Father Chaminade writes to the Daughters of Mary on the unity of direction, indispensible in the communities.

556. To Mother Saint-Vincent, Agen

November 4, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Arch. FMI

My dear Daughter,

I had forgotten to speak to you of the article about the confessor, and because of an unsuitable or untimely preoccupation, my secretary had been in a hurry to mail the letter. I am making up for it by writing a second one.

I would highly approve if Father Baret would help Father Serre with the Confessions. He could come to an agreement regarding the unity of direction because—let Father Serre pay close attention—the great good he is called upon to do among the Daughters of Mary is in the unity of direction, of which he has clearly grasped the principles.

Once it has been deeply instilled in the central house, this true spirit of faith which leads to the perfect love of God and to the entire renunciation of ourselves will penetrate little by little into the houses of the Institute; of this we already have ample and convincing proof.

The distinction you make regarding professed, novices, or postulants, and regarding the community and the novitiate is good only to diminish the amount of work, but in the end it would be harmful if there were no unity of direction. The direction of the novitiate is still more essential than what is called for in the community because the good spirit, well-instilled in the novitiate, may more easily be preserved in the community unless confessors habitually go against the first directions given, something which is hardly ever to be supposed.

Father Bouet, present with me here, asks me to present to you the assurance of his kind remembrance, first of all to our travelers² and then to the entire community. Marie tells me the same. Once more, I am wishing you, my dear Daughter, the peace of the Lord.

Brother Clouzet had just left, and his sentiments do not satisfy Father Chaminade completely.

557. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

November 6, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

I am experiencing great anxiety at not yet having received any news from you since your departure from Bordeaux. Upon arriving in Saint-Remy, Father Lalanne wrote to me and did not say a word to me about you, and in my reply I called his attention to this fact. It seems, in fact, that I am indifferent or insensible. I am glad to believe you have arrived in Saint-Remy and that if you had been the victim of some sort of accident, however slight, someone from the

¹ Biographical note. Fr. Chaminade had a new secretary, Bro. Victor Morel. This young religious, born in Faimont, Haute-Saône, February 28, 1809, had entered the Society of Mary in Bordeaux on November 11, 1826, and had been employed in the schools in Villeneuve. He died in Agen on November 6, 1832. ² The religious sisters of Bordeaux who had just arrived in Agen.

establishment would have had enough charity to notify me about it. This is what leads me to write to you.

During your stay in Bordeaux, you were able to notice how much in need the General Administration of the Society finds itself. You have seen how dried up are the resources upon which I had a right to depend and which had been the motive for which I had borrowed money. Could I imagine, for example, that the *boni* of Gray would be reduced by 500 francs? I am not speaking of the other establishments; they have also experienced losses or accidents, more or less. That of Saint-Hippolyte, of which the administration has been so faulty, at least gave me the consolation of honest and detailed admissions on the part of its First Head, Father Rothéa, who himself recognized in his expenses those which were excessive, those which were useless, those which were unwisely undertaken or handled, etc.

During your stay in Bordeaux, I would have greatly desired that we had entered in far greater detail into the temporal administration of Saint-Remy; however, you know only one question occupied us, a question which could have been discussed as well and even better through correspondence, at least in its present state.¹

I have a secret sorrow in my heart that such precious time was not used, first for the sanctification of our souls and then in taking the means of reform in the spiritual life of the members of the Society; and following that, so many other practical questions on the maintenance and future fate of our different establishments!

Although all these questions occupy me very seriously and I am working toward their possible solutions, I am placing no less interest in the improvement and perfecting of our Constitutions. I often say to myself, "These Constitutions will never be of any service except to those possessed of a truly religious spirit, or who will have at least the goodwill to work at being penetrated with it." We have never been without Constitutions, or at least without something similar, which contained both the same spirit and the same obligations. And see what certain members of the Society amount to! What seems to interest some heads of the Society particularly is what concerns its organization and government. Those who do not seek to permeate themselves more and more with the spirit of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and with zeal for the salvation of souls and devotion to the Most Holy Virgin, will always find reasons to rationalize and to criticize the articles of organization and government because (1) in the application of principles what is arbitrary always enters, and (2) self-love may find itself more or less annoyed. In what concerns the organization and the government, I have always in mind approaching as much as possible the organization and government of the Catholic Church. The more we will move away from this plan, the less will there be solidarity and stability in the Society.

In taking up my pen to write to you, I did not intend to speak to you about the Constitutions, but I willingly let myself go along, led by the mutual confidence we have in one another and also because I am not writing to Father Lalanne, for you will be able to pass this letter on to him.

My dear Son, the principal end I proposed to myself in writing to you, and which you have been able to suspect by the short description at the beginning, is to exhort you to fulfill the functions of your charge as perfectly as possible in (1) the economy of the establishment; (2) the management or administration of the properties; and (3) the general visitation of our establishments in the north of France. I will follow these three articles, one after another.

(1) Economy. I understand by *econome* what in certain communities is called "property manager" and in others, "treasurer." This office has the administration of all the receipts and expenses of the establishment. It does the marketing, concludes matters, etc.— in a word, it takes care of everything we designate as the temporal or material of the establishment, including repairs required by ordinary maintenance. Regarding extraordinary repairs, which are a matter of simple

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¹ This is doubtless the question of the Constitutions.

convenience, ornament, or choice, he is not to make them or consent for them to be made without special and express permission from the First Superior of the Society.

Brother Auguste has again missed this essential point and thrown himself, or rather thrown us, into new trouble. I believe I said something about this to Father Lalanne in my last letter.

My dear Son, I had not dared to question you about your manner of administering the finances this year, when I saw that you had so few reserve funds. Your year has been very good, both regarding your number of boarders, your normal school candidates, and your sources of revenue. Nevertheless, you just nearly made ends meet. In other words, there must have been unnecessary or poorly-devised expenses. I do not ask you to answer me on this last observation, for there is no longer a question of the past but rather of the future. You would not only be failing against your vows of obedience and poverty, but you would be even sinning against justice, and from there what disturbing consequences! If not the definitive suppression, I have just made at least the suspension and transfer of the novitiate of the Daughters of Mary on Rue Mazarin, and I am arranging for the rent of the house at least for three years; but the details of all these matters are useless to you. I am making these reflections just to fill you with a deep sense of your obligation in regard to the first of your functions. Let us pass to the second.

- (2) Management or administration of the properties of Saint-Remy and of Marast. It is clearly understood, my dear Son, that in this administration, well conducted, the Society is to find its principal source of support, especially in the situation in which it finds itself and as long as these calamitous times will last. The revenues must not be confounded with what the establishment will be able to give. The costs of farming, clearing land, the allowance of Father Bardenet are to be taken from the revenues, while everything which serves and is consumed by the community is to be calculated and paid with the funds of the establishment. In you, the bursar and manager are to be like two different people; the one gives an account to the other. The clearing of the land and the improvements to the property must be made gradually, with wisdom and moderation, in such a way as to use a very moderate sum, even more so because of the pressing need of revenues. With the blessing of the Lord, the revenues and the *bonis* of the establishment will provide everything Providence has in view for the maintenance and support of the Society.
- (3) General visits, etc. These visits may be necessary, but they will need to be made only when really necessary because of the expenses involved in traveling and also because of the harm often brought about by frequent absences. I hope each of the establishments of Alsace will be supervised closely by Saint-Hippolyte. Orgelet, Courtefontaine, and Besançon will remain. At Orgelet, Brother Olive is exact enough in his small administration. I believe the same can be the case with Besançon. Brother Bousquet also seems very exact. You need to supervise Courtefontaine more; Brother Galliot works with great care, but he allows himself to become preoccupied easily.

I am writing to you at considerable length. It is to be feared that our correspondence has slowed down. Political matters are going from bad to worse. Always get along with Father Lalanne; as much as possible, enter into his way of thinking. If you are not at times in agreement with him regarding expenses to be made, respectfully make your observations to him and represent to him your obligations as well as mine, the urgent need we have for practicing economy during these difficult times of which no one can foretell the outcome.

Remain closely united. Our strength will be in our union because the good God will bless it. He will bless it especially if it has as its principle charity and humility, which are the first fruits of faith. I want to write a reply to Fathers Brunet and Chevaux. I desire that Father Lalanne will find in this letter, as in the one I wrote to him recently, the ardent desire for our sanctification and

¹ The net revenues, or *boni*, with the gross returns of the establishment.

the perfect accomplishment of our respective duties. I am embracing you very tenderly, my dear Son, and I am with an entirely paternal devotedness. . . .

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This is a letter to the pastors of parishes neighboring the abbey of Ebersmunster.

558. To Father Kelhetter, Pastor of Ebersmunster, Father Rague, Pastor of Kogenheim, and Father Spitz, Pastor of Ebersheim

Beginning of November 1830, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

Reverend Fathers,

I had Father Rothéa buy the former abbey of Ebersmunster solely because of the interest, which as I was often told, you placed in the idea the Society of Mary withdraw from profane hands this beautiful edifice until this time consecrated to religion, to make of it a religious establishment which might become a great advantage to the parishes of Ebersmunster and the surrounding areas, and in time the usefulness of which would be extended throughout the province. The letter of last October 12 which I had the honor of receiving from you is a very satisfactory confirmation for me of this interest which you have so clearly manifested.

You may be sure, Reverend Fathers, that I will enter into your views to the fullest extent possible to me. However, you know to what an extent difficulties have increased and are continually increasing each day since this fine acquisition. Any unwise measures or imprudent steps might easily hinder our plans, and so let us not hasten their completion. I have the matter too much at heart not to do everything which will be possible, and this as soon as the condition of matters will prudently permit it.

Reverend Fathers, please help Father Rothéa with both your counsel and your means, and release him from the commitments he has contracted. The crises may still grow worse, but what will have been done will at least be that much to the good. It would seem to me advisable to speak very little and cautiously about what we may desire to do, or about what we could do, in this entire matter. Nevertheless, it is a great deal already that the acquisition has been made fully in accord with the requirements of law. I am with profound respect . . .

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559. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

November 9, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

I am answering Brothers Etignard, Brunet, and Fridblatt. I am leaving the letters unsealed in order to package them better. You will be able to seal them before delivering them, if you believe the brothers would prefer it that way. I am also writing to Father Chevaux and particularly expressing to him the regret I feel at not receiving any news about Brother Clouzet. My dear Son, I immediately answered the short letter you wrote to me at the time of your arrival in Saint-Remy. I also wrote a few days later, a very long letter, to Brother Clouzet to make clear to him the duties he had to fulfill in Saint-Remy, as he had requested and as I had promised him to do.

On the eve or on the day before your departure from Bordeaux, I had received a sample copy of the new prospectus which you had had printed for Saint-Remy. I did not speak to you

about it, since you believed you did not have to speak to me about it yourself. I did not receive it from Saint-Remy. If you wish God to showers blessings on the establishment which you are called upon to direct, do not introduce any type of novelty into it without first consulting the appropriate people.

In your last letter, I believe you were telling me you were going to send Bro. Georges Loetsch to Bordeaux. I answered nothing in regard to this matter; no doubt you interpreted my silence as consent. Already several times since, I have been on the point of writing to him to let him know the conditions under which I would receive him. But you have surely made up for that.

I am almost up to date with all my affairs and my correspondence, and even in a position soon to occupy myself with our Constitutions and our Methods of teaching. The three months which have passed since the first revolutionary crisis have been very busy, although without any great fruit. I am not yet completely certain as to who will bring about the change in the Ministry.¹

See among the young men in Saint-Remy those who are eligible for military service. Let me have their enlisting papers, duly filled out, and please do the same for Besançon, Orgelet, and Courtefontaine. This year, let us try not to become too much behind in our work. I am going to write to Alsace and to the Haut-Pays with the same objective in mind.

I often pray for you, as I should for a dearly loved Son. On your part, pray for one who will always be your good Father.

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S. 559-2. To Bro. Auguste Brougnon-Perrière, Bordeaux

November 12, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

I kindly ask Brother Auguste to answer Madame Laurenceau for me and to give her the reasons her check for 500 francs was never cashed. Perhaps Brother David would like to reread the draft of a letter he prepared for me. You may make use of it.

G.-Joseph Chaminade

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S. 559-3. To Mme Laurenceau, Widow, Pans

October-November 1830, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

I am sorry for the worries you have been having; you know their causes, and that I only have a share in the resulting nuisance. As soon as the document of last August 8 appeared, my lawyer shared his misgivings with M. Faugère, your lawyer, who is usually ours. I told you how difficult it would be for me to pay you without compromising my own interests. The documents are being checked in the office of M. Faugère. Until I receive procuration from M. Rosaz, I have told Brother Auguste to agree with M. Faugère on the method of transferring 500 francs to your account. This letter has only one purpose—to prove to you my goodwill. I am asking both M. Faugère and Brother Auguste to inform you of everything and to set your mind to rest. If we had met when you came to Bordeaux, or if you had at least seen my lawyer, all these irritations could have been avoided. Madame, I am most respectfully yours. . . .

¹ As the result of a popular uprising calling for the death of the former ministers of Charles X (October 18), the moderate members of the Lafitte cabinet had retired and had been replaced by some partisans of the "movement" on November 3.

560. To Mother Saint-Vincent, Agen

November 15, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Arch. FMI [With insert from S. 560]

My dear Daughter,

I have received your letter of November 13, and by this letter I undertake to answer it. The news little Aimée herself gave was very pleasing to her family. I will have Father Caillet write to the good mothers of the north.

I imagine, my dear Daughter, that you have had Mme Belloc and Mlle de Rissan summoned, that you have spoken to them and brought them to the point of appreciating your reasons—in a word, that you have succeeded in consoling them. Remain in peace and in close union with them, and also through them with the Sodalities, as much with the young women as with the mothers of families, without however forgetting the Third Order. I am not attributing to any bad intention your haste in speaking to the archbishop, but you have probably learned what we commonly call a good lesson.

You may give the holy habit on the Feast of the Presentation to Clémentine Peronne and to Anne Bassan. As for Madeleine Lavigne, we will need to wait quite a long time to see if the light of faith can penetrate her heart and help her understand that not only is obedience preferable to sacrifices, but that she must love this obedience, which always offers to God the sacrifices he loves the most. My dear Daughter, you know faith is not to be only a simple conviction of the truth, but that it must inspire love.

I have sent you a third promissory note for 550 francs in Reganeau's name. All three notes, of which you have been informed or are informed by this letter, total 1,400 francs. All are payable on demand.

After the death of our pious and beloved Mlle de Trenquelléon, M. Lacoste had offered to write her life. His offer was neither accepted nor rejected. Father Collineau then spoke of several people who in his opinion were likely to do a better job. However, nothing was done. I still have all the memorandums in hand. At this time, M. Lacoste is not very busy and perhaps might like to begin the work. I will have all the papers I have sent over to him, but M. Lacoste must not look upon this invitation as a last resort.

Always take courage, my dear Daughter, and spare your health. You must not look upon this care of your health as an opinion or an invitation I would be giving you, but rather as an order which I believe it is my duty to give you.

May the spirit of faith, my dear Daughter, take deep root in all the hearts of the Daughters of Mary, and may it reign especially in yours!

* * *

¹ We do not know of the misunderstanding referred to which had occurred between the convent and its faithful friends.

² Immediately after Adèle's death, Fr. Chaminade wished to have someone write her life (see the letter of her mother, January 9, 1828). In the council of the Society of Mary held September 2, 1828, several writers were proposed, including M. Lacoste, one of the most devoted friends of the Institute of Agen; Fr. Lalanne; Mlle de Batz de Trenquelléon, a relative. . . . Not until 1861 did one appear, with her spiritual counsels and her letters, by a Benedictine of the Congregation of France (Paris, Palmé). The author of this work, Dom Pradié, had used the notes of Mother Marie-Joseph de Casteras, Adèle's cousin and the third Mother Superior of the Institute. A notice about Adèle appeared in the *Univers* in 1869, signed by Léon Aubineau; it was reproduced in book two of the *Servants of God* in the 19th century (Lyons, Vitte). In 1921, after prolonged research and with the aid of unedited documents, Fr. Henri Rousseau published a complete biography, *Adèle de Batz de Trenquelléon, Founder of the Institute of the Daughters of Mary*.

561. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

November 16, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Your letter of November 9 came to me today by way of Paris. Brother Mémain has not yet put in his appearance. From Besançon he went to Orgelet to see his brother, according to what Brother Bousquet has written to me.

I am somewhat mortified at the annoyances I am having you experience, but I assure you, it is not with any definite purpose. Nothing could be further from my mind. Because you still have Brother Bouly, I will write him a short letter to encourage him. I think you will do well in not letting him make definitive yows in the Society, not even yows of long duration.

I have begun the review of the Constitutions and will try to hasten the work. Later I will speak to you about it in greater detail, at the time when I have it more advanced.

My dear Son, you are having me reflect upon the very observations which I believed it was my duty to make to you. My thanks to you for this. I was already deeply persuaded that I was full of defects, and of defects far greater than those my duty obliges me to reproach in others. Today I am acquiring a new and stronger conviction of this fact.

I was anxious about not receiving any news either directly or indirectly from Brother Clouzet. Father Rothéa wrote to me from Colmar that he had spoken to him during his trip to Saint-Remy. Perhaps Brother Mémain has been given charge of some letter. I greet you most heartily.

Your Good Father.

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562. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

November 20, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar [With inserts from S. 562]

My dear Son,

I have finally received a letter from you, dated November 6 and handed to me by Brother Mémain. Your very long silence had me worried that some accident had happened to you. Mme de Chifflet just wrote to tell me of her astonishment at seeing young Peg arrive without warning, for he was the bearer of no letter, etc. She requests an immediate answer from me. I am mailing this at the same time as my letter to you and am sending you a copy. If you have lost my letter and the accounts, why did you not advise her of the departure of the young man?

M. Deshayes seems to have used given you a story of failure. Why is it that since there was a question of sending those 600 francs, he has not seen his banker? Was it not through his banker that he would receive my receipts? If there was a mistake in the first letter of my name, the banker would have known that this name was not known in Bordeaux, etc. You were in Rouen over a month ago, and I still have no news. Do you know who his banker is? Would he be in Rouen? In Rouen it is very easy to have checks drawn on some firm in Bordeaux because of the numerous contacts between the businessmen of these towns. M. Deshayes the younger could give you some details; he could also write to his father. Tell him that now that he is established at Saint-Remy, he should write me and give me a detailed description of his interior life.

I am thanking God that your trip has been a very happy one. When you were in Rouen the newspapers announced troubles there, and not receiving any news, I regretted very much having given you that commission.¹

I am astonished that for so small a number of boarders and candidates, so large a number of teachers is necessary. The revolution may well diminish the keep and assistance in certain regards, but not in all. On the contrary, the Sainte Marie boarding school has had a satisfactory admission of boarders and half-boarders, according to what I have been told. I am afraid the diminishment at Saint-Remy has been brought about by the means being taken to prevent it, and on the contrary, to make the house well-known. The true Christians will be afraid to send their children because they will not see there in Saint-Remy, or at least think they do not see being given there, the Christian education they had reason to expect. The people of the world will not send their children there because they will not find in Saint-Remy, or at least think they do not find there, an education of a sufficiently worldly character. I understand clearly enough that for the time being you cannot do much about this, and you will have enough to do to oppose all unnecessary expenses. Nevertheless, given the time and place, you or someone else among the heads may be able to find some fortunate moment or circumstance to make some useful observations to Father Lalanne.

A short time after the departure of the letter to which I am answering, you must have received a very long letter in which I recall, and with great detail, all the principal duties of your office. Although the letter does not have the form of an order, it has all the force of one.

I will send you M. Perrin's bill soon. I wrote recently to Madame Perrin. As soon as possible, send me the 4,000 francs from M. Oeuvrard and Huguenin. Two hundred or 300 francs more will be coming from M. Huguenin under the new terms; I will let you know when they arrive.

Father Lalanne some time ago remarked to me that he had placed Brother Fridblatt in the place of Brother Olivier. I wonder if the latter's departure has been delayed, for I have no direct notification that he has gone. I did not risk sending his rule of conduct to Noailles. The obediences should be carried out promptly, otherwise more disadvantages result than someone would think.

Saint-Hippolyte is indebted to the extent of 3,000 francs, 500 francs more than was believed. You must understand, my dear Son, how many thorns I have in my feet which prevent me from walking. Nevertheless, there is a lessening of the suffering caused by those of Saint-Hippolyte in the consideration of the Rothéa brothers, regarding the grief of which they are the occasion, although unwillingly. Father Rothéa is altogether unrecognizable, and to his great advantage, since the last trip he made to Bordeaux.

I am, my dear Son, yours with complete paternal devotedness. . . .

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S. 562-2. To Mme de Chifflet, Besançon

November 20, 1830, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

I received your letter of November 12. In the interval I had received one from Brother Clouzet, in which he tells me that he lost M. Peg's statement.

In early October, Father Lalanne and Brother Clouzet went to Bordeaux. Young Peg had already asked me to go to Besançon as a boarder, or to Gray or Saint-Remy so he could continue his studies. He feared the results of the revolution, and also he did not feel up to observing the

² The reference is to the new prospectus edited by Fr. Lalanne.

¹ Bro. Clouzet was to settle a money matter.

schedule of the house. After a thorough examination of his case, it was decided that young Peg would be returned to you in the company of two virtuous young men.

Brother Clouzet was the first to leave, and I asked him to give you (1) a letter from me with an account of the young man and (2) a statement of what he owed. Brother Clouzet was to be in Besançon several days before the arrival of M. Peg. I did not doubt that everything would happen as planned. Although Brother Clouzet gave me no account of an interview with you, I did not worry because I knew that young Peg had arrived in Besançon.

However, I must tell you of a little incident which took place during the night before their arrival in Besançon. The young man who held the purse found 26 francs missing when they left the inn. M. Peg was questioned by M. Bousquet, the head of the charitable institution in Besançon, and although he noticed the agitation of the young man he did not charge him with anything. M. Peg had no money, and he would have been suspect if he had made any purchase. The bill given to Brother Blouzet amounted to 330 francs, 200 francs for tuition for one year, 160 francs for the trip, and the rest for his upkeep. I set the tuition at 200 instead of 400 francs because you refused to accept the error made by Father Lalanne. You told me I was free to send him back; however, because of the severe winter and the possible loss of a year of schooling, I decided to wait for the holidays and to rely on your sense of justice. I would have kept him longer if he had been more disposed to adopt the state to which he seemed attracted. His behavior as a student was flawless; he studied and deserved the commendation of his teacher. His trunk which is being forwarded contains all the trophies he has won. With two more good years of study, he will be ready to pursue an honorable career.

I am with profound respect, Madame. . . .

P.S. I am going to continue to write to Brother Clouzet. You could save him a trip to Besançon either by sending him the 330 francs, the amount of the lost bill, to which 35 francs for scholastic dues should be added. Anything else is left to your sense of justice and your generosity. Or you may pay M. Bousquet at Saint Jacques Hospice, but after informing Brother Clouzet at Saint-Remy.

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This letter is of interest as much for the revelations of Father Chaminade's views on certain essential points of religious life—formation of postulants and novices, proper character of the government of the Society of Mary, and conduct to be followed by religious in times of persecution—as by the energetic expression of his faith in the future of the Society, the work of Mary.

563. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

November 22, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

I am working with a sort of persistence at our Constitutions. Current matters are numerous and are often complicated by the difficulties of the times. No matter, I have attentively reread all our Constitutions with your observations close at hand. Most of the time, I could leave things as they are. Your observations gave place to others which I have duly noted down as they occurred to me.

I gave the seven paragraphs indicated by the number 107¹ to several of our older religious, with the request that they make new observations which their experience might suggest. In general, everything which is interior is the most difficult to regulate, and it is also that which concerns the greatest number.

Regarding your observations about article 314 and those following it,² it seems we have never come to any satisfactory agreement. The Society has need of novitiates, but it also needs houses of study. We have always believed it is our duty, in imitation of the oldest and holiest Orders, to bring up some children adaptable to training in the religious state, according to the will and fortune of their parents and also according to the means at hand or which we can procure for ourselves. We have always called these children "little postulants."

When the Society began to grow, I made Saint-Laurent into a novitiate. Saint-Laurent was at the same time the novitiate and a house of studies. The need for dividing the subjects, novices, and students was felt, and as soon as we were able, we bought the house at no. 3¹ and the separation was begun. At about the same time Saint-Remy was acquired, and a novitiate was started there, in principle nearly the same as the one at Saint-Laurent.

These novitiates have not entirely corresponded to our plans because (1) of the lack of good Masters of Novices and (2) because the piety of the young men often enough has not been sufficiently developed and their faith has not been firmly enough grounded; studies place an obstacle in the way of piety; often also, the need we have had for subjects has obliged us to employ them before they have been adequately trained, either in religious life or in the work of teaching. In this state of things, we believed it was our duty to decide that the two years of novitiate would be divided into two parts—one of strict novitiate, in which young men would occupy themselves in instructions and religious practices, and once they would be seen to be solidly constituted in the virtues of their state they would be occupied according to their full novitiate term. Last, that the truly pious young postulants would not yet begin their novitiate, but as postulants move into the studies with the novices, or even with the professed students.

Are distinct houses of study and novitiates needed? Without having need of houses of study, could we not send the postulants and student novices to the boarding schools or *collèges* which the Society would direct? I answer that (1) if we wish the novitiates to be well run, there must be a sufficient number of them; that all the time that the Society will admit only a small number of novices, the students, whether young postulants, regular novices, or even professed students, must be left there. These students are supposed to be in their first fervor and in that way, very helpful to the novices properly so-called, and even to the young postulants, if there would be any. If there happened to be a too great number of students or if there should be other difficulties,

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¹ The Article 107 of the Constitutions of 1829, edited by Fr. Lalanne under the direction of Fr. Chaminade (letters no. 474 and no. 475) and was worded, "The community Rule or way of life comprises all the exterior acts of the religious, and all the material things which may influence them. In these are included (1) the division and employment of time; (2) the relationships of the religious among themselves; (3) the relationships with the outside world; (4) the lodging; (5) clothing; (6) the food; and (7) the care of the body in health and in illness."

² Here are the articles alluded to: "314. Postulants who are still in need of studies will be sent—as soon as aptitude and vocation will have been recognized—to houses of study, which are called little communities for those who could be trained for the priesthood, and boarding normal schools for the laymen destined for the schools.

^{315.} The little communities and the boarding normal schools, being only postulates or houses of secondary probation, do not follow the regulations of the novitiate but have a particular regulation by which the exercises of piety allow more time for literary studies.

^{316.} Classes are not always held in these houses. Pupils may be sent from there to neighboring *collèges*, but only for class time and without having any other relationships with the pupils of these *collèges*. Things are so arranged that the student who would have several classes to attend does not stay during the entire time of his studies in the same house. He is made to go from one house of study to another, for the better accommodation of his character to all sorts of people and regions.

^{318.} The studies of a postulant may be interrupted to have him enter the novitiate, when this is judged proper. After leaving the novitiate, he resumes his studies."

¹ Later, nos. 8 and 10, Rue Lalande, alongside the Madeleine (letters no. 146 and no. 183).

either for some classes or some types of knowledge for which teachers could not easily be secured, all this would not prevent them from being sent to other establishments of the Society where they could make their studies according to their need, always taking it for granted that there would be no danger to the fervor and piety of these young students. It would be up to the superior to judge the matter according to the reports of the Masters of Novices.

I had made an exception for Alsace. The difficulty of the two languages, the nature of the Alsatian character, and other considerations have caused me to decide upon instituting a house of studies in Saint-Hippolyte, under the name of normal boarding school but entirely composed of postulants, novices, or professed of the Society, but not of a novitiate properly so-called. The regular novitiate is to be in Saint-Remy. It is so difficult to find good Masters of Novices that it has already been a great matter to have two novitiates, one in Saint-Remy and the other in Bordeaux.

It is a great treasure for any Order to have one or two good Masters of Novices. An Order degenerates very quickly and falls into relaxation when it can no longer find subjects fitted for this office. Being in Saint-Remy and busying myself with this important matter, I thought we might succeed in training Father Chevaux for Saint-Remy and Brother Gaussens for Saint-Laurent, and thus I named them. I have had frequent interviews with Father Chevaux during the remainder of my stay in Saint-Remy. Would he have succeeded if things had turned out as they had been planned? I believe he would have succeeded, at least up to a certain point. I saw him at work somewhat, and I saw he was not doing badly at all. There were difficulties to be overcome in Saint-Remy but we saw the means with which to overcome them, and for the time being that was sufficient. An institution will never be fully organized overnight, as it were, no matter how small it may be. The good God has wished to console us in presenting before our eyes the entire work of creation; first we see only chaos, then successively we see it all disentangled according to the admirable plan laid out by God's eternal wisdom.

I had another design in mind in the formation of the novitiates, that of having older religious return in proportion as they could be replaced in order to complete their religious or even their literary education. Also, to have those return who might have lost their first fervor. We have had some success in Bordeaux from this last point of view.

Regarding the novitiate properly so-called and the novitiate of the students, the distinction is not very striking (1) because of the small size of the place and (2) because the Masters of Novices are not yet up to the efficiency called for by their office. We are trying to compensate for this by a great regularity, by frequent conferences, and finally by allowing the subjects all the time they need, even at times to the prejudice of their studies, to devote their attention to the exercises of piety for which they have a personal need; this is working out well up to a certain point.

The slight interest, my dear Son, which I saw you place into the novitiates of Saint-Laurent and the Madeleine, and even in that of Saint-Remy, made me believe we had not come to any type of agreement, and doubtless this is my fault. Last year I should have made certain before we separated that we did agree, especially after having named you superior of the beautiful establishment of Saint-Remy.

You might then retouch somewhat the chapters of the Constitutions which present the postulate and the novitiate in the sense I have just spoken about, which is exactly the plan arranged with you in Gray but doubtless in too great a hurry, since we were not agreeing on the same things. You will still have time to send these chapters on to me before I have finished everything. I am right now examining the observations of Brother Gaussens, which are very numerous and composed from a point of view different from that which guided or suggested your observations.

I am coming now to two important observations which you have made, on (1) my dispositions of last wills and (2) the chapter of the Superior General. Regarding the first, although it presents a large number of drawbacks, I will conform to it because it can also have many

advantages and surely the application will have been made before this long letter reaches you. Regarding the second, write it up as you understand it yourself. It is difficult to take more precautions without casting some poor reflection on the Society which would be taking them. When I gave you notes on the government of the Society and the General Administration, I had in mind the government of the Church. Everything goes well regarding the bishops and even the pope when care is taken in the choice of worthy and capable subjects.

I still must answer a note which ends all your observations. You tell me a stipulation is constantly being requested which would regulate the division of properties in case of dissolution.

My dear Son, this request surprises me a great deal. Does it come from you? Does it come from somewhere else, because I cannot imagine it comes from a large number. It seems impossible that it should come from you; no doubt you are here merely as the intermediary of, at most, a small number who would be ashamed to make such a proposition. But you, why have you not explained to them the difference between a civil and a religious dissolution? That the civil dissolution was actually only a dispersion but did not essentially affect the religious union; that, dispersed and reunited, the Society of Mary's members were always religious; that if they could not then conduct themselves according to the letter of their Constitutions, they were to conduct themselves according to the spirit; and that no matter where they happened to be, they were to be ready always to carry out the orders they would receive from their superiors.

But all this seems to me not to answer the question. Have they no rights regarding the properties of the Society? They have a right, then, in the dispersion—that is to say, to assistance more or less great according to their greater or lesser needs, and according to the means of the Society. These aids are not given *ex aequalitate*. They are not given even according to the merit or talents, or even according to services rendered, but according to needs. All those who may be able to secure places for themselves by their talents or their knowledge should assist their brothers who may be deprived of means. If the dispersion was prolonged and the poor of the Society would be unable to survive without any other type of means, then properties would be sold in order to be able to come to their assistance. In this, we would be imitating the Church.

Those who would have contracted bonds of some type with the Society, or rather with God in the Society, only in the hope and even in the certitude of never lacking anything, would be very little worthy of God and of the Society which would have received them. Little by little, I will try to discover the sentiments of those with perpetual vows, and if I find among them fearful and disinterested ones who in making the vow of poverty did not abandon themselves entirely into the hands of Divine Providence, I will look into what there is to be done; but I do not see how these could be chosen for the battles of the Lord. The revolution will be in the hands of the Lord, the sieve he will make use of to sift out and cast aside those who call themselves his servants.

I am not speaking here, my dear Son, of the troublesome and unjust consequences which a temporary division of properties might have, either for the present or for the future. It would be necessary to go into details which prudence and charity must necessarily silence.

The considerations which your short note obliges me to make are going to cause me some uneasiness regarding the new beneficiaries I will have to choose because, finally, if my beneficiaries consider a civil dissolution as an absolute dissolution of the Society, would their first operations not be the type to bring about a division? And again, would they not make a family division? Perhaps, blinded by their merits, they would believe themselves justified in claiming and keeping the greatest part. . . . I hope the most blessed Virgin will protect the Society which glories in bearing her name. ¹

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¹ That is to say, in equal parts.

¹ By a written and signed will dated January 14, 1830, Fr. Chaminade had made Fr. Caillet his universal beneficiary. Fr. Lalanne was asking that the transfer of goods of the Society "be made rather by sale than by testament, the ownership of each building being acquired by two Society members." At first Fr. Chaminade agreed to this. The final note of Fr.

In spite of the need there is in Agen for Brother Mémain, I am keeping him a few days here in Bordeaux to examine with Brother Gaussens the Method of primary teaching, to try to settle upon it and to introduce it into our schools. Mutual teaching is what is asked for. In Marmande, the Brothers of the Christian Schools were sent away because they did not wish to follow the method of mutual teaching. You may know what happened in Colmar. In Agen up to the present time, our so-called "Mixed Method" seemed to satisfy everyone.²

At the present time I am very seriously occupied with all the aspects of our physical and civil existence, but I believe I must put an even greater interest in procuring for my Children all the means for advancing in virtue and of sifting the wheat from the chaff. Pity the straw! Pray for me, my dear Son, that the Lord may deign to grant me the lights and the courage I need to fulfill my duty in these difficult times, so that after having preached to others, I may not myself become a castaway.

I am embracing you, my dear Son, with very paternal tenderness.

P.S. Father Mühe, the uncle of M. Durr, deprived of the salary the commune formerly paid him, has asked me as a favor that he would no longer be obliged to pay tuition for his nephew. I answered him that from now on, we would no longer request any from him, but he should at least do what he can to supply something for his daily maintenance.

* * *

Father Chaminade finds time to occupy himself with the Method of teaching. The following letter is very instructive. It missed the destruction of the correspondence with the Rothéa brothers and with Alsace. Along with valuable advice for the direction of religious communities are some provocative thoughts on the question of bilingual teaching in Alsace.

564. To Bro. Louis Rothéa, Colmar

Bordeaux, December 3, 1830 Copy, Agmar

My dear Son,

I have received your letter of last November 26 with the two short letters which were included.

Before answering it, I want to let you know I have finally settled upon our Methods of primary teaching. Brother Mémain left today for Agen; he is going to implement them. I will prescribe them only after they have been tested on a large scale, as it is relatively easy to do in Agen where there are more than 400 pupils in the schools without counting those in the special school. If things go on exactly as planned, and I have reason to believe they will, Brother Mémain will go from Agen to Villeneuve, where he will do the same thing as at Agen, then to Moissac and then to Lauzerte.

In the meantime, I am going to settle upon a short Method of moral and Christian education, especially for the smallest children. I noted that in none of our schools do our teachers, even the best educated, know how to go about forming or training the minds and the hearts of the young children.

Our Methods are the same as the former ones, but greatly improved. I will not lose sight of our Alsace establishments, or of some others, such as Orgelet, etc. . . . I will send someone who will be able to do in the north what we are beginning to do in the south. Especially in the

Lalanne made him hesitate; he modified nothing for the time being and waited until 1835 to have the property of Saint-Remy transfer to Bro. Clouzet and to Louis and Charles Rothéa.

² See letter no. 472.

north, it is to be presumed that there will be several subjects slightly qualified for teaching who will need to be replaced. From now on, we will destine for primary teaching only those who are truly competent to become good teachers.

Alsace offers one more difficulty to overcome, that of teaching the two languages. The methods may be the same, but there are some questions to be asked, to which I would be very glad to have an answer from you.

With which of the two languages would it be the best to start? Or can they be taught simultaneously? We divide our classes into three parts: the beginners, the intermediate pupils, and the more advanced ones. That of the more advanced is the one we call the large class. I would be of the opinion that only the German language would be taught in the beginners' classes and in all those of the intermediate pupils. My reason is that ordinarily the children of the beginners' classes are so small, that in wanting to have them learn the two languages at the same time they only become hopelessly confused; furthermore, how do we expect to train their minds and hearts by speaking to them in a language in which, for so long a time, they are unable to think or reflect? We ordinarily think in our mother tongue, and only after a long-standing habit can thinking be done in a foreign language. When the child begins to speak French, for a long time he will do no more than translate his German thought into French. At the end of the intermediate classes, French can be begun either by reading or writing. The large class would be especially for French reading and writing. In it, German reading and writing would only be improved; the same would be the case for arithmetic and linear drawing. Catechism would always be learned and explained in German, but in the large class it would need to be translated into French.

There may be another means I would even prefer much more, above all for the children who presumably would not be destined for purely mechanical types of work. This would be to teach only French, even to the smallest children; at the end of their classes, only a short time would be needed to train them well in the German language. During the time of their French classes, they would have learned to read German almost by themselves. In the large class, the French pupils are trained in several kinds of writing; now what would prevent their being trained in the German style? If the children were taken from the age of five or six, and if a teacher spoke only French to them, they would learn much more easily to pronounce it and to speak it easily. They would soon understand it sufficiently to receive instructions suited to their level; they would think, we might say, much more in French than in German and nevertheless, they would always preserve great ease in pronouncing German well. This is nearly what I had thought was to be done when I sent brothers to Colmar for the first time.

In my visits to Alsace, I noted that there are places where only German was wanted, and where there would be very few pupils for French. We might easily get along with all these differences and tastes, but we would have to be notified in advance as to what would be expected of us, and about what we might be able to do. The teachers could rarely be the same. Those destined to teach French should be French, and for teaching both German and French, Germans who had learned French would be needed. Regarding this, you would do well to consult the pastor of Colmar; thus everything would be determined and settled in due time.

Regarding the Methods, I believe them so good that you will no longer fear being questioned about mutual teaching. If this should happen, nevertheless, all you would need to do would be to invite the authorities asking about it to judge for themselves regarding its better and more rapid results. Most certainly, they would accept such a challenge, unless they definitely had in mind to create difficulties for you.

I have received the observations of almost all of our older teachers and members about the edition of the Constitutions distributed by Father Lalanne. I am now in a position to give it the final touches, and the work is advancing.

I will now return to your letter, with that of your brother priest, to whom I will have only a very short letter to write, as to Brother Weber.

I am going to draw up a short report for Mme Desfeuilles.¹

I am going to send to your address, and by speedy carriage, the goods and chattels of M. A. Bernhard. Father Caillet, to whom the matter was referred, was not in favor of this, considering these belongings only as a very small compensation for the expenses of maintenance which we were in no way obliged to assume. In an amiable and diplomatic way, you will see what you can you can do with Mme Bernhard, his mother.

It is very good that Saint-Hippolyte is being helped in eliminating its most pressing debts, but even more, we must try to arrange matters so the place can be self-sustaining, able to pay its debts and pay back your loans. When at the end of last year you drew my attention to the poor condition of the finances at Saint-Hippolyte, when M. Xavier, your brother, wrote to me in the name of your entire family about the absolute incapacity of the priest in the management of temporal matters, I promised them to remedy the situation; I then decided by myself to send you there with complete authority over everything which concerned temporal matters. Since then, Father Rothéa seemed to me to have such confidence in Brother Robe regarding order and economy that I no longer considered anything but to have you watch him and to see if in reality he was doing well. But to judge from his letter as well as from yours, it seems that he did not know how to use him as effectively as his ability seemed to warrant. A head who has no head at all knows neither how to foresee nor to judge things, even if he had more people around him; on the contrary, a good head, with very little help, even of mediocre quality, is always able to manage matters suitably and promptly.

It is said proverbially that "a good horseman would be able to make a wooden horse walk." You will then go, my dear Son, to direct and lead these poor small temporal matters. I am sending you there not because you have requested this, my dear Son, but much more because I had the intention of doing so, as I have just said. Always remain quiet and composed! Nevertheless, because the pastor of Colmar would not like to see you leave Colmar, you will still continue to have the title of head of the establishment there and will go there from time to time. In the beginning, it will be suitable to go and spend at least one day each week there, and perhaps even more on certain occasions, perhaps less on others. I will send Coustou a small certificate to make him assistant to the head, or replacing the true head.

I will observe to you, my dear Son, (1) not to make any changes in either establishment without these having been well considered and matured—in Saint-Hippolyte, with Father [Rothéa] who will keep the title of superior—and in Colmar, with Brother Coustou, sometimes even with several or even with all of your other brothers. When you find your opinions differ from those of the people you consult, withhold your decisions. I am making this first observation to you, my dear Son, because in general you are inclined to act too hastily. You need to reverse you original orders, and this produces a bad effect by diminishing the authority of the head, or at least the confidence he should enjoy in the minds of all.

- (2) When there is resistance on the part of some subjects, or when you surprise them in some faults, begin by controlling yourself, and never exasperate or drive them to any extreme. The more they may be guilty, the more you need to have complete self-possession. There are subjects whom it is inadvisable or even dangerous to reprimand in the presence of others. In a short private interview, ordinarily the subject soon enters within himself and makes it a type of duty to repair his fault in the presence of those who may have been scandalized by it.
- (3) Your hastiness, your intensity, and sometimes your fits of passion harm you a great deal. The same defects also harm your brother the priest. In general, all the religious, Alsatian or French, respect both of you, but they have little love for you both, and for you in particular. You

¹ Biographical note. The mother of a young religious from one of the most distinguished families in Colmar, who had just died May 17, 1830, in the novitiate of Saint-Laurent. "Prosper Desfeuilles was the nephew of a deputy," writes Bro. Silvain in his memoirs, "and had renounced, not without the opposition on the part of his family, a large fortune and a brilliant future. After his death, Fr. Chaminade often spoke to us of the means this young man had taken to die in union with Our Lord Jesus Christ."

sometimes have recourse to extreme severity; you admit this, but the harm done to hearts is not completely healed. I am limiting myself to these three observations. In due course of time, little by little, I will make others to you.

In Saint-Hippolyte you might start a small store to provide all the things the pupils habitually need. You would sell them at retail prices to the pupils of Saint-Hippolyte and furnish them to the heads of the other establishments wholesale. These objects must not cost more for the pupils than they would cost in the ordinary stores of the city where the establishment happens to be. It would even be good to be a little below the prices of the city merchants. I will not go into other explanations, for you will know how to conduct this little business to the best advantage.

It is to be presumed that when there will be order in Saint-Hippolyte regarding the food, the supervision, education, in the pupils' bills, I say it is to be presumed that the number of boarders will increase, there being only primary teaching.

It seems to me in Saint-Remy there have always been more subjects than were actually needed. When there are so few pupils, why would the same teacher not combine several types of instruction? Actually, it is direction on the part of the heads which is lacking. How many boarding schools have a greater enrollments, where there is really only one teacher, with at most only one helper! I could cite examples which are before my very eyes, so to speak, but your good brother cannot bring himself to observe, to reflect, to foresee, and to put things together. This is unfortunate, but we must remain patient.

When you arrive in Saint-Hippolyte, you must undertake the reforms or changes which you would deem necessary with great circumspection. If you failed to act wisely, the only result would be a storm of protests against you and an increase in the existing evils. It would be a good policy before undertaking each change or reform to have it approved by your brother and by all those who are interested in it; in this way no doubt you will be advancing somewhat slowly, but you will be walking on solid ground. Pupils who note the change for the better will write to their homes about it, and the reputation of the house will be reestablished even in the city of Saint-Hippolyte itself. Do not be anxious, but be wise, mild and moderate, although firm. When you see some danger in the removal or change of certain things, or even in their elimination, stop a moment, remain patient, consult, and do not risk all types of danger until it has been well and clearly seen that the risk must be taken.

In Colmar give Brother Coustou enough latitude and liberty to accustom him to the work of government. If you do not accord him this latitude and liberty, he will gain no liking for it; he would not accustom himself to serious reflection and would acquire no experience. If he happens to make a few minor mistakes, you will see that he will promptly correct them and be the wiser for the experience. You will not even need to call them to his attention, for he will correct them himself; otherwise he would be lacking in goodwill, and as a result he would not be very able to become a good head. Regarding the small cashbox of the establishment, you are always the one who holds it, are concerned with feeding it, and are in charge of the funds.

If Brother Colin in Ribeauvillé could be replaced, it would be good to send him to me in Bordeaux. I hope he will change for the better in not too much time, especially if he comes to recognize the self-love which dominates him. Furthermore, he could be trained in all our Methods and sent back to you before long. You are proposing Brother Houlné to replace him. The pastor who would want to have him is greatly displeased, for he does not have the intelligence required in the head of an establishment. It will already be a great deal if he makes himself docile and obedient. Try, really, to have him replaced, but suitably. It would have been very good for Ribeauvillé if your brother had won his confidence and had brought him to the point of desiring to cure himself of his self-love.

Brother Cholet¹ has made several mistakes. First, he went to his home without permission, and this fault is serious. In the second place, he took it upon himself to pay a sum of

¹ Director of Saint-Marie-aux-Mines.

money, and in this he acted directly against his yow of poverty. How can anyone who has nothing and who can acquire nothing take it upon himself to pay? If he had taken upon himself these commitments in view of something he might inherit later, he might have been able to gain authorization for what he did. In the third place, his creditors must be truly ignorant, for his commitments have absolutely no value. They are what we call "oak leaves," If by that he meant to force us to pay them, the wrong would only be greater. I told him we really could not do this, even if there were a question of a less considerable a sum. He must surely know that we have not since increased our sources of revenue but on the contrary, since the revolution our measure of need is about as high as it can ever be. Brother Cholet has made still a fourth mistake, that of depriving himself of the hope of our being able to come to the assistance of his brother. In fact, I would have had the intention of helping this family, if we had been able to get beyond our own needs. Now, if I had the imprudence of withdrawing one of these bills or of giving some partial payments in advance, I would be giving them a hold over me, not only for the remainder of his obligations, but even for those other commitments for later on. Judge for yourself if I would wish to expose myself to such serious drawbacks. In the fifth place, if he intended to meet his commitments with the funds he would make in the establishment of Sainte Marie, he would be greatly mistaken, for (1) the establishment must pay its own debts by means of its savings. (2) Is it suitable for the savings of this establishment to be used to pay debts not belonging to the Society, while other establishments also have debts to pay? (3) Finally, and this is the strongest, Brother Cholet would seem to be obliging me to keep him as head of the schools of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines until he has finished paying his debts. Now you know I have the intention of replacing him as soon as I can conveniently do so, and I will do this much sooner if similar relationships with his family continue.

Write to Brother Cholet nearly everything I am telling you, basing yourself on the information you have given me about the commitments he made during this vacation. Within a reasonable time, let me know if he has withdrawn his commitments, whether he is truly repentant over his faults, and what he intends to do in the future.¹

Yesterday evening I was this far with this letter when I opened one from Brother Colin. I believe I should send it to you, and you will then communicate it to your brother, and you and he will act in regard to Brother Colin as if you had not known anything about it. I am giving you this communication just as a lesson. What a use—or rather what an abuse—your brother should be making of his office of superior over our small establishments in Alsace! If the heads do not conduct themselves well, to bring them back to a sense of duty why not first make use of all the means of instruction and of insights which reason and religion offer? If these means are powerless, then those based on authority are to be used, and then penalties applied with wisdom, charity, and justice. A professed should never be threatened with being expelled. If there is a lack of docility, an insubordination, then the matter is to be referred to the Superior General. In giving reprimands, a superior must never use injurious expressions, etc.

In imprudently recounting what he had seen or heard in Bordeaux, your brother has exaggerated if he spoke as reported by Brother Colin. Whatever the case may be, I am going to write a short letter to the latter to dispel the bad impressions he may have received as a result. Ask your brother to point out to me in detail the various failings of Brother Colin. Until the present time, I have learned of nothing serious on the exterior other than the discontent of the pastor of Ribeauvillé, and you must have discovered by this time how difficult it is to please and satisfy him.

Brother Clouzet recently sent me a letter your brother Xavier wrote to him. Xavier surely was out of his ordinary character in writing such a letter. On his part, Brother Clouzet also makes his mistakes in his manner of answering the requests for funds which Xavier has been making to

¹ There was more ignorance than malice in the case of this director, who had acted only after taking the advice of counselors barely qualified to give any.

him since the acquisition of Ebersmunster, but he does not have the failings that Xavier reproaches him for so dryly and ironically. Whatever the case may be, I am going to send on to Brother Clouzet an authorization for borrowing the entire sum which is due to your brother, if that is possible for him, and which he hopes actually is. Doubtless, your brother Xavier must have written to Brother Clouzet as he did only to urge him to make efforts, and possibly he has achieved his purpose. Brother Clouzet has actually made up his mind in the matter, and I will uphold him in his determination. I am only sorry a matter begun and continued as a really good work is ending so badly.

In rereading the article in your letter in which you speak to me of Ebersmunster, you tell me Brother Clouzet showed you a letter in which I prohibited him from doing any borrowing. Most certainly, in the letter he showed you, you could not have read such a prohibition. When your priest-brother had seen the pastor, the creditor of Brother Menet, according to all his promises, after all we had either said or promised, your priest-brother believed he was soon to receive amounts close to 10,000 francs, of which he thought he would pay the first quarter, leaving it up to you to provide for the remainder. After several letters in which these hopes were entertained, I wrote to Brother Clouzet to quiet him about the loan, which I thought would not be possible since the revolution. If this is possible in the departments of Upper-Saône and the Doubs, it must be that financial matters are not as troubled as they are in Bordeaux. This matter of Ebersmunster has not been managed according to the same plan, and no doubt this is why it has failed. The lack of success, as usual, must be ascribed to me.

How is it that M. Walliser the elder is not paying back for his son for 300 or 400 francs?² How is it that the son does not have his father pay this sum from what will eventually come to him? Whatever the case may be, I will have a certificate made for him by the baker of the Miséricorde, under whom and with whom he has worked, and the same with Dubarry, who is actually a baker.

Before sending the bill to M. Desfeuilles, I would like to know whether the money order for 200 francs which Mlle Desfeuilles sent for her brother should be deducted from the bill. Do not forget to let me know as soon as possible. May the Lord give you prudence and courage. I am embracing you with an altogether paternal tenderness.

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S. 564. To Bro. Louis Rothéa

December 3, 1830, Bordeaux

My dear Son,

I had just finished this letter when I received one from Brother Cholet dated November 30. He tells me your brother gave him permission to visit his family. There he made an agreement to purchase a house built by his brother. There was a mortgage for 300 francs on that house alone, and he still has to pay 800 francs, 500 by next October 28 and 300 one year later. The public contract he signed is a public scandal for all those who know he is a religious. The payment of his debts will give rise to another scandal, for everyone knows he has nothing and can possess nothing. If he would pay from savings from the house of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines or from any other establishment of which he might be the director, the scandal would only be worse. The case is more complicated than you had first described it. Brother Cholet adds that he has especially consulted the pastor of the town and his cousin, the mayor. I will make no decision until I learn how his advisers were able to solve such difficulties.

² At this time, a young man called to the military service after receiving a poor number on the conscription lists could "buy himself back" by paying a substitute.

¹ See letters no.537 to no. 539.

Send Brother Cholet a copy of the two paragraphs of this letter which mention him. I do not intend to answer him directly.

Along with this letter I am including the statement given me by Brother Cholet of the income and expenses of Sainte-Marie for the past year. This statement does not indicate the deficit left by M. L. - - - when he left, or the actual deficit.

Brother Cholet must tell Brother Nicolas to make his request to me directly, to let him know that he consulted with me, and to give him my address.

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S. 564-2. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet

December 9, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

I received your letter of November 21 with the 409 francs as final payment for the tuition of M. Oeuvrard and M. Huguenin. Near the end of last spring or early summer, I do not remember which, I had in my hands a letter from the Oeuvrard family to the young man, who was then at Moissac, which said that you had requested 500 francs at first and then sent a bill for about 300 francs, and that they were sending payment for the same to Besançon. I believe it was to M. Piéloup. I think this is what happened, especially after your mention that what you had received was for final payment.

I am happy that you agree with my notion of the management of Saint-Remy and Marast. You may see me adopting more of your ideas. The financial administration of Saint-Hippolyte is a shambles. I have just confided it to Bro. L. Rothéa. He retains the title of director of Colmar. and I have given him Brother Coustou as sub-director or replacement. I wrote to him about the letter Father Xavier sent you and which you referred to me. After all my complaints, I close my letter by telling him I am authorizing you to borrow 8,000 francs, adding that I would exhort you to furnish all or part of that sum. Do what you can, my dear Son, and let him know that all you needed was my approval; you will find this enclosed.

I certainly do not believe that the houses in Alsace need no visitation; however, visits will not accomplish much if their organization is faulty and the personnel is incompetent.

Your letter crossed another I was sending you containing the bill destined for Mme de Chifflet. I believe the matter is settled and I should be receiving the amount shortly. Your 400 francs arrived just two days before a bill for 400 francs of flour was due, and I was without funds. Do your utmost to send me something every now and then. Our locksmith machine is progressing but is the cause of many unexpected outlays. The lathe is in operation and helps with the other parts to be added. I do not think a similar machine could be manufactured for less than 12,000 francs. I would never have allowed its construction if Brother Seguin had told me the true cost. If Saint-Laurent is not a financial failure, or even if it is, the machine could be installed there or elsewhere and from its proceeds we certainly could support a number of young men.

I glanced at the bill Father Lalanne sent me. It is useless to make any remarks today, but imagine my dilemma when I compare this account with what I had expected. I do not see how we can owe 120 francs, much less 200, to M. Paringau. I am surprised at Father Bardenet's veiled threats to dismiss the religious of Acey because of the superior's poor accent and his blaming the poor number of boarders on that accent. The superior is not there to teach; also, the institution is to serve young women of the middle class. A change of superior might bring a change of accent and more French manners, but it would mean a loss in the qualities a superior should have, especially in a new community with limited resources. In any case, can the situation be remedied by threats, and threats made to those who have no power to remedy the situation? From your letter does it not seem that he has placed the burden upon you? However, from respect for Father

Bardenet, speak of this to Father Lalanne and see if there is no easy way to give him satisfaction. If there is a sister at Arbois who could be superior and who is available, the Superior General could be approached. This is not the time to be making changes or to be traveling.

At different times I have asked for a copy of the bill of sale of Saint-Remy, but you have always forgotten to send it to me. Please send me a copy so I can decide on something I would like to have done.

May the Lord, my dear Son, grant you peace.

* * *

564-3. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

December 10, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

I, the undersigned, proprietor of the château and grounds of Saint Remy, department of Haute-Saône, do authorize Brother Clouzet (Dominique) to borrow the sum of 8,000 francs, to promise to pay the interest agreed upon, and to give every legal guarantee just as I would do myself. I do so empower.

G.-Joseph Chaminade

* * *

565. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

Bordeaux, December 10, 1830 Original, Agmar

I do not want to allow the long letter I am writing to Brother Clouzet to go to the mail, my dear Son, without saying a word to you about my work on the Constitutions.

I have considered with care and order all the observations which have been made to me up to the present time. In the careful and attentive reading of the second book, I thought I should make another edition of the four principal chapters, one on the categories of persons composing the Society, one on the college of priests, a third on the educated members, and the fourth on that of the working members. I am changing nothing; I do not believe there is anything to be changed, even in the general plan.

I thought I should start my work on the second book, because of the influence it can have on the first and third books. The work of the first book will not cost me a great deal, I believe, with the exception of a certain number of points in which the articles are too meticulous and must be transferred to the third book.

The Constitutions will need to be accompanied, at least in part, by a Manual of Direction, which will be made up almost entirely of notes on the articles of the Constitutions which will need explanation.

I am stopping here, my dear Son, because the mail is about to leave, as well as because I am not yet fully decided regarding the dispositions I would want to make, those I imagined and about which, nevertheless, I will consult Brother David regarding the form, or if he is not available, some other person skilled in law. I am writing to Brother Clouzet to send me the extract of the purchase contract of Saint-Remy.

I am at your service, my dear Son, from heart and soul!

¹ The first book, entitled *Of the Means*, presented the religious profession and of Christian education; the second book, *Of the Organization*, discussed the personnel and government; the third book included the Particular Regulations. See *Spirit of Our Foundation*, no. 828.

Brother Olivier arrived in Noailles. Father Chaminade immediately sent to him detailed advice for his conduct in the delicate situation which in the thought of Father Chaminade was only temporary, awaiting the realization of the grand projects planned before the Revolution.

566. To Bro. Jean Olivier, Noailles

December 12, 1830, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

My dear Son,

I have received your letter of December 4. I had received the preceding one which announced your arrival in Noailles. Hardly had you left Bordeaux when I received one from Sister Stanislas, who was writing to me in the name of the pastor and the object of which was only to urge your return to your post. My answer was thus unnecessary, for you had already left. Please assure the pastor of my respectful remembrance and Sister Stanislas of my hearty greetings.

As I told you, I wrote to the Count de Noailles. I told him you would be alone until further orders, that you would busy yourself only with some Noailles children, that you would train as Mass servers for the ceremonies and chants of the Church, and that in this way you would be in charge of the lectern. I settled everything regarding the expenses I had in sending you to Noailles, and I set your salary at 600 francs. Regarding these matters, here is the Count's answer in his exact words. "Brother Olivier will be able to take in his service one or two children. The wages will be for the instruction he will give them. I am allowing him 50 francs a month, each year a cask of wine, wood for carpentry, with a vegetable garden all his own. He will have gifts in kind from the parents of his pupils, and perhaps even steady and regular pupils." The travel expenses have been repaid to me in Bordeaux.

My dear Son, here you have my reflections on your new position. Hold resolutely to what we have agreed to verbally, and for your regular class, take only children belonging to the parish. You can count among the children those who would be up to 12 or 13 years old, and by some exceptions approved by the pastor, up to 14 years. Young people of 18 to 20 years of age can no longer be classed as children. Nevertheless, you might receive all the young men who may desire to be better instructed in religion several times a week, and if among those there should be any who would wish to profit from the occasion of their meeting with you to learn or even to write better, you might place yourself at their disposal. However, never lose sight of the fact that religious instruction is the essential point, and that at least one-half of the meeting time must be devoted to it. You will read this part of my letter to the pastor, talk the matter over with him, and see if this does not arrange everything satisfactorily. If among the youngsters you have dealings with there should be any with a beautiful voice, who are at the same time modest and pious, you can have them with your selected boys, either for lessons in singing or for the church ceremonies. In all this, my dear Son, you have enough to keep you busy, but there is not too much for your natural activity and your preference for these types of exercises. Furthermore, each thing must be well regulated and all exercises kept within their just limits. Always reserve for yourself ample time to make your own religious exercises well, and let it be literally true when it is said that you are living in Noailles as a "solitary."

Live frugally, but let your food be sufficient in quality and quantity to keep you in good health. No sensuality or social invitations. Never eat outside your place of residence. If the pastor urges you beyond measure in certain circumstances, you may accept his invitation once or twice, but asking him, nonetheless, not to invite you because of the fact that your customs and regulations are against your eating elsewhere than at home.

Pay no visits, except those which propriety or necessity may require. Never be familiar with anyone, either with your pupils or with young people in general. Be good, kind, and obliging but not talkative. Put no more time into any particular exercise or tasks than is necessary to do it well. Avoid all private meeting places, either with your pupils or other young men who cine to you. Never receive any woman into your private room on any pretext, not even religious sisters; but if some one of them desires to speak to you, this must in a place open to the sight of all going or coming, with doors always open. If you have to go to the sisters, you must stop at the door and have the sister called to whom you wish to speak, but in general, do all you can not to have any need of going to the sisters or of having them come to you.

You will acknowledge the reception of this letter and tell me at the same time about the arrangements you have made in order to conform to everything contained therein. If there are difficulties you are unable to surmount, all you need to do is to tell me about them. May everything be so clearly stated that at each hour of the day I may know what you are doing, as well as if I were actually seeing you.

Keep your little account of receipts and expenses. Make all current and necessary expenses without scruples. If there happens to be an exceptional one to be made and not foreseen, let me know of it. Take no money from anyone for services you may be able to render.

You may accept gifts in kind, but never ask for them or leave the impression that you expect them. Be certain you do not tire the steward or his family. I am now closing this first letter in exhorting you to advance steadily in virtue, to repress self-love at all times, and to live as a true solitary. I am embracing you paternally.

* * *

After his flight from Agen (see letter no. 551), Bro. F.-X. Weber had returned to his home and busied himself with putting his conscience in order. Father Rothéa, to whom he had revealed himself—it seems through the intermediary of Father Rittling, his pastor—consults Father Chaminade about what to do in his regard.

567. To Fr. Charles Rothéa, Saint-Hippolyte'

December 13, 1830, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

The vows made in the Society of Mary are only simple vows because to confirm them, there is no authentic authorization on the part of the Roman Church. Nevertheless, we act generally, as if they were so solemn (1) because from the beginning, the Sovereign Pontiff was indirectly informed about this in telling him of the formation of the Society and in asking for various favors, among others that of a plenary indulgence at the time of the profession of perpetual vows; and (2) in view of the constant intention maintained, of asking Rome for an authentic authorization and the manifestation to the Apostolic Nuncio that we had delayed making this request only not to compromise the Holy See with the French government.¹

Regarding young François Weber, at the time of a serious illness he was not asked to make his perpetual vows. On the contrary, this is a favor which one of our priests, Father Collineau, thought he should grant to the requests and to the tender piety of the young invalid. Since that time, for several years the young religious has always blessed God for his holy promises; several times he has asked to renew them and has in fact renewed them. Brother François Weber relaxed little by little. He has little by little given entrance to the passions of his heart, and especially to an extreme self-love. You know who has ended by leading him astray. I consider him a true apostate.

¹ It was known that since the Revolution, the law no longer recognized the vows of religion.

I am not complaining about all the trouble he has caused us by his sudden and clandestine departure, but he will not reenter the Society even if he should ask to do so, unless he will have as greatly edified by his repentance as he was able to scandalize by his conduct previous to his apostasy, and by his apostasy itself.

I know of no sufficient cause for dispensation; nevertheless, if he would conduct himself in a Christian manner at his home, I would be of the opinion that he was dispensed from the vows of stability and of teaching and that regarding the vows of poverty and obedience, their practice would be reduced to the rules given by the Sovereign Pontiff to religious obliged to leave their convents by the first Revolution. Regarding the vow of chastity, you have nothing to say to Father Rittling, for dispensation from it is strictly reserved to the pope.

You could copy this entire part of my letter as your answer to Father Rittling, but make no complaint against the young man, and do not speak in writing about Father Weber, who is perhaps even more guilty than his brother. Nevertheless, in person you might speak of this to Father Rittling, because this young priest may be very harmful to the Society in the new position which has been assigned to him; and in this last case, you would speak to him about it only if he has given you his formal promise never to compromise you. Father Rittling will be very glad to learn from others what, at first, he will have learned from you. It is very annoying that he has been placed precisely near to the university.

* * *

568. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

December 16, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

I am far from having the assurance of obtaining the ordinary exemptions from the military service. I have been very careful to take the precautions necessary to assure myself of it. When the time comes, I will send in the ordinary way, my nominative State by the hand of the rector of the Academy of Bordeaux, if he is willing to take charge of the matter. A subprefect of the Upper Rhine has refused to legalize the signatures affixed to such commitments; he even indignantly threw away some which were being presented to him. No difficulty was placed in the way of matters in the prefecture of Colmar in the matter of legalization. Regarding Brother Georges Loetsch, it would be good to contact the diocesan authorities of Strasborg. You may avail yourself of the services of his priest-uncle in submitting your request.

A prospectus could well be the effect of your transfer to Saint-Remy, but the form of a prospectus would not be a matter of indifference, especially in revolutionary times. Several people have spoken to me of your speech at the distribution of prizes, but no one gave me a copy of it. I will always be interested in receiving all your observations regarding the Constitutions. Regarding the detailed account of the expenses and receipts in the *collège* of Gray, it now becomes entirely useless.

You have presented Brother Stignard for the sub-diaconate. Doubtless, you have considered him worthy of this. He must know a little theology. No doubt the Holy Spirit must have enlightened you as to what policy to follow in regard to Brother Fridblatt.

¹ As a matter of prudence, because of the political situation Fr. Chaminade believed he should remain silent and avoid all proceedings, awaiting the development of events.

² Religious called by age to military service and dispensed through a commitment to serve for 10 years in the work of teaching.

³ Bro. Loetsch was to be dispensed because he was an ecclesiastical student.

Your position in my regard, my dear Son, must truly be rather painful for you. You believe you receive from God the mission of afflicting and annoying me; you add that you have no place in the ordinary ways of obedience and of religious dependence, but that I am the one who has taken from you all possibility of walking in these ways. Pray then, my dear Son, to the good God to enlighten me so I may sufficiently correct myself, that it may not be necessary for him to give you such a disagreeable mission, and also that you may not be obliged to walk on a road so dangerous for salvation.

Brother Clouzet had sent on to me the complaints and threats of Father Bardenet regarding the Sister Superior of Acey. I have given him a short reply, and I asked him please to try to come to an understanding with you.

I believe the Sister Superior of Arbois is mistaken regarding the feeling she has that the Mother Superior wants to withdraw her from Arbois. The Mother Superior only expressed to me her grief over the fact that the spirit of faith was not the ruling power in that convent; what causes her still greater grief is the fear that the novices are not being well-trained. She has the same fear with regard to Acey. Her correspondence with Arbois does no more than allow her to see purely human views. This is nearly a summary of what I was able to understand. Since my last visit to Agen, the entire community, but especially the Mother Superior, seem to understand very well what a religious sister is supposed to be, what it really means to live by faith, and what the government and direction of the Mother Superior is expected to be. The two confessors of the community are filled with the same sentiments. The time of the vacation was made use of to work with the superiors of Condom and Tonneins, as well as with some of the principal sisters in view of their further religious development, and we have the satisfaction of seeing that as a whole, these communities are truly living by the principles and sentiments of genuine faith.

I have just received a letter from Brother Clouzet. I will send him some words in reply. I am always yours with an altogether paternal affection, etc. . . .

P.S. Happily, my letter did not leave last evening, and I received the promises of Brother Georges with all the signatures legalized by those in power. This will now end the matter, providing these promises are accepted.

* * *

569. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

December 16, 1830. Bordeaux Original, Agmar [With insert from S. 569]

My dear Son,

Your letter of December 7, posted on December 11, came to me on December 16, and I am answering it immediately—in fact, right after having written to Father Lalanne.

Try to expedite the matter with Mme de Chifflet and whatever must be done with that of M. Deshayes. According to the detailed circumstantial evidence furnished by M. Keller, there is no doubt that M. Peg took 26 francs from the pocket of his guide. Because this theft is no longer a suspicion but a certainty, Mme de Chifflet cannot refuse to add those 26 francs to young Peg's bill.

With these same fears you have, I am taking all the possible precautions to save our entire family and to provide in the best way possible for its continued existence. In these same views, above all, I am telling you to retain the revenues of the properties of Saint-Remy and Marast and to make them reach as far as possible, etc., etc.

Today you propose to me the formation in Saint-Remy of a model farm. I also have some ideas about something of the kind, but because there are several ways of going about this, let me

have your plan with all suitable details. I do not believe, however, that we will have the time and the means of realizing the idea in its entirety, and still less of having it approved by the Government; but it is already something to have a well-conceived plan, the execution of which has already made a beginning.

Strengthen yourself in the practice of true virtue, my dear Son, and especially in the practice of mental prayer, of faith, and of self-abnegation. I am embracing you tenderly.

* * *

Here is the same attitude of firmness and moderation, but also sadness and a resigned hope for better times.

570. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

December 22, 1830, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

The day before yesterday I received the small case of books in which were enclosed the long letter you wrote to me, the commitments of Brother Guillegoz, and a note for Brother David. The case had been opened, although it was in good condition inside. Transportation cost 10 francs, 10 centimes.

I will be careful, my dear Son, about answering your observations on article 314, which are only a repudiation of my reflections on the same article in my letter of last November 22. I believe it is only with the good in mind and to speak the truth that you express yourself for some time in such an astonishing manner in my regard. If your correspondence were with someone other than me, I would believe it was my duty to have you take notice that when past acts are referred to in order to condemn them, the times, places, persons, and other circumstances should be omitted from consideration. However, in my own case I am not to judge in the same way I would judge in the case of another, for in me there is such a great amount of imperfection and such a want of light that everything I do proclaims this fact. Nevertheless, I am not discouraged, in the hope that the divine assistance will help me find a middle way between an ideal perfection and a practical perfection in the institution of the novitiates and houses of study. An old proverb says "Each should measure himself by his own standard."

I am now moving on to number 20 of your observations, where you say, "I have not asked, I believe, that any notable change be made, for the local powers seem to me well enough balanced, etc., etc." Nevertheless, in a letter you wrote to me at the house on Saturday at 3 o'clock, you devote two pages to protest against the articles which determine the authority of the

¹ Biographical note. Etienne Guillegoz (1810-73) from Gouhenans, Upper-Saône, entered in Saint-Remy in 1828 as a pupil, then as a postulant and novice; he made his first profession in 1830, and was employed there as a teacher,, succeeding Bro. Clouzet as director in 1851. For more than 20 years he governed with the aid of four sub-directors: one for the secondary boarding school or the château; one for the community of Working Brothers of Saint Joseph; another for the farm school, of which he has been named director by a decree of February 25, 1853; and, the one for the mill of Faverney, acquired in 1863.

Beneath a rather cold and authoritative appearance, Bro. Guillegoz was a religious of profound faith, of solid virtue, with practical judgment and a strong attachment to the Society. Upon the difficulties of the Society in 1865, he played an important and conciliatory role. "What everyone claims," he wrote to Fr. Lalanne on November 23, 1865, "is (1) concord; (2) the study of the question; (3) the cooperation of the higher clergy; or above all else, (4) the protection of the Most Holy Virgin. Do we not call ourselves her Children? Is it not up to her to do everything for us, especially in this painful circumstance? If my prayer were worth anything, I would ask her one only thing, union. In the sight of others, union makes for strength, and also before God." Bro. Guillegoz became ill and was sent to Besançon for better care; he died there March 5, 1873. See in *Spirit of Our Foundation*, no. 510, the letter of Bro. Guillegoz to Fr. Chaminade on the eve of his perpetual profession.

Superior General. I have seen few criticisms more biting, and you pretend, nonetheless, always to have a light coming directly from God.

The last three pages of this same letter are still worse, independently of some annotations made at the end of your remarks. You tell me in number 21, which I am answering, "that there were no bad intentions involved . . . that there was also carelessness." I do not easily attribute bad intentions to anyone, with all the more reason to you, but three pages of a letter which you wrote as a guarantee for the designs of a great number of others, and in which you express on your own account great threats . . . it must be admitted that this carelessness is of a very peculiar kind.

I am not saying anything in fact about one of your observations regarding those who are not employed in primary teaching or who would be employed in secondary teaching, but I had this clearly in mind when I rewrote the chapter on the organization and the three chapters on the three *collèges*. I did not send them back to you because in retouching them as a whole, I may wish to return to these. Moreover, I will perhaps find another expedient, because another thing is to prove the need of having the Society composed of priests, teaching brothers of all grades, and of artists and Working Brothers. Another thing is to have establishments of secondary education. This seems of less consequence today, when we have only the boarding school of Sainte-Marie and that of Saint-Remy to defend; both precede to the approbation of the Society by the Government.

I thank you, my dear Son, for the satisfying details you give me about Saint-Remy. I pray to the good God to accord you the lights and the strength to direct this establishment according to the designs of his mercy.

I had the notes which you sent to Brother David immediately sent on to him. I am always busy with the Constitutions, in spite of the constantly rushing torrent of affairs, but I am sometimes interrupted in order to solve some difficulties which arise here and there on questions of morals or Canon Law.

I have had Brother David told by Brother Auguste of the means I wish to take in order to assure Saint-Remy to the Society by an act of sale, without prejudice to the means already taken, but I have not yet received a reply. I would need the contract of sale, or at least a well-made extract of it. I asked Brother Clouzet for it; if he has not yet sent it to me, ask him please not to delay any longer. Certainly Brother David will ask for it if he has in mind drawing up the action I would want to take.

I embrace you, my dear Son, with great paternal tenderness.

P.S. This letter did not leave yesterday evening, for I had the intention of sending along with it two shorter ones, and today, the mail brought me your speech under separate cover as you had told me you would send it. I read it from start to finish without delay. However elegantly written this speech seemed to me, I admit to you, my dear Son, that I was unable to defend myself against a painful feeling from the beginning up to the end of the reading of it.

This speech shows real talent and even some genius on the part of its author. It also gives evidence of virtue, of faith, skill and courage, but I doubt greatly that it would be approved by people who are serious and of sound sense. You suppose to be true and certain principles which will forever be contested, and it would be the greatest of evils if in fact they were generally accepted. I believe you composed it in the purest of purposes; you thought of finding the means of recalling the ideas and the need of religious virtues, but how will you succeed? You are so far from understanding by "liberty" what the leaders of liberalism understand by it, or what the daily

¹ The three *collèges* of the priests, teaching brothers, and working brothers or artisans, an expression borrowed from the edition of Bro. David of the Constitutions of 1818 and which was not retained by Fr. Chaminade.

² These lines are obscure because we do not have the observations of Fr. Lalanne to which they refer; they seem to indicate that Fr. Chaminade hesitated to speak explicitly of secondary teaching in the Constitutions, for fear of drawing upon himself disagreement on the part of a Government hostile to religion and more obstinate than ever in the maintenance of the monopoly over education and teaching.

papers and the rank and file of their readers understand by it! Liberty and equality, as you understand them, would not be that powerful food which makes all heads turn, which is the most powerful weapon of impiety, etc. . . .

I do not read the *Avenier*, but from the little I hear about it from time to time, this newspaper pushes principles too far and is bound to do more harm than good. I am not at all astonished that the bishop has forbidden it in his diocese.

I wanted to say only two words, and I see I have said more than four. Pity me all you want for having none but traditional ideas!

*

This speech to which this letter refers has been preserved. It is a pamphlet of 32 pages, "About Religious Education Considered as the Surest Guarantee of Public Liberties, a Discourse Given at a Literary Exercise of the Institute of Saint-Remy (Haute-Saône) by Father Lalanne," Paris, found in the bookshop of Gaume Brothers, no. 5, Rue Pot-de-fer. The forward includes this declaration of principles in which Father Lalanne—not without some pride—poses as a partisan and almost a precursor of the ideas of the Correspondant (1824) and of the Avenir (1830).

"The opinions the author expresses in this discourse have not been imposed on him by the force of circumstances. In 1827, before the distinguished writers, who make so noble a use of their talents and of their knowledge in the Correspondant, before this sublime word, 'God and Liberty' has resounded all over France and which will be one day its very salvation, this man, doubtless drawn along by his sincere love for religion and for this country, had voiced the same doctrines in a writing entitled 'Appeal to Public Opinion, for the Justification of the Clergy of France and Their Reconciliation with all Frenchmen,' with this epigraph, 'Strike but listen!' He then wanted and even had to remain anonymous. However little a person may have of good sense and prudence, he is not so easily protected against a certain fear when venturing alone on a new and perilous road."

The discourse itself is full of generous ideas, enlivened by a fine inspiration but too often mingled with overly utopian schemes and errors then brewing in the minds of the young Catholics of the liberal school. The more significant passages are included here. Father Lalanne says in principle that, in a free state, a liberal education is necessary.

"Close all your religious schools" is going to be shouted from all sides, "because it is known that they are totally opposed to all liberal ideas." An unjust accusation, gentlemen, and it shows that the human heart and the needs of the people are as little known as the spirit of religion. From here, on the contrary, I will cry out, and I will repeat with an accent of profound conviction, "Do you want the public liberties? Do you wish this work, which you believe to have been brought to its end by so many generous efforts, by such heroic sacrifices, to be preserved? Do you wish that this liberty, the conquest of which you exalt, may be always for you a subject of joy and glory? Well then, friends of liberty, do not hesitate, open religious schools everywhere!

In fact, what is public liberty, which Divine Providence offers us the priceless benefit? Allow, gentlemen, that here I may descend to a definition of principles, better to bring home a truth most people ignore today, but of which one day your children, I hope, will see the triumph. . . . It is incontestable that among us, since the July revolution, the liberty of the people is nothing else than their sovereignty. It is the right which a great nation has claimed, to receive neither laws nor magistrates, but those who are from its

¹ *L'Avenir* was a paper founded in October 1830 by Fr. de Lamennais with the collaboration of Gerbet, Lacordaire, Motalembert, and other liberal Catholics. It went to such excesses of language and of doctrine that in November of 1831 further publication was suspended and condemned by the encyclical of Gregory XVI, *Mirari Vos* (August 15, 1832).

² Slogan of *L'Avenir*.

own ranks. This is a magnificent attitude, and the proudest that a civilized people has ever taken. The grand thing is to preserve it!

However, if an almost divine wisdom is needed by a single person to accomplish all the duties incumbent on sovereign power, can it be imagined that millions of people, who all more or less participate in the government of the State will exercise both their power and their rights with neither tumult nor disorder, if they are neither wise nor virtuous?

Well then, gentlemen, these virtues, our only salvation, our surest guarantee, the indispensable condition by which liberty can be safeguarded and maintained, these public virtues—if we do not have them, who will be able to give them to us? If we have them, who will be able to preserve them for us? For great sacrifices, for constant virtues, more powerful, more elevated, more universal motives are needed than those which would be dictated in the uncertain light of a philosophical torch . . . Gentlemen, once men no longer see sovereignty in any other man, then, for them, I no longer recognize any master for them but God; it is a check, it is his law, it is a bulwark, it is religion. . . .

In the enthusiasm of victory, some friends of liberty would have wished for France be constituted into a republic. The imprudent fellows! Do they really know on which condition a republic can subsist? Listen to Montesquieu, for he is worthy of confidence in this matter; his is the language of a man who has again found the lost titles of the liberty of the human race. Not much honesty is needed so that a monarchical government or a despotic government may be maintained. The strength of the laws in the one, the ever-lifted arm of the prince in the other, rule and control everything, but in a popular state, one more force is needed—and this is virtue. Nevertheless, I will not fear to affirm that if in hoisting the standard of the republic the French embrace at the same time instead of lowering it the august sign of the Christian religion, there is little likelihood that a republic, however severe, however absolute it would be desired to be, would be a real calamity. Let us reproduce, in effect, the portrait of a good citizen, just as I have already described him from the pen of Montesquieu, and let us see if the true Christian would not be a striking image of him. . . .

It is not that I ignore or I hide from myself so many presumptions, let us rather say, so many irritations, which arouse today such indignation in the hearts of many free men against the authority of religion. But do not be mistaken; dark clouds have often hidden the sun from our eyes, but often an hour, a moment, has been enough to bring back all its—brilliance. These are the destinies of religion, and far from imagining fears which I consider valid, I seem to see in the future the triumph of truth. Yes, gentlemen, the truth which is a source of light needs freedom to spread itself in the darkness, and it is in the truth that finally, at the end of their earthly pilgrimage, these misguided men but who are in good faith now going about in the entire world will seek happiness and peace. Peace! Ah! I am only too certain that neither the families nor the states will know where to find it except in the shadow of religion, not to see from here, arriving at the feet of the old altars of the Christian faith, all those who love peace and who truly seek for it, altogether free from passions and prejudices. . . .

In some notes placed at the end of his discourse, Father Lalanne furnishes some interesting details of his thought.

From all this, it must not be concluded that the right the government has of providing for its present and future security carries that of reducing education to a type of state management, of which it has the monopoly. Very far from this, my thought and my opinion of this matter agree with those of all the sincere friends of liberty. If it is not desired for liberty to be a matter of decision, then the rights of the government must never be extended to the detriment of those of individual liberty. Now one of the most indefeasible rights of individual liberty is that of having our children reared as it seems good and useful to each person. That the Government should exercise a certain policy with regard to the schools so that in them no type of political discord will be abetted is

¹ "The human race had lost its titles," said Voltaire, "Montesquieu has found them again and returned them to it." ² Spirit of the Laws, book, Chapter 3.

something which may not be refused to it. That it should even have its own schools, collèges, academies, and even boarding schools may be an actual need on its part and a real benefit for the nation. But that whether directly or indirectly it should oblige all the citizens to have their children attend its schools under penalty of ignorance or slavery, that would be at the same time a dishonorable avowal of the weakness and unpopularity of its public institutions and a crime against liberty by the governing power. Education is inseparably united with religion. To place obstacles in the way of educational liberty is to attack freedom of religion in a special way. To exclude from college degrees all those who have not attended classes in the royal or communal collèges is like forbidding the professions of lawyer, doctor, and all public functions or charges to whoever does not go to Confession or who does not perform his Easter Duty.

I wish neither evil nor harm to the university. Far from being its enemy or even having been such, as has been said, in its service I spent three of the best years of my life, and I am ready to do for it all the good which lies in my power. But full of ideas for the betterment and development of secondary studies, and at the same desiring finally to bring into liberal education required by our times the saving principles of religion, I would like to place myself in a position where I can realize in all liberty and freedom what observation, experience, and perhaps a touch of genius have made me conceive. Now, if this is not accorded to me, I will ask, in a loud voice, "Where is liberty, where is the love for the homeland?"

* * *

571. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

January 1, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Your letter of last December 23 lets me know even more with regard to the rector of the Academy of Besançon than I had imagined. Your prudence will know how to take all the precautions to diminish the criticisms he has against you, and of which the establishment of Saint-Remy could easily feel the effects. As soon as I had received your letter, I sent an obedience to the head of the normal school.

In a marginal note you say, "At the time of closing this letter, I have received one from you in which you tell me how much I afflict and annoy you. . . . God knows my intentions!" I do not believe, my dear Son, that I have told you purely and simply that you afflict me or that you annoy me. I have answered following the supposition you were making yourself, in which you really felt you were afflicting me. Your supposition is completely correct, but I did not complain about it. I have already told you I ascribed to you no bad intentions at all, and so it is useless for you to call God to witness in the present case. . . .

You add that a serious man whom you knew at the sacred tribunal has scorned your scruples. You are then free to say and to do everything you want, even with the opinion of a serious man pronounced in the sacred tribunal. The same thing has already happened in Saint-Remy. Brother David, sent with the first group to found the establishment of Saint-Remy, following only his ideas and even believing himself obliged to do this, pretended to be quite at ease in cutting, concluding, deciding this and that, with the plea that it was the advice of his confessor; he even went so far as to name him.

Father Collineau and Brother Auguste deeply disapprove of your pamphlet. Both look upon it as a great evil. If this is so, this would be quite a stain on our reputation. They also fear the harm which might come to the Society of Mary as a direct result. The day following the one on which I told you I had received a copy of it, Brother Auguste came to see me. I spoke to him of your discourse. He manifested a desire to read it and to make it known to the teachers of the

boarding school. I allowed him to communicate it only to Father Collineau and to Brother David. He did not have to tell them about it, as Brother David has a copy of his own. You see, my dear Son, that someone can do a great deal of harm even with the best intentions. If our young people of Saint-Remy have adopted your ideas and your sentiments, this is an additional misfortune. I am astonished at such a grand silence on the part of this establishment at the end of the year; I believe this is the first time the thought of the proximity of the first of the year has come to no one. It may also be that some package of letters has been delayed somewhere in transit.

My heart is greatly restrained and oppressed, my dear Son, by all types of circumstances; the matters of the revolution do not bother me as much. But nonetheless, I can say to you that in my heart there is neither gall nor bitterness, and that in all sincerity I am wishing you, as well as all those in Saint-Remy whom I can still consider as my Family, a happy New Year and the abundance of heavenly blessings.

P.S. I believe I should include in the Constitutions two chapters, one on faith and the other on devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and perhaps even a third on several other devotions; otherwise, there will never be a real correspondence between the Constitutions and the Manual of Direction, and also with the Regulations of the novitiate and the Master of Novices.

* * *

The last lines of the preceding letter show to what degree Father Chaminade was afflicted. Did he know if he could consider all the religious of Saint-Remy as belonging to "his family"? He felt some relief upon receiving their New Years greetings and good wishes.

572. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

January 14, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar [With insert from S. 572]

My dear Son,

Answering your letter of last December 27, I begin by thanking you for the good wishes you offer me and for your prayers to the Lord for me at the beginning of this New Year. You are deeply engraved upon my heart, and I can say that in it there is, as it were, a continual sigh that you will obtain eternal life, for which doubtless you have entered the religious state. But my dear Son, let us not lose sight of the fact that if our life is not truly religious, it would be for us no motive for expecting eternal life.

I have just learned about your trip to Colmar. You have settled all your debts with M. Xavier. His brother, Bro. Louis Rothéa, seemed to notice some moodiness in you. This grieved him even more because M. Xavier had just made known to me his good dispositions regarding Saint-Remy, as a result of the reproaches I had made to him about the letter you had written to him. I answered yesterday that you were not actually guilty of the delays you had given to your release, after everything that had been said and done, and that everything was now ended and we should speak of it no more.

Insist with Mme de Chifflet, with decorum however, and do not forget the 35 francs we paid for his scholastic fees and forgot to add to his bill of 330 francs. Justice would demand that she add also the 26 francs which young Peg stole from his guide. She should not hesitate, especially since the tuition was given as 200 francs and that I have never asked for less than 400; this was due to an error on Father Lalanne's part, which I pointed out immediately, that he asked for 200 instead of 400.

I told you that M. Deshayes had written to his son; he confirmed this when you passed through Rouen. He had promised to send the sum to Bordeaux, but his son wrote to tell me that

you wanted it sent to Saint-Remy and from there it would reach me in Bordeaux. I told M. Deshayes that you must have had good reasons for your suggestion; at the end of December you tell me of the exchange of letters between father and son. I cannot understand his type of "circumlocution."

You are doing well in taking care of the poor workmen of the village of Saint-Remy and in having them work when the weather permits. I am not saying anything to you about the misery which reigns in Bordeaux and of the ever-increasing cares and worries among which I find myself. You are aware of this, and so, everything is said.

I wrote at the beginning of this year to Father Bardenet, as much for the occasion of the New Year as for letting him know of the grateful sentiments of the sisters of Acey and Arbois and at the same time of my observations about the somewhat inopportune change of the superior of Acey.

I had someone ask Brother David for a copy of the deed of sale at Saint-Remy. I have not yet received an answer.

I am going to write a few words to Father Lalanne and to Father Meyer. I ask you please to give them their short letters and to receive my tender embraces.

* * *

573. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

January 14, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Today I received with sweet tenderheartedness the New Year greetings and good wishes which you and our Children of Saint-Remy have offered me at the feet of the good Lord. My only sorrow is that I have provoked them, and in this way more or less obliged you to write sooner than you would otherwise have done.

You are not satisfying yourself, my dear Son, with wishing me happy New Year—you are still trying to make it the best one yet. In fact, it really depends only on you to make me better. The revolution and its annoying aftereffects are much less painful to me. I will pray to the good God with a good heart, it seems to me, to have you know what would be for me a better year. I am keeping continually occupied with the completion of our Constitutions, directions, and General and Particular Regulations. I would not want one part to appear without the other.

My dear Son, may the Lord shower upon you and all our Children of Saint-Remy his most abundant blessings!

* * *

Of the letter to Father Meyer, which accompanied the two preceding ones, only these lines remain.

574. To Fr. Léon Meyer, Saint-Remy

January 14, 1831, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

My dear Son,

You are correct to believe that human reason often replaces the spirit of faith which should dominate more and more in our more important establishments, and therein lies one of my greatest sorrows. The revolution which has come will have served as the winnowing fan of the Lord. Only the good grain will remain.

Now the university is contesting the rights of the boarding school of Saint-Remy, and for grades on the part of its head. Father Lalanne prepares to leave for Paris to arrange the matter and immediately writes to Father Chaminade.

575. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

January 20, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Today I have received your letter dated January 13, but the departure of which is dated only on January 15. I am answering it by return mail.

Your departure for Paris is urgent, but it is annoying; nevertheless, we must adore the dispositions of Providence and submit to them. So leave for Paris as soon as possible. Before your departure write to Father Rothéa to be ready and with his certificate, but let him wait until you write to him, and in the meantime he should say nothing. Give him your Paris address.

You will do well to go and see Count Alexis de Noailles with confidence on my part. I have no doubt he will do everything he can to help you, but his standing must not be as good with the new government. I am somewhat anxious in his regard and also in that of his agent in Bordeaux. Both of us have written to him about very serious matters. I have sent him a promissory note of a major debt, a debt of some 7,000 or 8,000 francs, without including in it the interest for one year, and now it has been over a month since we have had word from him, who is usually so prompt with his mail. His debt was owed to M. O'Lombel, who left it with me when he left for Spain. It is from M. Berryer the elder, a famous lawyer. His son M. Berryer, is Deputy, and very well known to Count Alexis de Noailles. You may have noticed that M. Berryer was the defense attorney for M. de Kergolay. M. Berryer the elder lives at no. 22, Rue Sainte-Anne, and the Count Alexis de Noailles lives at no. 95, Place du Palais Bourbon.

One person who may perhaps become more useful to you might be Mme de Montesquiou and the priest who lodges at her house. I have forgotten the name of this priest, as well as his address. I know Mme de Montesquiou knows me. Between us, let it be said, if I did not go to see her while I was in Paris this was because she had been the governess of the son of Napoleon, today the Duke de Reichstadt. Because she had been closely linked with the former governess of the Duke of Bordeaux, I did not think it was suitable to see Mme de Montesquiou.

A letter of recommendation for some one of the deputies of Besançon or of Vesoul would serve you more directly, but if you cannot easily obtain this, proceed without any worry or anxiety.

Before leaving, make your arrangements in Saint-Remy so all may be at peace during your absence, which I take for granted will not be long.

We are in the midst of such a new world! I am in France almost like one in a foreign land. I seem not to know any longer what to say or do; for my part, I am waiting for events to come my way instead of going forward to meet them. I have no other policy than that of having daily recourse to the Blessed Virgin.

I am embracing you tenderly, my dear Son, and I ask the Lord to shower upon you his most abundant blessings.

¹ A determined Legitimist, against whom the government had launched a press campaign. Legitimists were supporters of the elder branch of the Bourbon dynasty, removed from the throne by the July revolution of 1830. They were opposed by the Orleanists, who supported the regime of the July monarchy in power after the 1830 revolution.

Here are words of encouragement to Brother Clouzet on temporal matters.

576. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

January 25, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar [With insert from S. 576]

My dear Son,

I have received your last messages, which you forgot to date. I congratulate you for having so easily found a loan of 6,000 francs in Besançon. On the 8,000 francs due to M. Xavier Rothéa, you are paying 4,000 from your savings. On the one hand I am pleased with it, because Saint-Remy thus pays off its debts and our worries over Ebersmunster diminish and the same also for Saint-Hippolyte; but on the other hand, Bordeaux is being left pretty much to its worries and sufferings.

It is altogether good to clear up Saint-Remy more and more. You will there find the double advantage of occupying workmen, who would doubtless find themselves without work if you had nothing for them to do, and that of augmenting the revenues for this year. It will also be good to have the breaks in the enclosure walls repaired, at least by next spring. Nevertheless, calculate the expense because the entire job does not need to be completed all at the same time, even if there were sufficient funds in reserve for it. Saint-Remy is nearly our only source of revenue, not only to keep us going but also to pay many debts. It will not be the same, I hope, in several years. We were greatly in want before the revolution, but since then our needs have become much greater. However, I am not complaining about anyone, but my duty is to take rigorous precautions, although always mild and honest.

The idea of establishing a factory for finished farm tools would please me a great deal. Nothing would seem more suitable to Saint-Remy. I cannot give you either Brother Seguin or Brother Etignard, at least for some time. The machinery is far from finished. Nevertheless, I do not believe there will be much further delay in beginning to dispatch certain jobs while awaiting its completion. The suppliers of iron, lead, and coal are asking for partial payments in advance on what we owe them, and this is as much as 7,000 to 8,000 francs. They will be paid in work. As for workers really able to work, we hardly have any others than Brothers Seguin and Etignard. The four others are only apprentices, and of the four there is hardly one who has enough virtue that we may even expect to keep him. Nevertheless, do not be disconcerted regarding your farm tool factory, because the very idea of it is excellent.

I will send you M. Perrin's bill immediately; I would have done so with this letter if I did not have to answer a note from Father Lalanne which has just arrived. Do not forget M. Peg's bill or the 600 francs owed by M. Deshayes.

The former relatives of Father Rothéa are asking me for Brother Geng. These men tell me that everything which belongs to their own relatives will surely be given to the Society, and that it is just to come to their aid in their old age, and that, besides, etc. . . . M. Xavier now seems decided to give up the idea of marriage. I do not want to give you the impression that I have

¹ From a letter of Bro. Clouzet to Fr. Chaminade dated March 5 we draw these details about his initiatives. "We are going to have the workshop enlarged in such a way as to be able to place in it at least six vises, a tower for the iron and the copper, and two fireplaces. . . . Our farm implements are acquiring fame. The plow especially is without forecarriage and works marvelously; from all sides, people come to see it work. The horse-hoe and the extirpator also bring forth admiration. . . . I have just built up a lime kiln. We will be using fire in it at the first fine weather we have."

² Louis Etignard, carpenter and brother of Fr. Augustin Etignard.

¹ See letter no. 441.

decided to give them Brother Geng, but you understand it would not be prudent, in the many requests that come in, to send him to Saint-Remy, at least not at present.

If this letter finds Father Lalanne still in Saint-Remy, you will please tell him I have had sent from the beginning of this month the nominative state of our young men who are asking their exemption from military service. I had it sent to the rector of the Academy of Bordeaux, just as had been prescribed for me last year, or rather two years ago. The rector promised to send it immediately. This is about all I know. It is to be presumed that it will be accepted; this is about all I can say to quiet the anxieties of those interested, as well as their parents.

I am embracing you, my dear Son, with an entirely paternal tenderness.

* * *

Father Lalanne was not obliged for the time being to go to Paris, for the university was more conciliating, but Father Chaminade continued to see the necessity of acquiring the diplomas, and he advises Father Lalanne to concern himself with this matter.

577. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

February 9, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Your letter dated in Besançon on February 2 came to me yesterday. The hassles created for you in Gray will have produced the good effect of a type of reconciliation with the rector of the Academy. It will not be difficult for you to find some occasions for interviews with him. To the noisy reports of general war,² the new authorities, capable of reflection, will hardly be inclined to torture those they govern. The Statutes of the Society of Mary state clearly the primary teaching of the three degrees asked for by the university; they also state the formation of normal schools. The subjects must be licensed, without examination, on the mere showing of their obediences. The rector seems to be picking a bad quarrel with you. His predecessor did no wrong at all in admitting the normal school of Saint-Remy, as well as that of Courtefontaine. I do not mean by this observation to invalidate the one you make, namely that the subjects must be prepared.

You will always do well, my dear Son, to prepare yourself to pass an examination. It is widely assumed that whatever liberty the commission gives to teaching, grades will always be maintained, and if these new laws are abrogated others will be passed in which the heads will need to show titles of legal ability.

You must know that the new Minister has maintained the burse and the half-burse for the normal school of Courtefontaine. The prefect of the Jura has also written that he was going to have a vote taken at the first General Council for funds to maintain this establishment.

The Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Instruction has just written to me about the occasion of the nominative state of the subjects who are asking for exemption from military service. He asks me for some information as well about what he calls novices of the Society, and about the bonds which attach them to the same. Brother David is taking care of the answer. Although he is sick and bedridden, there are times when he suffers less and can do a little clerical work. If this correspondence brings about anything I will let you know about it, for the questions seem to be insidious.

Recently Father Collineau had Brother David tell me about an answer you had given him to a letter he had written to you in reference to your last publication. I had not seen the letter; I did not even know he had written to you, but your answer did not please me. I am asking the good

² At this time undergoing the aftereffects of the July revolution, Europe was in a very troubled situation.

God with a good heart, it seems to me, to enlighten you and not to permit you to abuse the talents he has given you, following the example of Father de Lamennais.

Father Chevaux has just sent me the state of the personnel of Saint-Remy. It would have come in good time to answer the Minister of Public Instruction if its state were not purely moral. I will not be able to answer, except in a very vague way. As soon as possible, have someone make for me an accurate and complete list of names of the subjects of the Society who are in Saint-Remy—names, forenames, place of birth, property pointed out by the civil districts and departments, dates of birth, capacities, health, condition of the parents, dates of their entry, their work and rank or status in the Society, as well as the dates of these, and if there happens to be any matters of particular interest, have them mentioned. I will answer Father Chevaux a little later.

If I happen to be forgetting something, my dear Son, I will supply it either tomorrow or the day after while writing to Brother Clouzet; but do not lose sight of this state of the personnel, made out as I have just mentioned and just as it was to be inscribed in Saint-Remy. It seems very likely that Brother Clouzet must have it in his inscription register.

May the Lord always deign to shower upon you, my dear Son, as well as upon your labors, ever new blessings!

* * *

This letter announced for Brother Clouzet is short, but full of meaning.

578. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

February 12, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar [With inserts from S. 578]

My dear Son,

Every day I await some letter from you which will bring me some commission or charge, especially from M. Deshayes. I am surprised that I have not yet received the payment for young Peg's bill.

It would be difficult for anyone to gain an idea of the difficulty of my position. I am not saying this to complain; I even speak of it very little, for I always adore the secret designs of Providence. I have been particularly touched by the fact that it inspired M. Galliot to send me 700 francs at two different times, to which the brothers of Besançon added 150 francs. With these small sums, I have quieted, at least temporarily, some creditors more heavily in debt themselves.

I am sending you M. Perrin's statement amounting to 422 francs 95 cent. Please send me that sum and add whatever you can to it. Accept only a draft on a reliable firm. M. Pidoux gave one to Brother Galliot made out on a Paris firm, and it was cashed here without hesitation.

Two or three days ago, I wrote to Father Lalanne that the actual Minister of Public Instruction had maintained a burse and a half in Courtefontaine, created by Bishop Feutrier. ¹ This is simply Father Chevassine, the pastor of Courtefontaine, who wrote about this to the new Minister in his capacity of chaplain of the normal school of the Jura in Courtefontaine.

I have to answer the Minister of Public Instruction about the subject of the exemption from military service. Brother David has been working on this answer all week and has not yet been able to finish it; I am very afraid that it will come too late. Recall to Father Lalanne the list I requested from him in my last letter. The central house should have an exact knowledge of all the subjects who are at Saint-Remy, and also specific information about everything that is happening

¹ At this time, de Lamennais was far from being condemned. The Avenir did not cease to appear until the end of the year, and the pope did not condemn its tendencies until the following year.

¹ The Bishop of Beauvais, Minister of Public Instruction under Minister Martignac (1828-29).

there. The Order would be calling for this all the time, but much more particularly during a time of revolution.

I am embracing you very tenderly, my dear Son, and wish you the peace of the Lord.

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Here are two short letters addressed to religious of the community of the orphanage of the Saint Jacques Hospice in Besançon.

579. To Bro. Pierre Gobillot, Besançon

February 23, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Finally I have received a letter from you, dated last December 24. In it, you tell me all about your past troubles, since and including your departure from Bordeaux. Providence has placed you in Besançon. You have occasion to do great good there, and you possess a good will. Continue in peace until it will please the Lord to order otherwise. Always reanimate and encourage your brothers, and give good advice to Brother Bousquet. May peace and union reign among you all!

While instructing the pupils clearly in religion according to the capacity of their age, work always at refining them. An education in refinement always helps a great deal in Christian education.

Pray for your Good Father, who loves you tenderly and who is in an awkward position in the difficult times in which we are living.

P. S. I am learning from the letter of Brother Bousquet that your health is not good. Without any worry, take the cares and remedies which may be necessary to obtain its complete restoration.

* * *

580. To Bro. Augustin Perriguey, Besançon

February 23, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

I have not forgotten the promise I made to you last year, but I am asking you whether you believe before God that it would be prudent to make such an important a change in the critical times in which we have been living these last six months. If you knew better what is going on, you would be the first to thank me for not having moved you when you were actually asking for a change. Far from asking now to keep my promise, my dear Son, remain quiet and continue to fulfill your duties well. Only in Besançon will you find the happiness which you would be seeking elsewhere in vain, until it will please the Lord to order your change.

The desire to become better makes you look upon Besançon as an evil and Bordeaux as a good. You are placing yourself under a great illusion, my dear Son; also, do you not know that there is no true happiness here upon earth, other than in the accomplishment of the will of God? Now, my dear Son, the will of God is clearly indicated for you, that you remain in Besançon until it will please God to order otherwise.

¹ See letters no. 416, no. 493, no. 504, and no. 528.

You must not entertain within yourself the thought of leaving Besançon, for this thought does nothing more than give rise to trouble and anxiety in you. It must also do a great deal to prevent you from advancing in virtue and preserving an entire peace of soul.

Regarding the inconveniences you may find in the nearness of your parents, these will soon disappear if in the first place you make a strong resolution to change only on the orders you may receive.

I will carry out my promise, if you wish. You could be employed in the boarding school, but I repeat, I do not believe you will be able to live as easily as a good religious as at Besançon. You would not find the same means of working out your salvation. I am speaking above all of the times in which we are living.

Regarding your parents, do not bother about any other matters than those which affect you personally. End them even with some little sacrifices, if possible, and they will leave you undisturbed.

May the Lord deign, my dear Son, to grant you peace of soul and the courage you need to disengage yourself from all worldly cares and troubles.

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S. 580-2. To Bro. Dominique Clouzet, Saint-Remy

February 25, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My dear Son,

Along with your letter of December 18, I received your draft drawn on a Paris firm for the sum of 965 francs. I need not tell you how welcome it was; any form of legal tender is welcome in times of difficulty, all the more so now when that difficulty is extreme. My dear Son, M. Perrin is in an entirely different category from those whom you admit as novices.

- 1. M. Perrin's youth and light-mindedness have precluded his reception among the novices. However, in order not to stifle the good sentiments which the Spirit of the Lord inspired in him, it was right to bring him up religiously but not as a full novice. This process has been fairly successful. He makes daily progress in common sense, he is settling down, and he is becoming more attached to the service of God; but he has not yet become what he should be.
- 2. I accepted among the novices those you sent me without inquiring about the tuition they were paying. If you examine your accounts, you will notice that you are indebted to me. I have never considered M. Perrin other than a boarder who might develop leanings toward virtue and the religious life. We have never changed the rate of tuition at Saint-Laurent or at the Madeleine; it was 400 francs for those who could afford it.
- 3. I cannot think of any case when we allowed an arrears of two years in the tuition. I am not blaming your policy; you made it.
- 4. When the young men make their profession, we see in a kindly way what they can contribute toward their room and board, in gifts, etc., as a kind of dowry. Last month, for instance, the father of Bro. L. Rothéa sent him 200 francs for his board, and another 100 francs for incidentals.
- 5. When you spoke of charging for the bed, I did not think you meant the value of the article but more its use; this is done in several boarding establishments. Around New Year's, Mme wrote to her son that she had paid his board and only his bed was left to pay. The young man told me he did not understand, so I told him the meaning of the term; the question never came up again. To settle all disputes with Mme Perrin, I am going to write to her. Write up her account as you see fit, place it in the envelope, seal it and give it to her.

My dear Son, you insist on asking for Brother Seguin and some good workmen. I will see if I cannot halt the work on our machine during these calamitous times and then I will send you

for or five workmen, but on two conditions: (1) that you send them back to me when I ask for them, which will be when I can prudently continue with the work, and (2) that you pay for their return trip. The expenses will not be that great, for all the men I can send you can make the journey on foot; they are all healthy. I may add a young carpenter. Answer me by return mail, and send me the funds for the first part of the journey.

You are making Saint-Remy produce as much as possible; this is very good. But do not invest all our revenues; reserve a good amount for me to tide us over. Of what good are future advantages if we collapse now? This is what I had in mind when I listed your duties as manager of the properties of Saint-Remy and Marast.

I wanted to respond to Father Lalanne, but I cannot do it for the next post. Tell him that the Minister sent the acceptance of the contracts of our young men to the rector of the Academy of Bordeaux in time, but then he demanded unworkable conditions. I wrote to him and gave him what I considered to be very good reasons for him to order the delivery. I have no answer yet, but this does not surprise me, in view of the grave events in Paris.

Meanwhile, let him do the best he can. He can always present to the review board (1) the contracts for 10 years and (2) proofs that they are teaching at the normal school of Saint-Remy, the testimony of the mayor of Saint-Remy or, at least, the legal signature of Father Lalanne. I am sending you a copy of these contracts.

I must stop; I embrace you very tenderly.

* * *

581. To Fr. Jean Lalanne, Saint-Remy

March 2, 1831, Bordeaux Original, Agmar

My respectable Son,

I have spoken to you of M. le Chevalier de Rubelles, about 2½ years ago when I was in Gray. Perhaps you were able to see him during your stay in Paris. He always expressed the desire he had to enter the Society, but attachment to the world and possible secret passions have always prevented him from generously making his decision. He was employed at the Ministry in making a short analysis of the works which appeared and in giving of them a prompt and summary idea to the Ministry which employed him; this is at least what I understood in the matter.

At the time of the revolution, being without a place, he was accepted in Saint-Cyr as a secretary with General Richemont. He attended and took part in the service celebrated in Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, the consequences of which were so unfortunate. The General, knowing that he had assisted at the Mass, told him it was out of the question to keep him, considering his presence in the church was an act of hostility toward the government. He is now in Paris with no place to go and no means of livelihood. He remembered me and wrote to me; I am answering him by this mail. At the end of this letter, you will have a copy of this answer. His address in Paris is "Madame Dupuis, no. 10, Rue St. Joseph, to be given to M. Alphonse." My respectable Son, you will do everything you believe to be wise and prudent, and you will do nothing at all if everything seems to you against wisdom and prudence.

¹ At a funeral service celebrated in the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois on February 14, the anniversary of the assassination of the Duke de Berry, the crowd rioted, plundered the church, insulted the priests, tore down the crosses, and looted the archbishop's palace. That was the beginning of a renewed outbreak of popular passions, of which the counterstroke was to be felt in Bordeaux, as is shown in what follows in the letter.

Following the serious disturbances which have taken place in Paris and of which I was unaware of at the time, I had a very impressive visit. Everything happened indoors and quite properly. Outside, the common people occupied Rue Lalande all day, I am told, to the number of 300 or 400. Nothing really came of it, except of having the window glass of house at no. 3 all broken with stones and blows with sticks, because as I was told, an officious neighbor had furnished a ladder and sticks. The visit inside lasted only 3½ hours. Several days later, I was called upon as a witness in the matter of M. Estebenet, who had been arrested as a result of a visit made at the same time as that which I received. After much questioning, which lasted two hours and a half, the Judge of Instruction declared to me that I would not be called again, and that I could make use of the passport I had obtained the day before to go to Agen. The Judge of Instruction was always fair and honest. When you asked me to go to Saint-Remy, I had just received my passport for Agen, where I have really important matters to look after. Your invitation, nevertheless, served me. I said to the Judge of Instruction that I had just received a letter which told me my presence would be useful in another establishment, and that I had to decide which place would mark the end of my first trip; and whatever might be the utility of my presence in Saint-Remy, I am always more inclined toward Agen, simply because it is closer. I am not saying that later, in fact, I will not undertake this long trip. In the meantime, devote yourself generously to the sanctification of all those about you, and begin with yourself. You are clearly enough instructed; all you need to do is to guard yourself against illusions, and I see with pleasure that you like the Gospel maxim, Porro unum est necessarium. I believe the more the times are bad and difficult, the more we must give ourselves over to true prayer, and in a way that faith constantly grows within us. I believe by her powerful protection the most blessed Virgin will restore peace and order to us. Let us pray to her earnestly and with perseverance.

I will say nothing now, my dear Son, about the individuals you describe to me, for I am leaving all to your zeal and wisdom. I have answered you in the letter I wrote to Brother Clouzet in regard to the three subjects whom you have and who are in the recruitment class.

I am always embracing you with a new affection.

* * *

582. To Chevalier Adolphe de Rubelles, Paris

March 2, 1831, Bordeaux Copy, Agmar

My dear Son,

I am sharing your difficult position. This is perhaps the last warning on the part of Heaven to make you break all the ties which still bind you to this world. You are happy in your misfortune, if this misfortune is but a means whereby God intends to draw you closer to him.

If we cannot reproach you for any other thing against the government, my dear Son, than having assisted at that Mass in Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, I am going to try to find you a place, but be truly honest and do not expose us in any way. I have as a principle that nothing must ever be done against a Government already established; in this way, by the application of this principle, I have passed safely through all the revolutions, by occupying myself only with my ministry and being of service to my neighbor.

If nothing else can be brought up against you, although General Richemont is not wrong, the government knows very well that in general, all those who assisted at that Mass had no hostile intention and still less any idea of provoking public trouble or disturbances. By this mail, I am

¹ February 18. *The Life of Father Chaminade* has related the details of this arrival of the police and of the troubles of the day at the Madeleine and at Saint-Laurent. Fr. Chaminade tells of these incidents with calm and –composure; he had certainly seen many others like it at the time of the great Revolution!

going to write to the head of one of our establishments where you could be employed advantageously. You will receive directly from him a letter which will tell you everything you need to know. I am giving him your Paris address. Possibly there may be some delay, to make certain you are not being sought or searched for by some police agent.

In the meantime, see whether before God you truly wish to assure for yourself the possession of the crown of immortality by a detachment from all created things and, consequently, by penance and the mortification of your passions.

With pleasure, my dear Son, I have received these last marks of your confidence. I ask you to believe me, etc.

*

The Chevalier de Rubelles remained in politics; he went into journalism and was incarcerated (letter no. 565). Following events in Bordeaux, Father Chaminade chose the path of disappearing from public view for some time and going to stay among his religious in Agen. But this absence from Bordeaux, which in his mind was to be for only a few weeks, was prolonged for several years until the fall of 1836.