRÉNÉES-ATLANTIQUES 64 - 2
 HAUTES-PYRÉNÉES 65 -
 PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES 66 - 1
 BAS-RHIN 67 -
 HAUT-RHIN 68
 RHÔNE 69 - 11
 HAUTE-SAÔNE 70 - 2
 SAÔNE-et-LOIRE 71 - 4
 SARTHE 72 - 2
 SAVOIE 73 -
 HAUTE-SAVOIE 74
 PARIS 75 - 11
 SEINE-MARITIME 76 - 5
 SEINE-ET-MARNE 77 - 3
 YVELINES 78 -
 DEUX-SÈVRES 79
 SOMME 80 - 3
 TARN 81 - 5
 TARN-ET-GARONNE 82 - 1
 VAR 83 - 4
 VAUCLUSE 84 - 8
 VENDÉE 85 - 4
 VIENNE 86 - 1
 HAUTE-VIENNE 87 - 1
 VOSGES 88 - 1
 YONNE 89 - 4
 TERRITOIRE DE BELFORT 90
 ESSONNE 91- Cf Paris
 HAUTS-DE-SEINE 92 - Cf Paris
 SEINE-SAINT-DENIS 93 - Cf Paris
 VAL-DE-MARNE 94 - Cf Paris
 VAL-D'OISE 95 Cf Paris
 Ex SEINE-ET-OISE - 7
 GUYANE 973 - 1
 RÉUNION 974 - 3
 Worldwide : 330: France 282, Savoy 13, Italy 14,
 Belgium 16, Réunion 3, Canada 1. Guyane 1.
 Established by:
 Bro. Frumence : 32. Bro. Gerbaud: 142.
 Bro. Guillaume: 72. Bro. Anaclet: 34.

Chapter 4 – THE INSTITUTE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Orientation

The revolution which brought about the fall of Charles X in France ushered in across continental Europe a wave of agitation of a liberal and national character. The Institute suffered the repercussions from this in different ways in the various countries where it was already implanted.

In the same way, depending on the country, the situation evolved differently during the period following the return to order and which, in the main, was propitious for the development of the Institute.

Historic Resumé

The two phases of revolutionary movements which marked the period from 1830 - 1850, as well as the results, can be summarized in the following way as regards the countries where the Institute had been present during the preceding period.

1830

- In France: the overthrow of the legitimate monarchy and the establishment of a new monarchical régime of a liberal character called the “July Monarchy”.
- In Italy: troubles of a national and liberal inspiration in different States. Order reestablished by Austria.
- In Belgium: a revolution bringing Dutch domination to an end. Catholics and Liberals united to create a State founded on fundamental liberties.

1848

- In France: end of the July Monarchy; the setting up of a “Provisional Government of the Republic”.
- In Italy: uprisings having a mainly anti-Austrian character and of which Piedmont is the leading part.

1848-1850

- In France: under the Assembly intended to organize the Republican régime, revolts of a social character; reaction brought by these was favourable to the election, as President of the Republic, of a nephew of Napoleon 1st.
- In Italy: the Piedmont army beaten by the Austrian army. Driven out of Rome when the Republic was proclaimed, Pope Pius IX was re-installed following the intervention of French troops.

Once again, in 1848, following the revolution which broke out in Paris in February, a series of revolutionary movements affected continental Europe and led to more notable political changes than in 1830. However, these events did not affect the Institute in the same way as those of 1830.

Developments in France

– Results of the Revolution of 1830 (1830-32)

The victory obtained by the popular insurrection did not benefit the supporters of the Republic. It was diverted by the bourgeoisie in favour of a new king, Louis-Philippe of Orléans. The revolution which provoked the fall of the legitimate monarchy brought about a reaction against those who had been linked with it, notably the Catholic clergy. This resulted in a strong anti-religious upsurge. The Brothers were not spared. In Paris especially, they had to adopt secular dress and a certain number had to leave their communities. Above all, across the country, the “liberals” having often taken control of the municipalities, they profited from this to establish or re-establish mutual education, which they still favoured; in a relatively large number of towns, schools of this type were created to replace those of the Brothers. These measures were sometimes accompanied by violence (cf. RIGAULT 5, 30).

The right to open “private” schools still existed. Thus, very often, the Brothers excluded from public schools by the municipality, continued their work in schools opened thanks to the generosity of benefactors. ‘In a statement of 1837, Br. Anaclet records a total of 72 establishments as victims of the July Revolution. But he adds that 50 of them were maintained or replaced by subscriptions from families and benefactors’ (RIGAULT 5, 33).

The events taking place in France in 1830 had few echoes in **Bourbon Island** (Réunion) and had no influence on schools on the island. Neither had they any effect in **Guiana** where the school opened in 1823 still had three classes with 44 white children and 78 “coloured” children in 1831. But in July, the school fell through because the Director, Br. Carloman, having been suspended because of scandal, the two other Brothers preferred to return to France.

– Period of the July Monarchy between 1833 and 1848

Already, Casimir Périer, placed at the head of the government in March 1831, had led a policy of appeasement, while at the same time severely putting down the riots in Paris

and the revolt of a social nature of the workers in Lyon in November 1831. He died of cholera in 1832. The government constituted in October of that year pursued the same policy. And even if revolutionary agitation continued up to 1836, one could detect a noticeable evolution from 1833 onwards. Relation between Church and State underwent ‘a more rapid and complete change than one could have foreseen’. (ROGIER, L. *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Église* 4, 330). Anti-religious hostility calmed down. Thus the Br. Superior-General could announce to the Institute in his Circular of December 17th 1833 that the Brothers in Paris had re-adopted the religious habit (No. 77).

In the field of education, 1833 was the date of a fundamental law for organizing primary teaching in France. The Minister of Public Instruction, Guizot, started two preliminary enquiries: one in various European countries, to study their different education systems; the other across France to find out the exact state of primary education in the country. The law voted on June 28th 1833:

- prescribed that each commune of more than 500 inhabitants maintain at least one primary school; teaching there had to be gratuitous for poor children; for other children the parents could be obliged to pay a contribution;
- recognized the right to open free schools but made them subject to certain conditions;
- in all schools, moral and religious formation had to be joined to instruction properly so-called; municipalities could call upon religious Congregations to run communal schools.

Thus the Brothers could continue to be involved in public education. But the application of certain dispositions of the law brought about certain difficulties for them.

The conditions for giving the Brothers the “certificate of ability”, in force at the time of the Restoration, were no longer valid since 1830; to obtain this certificate, the Brothers, just like other teachers, had to take an examination beforehand. Br. Anaclet, Superior since 1830, had obtained the dispensation that only Brothers in charge of a school had to undergo this examination (cf. RIGAULT 5, 99). The law of 1833 seemed to extend this obligation to the Brothers teaching in the “lower classes”. Minister Guizot, replying to the request from Br. Anaclet, agreed that the Brothers considered as “sub-masters” did not need to obtain this certificate. On the other hand, every Brother sent to a school from then on, had to ask for the approval of the academic authorities (cf. RIGAULT 5, 102).

The law allowed the municipalities to demand a contribution from parents judged capable of paying. In places where the Brothers ran communal schools, the Superiors

asked the municipalities not to demand this contribution so as “not to depart from the principle of gratuity”. However this disposition of the law brought about difficulties in a certain number of cases. These difficulties, in general, were surmounted in the first ten years of the July Monarchy. Since we will be dealing with the question of gratuity later (p. 194) there is no need to dwell on it further here.

In different places where political struggles led the municipalities to substitute mutual schools for those of the Brothers, rivalry continued to oppose the partisans of the two types of schools. In such cases, the Br. Superior-General tried to reduce the tension. Elsewhere, the weakening or the disappearance of the mutual school led *de facto* to an end to such rivalry (cf. R. TRONCHOT 1, 458).

Under the July Monarchy, the Catholics kept their distance from the régime but showed themselves loyal to it. Guizot, taking account of this good will, proposed to the deputies, in January 1836, a bill on secondary education, but the amendments proposed distorted the bill and it was withdrawn. New negotiations were undertaken on this subject between 1839 and 1840. Several successive bills did not satisfy the Catholics. But this debate did not directly concern the Institute.

If the law of 1833 on primary education was largely accepted, it was because with it there was not as much at stake as with secondary education. It was through the latter that the formation of the ruling classes passed and it was also through it that social promotion took place. It was difficult for the State to relinquish control of it and both liberals and Catholics took pains to dispose of this means of exercising their influence. It was with this aim above all that the Catholics tried to obtain recognition for freedom in education (see the **Complement** following this chapter).

In Guiana the attempt made in Cayenne was not renewed. As against this, three new Brothers were put at the disposal of the Ministry of the Marine for Bourbon Island on March 9th 1833. They consisted of Bros. Jean de Matha, Scubilion and Vétérins. On June 23rd 1835 six new Brothers disembarked on the island. A report of May 13th 1843 mentions that “the Brothers have started daily catechism classes for the Blacks” (cited in F. André FERMET, *Frère Scubilion*, 111). They also participated in the campaign of “moral improvement” of slaves undertaken ‘to prepare them for the liberty foreseen by all clear-spirited minds - especially since 1840 - and to finally bring about emancipation without violence’ (id. 117). With this in view, the Minister of the Marine asked the Br. Superior-General “to bring together, on a trial basis, some chosen persons who would be exclusively attached to the work of emancipating the black race” (id. 114). Br. Philippe,

Superior-General, did not fully enter into the Minister's views, but he did send 10 Brothers to the island in 1845 and 10 others in 1846.

For a number of years the idea of liberating the slaves had been making progress in France. The planters themselves understood that the work of the slaves was counter-productive. In July 1845, the Chamber of Deputies made a final attempt to reform the system of slavery in the French possessions, but it was only a half-measure. It was necessary, however, to prepare the slaves for the condition of free men, while encouraging them to continue working, including working for their former masters. Among those working on this problem were found the missionaries who were consecrating themselves to the evangelization of the slaves, notably the Brothers (cf. R. LUCAS, p. 291 ff.).

– Repercussions of the Revolution of 1848 (1848-1850)

During the Revolution of October 1848, the Brothers of the boarding-school of Passy suffered some anxieties and those in Lyon were victims of real aggression, but, in general, the Brothers did not meet with the same unfavourable reactions as in 1830. From March 7th 1848, Br. Philippe addressed a Circular to the Brothers inviting them to continue their work under the Republican régime (RA EF 307).

On the other hand, in a letter of March 30th, the Br. Superior painted a rather sombre picture of the situation: fear over the suppression of houses; they needed to consider abandoning training-colleges, prisons and apprentice schools (RA EE 277-61/1). A reference made in the same letter leads us to think that the cause of these “disasters” stems from the nomination as Minister of Public Instruction and of Cults, of a republican, Hippolyte Carnot, the son of the former revolutionary who had exercised the same functions during the “Hundred Days”. In a letter of April 14th Br. Philippe seems a little more reassured. But a bill on primary education, which was being prepared, could not but raise his fears as is shown in a double study of this bill which is found in the RA (RA EE 277-3/11 and 12).

One could think that it was in these circumstances that Br. Philippe, Superior-General since 1838, fearing that the Institute could find itself in the same situation as in 1792, asked the Pope for the powers necessary to dispense the Brothers from their vows, if the circumstances demanded it. In the RA we find, in fact, an *indult* dated March 28th 1848, replying to this request (RA EE 277-1/12).

Elections with a view to naming members of a constituent Assembly, took place on April 23rd 1848. According to the terms used by Br. Philippe in a letter of April 29th, the

results of these elections were “favourable to order”. However, these results and measures taken by the new government provoked a popular rising from June 24th to 26th. This was fiercely put down. The Catholics who, in general, supported the “party of order”, contributed to the election in December 1848 of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (nephew of Napoleon 1st) as President of the Republic. The Brothers lined up on this side. Still, they continued to work for the improvement of the social conditions of workers by receiving in their courses or works for adults.

The politics of 1848 being favourable to **the emancipation of the blacks** in the French colonies, the provisional government of the Republic decreed the suppression of slavery on April 24th 1848. In Bourbon Island (to be known from then on as Réunion Island), the event was celebrated officially on December 20th 1848. The freeing of the slaves took place without any trouble; but only a certain number of the newly-freed continued to work for their former masters. The catechization and “moral improvement” had to continue for these freed slaves.

Brothers, Apostles of the Slaves

Already, before the liberation of the slaves, some Brothers had prepared this by evangelizing the blacks after their day's work. When these slaves were freed, these Brothers continued their work with them by catechizing them and giving them a minimum of instruction.

The best known of these apostles of the slaves was Br. Scubilion (Jean-Bernard Rousseau). Born in France not far from Vézelay, he entered the Institute in 1822 and arrived on Bourbon Island on July 14th 1833. Teaching the children during the day, he catechized the adult slaves in the evening. Continuing his work for the “freed slaves” from 1850 he devoted himself solely to this apostolate in “La Possession”, where he had been sent. When he died at Sainte-Marie on April 13th 1867, he was the object of veneration by the population.

But many other Brothers shared the same apostolate. It is thus that in 1863 a long necrological notice was devoted to Br. Méning (Joseph Ducarme), who died at 43 years of age. This Brother, born in Belgium in 1820, entered the novitiate of Namur in 1841 and embarked in 1846 for Bourbon Island, where he devoted himself to the evangelization of slaves before and after their liberation. In 1850 he was put in charge of the novitiate. In addition, Br. Parascève (Jean-Baptiste Jurine), who arrived as a missionary at the age of 43, ‘was to teach the adults and the children of the island, giving them admirable examples of work, obedience and asceticism’ (RIGAUT 5, 291).

In the **field of education**, the bill drawn up by Hippolyte Carnot was rejected in December 1848. The new Minister of Public Instruction, Falloux, drew up another bill to organize secondary education. Prior to this, two commissions were constituted. Br. Philippe was called upon to present himself before one of them on February 3rd 1849; he

again participated in the work of this commission on February 7th and 10th. The bill was placed before the Legislative Assembly on June 18th 1849. Falloux was no longer Minister when his bill was examined by the deputies. The law voted in on June 18th 1850 granted, notably, a wide freedom to open secondary schools, as the Catholics wished. The Falloux law did not concern the Brothers much; however in recognizing the possibility of giving a “complementary” teaching and that of opening “primary boarding-schools” after a simple declaration in advance, it favoured the creation by the Institute of this type of institution in France.

The situation in Italy

– The Events of 1830

The troubles which broke out in 1830 in the Pontifical States and in the Duchies of Parma and Modena were quickly put down by Austria which wanted to maintain the organization of Europe established by the Congress of Vienna. The work of the Brothers in Rome, Orvieto, Bolsena and Spoleto did not suffer from this. Neither did the Brothers in Piedmont suffer from the troubles of 1830. After the death of King Charles-Félix in 1831, the new sovereign, Charles-Albert, who had shown “liberal” tendencies and encouraged mutual teaching, also showed himself favourable to the Brothers.

The authority of the seven sovereigns who shared the Italian Peninsula was re-established. But, after 1830, the liberals supported the national movement of *Risorgimento*. They were, however, divided on the method to use to drive out the Austrians and on the régime to install. The Pope being sovereign of one State, some wished to place him at the head of a confederation of kingdoms and duchies. For others, who wished to install a republic whose capital would be Rome, keeping the Pope as a sovereign was seen as an obstacle. Thus the nationalist movement nourished the hostility of the liberals towards the Catholic religion.

The Brothers could not but suffer the repercussions. However, after 1830, those in the Pontifical States suffered rather from internal tensions resulting, to some extent, from taking over in 1835 the orphanages of Termi, founded by Pope Gregory XVI before his election in 1831 (see p. 118). The latter, during his pontificate, encouraged the opening, in his States, of schools confided to the Brothers: Benevento 1835; Viterbo 1838... During the same period in the Kingdom of Sardinia (Sardinia, Piedmont and Savoy) the progress of the Institute continued without obstacle. In Turin the Brothers saw the primary schools of the city confided to them in 1831. They opened others in different towns.

– The Revolutions of 1848

The measures taken by Pope Pius IX after his election in 1846 had been well received but they gave rise to turmoil. In 1848, following the February Revolution in Paris, the Pope, on March 14th, promulgated a “statute” for the governing of these States. This did not suffice to disarm the opposition. The Brothers saw themselves expelled from several localities in a climate of anti-religious hostility (RIGAULT 6, 13).

For his part, King Charles-Albert of Piedmont, accorded a constitutional status to these States on May 4th 1848. When riots broke out in Milan and Venice in territories under Austrian domination, he was encouraged to take charge of the anti-Austrian crusade. He entered Milan on May 30th but on July 25th 1848 he was beaten at Custoza. Charles-Albert having again taken up the struggle, he capitulated at Novara on March 23rd 1849. He was then replaced by Victor-Emmanuel II. During these events the Brothers continued their activities. After the defeats, they took their part in the “regeneration” of the kingdom, but the new sovereign was less favourable to them.

On November 15th 1848, Rossi, the principal minister named by Pius IX, was assassinated. Threatened by riots, the Pope took refuge at Gaeta in the Kingdom of Naples, on November 24th 1848. On February 9th 1849, the Roman Republic was proclaimed. The President of the French Republic, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, sent troops who recaptured Rome. The Brothers in the city had not left their schools. Only the French Brothers of the house of *Santa Maria ai Monti* had left during the attack on the city (RIGAULT 6, 17). The Pope, however, waited until April 1850 before returning to Rome.

New Presence of the Brothers in Belgium

– Under the system of constitutional liberty

The revolution which broke out in August in Brussels was not of the same nature as that in France: through his inability to understand his Belgium subjects, the King of the Netherlands had united the Catholics and the Liberals against him. The revolt was successful also in the provinces and Belgium proclaimed its independence. The Constitution of 1831 was founded on the recognition of fundamental liberties including those of education and association. The Catholics profited from it to multiply free schools.

In this context, the Brothers were able to return to the new kingdom. From 1830, Br. Anaclet received a request along those lines from Namur (cf. RA NG 201/3). In February

1831, Br. Claude (Claude-Marie Bouthiau), former superior of the Brothers in Belgium, came to study the situation on the spot. The promoters of the Namur initiative were able to dispel the fears of the Superior-General by showing him the difference between the Belgian and French revolutions (RA NG 201/3). Classes began from March 1831. In the same year a novitiate opened again in Namur.

It was also in 1831 that the town of Verviers received the Brothers, before the latter returned to the two localities where they had been before 1825: Tournai in July 1831, Liège in 1832. This year also saw the arrival of the Brothers in Brussels, the capital of the Kingdom, as well as in Nivelles.

Teaching in Belgium remained under the system of “constitutional liberty” established in 1831 and continuing up to 1842. During this period, the Catholics contributed actively to the program of Primary education in the country by multiplying free schools. The Brothers participated in this progress by taking charge especially of schools of this type, as much in Flanders as in Wallonia. In 1842 the Brothers numbered 145 and looked after 16 establishments with 7,130 pupils (cf. RIGAULT 6, 91).

– After the law of 1842

The law of September 23rd 1842 organized Primary education. The role of the provincial and government administration found itself reinforced: however, communal independence remained strong. The municipalities could themselves continue to establish schools or obtain authorization to “adopt” free schools. If the freedom to create schools was regulated, nevertheless they continued to survive. In the teaching programs defined by the law, religion had its place. However, from the passing of this law, the creation of free schools tended to diminish. The Brothers submitted to the obligations of the new law; for their establishments their preference went towards the system of “adoption”, even if this brought with it a certain number of restraints (cf. RIGAULT 6, 117). The development of the Institute in the country did not slow down, since in 1847, there were 210 Brothers in 29 establishments (id. 102).

However, the Brothers saw themselves becoming the object of the hostility of the liberals when the latter were in charge of the communal administration. Such was the case in Liège and Brussels. After the break between Catholics and Liberals in 1847, the question of education began to pose problems. Thus, on April 28th 1848, the Minister of the Interior, who was in charge of Public Instruction, in a letter “to the Provincial of the Brothers of the Christian Schools”, reminded the latter that the Brothers could not be

moved from the communal schools without authorization (cf. RA NG 201/10). Br. Sancien (Louis Désiré Lesecq), named Visitor in 1847, agreed to conform to this obligation (cf. RIGAULT 6, 119). As against this, the events which marked other countries in 1848, did not affect Belgium or the Brothers who worked there.

Conclusion

At the end of this chapter, one thing, it seems, needs to be picked out and noticed. It is the attitude of the Brothers, at least in France, with regard to the revolutionary troubles of the period, an attitude of which Br. Philippe seemed to be particularly representative.

During a day of rioting in 1832, he wrote to his mother: “The shooting has been ringing in our ears for more than 24 hours and chilling the people with a real shiver of fear... Today calm has been reestablished, everyone has come back into line, the government has triumphed completely” (RA EE 277-1/6). One finds the same expression in a letter of April 29th 1848 where he says: “The big demonstrations which took place in Paris have saved order” (RA EE 277-1/1).

In March 1848, in a circular which he addressed to the Brothers to invite them to continue to fulfill their “duties” under the new régime, he writes to them: “Tell the parents... that the instruction and the education of their children will be in harmony with the dignity of the citizen... Tell the workers that we love them as brothers, that our life is for them...” (cited in RIGAULT 5, 281).

This passage bears witness to the fact that Br. Philippe had a real interest in the workers and he encouraged the Brothers to multiply works in their favour. But, on the other hand, he condemned the popular risings as threatening “order”. The Brothers certainly shared the sentiments of their Superior and in that they were like the majority of Catholics. In fact, few among the latter were mindful of the social causes of the “disorders” which they denounced, so that, in spite of the multiplication of charitable works in favour of the victims of economic development, a trench was being dug between these and the Church.

4. *THE CONQUEST OF FREEDOM OF EDUCATION*

Freedom of education has been mentioned a number of times in the preceding chapters, but this simple reference does not enable us to note the importance which this question began to take on, at least in France and Belgium, in the 19th Century. It is necessary therefore to stress how the claim for freedom of education was born - in France or in the regions which were under its influence, at the time of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire - from the desire of the State to establish a national system of education over which it exercised control. Besides, it is necessary to show how the Catholic Church relied on this claim to obtain the right to create teaching establishments in which the Church could continue to exercise its influence on youth, when it had not sufficient possibility or even none at all, to do so within the official school system.

The Demand for Freedom of Education

In France, under the Ancien Régime, the organization of schools was not within the remit of the Royal Powers, even if the latter sometimes intervened to encourage an increase in teaching establishments. The creation of these was the fruit of local initiatives: of communities of inhabitants, parishes, individual benefactors. In these conditions freedom of education existed *de facto*; not only was there no need to demand it, but it was a notion foreign to the period. As for the Catholic Church, it favoured the progress of education and exercised a control over teachers.

In the domain of education, as in others, the French Revolution marked a break. To forge the unity of the nation, it seemed necessary to the Revolutionary Assemblies to establish a national school system. The various plans drawn up aimed therefore at putting in place at the various levels of education, an ensemble of establishments organized and controlled by the State (see LS 6, 209). In so far as elementary education was concerned, the successive plans drawn up were not applied, through lack of resources. In the face of this failure they came back to confiding to local collectivities the task of creating and running schools and recognizing the right of citizens to open private schools.

At the time of what has been called the “Consulate”, they continued to do the same where elementary education was concerned, while secondary education was given in schools under state control or in colleges created by the communes. However, individuals could be authorized to give this education, subject to a certain number of guarantees.

Under the different forms of government which were to succeed each other in France in the 19th Century, the tendency to affirm the pre-eminence of the State in matters of

education alternated with that of giving more latitude to private initiative in the name of freedom of education. One found a similar situation in Belgium. The present Complement in limiting itself to the two countries mentioned, will also keep to the first half of the Century.

– Under the Napoleonic Empire

As has already been said (see p. 22), when the Emperor Napoleon 1st reorganized teaching in France, he created the Imperial University; the latter having above all as its objective to assure the success of the *lycées*. Emerging from a revolution, he judged it necessary to impose a monopoly on education. Thus private establishments were themselves placed under the control of the University. As for primary schools, if they depended on communes or were the result of private initiative, they came equally under the University's supervision.

In spite of the constraints imposed on private secondary establishments, the Catholics had created notably “junior seminaries” intended to prepare young people intending to become priests. But as the *lycées* suffered from the competition coming from such establishments, Napoleon reinforced school monopoly by a decree of November 1810. For the last two years of secondary education, the private establishments, including the junior seminaries, had to send their pupils to the *lycées* or official colleges.

Could the Catholics have claimed greater freedom to educate their children? The “Imperial despotism” would hardly have allowed it. Besides, the régime, showing itself anxious to respect the conscience requirements of Catholics, gave a religious basis to public education and authorized the existence of private establishments. In actual fact, the spirit which reigned in the *lycées* was not designed to satisfy Catholics. However, to the degree that they could place their children in institutions, notably the junior seminaries, where they were given a Christian education along with other teaching, they were satisfied.

– At the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France

On the collapse of the Empire, at the time which was called the **First Restoration**, the University seemed to be one of the Imperial institutions which had to disappear first. Wasn't it the form which had been given to “national education”, considered at the time one of the foundations of a new society? And had it not also been instituted by Napoleon to exercise monopoly in education?

However, while waiting for a new organization of education, the Royal Ordinance of June 22nd 1814 retained the University on a temporary basis. This maintaining of an institution whose disappearance was desired, annoyed especially those who wished the Catholic Church to reclaim the role which it had exercised in the domain of education under the Ancien Régime. When Napoleon came back to France at the beginning of 1815, a decree of February 3rd reestablished the University, without, however, the modifications brought about by the decrees of 1811. But on June 18th, the defeat of Waterloo resulted in another abdication of Napoleon!

At the beginning of the **Second Restoration**, an Ordinance of August 15th 1815 again retained the University provisionally. In the final analysis, the latter was kept and with it educational monopoly. Moreover, the government in power followed the same politics as the Empire by recognizing and giving sufficient place to the Church, in the organization of the University. Thus the Ordinance of February 29th 1816 placed Primary education under the control of the University but gave a role to the clergy. These conciliatory dispositions ran into opposition, however, from an influential part of the clergy, who considered that the right to teach is one of the prerogatives of the Church. Others, such as Father Félicité de La Mennais, attacked the monopoly of the State in matters of education, by claiming in the name of the rights recognized by the Declaration of 1789, the freedom for everyone to teach and educate.

However, the question of educational monopoly did not preoccupy all Catholics, in so far as religion kept a primary place in the programs of public establishments and where those who wished had the possibility of placing their children in private establishments. Besides, the word “freedom” sounded badly in the ears of some: had not the word, under the Revolution, covered a lot of tyranny? And didn't the freedom being claimed run the risk of favouring the creation of establishments which, if not irreligious, would be at least neutral?

Under the more clearly royalist government formed in 1821, the function of Grand Master of the University was re-established in 1822. The elections of 1824, gave back a majority to the intransigent royalists. The Ordinance of April 8th 1824 to some extent put Primary education back in the hands of the clergy: it obliged lay * teachers to obtain a certificate of religious instruction; the authorization to teach was given to them by the bishop or by a mainly ecclesiastic committee. The more intransigent were, however, unhappy that the University retained the power to deliver the certificate of competence necessary for teaching. The liberal press, on the other hand, rose up against the new regulations. However, during these years and up to 1828, the debate around educational

monopoly, among Catholics, calmed down and demands for freedom of education became less forceful.

In 1827, legislative elections gave the majority to the liberals. An Ordinance of June 1828 limited the influence of the Church in Primary education. Above all, it aimed to reduce the competition which religious establishments offered to the *lycées*. It especially attacked the Jesuits by forbidding “non-authorized” Congregations to teach, and also junior seminaries, which up until then had enjoyed favourable treatment. Mainly intended to prepare for entry to seminaries, they also admitted the children of Catholic families who wished to give their children a secondary education in a Christian atmosphere. The Ordinance limited to 20,000 the number of their pupils.

These measures brought about a renewal of interest in freedom of education; Catholic newspapers showed themselves ‘unanimously favourable to the rights of teaching and learning’ (Louis GRIMAUD, *Histoire de la Liberté d’Enseignement en France* 5, 321). Because of the polemics to which the Ordinance of 1828 gave rise, numerous writings published in 1828-1829 deal with the question of educational freedom. On the occasion of the debate with regard to the Jesuits, this freedom was demanded in the Chamber of Deputies.

– In Belgium under the Dutch Monarchy

We need to quickly recall what has already been said on this subject (see p. 32). From 1815 the Belgium provinces had been placed under the domination of William 1st, King of the Netherlands. Catholic education was developing there. The prosperity of the Catholic establishments began to worry the Court of the Hague. From this arose a deliberate step towards educational monopoly; it consisted of unifying Dutch and Belgium education (cf. RIGAULT 4, 563). Royal decrees of June 1825 suppressed the junior seminaries; future priests would have to attend “philosophy colleges” before entering the seminary. A softening of these measures came about on June 20th 1829, but in vain.

In answer to agitation led by the clergy and some lay Catholics, measures were taken against religious teachers (see p. 29). In growing numbers Catholics came round to the idea of uniting their claims with those of other opponents of the régime, on the question of liberties. Catholics placed under the domination of William 1st led a campaign in favour of freedom of education. The idea of a coalition between Catholics and Liberals, launched in 1829, found encouragement in the writings of Félicité de La Mennais. But instead of trying to calm things, the king and his entourage pushed people towards revolt by the measures they took.

Recognition of Freedom of Education

– In the early stages of Independent Belgium

The religious war led by William 1st against the Catholics was one of the causes of the insurrection of 1830. On the night of August 24th/25th 1830, the troubles broke out in Brussels and spread to the provinces. They led to the independence of Belgium. The National Congress which met on November 10th was asked to draw up a Constitution * based on the program of the Union of Liberals and Catholics. The demands of the latter were almost all inscribed in the fundamental Act; the freedoms of religion, education, association (for Religious Congregations especially), were recognized as constitutional. The system even gave off such an odour of liberalism, that Rome became worried. The freedom of education which was established by Article 17 of the Constitution had as its aim to protect religious freedom and the right of parents to have their children brought up according to their beliefs. As for the teaching organized by the State, the Congress wished it to be regulated by law.

From May 1831 on, the top management of education was in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior. The fundamental law having been proclaimed, each of the groups rivaled each other in multiplying universities, colleges and schools, thanks to constitutional freedom. The government only intervened through grants given in an informal way. Complete freedom of education did not displease the Episcopate which saw its schools multiply to the great disadvantage of the liberals. At the time, however, everyone was agreed that a religious formation be given in schools; the divergence was over how much authority to give to the Catholic clergy for the teaching of religion and morals (cf. Félix HUTIN, *L'Institut des Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes en Belgique*, T. II, 19).

However, the special law relating to education, promised by the Constitution, was slow in being drawn up. The attempts made, divided opinion. Therefore the status quo remained. The legislation of 1836 on provincial and communal organization, did, however, have some repercussions on education; it denoted a tendency of the central powers to turn to their profit the constitutional Act which guaranteed educational freedom.

If Catholics and Liberals glossed over their differences in 1830, ten years later the politics of union were still maintained in ruling circles, even though the Liberals were already trying to distance the Catholics from power. Such was the situation when J.B. Nothomb, in his capacity as Minister of the Interior, presented a draft law on the organization of Primary education (see p. 102). The law was promulgated on September 23rd

1842. In this law one finds the inspiration which, in France, guided the Minister of Public Instruction, Guizot, in drawing up the law of 1833 (see p. 97). Freedom of education was maintained, but no longer without limits.

– Under the July Monarchy in France

Following the Revolution of July 1830 which installed a new monarchical régime in France, the Assembly formed to establish constitutional rules for it, contented itself with revising the Charter * given in 1814 and announcing a certain number of reforms which would be the object of new laws. One of these was to reorganize Public Instruction and regulate the exercise of freedom of education. In making this promise, the Liberals, who were then in power, saw in the recognition of this freedom a means of establishing an education which, if not anti-religious, would be at least “neutral” (GRIMAUD 6, 117). It was not with the aim, obviously, of satisfying the Catholics, who were demanding this freedom. Quite on the contrary, the latter found themselves the object of hostility of those who reproached them with having given their support to the régime which had just been replaced by that called the July Monarchy.

The supporters of the new king, Louis-Philippe, who formed the government, did not hurry to draw up the law relating to the organization of education. On the other hand, a group of Catholics having at its head La Mennais, Montalembert and Lacordaire, were growing impatient. In December 1830 they formed a *General Agency for the Defense of Religious Freedom* with a view to obtaining, in particular, freedom of education. On May 9th 1831, the members of the Agency opened in Paris a school which was not authorized by the University. The court condemned the offenders to a fine, but this initiative attracted public attention to their cause.

Meanwhile, those in power restricted the influence of the clergy in the committees in charge of supervising primary schools. An Ordinance of March 12th 1831 took away from parish-priests any participation in the approval of primary school teachers. That of April 18th 1831 suppressed the privilege permitting teaching Brothers to obtain the certificate of competence simply on presentation of their “letter of obedience”.

Towards the end of 1832, the Minister of Public Instruction, Guizot, announced a draft law concerning **Primary education**. According to this draft, if the State did not take charge of this education, it demanded that each commune create and look after a school; besides this, the draft also concerned private as well as public schools. The law promulgated on June 28th 1833, fixed the conditions for the creation and functioning of public schools at elementary and superior level and of private schools of the same nature. Both

could be run by lay masters or by members of religious associations. The law, however, only concerned the teaching of boys.

What was new was that in order to open a private school, the law no longer required the teacher to obtain authorization but it demanded that he confirm his competence and his morals by presenting a certificate stating that he was “suited by his morals to engage in teaching”. The candidate then had to declare his intention of teaching, to the mayor of the commune. As soon as these formalities were completed, the teacher could open his school. For teaching morals and religion he had to take as his basis one of the cults “recognized by the State”, taking into account the wishes of the families. On the other hand, to run a boarding-school, special authorization was needed. Private teachers were, however, subject to close supervision.

The law handled the Church, since it allowed the opening of schools where children would be educated according to their faith, and the State, because public education was under its charge and the government could exercise a legitimate supervision over the other schools.

The law of 1833 did not give freedom of education and did not organize the exercise of education except in primary schools. So, those who had inscribed the principle of this freedom in the Charter, had mainly **Secondary education** in mind. But for this order of education how could the University be maintained while respecting the obligation required by the Charter to regulate by law the exercise of freedom of education?

In a draft law of February 1836, Guizot sanctioned a double fundamental principle: on the one hand the University was deprived of its monopoly in education since other establishments could exist without its authorization; and furthermore all citizens, lay persons, priests and members of Religious Congregations enjoyed the same rights and had to submit to the same requirements to open a teaching establishment. If the Catholics received this draft law favourably, this was not the case with the liberals. The debate modified the draft on two points: the “ecclesiastical school establishments” (junior seminaries) remained under the restrictions introduced in 1828; an amendment excluded from the benefit of the law “non-authorized Congregations”, essentially the Jesuits. The law which thus distorted the draft of Guizot, did not pass.

The ministers who succeeded each other from 1837 to 1840 were indifferent or hostile to the promise made by the Charter. From 1841 to 1846, Catholic circles were so annoyed by the delay in satisfying the demands of the Charter that they denounced the anti-Christian nature of official education; they launched a public opinion campaign.

This provoked in university and liberal circles a violently anti-clerical reaction. Several attempts to draw up a law, failed. Thus the conflict which persisted from 1830-1848 prevented the principle of freedom of education recognized by the Charter in 1830, from being applied to secondary education.

– At the time of the Second Republic

In general the Catholics rallied fairly easily to the republican régime put in place after the revolutionary days of February 1848. As against this, after the riots of a social nature of June of the same year, they rejoined the supporters of “order” (see p. 93). The Assembly elected in April with a view to drawing up a new Constitution *, adopted an article which carried the statement “education is free”. Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, candidate for President of the Republic, declared on November 29th that “the protection of religion involves as a consequence freedom of education” (quoted in RIGAUULT 5, 298).

The Prince-President elected in December 1848, was informed by the Minister of Public Instruction, Falloux, that he intended to undertake the re-organization of education and for this purpose he would form an extra-parliamentary commission. The latter sat from January to May 1849 (see p. 101). Many things separated the members of the commission; however, they came closer and arrived at a compromise. A report and two draft laws emerged from the debates.

As far as Primary education was concerned, the clauses of the 1833 law regulating freedom of education were modified. For Secondary education the draft law established a sort of sharing between the State and the Church, between the University which directed public education and the free establishments. On March 15th 1850, the law was adopted by a large majority in the Legislative Assembly. Primary education remained founded on communal autonomy but the Catholic Church could exercise its influence on it. At secondary level the law offered wide possibilities for opening free establishments, while applying conditions to this. On the Catholic side this did not satisfy the supporters of limitless freedom; neither did it satisfy the republicans and liberals. Nevertheless, this compromise law was destined to last because the 20th Century ended without this law being abolished.

Conclusion

The establishment of an educational monopoly in France or the extension to Belgium of a Dutch educational system, as well as the calls for freedom of education which result-

ed from this, were part of the conditions in which the Brothers exercised their educational mission in these countries and even in Italy at the time of French domination.

In France, the Institute had been officially re-established within the framework of the creation of the Imperial University through which educational monopoly was exercised under the Napoleonic Empire. Thanks to the flexibility of the application of the article of the decree of 1808 concerning them, the Brothers did not have to suffer too much from the constraints resulting from their association with the University. This was not the case in the Pontifical States, when the state education system of France was applied there.

At the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy, at least as far as France was concerned, in the years which immediately followed the return of the king in 1815, the Brothers had to endure the unfavourable consequences of having belonged to the educational organization inherited from the Empire. The situation later improved enough for them to be satisfied with it. On the other hand, in Belgium, they were victims of the wish of the royal power to extend the Dutch educational system to the Belgium provinces. However, one does not see them implicated in any claims whatsoever regarding freedom of education nor, anymore than in France, were they sensitive to the movement which began to develop to claim this freedom.

As against this, they could not but be favourable to the recognition of this freedom in the new Belgian State and to the possibilities this offered to return and to develop their work in that country. Likewise in France, the possibility of creating private schools, plus the official recognition of the right to open schools called "free", allowed the Brothers to make up for their eviction from a certain number of communal schools.

In the following part of the Century, they would continue to profit from the possibilities which the recognition of freedom of education offered them, while continuing to remain present in public education, although in different ways in France and in Belgium. Then, when they would be excluded from public schools, they could, thanks to this freedom, insert themselves solely in the network of free schools put in place by the Catholics. This was something which would not be without consequences for the Institute as we will be able to see.



Engraving from the painting of Br. Philippe
by Horace Vernet 1844, RAVELET, 522

Chapter 5 – AT THE TIME OF BR. ANACLET AND THE BEGINNING OF BR. PHILIPPE'S GENERALATE

Orientation

The election in 1830 of Br. Anaclet as Superior-General, corresponded to the end of the time of restoration of the Institute. During the time when he was at the head of the Institute, Br. Anaclet had governed it in the line of his predecessors, but some significant facts marked on his part a certain number of preoccupations, which, if not new, were at least becoming more insistent.

In the first years of Br. Philippe's Generalate, the Institute experienced the beginnings of a veritable explosion which showed itself by a greater and greater numerical increase and by the pursuit of the geographical extension of the Institute.

Chronological Reference Points

1830	General Chapter and election of Br. Anaclet	
1834	General Committee to re-examine the <i>Conduct</i>	
1837	General Chapter - approval of the Committee	Arrival of the Brothers in Canada
1838	General Chapter - election of Br. Philippe	
1839		Brothers in Geneva, Switzerland
1841		Arrival of the Brothers in Turkey
1844	Decennial General Chapter	
1846		First definitive implantation in the USA
1847	Special Commission to elect 2 Assistants	Arrival of the Brothers in Egypt
1850		Beginnings of the Brothers in Germany

The Time of Br. Anaclet (1830 - 1838)

– The General-Chapter of 1830

A Circular of June 10th 1830 announced the death of Br. Guillaume de Jésus as well as the convocation of the General-Chapter for the month of September. In spite of the repercussions of the events which marked the month of July 1830 in Paris, the Chapter

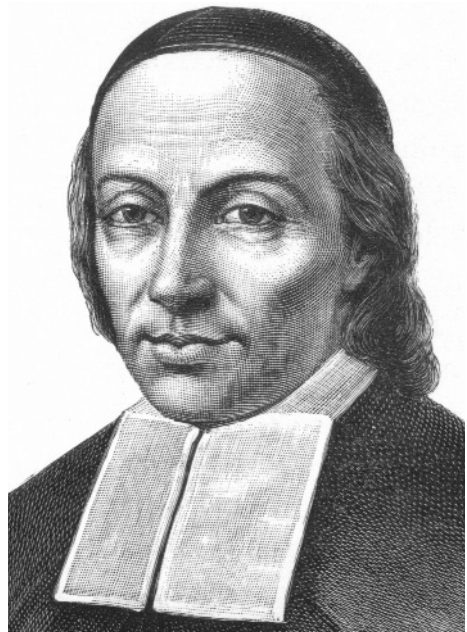
assembled at the Mother House in the Faubourg Saint-Martin on September 2nd. After several rounds of voting, Br. Anaclet was elected Superior-General. In his person therefore, we had at the head of the Institute a Brother who had entered after the Revolution.

For the first time, the Chapter was authorized to elect four Assistants. Br. Éloi had his mandate extended and was named First Assistant. After him were elected Brothers Philippe (Mathieu Bransiet) born in 1792; Abdon (Abdon Sennen Dangien) born in 1791; Jean-Chrysostome (Jean-Claude Rotival) born in 1776. The main aim of the Chapter being to carry out the elections, it broke up on September 4th; however it took some decisions, one of which was to ask the communities to establish a “coutumier” and another which “recognized and approved the new Conduct of Schools and recommended its implementation” (RA *Register* B, 133); it referred to the edition of 1828.

Br. Anaclet (1788 -1838)

Br. Anaclet, Claude Louis Constantin, was elected Superior-General on September 2nd 1830. Born in Sirod (Jura), on January 8th 1788, he came to the novitiate in Lyon, where Br. Émery was Director, in 1805. He began to show his teaching qualities at Saint-Étienne. In 1810, aged 22, he was sent to Saint-Chamond as Director and continued to fill this role in Alençon and at the school of Ile Saint-Louis in Paris. He participated in the 1822 Chapter and was elected Assistant to Br. Guillaume de Jésus. In this post he gave proof of his intellectual qualities and his gifts for organization. On the other hand he found himself ill-served by his “timidity” and fairly delicate health.

At the Chapter of 1830, after several rounds of voting, he was elected Superior-General but only very reluctantly accepted this charge. However he fulfilled it with great competence up to his death on September 6th 1838.



On September 13th, in a Circular which he addressed to the Brothers, the new Superior invited them to fulfill the “extraordinary prayers” prescribed by the Chapter; he declared himself unworthy to succeed the “venerable and illustrious Agathon, Gerbaud and Guillaume de Jésus” and among other recommendations, he suggested not talking about “new affairs and politics” (RA EE 305).

– Significant Events

Two events brought about by Br. Anaclet, show clearly some of the preoccupations which he had with regard to the Institute.

In a Circular of August 7th 1834, he asked the Brothers to elect the members of a “**General Committee**”. In order to decide on forming such a Committee, the Br. Superior relied on a disposition of the Chapter of 1787. At this assembly, different from a General-Chapter, he fixed as objective the revising and adapting of *The Conduct of Schools*. The Committee devoted 32 sessions to this revision.

But he was also preoccupied with the formation of the Brothers. He asked that there be established, as at the time of Br. Agathon, centers where the Brothers would devote themselves purely to studies. He decided also that there be established in different houses, a “novitiate school” where adolescents would prepare for entry to the Novitiate proper. Furthermore, to adapt the organization of the Institute to its development in countries other than France, it was decided that houses opened “in foreign countries” would form “Provinces”. How these last propositions were carried out will be indicated in the **complement** which follows this chapter.

Br. Anaclet, however, judged it wise to obtain confirmation of the work of the Committee by a **General-Chapter**. This opened in Paris on July 10th 1837. At the Chapter the Br. Superior offered his resignation but it was not accepted. A rescript of the Holy See having authorized the nomination of two extra Assistants, the Chapter elected Bros. Calixte (Jean-François Leduc), born in 1797, and Nicolas (Jean-Claude Sarrasin), born in 1789. The Chapter approved the work of the Committee “after some slight modifications” (quoted in RIGAULT 5-140). It decided also on the creation of “Schools” where Brothers would be able to devote themselves to study as was done before the Revolution (RA *Register* B, 147).

– Affirmation of the supranational character of the Institute

During the time when Br. Anaclet was Superior, the Institute reached just one new country: **Canada**. From 1763 when they were under English domination, Canadian Catholics of French descent found themselves progressively placed in a state of inferiority by the arrival of numerous British immigrants. Lacking schools or fearing the influence which English Protestant schools could have on their children, they allowed them to suffer from a lack of education. Already, before 1830, a French Sulpician, Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, was worried about the situation. To remedy it, he thought about the

Brothers of the Christian Schools, whom he had known in the Lyon region. The first negotiations of the time of Br. Guillaume de Jésus and in the first years of Br. Anaclet, not having come to anything, M. Quiblier wrote again to the Br. Superior on August 25th 1837. The latter replied on October 6th of the same year that he would send four Brothers. These embarked on October 10th and arrived in Montreal on November 7th. Classes opened on Christmas Eve.

In **Belgium**, as has already been emphasized (see p. 102-3), the Institute had known relatively rapid development since its establishment in the country. However, some difficulties in the perception of the situation on the part of the Superiors - for example on the subject of academic competitive exams to which pupils of all schools had to submit - brought about a certain lack of understanding (cf. RIGAULT 5-185).

As far as **Italy** is concerned, the presence in Rome of a community of Brothers depending on the Mother House (in France), beside those in place for a long time, brought difficulties, such as those regarding the robe. The Brothers of *La Madonna dei Monti* wore the *rabat* and the mantle with hanging sleeves; the other Brothers kept the robe adopted in 1792 and intended to keep it. Br. Rieul (Joseph Agnez also called Regolo) who held the position of "Vicar-General", defended the point of view of these Brothers in a letter which he addressed to the Superior-General on June 18th 1831. The latter, not being able to accept such a letter, decided to name Br. Pio (Luigi Ribotti) as Vicar-General. The Brother Sub-Director of St. Pélagie, in Turin, was sent on a mission to the Brothers of Rome. Meanwhile, the latter, in May 1832, sent a collective letter to the Brother Superior asking for the retention of Br. Regolo as Vicar-General. On June 19th Br. Anaclet replied in these terms: "I applaud with all my heart the praise you give to Br. Rieul... but I cannot agree with you that his change will lead to the destruction of [your] houses" (RA EE 276/14). He also indicated that Br. Rieul would remain in Italy.

To settle the question of the robe, the Brothers of the three communities of Rome, gathered for a retreat from October 4th to 13th 1832, having addressed a letter to Pope Gregory XVI, the latter replied that the robe prescribed by the Founder of the Institute should be worn by all the Brothers. This decision also settled this question for the Brothers in Piedmont, even if this raised protests from the canons of Turin Cathedral, for whom the white *rabat* was a sign of their dignity as canons (cf. RIGAULT 5-78). To confirm the union, the Superior-General sent Br. Assistant Abdon to Rome. He arrived on December 20th 1833. The correspondence which the Superior-General addressed to him in the course of 1834 referred to what was to become a new source of difficulties. Pope Gregory XVI had founded an orphanage near the Baths of Diocletian (*Termini*), but it was

not going well. The Pope asked for help from the Brothers. Br. Pio, in spite of the reservations of Br. Anaclet, agreed to take over the orphanage and put in charge of it the energetic Director of *La Madonna dei Monti*, Br. Hervé; the latter sorted out the situation. But the ecclesiastic, who was the former Director of the Institution, was behind an intrigue to bring about the replacement of Br. Hervé by Br. Pio. But then, from France, there arrived not only confirmation of Br. Hervé as Director of the orphanage, but his nomination as head of the Brothers in the Pontifical States. This decision was taken as an insult by the Holy See. Br. Anaclet submitted to the Sovereign Pontiff's intentions but affirmed his right to transfer Brothers.

Following this affair, a decree of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars of August 9th 1835, made precise the roles and powers of the Br. Vicar-General. Br. Pio being considered too independent and risking to compromise the unity of the Institute, the Superior-General named in his place as Vicar-General, Br. Giuseppe Maria (Giuseppe Padovani); he notified the Brothers by a circular written in Italian and dated January 25th 1836. Br. Pio remained, however, at the head of the orphanage which he continued to direct until 1839.

– The end of Br. Anaclet's Generalate

At the Chapter of 1837, Br. Anaclet had offered his resignation which had been rejected. Doubtless he was assessing his workload, but he faced up to it. Perhaps he was still more conscious of the limits of his physical strength. In spite of this, during the summer of 1838 he undertook a journey which took him to Savoy, to the Saint-Étienne region and to Central France. After returning on August 29th, he had to take to his bed. He died on September 6th at the age of 50. Although brief, his period at the head of the Institute had seen it grow from 1,400 Brothers to a little over 2,000 (cf. RIGAULT 5-213).

The first years of Br. Philippe's term of office (1838 - 1850)

– The General-Chapter of 1838

Following the death of Br. Anaclet, a Circular of September 25th 1838 convoked the General Chapter. It indicated that the professed teaching Brothers (the only electors) of foreign Provinces should give their votes to the eligible Brothers of their Province. In the same way the votes of the Brothers in France could only go to the eligible Brothers of that country. From the lists of eligible Brothers given by the Circular, it emerges that these Brothers were:

- for France: 82 “Directors of principal houses”, 84 “senior Brothers”;
- for foreign Provinces: 4 in the Pontifical States, 3 in Piedmont, 2 in Savoy, 5 in Belgium.

When the Chapter met on November 21st 1838 in the house of St. Enfant-Jésus in Paris, it numbered 40 members. At the first session, the Capitulants proceeded to the election of the Superior-General. Br. Philippe was elected on the first count. The Chapter extended the terms as Assistants of Brother Éloi, Abdon, Jean-Chrysostome, Calixte, Nicolas, and elected a 6th, Br. Benoît (Benoît Joubert) born in 1792.

This Chapter, following closely that of 1837, did not take any new decision on the proposition of the commission which had examined the 66 “writings” sent by the Brothers. It limited itself to asking the Br. Superior-General “to outline in a circular the abuses which had been pointed out to the assembly” (*Register* B, 158). Before breaking up on the November 25th, the Capitulants decided “that unless there were extraordinary events, the next committee would not be convoked until 1844” (*Register* B, 158).

Br. Philippe (1792-1874). In the village of Apinac (Loire), where he was born on November 1st 1792, Mathieu Bransiet lived through the period when his parents received ‘refractory’ priests in secret. He was a pupil of the man who was to become again Br. Laure in 1806 (see p. 59) and he himself joined the novitiate in Lyon in 1809. In 1810 he was among the first Brothers sent to Auray (Morbihan). It was not long until he became Director of the house of Rethel. In Reims, where he was finally professed in 1818, he took charge in the same year of the establishment directed up till then by Br. Vivien; he was next sent to Metz to reorganize the Brothers’ schools. In 1823, he was put in charge of the important establishment of St. Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris. Elected Assistant at the end of the 1830 Chapter, he involved himself especially in assuring the success of the preparatory novitiate opened at the Mother House in 1835. His election as Superior-General, on November 21st 1838, did not come as any surprise. It was a man of mature years (46) whose experience was both great and diverse, who became head of the Institute. He was to fill this post for 36 years (see his portrait p. 114).

– Other collegial acts of the Institute

Already under Br. Anacleto, the frequency of what can be called “collegial acts of the Institute” had speeded up. It would be the same during the time of Br. Philippe.

A Circular of December 8th 1843 convoked a General-Chapter for February 2nd 1844. The Superior-General said he had respected the decision of the 1838 Chapter but that

now the time limit had passed, it was necessary, for the general good of the Institute, to hold a new General-Chapter. At the same time, to apply a decision of the previous Chapter, he allowed the possibility of foreign Provinces comprising 10 or more houses, to nominate two delegates. The number of Brothers eligible shows the advance of the Institute since 1838.

They were:

- for France: 121 Directors of principal houses; 190 senior Brothers;
- for Provinces outside France: 15 in the Papal States, 7 in Piedmont, 7 in Savoy, 13 in Belgium.

On the opening of the Chapter, Br. Philippe read out a “rescript” of Pope Gregory XVI authorizing the election of two extra Assistants. Although several Assistants wanted to resign, the Chapter only proceeded to the replacement of Br. Jean-Chrysostome; it confirmed in their posts Brother Éloi, Abdon, Calixte and Nicolas and elected Brothers Jurson (François-Marie Esquerre) born in 1806, Amos (Pierre-Michel Lallement) born in 1801, who represented Belgium, and Anthelme (Antoine Savigny) born in 1797, who represented Piedmont. The Br. Superior-General then proposed the production of a new *Rule of Government* which would include various points of discipline contained in the acts of the Chapter: 23 sessions were devoted to this work.

Some new articles were voted on. The first, supported by a pontifical *rescript* of 1777, fixed the composition of the “Special Commission” destined to enable the replacement of a Br. Assistant who died between two Chapters. Article 3 approved the schools for adults and apprentices. Article 16 considered that service in “the central houses of correction” (prisons) came within the aims of the Institute. Since the Sovereign Pontiff had given his blessing to the Chapter, the latter sent him a letter. The Capitulants decided to “visit the tomb of Venerable De La Salle” in Rouen.

Five years after this latest Chapter, Br. Philippe let the Brothers know that, having feared that he would have to call a General-Chapter because of the events of 1848, he had delayed proceeding with the replacement of Br. Assistant Eloi who had died on April 19th 1847. Besides, since Br. Assistant Benoît was no longer able to carry out his duties, the Superior convoked a Special Commission for December 15th 1849. The lists of eligible Brothers showed, in France, an increase of about 20 Directors of Principal Houses and about 80 senior Brothers; stable numbers for the two Provinces outside France previously represented, and the mention of 6 Brothers for America and 4 for the Middle

East. Brothers Théotique (André Claparède), born in 1804, and Péloquin (Jean Bousquet), born in 1801, were elected for a period up to February 2nd 1854. Three commissions were constituted to examine the “writings sent to the Assembly”. Several decisions were taken including one intended to indicate to the Br. Superior the attitude to take in a dispute opposing the Institute to the Municipal Council of Paris, on the subject of holidays in the city’s schools (Cf. *Register* B, 201). The Commission finished its work on December 22nd 1849.

Between the Chapter of 1844 and the Commission of 1849, one fact emerged which concerned the whole Institute. At the Mother House in the Faubourg St-Martin in 1844, the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, had blessed the first stone of a new building. But this building was not completed because, by reason of the construction work on the Gare de l’Est in Paris, the Brothers saw themselves expropriated in 1846. The Municipal Council of the city decided, on February 26th 1847, to provide for the transfer of the Brothers’ Mother House. The choice of the Br. Superior was a private townhouse in the Invalides area. The Superiors moved in there from 1847.

– The Institute in countries where it had been long or recently established

Whatever may have been the political context of the countries where it had already been established, the Institute enjoyed in them a development due to the confidence placed in it to assure the Christian education of the children.

In **France**, in the early years of Br. Philippe’s Generalate, the number of communities grew by about 20 a year. The number of Brothers increased from 1,761 in 1838 (RA EE 268/00) to 3,500 in 1849 according to what was indicated by the Br. Superior to the preparatory commission for the new school law, before which he appeared (see p. 101). In **Bourbon Island**, the Brothers numbered 14 in 1842 and 40 in 1847 (RA DD 268/2 and 3).

The Institute in **Belgium** also achieved relatively important progress. According to the statistics already used, if there were 105 Brothers and 13 establishments in 1838, we find 247 Brothers and 50 novices with 30 houses, in 1847. And in **Canada**, where there were only 4 Brothers in 1838, we find 44 Brothers in 4 houses in 1847.

The period from 1838-1848 was particularly favorable to the development of the Institute in **Italy**; we numbered there:

	in 1838		in 1847	
In the Pontifical States	75 Brothers	10 establishments	140 Brothers	19 houses
In Piedmont	85 Brothers	7 establishments	159 Brothers	15 houses
In Savoy	60 Brothers	14 establishments	142 Brothers	21 houses
In the Duchy of Parma	16 Brothers	2 establishments		

In the Italian peninsula, the events of 1848 had repercussions which have already been indicated (see p. 101), but in the Pontifical States, even before these events, the orphanage of *Termini* had been the source of new difficulties for the Institute. Following the reforms introduced in Rome, the establishment became communal. Br. Gioacchino (Francesco Angeloni), Director since 1839, found himself called into question by the ecclesiastic appointed by the municipality to control the establishment. In spite of the intervention of Br. Pio, once again Vicar-General, the Brothers had to leave the institution in August 1848 (cf. RIGAULT 6-12). The events of 1848 also favored a certain laxity in several houses. About 30 Brothers left the Institute.

His temporal power having been re-established, Pope Pius IX, wishing to be better informed about the Brothers, invited Br. Philippe to 'designate a Brother to inspect the establishments of the Pontifical domain' (RIGAULT 6-17). Br. Leufroy (Jean-Claude Pierrefeu), chosen by the Superior-General, was named "Visitor Apostolic" by a decree of the Pope in February 1850. After having seen the communities, the Visitor proposed not to get rid of the post of Vicar-General, which the Italian Brothers were attached to and to confide the administration of the Province to a Brother from outside. Having been back in Rome since April 1850, the Pope received Br. Leufroy on August 11th. The latter informed Br. Philippe of the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff which had been given to him in these terms: "On this occasion only, your General will choose and present to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Religious, a French Brother to be Vicar" (quoted in RIGAULT 6-20). The choice fell on Br. Floride (Auguste Amilhou), who was named by a decree of December 27th 1850 as successor to Br. Pio. As well as this, members of the French Expeditionary Force sent to protect the Pope in 1849, asked the Brothers to instruct their children. With this aim classes began on January 1st 1851, near the Trevi fountain. Br. Siméon (Charles-Joseph Perrier) was the Director.

– Pursuing the expansion of the Institute

Between 1838 and 1850, the Brothers were called to countries which were very diverse, but had a common characteristic that Catholics there found themselves in a minority.

In **Switzerland**, in the city of Geneva, the Parish Priest of the Cathedral parish had contacted Br. Anaclet in 1833. He again contacted him on June 9th 1838. The Bishop of the diocese, in his turn, wrote to Br. Philippe in April 1839. He succeeded in having four Brothers sent. Besides, in the canton of Fribourg, in Estavayer, where they had been present in the 18th Century (LS 6-52), the Brothers returned in October 1845. But the conflict which broke out in 1847 between Protestant and Catholic cantons having led to the defeat of the latter, the anticlerical radicals demanded that the Catholic cantons expel the Brothers from their schools; the Institute had to abandon that of Estavayer in November 1847. On the other hand, Geneva finding itself on the victorious side, the Brothers were able to continue their work there.

The first attempt at establishing the Institute in the **United States of America** in 1817 had failed. The Brothers were asked for again in the decade following 1840. In this period, marked by heavy immigration, coming especially from Ireland, the Bishops of the first dioceses created in the Union, were preoccupied with maintaining the faith of Catholic immigrants. They notably opened schools to avoid children having to attend the *common schools* where religion was not taught and where Catholics encountered hostility (cf. Br. Angelus Gabriel *The Christian Brothers in the United States*, 137).

The Archbishop of Baltimore approached Br. Aidant (Louis Roblot), Visitor of the Brothers in Canada, who, not having Brothers at his disposal, suggested sending postulants to Montreal. Of five who entered the novitiate in 1842, only one, John MacMullins, became a Brother under the name of Br. Francis. Returning to Baltimore and helped by an Irish-Canadian novice, he opened a school at *Calvert Hall* in October 1845, but the two quickly became exhausted and the school closed in July 1846. On November 13th 1846, the Archbishop announced the opening of a new establishment composed of classes and a novitiate. Br. Francis died in 1847 at the age of 20. In 1848 the Brothers formed two communities.

Then, it was in the name of the Archbishop of New York that the Superior-General was asked for Brothers. On July 4th 1848, four Brothers embarked in France for New York, where they arrived on July 26th. Soon after, some young people joined them. The arrival of Br. Facile (Benoît Rabut) as Visitor for North America in 1848 was a guaran-

tee of the future of the Institute in the United States of America. He replied to the already long-standing appeal from the Bishop of St. Louis by sending three Brothers from Canada to that city; a school for Catholics opened on September 11th 1849. In December 1850, three Brothers coming from New York opened a school in New Orleans.

In the Middle East, in what is at present called **Turkey**, the Brothers were requested in Smyrne by the Lazarist Fathers, to run gratuitous classes for Catholic children who were not able to attend the fee-paying schools which existed. The Brother sent by Br. Philippe, arrived in 1841. A contract was signed by the Brothers with the Lazarist Fathers, but it placed the Brothers in a position of dependence under the former. In November of the same year, in similar conditions, five Brothers established themselves in Constantinople.

In **Egypt**, it was the Vicar Apostolic and Delegate of the Holy See, Mgr. Guasco, who contacted the Superior-General of the Institute. The country was open to the West and especially France, since the expedition into Egypt led by Bonaparte, from 1798-1801. French and English foreigners, but above all people of modest means: Syro-Lebanese, Italians, Greeks, Maltese, Armenians and Jews, arrived in great numbers. In which schools could their children be educated, especially if they were Catholics? And in which common language would it be? Two Congregations of women arrived between 1845 and 1846. In Alexandria, as in Turkey, the Lazarists offered to receive the Brothers. In June 1847, four Brothers disembarked. Schools were opened for these children of diverse nationalities; French was the language imposed. The following year, because some notables wished to entrust their children to the Brothers, a semi-boarding school opened in July 1848. The rapid growth of the work aroused the envy of the Lazarists. Later it was to result in tensions between them and the Brothers.

The Brothers arrived in **Germany**, in the Rhineland region of the Kingdom of Prussia, in 1850. The circumstances of this new implantation of the Institute will be dealt with in a later chapter.

Conclusion

In the memory of the Institute, Br. Anaclet has remained in the shadow of Br. Philippe. However, as Superior-General he played a role which was far from being insignificant. The eight years when he was at the head of the Institute, constitute for the latter a transition: between the time of its restoration and that of strong expansion;

between a period little suited to change and another having experienced a certain evolution, especially in the domain of the educational activities of the Brothers.

Conscious of the necessity of improving the quality of the teaching of the Brothers and of adapting it, notably in view of the demands of the school law of 1833, he convoked the Committee of 1834 and then the Chapter of 1837. As for the decisions to open “novitiate schools” or to create “teacher-training courses” for the Brothers, these were in keeping with his wish to improve the recruitment and formation of the Brothers.

One can thus regret that Br. Anaclet’s time at the head of the Institute was so short, while he himself was of an age to have been able to pursue fruitful undertakings for a long time to come. In contrast, his successor was able to remain for long years at the head of the Institute.

5. *ASPECTS OF THE INTERNAL LIFE OF THE INSTITUTE*

It has already been stated that the time when Br. Anaclæt was at the head of the Institute and the beginning of the period when Br. Philippe was Superior-General could be considered as an era of transition in the History of the Institute in the 19th Century. As a supplement to the preceding chapter, it is time to put this fact in evidence in three domains where the Institute, while remaining in continuity with the past, came to experience, especially because of its rapid development, evolutions which marked it for the rest of the century.

Administrative organization

– Increased role of the Brothers Assistants

Br. Anaclæt and Br. Philippe appear to have relied heavily on the support of the Assistants. This was because, in spite of the growing number of Brothers, ‘all the work of government continued to fall upon the Br. Superior and his Council of Assistants’ (LS 4-200). If the Br. Superior was involved more especially with the Directors, ‘the Assistants were, above all, involved with the Brothers in general’ (*id.*). They notably remained in charge of replying in the name of the Superior-General, to the letters “of reddition” which the Brothers had to write to the latter, but with the development of the Institute this tended to take up more of their time. Each Assistant being especially in charge of one part of the Institute, henceforth saw confided to him a certain number of the Districts and Provinces which had been put in place.

The exercise of these different functions in an Institute in rapid development justified the wish of the Superior-General to see the number of Assistants increased as a result. Thus during the period which interests us here, this number increased from 4 in 1830, to 6 in 1837 and 8 in 1844. This number was to continue to grow later.

– The importance given to the function of Visitor

As at the beginning of the Institute and in the 18th Century, at the beginning of the 19th Century it was a Director of an important house who had to make the visits to a determined number of houses over a limited period of time (cf. RIGAULT 5-426). This continued, however, in spite of the appointment of Bros. Visitors in charge of Districts. Thus in the RA one finds still on November 2nd 1868, an obedience confiding to Br. Joseph the mission of visiting the houses of the *Départements* of the Aube and Haute-

Marne (RA EE 277-1/7). In the 1830s the custom prevailed of keeping the title of Visitor for Brothers who received this mission, beyond the time when they exercised it.

On the other hand, in the same years, it seems (because we cannot find any trace of decisions on this matter), a collection of houses came to constitute a stable zone confided to a permanent Visitor and called a District (cf. Y. POUTET *Actes du 101^e Congrès National de Sociétés Savantes*, Lille 1976 - Taken up in CL 44, 445). However the authority of the Br. Visitor remained only delegated; he was in charge notably of changing the Brothers; he could not name Directors and Sub-Directors. A novitiate, usually placed in the principal house where the Visitor was often the Director, was to provide Brothers for the houses of the District. This principal house also housed old and sick Brothers.

The first Districts thus constituted were of vast dimensions, such as that of Lyon which extended over 13 *départements*. According to the tables of statistics for 1842, 1845 and 1847 (RA DD 268/2 & 3), France then comprised the Districts of: Paris, Lyon, Toulouse, Avignon, Clermont, Saint-Omer, Nantes and Ile Bourbon. Later these Districts were sub-divided. Thus, in 1847, a part of that of Toulouse formed the District of Béziers and another, in 1850, formed the District of Rodez. Yet again, also in 1850, a District of Besançon was detached from that of Lyon. At the same time and later on, other sub-divisions took place.

In countries other than France, a special organization was put in place. Already before 1830, the Brothers of the Pontifical States were placed under the authority of a Brother who had still the title of Vicar-General (RIGAULT 5-472); in Belgium an important role was given to Br. Claude because of the circumstances (see p. 103). The Committee of 1834 defined that houses created "in foreign countries" would form units called "Provinces"; a Brother from each of these, called "Provincial Director" was in charge of dealing with the authorities of the country following orders received from the Superior-General, and changing the Brothers when necessary, but only non-Directors. He was to make the visits of the other houses but only in virtue of an obedience which would be given to him each time (*Registre B*, 139). The statement of statistics of 1842 mentions the Provinces: the Pontifical States, the Sardinian States (composed of Piedmont and Savoy), Switzerland, Belgium, Canada and Greece (for what is now Turkey). In 1847 the United States and Egypt were added.

The Formation of the Brothers

Where formation was concerned, the customs in force since 1725 continued.

However, the ever-growing need to have sufficient Brothers to look after existing schools and open new ones, led to an emphasis on certain practices which had existed in the Institute, notably concerning the age of admission to the Novitiate and its duration.

– Admission to the Institute

At the beginning of the period being considered here, the only form of ‘recruitment’ into the Institute remained the direct entry of the candidates; this remained preponderant up to the end of this period. It pre-supposes that the candidates had known the Brothers beforehand; the best placed for this were their pupils. The inhabitants of a locality close to a Brothers’ house could also have known them. Parish-priests oriented certain members of their parishes towards the Institute. Frequently, it was knowing someone from one’s own area who had become a Brother, which led to imitating him; thus, as in the 18th Century, the names of a certain number of localities come up fairly often. Such is the case, for example, of Bas-en-Basset in Haute-Loire.

What was the proportion of postulants who had been pupils of the Brothers compared to the others? Using the registers of entries to the novitiates, one can only evaluate the number of those coming from localities where the Brothers were present. Thus, where the Lyon novitiate is concerned, for the years corresponding to the restoration of the Institute (chosen because it makes it easier to determine), one notices that these localities provided 220 postulants out of 911 between 1806 and 1830. One can add to this about 10 coming from localities where the Brothers were about to arrive, doubtless in return for the sending of the Brothers (see p. 56). A quarter of the candidates, therefore, may have come from Brothers’ schools.

Thus the proportion was weak between these postulants and those coming from other places: large towns, small towns and especially villages. This leads us to conclude that the recruitment of the Brothers was mainly rural; besides, this corresponds to the structure of the population in France and neighboring countries. A confirmation of this is to be found in a work of J-L. ARCHET on the novitiate of Avignon for the period 1844-1859; out of 659 novices: 74.21% came from villages and 25.79% from small or large towns (French Archives: Avignon District).

To prepare for the entry of young boys into the Institute fairly rapidly after the Revolution of 1789, it was decided to re-establish the “preparatory novitiates” which had functioned for some years at the time of the Founder. Finally it was the decision taken by the Committee of 1834 which led to the opening of the first “Junior-Novitiates”:

- in Paris in the house of Faubourg Saint-Antoine in 1835;
- in Avignon in 1837 (cf. French Archives: Br. Lemandus, *Histoire des Frères de Toulouse*, 319);
- in Lyon, a Junior-Novitiate is open in 1837. In 1839 the number of Juniors, there, was 42, but the group ceased to exist shortly afterwards (cf. French Archives: District of Lyon, *Notes Historiques des établissements*, 407).

The creation of other Juniorates would be much later. In 1836, a work destined to bring financial support to this type of institution was founded. (RIGAULT 5-157)

– The Time of the Novitiate properly so-called

The development of the Institute pre-supposed a big increase in the number of novices. To the novitiates existing at the beginning of the period, a number were added. The lists of statistics for 1845 show that each of the seven French Districts had a novitiate. It was the same for the Provinces of the Pontifical States, the Sardinian States (with one in Piedmont and one in Savoy), Belgium and Canada. The formation of new Districts was accompanied by the opening of a novitiate.

In principle, postulants were sent to the novitiate of the region where they lived; for example the novitiate of the District of Lyon, up to 1850, mainly received those coming from the Depts. of Rhône, Loire, Haute-Loire, Ardèche, Isère, Ain, Jura, Doubs and Haute-Saône.

Not all the novitiates were of the same size. Thus the statistics list of 1845 indicates the **number of novices** in the:

Districts:		Provinces:	
Paris	114	Papal States	16
Lyon	118	Sardinian States – Piedmont	40
Toulouse	140	– Savoy	46
Avignon	80	Belgium	54
Clermont	60	Canada	12
Saint-Omer	40		
Nantes	45		
Bourbon	2		

One cannot fail to notice the impressive size of some of these novitiates. Thus it is a fairly considerable number of entries that one finds in the registers of some of these, for example that of Lyon, based on the numbers listed by date of arrival:

892	postulants who were received	from 1806-1829
1.527	postulants who were received	from 1830-1850

At the novitiate of Toulouse, Br. Aduacte (Gilles-Joseph Dethier) received 1,258 postulants between 1830 and 1849.

The number of entrees varied, of course, according to the years; it tended to grow progressively; one can detect a noticeable drop just about everywhere in 1848-49, as a result of the events which marked those years. Besides, one can notice that the entrees were spread across the whole year. In addition, there were several taking of the habit ceremonies per year.

The taking of the habit was accompanied by the giving of a religious name. Since this name had to be different for everyone, the increase in numbers entering led to the finding of a considerable variety of names, especially since double names were not yet frequent. As a result of one knows not what decision, from a certain moment, the novices, at least those of France, Belgium and Savoy, saw themselves given names beginning with a letter of the alphabet determined according to the District or Province. Thus at the novitiate of Lyon the systematic giving of names beginning with P Q R began in 1823; the letters O and N appeared a little later. At the novitiate of Clermont, Br. Gatien who entered on march 18th 1823 began the series of Brothers with names beginning with G and H. It was therefore, beginning in 1823, that this custom, which was perpetuated up to the middle of the 20th Century, was established. However, from 1819, the Brothers in the Novitiate of Namur received names beginning with M (*Bulletin des F.É.C. Belgique-Sud, En équipe, March 1986*).

As in the 18th Century the Novitiate properly so-called was a time of formation both religious and professional; however, it remained mainly devoted to the first of these aspects. The conditions for admission to the novitiate remained the same (see p. 57), but the prospectus which defined them went into less detail. As for **the age of entry**, one finds a range similar to that seen in the 18th Century (see LS 6-77). The work already cited on the Novitiate of Avignon gives the following breakdown for the years 1844-1859:

– 16 years and younger: 340 novices, that is 51.59% - the biggest figure being 121 for those aged 15;

- between 17 and 20 years old: 202 novices or 30.65%;
- 21 years old or more: 117 novices or 17.75%.

With regard to these figures, the data found in the register of entries of the novitiate of Lyon shows a greater number of entries for the second and third age categories than for the first, but, in general, the entry registers of the novitiates mention a not negligible number of admissions at the ages of 15, 14, or even 13.

When one has the dates for the taking of the habit and leaving the novitiate, one notices that, for at least the first half of the 19th Century, the **length of the novitiate** varied from one novice to another. Thus, for Chambéry, according to the data furnished by a register entitled *Personnel of the District*, of 60 Brothers who made their novitiate between 1829 and 1855, there were only 8 for whom it had lasted a year or even a little more sometimes. The minimum was 5 ½ to 6 months for some. It turns out that these latter were Brothers destined for “temporal” work. It would be many years before a one-year duration for the novitiate became general in the Institute.

– First years of community

As was already the case in the 18th Century, on leaving the novitiate properly so-called, the new Brothers went to community, but for a year they were still considered novices. This beginning of community life was, in fact, a time of formation for employment; some being called to class under the leadership of the Director or another Brother, the others being initiated into material tasks.

– The register of Chambéry (French Archives) shows that of those leaving the novitiate for the years 1835-1850, among the 235 Brothers remaining in Savoy (16 others having been sent to Paris, Turin, or Grenoble): one was placed in the novitiate, 164 were sent to class and 72 to temporal employment. In the later years of the period, the proportion of the latter diminished.

It was also a time of preparation for First Vows. In principle, the “novices” could be admitted to pronouncing them at the end of the first year of community. In fact, one notices that they often had to wait longer; on the one hand they had to have reached the required age of 18; on the other hand they had to be admitted to vows but the requirements for accepting candidates were so great that those who were refused were not obliged to withdraw. Thus, for example, of the 60 Brothers of the “District” of Chambéry, of whom we have spoken, the time between the end of the Novitiate and First Vows went from a little over a year to nearly six years, with exceptionally, durations of 11 and 22 years for two Brothers “Servants”.

In a death notice of 1837 there appears the expression “employed novice” (Relations Mortuaires T.I., 271). At least once the expression “non-employed novice” is used in the same year; the reference which is made on this occasion to the Committee of 1834 leads one to conclude that one or other of these expressions dates from that Committee but there is no mention of it in the Register of their deliberations. From 1846 on, Br. Philippe mentions the death of “employed novices” under the same heading as that of dead “affiliated members” and “benefactors”. Quite distinct from novices properly so-called and Brothers with triennial or perpetual vows, this category of Brothers appears above all to comprise, judging by the ages of the deceased, Brothers who have left the novitiate but who have not yet been admitted to vows. There is also mention, on October 30th 1846, among the “employed novices” who have died, of a Br. Auxence “an old man without vows” (T.I., 481) and in the same circular of a Br. Bernardo of Rome, of whom it is said: “this dear departed was aged 71, and had formerly had triennial vows” (T.I., 491). These two examples reveal the existence of Brothers finding themselves in one or other of the two situations and who were considered as “employed novices”. The fact remains that the size of this last category of Brothers is difficult to estimate.

After the two years considered as a time of formation, the latter was continued by the studies and experiences foreseen by the Rule, but this had to be done within the framework of very pressing activities. The necessity of employing the Brothers to maintain and open numerous schools, delayed, in effect, the application of the decision of the Committee of 1834 relative to the re-establishment of “schools for the Brothers”. The number of projects undertaken remained limited (see following chapter).

Becoming Brothers

It was not a new fact for the Institute to experience a big loss of members by reason of the number leaving or being sent away from the Institute or even by the premature deaths of Brothers (see LS 6-80). But the conditions in which, in the 19th Century, the formation of the Brothers took place, was not of such a nature as to improve the situation. As we have noticed, the novices often entered the novitiate at a very young age, and the formation which was given there was often rapid. Br. Philippe himself admitted in a circular letter of March 21st 1842, which we will be dealing with later, that the obligation of ‘supplying’ the schools confided to the Brothers did not allow for giving the Brothers a lengthy formation. And if, later, the first year of community was considered as a time of formation, the often rough beginnings of this new life and the small amount of time available to those involved, often occupied full-time, hardly favored such a formation. As for the Brothers Directors to whom it fell to assure formation, they were frequently

weighed down by their diverse occupations; those of small houses especially, were themselves in charge of a class. Even later on, the Brothers did not always find the conditions of life and of work favorable towards strengthening their vocation.

– Departures from the Institute

It was normal for novices to leave at the end of their novitiate properly so-called, since it was a period of discernment. One could say the same of their first year in community since it was considered as a second year of novitiate. As for the time, more or less long, which passed for a certain number of Brothers before they were admitted to temporary vows, it also favored departures from the Institute. Candidates for vows were, in fact, not easily admitted. For the last years of the time of Restoration of the Institute, one can determine, thanks to statistics gathered by Br. Guillaume de Jésus, that only about half of the candidates were admitted each year (cf. LS 4-177). For those not accepted, the decision could be postponed to the following year and that could happen several times. This period of waiting was of such a nature as to wear out a certain number. Finally, at more or less short notice, certain Brothers saw themselves definitively refused vows.

Even after the taking of First Vows, it is not surprising if a certain number of Brothers withdrew on their expiry or after having obtained a dispensation. Those who asked to make perpetual vows having been admitted under the same conditions and in the same proportion as the candidates for temporary vows, there were few who later asked for a dispensation. In both cases we need to add some “fugitives”, so called because they left and had never asked to be dispensed from their vows.

All this means that, even without taking into account the departures during the novitiate, the number of those who left the Institute was quite big. One can judge this from the registers of entry to the novitiate when these indicate what became of the Brothers later, which is far from being always the case. For example:

- one can establish for the novitiate of Chambéry, that between 1834 and 1850, of 252 Brothers who left the novitiate, the comment “left” or “sent away” was added 113 times up to a date unknown but which seems prior to 1865, the year in which the register ends;

- as far as the novitiate of Nantes is concerned, of some 750 postulants who entered between 1817 and 1850, 610 were described as “left” or “sent away”, up to the moment when, it seems, the register closed (1890).

As far as these two examples are concerned, among the 25 and 85 Brothers for whom there is no indication given, doubtless because they were still alive, some could have left

the Institute. However the indications gathered give a sufficient idea of what the number of departures (voluntary or otherwise) represented; in regard to the average, which we find in general, of one perseverance for every three entries, in one case that can be considered satisfactory and in the other not so.

– Sent away from the Institute

The Superiors were sometimes called upon to send people away from the Institute. This was because the fairly massive reception of candidates who presented themselves at the novitiate, increased all the more the risk of imposing the obligations of the religious life on a certain number of candidates who were not suited to this, in spite of the discernment exercised in the novitiate and during the Chapters of Vows. The need to supply Brothers for more and more schools could also lead to keeping Brothers showing fairly serious deficiencies. The comments put in the registers of entries show that Brothers were “sent away”. Such was the case, for example, for 26 of the 252 Brothers who ended their novitiate in Chambéry.

When the reason for exclusion is indicated one sees that, in some cases, this reason was particularly serious; notably when a Brother was compromised with a pupil. On this subject, the risk must have been sufficiently serious for Br. Philippe to have devoted to this subject a long letter dated March 21st 1842 (RA EE 277-1/20) and that he returned to the subject some time later following a recent scandal (*id.*). It is difficult to estimate the frequency of such affairs since the reasons for expulsion were not always indicated. Whatever the case may be with such matters, even if they were not very frequent, they were always too many, especially since they were exploited by the adversaries of the Institute and in a more general sense, the adversaries of the Church. Their relentless attacks could sometimes lead to denials of justice, as in the case of Br. Léotade.

Br. Léotade

In 1847, when a bookbinder came to deliver books to the boarding-school in Toulouse, with two of his employees, one of them disappeared. Next day the body of the young girl, who had been raped, was found in an old cemetery next to the Brothers' garden. The suspicions of the investigators fell upon Br. Léotade. His confreres were inept in defending him. The court-case began on February 7th 1848. The President of the Tribunal showed himself particularly biased and the hostile press cut loose against the Brothers. The case was interrupted by the Revolution which removed King Louis-Philippe. It restarted in the same conditions and ended with the Brother being condemned to "forced labor for life". In a letter of February 4th 1850, the chaplain of Toulouse prison testified that Br. Léotade, before dying on January 26th 1850, had re-affirmed his innocence. Br. Philippe informed the Brothers of this (*Relations Mortuaires*, T. II, 108).

At present we have had more light thrown on the question. Thus, an article in a magazine (*Historia*: August 1997) entitled "DNA tests could have saved Br. Léotade", reported that a Br. Ludolph, cook in a boarding-school kitchen in Toulouse at the time of these events, had been thrown out of the Institute over a matter of morals. Later this former Brother was found guilty of the murder of a woman and he admitted in confidence that he had been the author of the crime for which Br. Léotade had been condemned. In the RA one can, in fact, find the record of a Br. Ludolph, Jean-Joseph Aspe, born on February 20th 1817, who entered the novitiate of Toulouse on October 27th 1837 and was cook in the boarding-school in the same city from September 30th 1838. On this record card is written: "sent away, robber, liar, March 23rd 1848."

Whatever the case may be, the innocence of Br. Léotade has always been recognized by the Institute. Thus Br. Philippe, writing to the Director of the house of Toulon with regard to the letter from the prison chaplain, spoke of "holy Br. Léotade" (RA EE 273 -3/29). [See Jean-Pierre FABRE, *Le forçat de Dieu-Frère Léotade*, Paris, Presses de la Renaissance, 2002.]

– Brothers who persevered

Brothers persevered to the end of their lives. Whatever may be their respective merits, we need, however, to distinguish between those who, having died prematurely, could not reach final profession, and those who died in the Institute after making final vows. For a long time in the 19th Century, in the population to which the Brothers belonged, the mortality rate among the very young remained high. As far as the Institute is concerned, the rapid early steps of sometimes very young Brothers in large classes and working often in poorly adapted premises could not but increase the number of Brothers dying prematurely. When one reads the death notices, one is struck, in fact, by the number of such notices of young or relatively young Brothers. Thus for a period a bit later (1855-1859),

a statistical table shows that out of 425 deceased Brothers: 53 were between 16 and 20; 104 between 20 and 25; and 82 between 25 and 30 (RA GF 401-1).

Very often the notices refer to the edifying way these Brothers suffered and died. Nevertheless it is certain that a number of them of them would not have persevered to a more advanced age.

The number of these premature deaths added to those who left or were sent away, reduced all the more the number of Brothers who ended their lives in the Institute after making perpetual vows as well as, eventually, the number of Brothers who, remaining without vows, died at a relatively advanced age. It is, in fact, the number of these Brothers which constitutes the most conclusive indication of the perseverance of the Brothers. This, however, remains fairly difficult to establish because the details necessary to make a judgment are often missing. Thus in the case already cited from the novitiate of Chambéry, although the reference “dead” has been put in the register of entry to the novitiate, it is not possible to determine whether we are talking about Brothers with temporary or perpetual profession.

To try to determine the rate of perseverance, we have to look at the total number of Brothers who died in the Institute. Thus, for the Montreal novitiate, Nive VOISINE established that, for the period which interests us especially here, the rate of final perseverance in proportion to the number of entries was: 12.5% from 1837-1841, 36% from 1842-1846, and 46.7% from 1847-1851 (T.I., 256).

Conclusion

The effects of the development of the Institute on the formation and the future of the Brothers have been seen, above all, in a negative way. It remains for us to ask ourselves what was the lived experience of the Brothers in general during those same years. This reality is difficult to grasp because the Brothers were not in the habit of expressing themselves on this subject and the “*Histories*” of the houses provide no echo of this. One can simply try to sketch a response to this question.

If one confines oneself to the remarks made by the Brothers in their notes to the General Chapters or other assemblies of the same type, one might think that there was a need to remedy a lot of laxity in the regular life. Doubtless we need to put these remarks in context because they came from a limited number of Brothers and they resulted in few decisions on the part of the Chapters. It is certain that there were deficiencies. Some Brothers were able to lead a fairly mediocre life; this led to departures and

expulsions but in certain cases this state of affairs was able to continue, however, right up to the end of their lives.

On the other hand, the **death notices** (*Relations mortuaires*) would give the impression that almost all the Brothers lived in an exemplary manner. Very rare, in fact, were those which remarked on the negative side of a Brother. Of course this is the norm in this kind of document. This, however, contained a large part of truth. In many cases, in fact, the Brothers fulfilled their religious and apostolic duties in a conscientious way. Both these sets of obligations, well defined in the *Rules* or *the Conduct of Schools*, could guide these men throughout their lives. But the development of some of those notices and the tone in which they were written, showed that certain lives were seen as having been particularly successful. One can notice this especially in regard to veterans of the pre-Revolutionary period and again in cases such as the following:

– Br. Amaranthe, Director of the house at Angers, who died on June 5th 1836 aged 46, of whom it was said that to make a faithful portrait of him “it would be necessary to speak in detail of all the virtues which make up the religious” (*Relations Mortuaires* 1-255);

– A Br. Joseph of Jesus, in charge of the linen at the Mother House, who died suddenly during a community outing, on October 2nd 1837, and whose qualities the Br. Superior was pleased to emphasise (*id.* 1-275);

– Br. Alypius, Director of the house at Cambrai, who died on October 20th 1846, aged 44, and of whom Br. Philippe said that: “he possessed to a high degree all the qualities which win hearts; but one remarked in him, especially, a constant goodness” (*id.* 1-434).

Many more could be cited among these Brothers who, without knowing it, beyond simple observance, were penetrated with the spirit which underlies the letter of the Rule.

Chapter 6 – ADVANCES IN THE WORKS OF THE BROTHERS

Orientation

During the period of the Restoration of the Institute, the Brothers had to confine themselves to running schools limited to teaching the rudiments of knowledge, even if towards the end, some initiatives heralded future evolutions.

The time when Br. Anaclet was at the head of the Institute as well as the early years of Br. Philippe's Generalate, were marked, as far as the works of the Brothers are concerned, by progress which showed itself by:

- a growth in the number of establishments;
- a qualitative improvement in teaching;
- an improvement in the professional formation of the Brothers.

The period was also characterized by a diversification in the fields of activity of the Brothers which will be the subject of the Complement following the present chapter.

Growth in the number of establishments

– Under Br. Anaclet

The Brothers in France at first suffered the repercussions of the events of 1830 (see p. 96) which led to a slight drop in the number of their schools. In 1831, the Br. Superior-General, in a Circular of July 21st, wrote: "We still have 240 houses instead of the 245 which we had last year at the same period and all we need to establish others is to have a bigger number of Brothers" (Circ. No. 65). But in 1832 a statistical table brought out by Br. Philippe shows a somewhat bigger drop, the figures being 226 houses, 364 schools, 962 classes while the number of pupils was 87,098 (RIGAULT 5-29). In fact, often in the course of these two years, the municipalities took the decision to replace the Brothers by other teachers. However, if the decline wasn't bigger, it was because, in many places, schools were opened thanks to the initiatives of members of the clergy or lay Catholics (see p. 96).

The year 1833 marked a slight improvement without allowing the Institute to catch up with the numbers of 1830. The number of classes and pupils increased (cf. RIGAULT 5-29). In 1835, with 243, the number of houses passed that of 1831 and the number of "schoolchildren" reached 101,163 (RA DD 268/1).

In total, the Institute had passed, between 1828 and 1838:

- from 228 communities - 947 classes - 75,000 pupils (RA EE 275/4: list of Br. Guillaume de J.);
- to 322 establishments - 1,556 classes - 141,094 pupils (RA EE 268).

– In the early years of Br. Philippe

The General-Chapter of 1837, having decided on the creation of “écoles d’élèves” (training- schools) to which each year a certain number of Brothers would be called, the register of their deliberations had the following addendum: “In order that the greatest number of Brothers may profit from the advantages resulting from the establishment of these “écoles d’élèves”, the Chapter expresses the wish that new establishments should not be opened except in case of absolute necessity” (*Register B*, 147). It is difficult for us to evaluate whether this “wish” was taken into account in 1838 and in the years which immediately followed. But, judging by the statistics at our disposal, this did not seem to have had much influence later on decisions with regard to the opening of houses. Thus according to the tables which have already been mentioned (see p. 112), one can give the following indications:

	Houses		Pupils	
	<i>Francia</i>	<i>Institute</i>	<i>Francia</i>	<i>Institute</i>
1842:	330	390	148.613	171.540
1847:	447	545	194.005	227.000

A summary table entitled “Statistics of the Institute 1844-1852” (RA DD 250) gives the following figures for the whole Institute for:

1848:	540 houses	988 schools	2.295 classes	219.453 pupils
1849:	572 houses	1.063 schools	3.248 classes	235.543 pupils
1850:	604 houses	1.144 schools	3.499 classes	248.923 pupils

These figures show that the troubles of 1848 led to a drop in the number of houses and pupils, but the following years were marked by a vigorous recovery. And if one refers back to 1838 one notices that in 1850 the number of establishments had almost doubled and the number of pupils had increased by around 110,000.

This number of establishments run by the Brothers, during the period under consideration here, needs, however, to be put into perspective. Using an evaluation which Br.

Philippe himself made for France, G. RIGAULT was able to write that ‘of the 40.000 primary teachers, public or free... the teachers belonging to Religious Orders did not, in 1840, exceed by much the figure 2,000’ (T. 5-274); and even if the Brothers of the Christian Schools were the most numerous, there could barely have been more than 1.600 of them teaching.

Progress in the quality of education

Elementary teaching had been limited, during the preceding period, to the learning of reading, writing and arithmetic. It is true that the prejudice according to which the children of the working class had more need of being “moralised” than of being educated, was very much alive. As against that, the period which began with the arrival of Br. Anaclet at the head of the Institute was marked for him by evolutions in the methods and a broadening of the education given.

– Evolutions in methods

The “simultaneous” method practiced by the Brothers tended to impose itself gradually: ‘from 1835 on, the rectors of the Academy urged many teachers to abandon the old individual teaching method whose routine persisted in the villages’ (RIGAULT 5-125). Moreover, after a revival, the “mutual” method was losing ground.

However, Br. Anaclet adopted a more flexible attitude with regard to this method. On January 3rd 1831, addressing himself to the “Secretary-General of the Civil Hospices of Paris” (whose administration was in charge of looking after some of the schools of the city), Br. Anaclet said he was ready “to take measures so that... the Brothers would be able to teach according to the mutual method in premises which you would prepare for that purpose. The matter is made all the easier for me because one of our Brothers worked using this method before joining our Institute and thus he will be able to teach the others”. The Br. Superior did not hide, however, in his words, “the extreme repugnance which we all feel in adopting this method” and he reserved the right to return to the traditional method of the Institute (RA EE 276/16).

It was, above all, the convening of the “General Committee” of 1834 which conveyed the preoccupation of Br. Anaclet and his entourage with adapting the teaching given by the Brothers to the demands of the moment. It was, in fact, a question of editing the *Conduct of Schools*, in particular in order to harmonize it with the Guizot law of 1837 (see p. 117). The Br. Superior had prepared a reprint of the edition of 1828 which had already introduced some modifications to the original text but without transforming it

greatly. A Circular of December 17th 1833 asked the Brothers to send notes with a view to the planned new edition. In 32 sessions, the members of the Committee were putting the finishing touches to a new edition. But this was not published until after the Chapter of 1837.

The Preface of the new edition, which was published in 1838, highlighted the superiority of simultaneous teaching. It indicated, however, the advantage of practicing a “simultaneous-mutual” or “mixed” method “for all the lessons which lent themselves to it”. The new edition lent itself also to the introduction into classes of some procedures borrowed from the mutual method. Thus, since the lower classes usually were made up of several sections so that the pupils of each section could read more often, reading tablets were printed for them; these being placed along the walls, as in the mutual schools, each group of pupils could take up the reading lesson under the guidance of one of themselves. Similarly, for arithmetic it was written that: “there will be as many little tablets painted in black, placed in different parts of the class, as there are sets of tables in arithmetic, and the most intelligent among the children will be chosen as a coach for each set of tables” (p. 59).

In the new text, although the class kept its traditional aspect, old usages such as the breakfast were abolished and in a more general fashion, ‘the programs had more substance, the lessons were more varied, the work better organized, the appeal to initiative wider, and the encouragements towards effort more numerous and more cleverly planned’ (RIGAULT 5-141).

From 1849-1856, no fewer than seven editions followed on from that published in 1838 (*cf. Rivista Lasalliana*, No. 3, year 1991-162); which can be explained not only by the extraordinary development of the Institute but equally by the fact that this work was used by other teachers, as was the case in Belgium (*id.*, p. 163).

In various Circulars, Br. Philippe returned to a point on which modifications had already been made in the *Conduct* but which he seemed to take to heart, thus:

- on February 20th 1844, among the decisions of the Chapter of which the Br. Superior took note, he mentions that which had been taken to abolish corporal punishment;
- the Circular of April 29th 1844 noted the encouragements merited by the schools on the subject of abolishing corporal punishment;
- that of January 14th 1846 (No. 145) emphasized the good which had resulted from the abolition of the ferule.

Other aspects of the contribution of Br. Philippe to advances in the domain of pedagogy will be presented in the **Complement** which will be devoted to his work.

– Broadening of the content of teaching

In the register of the deliberations of the General-Chapters, the minutes of the first session of October 25th 1834, contain the following: “Then the Most Honorable Br. Superior explained that the Committee had called for a discussion on the question of knowing if we should continue to teach in the schools of the Institute, Linear Drawing and the basics of Geography and History as had been done for some years” (*Register B*, 138). The subjects mentioned were already being taught, if not everywhere, at least in several places; so it was that in 1826, Br. Philippe had written a *Practical Geometry applied to Linear Drawing*. It was a question of making official and expanding the teaching of these subjects. In the reply of the Assembly to Br. Superior, one feels a certain reluctance in ratifying what had already been done in this regard, since it is said that the Chapter “decided unanimously... that it was necessary to tolerate the teaching of these three specialties in our schools”. In the revised *Conduct*, place would be made for these new subjects.

Already on July 21st 1831, Circular No. 65 announced that the Institute was publishing a *Treatise on Linear Drawing* for the use of the Brothers and on October 26th, Circular No. 66 presented an explanation of this. Doubtless in connection with the teaching of Geography, one finds in the RA an invention certificate accorded to a M. Louis Constantin, Br. Anaclet, “for the benefit of his Institute” for a “mechanical planetary system” (RA EE 276/17).

Books intended for pupils were published. In 1833, the following appeared: *A New Treatise on Arithmetic*, an *Abridged Geography*, and an *Abridged Practical Geometry Applied to Linear Drawing*. In 1836, a *Christian Politeness reviewed and corrected* and a *History of France, preceded by Sacred History and followed by basic notions on Ancient and New Peoples* were published (cf. RIGAUT 5-136).

The *Conduct* of 1828 still provided for the fact that “since the old arithmetic was still being followed by many persons, it would be good to give some of its basics to the most advanced children” (p. 74). On the other hand, in that published in 1838, one reads: “It is important that the children know decimal arithmetic well and the new system of weights and measures” (p. 61). Already the New *Treatise on Arithmetic* of 1833 contained a table for ‘converting the old measures into the legal measure and vice-versa’ (RIGAUT 5-

136). In France, the old measures and the old arithmetic were from now on forbidden by the Royal Council (*cf.* Circular of November 24th 1839).

In the continental part of the Sardinian States (Savoy and Piedmont), the Brothers made an effective contribution to the introduction of the metric system for weights and measures whose use an edict of King Charles-Albert of September 1845 made obligatory from January 1st 1850. The Brothers not only introduced this teaching into their schools, but they were asked by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to initiate several civil and religious authorities into the use of the new units. With this end in view, they wrote booklets such as that published in 1849 under the title: *Norma per l'insegnamento del sistema metrico* or that entitled *Lezioni Popolari sul Sistema Metrico* (*cf. Rivista Lasalliana*, No. 2, 1995).

The teaching given in the primary schools was rounded off by that given in some establishments with "special classes" such as that created in Montpellier in 1837 by Br. Tempier (J.J. Royet) to prepare students for the Arts et Métiers * (*Les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes et leur rôle dans l'éducation populaire*, 64). In Lyon, a 'special school recruiting among the best pupils' opened in 1849 (French Archives: *Notes Historiques*, 248). These classes were the forerunners of what would become 'technical education' (*cf.* A.Prévot *L'Enseignement technique chez les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*, 132). The opening of these classes as well as those established in boarding schools was made possible by the Guizot law of 1833 which foresaw the creation of a 'superior primary education' (*id.* p. 119).

In Paris, at the age of 21, Br. Joseph, the future Superior-General, participated in the start of a commercial course, in 1843, in premises provided by M. Armand de Melun, rue des Francs-Bourgeois (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-266). In 1846, two commercial classes were opened in Rouen.

The orphanage of Saint-André near Clermont-Ferrand, opened in 1841, prepared students for agricultural work (*cf.* A. Prévot, 137). In Quimper, an agriculture course was started in 1843 in the establishment known as "Le Likès" (see p. 151). Around 1844, the Brothers were called to La Saulsaie, 12 km. from Lyon, to teach in a "Royal Institute of Agriculture" (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-256).

In Piedmont, in 1848, in Turin, a "day school" gave external students a formation similar to that which had been given to adults, since 1845, in an "evening school". The aim was to give a more complete formation to 'adolescents who would become qualified workers, commercial employees, minor civil-servants and heads of small businesses' (RIGAULT 5-79).

Don Bosco and the Brothers of the Christian Schools

In connection with the achievements of the Brothers in Piedmont, we need to recall the relations which existed between them and Don Bosco. At the beginning of his ministry towards the young in Turin, the schools of the Brothers were in a very prosperous state: they managed the schools of the *R.O.M.I.* and those of the Municipality and they had Sunday schools, an evening school, a technical school and even a publishing house. Don Bosco exercised his ministry to the Brothers' pupils in the years 1840-1850, by means of talks, confessions and preaching. Filled with a profound esteem and friendship for Br. Hervé de la Croix, then Visitor of the Province of Piedmont-Savoy, and knowing several other Brothers, he became familiar with the teaching methods of the Brothers drawn from the *Conduct of Schools* and *The Twelve Virtues of a Good Master* and doubtless he made use of them in the first schools which he founded. In his frequentation of the Brothers' schools, he noticed also that, in spite of their efforts in that direction (see the **complement** after this chapter), the Brothers lacked something to extend their work beyond the schools. It is thus that in his institutions Don Bosco added an ensemble of after-school works which, under the name of oratorio, proposed recreational activities: games, sport, theatre and a religious formation given within the surroundings of a church allocated to this purpose (*cf. Rivista Lasalliana* No. 1, 1995, p. 31-32).

Improvement in the professional formation of the Brothers

The evolution in pedagogical methods as well as the broadening of the subjects being taught presupposed an improvement in the professional formation of the Brothers.

With this in view, the Superiors encouraged the studies of the Brothers in community. One finds indications of this in a certain number of Circulars:

- No. 75 of September 30th 1832: authorization given to the Brothers in senior classes to devote time to the study of the new sciences which had been introduced into teaching;
- No. 106 of November 24th 1839: the study of catechism - the manner of doing it in community;
- No. 122 of April 21st 1842: permission to take from one house to another, books of grammar or arithmetic, as well as work done for catechism.

However, as has already been emphasized (see p. 133-34), this effort of formation had to be made within the framework of days which were already very busy.

A wish of the Committee of 1834, taken up again by the Chapter of 1837, asked for the creation of “schools” where the Brothers could study. This decision was partially put into action:

– in Toulouse in 1835, courses for the Brothers were organized beside the boarding-school; they continued until 1848 (French Archives: F. Lémendus, *Historique des Frères de Toulouse*, 319);

– in the Mother House, Br. Anaclet created in 1838 “a community called a ‘Training-College’ to prepare for the Elementary Certificate, Brothers who were already teaching and who were to be sent there from various Districts of the Institute. This Training-College always had difficulties in recruiting and it closed for lack of pupils in 1870” (RA HE 650/9);

– in Lyon, the creation of a “Training-College” for the Brothers was planned from 1838. We don’t know when it opened but it was functioning before 1845 (French Archives: *Notes Historiques*, 241 and 382).

In the Sardinian States, by a Decree of June 4th 1844, King Charles-Albert decided to establish “Training-Colleges of Method” to train teachers from the elementary schools. Those already teaching also had to obtain the official Certificate within 5 years. Br. Hervé de la Croix would like to have had the Brothers exempted from this, but they had to submit to this obligation (*cf.* RIGAUT 4-43). To prepare for this exam, the Brothers followed a special formation:

– in Piedmont: courses were given during the holidays at Ste-Pélagie from 1848 to 1850 (RA ND 250-1/3);

– in Savoy, in 1849, during the holidays, after a retreat presided over by Br. Philippe, 65 Brothers went to Annecy to follow the course of “the Method School”; 60 got their certificate on October 16th and 48 of them were declared very efficient. Similar courses were organized again in 1850 and 1851 (French Archives - *Mémoire historique de l'établissement des Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes à Chambéry*).

In 1850, in the buildings of Ste-Pélagie in Turin, the Brothers opened a permanent School of Method, to form the young Brothers. Among Religious Orders they were the only ones to create such an institution. In the Institute, outside France, the Italian Brothers were also the only ones to make such an effort. In Canada and the United States of America, the Brothers were only beginning their work. In Belgium, they were still too busy with the development of their works to be worried about raising the level of the professional formation of the Brothers, which would later be one of their characteristics. Overall, the improvement in the professional formation of the Brothers which we are talking about here was still only very relative.

Writing to a Brother on April 16th 1839, Br. Philippe said: “I am not inclined to want our Brothers to obtain the Superior Certificate. The first one is enough for us” (RA EE

277- 1/1). But later his position seems to have evolved. Thus in August 1843, he writes to the Inspector-General in charge of the administration of the Academy of Paris, to get permission for two Brothers who had just received their Elementary Certificate, to present themselves for the Superior Certificate at Châlons-sur-Marne having been dispensed for this purpose from the six months residence required in the *département* (*id.*).

Conclusion

The period being considered in this chapter is neither that of the greatest growth in the works of the Institute nor that of the most significant changes from the point of view of the schools. Its interest comes from the fact that it marks a turning-point. After the period of restoration of the Institute when it was rather turned towards the past, under the impetus of Br. Anaclæt and then of Br. Philippe it took more into account the evolutions which were taking place in the world of teaching. One can still feel, however, a hesitation between the introduction of change and the preserving of practices inherited from the past. One can see it across the various re-edited editions of the *Conduct of Schools* used during the period.

As far as **methods** are concerned, new elements were introduced:

- 1828: before the start of the book proper, one finds a daily time-table for a three-class school;
- 1838: to the borrowings made from the mutual method (see above), one could add the introduction of a whole development on emulation and the means used for emulation.

Modifications were introduced:

- 1828: noteworthy changes were introduced in the teaching of arithmetic; the text on the teaching of spelling is practically new;
- 1838: new changes were brought in for the teaching of spelling and arithmetic.

The substance remains unchanged:

- doubtless it was in arithmetic that the Brothers introduced most change (*cf.* A. PROST. *L'Enseignement en France*, 123);
- having the learning of reading followed by the learning of writing is maintained. The *Conduct* of 1838 justifies this when it says: “It is essential to put children writing [‘only’ understood] when they have begun to read passably well, otherwise you run the risk of their never learning it” (p. 42). But this principle was called into question and not just by mutual teaching (p. 118).
- the method of reading remained the same. However the method of spelling out loud which had been used began to be replaced by other methods (*id.*, 120).

– for writing, the same principles were maintained. The Brothers remained attached to calligraphy; however, writing tended to lose its ornamental aspect and become more utilitarian; the use of lithography for multiplying texts from 1845 on, led to the spread of uniform models. Feathers continued to be used as pens. However, the use of the metal pen which triumphed shortly before 1850, spread in the Brothers' schools; thus in 1844, a consignment of 300 “gross” of steel pens, seized in London, was released thanks to the Director of the *Christian Brothers* (RA EN 411-1/11).

In the same way as far as the broadening of the content of teaching is concerned, one can see real advances:

– the introduction of subjects proposed on an optional basis by the official program of 1834 (*cf.* PROST, 123).

– the writing of books and the creation of aids for these subjects.

However one can note a certain reluctance at the moment of making official the introduction of new subjects. Restrictions were also brought in to a new broadening of teaching:

– the introduction of new specialties without permission was forbidden (Circ. 81, December 6th 1834);

– physics and chemistry were reserved to lay teachers (Circ. 136, May 27th 1844);

– formation in instrumental music was to be for use within the school and not for outside performances;

– conditions to be respected when lessons in singing were being given (Circ. 150, April 8th 1846).

The advances achieved in the traditional field of teaching by the Brothers presents therefore a certain ambivalence. In the same way, the diversification in the fields of activity of the Brothers which we will be dealing with in the **Complement** which follows, at first aroused reluctance before being strongly encouraged.

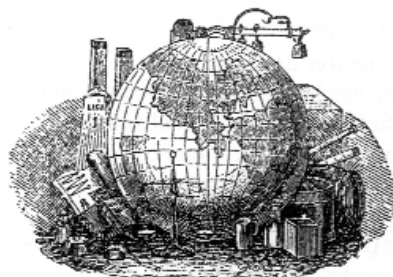
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TORINO
STAMPERIA SOCIALE DEGLI ARTISTI TIPOGRAFI
1849.

Livret publié par les Frères au Piémont en 1849

Booklet published by the Brothers in Piedmont in 1849

6. *DIVERSIFICATION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BROTHERS*

The period between 1830 and the middle of the 19th Century was not only characterized for the Institute by the growth in the number of schools confided to it, the evolution in methods or the broadening of the content of teaching, but equally by an accentuation of the diversification of the activities of the Brothers which had already begun in the preceding period (see p. 76-77).

One can highlight this diversification by considering, on the one hand, the activities more connected with the usual teaching of the Brothers in their educational establishments, and on the other, activities which lie outside this framework and respond to needs of a more specifically social character.

Activities connected with the usual teaching of the Brothers

– Training Colleges

Progress in primary teaching called for the formation of competent teachers. The creation of Training Colleges responded to this need while at the same time contributing to the evolution of this type of education. This type of institution was of German origin. In France, the first Training College was founded in Strasbourg in 1810. Then, after very slow beginnings, 71 were opened between 1828 and 1837 (*cf.* A. PROST, *L'Enseignement en France*, 137). In other countries, the same need had produced similar responses.

The formation of lay teachers had been considered from the beginning of the Institute, but had been the object of only very temporary achievements. In the context of the 19th century, the Brothers, because of their role in primary teaching, seemed destined to find a place in the institutions in charge of preparing school teachers.

In France, the Training College of Seine Inférieure, in Rouen, was confided to the Brothers in 1829 (see p. 77). Br. Calixte, who became Director of the College at the age of 32, showed he was up to the task. The beginnings were modest, but the numbers increased from 1838, a year in which 23 future primary-school teachers followed the courses. These beginnings also faced another difficulty: that of having a lot of knowledge and of a relatively high level, assimilated by candidates who often had received only elementary education. For the pedagogical formation, the theoretical courses were supplemented by initiation into teaching methods (including the mutual method) during the teaching-practice classes. From 1834 to 1845, the establishment also took in, from June to August (the time for working in the fields), teachers from country schools who had

not benefited from the same formation as the students from the Training College. The authorities in charge appreciated the work of the Brothers, and expressed their displeasure when Br. Calixte was named Assistant in 1837. The Brothers remained in charge of this establishment until 1880.

In the Cantal region, one of the formators from Rouen, Br. Surin (Joseph Bigou), took over direction of the Training college of Aurillac in 1841 and for almost 40 years trained the public primary teachers of that department. In 1842, the Bishops of Brittany asked that the Training College of Rennes be confided to the Brothers. They met no opposition but the project remained unfinished.

In fact, the presence of the Brothers in the Training Colleges, in France, remained very limited. Since it was a question of training teachers for public education, it was obviously up to the competent authorities to call upon the Brothers to fulfill this role. But was the Institute, for its part, disposed to invest more in this field?

In **Belgium**, under the government installed by the Constitution of 1831, the Catholics increased their primary schools (see p. 102-103). But they could not count solely on the members of Religious Institutes to run them. To train lay teachers, practical pedagogical courses were at first organized.

In Namur, the project of creating Training College began in the entourage of Mgr. Dehesselle, bishop of the diocese, in 1836. The establishment, which was confided to the Brothers, opened in 1836. In 1841, the Training College established itself in the ancient Abbey of Malonne, near the city. In this place, the Director, Br. Anscaire, ran into material difficulties. To assure the future of the institution, the Bishop of Namur agreed to transfer to the Institute his rights over the property. The contract was signed on October 16th 1846. At the head of the house from the same year, Br. Martinien (Joseph Dopont) assured its success. He also organized retreats for primary teachers from 1846.

In the same Diocese of Namur, formation courses for primary teachers had been established in the junior seminary of Bastogne. This solution not being satisfactory, the Bishop considered the creation of a Training College at Carlsbourg, in the Ardennes, and offered the Institute the opportunity to run it; in 1844, he succeeded in overcoming the reluctance of Br. Philippe. The first group of about twenty students began their formation there in November of the same year.

In **Italy**, in the continental part of the Sardinian states, there was also concern over the formation of primary teachers. Following the Decree of 1844 of King Charles-Albert, a

course in method was started in Turin by the University in January 1846. A similar course having been established in the Institution of Ste-Pélagie (see p. 146), two Brothers were called to be professors at the School of Method at the University, in 1850.

– Boarding-schools

A direct witness of the tradition of the boarding-schools run by the Brothers in the 18th Century, Br. Guillaume de Jésus was scrupulous enough to ask the Sovereign Pontiff if, by reason of the vow of teaching the poor gratuitously pronounced by the Brothers, they could run such establishments. The response of the Holy See allowed a return to the old tradition (see p. 77).

At Beziers, the Brothers were able to carry out the intentions of Father J.J. Martin (see p. 77). On February 21st the first boarder signed on; in August there were 18 students, but the number rose quickly. The program of studies proposed to the boarders responded to the views of Guizot on superior primary education and even went a bit further. ‘This teaching satisfied the rural people of the rich plains of the Orb, the merchants of the Mediterranean coast’ (RIGAULT 5-162). To respond to the wishes of some families, it was even proposed to have Latin lessons given to some pupils outside the school premises, but Br. Anaclet could not agree to this.

In Paris, in January 1837, at the request of neighboring families, Br. Anaclet admitted to the Juniorate some pupils who did not intend to become Brothers. When new candidates arrived, the Br. Superior-General authorized the opening of a boarding-school in buildings belonging to the Mother-House. At the beginning of May the establishment was up and running. This solution, however, caused some problems. In 1838 a building was acquired near the gates of Paris, in the commune of Passy. The real opening of the “Passy boarding-school” took place in April 1839.

During the first years when Br. Philippe was at the head of the Institute, a succession of boarding-schools or semi-boarding schools were opened, thus:

- in 1839, in Lyon, the Brothers were authorized to open a boarding-school in the house known as “the Lazarists”.

- in Toulouse, “St-Joseph’s Boarding-School” began in 1840.

- in Quimper, in 1847, the Brothers took over the establishment of “Le Likès”, where there were already, since 1837, two Brothers under the direction of a priest, teaching country boys who were boarding there. Since they did not follow Latin courses, these boys were called in Breton “likes”, that is to say “laymen”, to distinguish them from the pupils of the college who, learning Latin, could plan to become priests.

– in Marseille, the tradition of the famous boarding-school of the 18th Century was born again starting in 1848.

– in Reims, after a first attempt in 1831, a semi-boarding school was opened in 1845.

In **Savoy**, then part of the Sardinian States, a Brother from the region was behind the creation of “Saint-Joseph’s Boarding-School” in Thonon in 1844. At the same time another boarding-school opened in La Motte-Servolex, near Chambéry. This institution benefited from the protection of King Charles-Albert; after the latter’s fall in 1849, the establishment continued to receive pupils coming from Savoy and Northern Italy, since the Brothers did not yet have any boarding-school in Piedmont.

In **Belgium**, the initiative of Mgr. Dehesselle ‘led to the setting up of the two first and most important “boarding-schools” of the Brothers’ (RIGAULT 6-145). The intention of the Bishop was at first to create at Malonne a preparatory class for the junior-seminaries and colleges. The Superiors showed they were not too keen on this. Finally an agreement was reached in 1841. But when Br. Martinien took over direction of the house, it seemed necessary to him to give the new institution the traditional form of a “boarding-school”.

At Carlsbourg, in 1845-46, some young people turned up who wished to follow the courses but without receiving the formation given to future primary teachers. The Br. Director considered it preferable to offer them teaching aimed at commerce or industry; it was the beginning of the boarding-school which developed alongside the Training-College.

In **Canada**, in 1849, the *École des Glacis* in Québec received boarders, which led some to fear that this would lead to a distinction between pupils (*cf.* VOISINE I, 84).

Answers to needs of a more specifically social nature

The General-Chapter of 1844 gave approval to the “schools for adults and apprentices”. It also considered “the good which the Brothers could do in the central houses of correction” (*Register* B, 176 and 178). It thus made official the broadening of the fields of activity of the Brothers into domains other than traditional teaching.

– “Schools for adults”

During the period being considered here, Western Europe and North America were affected in various degrees by what was called ‘the first industrial revolution’ and by its social consequences. There was an attempt, especially in Catholic circles, to try to remedy these consequences by developing charitable works (*see* p. 9). The Brothers were

already making their own special contribution by giving free education to numbers of working-class children. The Institute also extended its action to the workers themselves by opening in industrial towns “schools for adults”, generally in the form of evening classes. Under the impetus of Brothers, such as Br. Philippe, who were more sensitive than the older Brothers to the realities of the moment, this type of action began to be developed in the Institute.

Such classes began at St. Nicolas-des-Champs in November 1830. Others started later in various schools in Paris. As a result of an exchange of letters on this subject, the Minister of Public Instruction, Guizot, wrote to Br. Anaclet on February 28th 1833: “I have seen with satisfaction that your efforts have already produced good results, since 790 workers of all types are now receiving instruction in your establishments” (RA EE 276/4). The Brothers had already, in fact, 11 evening schools: 6 in Paris, the others in Lille, Valenciennes, Troyes, Sedan, Laon. Soon Saint-Omer, Toulouse, and Orléans had them as well (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-131-132). There were some “midday schools” as well; 3 of them existed in 1833. Having become Superior-General, Br. Philippe was of the opinion that the action of the Brothers towards the workers had contributed to this, and before the Commission of 1849 (*see* p. 100-101) he stated that at the end of the days in June 1848, among the 48,000 workers and employees who had followed the courses given by the Brothers, there were only 17 looking for a testimonial to help them avoid reprisals for having taken part in the rising (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-302). He also picked out certain other fruits of these courses: baptisms, First Communion, legalizing of marriages. He could not better justify the importance that, in the Institute, was attached to these adult courses, in spite of the inconveniences which resulted from them: often, in fact, the addition of these courses to school activities, made it difficult to carry out the community exercises; they also led to increased fatigue.

In other countries, the Brothers had the same concern to help educate workers outside their working hours. Thus, Br. Hervé de la Croix, who had the experience of evening classes in France, wished that **Piedmont** should benefit from them as well. In a report which he presented to *R.O.M.I.* on May 2nd 1845, he proposed the creation of one at Ste-Pélagie. The King having accorded his authorization, the “Official Gazette” of December 3rd and 5th published a text destined to be put on posters to announce the opening of such classes. In 1846, they were attended by 480 pupils (RIGAULT 6-113). In various localities where they were present, the Brothers opened similar classes (RA NE 250-1).

Very quickly, when they returned to Belgium, the Brothers organized classes for adults in the form of evening or Sunday schools.

- in Verviers, in 1841, they took over an evening school which had been in existence for 8 years;
- in 1844, they opened one in Liège and in Namur;
- in Brussels, classes for adults were attended by servants, apprentices and soldiers, thanks to an extension of the premises carried out in 1846 (*cf.* RIGAULT 6-108).

Lots of other establishments created in the thirty or so localities where the Brothers were established before 1850, also included classes for adults.

Adult classes were also set up quickly in Canada. In Quebec, that created in 1844 by the Br. Director Zozime (Jean Fraysse), attracted a lot of people (*cf.* VOISINE I-257). In 1845, an evening course with three classes, was opened in the school of St-Laurent de Montréal (*id.*, 57).

The apostolic concern which animated the Brothers led to a certain broadening of the courses for adults. A priest of the parish of St-Nicolas-des-Champs, Father Crozes, had been the initiator of the **CŒuvre de St-François-Xavier** in 1842. Since the Brothers were running an important school in this parish, this work was set up there definitively in 1842. Twice a month, a talk was given there to young people and adults on hygiene, morals or religion; a collection among the participants enabled them to come to the help of sick members (*cf.* RA NC 743-18/16). The work was established in other schools in Paris and other localities.

There seems to have been a question about this work in a letter dated February 28th 1842 and addressed to the person in charge of the schools in Paris, in which Br. Philippe says that he “held a meeting with the Brothers in charge of simultaneous schools for adults in order to discuss again the question of the Sunday meetings. All were agreed in assuring me that these meetings were one of the most effective means of giving workers principles of order, conduct and religion” (RA EE 277-1/1). It must be made clear that since these meetings were held in the communal schools, the administration had to give its consent.

– The work with apprentices

The Brothers were also concerned about the situation of young apprentices. In the correspondence of Br. Philippe with the “Central Committee of the schools of the city of Paris”, a letter of June 27th 1844 shows how much this preoccupation inspired the work of the Brothers. In it the Superior-General writes:

“No one can be unaware of the state of abandonment in which several thousand children find themselves each year when they leave school to enter an apprenticeship... Filled with these thoughts, our Brothers began to gather these young people in the buildings of the communal schools. However, the Committee, wishing to regularize this new service, told us that we needed to suspend these meetings until there has been a ruling on the subject. Since that time the need to support these young people having made itself felt more and more, we have opened some private schools called apprentice schools...” (RA EE 277-1/7).

Preoccupied with the dangers both moral and religious which were risked by young people going into apprenticeship after school or children without education working in factories or workshops, a lay Christian, Armand de Melun, had asked for the help of the Institute in establishing a work intended to give support to these working-class children. Having submitted the question to the Brothers Directors of the schools of Paris, Br. Philippe concluded that “the work is excellent, it is necessary and it needs to be done” (RA KD 862-2/3). According to a presentation of what was called “the work for apprentices and workers”, this had a triple objective:

“1. To put children after school hours with reliable and clever teachers and have them visited by the Brothers.

2. To open evening schools for apprentices and children occupied in manufacturing, at the time when they finish in the factories and workshops, and to gather them together on Sundays under the direction and supervision of the Brothers.

3. To receive in a house of apprenticeship directed by the Brothers, a certain number of children, who, for a modest boarding-fee will be lodged, fed, looked after and will work in the house itself” (RA KD 862-1/9).

In another more detailed presentation of the same work (RA KD 867-1/1), it emerges that as regards No. 1, the Brothers just assisted a **patronage committee** whose job was to assure the placement of the apprentices and to visit these and their apprenticeship teachers at their workplaces.

The main contribution of the Brothers was in the organization of the evening schools and the Sunday meetings. In the larger establishments, the evening schools or more accurately the **evening classes**, for the apprentices who often left school at the age of 11 or 12, were separate from those for adults. Thus at Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, the classes for the apprentices and soldiers were held between 6 and 8 o'clock in the evening, and the others between 8 and 10 (RA NC 743-18/16). All the establishments which had classes for adults did not necessarily have any for apprentices, so that, when the latter reached the age of 14, they could join the former.

The **Sunday meetings** organized by the Brothers in their schools allowed them to offer the young apprentices healthy leisure activities and well as completing their Christian formation, notably by means of little talks given by a priest of the parish. Since this type of meeting was also called “patronage”, this term also seems to have been used to describe similar meetings open to other children.

The difficulties hinted at in the letter of Br. Philippe quoted earlier, particularly lead the Brothers to participate from 1843 in establishing the **apprenticeship house** referred to in No. 3 above. In the establishment of the Rue Neuve-St-Étienne the Brothers took charge of four kinds of apprentice:

‘First of all orphans or children of very poor people were fed, housed and looked after in the house and worked there under the direction of eighteen qualified artisans; then there were others, also enjoying the hospitality of the Rue Neuve, who under the supervision of the Brothers, were divided up among the workshops of the neighborhood; thirdly there were some who were fed by their bosses but who returned to the common dormitory each evening; the biggest number, however, were those placed by the brothers of St-Vincent-de-Paul with teachers of apprentices and confided morally to the Lasallians’ (RIGAULT 5-255).

But the action of the Brothers to help apprentices was far from being limited to Paris. In other French cities and also in other countries where they were present, the Brothers opened classes for apprentices and organized Sunday meetings for them. In Belgium and in Piedmont, the Brothers also looked after apprentices by giving them evening classes and bringing them together on Sundays.

Often also, with a view to preparing children deprived of their parents, for their future, the Brothers in various places found themselves asked to take over **orphanages**.

Even if, in Rome, the orphanage of Termi was the cause of difficulties for the Institute, we must not forget the work carried out by the Brothers in this important institution (see p. 123). In Reggia Emilia, in the Duchy of Modena, the Bishop, who wanted to re-open an orphanage closed in 1838, approached the Brothers in 1850 with this in view. The negotiations succeeded in 1852 (RIGAULT 6-56-57). In Belgium, among several projects, only that of the orphanage of Saint-Gilles in Namur, was successful in 1846.

In 1850, the Institute established itself in Germany, in the Rhineland region which was part of Prussia. A school was opened in Koblenz on October 7th and shortly afterwards the Brothers took over the orphanage of Kemperhof, which was nearby: the buildings were blessed on October 15th 1850. It was the first of several works of this type which would be confided to the Brothers in the Germanic countries.

– The activities of the Brothers in the prisons

In 1840, in Toulouse, seven Brothers were asked to catechize the prisoners in two prisons and at the same time to teach them reading, writing and arithmetic; in Nîmes, at the same period, three Brothers ‘went to moralize the prisoners’ (French Archives: F. Lemandus *Histoire des Frères à Toulouse*, 347). From that same year, in Paris, there were two Brothers teaching the children condemned to prison and placed for this reason in the “Petite Roquette”. The results obtained led the government to ask for the help of the Brothers in large penitentiaries.

Following the report of a commission of enquiry of four Brothers, the Superior-General, in January 1842, placed 37 Brothers in the prison of Nîmes (Gard). A set of rules of 1843 indicated the precise role and the functions of the Brothers within this penitentiary. In 1844, the system was extended to the prison of Fontevault (Maine-et-Loire) and, in 1845, to those of Melun (Seine-et-Marne) and of Aniane (Hérault). In the same year, four Brothers were employed in the prison of Reims (French Archives: *Historique de la Communauté de Reims*, 138). In 1846, Br. Facile was named visitor for the penitentiary centers and the hundred or so Brothers who worked in them. Since the Brothers remained under the authority of the prison directors, the duality of command which resulted, did not make things easy for their work. Furthermore their situation was not risk free. In Nîmes in 1845, Br. Pascal was attacked by a detainee. In spite of everything the Brothers ‘accomplished very fruitful work and acquired an excellent reputation’ (RIGAULT 5-271). They also exercised a certain amount of evangelizing activity.

The agitation leading up to the approach of the Revolution of February 1848, which began to take hold in the prisons, must have made the situation untenable for the Brothers after the fall of Louis-Philippe. The removal of the Brothers from the prisons was one of the consequences of this Revolution which Brother Philippe feared (see p. 87). The Brothers left Aniane on October 25th, Nîmes and Melun on November 18th and Fontevault at the end of the year. Later on, the Brothers continued to go and catechize the inmates, in places such as Orléans and Reims (RIGAULT 5-272).

At Namur, in **Belgium**, the Brothers became catechists and even, from 1840 on, teachers of the common law prisoners. In 1846, the prison authorities agreed to two Brothers living in the prison and put them in charge of supervising the young delinquents (RIGAULT 6-114 - cf. HUTIN II, 175-176).

In **Piedmont**, two classes were confided to the Brothers in the prison of Alessandria. The Brothers continued to teach there even after they were excluded from the public schools, in 1856. Brothers also went to teach the prisoners in Pinerolo.

Conclusion

The importance of these different works is due more to the interest attached to them in the Institute than to the numbers reached. A statistical table of 1847 (RA DD 268/3) shows for example that among their “pupils”, the Brothers counted 196,674 children, 18,768 adults, 3,159 pensioners, 681 orphans (120 in France, 561 in the Pontifical States), 6,764 prisoners (including 200 in Piedmont and 100 in Belgium).

In most of these cases, the investment of the Brothers in these types of work had a precedent in the previous history of the Institute. This is obvious in the case of the Training Colleges which simply restarted under a new form, the attempt of the Founder to create “Teacher Seminaries” and in the case of the boarding-schools which were continuing the tradition of the establishments set up in the 18th Century. One can see an antecedent for the adult schools in the “Christian Academy” opened by J-B. De La Salle at Saint-Sulpice in 1699 (see LS 5- 107). In the same way, the activities of the Brothers in the prisons could be considered as a follow-up to their apostolate in the “pensions de force”, just as the work with orphans and abandoned children could be seen as a continuation of what the Brothers had done in the ‘General Hospitals’ in the 18th Century (see LS 6-58).

On the other hand, it was not in the tradition of the Institute for the Brothers to make a direct contribution to the formation of apprentices. Their activities with these, in the 19th century, were in fact very closely related to their work with adults. In both cases, in fact, it consisted in providing a response to a need specifically related to the condition of workers. It was offering them a means of improving their situation by giving them the possibility of gaining access to a more satisfying form of work, while helping their Christian perseverance.

Just as in the past, the diversification of the activities of the Brothers gave witness to their capacity for widening the field of their apostolic activity in so far as that was compatible with the special characteristics of their Institute.

C - DEVELOPMENT (1850 - 1875)

The third quarter of the 19th Century was characterized, for the Institute, by the extent of the development which it went through. Hence the retention of the title at the top of this new section of its history.

The double aspect which had characterized the development of the Institute during the preceding period, can also be found in this new period, but in a still more pronounced way. On the one hand, numeric growth had continued in a rapid and impressive way. On the other hand, geographic expansion had been pursued not only in zones where the Institute was already present but equally in new areas.

With the exception of the last year, this period of important development took place under the Generalate of Br. Philippe. The latter, with a growing number of Assistants, governed the Institute at a time when it was necessary to multiply the administrative divisions while at the same time maintaining overall consistency. Br. Philippe had also willingly had recourse to General Chapters when important problems presented themselves. At the same time he made an effort to animate the Brothers by using all the means of reaching them at his disposal, especially the circulars which he addressed to them frequently or the works which he wrote or had written for their benefit.

In spite of all this effort at animation and the increasing numbers in the Institute, the wish to respond as far as possible to the calls which were made to him from all sides had a certain number of repercussions for the Brothers. Such remained notably the case where their formation was concerned.

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In the field of education, the period was marked in particular by the struggle which the Institute led in France against the representatives of the State, who were forever imbued with the 'bourgeois' notion according to which education was a good which had to be paid for. Attached to maintaining gratuitous education which made no exception of persons, the Brothers continued to refuse to agree that a contribution should be demanded from some of their pupils. But finally they had to give in. And while, not only in the ruling circles but also in the Catholic milieu from which they drew their support, there was a refusal to allow the establishment of free and compulsory education, this double objective was taken up by those who also wished to see

installed laicized education, that is to say an education which was neutral in regard to all religion. In other countries, to support their schools, the Brothers saw themselves obliged to have recourse to accepting contributions from the parents of their pupils.

In practice, in all the countries where they were to be found, the Brothers continued to remain specializing in primary teaching. However, since they understood that they could not limit themselves to that, they showed themselves capable of creating other kinds of establishments: boarding-schools, colleges of middle education, professional courses. Thus, in France, the teaching given in their boarding-schools served as a model for the State in creating what was called "special education". In England, they introduced an education of the same type which suited the middle class which was then expanding; it was the same in the British dependencies in South-East Asia. In the United States, where they were asked by the bishops to extend the education given in their Academies, the Brothers opened University colleges; they also took over establishments created to receive abandoned children. In Germany and Austria they found themselves mainly given orphanages to look after.

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Just as the diversity of the countries where they were present caused them to make adaptations, the context in which the Brothers found themselves in these different countries had repercussions on them.

France, on the political front, continued to have the same type of alternating governments as had marked the preceding period. Four years after the revolution of 1848, the President of the Republic installed once again a monarchy-type régime while taking the title of Emperor. During the twenty years that this régime lasted, the country enjoyed a remarkable economic development. A growing opposition and the reverses in the war with Germany brought about the fall of the Empire in 1870 and the establishment of a provisional Republican government. However, power quickly passed again into the hands of supporters of the restoration of the monarchy, but these failed in their plans and the Republic was definitively established in 1875. The Brothers had experienced their strongest development during the Second Empire; the events of 1870-1871 brought about a slowing-down in this development but it picked up again in the following years.

In Europe, other countries, notably Belgium, suffered political changes of power which affected the Institute. Furthermore, in Italy, the achievement of national unity

took place in conditions which were not favorable to Catholics, including the Brothers. In Germany, it was in the years following the achievement of its unity, that the Brothers, like all other religious, had to endure the consequences of Bismarck's policies. The Brothers arrived in England at a time of strong economic development; finding it difficult to devote themselves to primary education, they turned towards the middle classes and were led towards looking after abandoned children.

In Canada, this period was favorable to the development of the Institute. In certain parts of the United States, the Brothers suffered the consequences of the Civil War; however, this barely slowed down their progress in the States where they were already established or in those which they were reaching. As for Ecuador, where they arrived in 1863, the Brothers benefited there from the political stability which continued during the period being considered here.

In South-East Asia, as in the islands south-east of Africa, and the French-speaking parts of North Africa, the establishment of the Brothers took place in the context of both the missionary movement which marked the 19th Century and the colonial expansion of certain European countries.

Three chapters will cover this period:

Chapter 7: The Institute in a rapid phase of development;

Chapter 8: The Institute within the framework of continental Europe;

Chapter 9: The presence of the Institute across the world.

The date of 1875, chosen to mark the end of the period, is linked to the Institute's own history. It marks, in fact, a turning point between what we call the 'era of Br. Philippe' and the thirty years which followed, when the changes occurring in the situation of the Institute in France had a considerable impact on the Institute as a whole.

Chapter 7 – THE INSTITUTE IN A PHASE OF RAPID DEVELOPMENT

Orientation

During the third quarter of the 19th Century, the Institute had at its head Br. Philippe, who had already been Superior-General for 12 years. This continuity in the government of the Institute had helped it face up to a particularly rapid development. The latter, however, had repercussions which were not always favorable to the Institute.

Institutional aspects

If what we call here institutional aspects, have not been everything in the life of the Institute during the period we are studying at present, nevertheless we need to look at them first because they have constituted a kind of thread running through the history of the Institute itself. We will limit ourselves to what is connected with the central organs of the Institute: the General-Chapters and the “Régime” of the Institute.

– General-Chapters

One can notice that the number of General-Chapters which were held between 1850 and 1875 was relatively large since, apart from that held in the last year, we can count six, five of them at the time of Br. Philippe. Because of the number of these Chapters, the data concerning them will be dealt with in a summarized form.

Calendar

Opening date	Duration	Capitulants	Place	Special features
16.06.1853	18 days	54	rue Oudinot	Intended for Feb.1854
02.03.1854	13 days	54	id.	
10.07.1858	16 days	54	id.	
04.09.1861	19 days	62	Passy Boarding-School	
12.06.1873	21 days	71	rue Oudinot	Delayed by 1870-71 War
07.04.1874	14 days	74	id.	Election of Br. Jean-Olympe

Reasons for convening

The majority of the Chapters referred to above were called for a reason foreseen by the Rule - end of a ten-year period, election of a Superior-General - but some special features can be picked out:

- in 1853 the Chapter was called in the year before that which had been agreed in 1844;
- in 1873 it was held after the date planned in 1861 because events in France in 1870-71 made it necessary to postpone the Chapter which should have been held in 1871;

- in 1874 the Chapter was called to elect a successor to Br. Philippe.

Other Chapters were convened for special reasons:

- in 1858, according to the Circular which convened it, the Chapter was to meet to elect several Assistants;

- in 1854 and 1861 Br. Philippe judged it necessary to call a Chapter because of the problems involved in applying the principle of gratuity in France (see **Complement** on this question).

Types of decisions

A certain number of decisions taken during the General-Chapters were in direct relation with the growth of the Institute. We will look at this later. Otherwise, since the discussions dealt, as is usual, with questions submitted to the Capitulants by the Superiors or the points to which the notes of the Brothers drew the attention of the Chapter, they gave rise to decisions concerning the religious life of the Brothers and their apostolic activities. One can pick out some of these decisions relating to the following topics:

- Prayers: in 1858 it was planned to review the Exercises of Piety to bring them into line with the Roman liturgy (*Register B*, 315).

- Vows: one of the decisions taken in 1853 dealt with the Chapter of admission to vows and another made recommendations on the subject of poverty (*id.* 238). In 1858, a decision was made to have the taking of annual vows before triennial (*id.* 318).

- Formation: in 1854 there was question of establishing a plan of studies for the young Brothers (*id.* 266). At the Chapter of 1873, one of the decisions foresaw the revising of the *coutumier* to leave more time for the Brothers to study; another reminded them about the obligation of studying catechism (*id.* 443).

- Works: one of the 19 decisions of the Chapter of 1853 recognized once more the “regular” existence of boarding-schools (*id.* 241). One decision of the 1858 Chapter dealt with meetings of “young people who no longer attend our schools” (*id.* 319).

- Schools: the Chapter of 1853 gave directives relative to prayers in our schools; it forbade the teaching of instrumental music but encouraged the teaching of plain-chant (*id.* 240).

– The “Régime” of the Institute

The Superiors-General

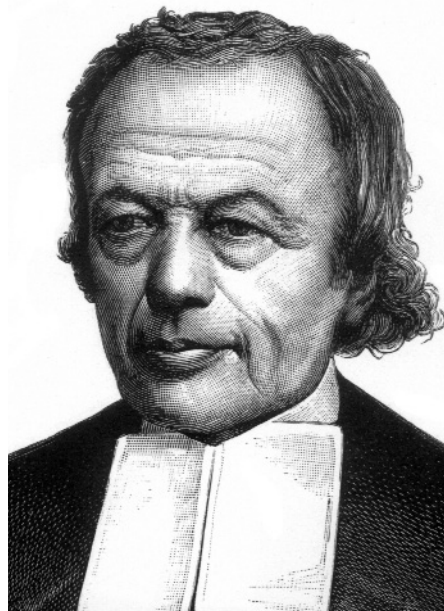
In 1850, Br. Philippe had already been at the head of the Institute for 12 years and was to remain so for another 24 years. It was during these years of his Generalate that the Institute experienced its biggest increase since, during these 36 years, it increased from 4,621 Brothers to 10,664. Br. Philippe contributed to this development by the impetus he gave.

He also saw the disadvantages of it without perhaps always taking the necessary means to remedy the situation. However that may be, his activities during the time when he was at the head of the Institute are too important to be summarized in a few lines. The Complement which follows this chapter will show the various aspects of the activities of Br. Philippe and try to measure their impact.

At the Chapter of 1873, Br. Philippe had handed in his resignation but it had not been accepted. He died, aged 82, on January 7th 1874. The Chapter convened to name his successor, elected **Br. Jean-Olympe**.

Joseph Paget was born on July 4th 1813 in the *département* of Doubs, in Franche-Comté. He had already been a school-teacher when he entered the novitiate of Lyon in 1837; he was named the school's Director in 1841, the year of his religious profession. In 1850 he was named first Visitor of the District of Besançon and in 1858 was elected Assistant.

For this reason he held an important position in relation to Br. Philippe, whom he succeeded in 1874. But he himself held the position of Superior-General for only one year, since he died in April 1875. The short duration of his Generalate was in contrast with that of his predecessor so that in a way it could be considered as an extension of the latter. Br. Jean-Olympe did not hide his intention to cause a strengthening of the spiritual life of the Brothers, by calling to Paris for a retreat, first the Visitors and then the Directors of Novices. To give his directives to the Brothers in general or to those in certain categories, he addressed no fewer than twenty Circulars to them.



Brothers Assistants

The work of the Brothers Assistants became heavier with the development of the Institute. At the Chapter of 1858 an approach was made to the Holy See to obtain permission to increase the number of Assistants to 10. In 1874, a similar approach aimed at adding two new Assistants; however the Chapter elected only 11 because the Br. Superior asked that the naming of the 12th be postponed till later; this was eventually carried out at the Chapter of 1875.

This naming of supplementary Assistants served to replace Assistants who had died or those whose resignation had been accepted. In this way the following were chosen:

- in 1853: Br. Firmilien (Pierre Esprit Martin) born in 1803;
- in 1858: Bros. Mamert (Amé Joseph Dugave) born in 1798, Badime (Étienne Vananier) born in 1813, Judore (Pierre Carrière de Boneil) born in 1810, Jean-Olympe (future Superior);
- in 1861: Bros. Facile (Benoît Rabut) born in 1800, and Agapet (Simon Léon Capronnier) born in 1816;
- in 1873: Bros. Irlide (future Superior), Exupérien (Adrian Mas) born in 1829, Patrick (John Patrick Murphy) born in 1822, Renaux (Louis Renaux) born in 1820;
- in 1874: Bros. Joseph (future Superior) and Osée (François Louis Lassus) born in 1819.

Since they were both councilors to the Superior-General and in charge of a certain number of Districts or Provinces, sometimes quite distant, in spite of the enlargement of the Régime, the Brothers Assistants still had to face a task which was all the heavier since, as was remarked at the Chapter of 1874, several of these Brothers were quite old, five of them being over 70. Furthermore, while the Institute was becoming more international, even if among the Assistants there were some who came from Provinces outside France, as was the case before this with Brothers Anthelme and Amos and, since 1861, with Br. Facile, the first non-French Assistant was Br. Patrick, elected in 1873.

The growth of the Institute

In comparison with the numeric growth which the Institute had experienced already during the preceding period, that which occurred between 1850 and 1875 was even greater. Thus one can establish that from 1830 to 1850 there had been 3,201 Brothers and from 1850 to 1875 there had been 6,729.

– Quantitative data

You will find on the following page, an extract from a graph covering the period 1803-

1928 (RA DD 252) which shows the overall growth of the Institute according to different categories of Brothers, for the two periods which have just been indicated.

The growth noticed took place mainly in France but the evolution of the part due to other countries is also shown in the following table which picks up the figures given in the statistics for three years taken as points of reference:

	1852	1862	1872
France and its colonies	4.325	6.694	8.073
Other countries	991	1.338	1.891
Total	5.316	8.032	9.964

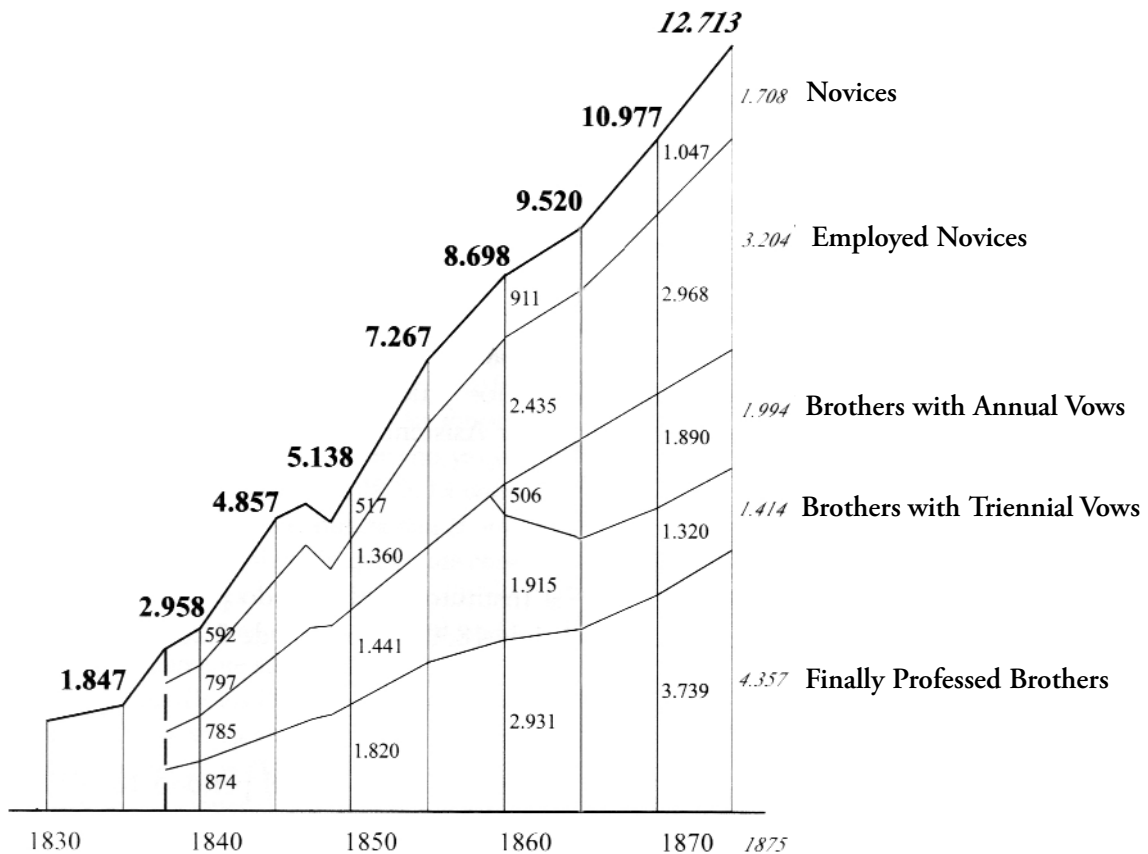
– Factors involved in growth

The most determining was that of entries into the Institute; direct entries or in some cases prepared for by time in the Junior Novitiate. Looking at the preceding graph, it appears that the number of novices which was 517 in 1850 went up to 911 in 1860 and 1,047 in 1869 (rather than 1870, for which there are no statistics). And, even if the events of 1870-1871, in France and Italy, brought about a temporary drop, the number of novices reached a maximum of 1,708 in 1875. A good part of the increase was linked to the creation of new novitiates, whether in France during the creation of new Districts or in other countries, often shortly after the arrival of the Brothers.

A drop in the number of departures from the Institute or in the number who died prematurely could also constitute a factor in the growth. With regard to departures, in his account to the Pope in 1859 which we will be talking about later, Br. Philippe pointed out, in regard to dispensations from vows, that an improvement had taken place since his last meeting with the Pope.

A summary of data furnished by the annual statistics mentioning the ratio between the number of Brothers who had left and those still in the Institute, allows us to note that for the ten years or so around 1859, the ratio was the following:

1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864
1/19	1/23	1/17	1/19	1/24	1/23	1/21	1/19	1/25	1/18	1/20



Effectively, if this ratio was better in 1858 and 1859, this did not continue in the following years, apart from 1862. We have to wait another twenty years before a noticeable improvement makes itself felt (RA DD 280/4).

In the same way a reduction in the number of premature deaths could have helped growth in the Institute. From a table to be found in RA (GF 401-1), we can establish that from 1855 to 1864 the number of Brothers dying was the following, for the age groups and years indicated:

	16-25 years	26-40 years	41-60 years	61-80 years	Total
1855 - 1859	157	151	79	38	425
1860 - 1864	174	167	99	66	506

In each of these periods, the percentage of Brothers dying between 16 and 40 years of age represents respectively 72% and 63.7% of the total deaths, which is considerable. As for the improvement noted, it would be necessary to be able to verify that it continued and that it thus had a significant repercussion on the growth of the Institute.

– Evolution in numbers according to different categories of Brothers

In relation to the taking of vows, the Brothers, after the novitiate properly so-called, can be divided into three categories:

- the professed: Brothers having pronounced Perpetual Vows,
- the Brothers having temporary vows: of three years and after 1858, of one year,
- the employed novices: Brothers in community but not having vows.

How did the growth of the Institute affect each of these categories? A table which gives the numbers at ten year intervals, helps us to answer this question.

	1852	1862	1872
With Perpetual Vows	2.135	2.952	3.973
With Temporary vows	1.458	2.799	3.189
Employed Novices	1.723	2.496	2.802
TOTAL	5.316	8.220	9.964

In ratio to the total, the Brothers with Perpetual Profession represented: 40.1% in 1852, 35.5% in 1862 and 39.8% in 1872; which shows the relatively small proportion of the number of finally professed and the fairly big consistency of this proportion. We have already given an explanation for this fact (see p. 130-131), but one could equally see in this a consequence of the size of the number of Brothers who did not reach the stage of perpetual profession.

Repercussions of the growth of the Institute

To what extent did the rapid growth which the Institute experienced have repercussions on it? This is a question to which we will try to give an answer while distinguishing three levels of the Institute.

– The Centre of the Institute

We have already referred to the increase in the number of Assistants. If one looks at the *Registre des délibérations du Conseil de Régime*, one notes that among the decisions taken, many can be linked to the growth of the Institute, for example to the opening of new novitiates or the creation of new houses in localities in France, in countries where the Institute was already present or in new countries.

As far as the General Chapters are concerned, it is only in 1873 that we see the Capitulants worrying about “the difficulty many Districts find themselves in, especially Paris, with regard to personnel”. As a result they took steps to slow down the increase in establishments. Brothers Visitors were asked to indicate which houses were lacking in resources or suitable buildings; and above all it was decided that “No new establishment be created before the next Chapter, except in case of absolute necessity” or, unless it was a help in “the recruitment of subjects” (*Registre* B, 443). This “lack of personnel” seems rather a paradox in a period of strong growth. It was because the need to supply Brothers, to the large number of establishments which had been created, had begun to pose a problem. But in the face of this problem, one doesn’t see that any thought was given to the matter on the occasion of General-Chapters or within the General Council.

– Districts and Provinces

In his text presenting the Institute to Pope Pius IX during an audience in 1959, which we will be dealing with later, Br. Philippe said:

“We have divided our Institute into 40 districts or Provinces so that the Visitor placed in charge of each, can more easily maintain piety, a good spirit, regularity and the zeal necessary for the good education of youth, and give us an account of it” (RA EE 177/11).

What was said in this passage shows clearly the place which had been taken, in the organization of the Institute, by the Districts created in France and the Provinces constituted in other countries. This also shows the multiplication of the number of Districts and Provinces which accompanied the development of the Institute. Since the statistics of 1852 still mention only 7 French Districts as well as those of Bourbon Island and Algeria, together with the 10 Provinces, the number mentioned by the Br. Superior is the result of the multiplication of French Districts and the creation of new Provinces which had taken place since then. According to the statement of statistics, in 1872, 18 Provinces could be added to the 25 French Districts along with Algeria, Réunion (Bourbon) Island and Cochin China (Vietnam).

In spite of the extension of the Institute into other countries, the Brothers exercising the role of Visitor in the Provinces remained, more often than not, French Brothers. However, from 1870, the Brother Vicar-General for the Italian Province of Rome was once again an Italian. Afterwards, Br. Ambrose (James Rourke) had been Visitor of New York from 1864 to 1866. Since 1868 Br. Hoséa (Éphrem Gagnon) was Visitor of Canada. He remained so until 1875.

– Communities

A statement of statistics (RA DD 268/3) of the Institute indicates that in 1850, the latter was comprised of 604 “establishments” (in reality: communities) for 1,144 schools; in 1875 there were 1,213 communities; thus in 25 years the number of communities had doubled.

The Brothers did not always live in buildings suitable for community life. A case cited is that when Br. Jean-Olympe became Visitor of the District of Besançon, all he had for a bed was a drawer from a chest of drawers. In the case of old houses, some improvements took place at the time of Br. Philippe; however, not all houses benefited and among those which opened, some were also in a precarious situation (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-432). In the same way, the conditions in which the Brothers exercised their activities - large numbers of pupils, badly adapted buildings, lack of free time outside class and spiritual exercises - did not facilitate the observance of the Rule. In boarding-schools, especially in the beginning, the workload could be very heavy (*id.* 434).

Some Directors let themselves become wrapped-up in their multiple obligations; one notes, for instance, among the reasons which led the Chapter of 1873 to wish to limit the creation of new establishments, “the neglected, defective or awkward way in which some communities were being directed”. Another reason invoked was “the presence of some unsuitable subjects, who by reason of the circumstances, were retained in some houses”. The rapid growth of the Institute, and even more that of its activities, was not therefore without having an effect on at least a certain number of communities.

Conclusion

The rapid and significant development of the Institute during the years when Br. Philippe was Superior of the Institute is undeniable. It was seen as a sign of prosperity. The speed of this development, however, was not without its drawbacks. The decision taken in 1873 is particularly significant in this regard. A similar decision had already

been adopted in 1837 and yet the development of the Institute had continued since then at a steady pace. How do we explain what appears to be a contradiction?

The motivation was surely of an apostolic nature. With the development in schooling which the period experienced, there was a desire to offer a Christian education to the maximum number of children and young people, by taking over an increasing number of schools, and by continuing this education beyond the normal years of schooling. This was all the more so because there was also a need to counter the adversaries of the Church whose intention was to “laicize” teaching by cutting it off from religion (see p. 185 - RIGAULT 5-554).

In order to reply favorably to as many requests as possible, it was necessary to admit a growing number of Brothers and to quickly assign them to schools. But the rapidity of the formation and the conditions of life and work in community contributed to the increasing number of those who did not remain in the Institute. Thus the latter did not experience the growth which the number of entries would have led us to expect and one could say that the growth produced was, in a way, an illusion. Without doubt one can find the most evident sign of this is the semi-stagnation of the relative number of finally professed.

Finally, as for other periods, what makes the true value of the ‘Br. Philippe era’ is the sum of devotion shown by so many Brothers in the exercise of their apostolic and educational mission, the fidelity of many to their religious commitments, the holiness of so many Brothers, known or remaining in the shadows. In this connection, the most significant example is, without doubt, that of Br. Benildus, Pierre Romançon, born in 1805 and who entered the Institute in 1820.

When, in his Circular of August 20th 1862, Br. Philippe announced the death of this Brother, he devoted only a few lines to him; the Circular was already, as he said, “gone to press”. Nevertheless, the Superior gave the essential when he wrote, “that the worthy Br. Benildus had been one of the most perfect models of simplicity and humility; we are not afraid to repeat with the entire population of Saugues: the saint is dead; he has left us for Heaven!” (*Relations mortuaires* 4, 344). By his zeal in the exercise of his role as Director of a small school, by his example of regularity as well as by his great attention to the Brothers of the community for which he was responsible, Br. Benildus, throughout the 23 years which he spent in the village of Saugues, showed the holiness which was recognized in him by the population.

7. *THE WORK OF BROTHER PHILIPPE*

As Superior-General, Br. Philippe played a major role in the Institute, not only because of the length of his generalate but more so because of the way in which he exercised his responsibilities. At the head of an expanding Institute, he had to lead it in such a way that it adapted itself to such an expansion. In order that the quantitative growth should not lead to a weakening, he had also to create an interior dynamism among the Brothers and support them in their work.

Leading the Institute

Chosen by the highest authority in the Institute, the Br. Superior-General was invested with the widest authority; his responsibility was all the greater because he had been placed at the head of a very centralized religious congregation. He also had to exercise this responsibility in such a way that it would be at the service of all. Furthermore, because it was a teaching religious congregation, its Superior had to be in contact with representatives of both religious and civil authority.

– **The Exercise of Authority**

Br. Philippe had already acquired experience in the exercise of authority as Director of various houses, notably that of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris. Elected Assistant in 1830, he was for eight years the right hand man of Brother Anaclet. Elected in his turn Superior-General, he had to exercise the supreme authority along with those who shared his responsibility at different levels. Even if these various superiors had only delegated authority, Br. Philippe, while dealing with all the points at issue with them, allowed each of them to exercise his authority at his own level.

A man of action, firm in putting into practice decisions which had been adopted, Br. Philippe did not govern in a solitary fashion. We can see a sign of this in the fact that we have few letters hand-written by him. When he gave instructions in writing, he did it in a concise and precise way, in rapid writing which, unlike that of many Brothers, was not very neat; he then gave the job of editing the definitive text to one of his secretaries, ready to add a few words in his own handwriting just before signing.

The Councilors of the Br. Superior-General, the Bros. Assistants, formed with him the “Régime” of the Institute. This body, gathered as “the Council of the Régime” examined the most important questions submitted to it by the Br. Superior. The *Registre de Délibérations* of this Council shows that Br. Philippe convened it on a regular basis apart

from the time of school holidays or more troubled periods. It was to a 'mission of confidence' that the Brothers Visitors in charge of a District or "Foreign Province" were called, and so Br. Philippe took particular care to choose them often from among the Directors of large houses or novitiates. The growing number of Directors meant that the Br. Superior could not know them all, but it fell to him to appoint them all.

Normally present in Paris, the Brothers Assistants being in charge of dealing more particularly with questions relating to several Districts, they referred these directly to the Br. Superior. However, this function or some special mission led them to make a certain number of journeys. On these occasions, the letters which Br. Philippe himself wrote to them, far from being purely administrative, gave news and asked for news. They also show the cordiality of the relations which existed between superiors. The letters addressed in April 1848 to Br. Assistant Abban, are a good example of this (RA EE 277-1/1). Although the relations between the Bros. Visitors and the Superior of the Institute were normally carried out through the Brothers Assistants, it sometimes happened that Br. Philippe addressed himself to them directly. It was the same in the case of the Bros. Directors, who normally kept contact through the Visitors or Assistants on whom they depended. In both cases, the letters which Br. Philippe wrote to them, dealt mainly with the subject which was the object of the letter; however, they did not have a purely administrative tone. When it was a question of very distant countries, this correspondence shows that Br. Philippe was attentive to particular situations and that he allowed the local superiors a certain latitude to take account of these situations. Brothers Visitors as well as Brothers Directors often received Circulars which were especially destined for them.

– Relations with the Brothers

Although, normally, the Brothers dealt with the representatives of the Superior-General, the latter had at his disposal, however, a certain number of means for directly reaching all the members of the Institute or a number of them.

We have few remains of the **correspondence** which Br. Philippe must have exchanged with the Brothers, even if the latter were supposed to write to him every two months. It was, in fact, normally the Brothers Assistants who replied to these letters. This did not exclude Br. Philippe corresponding in a personal way with some Brothers, something which the latter especially appreciated. The **visits** which he made during his different trips offered him a chance to meet and get to know the Brothers. Thus, after his nomination as Superior-General he undertook a journey through France. Other journeys in

France or in neighboring countries, followed. On the other hand, the state of transport did not allow him to reach the more distant countries which were thus deprived of such contacts, which at times was a cause of problems. Another opportunity for meeting the Brothers was offered to him when he presided at the annual **retreats**. He always reserved several for himself, starting with that of the District of Paris. We have to admit, however, that it is difficult for us to evaluate the effect of these different means of reaching the Brothers.

The favored method used by Br. Philippe to address all the Brothers was certainly the sending of **Circulars**. Before him, Br. Anaclet had already used this method more than his predecessors. There were some 400 Circulars of unequal length from Br. Philippe. Some dealt with several subjects: news, announcements of deaths with short biographies for those who had vows, directives concerning the religious and apostolic life or dealing with school activities. Others, especially those sending New Year greetings, dealt, sometimes at great length, with a particular theme. To reach the Brothers and help them, Br. Philippe also published for their benefit **works** which he wrote himself or for which he got help from some Brothers.

– **Contacts outside the Institute**

As **Superior of a religious institute**, Br. Philippe was in contact with other Superiors of Congregations of men and women. These contacts, in general, only concerned each Congregation individually because there was no specific organization for all the religious orders. One may note, however, that after consultation with the Superiors of male teaching Congregations, Br. Philippe signed a report on December 18th 1867, relating to a law restricting the exemptions from military service for young religious of these Congregations.

Apart from the preliminary contacts which he could have had with Bishops and other members of the clergy on the occasion of new foundations, Br. Philippe remained in contact with a certain number of them. Such was notably the case with the Archbishop and the clergy of Paris, where the Brothers had many schools and animated various works for young people or adults. The same reasons also led him to keep in contact with lay Christians involved in the development of the same institutions or works; in this regard we know the role played notably by Armand de Melun with Br. Philippe (see p. 155).

His office also led Br. Philippe to be in contact with the Holy See. This could be through the person of the Papal Nuncio in Paris. Contacts were also established between the Superior of the Brothers and Apostolic Delegates in mission countries. Br. Philippe

also had recourse to the Roman Congregations in order to obtain various “rescripts” and he met the heads of these Congregations during his visits to Rome. The case was the same with the Cardinal Protector of the Institute.

But, above all, it is not an exaggeration to say that a particularly cordial relationship was established between Pope Pius IX and Br. Philippe, in spite of the great deference which the latter always showed with regard to the Sovereign Pontiff. It is true that the two men were almost contemporaries and that, for many years they exercised their office simultaneously. Thus, during this time, apart from their exchanges of letters, the two men were able to meet on several occasions. On each occasion the Br. Superior never failed to inform the Brothers of these meetings and profited from this to remind them to renew their attachment to the person of the Pope (*cf. Rivista Lasalliana* No. 3 - 2000).

As **head of a teaching Congregation**, Br. Philippe found himself involved in French public life, especially where questions relating to school were concerned. He could be asked, at government level, for his help in drawing up new laws concerning education. Such was the case when he was heard by the commission which met in 1849 (see p. 100-101). It also happened that he had to give his opinion on other projects, even if the latter had not been submitted to him; thus he especially fought against dispositions unfavorable to the Brothers. On these occasions he would also look for the support of friendly politicians or would have recourse to councilors such as Ambroise Rendu. In a circular of May 25th 1860, he recommended the latter to the prayers of the Brothers, in recognition of the numerous services which the Institute had received from him. For other reasons, we can see that Br. Philippe had to deal with the French Ministry of the Colonies or of Foreign Affairs in connection with distant missions.

At another level, Br. Philippe could find himself in contact with different persons or bodies in charge of applying official decisions locally: Prefects representing the Government in the *Départements*; Rectors and Inspectors of the *Académies* responsible for school affairs at different levels. The most surprising is to find Br. Philippe personally participating in negotiations with the bodies in charge of school matters in Paris. This arose, it seems, from the fact that, although the District of Paris, at least for the houses in the greater Paris area, had a Visitor, it was, in fact administered directly by the Br. Superior and one of his Assistants.

The spiritual animation of the Brothers

When he was elected Superior of the Institute, Br. Philippe was given the mission of

directing an Institute whose members consecrated themselves to God in the religious life, in view of a school apostolate. Even though these two poles of the life of the Brothers are united, it seemed valid to distinguish in the work of Br. Philippe that which was connected with the religious life as such and that which was more related to their apostolic activity. In as far as the first of these two domains is concerned, we can pick out, through the means Br. Philippe had for reaching the Brothers, three major directions which he gave to his work.

– **Insistence on the religious commitment of the Brothers**

Several of the Circulars of Br. Philippe had as their aim to remind the Brothers of their religious commitments. His first Circular, of December 28th 1838, arising from the request of the General-Chapter, came back to a certain number of points of the Rule: this took the form of an exhortation to observe “these holy Rules which ought to be for us the source of happiness in becoming the principle of our sanctification”. In January 1851, he took up this subject again, reminding the Brothers of their duties to God, the Institute, the Rules... At other times he would emphasize a particular point:

- in January 1845, a whole section was devoted to charity;
- in 1864 it was a question of the spirit of faith.

Each year, on regular dates, various pieces of advice were given on the **vows**: the sending of the list of aspirants; a reminder of the obligation for the professed Brothers to give their opinion on the aspirants that they knew; an invitation to re-read certain Circulars relating to the vows such as those of Br. Agathon; the date of the Chapter of Admission to Vows. A Circular of May 28th 1858 dealt specially with this Chapter. On May 22nd 1857, another was devoted entirely to the question of vows. These texts, as well as the instructions given, show the concern to admit to vows and especially final vows, only those candidates showing sufficient guaranties, and equally the wish to give full freedom to the candidates.

– **The support given to the spiritual life of the Brothers**

It appears that one of the great concerns of Br. Philippe was to help the Brothers to advance in the spiritual life. In some of his Circulars he limits himself to a relatively brief exhortation on a subject concerning the religious life in general, such as: the preparation for spiritual combat (1841); the practice of the virtues (1858); perseverance (1859); discouragement (1865) or, on the contrary, the motives for encouragement (1866). Other Circulars were veritable treatises, or according to a systematic plan, abundant consider-

ations cleared up different aspects of a question. Thus:

- in 1846, fervor is presented as a remedy to the boredom which can arise from the uniformity of a Brother's life;
- in 1862, a very detailed exposition on the subject of grace.

Br. Philippe occupied himself in helping the Brothers to intensify and nourish their prayer-life. Thus when the Chapter of 1858 decided to have the *Manual of Piety* conform to the Roman liturgy, the new edition was offered to the Brothers as a New Year present on January 1st 1860. Br. Philippe attached great importance to **Mental Prayer**. In January 1840, under the title *A word about mental prayer*, he devoted 12 pages to reminding the Brothers of its necessity and above all to giving them different practical means of applying themselves to it in conformity with the method of the Institute. With the same end in view, noting, as he said himself, that the Brothers lacked good reading material, in 1862 he set about writing or having written a whole series of *Meditations* on subjects like the Eucharist, the Passion of Our Lord, the Last Ends, the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, the religious life. Each theme was the object of a collection of 50 to 100 topics intended to be read at the beginning of the morning or evening meditation (*cf.* RA LC 209).

Br. Philippe came back again and again to the **devotions** to which he was particularly attached. For him, the Eucharist, to which he consecrated his circular of January 3rd 1867, was the source of Christian life. Faithful to the traditional line of the Institute, he went against the rigid position inherited from Jansenism, by recommending frequent communion, even if, in the Institute, one continued to keep to “communions of Rule” on certain days of the week. He also insisted that the Brothers should penetrate themselves with faith in the Real Presence and inculcate it into their pupils. Like his immediate predecessors, he had a special devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and he did his best to spread it throughout the Institute. The Circular of May 26th 1862 deals at length with this devotion. A series of subjects for meditation was devoted to the Eucharist and the Sacred Heart.

Continuing a tradition going back to the Founder of the Institute, Br. Philippe accorded a special place to devotion to the Blessed Virgin. On several occasions he recommended to the Brothers the practice of the “month of Mary”. In January 1855, he spoke to the Brothers on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. In the same way, he invited the Brothers to have a great devotion to St. Joseph, notably in a circular of January 18th 1860 where he encouraged confidence and devotion towards this saint.

Several times, on the approach of the month of March, he reminded the Brothers that this month was devoted to honoring this saint.

In the Circulars of Br. Philippe, one notices a fairly frequent mention of **indulgences**, either to announce that the Pope had accorded another one to the Institute, or to remind the Brothers of the conditions necessary to be fulfilled to “gain” one or other indulgence. One of the concerns of those who had cooperated in the new edition of the *Manual of Piety* was to ensure, as far as possible, that the prayers said by the Brothers would be those carrying indulgences. This was even the cause of delaying the edition; the Br. Procurator to the Holy See who had submitted the text to the competent authorities having had to make sure that it conformed to the especially meticulous requirements relating to the conditions to be fulfilled in order to benefit from the indulgences attached to these prayers (*cf.* RA LC 208-1/3).

– The importance given to the memory of the Founder of the Institute

Following on from his predecessor, Br. Philippe was determined to obtain the glorification by the Church of the Founder of the Institute. In the Circulars one can follow the progress of the Founder’s **Cause of Beatification**; thus the Brothers were informed about:

- the introduction of the Cause in Rome and the giving of the title of Venerable to J.-B. De la Salle (Circulars of April 7th and May 26th 1840);
- the preparatory Congregation concerning the heroicity of his virtues (Circ. of May 10th 1872);
- the decree of the heroicity of the virtues (Circulars of November 1st and December 1st 1873).

On other occasions Br. Philippe informed the Brothers of the cures obtained through the intercession of “Venerable de la Salle”. On December 2nd 1867, he asked the Brothers to read a booklet entitled: *The true friend of childhood*, “in order, he said, to re-animate our confidence in our venerable Founder”.

Br. Philippe also made reference to **the writings of the Founder** and exhorted the Brothers to imitate the latter and to remain faithful to his teachings. One way of stimulating this fidelity was to re-publish some works which had been published at the beginning of the Institute. However, on seeing, for example, the important changes made to what he called *Meditations said to be by the Venerable John Baptist de La Salle*, one is surprised by this manner of treating these texts.

The impetus given to the activities of the Brothers

If Br. Philippe was determined to stimulate the Brothers in everything relating to the

religious life, he was no less so in what concerned their apostolic activity. Thus one sees that in his Circulars he deals indiscriminately with one or other of these two aspects. Besides, to help the Brothers in the exercise of the different aspects of their mission, he published several works for them. This can be brought out in three domains.

– Christian education

Br. Philippe did his best to rouse the zeal of the Brothers. Thus on January 5th 1866, among the topics of encouragement on which he settled, the Br. Superior laid special emphasis on the lasting influence of good education. Already in January 1865, to strengthen the Brothers who might be getting overcome by discouragement, he showed the results of half a century of Christian education:

“The family of the Venerable de La Salle, he wrote, continues the work of this great servant of God. By it, the Gospel is announced to the poor and crowds of young people receive the bread of the soul. An edifice of virtue is being built in society: we are contributing to laying and assuring the foundations. Jesus Christ is better known, better loved, better served; and we are not unconnected with this progress” (quoted in G. RIGAUT, *Le Frère Philippe*, 115).

Equally, directives were given to guide the Brothers in their work of Christian education. For example, in Circular 182, there can be found various recommendations relating to the Christian instruction of children, while others contain advice concerning prayers and catechism in class.

To help the Brothers in their mission towards their pupils, various works were placed at their disposal by their Superior. So he announced to them in succession, the publication of a small article entitled *The young Communicant*, the issue of a brochure *Devotion to the Sacred Heart appealing to youth*, and the publication of a *Manual of piety for the use of the young*. Br. Philippe also wrote for the Brothers *An explanation in catechism form, of the Epistles and Gospels of all the Sundays and principal feasts of the year*, which was much appreciated at the time.

– Pedagogical activity

In the themes developed at the beginning of the year, there is hardly one which deals specially with the pedagogical aspect of the work of the Brothers. On the other hand, on different occasions he comes back to a subject which he seemed to take to heart: the abolition of corporal punishment (see p. 142). Furthermore, on March 21st 1842, the Br.

Superior reminded the Brothers of the reserve they ought to observe in regard to their pupils.

In his Circulars dealing with different subjects, one can find advice of a pedagogical nature, such as: care to be taken with reading; recommendations for the Brothers teaching lower classes; good preparation of lessons. There could also be question of the topics for teaching: the introduction of the legal system of weights and measures; a new style of writing; a study syllabus for the schools.

To guide the Brothers, new editions of the *Conduct of Schools* were undertaken. In the letter-preface of that of 1863, the Br. Superior invites the Brothers to give more importance to the formation of judgement than to the cultivation of memory. Earlier he had returned several times to the *Trial version of the 'Conduct'* which had preceded this edition of 1863.

An important output of “classical books” had been published under the initials F.P.B. (Frère Philippe Bransiet) to help the Brothers in their teaching and to establish uniformity between the different Brothers’ schools. One sees the announcement of the publication of several of these works: *Exercises in spelling*; a new edition of *Arithmetic*; *An elementary course in drawing*; *a guide to the method of writing*; *Ten articles on Geography and ten hypsometric maps of Europe* by F.A.M.G.

– The social dimension

On January 19th 1851, Br. Philippe reminded the Brothers that “in order to occupy themselves in the study of the sciences”, they should not “neglect their real duty” which was primarily to give a Christian education and instruct the children of the working class. But equally, struck by the reaction to which the Brothers had been victims themselves in 1830 (see p. 96), he had become aware of what we might call “the social dimension” of the mission of the Brothers. This led him, notably, to promote their activities with those who had left school, in order to support them in their religious practice, to continue their formation and to lead them to live as Christians in society (see p. 155-56).

There was no Circular devoted to developing this last aspect of the mission of the Brothers and one barely finds a mention of the results obtained in the schools for adults in Paris or of the good beginnings in the prisons of Fontevault or of Nîmes. As against this, writing to the Brothers on March 7th 1848, following the institution of the “Provisional Government of the Republic” (see p. 99), Br. Philippe shows himself espe-

cially eloquent in inviting the Brothers to continue their activities with those whom he would call at the Commission of 1849 (see p. 100-101), “his dear workers”.

On several occasions, one sees Br. Philippe calling on the charity of the Brothers and through them on that of the pupils to come to the help of people hit by calamities:

- a fire in the town of Sallanches, in Savoy (1840);
- floods in the valleys of the Rhône and the Seine (1840);
- a disaster at Bas, in Haute-Loire (1845);
- a fire in Montreal, in Canada (1852).

On other occasions, Brothers and pupils were asked to give their help to missionary works: the Holy Childhood, the Propagation of the Faith or “St. Peter’s Pence”.

It was in the same motive of Christian charity that, during the Franco-German War of 1870-1871, Br. Philippe called upon the Brothers to take care of wounded or sick soldiers. The Brothers responded to the invitation of their Superior by filling the role of nurses or even by going to the battle-field to pick up the wounded, as during the siege of Paris. The circular of January 3rd 1872, which suggested to the Brothers some reflections on the events of these two years, gives an account to the Institute of the services thus rendered by the Brothers during these troubled times. The wish to come to the aid of his country also led the Superior of the Brothers, in February 1872, to invite those communities who were able, to contribute to the payment of the war debt to obtain an earlier liberation of the national territory.

Conclusion

The time during which Br. Philippe was Superior of the Institute has left in the Institute the memory of a period of prosperity; one even speaks of the ‘apogee of the Institute’ at the time of Br. Philippe. More widely, the latter has become quite famous; a dictionary where his name is cited presents him as ‘second founder’ of the Institute. This view, however, needs to be qualified.

Certainly Br. Philippe was the man that was needed to govern the Institute in a period of strong development and rapid expansion. But, as we have had occasion to see, one could ask if this development and this expansion were sufficiently under control.

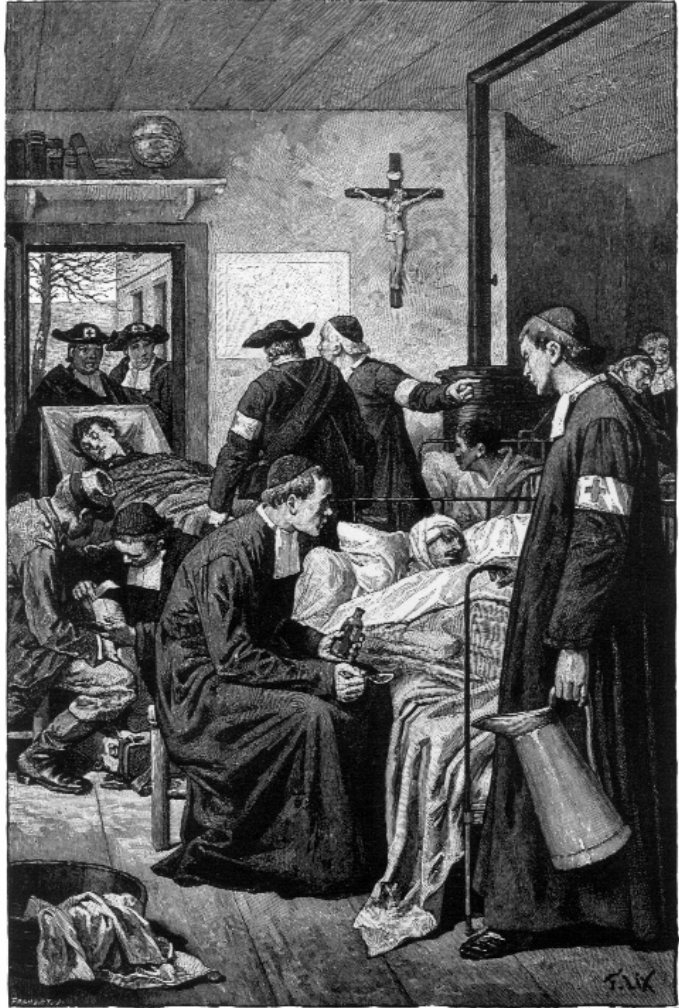
The action of Br. Philippe to support the Brothers in their spiritual life certainly helped many of them and contributed to producing the fruits of sanctity. However, by reason of their limits, due mainly to the doctrinal weakness of the period, were the means

proposed of a nature to give sufficiently strong convictions to everyone? One has reason to doubt this in noting the numerous departures from the Institute.

Brother Philippe had a very sincere concern to develop the attachment and the devotion of the Brothers to the Founder of the Institute, but his way of doing it was hardly of a nature to help in understanding the thinking of the Founder.

The impetus given to the Brothers in the different domains of their activities certainly contributed towards developing apostolic zeal among many Brothers. On the other hand, the importance given to questions concerning the school, helped to produce, it seems, a certain 'dualism' among the Brothers; the insistence placed by the Br. Superior on the religious character of the Brothers saw itself contradicted in fact by a strong polarization towards the teaching function.

These questions, which have merely been mentioned, would merit a deeper study in order to measure in a more exact way what the impact of Br. Philippe's work has been on the Institute. Just the same, one should not minimize the importance of his work.



Brothers looking after the wounded in Paris - RAVELET, p. 546

Chapter 8 – THE INSTITUTE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Orientation

Continental Europe, where the Institute began and the scene of its first developments, remained affected, during the third quarter of the 19th Century, by the results of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire. This can be seen:

- in the direction given to politics in various countries;
- by the calling into question of the organization of Europe resulting from the Congress of Vienna, under the effect of the rise of nationalism often supported by the “liberal” movement, over much of Europe.

The Institute, in the different countries where it was present, did not escape the consequences resulting from this double tendency. In this chapter, we will confine ourselves to this political dimension.

Historic summary

- 1852 - France: the beginning of the Second Empire - ‘The Authoritarian Empire’
- 1857 - Belgium: power in the hands of the liberals
- 1860 - France: a new political direction - ‘The Liberal Empire’
- 1861 - Italy: formation of the Kingdom of Italy - the result of the 1st phase of Italian unity
- 1870 - France: end of the Empire following defeat in the war with Germany - provisional government Italy: the taking of Rome - the completion of Italian unity
- 1871 - Germany: proclamation of the Empire - the outcome of German unity
- 1875 - France: definitive establishment of the Republic

The repercussions of clashes between political forces

– France

The type of unanimity which was formed at the time of the Revolution of July 1848 was of short duration (see p. 99). It was not long before the Legislative Assembly and the Prince-President elected in 1848, clashed. Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte wanted to obtain the right to be represented in the elections of 1852, contrary to the dispositions of the Constitution. Since the Assembly refused, in July 1851, to grant him this right, the President took over by means of a coup d’état on the night of 1st/2nd December 1851.

A new Constitution installed a presidential régime. All it needed, in November 1852, was to replace the title "President of the Republic" with that of "Emperor of the French", in order to have the Empire re-established to the profit of the person who took the name of Napoleon III.

The Authoritarian Empire (1852 - 1859)

Under democratic appearances, the régime was, in fact, dictatorial. A large majority of the French approved, by plebiscite, the change of régime. The Catholics in particular rallied round this régime, in return for which they enjoyed a freedom which was limited for other citizens. Thus the religious congregations were able to develop unhindered; the teaching congregations took over a growing number of school establishments both public and free. However, a decree of 1852 and a law of 1854 reinforced the role of the State in Public Instruction and left to the Prefects * the choice between teachers from congregations and lay people * for the communal schools, removing this choice from the municipalities. Nevertheless, the latter could express their preference at the time of the death, the retirement or the dismissal of the teacher in charge of the school.

The members of the Institute, in France, were not the last to show themselves favorable to the Empire thus established; on the contrary, when the local authorities were hostile to the régime, the *Historiques* of the houses are full of stories about the quarrels between the Brothers and these authorities. These conflicts often had their origin in the desire of certain municipalities to replace the Brothers by lay teachers outside the three cases indicated above.

The Liberal Empire (1860 - 1870)

Since the imperial régime gave its support to the achievement of Italian unity, it lost, from 1859 on, the support of the Catholics of France who wanted the Pope to retain temporal power. To compensate, the imperial régime moved closer to the "liberals". In the domain of education, the administration showed itself less and less favorable to the taking over of new public schools by the congregations of Brothers. In 1861, the Institute was in conflict with the Minister of Public Instruction, Rouland, on the subject of gratuity in the public establishments. The Chapter convened to deal with this question, gave in to the demands of the Minister. The **complement** which follows will deal with this question.

In 1863, the nomination of Victor Duruy, a rationalist academic, as Minister of Public Instruction, marked a clear rupture with the Catholic Church on the question of edu-

cation. And if the Minister interested himself in the achievements of the Brothers in their boarding-schools, especially that of Passy, it was in order to appropriate them with a view to the creation of a “special secondary” education (the law of June 21st and 26th 1865). In addition, in order to limit the progress of the teaching congregations, he opposed Brothers replacing lay teachers in the public schools. A circular of February 1866 tends to reserve the dispensation from military service to Brothers teaching in this type of school, but a solution was found for those in the free schools.

Nevertheless, the politics carried on during these years did not disarm the republican opposition. The antagonism between those who wished to impose “laicization” * in education and those who supported the “confessional” * school did not ease off, even when war broke out, in 1870, between France and Germany and when it ended in the fall of the Empire.

The Birth of the Third Republic

Napoleon III, who had been at the head of one of the French armies which had surrendered, was removed from office and a provisional government of a republican type was formed. This government decided to continue the war. During the winter of 1870-1871, Paris endured a siege which was very hard for the population.

In exchange for the surrender of Paris, an armistice was agreed. The convention which was signed on January 28th 1871 foresaw the formation of a National Assembly. That which was elected on February 8th was composed of about two thirds monarchists; republicans, mostly moderate, made up the rest of the Assembly. The latter ratified the armistice. The people of Paris, greatly wearied by the siege, hostile to the government put in place by the Assembly and offended by the entry of German troops into the capital, rose up on March 18th. A “Council of the Commune” exercised power (hence the name “Commune” given to this movement). The government at first gave a free hand to the insurgents before giving to an army the task of retaking the city. The violence committed by members of the “Commune” was answered by severe repression used against them.

Since the “Commune” had a pronounced anti-clerical character, the Brothers had to close their schools; these were “laicized”. Br. Philippe was threatened with arrest and had to leave Paris; Br. Assistant Calixte, arrested instead of him, was quickly released. Some Brothers, who, led by Br. Assistant Exupérien, tried to leave the city, were imprisoned; still they escaped the fate of some hostages who were put to death by the rebels as the troops advanced. One Brother, caught up in the fighting, was killed. The Br. Superior returned on June 9th 1871. In a Circular of June 21st, he went back over these events.

There were a lot of Catholics in the National Assembly and the government showed itself favorable to the Church. The Brothers benefited from its dispositions. With the "Commune" defeated, the Brothers from Paris resumed their place in the public schools; the law of July 27th 1872, which re-organized the army, exempted every young Brother from military service.

A majority in the Assembly but divided, the monarchists did not succeed in restoring the monarchy, while the plan to establish a Republic gained ground. During the vote on the "constitutional laws", in 1875, the Assembly, by a majority of one, provided for the election of a "President of the Republic" by the members of the two Assemblies in which legislative power was vested. However, these laws could eventually apply to a constitutional monarchy. But the following year, the elections gave a large majority to the Republicans, in the "House of Deputies". From then on they were to conquer all the machinery of power and practice politics in conformity with their programme, especially in the field of education.

– Belgium

In that country, the Brothers encountered problems fairly similar to those they had encountered in France. From 1847, the union, between the two large parties who had brought about the independence of the country, was broken. The school problem had become a stumbling block (see p. 103). A certain number of localities withdrew their grants from the Brothers' schools or replaced the Brothers by lay-teachers in the communal schools (*cf.* RIGAULT 6-119). Up till then the Brothers had benefited from an exemption from military service, but they wanted to obtain guaranties on this subject. These were given to them in 1855 by the head of a government which was favorable to them; but this government, running into heavy opposition on the part of the liberals, fell after two years.

The elections of 1857 gave power to the left * for thirteen years. Even if school legislation was not modified, strictly speaking, the men in power went out of their way to "apply it in as 'lay' a fashion as possible" (quoted in RIGAULT 6-123). The Brothers were especially targeted. The measures taken in their regard tended to assimilate them with lay teachers and to exclude them from the communal schools: the changing of Brothers by the Superiors was limited as much as possible; the Brothers saw themselves forced to participate in pedagogical conferences organized for the teachers; the benefit of the "adoption" system (see p. 103) was withdrawn from a number of schools run by the Brothers: in 1860 there remained only three schools adopted by a commune. For its part,

the ministry of Justice, in August 1859, forced the Brothers employed in the prison of Namur, to leave this establishment.

The attachment of the Brothers to maintaining absolute gratuity in their schools brought other difficulties upon them. This will be looked at in the study following this chapter. In the Training Colleges of Malonne and Carlsbourg, the retreats organized for teachers already teaching in public schools had to stop, for fear of reprisals against these teachers. At the end of 1860, modifications were introduced to the rules for exams taken in these establishments; they would be applied unexpectedly from the session of the following year!

– Switzerland

After the defeat of the Catholic Cantons *, the Brothers had to withdraw from that of Fribourg (see p. 124). As against that, their presence remained possible in the Cantons with a Protestant majority where there was less fear of Catholic influence, even if there they were the object of defiance as much for political as for religious reasons.

The Constitution established in 1848 had decreed that “the Order of the Jesuits and the Societies which are affiliated to it” were banned all over the territory of the Confederation *. The Brothers working in the three schools of Geneva, fearing that they might have problems because of this decree, asked the Superior-General, in 1854, to declare that the Institute had no links with the Jesuits. The assurance provided removed all danger. But, in 1872, the Brothers became victims of the law suppressing religious Congregations in the Canton. They had to leave their 500 pupils in October of that same year.

In Neuchâtel, the parish-priest Berset, wanting to hand over to the Brothers a school already opened for the children of the Catholic minority, contacted Br. Philippe in June 1863. The Br. Superior gave a favorable response but he refused to let the Brothers not wear the traditional habit, as the parish-priest had suggested. In October, three Brothers, one of them Swiss, arrived from France. The following year the Brothers were accused of collusion with the Jesuits. At the request of the “Council of State” (the government of the Canton), the “Federal Council” (the government of the Confederation) carried out an enquiry among the authorities of different countries where the Brothers were present; it concluded that “the Brothers of the Christian Schools are in no way affiliated to the Jesuits”. Unlike those of Geneva, the school of Neuchâtel was able to continue.

– Austria

After the years 1848-1849 which had been marked by revolutionary agitation, it seemed that the political situation would favor the attempts being made to introduce the Brothers into Austria.

Official steps were taken in 1854, using as mediator a priest from Koblenz (Germany) where the Brothers had been present since 1850; these steps did not produce any results. In 1856, it was the Imperial government itself which entered into direct contact with the Superior of the Brothers with a view to giving over to the Institute “orphanages or houses for abandoned children” (RIGAULT 6-212). In 1857, Brothers, coming from Germany, took charge of the children in the “Imperial and Royal” orphanage of Vienna; but they could not give it their best effort because they remained in a subordinate position. The contract agreed in 1873 gave them responsibility for the establishment; they could also open a novitiate. However, the political climate in the Empire having modified, the situation became unfavorable for developing the Institute, until 1875 (RIGAULT 6-215).

Repercussion from the rise of nationalism

The third quarter of the 19th Century saw a development in Europe of the claims of various peoples to form States, either by uniting themselves under the same sovereign, or by freeing themselves from the domination imposed on them by another power. These claims being generally supported by the “liberals”, the conditions in which they were brought to completion led to unfavorable repercussions for the Catholic Church, from which the Brothers suffered in places where they were established or were being implanted.

– Italy

Preparation for unity

After the failure of the national liberal movement of 1848-1849, the proponents of Italian unity resolved to achieve it with Piedmont as its centre. The liberal Prime Minister, Cavour, was determined to bring about this plan; his political strategy aimed, first of all, to re-enforce the kingdom; it was also directed against the Church.

The Brothers in Savoy and Piedmont felt the effect of this political strategy. Thus, by reason of a law voted in 1854 with a view to providing the kingdom with a bigger army, they no longer benefited from the exemption from military service which had been granted to them in 1839. Hostility towards the Church showed itself in a law of 1855

which suppressed the monasteries and confiscated the property of the religious congregations. The Brothers did not suffer from this but certain municipalities, filled with the same state of mind, excluded them from the public schools. Thus, after a campaign of vilification, they had to leave the schools of Turin during the holidays of 1856. As against this, they remained in those depending on the *Regia Opera MendicITÀ Istruita* (R.O.M.I.) and in *Collegio San Primitivo* which they had opened in 1854.

On the other hand, in the Duchies of Parma and Modena, the princes re-installed after the troubles of 1848-1849 showed themselves favorable to the Brothers. From 1854 on, a new Province of the Institute covered the houses of the two Duchies. As far as the Italian Province of Rome was concerned, the Holy See agreed that a French Brother be named as Vicar-General: when the Brother Superior named Br. Floride to this post, the Holy See approved this choice by a decree of September 27th 1851. The dual membership of the Brothers, either to the Italian Province or to that depending on France continued to lead to divergences. Nevertheless, all benefited from favorable conditions between the years 1850 and 1859.

The achievement of unity

Austria extended its sovereignty over a part of Northern Italy and exercised a kind of surveillance over the centre and the south of the peninsula; getting rid of it was judged necessary in order to achieve Italian unity. For this reason, in 1858, Cavour obtained the support of Napoleon III who, in the name of 'the right of peoples to decide for themselves', wished to destroy the organization of Europe established by the Congress of Vienna. The French and Piedmont armies beat the Austrians who abandoned Lombardy; the latter was given to Piedmont by the treaty signed in Zurich in 1859. Central Italy rose up and voted to be attached to Piedmont. The troops of the revolutionary leader Garibaldi, took over Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples. In January 1861, the King of Piedmont, Victor-Emmanuel II was proclaimed King of Italy. In 1865 he chose Florence as capital, because Napoleon III wanted to keep for the Pope the possession of Rome and the region around it.

These events had repercussions for the Institute. Savoy and the Comté de Nice having been ceded to France in 1860, the houses of the former constituted a new District; those of the second were attached to the District of Marseille.

It was in the Marches and in Romagna, which belonged up to then to the Pontifical States, that the reaction was the most violent. 'A wiping-out of schools marks here the

beginnings of the Kingdom of Italy' wrote G. RIGAULT (T. 6-69). An unleashing of passions brought about the closing of the house in Loreto. The Brothers saw themselves accused of the most loathsome acts. In March 1865, a judgment based on accusations forced from children, condemned five Brothers in absentia and imposed six years prison on a sixth who had been jailed (*cf.* RIGAULT 6-71).

In the former Duchies of Parma and Modena, the authorities forced the Brothers to abandon some of their houses, but, often thanks to the support they received from the people, they were able to continue their work. However, the situation led the Brothers to attach the remaining houses to the Piedmont District of the Institute. The latter, in Turin, kept the works depending on the R.O.M.I. but was troubled by the *Collegio San Primitivo* affair. Its director, Br. Théoger (Joseph Buchalet), who found himself in conflict with the academic authorities, gave his adversaries the means of getting at him, by the accusations to which his conduct seemed to give rise. He escaped an arrest warrant issued against him in 1863. He left Italy and also left the Institute, thus giving substance to the accusations made against him. The slowing down in recruitment due to these circumstances led to the postulants from the Province being sent to the Novitiate of Chambéry from 1864 onwards.

In 1866, because Italy had joined Prussia when the latter had attacked Austria, it was given Venice. In the same year, the putting into practice of a law voted in 1865, suppressed the Congregations as 'legal entities' and their property became the property of the State. A life pension was given to their members who could continue to live together and exercise their normal activities. The Brothers came under this law. In Turin, those who taught classes in *Mendicità Istruita* found themselves obliged to leave their house and change their habit; they received the authorization of the Br. Superior-General and adopted ecclesiastical dress.

In Rome, the French soldiers who were protecting the Pope withdrew in 1866 but a new threat from Garibaldi's forces obliged them to intervene again in 1867. The Brothers were able to continue their work in peace in what remained of the Pontifical States; in 1869, at the request of the Pope, they opened a school in the working-class district of Trastevere. In 1870, the French troops having been recalled because of the war, the King of Italy took over Rome and made it his capital. The French establishment placed under the direction of Br. Simeon and which had been moved to the Palazzo Poli, continued in spite of everything with the predominance of Italian pupils become more and more accentuated. In June 1873, the dispositions of the law of 1866 were extended to the whole kingdom and especially to Rome and its region. Here the Brothers had

already been obliged to leave several schools in 1870-1871. The house of Orvieto, whose novitiate had been moved to Rome in 1860, closed in 1875. In the new situation which was theirs in Italy, the Brothers continued to hold about twenty schools in different parts of the country.

– Germany

Following the troubles of 1848-1849

At the National Assembly convened in Frankfurt to give a new Constitution to the German Confederation after the risings of 1848, it appeared that this involved reconsidering the status of the Churches. But when the Assembly broke up in 1849, no decision applying to all the Germanic countries, had been taken. Prussia however, in December 1848, had accorded to Catholics, not only liberty of worship but also independence with regard to the State. In the Rhineland part of the kingdom, the Catholic Church enjoyed a rapid expansion in the years that followed. It was in this context that a priest from Koblenz wrote to Br. Philippe in July 1849 to ask him for Brothers. A reply in principle had been given to him in January 1850. In October, under the direction of Br. Modeste (Léon Blaise) a native of the Prussian Rhineland near Belgium, some Brothers also of German origin, who had come to Namur for formation, opened a school in Koblenz. In the course of the same year, near the same city of Koblenz, some German Brothers, also trained in Belgium, took over an orphanage which had been built in the domain of Kemperhof. A novitiate was opened in December 1850. For about twenty years the Brothers confined themselves almost entirely to these two houses whose development was assured by Brothers of the country.

The achievement of German unity

The political climate modified from the 1860s on. Personified since 1862 by Chancellor Bismarck, the ambition of Prussia, to unite Germany round itself, found support among the liberals who were particularly hostile to the idea that this unity might be achieved under the aegis of Catholic Austria. The latter was ousted from Germany in 1866. The group of German States having united to fight France in 1870-1871, when the latter was defeated, the King of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles in January 1871. Once unity was achieved, Chancellor Bismarck made his own the programme of the “National-Liberals” against the confessional school and the religious congregations, and had laws elaborated putting all Church life under the control

of the State in the name of the defense of modern civilization; from 1873 on, the word *Kulturkampf* was used to describe the politics of Bismarck over a period of seven years. (cf. ROGIER, L.J. *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Église*, T.V, 99 ff).

In 1872, a law banned the Jesuits from the Empire. Would the Brothers present in the Kingdom of Prussia be suspected, as was the case in Switzerland, of having links with the Jesuits? To avoid this threat, the Catholic authorities in Koblenz asked Br. Philippe to declare that the Brothers had no link of dependence with the Jesuits and that the Brothers of Germany would separate themselves from the others to form a “distinct branch”. The Brother Superior let it be known on August 22nd 1872, that he could not accept these suggestions. While other Congregations had been expelled from Prussia, the Brothers had not been disturbed. But, in May 1875, they were affected by a decree which obliged all Catholic Congregations, except those devoted to the care of the sick, to leave Prussian territory. Various forms of protection allowed the Brothers to remain until May 1st 1879, a date on which they had to take refuge in Belgium. The *Kulturkampf*, having been extended to the countries annexed by the German Empire in 1871, the two communal schools which the Brothers ran in Metz, in Lorraine, were taken off them; after having also left a free school, they had only a small school left. Their boarding-school of Beaugard near Thionville and the other schools of Moselle were closed.

– Countries liberated from Ottoman domination

In the 19th Century, the Ottoman Empire found more and more difficulty in imposing its authority on Christian peoples who had been under its domination in Europe. One after the other, the Baltic provinces constituted themselves into autonomous and later independent territories.

Greece

Greece had obtained its independence in 1830. The Catholic Bishop of the Island of Syra, “distressed at seeing young Catholics going to schismatic schools or wallowing in ignorance”, pressed Br. Philippe to send Brothers. In 1858, he received six to run a little boarding-school and a gratuitous school (cf. RANG 518). The difficulties encountered led to the Brothers being withdrawn in 1863.

On the island of Chio, still part of the Ottoman Empire, for the same reason as in Syra, at the request of the Catholic Bishop, a school was opened by two Brothers in 1862; the arrival of two others enabled them to also look after a boarding-school. But this establishment was closed in 1866 (cf. RANG 512).

Romania

The Romanian provinces of Moldavia and Walachia had been autonomous since 1858. The Bishop who held the post of “Apostolic Administrator of Walachia”, wishing to open a school for the children of Catholic families, very much a minority in this country of Orthodox Christians, wanted to get some Brothers. During a visit to the Brothers’ house in Vienna he raised the question with Br. Modeste, Visitor since 1857. The latter passed on the request to Br. Philippe who sent him, along with another Brother, to examine the situation on the spot. In 1861, four Brothers from Austria opened a school in Bucharest. But, after ten years, the difficulty of getting Brothers, and in particular a Director, for this distant house, led the superiors to close it in 1871.

Conclusion

The Institute had already extended outside Europe. However, the context in which it found itself in general in this continent needed to be brought out, especially where France is concerned, because the presence of the biggest number of Brothers in that country, had a big effect on the course of the Institute. To be convinced of that we need only consider the problem of gratuity, which is the subject of the **complement** which follows this chapter.

8. *THE QUESTION OF GRATUITY*

From the time of the Founder, the Brothers had practiced gratuity in teaching: they asked no payment from the parents of their pupils. But, from the beginning, their way of applying this principle got them into difficulties. They decided, in effect, that the principle of gratuity extended to all their pupils, even those whose parents would have been able to make such a payment (see LS 5-135). The way in which the Brothers applied the principle of gratuity brought them into conflict, in the 18th Century, with certain municipalities which, in order to reduce their expenses, would have liked to demand payment from parents considered sufficiently “well-off” (see LS 6-155).

In the 19th Century, such a practice went against the concept which dominated among the members of the bourgeoisie in whose hands were concentrated economic and political power. For them, in effect, education was a commodity, which like others, had to be acquired by means of money. At best, they accepted that a minimum amount of knowledge be given gratuitously, to a limited number of destitute * children. In addition they did not intend to make education, even elementary, compulsory, because it did not seem to them necessary that everyone should benefit from it and also because this would have meant increased costs for the State or the municipalities.

In France, for a good part of the century, such a concept inspired the legislation relating to primary education. In the name of their way of understanding gratuity, the Brothers fought to have the right, in the public schools which they ran, not to force the parents of any of their pupils to pay school fees. For half a century, the Brothers won this struggle. Then they had to give in before the demands of the government and agree to depart from their principle.

Now, at the same time, among those keen on the democratization of society, there was a wish developing to make elementary education compulsory, which implied that it be gratuitous. But since these same people also had as their objective that this education be neutral with regard to all religion, the Brothers saw themselves excluded from all public education just when it was becoming gratuitous for everybody. Before being completely forced into this position, the Brothers had been led to running, parallel to public schools, schools which were private or “free” and where initially the principle of absolute gratuity was maintained. But later, in these schools, through lack of resources, they had to make exceptions to this principle. In different contexts but in fairly similar forms, the same problems arose in countries other than France.

It is the stages of passage for the Brothers from one situation to another that we wish to describe here.

The defense of the principle of absolute gratuity

– At the time of the restoration of the Institute

When, in France, the restored Institute agreed to take over schools, ‘the Brothers made the absolute gratuity of the school a sine qua non of their presence, and there was no distinction between rich and poor’ (B. ALPAGO, *The Institute in the educational service of the poor*, LS 7-134). The Superiors had to struggle to impose this condition because they clashed with the public authorities, but they also had to convince a certain number of Brothers.

Under the **Napoleonic Empire**, the difficulties with the authorities ‘came from the legislation which stipulated that the majority of pupils should pay fees, and also from the fact that most communes, and the country as a whole, lacked resources’ (LS 7-129). It happened that to reduce the expenses of the schools or because of the reduction of credits imposed by the Prefects, the municipalities sought to impose schools fees on families considered sufficiently rich to be able to pay them and not to accept poor children unless they presented an admission ticket. One can follow, through the letters of Bros. Frumence and Gerbaud, the real fight they carried on with the municipalities in order to have them respect the principle of gratuity being extended to all the pupils. Thus, during the re-establishment of the school at Condrieu (Rhône), one sees Br. Frumence asking the mayor to be kind enough to “make teaching gratuitous by no longer obliging the pupils to pay” (RA EE 273/2 - let. 113), or yet again writing to the Prefect that: “at Condrieu, as elsewhere, the children ought to be admitted without tickets” (*id.* let. 116). The Superiors got support from the Grand-Master of the University. To the Prefect who was supporting the plan of the Mayor of Condrieu, Fontanes replied that it was “contrary to the statutes of the Christian Schools” (quoted in RIGAULT 4-262).

The situation was all the more delicate because, in order to take over again some of these schools, the Superiors had to depend on Brothers who, during the Revolution had themselves asked for payment from the families. It was necessary to convince these Brothers; such was the case, for example, with Br. Libère, also called Br. Cendre (from his family name), on the subject of the schools of Orléans; in the end Br. Frumence was forced to ask him either to oppose all payment or else to close his school (RA EE 273/3 - let. 155). One also sees Br. Gerbaud telling the Director of the house in Castres of the repugnance of many Brothers towards going to his community because the school was

not gratuitous (RA EE 274-2/5 - let. 96). The Br. Superior even came to admitting with regard to the same subject “that the rich pupils be sent to the fee-paying schools and that the Brothers be kept only for those schools with pupils who could not afford to pay anything” (*id.* let. 121).

The problem also arose in Italy: the Brothers had to ask for payment from some families. Thus Br. Frumence wrote to one of his correspondents, on the subject of the houses in Italy, that “the schools being no longer gratuitous since the Revolution, you can see that they have changed their nature [...], because payment by the pupils is a thing [...] entirely contrary to the essence of our Institute” (RA EE 273/2 - let. 81). To some extent the tension between Br. Gerbaud and the Brothers of Italy arose from the same cause (see p. 44). Thus he wrote on January 11th 1811 to Br. Esprit, Director of the house in Ferrare, saying that the establishments ought to conform to the prospectus (which clearly stated the gratuitous nature of the schools), whether they be in France or in Italy. Since the school of Ferrare could not fulfill the conditions laid down, the Superior told this Director that he would send him obediences “for those of your inferiors that you judge disposed to return with you to the practice of the Society and the sacred vows” (RA EE 274-2/3 - let. 220). The Brothers, in fact, withdrew from Ferrare shortly afterwards.

At the time of the **Restoration of the Monarchy** in France, the legislation established notably by the Ordinance of February 19th 1816, continued to apply the principle according to which education was given gratuitously only to those children whose parents could not afford to pay the teachers. What we still possess of the correspondence of Brothers Gerbaud and Guillaume de Jésus, for this period, does not allow us to estimate whether they still had to fight to maintain the principle of gratuity. It seems, however, that for the Brothers, the problems linked to the application of this principle, arose less sharply and that solutions were found more easily than heretofore.

– Under the Generalate of Brother Anaclet

The election of Brother Anaclet coincided with the beginnings of the **July Monarchy** when the Brothers were excluded from a certain number of public schools; however, thanks to the generosity of benefactors or to popular subscriptions, they were able to take charge of other schools while safeguarding the principle of gratuity. But the essential fact, from this period where education was concerned, was the law of June 28th 1833, called the Guizot Law (see p. 97-98). This law continued to make the communes bear the brunt of elementary education, but these latter were only obliged to pay the teachers a minimum salary and a “monthly payment” charged by the municipalities on behalf of the

teachers could be added to this. However those who wished could renounce this fee in so far as they could assure a sufficient salary to the teachers. The new law again raised the problem of gratuity for the Brothers. Using the right which had been left to them, the communes wished to apply the provisions of the law to the Brothers. The Superiors, on the other hand, insisted that the municipal authorities give up the idea.

In order to clarify this question for the Brothers, Br. Anaclet sent them a Circular on September 26th 1833. He returned to the question in another dated November 11th and entitled *On gratuity of teaching, prescribed by the statutes of the Order and put in context with the law of June 28th 1833*, where he set out to show that one could not adopt the interpretation which “friends of the Institute” had applied to the law: even if it is the municipality which collects the fees, this is done “for the benefit of the teacher and not that of any other person *whoever he might be*” (p. 6). That way, if a municipality collects a fee from some of their pupils, it is certainly on behalf of the Brothers that they are doing it. And if, in order to obtain the payment of this fee, they have to use coercion, the discredit will fall back on the Brothers. This inspired in the Br. Superior the following indignant words: “No, never will such a scandal take place... during the hundred and fifty years we have been teaching, our pupils never had to pay us money; our present pupils won’t have to do so either.”

In the years following the law of 1833, we need not be surprised that the municipalities relied on this law in order to quibble over what they would give to the Brothers. We find an echo of this in a letter of January 10th 1834 addressed by Br. Anaclet to Br. Assistant Abban:

“We still have to fight on the subject of gratuity. We have, however, been victorious up to the present. Quimper voted us 2,400 francs and abandoned the monthly fee. Meaux has also just put an end to it. Charleville and Chartres have been more severe... We still have a battle on our hands with Montreuil, Nogent...” (RA EE 276/1). The problems, however, found themselves solved almost everywhere in the first ten years of the July Monarchy.

In Belgium, the question of gratuity was also sometimes raised, though not always in the same terms. Thus “the Association for the support of the Christian schools established in Nivelles” organized collections in families. Br. Anaclet let it be known that such collections could not “be allied with gratuity” such as it has been “constantly understood” in the Institute, because parents of pupils might in this way be asked to contribute (RIGAULT 5-107, note 1).

In Piedmont, the municipality of Turin collected an annual tax called “minervale”.

When the Brothers took over the public schools in Turin, the municipality at first refused to abolish this tax. On the insistence of the Brothers it was finally abolished in 1835 (*cf.* LS 7-173).

– **During the first part of the Generalate of Br. Philippe (1838 - 1850)**

In comparison with that which Br. Anaclet had to face when he became Superior of the Institute, the situation which Br. Philippe found when he took over the same position had distinctly improved. But the question continued to arise here and there. Thus when the city of Toulouse asked the State for help in facing its school expenses, it was held against it that it had not opposed the gratuity of the schools run by the Brothers (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-244). In Orleans, in 1840, when a school tax was imposed on certain families whose children frequented a school run by the Brothers, the latter refused to take these children (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-244).

In France after the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848 (*see p.* 99), the Minister of Public Instruction, Hippolyte Carnot, contemplated the most complete gratuity for the public schools and, for every French citizen, the obligation of having his children educated (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-287). In two texts giving the position of the Superiors with regard to this project (RA EE 273-3/11), the reflections put forward do not deal with these two points; we do not know, therefore, what the Institute thought of the intention to generalize gratuity. In itself, this could not but satisfy the Brothers. But when, in the same texts we see the ‘anti-religious character’ of this project being denounced, this could only make the intentions of the minister suspect in the eyes of the Superiors.

Under the **Second Republic** established following the Revolution of 1848 (*see p.* 100-101), power passed rapidly into the hands of the conservative forces. Since H. Carnot’s bill had been set aside, the Minister, Frédéric de Falloux, drew up a new one. During the drawing up of this bill, the generalization of gratuity was not retained because it would mean too great an expense for the State. They returned therefore to the previous dispositions which made the communes liable for these fees with contributions from families judged capable of paying fees. In a document written by Br. Philippe (RA EE 277-3/3), we find an observation on article 23 of this bill in connection with this disposition. This text brings out first of all the touchiness one arouses as soon as one wishes to draw up a list of pupils “able to pay school fees and those children not able to do so”; then he remarks that, “if you overcome this first difficulty and the ashamed poor decide to make themselves known, their sensitivity reappears almost immediately... refusing to believe in the impartiality of the teachers, they imagine that their children will be either neg-

lected or punished or given less encouragement than their fee-paying classmates” (RA EE 277-3/3). Here we can see an expression of the line of argument advanced by the Brothers in refusing to make a distinction between different categories of pupils.

The law of March 15th 1850 ‘restricts gratuity to poor pupils only, but recognises the right to the municipalities to set up completely gratuitous schools...’ (LS 7-224). The Brothers relied on this disposition to ask and receive from a number of municipalities the same right for their schools. But the fact that the municipalities still had the right to require a contribution from some parents was going to be the source of new difficulties.

Attacks on the principle of absolute gratuity

– First threats

In France, the beginnings of the **Second Empire** were favorable to the development of the teaching congregations (see p. 184-5). But where gratuity of teaching is concerned, the administration tended to limit its application in public schools. Thus a decree of December 31st 1853, confided to the representatives of the State, the Prefects, the responsibility of fixing the maximum number of children to be admitted to schools without paying school fees. The threat was considered sufficiently serious by Br. Philippe that he convoked a General-Chapter for March 2nd 1854.

The Chapter of 1854

During the first session the Br. Superior explained that the decree of December 31st 1853 meant that a certain number of communes might insist on “the payment of monthly fees by children of well-off families attending our classes”. Since the refusal of the Brothers risked provoking conflicts with the municipalities, it would be necessary to envisage suitable measures to “preserve our establishments, guarantee as far as possible the principle of Gratuity in teaching and smooth over the difficulties and the demands that the communes might give rise to” (*Register B*, 260).

The Chapter then proceeded to an examination of the “mémoires” sent by the Brothers on the question. Some were in favor of maintaining absolute gratuity. Others tended towards “establishing that one could allow fee contributions if there was no other way of ensuring the existence of the Institute”. After some discussion, the Chapter, anxious to maintain absolute gratuity as far as possible, foresaw a certain number of propositions which could be made to the municipalities which wished to impose fees. In the

case of this happening, the Chapter, doubtless to emphasize the exceptional and transitory character of these situations, came to suggest that: “These houses, finding themselves in an irregular state which cannot be maintained, should be considered as having a purely nominal or de facto existence and as being, on the contrary, already got rid of or closed by right”.

The Chapter also asked the Br. Superior to obtain from the Holy See permission to tolerate that, for a period of three years, fees be collected in establishments, which, without this would risk closing down. In the course of the Chapter, Br. Facile having revealed “the exceptional situation of our American houses which had sent him to the Chapter...”, it was said that “the Chapter considering America in the same way as the other congregations did, that is to say as a mission country which claimed exemptions and special rules...”, asked that the Br. Superior should request “His Holiness the Pope to restrict for ten years the scope of the vow of gratuity for our Brothers in America, to the poor alone...”. By this double decision, for the first time, a Chapter agreed to depart from the principle of absolute gratuity.

In France, the fears of the Superiors were justified in a certain number of cases. Thus on May 23rd 1854, we find Br. Philippe writing to the Director of the house of St-Affrique (Aveyron) to say that, contrary to what an inspector was saying, the municipalities remained free to practice absolute gratuity. He shows that it is even in their interests, by developing a line of argument that deserves to be known. The Superior writes, in fact:

“Tell these gentlemen that for the few francs that they receive, they disturb and rouse discontent in all the families and cause them to desert the school... firstly among the rich who if they must pay would prefer to go to a boarding-school... secondly among the fairly well-off who will be irritated by having to pay... and thirdly among the poor who don't want it said that they are attending a charity school...” (RA EE 277-3/29).

The Chapter of 1858

At the General Chapter which was held in 1858, the Br. Superior returned to the question to remind the Brothers first of all that, contrary to certain allegations, the Chapter of 1854 had opted for maintaining gratuity as it had been practiced up to then. He then pointed out that the Government of the Institute had had to make very little use of the means which had been placed at its disposition to regulate the most delicate situations. The Chapter did not take any new measures on the subject of gratuity. However, when Br. Facile recalled the situation of the Brothers in North America during some remarks

in which he called into question the interpretation common in the Institute on the subject of gratuity, the Capitulants asked the Superior-General to request from the Holy See a renewal of the *indult* already granted in 1855.

– More serious pressures

From the end of 1856, the Institute had to deal with a new Minister of Public Instruction, Rouland. With him the situation got worse. The subvention which the government gave the Institute for its novitiates had not been paid for 1856. The Minister claimed he had insufficient funds and added that to some extent, this lack of funds was due to the influence the Brothers exercised by refusing to collect the school fees (*cf.* RIGAUULT 5-378). The subvention was paid in 1857, but was definitively withdrawn in 1858. Furthermore, some schools were closed because they had not applied the Decree of December 31st 1853. The Minister intended to defend the rights of the State, but his attitude was reinforced by the change of political orientation which was making itself at the time (*see p.* 184-5).

In 1861, the Minister launched a veritable *ultimatum* against the Institute. During an interview which he granted to Br. Philippe and to Br. Assistant Calixte on April 26th, he argued that at the time of the First Empire, the State had approved the Institute to run “its” schools and that for that reason it had accorded the Brothers a certain number of advantages. Now, at present, by forcing the towns to “make all schools gratuitous”, the Institute was attacking the interests of the State, since this attitude “was causing considerable expense to the Communes and the State”. It must therefore be accepted that the school fees be established wherever it was demanded. The Minister ended by saying: “you will be for the State or against the State, that is to say that you will submit to the will of the State or you will resist, but in that case you will be breaking with the State and then the State will suppress you” (minutes in RA EE 277-1/14). In the interview the Minister referred to a circular which he would be sending to the Prefects during the month of May.

The Chapter of 1861

Faced with such a threat, Br. Philippe and his Assistants decided to convene a new General Chapter which opened on September 4th 1861. In the report he made to the Chapter, Br. Philippe indicated that since 1854, the governing body of the Institute had had to “constantly over a period of almost six years struggle against a very large number of towns which had, one by one, voted for payment of fees”. He named about fifty in

France and Algeria but there were others. He added that this had been the case also with “almost all the houses in Savoy and in Belgium”. However, he admitted that the struggle had been possible because, “we only had to fight against the towns, and thanks be to God, we had the good fortune to win almost everywhere” (*Register B*, 353). But they were facing a new situation because of the demands of the Minister. To make the latter’s position known, various documents including the minutes of the interview we have referred to, were given to the Capitulants.

By various votes, the Chapter agreed to submit. It thus made its position clear in the decisions which it took: “The Brothers will conform to the measures of the ministerial circular of May 27th 1861 on the subject of school fees while waiting till we are able to resume the practices from which these measures oblige us to depart [...]. They will therefore provide the authorities with the list of pupils which they have been asked for, but they will abstain from any direct and personal intervention in the imposition or collecting of the said fee, if it is demanded from some of their pupils” (*Register B*, 393). To regularize the decision, Br. Philippe sent a request to the Holy Father in which he explained the reasons which led the Chapter to agree to depart from the principle of gratuity such as it had been applied up till then and asked if the Brothers “could, without violating... their vow of teaching the poor gratuitously, continue the schools... for which the municipalities had begun to demand payment on the part of children not considered to be indigent” (*Register B*, 393). The Pope gave a favorable response on November 15th 1861.

However, in spite of the directives given by the Minister, many municipalities kept to the measures of the law of 1850 which allowed the communes the right to ask for fees or not to ask for them. Furthermore, some who had imposed fees, seeing how ineffective they were, no longer asked for them (*cf.* RIGAULT 5-379).

In Belgium, the attachment of the Brothers to maintaining absolute gratuity in their schools also brought them difficulties. Thus some municipalities such as that of Gembloux wished to exclude from the Brothers’ schools children of families capable of paying the fees (*cf.* RIGAULT 6-127). In the free schools which were deprived of all official subsidies, the question of gratuity also arose. The position adopted by the Chapter of 1861 on this subject was approved by the Holy See, but the pontifical *rescript* did not explicitly mention Belgium; following steps taken by the episcopate the exception accorded was extended to the schools of that country.

A Minister of Napoleon III since 1863, Duruy returned to the previous régime following a decree of March 28th 1866. As for the law of April 10th 1867 concerning pri-

mary education, it authorized the communes to raise a special tax in order to establish total gratuity in the schools. However, although it conformed to the principle defended by the Institute, this measure taken at a time when the politics in vogue encouraged the communes to replace the members of the religious congregations by lay teachers, was not necessarily seen in a positive light by the Brothers. And this was all the more so since the period saw the development of a current favorable to the generalization of elementary education; notably the “League of Teaching”, created in France in 1866, militated in this direction. With a view to decreeing compulsory education one would have to make it gratuitous by putting it fully in the hands of public collectives and it would be necessary not only to confide it to lay teachers but to make it become “secular”, that is to say neutral, with regard to all religions.

Thus while the principle of absolute gratuity defended by the Brothers was supported by the partisans of compulsory education, the preference of the latter for a lay education tended to remove the members of the Institute from public schools. This, which would happen in the following period, would make it more and more difficult to apply the principle of gratuity when it would be necessary to call upon private generosity to support the “free” schools. This was already the case in countries where Catholics were not in the majority, such as the United States, England, Prussia or in mission countries such as those in the Middle East or in South-East Asia, and even in countries with a Catholic tradition such as Belgium or Italy. So many countries for which a whole series of “rescripts” were obtained from the Holy See between 1855 and 1874 (*cf.* LS 7-241ff.), before that of January 1879 concerning the whole Institute opened the way for the multiplication of authorizations to receive money or gifts coming even from the parents of pupils or to charge fees for those judged able to pay them (*cf.* LS 7-274).

Conclusion

At a time when the Brothers were no longer in a position to apply everywhere the principle of absolute gratuity which they had defended since the beginning of the Institute, we need to question ourselves on the scope of such an attachment to what was in their eyes one of the points on which it was not possible to compromise.

The intention of the Brothers was not to put any obstacle to the admission of pupils which was related to the social or economic condition of the families. At a time when the ruling circles intended to limit gratuitous access to knowledge, it is certain that the Brothers made this knowledge accessible to a greater number of those who were being excluded from it.

Paradoxically, the constancy of the Brothers in defending the principle of absolute gratuity favored the access to their schools of those who were enjoying better living conditions.

Was this not, if not often at least sometimes, to the detriment of those to whom they wished to give priority of entry? This danger, it seems, was not always avoided (*cf.* for example LS 7-295). It should not, however, be exaggerated.

As we shall see later, even after the Brothers had to give up applying the principle of absolute gratuity, this continued to be defended in the Institute by a certain number of determined adversaries of those who saw themselves described as “champions of fee-paying” because they were in favor of the financial participation of parents in the functioning of the school.

Chapter 9 – PRESENCE OF THE INSTITUTE ACROSS THE WORLD

Orientation

During the period which interests us here, the Institute which was present in a certain number of countries outside continental Europe, continued to spread across the world.

The countries in which the Brothers found themselves already or to which they were called, could be considered in a certain number of cases as Christian, even when Catholics were not in a majority; in other cases, with some exceptions, it was a question of countries where Christians were a small minority in the middle of populations practicing other religions. Everywhere, the priority preoccupation of those who were looking for the Brothers was to create schools where the faith of Catholic children would not only not be in danger but where it would be affirmed.

Chronological reference points	
Christian countries	non-Christian countries
1851	Agreement for sending of Brothers to Malaysia
1852	Brothers authorized to teach in French North Africa
1854	Egypt: beginnings in Cairo
1855	Arrival of Brothers in England
1859	Brothers in Calcutta - Opening in Port Louis (Mauritius)
1860	Agreement for arrival of Brothers in Moulmein (Burma)
1861	English-language novitiate in New York
1863	Brothers in Cuenca and Quito (Ecuador)
1864	Canada and U.S. divided into 2 Provinces
1866	College confided to Brothers in Saigon (Fr. Indo-China)
	First Brothers in Madagascar
1868	Arrival of the Brothers in Ceylon

Christian countries

– Recent presence of the Brothers

Canada

In 1850, the Brothers were present in three principal centers in Canada. There were 27 in Montreal, 12 in Quebec, 4 in Trois-Rivières and 15 in different localities, giving a total of 58.

The period following was favorable to their expansion: Canadians of French origin and Catholic by faith were better recognized. They took advantage of the existing school system to multiply schools for their children. This system, in fact, left a wide initiative to the citizens, the schools being administered by school commissions whose members were elected.

In the region of Lower-Canada, the application for Catholic schools continued to grow and the Brothers invested in these schools as a priority. In them the Christian education of the children was the object of their attention and the quality of their teaching was recognized. This was carried out mainly in French, but “English classes” were started for children of British origin or belonging to immigrant Irish families. At Oka, a Brother was even sent on temporary assignment in winter for a number of years (1849-1860), to teach the young Iroquois and Algonquins (N. VOISINE, *Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes au Canada* 1-116).

If, in the majority of schools, the teaching given was at elementary level, some, such as those at Glacis in Quebec, offered a more advanced education. Beside the day-schools, boarding-schools were created, largely to allow children living a long distance from the towns to attend the schools, even in winter. Some Academies * gave a secondary level education without including classical studies. Some offered commercial education, such as the English Academy which started in Quebec in September 1862 (VOISINE 1-87). The Brothers took over a college at Longueuil in 1867; commercial classes were started there in 1870 (*id.* 119).

In 1851, the Institute moved into the English language regions of Upper Canada. Two schools were opened in Toronto; shortly afterwards an Academy * was opened there. Even before the adoption by the British Parliament of the Constitution of 1867 which introduced the Maritime Provinces into the Federation, these Provinces had received the Brothers in Arichat in 1860 and later in five other towns. But the first of these estab-

lishments stopped functioning in 1866 and it was to be the same for the others, one after the other. In 1864 the Brothers arrived in Ottawa, the federal capital.

At first the United States and Canada formed a single Province and the novitiate in Montreal prepared the Brothers for the whole Province; this solution was not, however, favorable to English-speaking novices. In 1861, the latter went to New York, where a novitiate had been opened. In 1864, the Province was divided in two. Br. Liguori (Jean-Jacques Martin), a French Brother, became Visitor of Canada. In 1868, Br. Hoséa (Éphrem Gagnon) became the first native-born Brother to be placed at the head of the Canadian Province. In 1872, the Province of Canada numbered 239 Brothers in 25 “establishments” (RA DD 251).

The United States

The Brothers had opened a school in Baltimore in 1845, in New York in 1848, and in St. Louis in 1849. This time of the beginnings of the Institute in the United States coincided with a period of economic growth and of heavy immigration. To safeguard the faith of young Catholics, the Bishops organized a system of schools in the development of which the Brothers participated.

When they arrived in a locality, the Brothers took charge of one or more elementary schools. They taught children born in the country or children born of immigrants mainly from Ireland; in some parishes classes were started for German-speaking children. Dealing with Catholic children, the Brothers took particular care to teach them the catechism and form them in Christian living, according to the tradition of the Institute.

Very soon after their arrival, the Brothers were asked to open boarding-schools or to create “Academies”, with a view to giving a more advanced education to children belonging to the *middle class*, which was then developing. The bishops also encouraged the Brothers to open in a certain number of towns a *College* where students likely to become priests could be formed. This raised the problem of the introduction of the teaching of Latin into this type of establishment. The teaching given there also allowed for the preparation of young Catholics for entry to university, in a climate favorable to their faith.

In the towns and cities where they found themselves and in others which they reached from there, the Brothers developed these different types of works. Thus in New York in 1868, the Brothers ran a College, three Academies and 13 parish schools with a total of 5,000 pupils (RIGAUULT 6-322). From St. Louis they went to New Orleans in 1850. They

also moved into new regions. They arrived on the banks of the Ohio, at Cincinnati, in 1860. Brothers from France went as far as Santa Fe in New Mexico in 1859 (cf. RIGAULT 6-304).

The Civil War, which opposed the States of the North to those of the South between 1861 and 1865, had repercussions on the works of the Brothers, especially in the South and in the Centre (BATTERSBY vol. 2, p. 105). It was, however, during this period that the Novitiate of New York was opened (see above) and that communities were formed in the *Middle West*, such as in Chicago in 1861. Already, largely because of the misery that accompanied the industrial development and the epidemics which followed it, the number of orphans grew because of the war. The Bishop of New York created a *Catholic Protectory* which the Brothers took over in 1862. Other works of the same kind were confided to the Brothers later on (cf. Br. Angelus-Gabriel, *The Christian Brothers in the United States*, 239).

After the war, development and expansion continued, notably with the creation of several university colleges. The single Province formed in 1864 was subdivided. Several Districts were formed: New Orleans in 1865, Saint-Louis in 1870, San Francisco in 1872. In 1873, there were 560 Brothers and about 25,000 pupils in the United States of America.

– Arrival in new countries

England

In England the year 1850 was marked by the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. Already, since 1829, Catholics there had recovered their rights as citizens. Hostility towards the “papists” had not disappeared but the Catholic Church was able to develop its action in the country. In the field of education, the State limited its intervention and encouraged private initiatives; the Catholics profited from this to create educational establishments.

In 1853, Br. Philippe expressed the wish, in the Régime Council, to see the Brothers established in England, especially with a view to giving an opportunity to Brothers destined for English-speaking countries to learn English (cf. W.J. Battersby, *History of the Institute... vol. 3 (1850-1900)*, p.133). Thus when a Redemptorist asked for Brothers for his parish of Clapham, in London, he received a favorable response. In May 1854, Br. Assistant Théotique and Br. Barthélemy, Sub-Director of the boarding school at Passy,

were sent to study the question. The latter returned to London in February 1855 and with three other Brothers formed a community which soon grew to nine. At first the Brothers took charge of a primary school. Then they opened a small boarding-school offering an education which was somewhere between primary level and that of colleges offering classical studies.

The beginnings were difficult. Since the school was not run by teachers native to the country, it could not benefit from government grants. Because the cost became too heavy for the parish, the Brothers withdrew from this school two and a half years later. The enrolment in the boarding-school remained low. It rose to about sixty in 1858, when the establishment transferred to a better situated property, but this number still remained insufficient to help meet the expenses incurred. In 1865, there was even question of closing it. An *Academy* created in South London in 1860 had more success. A school opened in 1861 had to close the following year through lack of resources.

In August 1866, the Brothers arrived in Jersey, one of the Anglo-Norman islands, to open a school which even found favor with Protestant families. In the same year the Brothers arrived in Liverpool. This active sea-port had many abandoned and neglected children. The Brothers took charge of two orphanages but only kept one of them. For two years, beginning in 1867, they assisted in training cabin-boys on a ship, the *Clarens*. From 1868 onwards the Brothers also trained student-teachers for the schools of the city.

In 1868, with the arrival of Br. Liguori as Visitor and Director of the boarding-school in London, the latter finally began to develop; this progress was helped by the presence from 1870 onwards of Br. Potamian (Michael O'Reilly), an Irish-born American. He was the first Brother to obtain a doctorate at the University of London and he organized in the boarding-school quality scientific education. Because the admission of young men who had been sent to France to do their novitiate had produced poor results, Br. Liguori opened a novitiate in England but planned to train there young men coming from Ireland.

Ecuador

Like many former Spanish colonies in America which had gained their independence, Ecuador suffered from struggles between “conservatives” and “liberals”. García Moreno, a convinced Catholic, who was elected President of the Republic in 1860, embarked on a policy of economic development and moral reform. In order to offer to both the children of the working class and those from better-off families, schools associating teaching with Christian education, he asked for the help of the Brothers. Contacted officially in

1861, Br. Philippe promised to prepare 10 Brothers for this distant mission. Sent from France, the missionaries arrived on February 18th 1863 and on their arrival went to three localities: Guayaquil on the coast, and Cuenca and Quito in the interior. Exhausted by the climate and the object of hostility from the “liberals”, the Brothers of Guayaquil joined those in Cuenca who immediately started to be successful. Among their first pupils was Francisco Febres Cordero Muñoz who, in March 1868, would become Br. Miguel. The establishment opened in Quito in an old convent called *El Beaterio*, developed rapidly.

After his return to power in 1869, García Moreno invited the Brothers to greatly increase the number of schools they had in the country, but the Institute could not give a favorable response. Thanks to the arrival of new Brothers, including some from North America, the project of creating an establishment in Quayaquil came to fulfillment in 1870 and some other schools were opened. Br. Yon Joseph (Antoine Daidé) who had been Visitor since 1868 and who wanted to educate the children of the indigenous population, planned to train teachers from this background; a training-college founded for this purpose, was confided to the Brothers in 1871. To educate and give a professional formation to abandoned children, a *Protectorado católico*, founded by the government, started in 1872, thanks to the arrival of Brothers from the United States. The novitiate in *El Beaterio* was transferred to a new house in 1874. At the beginning of 1875, the Institute in Ecuador numbered 63 Brothers in 10 communities with 3,500 pupils.

Non-Christian countries

– The Middle-East

Turkey

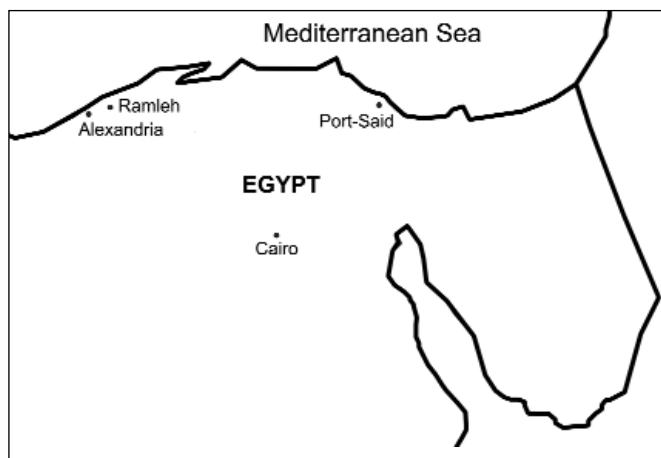
From 1841, the Brothers were present in Smyrne and Constantinople in what is now Turkey. Relations with the Lazarists, who had invited them, had become difficult after a few years: the Brothers took their independence. They were, however, short of resources. To remedy this, they opened some semi-boardingschools and approached the French government as well as the Propaganda Fide. To avoid depending so much on outside aid, they planned opening boarding-schools. In Constantinople in 1858, an establishment of this type made a modest beginning and then established itself in an old unfinished hotel in Kadiköy on the Asian side of the river. This establishment took only boarders and offered to the families of different nationalities in the city and the region an education based on French and preparing pupils for carriers in administration or commerce as well

as for entry to French schools of engineering. But when their lease was not renewed they had to leave this site. Since the Brothers' schools were at first reserved for Catholics, a school intended exclusively for Catholic Armenian children was opened in 1887. But pupils of Greek and Armenian rites not attached to Rome, as well as Jews, began to frequent these establishments.



The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Asian Turkey
Communities founded from 1840 up to Beatification of Venerable De La Salle
on November 27th 1887.

4 under Br. Philippe; 5 under Br. Irlide; 2 under Br. Joseph
Total 11 establishments: 9 houses - 96 Brothers - 1,393 pupils in 1887



The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Egypt
Communities founded from 1847 up to Beatification of Venerable De La Salle on November 27th 1887

3 under Br. Philippe; 1 under Br. Irlide; 1 under Br. Joseph
Total 5 establishments: 5 houses - 120 Brothers - 1,715 pupils in 1887

Egypt

In Alexandria where they had arrived in 1847, the Brothers also became independent of the Lazarists in 1851. But the difficulties they ran into made them consider leaving in 1852. The Apostolic Delegate made an arrangement with the Franciscans whereby the Brothers took over a school. Nearby a boarding-school was built under the name of St. Catherine's. In the same year of 1854, the Brothers began their apostolate in Cairo. There also they took over a school from the

Franciscans and began a college. Benefiting from the protection of the Viceroy, they obtained from him a piece of land in the area of Khoronfish to which they transferred the school and college in 1859. At Ramleh, in the suburbs of Alexandria, a novitiate was opened in 1874. From 1856 on, the Brothers of Egypt who, up till then were under Constantinople, formed a Province.

– South-East Asia

In this region English influence extended over several countries. This mainly translated itself into the spread of Protestantism. To counter this, Catholic missionaries opened schools.

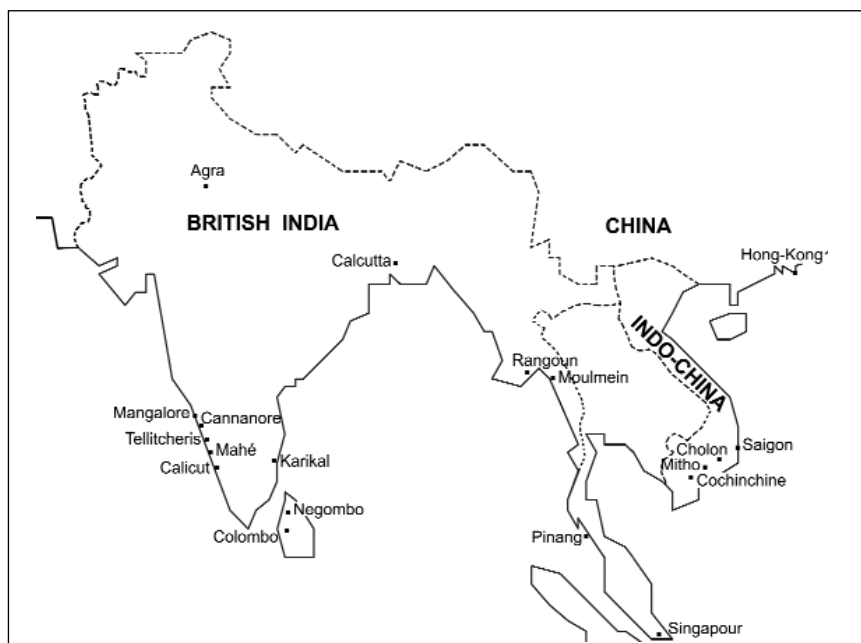
Malaysia

The 'Missions Étrangères' Fathers who were present in the *Straits Settlements*, at the same time that they were approaching the 'Dames de St-Maur' (Sisters of the Child Jesus founded by Père Barré) to look after poor girls, asked the Brothers of the Christian Schools to teach the boys. Their approaches were successful. In November 1851, a convention foresaw a foundation in Penang or Singapore, or even both. The Brothers chosen in Europe and in America arrived in Singapore in 1852 and opened a school there. Others opened one in Penang. In Singapore, in order to get resources, the Brothers opened a boarding-school, which created tension with their protectors; in 1867 this establishment was set up securely.

India

In 1857, the Brothers in Penang learned that the Irish Brothers who belonged to the Congregation of Edmond Rice and who were running an orphanage in Calcutta, in India, wanted to join the Brothers of the Christian Schools. With reinforcements from France a community was created which took charge of the orphanage and of the day pupils. But the dissensions between these Irish Brothers and those of the Christian schools led to the departure of the latter in 1861. These Brothers and others who came from France went to Agra to take charge of a school, a boarding-school and an orphanage. They even started a novitiate but the actions of a Capuchin Father who was jealous of the influence of the Brothers led the Institute General Council to withdraw the Brothers on May 16th 1863.

At the same time, the Brothers established themselves in Mangalore, on the Malabar Coast. In 1860, a novitiate was opened for young novices of the country. Among them,



The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in India, China and Cochin-China
 Communities founded between 1852 and Beatification of the Ven. De La Salle, Nov. 27th 1887
 22 under Br. Philippe; 4 under Br. Irlide; 1 under Br. Jean-Olympe; 1 under Br. Joseph
 Total 28 establishments: 7 houses - 62 Brothers - 1,919 pupils in 1887

Brothers Timothy of Mary (Victor Rosario) and Anthony of Padua (Michael Menazer) were to accomplish a rich apostolate (*cf.* BATTERSBY, vol. 3 - 1850-1900, p. 180). Following a disagreement with the clergy, the Brothers left in 1868. In Calcutta and Cannanor, the Brothers were to remain longer. In the French trading-post of Mahé where they received a salary on condition that they taught children without any distinction of color, caste or

In connection with the foundations in Malaysia and in India, we should include an attempt made at expanding into Australia. At the invitation of the apostolic Administrator of Perth, two members of the Singapore community, who had been at Agra, Brothers Bothian (Peter Schneider) and Amphian (John Kenny) left for Australia at the beginning of 1865. They opened a school in Perth and asked Br. Assistant Facile for some Brothers for Freemantle. Not only did they not get a favorable reply but Br. Amphian had to return to Singapore in 1866; Br. Bothian, who had put himself at the disposal of Br. Facile, returned to the United States at the end of the same year. It was said that the two Brothers left without the agreement of their Br. Visitor or of the Superior of the Institute. Research done in the country tends to prove the contrary.

religion as well as in that of Karikal, the Brothers arrived in 1863 but left after a few years. In all, at the end of the period being studied here, almost all the attempts made had failed.

Burma (at present Myanmar)

When Mgr. Bigandet, a friend of the Brothers whom he'd known in Penang, became Vicar-Apostolic in Burma, he asked for their help. In 1860, primary classes were opened in Moulmein in the interior of the country; a small boarding-school was later added. In the same year, the Brothers opened a school in Rangoon on the coast. Later, in 1862, three Brothers went to Bassein with a view to preparing catechists for the missions and candidates for the seminary in Penang, but the task proved very difficult. In 1866, the Brothers opened there a novitiate from which some Burmese Brothers emerged. It is there, for example, that Brother Anthony John (Thomas Paschal), had his formation (*cf.* RIGAULT 8-516). Having a good knowledge of the Burmese language and literature, he taught them and initiated the Brothers who had come from France and America to the language.

Ceylon (at present Sri Lanka)

In 1866, Br. Philippe was asked to send some Brothers to Colombo on the Island of Ceylon. A first attempt having failed, a new one in 1868, looked more promising. A school opened in Negombo in 1870 was confided to Br. Timothy of Mary and another Brother who was also a native of India, who turned it into an establishment which could rival the best colleges. But it did not mean yet that the beginnings of a work on this island were meant for development.

Indo-China (at present Vietnam)

In the middle of the 19th Century, in what was to become French Indo-China, Annam and Tonkin had about a hundred thousand Catholics. The persecution, to which they were subjected, continued up to 1867. France, which intervened militarily, placed Saigon and the region known as Cochin-China, under its control. In 1864, primary schools were created there in all the big centers, but they had to have recourse to 'makeshift' teachers. The French government then appealed to the Brothers. The Circular of October 20th 1865 announced to the Institute the departure of some Brothers who were going "to bring Catholic and French education to Saigon" (quoted in RIGAULT

6-417). In January 1866, the Brothers took over Adran College in Saigon, which had already been founded by the Lazarist Fathers. Schools were confided to them in Mytho (1867), Vinh Long (1869) and Bac Trang. Some Brothers went to teach in Cholon but they stopped in 1870.

– The islands of South-East Africa

Réunion Island

The work of the Brothers continued to make progress in Réunion Island (previously called île Bourbon) under the driving impetus of Br. Jean de Matha (Augustin Béranger). When he died in 1870, there were 126 Brothers in 26 houses, teaching and catechizing 4,700 children or adults.

L'île Maurice (Mauritius)

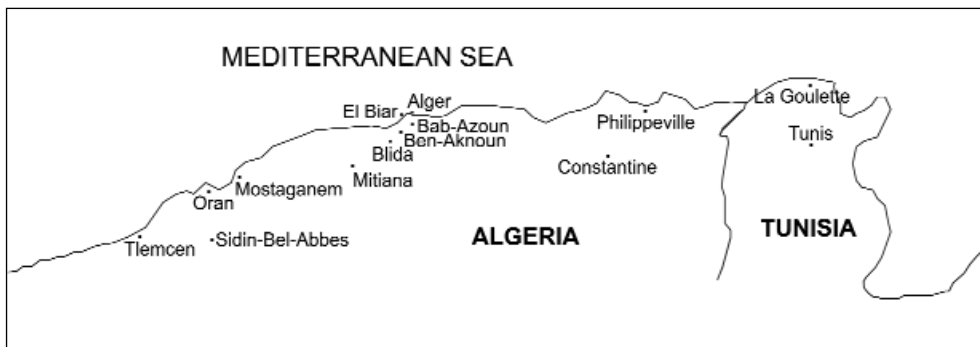
A neighbor of Réunion, l'île Maurice, which, under that name, became English in 1814, received some Brothers in Port Louis in 1859; a boarding-school there allowed them to support a gratuitous school. Three other schools were opened between 1865 and 1867. The Brothers survived two epidemics between 1863 and 1867, but two of them were victims of a cyclone in 1868. Brothers were even sent to Port Victoria in the Seychelles Islands in 1867 but the Institute General Council decided to withdraw them on June 17th 1875.

Madagascar

In a letter of December 8th 1855, Br. Scubilion spoke of his hope to see the Brothers go to Madagascar and declared that he was ready to go himself. Already in his circular of April 29th 1844, Br. Philippe had spoken of a project concerning the big island. But nothing was planned before 1862, when the professed Brothers of Réunion Island, “meeting in chapter”, decided to take up again the work created at La Ressource (Réunion Island), by the Jesuit Fathers, with a view to educating young natives of Madagascar. Finally, in 1866, thanks to an agreement with the Superior of the Jesuits of Tananarive, Br. Gonzalvien (Étienne Chambaron) and two Brothers who were natives of Réunion Island, took charge of three boys’ classes opened by the Fathers. The Queen, who was leaning towards Catholicism, sent her adopted son to this school. The death of this Queen in 1868 favored the development of Protestant influence. However, a new

naming of a bishop in Algiers in 1838; from 1842 this bishop had asked for Brothers, but without result. By a decree of July 24th 1852, the Institute saw its right recognized “to found and direct schools in the French possessions of North Africa”. When new offers were made, Br. Judore, then Visitor of the District of Rodez, was sent to check things out. His observations led to the sending of 4 Brothers to Algiers in 1853. Schools were founded one after the other between 1854 and 1855. These were French schools under the control of the municipalities and intended for children of European origin, even if Br. Judore liked to think that “one day the Arabs will agree to become the objects of the same zeal” (quoted in RIGAULT 6-456). A course for adults was opened in Algiers in 1858.

A period for a new activity opened up for the Brothers in 1867, when Mgr. Lavigerie was named Archbishop of Algiers. Because of the famine which was rife at the time, he was looking after children in distress. In February 1868, he asked the Brothers to look after an agricultural orphanage which he had founded at Ben-Aknoun. Twelve Brothers were sent for this work which continued until 1870. However, just as in France during the same period, the municipalities were trying to replace the Brothers with lay teachers.



The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Algeria and Tunisia

Algeria: 16 communities founded between 1853 and the Beatification of the Founder on November 27th 1887.

14 under Br. Philippe; 2 under Br. Jean-Olympe

9 houses - 92 Brothers - 1,559 pupils in 1887

Tunisia: 2 communities founded by Br. Philippe in 1855 and 1872

2 houses - 18 Brothers - 689 pupils in 1887

After the fall of the Empire, in 1870-1871 the Brothers were expelled from several schools, but thanks to the support of the Archbishop, the free schools were confided to them. These were re-instated in several places following the change which occurred after the election of the National Assembly (see p. 163). In 1870 the Brothers acquired a rural

estate where they installed the old and sick Brothers and a novitiate for what constituted the District of Algeria.

Tunisia

The District of Algeria also had two houses founded in Tunisia. Maltese, Italian and French Catholics in Tunis wanted to have schools for their children. A request made to the Superiors by a representative of the Vicar-Apostolic led to the sending of five Brothers in September 1855. Since three-quarters of the pupils in the gratuitous school which was opened, used Italian, teaching was in this language. Then paid courses were organized for families wishing that their sons should be able to express themselves in French. In 1858, seven Brothers conducted three Italian classes and three in French. Another school was opened in the port of La Goulette. In the register of the deliberations of the Regime Council in Rome, one can read for the date of January 22nd 1864 that “we cannot accede to the request to send Brothers to Tripoli, in Barberie”. This was present-day Libya.

Conclusion

In the survey which we have just made, we have had to limit ourselves to what seemed to best characterize the work of the Brothers in each of the countries concerned. The number and diversity of these, needs to be emphasized as well as the effort made by the Brothers to respond to the appeals made to them especially from mission countries.

We should also note the zeal of those Brothers, who, with courage, faced many dangers to reach these distant countries and exercise their apostolate there in conditions which were often difficult. Some of them, in particular, showed extraordinary availability in going from country to country at the request of their Superiors. Thus, Br. Abban (François-Xavier Gendreau), who entered the novitiate of Montreal in 1851, was sent to France just 18 months after leaving it; he then went to England before returning to Canada in 1871. He returned to England and then was called to New York before taking over the direction of the novitiate opened in Ireland in 1881. Finally he was asked in 1889 to become Director of the house in Hong Kong, then to act as Visitor for South-East Asia. Worn out at this task, he was invited by the Superiors to go to Marseille for treatment but died on route, at Alexandria, on December 23rd 1895, at the age of 58 (*Choix de notices* 2-64).

While the Institute was developing in certain places such as North America, we have seen the difficulties which it had in becoming implanted in England and the almost total failure it had known in India. Where England is concerned, Br. Liguori, in a report

drawn up in 1873, gave as the reasons for a long period of failure: the bad choices of Directors and their too frequent changing; the lack of mastery of English both by them and many of the other Brothers; the difficulty for many of adapting to the needs and customs of the country. With regard to India, in addition to the causes already indicated, one could add those of the dispersal of the communities over a vast territory and, for Brothers coming from other countries, the difficulty in adapting to a world so different from their own. Doubtless there was also too much improvisation in the foundations.

9. *THE WORKS OF THE BROTHERS IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE 19th CENTURY*

In two of the preceding chapters, we talked about the works of the Brothers in countries where they were already implanted or those which were confided to them when they arrived in new regions. We would like to take up again here the ensemble of those works to which the Brothers consecrated themselves during the period which we are studying at present.

To achieve this we thought it would be interesting to rely on a text entitled A Summary of an account given verbally by the Most Honorable Brother Superior to the Sovereign Pontiff on April 16th 1859 (RA EE 277-1/11).

The works of the Brothers' Apostolate according to the account given to the Pope

In the text in question, after having supplied some statistics, the Br. Superior indicated the countries where the Brothers were present as well as providing a list of the different novitiates. He then emphasized two means which had contributed towards helping regularity and stimulating the zeal of the Brothers: the division into Districts and the annual retreats. He then gave details of a number of works to which the Brothers were consecrating themselves. He ended by bringing up some questions relating to the vows or the admission of postulants, on the subject of which he had certain requests to make to the Sovereign Pontiff.

The document is in the form of a series of leaflets, each one dealing with a single subject announced by a heading. Using these same headings we will take up here the part of the text dealing with the works of the apostolate, with a view to drawing attention to what Br. Philippe said about them and the wording he used to express himself.

– Apprentices

The action of the Brothers for the benefit of young people placed in apprenticeship is expressed in the following terms:

“In France there are a certain number of poor young children whose parents are obliged to put them to work at a very young age; these young children not having gone to school or having seldom gone, don't know either their prayers or the catechism; our Brothers take them in between 7 and 9 o'clock in the evening and teach them some reading and writing and especially prayers and catechism in order to prepare them for First Communion; at present they number about 5,800”.

– **The Works of St. Francis Xavier**

The Br. Superior explained what was, under this heading, organized by the Brothers for adults and then showed the fruits of the work before giving the numbers involved:

“We refer to as works of St. Francis Xavier, those societies of people of all ages, who, after the parish liturgies meet together in order to spend Sunday afternoons in a useful way. The time is spent in singing Vespers, having useful readings or discussions and an interesting sermon for them.”

“We prepare these good people for receiving the sacraments at the approach of the big feasts and especially for Easter communion. These people who at one time were completely unsympathetic to the clergy are now very attached to them; it is a remarkable improvement in the working class, especially in Paris. There are over 12,000 people in France who attend these meetings.”

– **Boarding-schools**

Invoking the Founder of the Institute, Br. Philippe brought out the educational aims as well as the fruits of a type of establishment which was regaining importance in the Institute:

“Following the example of our Venerable Founder we have opened a certain number of boarding-schools in order to bring up in a Christian manner, young people intended for work in industry and commerce, so that they can be preserved from the scandals they might meet in other schools, especially in France.”

“When these young people return to their families, they usually behave well, get on well with the clergy and give religious leadership to the workers placed in their charge.”

“The Bishops are very pleased with these establishments and several have asked us to open new ones in their dioceses.”

– **Orphanages**

Under this heading, the text indicates what led the Brothers to take charge of such institutions as well as starting classes for deaf-mutes:

“Poor children deprived of their parents and having no means of existence, seemed to us worthy of pity, which led us, with the permission and help of the clergy and some good souls, to take charge of establishments of this kind; at present we have 10, containing 2,500 children.”

“We have also opened 9 gratuitous classes for deaf-mutes, who are no less deserving of pity than the orphans.”

– Youth Works

The text first shows how an awareness of the needs of young people who have left school, led to the creation of works of this type; then it brought out under which conditions it would be possible to extend the fruits of this work:

“For a long time we had been noticing that our pupils, once they had left school, were soon lost through mixing with bad companions. To avoid this grave risk, we have tried to bring them together in gatherings and to bring them into our houses on Sundays and Feast Days, so as to have them attend Mass, give them some instruction and keep them in the good principles which they had received when they were younger.”

“What little experience we have acquired on these gatherings, proves to us that they can do immense good and save a good number of young people from disaster. But we realize that we can only carry on these gatherings in so far as the Brothers are dispensed from teaching catechism to young children on Sundays and Feast Days after having taken them to the parish Mass. It is for this reason that we have asked this dispensation from Your Holiness.”

“I would like to add that these young children have a half-hour of catechism every day of the week.”

– Prisons

A short paragraph is devoted to the apostolate which the Brothers were carrying out in France in a certain number of prisons after they had been forced to withdraw from this type of establishment in 1848 (see p. 157):

“In several cities and notably in Paris, Bordeaux, Reims, Versailles, etc., we give religious instruction to prisoners. This helps them to suffer with greater patience the sentences to which they have been condemned.”

In itself, the description given presents a double interest. On the one hand, it brings out clearly the apostolic dimension of each of the works cited. One can easily understand that, in an address to the Pope, Br. Philippe would have wished to emphasize this aspect of the work of the Brothers. What is said of a certain number of these works also shows the awareness of the Superior of the Brothers that the latter must not limit their efforts to educate their pupils in a Christian manner, to the time when they have them in class.

Besides, such a text also shows the preoccupations of a social nature which were motivating Br. Philippe. Probably without having analyzed the causes of the changes which had come about in the situation of workers, who were both the actors in and the victims of, the first industrial revolution, he had noticed their educational and spiritual needs. Knowing mainly those who lived in Paris, the means which he recommended tended

more to improve the lot of workers and employees of the traditional trades than to remedy the social consequences of the means of production of an industry in continual expansion (see p. 8). This is not to take anything away from the sincere feelings of attachment which Br. Philippe felt towards the working class and which he tried to get his Brothers to share. He was equally attentive also to the needs of another social group whose importance increased with economic development - the “middle classes”; this is shown in the text by the paragraph dealing with the boarding-schools.

Overall perspective of the works of the Brothers

However, in a wider perspective, there is no doubt that in the eyes of Br. Philippe, it was the ensemble of apostolic activities to which the Brothers devoted themselves which entered into the double perspective which has just been indicated. The account provided by the Br. Superior does not, in fact, give a complete picture of the works of the Brothers, both in France and in the other countries where the Institute was present. To have a wider and more exhaustive picture of the activities of the Brothers during the period which interests us, we need to take up again and complete, what has just been said, distinguishing three large domains in the field of action of the Brothers.

– Teaching establishments

When, at the beginning of his presentation, Br. Philippe thus presents the Institute:

“We have, Most Holy Father, about 8,000 Brothers, including novices, 872 establishments divided into 4,550 classes and containing some 320,00 pupils”,

it is obvious that the details concerning school works include the numerous primary schools which the Brothers were running, but this is not referred to explicitly in the remainder of the presentation. This remained, however, the favored field of action of the Brothers, whether it was a question of “public” schools or independent schools described as “free”. Thus for France a table comparing the situation of the Institute in 1861, 1873, 1883, and 1893 (RA DD 280/1) gives for the first two years indicated the following figures:

Schools:	public	free	Total	Pupils:	pub. schools	free schools	Total
1861	893	410	1.303		259.326	14.925	274.251
1873	1.040	534	1.574		295.138	22.742	317.880

The table shows the increase in 12 years in the number of schools of both types and the number of pupils, with a slightly higher proportion for the free schools.

For the other countries where the Brothers were established, some statistics over a close period of years: 1862 and 1872 (RA DD 268/3 and DD 251) show that for the majority of these countries the number of (primary) schools and of children attending them represented the major part of the total school establishments and pupils of the Brothers. The comparison in the following table between the number of “children” in primary schools and the total number of “pupils” brings out this point:

		It.	Sw.	Aus.	Prus.	Belg.	Eng.	Tur.	Egypt	Can.	US	S-E. Asia
1862	child.	7.399	455	125	731	13.781	201	1.093	263	7.056	10.852	646
	pupils	8.734	455	476	920	16.068	380	1.284	641	7.370	11.852	877
1872	child.	6.343	117	243	852	12.211	287	733	483	10.596	19.062	1.564
	pupils	6.733	117	602	1.080	14.795	536	877	872	11.203	22.746	1.663

Even though the orphanages could admit adolescents, this type of institution was more like a primary school. Thus in the case of Austria or England, on the dates indicated, the number of orphans was on a par with the number of primary-school pupils. In Prussia and in Austria, from the beginning, the Brothers were called upon to run orphanages and these remained one of their fields of action. In France, Piedmont and the United States, the Brothers were led to taking charge of the same type of establishment. In all, in the tables of statistics, we see the number of “orphans” rise from 621 in 1852, to 3,638 in 1862 and 4,825 in 1872 of which for this last year there were 2,378 in France and 1,728 in the United States.

The presentation made by Br. Philippe also mentions the existence of classes for **deaf-mutes**. Some Brothers having been initiated into “mimicry language”, that is to say sign language, ran schools for deaf-mutes in Saint-Étienne and Besançon. In Savoy, a school of this type was confided to the Brothers in 1845 and it continued after the Province was attached to France.

According to the presentation given by Br. Philippe, the reason which led the Brothers to open **boarding-schools** again was the need to give a Christian education to those young people intended for work in professions connected with industry and commerce.

If, therefore, the primary objective put forward is apostolic, the educational aim of this type of establishment appears indirectly: instruction given there went beyond elementary and was orientated towards professional formation.

This last objective was pursued, notably, in a type of boarding-school which the Brothers took over in 1859. It consisted of three establishments placed under the name of St-Nicolas, which an ecclesiastic, Mgr. de Bervanger, had founded, to take in poor boys from the Paris region, with a view to initiating them to different trades. That of Vaugirard, a locality which had been attached to Paris, prepared them for industrial work, while those of Issy and Igny gave training for floriculture and horticulture.

But most boarding-schools, in the different countries where they opened, pursued their apostolic and educational objectives among children of the “middle class”. Since it could happen that these boarding-schools were created to provide the necessary resources for maintaining gratuitous schools, this could lead, especially in mission countries, to accepting non-Catholic pupils. In other cases, the aim pursued was more particularly to offer to young Catholics the possibility of preparing themselves, in a milieu favorable to their faith, for the liberal professions or for university studies, as was the case in England and the United States.

For these different reasons, the number of boarding-schools tended to increase. Thus the statistics show 4,572 boarders in 1852; 6,612 in 1862 and 11,114 in 1872 (of which 7,850 in France, 771 in Belgium and 1,107 in the United States). The progression is real but in regard to the 312,577 “children” listed for this last year, “boarders” represented barely 3.5% of the total.

The different objectives assigned to the boarding-schools could also be pursued in semi boarding-schools or even in day-schools. The presentation of the Superior of the Brothers makes no mention of this nor does he say anything about the existence of university colleges, whose number had gone from 2 in 1850 to 8 in 1874 in the United States. Similarly, he does not say anything about the training-colleges run by the Brothers in some countries at this time. This does not mean, however, that he had no interest in them.

– Works of perseverance

Under this heading one could group two types of works which the Brothers had developed in their schools to prolong or extend their work especially among those who had been their pupils.

As has already been mentioned (see p. 154-155), the interest which the Institute showed towards apprentices had given rise to various achievements. From 1843, a house received various types of apprentices. In different parishes in Paris and other cities, committees took care of the placement of young people going into apprenticeship, with teachers offering serious guarantees, who looked after these boys in the course of their formation. The Brothers participated in this work by organizing evening classes for young apprentices and receiving them in their schools on Sundays and feast-days to offer them both recreation and religious instruction. According to statistics, the Brothers looked after 4,557 “apprentices” in 1852; 7,450 in 1862; 6,391 in 1872.

A “Charitable work for the instruction and perseverance of the young chimney-sweeps and workers of the streets of Paris”, whose aim was fairly similar to that of the work for the apprentices, was created in 1860. According to its title, this work was aimed, in the first place, at children who came, especially from Savoy, to carry out, because of their small stature, the work of chimney-sweeping. The Brothers were not the only ones involved in this kind of work, but it was in one of their schools that it started and had its headquarters (*cf.* RA KD 862-1/15). In Turin a similar work was set up for young men from Piedmont who came in from the mountains to carry out the same kind of work in town; the Brothers looked after these children during the following period (*cf. Rivista Lasalliana* No. 4, year 2000-259).

Under the heading of **Works for Youth**, Br. Philippe, in his presentation, showed what had led the Brothers, with the aim of Christian formation, to gather together on Sundays and feasts, those who had just left their schools. We have seen the evolution of these works which were also called “patronages” (see p. 155). A period of rapid development, notably between 1852 and 1861, was followed by a period of slowing-down, thanks especially to the suspicious attitude of the political powers in France towards groups of this type; it was for the same reason that the “Conferences of St. Vincent-de-Paul” were banned. A clear resumption took place in 1873, a year in which “the work of the ‘patronages’” was directed to the “public benefit” (*cf.* RA KD 862-2/3: *Noces d'or des Œuvres de la jeunesse*, 17 décembre 1893, p. 54).

Although Br. Philippe does not mention it, the Brothers were also involved in a work which was somewhere between youth-work and work for adults. In different towns there existed a “**military work**” whose aim was to gather soldiers together to provide them with some recreation, but also to instruct them, especially if they were illiterate, and to help in their Christian education. In Nantes, for example, Br. Camille de Jésus (Henri Gosse) devoted himself especially to this work.

– Works for adults

To evoke the work of the Brothers with adults, the Superior of the Institute presented the Works of St. Francis Xavier. Understandably, what the Superior says about it lays stress on the religious support to be found in this work. But what was not mentioned was the fact that in this work one could equally exercise mutual help: the contribution, during each meeting, of a modest sum of money, by each of the members enabled aid to be given to those who fell ill or to the families of those who had died. Though at first spread across Paris, these works were later established in different towns and cities. The Brothers also set up these works in Reunion Island; Br. Scubilion took charge of the work.

On the other hand, the text to which we are referring makes no mention of the **classes for adults**, which the Brothers held in their schools both in France and in other countries. One may conclude that the “adults” counted in the statistical lists were those who were attending evening classes. Thus:

- in 1852, to the 20,211 listed for France, may be added 1,344 for Belgium and 1,580 for Italy;

- in 1862, the figure for France (including Savoy) is 23,027, for Belgium 1,766, for Italy 473 and for England 40;

- in 1872, there were 31,858 listed for the Districts of France, 952 for Italy, 1,185 for Belgium and 35 for Mauritius.

Was the apostolate carried out by the Brothers in **prisons**, on behalf of adults or children? What Br. Philippe says on the subject does not allow us to determine this. One can only state that the statistics of December 1852 refer to 592 “prisoners” for the Districts of Paris and Toulouse and 255 for Piedmont. The statistics of 1862 mention no more than 758 and refer only to France. There are no further statistics of this type in the statistics for 1872, which leads to the assumption that the Brothers were no longer carrying out any apostolic activity among prisoners.

Conclusion

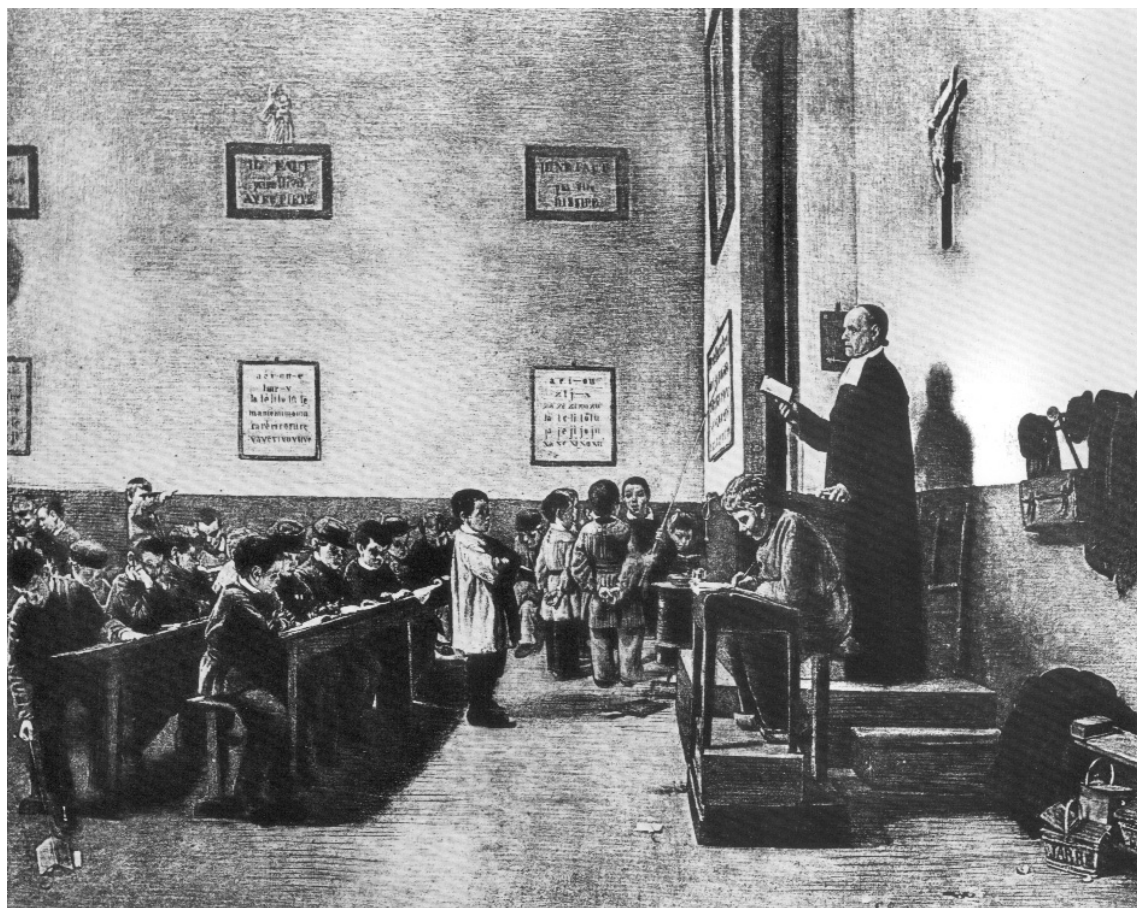
In the description which he gives of the works to which the Brothers were devoting themselves, Br. Philippe did not intend establishing a complete list. He obviously laid stress on the activities of the Brothers outside the usual framework of school establishments and more especially on those concerned with young people or adults belonging to the working class. If he judged it unnecessary to recall what was being done in the pri-

mary schools, we may suppose that, for him, this required no commentary and that he assumed the Pope to be sufficiently well informed on the subject. In any case, we are sufficiently well aware of the interest the Superior of the Brothers attached to the schools and the care he took to assure the development and good running of these schools, not to believe that he simply forgot to mention them.

In so far as he did not speak about the primary schools, we need not be surprised that apart from boarding-schools, whose educational value he picked out, Br. Philippe did not mention the other types of educational establishments. On the other hand it is more difficult to explain his silence on the activity of the Brothers in mission countries or in those countries where Catholics found themselves in a minority. On this point, we need to recognize that the Br. Superior's presentation was strongly centered on what was taking place in France, even if Brothers in other countries were to take inspiration from it.

By limiting oneself simply to France, it can be noted that, in proportion to the number of pupils registered in school establishments properly so-called, that of adults being worked with by the Brothers outside of these establishments was not large. Nevertheless it was not negligible and it presupposed a praiseworthy commitment on the part of the Brothers. If, in certain large houses, Brothers were committed exclusively to works of 'perseverance' or for adults, it often happened that those involved in such work, especially Directors, carried it out in addition to their work in schools. This was not without its drawbacks especially by reason of the burden of work and the fatigue which resulted from the multiplication of responsibilities. It also had repercussions on community life. Thus we have seen that during General-Chapters there was some concern on this subject and decisions were taken with a view to limiting the extension of this type of activity.

Nevertheless, the fact remains, that the involvement of the Brothers in multiple activities, showed an apostolic dynamism which manifested itself especially during the period when Br. Philippe was at the head of the Institute.



Engraving by F. Bouvin, 1873. CL 49 – *Iconography*, Photo by Br. ROUSSET

CONCLUSION

Just as we have tried to show, the History of the Institute in the years which we have been studying cannot be separated from the context in which it took place. But we could also question ourselves on the manner in which the Brothers integrated themselves into the world in which they found themselves living. In conclusion, I would like to try and see how things were in this regard, starting out from the two great facts of society highlighted in the introductory chapter. This presentation will base itself especially on the situation of the Brothers in France, but this situation will throw light on that experienced in many other countries where the Institute was present.

The Brothers in the society which emerged from the Revolution

Perhaps by simplifying a bit too much in the introductory chapter, the society which emerged from the French Revolution is seen as above all a society characterized by the clash between the heirs of this Revolution and the supporters of the old order. During the time of resumption or renewal, the Institute was made up of Brothers who had undergone the trials of the Revolution and new Brothers who belonged generally to families which had themselves suffered especially for religious reasons. Later on, many of those who joined the Institute, came from rural backgrounds which had been less affected by the de-Christianization caused during the Revolution or had been most affected by the efforts at re-Christianization carried out later. Because they came from such backgrounds, the Brothers could not but be inclined to support those who dreamed of giving back to the Church the place which it had occupied under the Ancient Regime. As for the resistance of those opposed to the Church regaining such a position, this led the Brothers to join with Catholics whose position caused them to be called 'ultramontains' (in this context meaning those appealing to the Vatican as their highest authority). Looking for the backing of the Sovereign Pontiff, these people gave him their support when, in condemning the new principles, he drew upon himself the hostility of the defenders of these principles.

Where the Brothers are concerned, there is no doubt that, in general, they found themselves on the side of those in favor of the old order. One can easily understand that those who had lived before and during the Revolution would have difficulty accepting the changes introduced under this regime. But the Brothers of the younger generation, as a result of their family origins, were equally ill-prepared for living in a society profoundly marked by these changes. Later on, the clashes between the heirs of the

Revolution and those nostalgic for the old order were not of a nature to favor a better understanding of their time by men who tended to lean rather towards the past.

Both of these generations of Brothers found themselves naturally seeing eye to eye with the Christian milieu in which they were living. They were sharing the form of Christian life which then prevailed and where the stress was placed more on devotions than on a deepening of doctrinal knowledge. Neither were they disconcerted, when they entered the Institute, by a type of religious life which was in continuity with that known by their predecessors in the 18th Century. However, this did present the drawback of enclosing them in a world cut off from a society, not all of whose members shared their values.

As we have had occasion to emphasize, in a fairly paradoxical way the return to this form of life was helped by a political regime which had consolidated the transformations carried out by the Revolution, whereas the Brothers did not find the support they had expected from the monarchic regime when it was restored. The fact remains, however, that in the Institute it was largely regimes of this type which continued to be favored; this was something which could not fail to bring upon it the animosity of those opposed to such regimes.

*

The apostolic work of the Brothers, at the time of the restoration of the Institute, was at first part of the immense effort of re-Christianization of France which followed the Revolution. Among the favored forms of this re-Christianization was the school, conceived as a means of spreading the Christian message among the new generations. Taking up again the tradition going back to the beginnings of the Institute, the Brothers once again gave the teaching of catechism the importance which it had always had in the Institute. Likewise they continued to devote themselves to promoting the formation of their pupils in the Christian life. All throughout this period, they endeavored with the same zeal to fulfill this double aspect of their apostolic mission. In this regard they shared the point of view of those for whom the school was the favored means of forming the souls of children. But not everybody saw it the way they did. Thus they were opposed by mutual education. This also explains the efforts led from within certain municipalities with a view to excluding the Brothers from the communal schools because of the Christian character which they gave to these schools.

On the academic level properly so-called, the Brothers unquestionably contributed to the progress of education. Initiators of a very specific type of school, they were able

themselves to contribute directly to the numerical increase in schools. Indirectly they also participated in the progress of education in France thanks to the official spreading of the simultaneous method of teaching which they practiced. The Brothers carried out this contribution to the progress of education more especially by becoming a part of the public education system which was organized following the Revolution. But here they clashed with the ideas of those holding political power that refused to make elementary education compulsory and for that end gratuitous for all. As has been said, the Brothers had a more open way of looking at things. Paradoxically, this was shared by the supporters of a compulsory and gratuitous education which was also secular, a point on which disagreement could not be more complete between them and the Brothers. This disagreement was later to bring about a conflict between them, which did not take long to become bitter.

The Brothers facing the transformations brought about by industrial development

The Brothers were not directly involved in the industrial development which left its mark more and more strongly on the period which is the subject of the present work. They did, however, share in the kind of elation and excitement which resulted from it in the countries affected by industrialization. Thus, notably in France, the taking over of more and more schools by the Brothers, even if it had an apostolic aim, was also the result of a desire to spread knowledge considered as the source of progress.

Equally, if the Brothers went across the world with a missionary aim, it was also with a view to help the children of other continents profit from the 'benefits' of such knowledge. In this regard, the European expansionism resulting from industrial development favored the missionary drive which marked the period and in which the Brothers participated. Thus, French leaders, anxious to extend the influence of their country, encouraged the sending of Brothers to distant parts and helped out, for example, by paying the cost of transport on ships of the French Fleet. The link established between colonization and evangelization was not without its ambiguities; it does not seem, however, that at the time the problems which could result from this were noticed.

In a modest way, however, the Brothers participated in industrial development by contributing towards the improvement in the training of a certain number of workers. Very soon, they opened classes for adults, and even if they were not the only ones to do so, they played a training role in this area. In the same way, they looked after young apprentices and, in continuity with this action they organized in a certain number of their

establishments, professional courses in preparation for various trades in the areas of commerce, agriculture and industry.

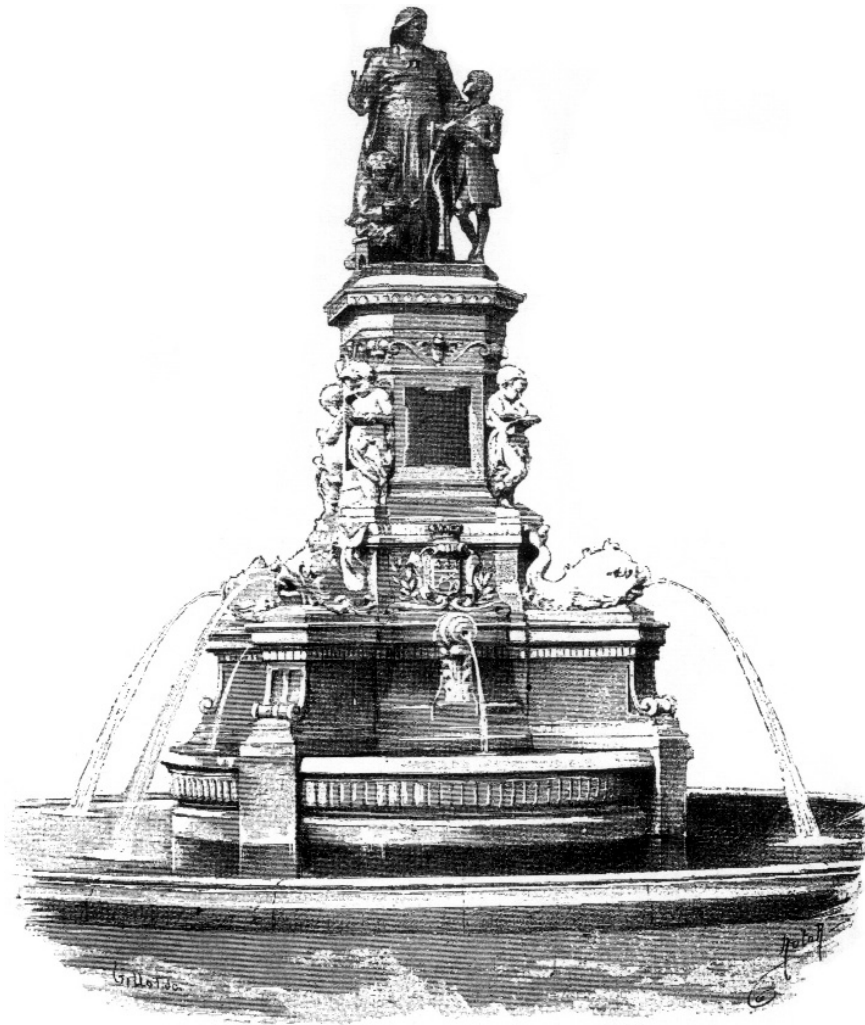
Industrialization, at the same time as the development of public services, also led to the birth of the “middle classes”. Here also the Brothers provided a response adapted to the educational needs of children and young men from this social group. In their own establishments, they did so particularly in their boarding-schools which, in France or in other countries, were continuing the tradition of their predecessors in the 18th Century. The Brothers thus found themselves equally prepared to adopt different types of teaching of the same type created in different countries. A certain divergence appeared, however, as to the aim of this teaching. While, in general, those who received it were preparing to exercise their future profession as soon as they finished their studies - especially in the United States but also in England - the Brothers had equally as their aim to prepare their students for entry to University. This was to have consequences later.

Besides, the Brothers also wanted to remedy some of the consequences of industrial development, both from the religious as well as the social point of view. So they noticed fairly quickly that it was necessary to continue the Christian formation of their pupils so as to ensure their Christian perseverance after they entered the workplace. For this reason, meetings were organized on Sundays for the apprentices as well as for other children. Others were organized for adults who were especially offered the opportunity to participate in the activity called “the work of St. Francis-Xavier”.

The Brothers also responded to a certain number of educational needs brought about by the social consequences of industrial development. Since the manner in which the latter was taking place was contributing to an increase in the number of abandoned children or adolescents, the Brothers took charge of orphanages or re-education establishments where, notably, these young people received a professional formation.

However, the contribution of the Brothers to these different types of activity experienced a certain number of limits. Thus, since the Brothers usually took charge of schools which had been confided to them by others, they had very little opportunity for choosing where they would be established. More often than not their schools were situated in the old parts of towns or in rural villages; because of this the children they reached tended to be the children of workers in traditional trades or of commercial workers. This also had some effect on the works linked to these schools, to the extent that the schools and good works of the Brothers were seldom situated in the areas where workers from the new industries were crowded together and who, being frequently of rural origin, were most in danger of losing their Christian roots.

Yet again, as has already been noted, while trying to remedy some of the consequences of the industrial development, the Brothers were not always aware of the causes of the difficulties which the workers encountered. As well as many Catholics, the Brothers did not understand very well that the situations which they were trying to remedy were due to the harshness of the working conditions and the harshness of the living conditions of those who, especially, were working in the new industries. They also failed to fully understand that such situations could lead to revolts which were a threat to the public order to which they themselves were attached.



Monument erected in Rouen in honor of John Baptist de La Salle in 1875 - RAVELET, 552

Overall assessment

In all, if we want to establish a sort of assessment based on what we have just briefly summed up, it appears that the contribution of the Brothers on both the scholastic and apostolic level, even if it had its limits and deficiencies, is undeniable. In these areas they were able to see the needs of their era and respond effectively. It is no less true, on the other hand, that, in general, the Brothers had difficulty in situating themselves in the profoundly transformed world which had followed the French Revolution.

Nevertheless, when we take an overall look at the three-quarters of a century which we have been studying, what strikes us most is the dynamism which animated the Brothers and which led the Institute from its modest restart at the beginning of the century to a development which accelerated strongly at the time of Br. Philippe before continuing on later.

Among the sources of this internal dynamism, throughout the whole period, one finds some constant factors which need to be emphasized. Thus, we need to recognize that, if the Brothers were able to provide a response to certain needs of their period, it was due to the fact that their conditions of life did not separate them too much from their pupils. Thanks to this, they were in a position to notice their needs and to respond to a whole range of needs. This was more the result of a pragmatic attitude than of an analysis of the situations but, still more, this flowed from a sense of belonging to the Institute, from an esprit de corps, which led them to adopt without any problem, solutions put in place by better trained Brothers, once these had been endorsed by Chapters and Superiors.

Another source of the dynamism of the Brothers resulted from their appeal and their capacity for attracting new members into their Institute. At the time of the new beginnings especially, even though those who had been Brothers before the Revolution felt very strongly the differences in mentality between themselves and the younger generations, the Institute was able to receive a considerable number of young Brothers into its communities. Even if not all of them persevered, their presence obliged the older Brothers to 'rub up against' their mentality, their aspirations, and even what they lacked.

Doubtless, internal brakes were not lacking, such as the wish to preserve the heritage of the Founder in a fairly set form, or again the fear that commitment to new forms of activity (adult classes, boarding-schools...) might interfere with the practice of regularity which was inserted into a typical time-table. We know also that if the Brothers were able to adapt, this was in a fairly pragmatic way. They lacked a better intellectual under-

standing of their era and a reflection on their way of responding to the appeals which were made to them, in order to put things into a wider perspective.

But when all's said and done, what deserves most to remain in the collective memory of the Institute is that the dynamism which characterized the period sprang from all the Brothers who, during this period, tried sincerely and faithfully to live their religious consecration by showing themselves to be zealous apostles and good educators.

GLOSSARY

Academy: as used in the passage: an educational establishment giving an education going beyond primary education (p. 73, 207).

Ancien Régime: an expression used to describe the political system in France and other European countries before the French Revolution (p. 1).

Arts et Métiers / Arts and Trades : establishments intended to train leaders of industrial enterprises (p. 144).

Cantons: in Switzerland, sovereign states joined together to form the Swiss Confederation (p. 187).

Charter: political constitution granted by the Sovereign (p. 110).

Secular congregations: as used in the text, these were a kind of religious confraternity made up of lay Christians (p. 79).

Council of State: in France, since the Revolution, a body of jurists given the responsibility of offering advice during the drawing up of laws or of judging whether laws are in conformity with the measures taken with a view to applying them (p. 24).

Constitution: the ensemble of fundamental texts determining the form of government of a country (p. 103-109).

Contribution: as used in the text, a financial contribution asked from the parents of pupils - equivalent to remuneration (p. 76).

Département: an administrative area created in France at the time of the Revolution (p. 69).

Confessional Schools: schools where religious instruction forms part of the teaching syllabus (p. 185).

Lancastrian Schools: an expression describing 'mutual' schools in relation to Lancaster, one of the initiators of the method in England (p. 31, 82).

Left: members of a political group sitting to the left of the President and professing 'progressive' ideas (p. 186).

Indigent / Destitute: term used, especially after the French Revolution, to describe the poor (p. 194).

Lay persons: term employed to distinguish members of the Church who are neither priests nor Religious. This word was also twisted from this sense to describe the supporters of State 'secularism', that is to say of its neutrality in religious matters (pp. 108 and 184-5).

Letters-patent: a royal decision giving legal standing to certain official acts (p. 32).

Free-trade: a practice aiming at favoring commercial exchanges by reducing or canceling customs charges (p. 9).

Louis XVIII: brother of Louis XVI. He became king in 1814 and adopted this title of succession out of respect for the young son of Louis XVI, who died in prison during the Revolution (p. 29).

Monsieur: as used in the text, a title sometimes given to an ecclesiastic (p. 49).

Ordinances: legislative texts emanating from the holder of executive power; in the text: the King (p. 26).

Prefect: the State representative placed in charge of a French département (pp. 27 and 184).

Refractory priests: priests who refused to take the 'constitutional oath' at the time of the French Revolution and who had to hide to escape the threats hanging over them [see LS 6-205-206 and 226] (p. 82).

Rector: a University academic placed in charge of a section of France, at the educational organization level, called the Académie (p. 30).

Reformist Trade-Union: a trade-union wishing to achieve social reforms by legal means; the opposite of a 'revolutionary' trade-union (p. 10).

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