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# INFORMATION

## CHAMPAGNAT ICONOGRAPHY

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity that “Marist Notebooks” is offering me to let you know about the treasure that is kept in our archives with regard to iconography relating to Father Champagnat. I believe that this is a hidden treasure that needs to be known in order to be appreciated at its true worth.

At the same time I want to stimulate not so much the production as the preservation, the increase, the systematization, the information of what we have in Rome and in the Provinces and (why not?), issue an invitation to compose some works on this topic.

Last year, during the course we called “Marist Spiritual Heritage” I was offered a chance to make contact with Marist Iconography; I would never have believed that there existed such abundant and varied material on this theme. At the same time I had to look through the Bulletin of the Institute for information on the aforesaid iconography. This gave me a glimpse of the number of works that exist and of whose existence we know only through a short news item or a passing reference.

### ICONOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

Although it is true that no work has been composed on the subject of Marist Iconography, at least as far as I know, nevertheless, someone has taken the trouble to organize the material that exists in our archives.

Such material could be classified under two large groups:

a) Iconographic material fostered or realized by the General Administration, from our beginnings until the Beatification. There are five volumes of photographs. Later we shall give an account of that iconographic material with the corresponding reference.

b) Iconographic material realized in the Provinces. There are three big volumes of photographs of very varied size and quality. We are talking about very differing kinds of iconographic material ranging from paintings to philatelic items or commemorative plaques in some square or street in large or small towns. This material is classified by countries and Provinces and has an identification number.

## THE OFFICIAL PORTRAIT

In the centre of the Marist Iconography room is the official portrait of Father Champagnat, painted by Mr Ravery, an artist in Saint-Chamond.

It is an oil painting on canvas. It was painted immediately after the death of the Founder. He is shown wearing a soutane, surplice and stole and sitting in his armchair. In his right hand he is holding his profession crucifix. On the top right of the background are the details of the portrait. The paleness of his face is striking, but it is in no way disfigured. His countenance still has those features which were characteristic of him: that air of kindness and dignity which, during his life, gave him that ascendancy over people. (cf Bulletin, T.29, p. 262)

### *Something of its history*

At first the picture was exposed and venerated in the Hermitage. In 1858, when the Generalate moved to Saint-Genis-Laval, it was moved with the other things.

After the expulsion of religious congregations from France in 1903, its whereabouts was unknown.

In 1934, the then Secretary General, Br Jean-Emile, wrote an article in the Bulletin of the Institute, No. 95, and published a photograph of the original. As a result, two identical portraits appeared: the original in

Carmagnola and the other, about which nothing was known, in Saint-Genis-Laval. (cf Bulletin, T.29, p. 262)

Br Jean Baptiste, in his biography of Father Champagnat, speaks about a postulant who came to the Hermitage around the year 1826, when the Founder was convalescing after his illness, and asked for admission. Father Courveille, who was acting Superior, in Father Champagnat's presence, described Marist life as very hard, in such a way as to discourage the young man. The scene ends with Father Champagnat taking part and encouraging the postulant, who entered the novitiate and became Br Benoît (Deville). Later, in gratitude to Father Champagnat, he paid Mr Ravery, through his family, to make a copy of the portrait of the Founder he had painted in 1840. He kept the picture in his possession right up to the moment of his tragic death. Since he spent the last years of his life in Saint-Genis-Laval, the picture remained in the house. (cf Bulletin, T. 29, p. 262)

At the present moment, those two portraits of Father Champagnat are separated: the official one is in the Superiors' Chapel in the Generalate; the other, the copy made by Mr Ravery for Br Benoît (Deville), is in Father Champagnat's bedroom in the Hermitage.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF CHAMPAGNAT ICONOGRAPHY**

When we try to trace the history of Champagnat iconography we can say that, whereas absolutely nothing had been produced before his death, since then there has been an ever growing production of iconographic material throughout the years. This growth has not been uniform but has been prompted by certain impulses and periods of strong motivation.

The events which have fundamentally contributed to this impulse are: the introduction of the cause of Beatification and Canonization in Rome, the celebration of the centenary of the Foundation and also that of the death of Father Champagnat, the Beatification, and the Bicentenary of his birth. These events have so influenced iconographic production that, based on them, we can establish certain stages.

We could speak of five periods of Champagnat iconography:

## **1. FROM THE DEATH UP TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CAUSE. (1840-1896)**

We can say that the starting point of the iconographic collection was when the cause of Beatification of the Founder was introduced in Rome. It is true that its first item was the portrait in which Mr Ravery left us the human and spiritual features of our Founder's personality at the moment of his death. Two exemplars by the same painter confirm this fact. However, although this was a very important first step, it did not start off any significant iconographic activity at that time. Those two key works of our iconography remain as elements of decoration and veneration for the Brothers.

## **2. FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CAUSE TO THE CENTENARY OF THE FOUNDATION (1896-1917)**

Pictures and iconographic material followed. However, it could be said that the celebration of the centenary did not give a very strong impulse to their production. The celebration of the centenary rather initiated a process which was inspired by newer motivations.

If one thing can be singled out it is the increasing diversity of iconographic representations, with sculpture playing a big part.

## **3. FROM THE CENTENARY OF THE FOUNDATION TO THAT OF HIS DEATH (1915-1940)**

During this period, following the process initiated in 1896, it became increasingly clear that the Beatification was a possibility, and so there was a great increase in iconographic activity. A characteristic of this period was great diversity but not a great amount of production.

It was no longer a question of painting only, other manifestations, in ceramics, stained glass, sculpture appeared, as well as commemorative plaques. At the same time, outside of France, Provinces which had been founded around the end of the century were beginning to celebrate their fiftieth anniversary. This gave a new impulse to Marist iconography.

#### 4. FROM THE CENTENARY OF THE DEATH TO THE BEATIFICATION (1940-1955)

This was the high point, the great moment when iconography became more diversified and its production abounded. In all the Provinces there was a profusion of iconographic works, some of great artistic worth.

Painting saw a great development with artists like F. Conti, T. Rodolfi, Barberis, Bizzotto, Bossaert, Santini among the more notable.

At the same time there was a great increase in diversity. After the Beatification of Father Champagnat, altars, statues and stained glass windows were dedicated to him.

#### 5. FROM THE BEATIFICATION TO THE BICENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH (1955-1989)

This period is characterized by the spread of Champagnat iconography. It can be said that what ended up in the Archives in Rome is a very small part. We know that in the Provinces there exists a great variety of works produced in the two preceding periods.

One characteristic which it is worth while taking into account is the great diversity and variety of styles and techniques in the paintings and other artistic representations.

Some of the artists who have developed to a universal level are: Gregorio Domínguez (GOYO), J. Bossaert, in painting and engraving respectively, and J. Santamarta in glazed ceramics and relief.

### ICONOGRAPHIC THEMES

Making a quick run through the Champagnat iconography you readily notice a series of themes that the artists have worked on:

The theme of **EDUCATION** is frequent. Marcellin Champagnat often appears surrounded by children and young people to whom he is showing the figure of Mary. This is the most frequent theme, not only in pictures but also in sculptures, stained glass and reliefs.

The **CATECHISTIC** theme must also take its place beside the previous one. Champagnat appears surrounded by children to whom he is teaching catechism, usually about Mary.

The **MARIAN** theme is another frequently treated by the artists. Normally it is associated with the Educational theme as we have just seen. Father Champagnat is showing the statue of Our Lady to children, is offering a symbolical bouquet, or is addressing her in an attitude of prayer. Champagnat, **PRIEST and FOUNDER**, is a frequent theme in the early days; think about Ravery's portrait. Wearing a soutane, a cloak, and sometimes also a surplice and stole, he is occasionally shown holding in his hands the book of Rules. At other times these characteristics are associated with others; for example, he has the book under his arm and is showing the way to a young man or a group of children.

Champagnat, as **MODEL** for the Brothers, is shown in a classroom situation, with a Brother in the background and all the characteristic elements of Champagnat's pedagogy, for example, phrases on the walls reminding pupils of prayer, the presence of God, Our Lady.

Another theme worthy of mention is the **UNIVERSALITY** of the mission of the Marist Brother. Alluding to the well-known remark: "*All the dioceses of the world enter into our views*", Father Champagnat appears surrounded by children of different races. This theme becomes more frequent as the Institute broadens its field of action with foundations all over the world.

## **AN ACCOUNT OF ALL THE ICONOGRAPHIC MATERIAL IN THE ARCHIVES**

We now list what is only a part of what is in the Archives, and certainly not the greater part, but what refers to the promotion fostered by the General Administration from the early days up to the Beatification.

There would also be a part relating to the Provinces, but that too is limited since we realize that much more exists.

Each item is numbered. Here is how to interpret the different parts of that number, thus: No. 194.1/1 tells us that the slot in the Archives dedicated to Iconography is number 194; the 1 after the dot tells us that it is part of the promotion fostered by the General Administration (a 2 would indicate that it

was promoted by the Provinces); the number after the slash (/) is normally one of three figures, the first refers to the number of the album and the others to the number of reproductions. You have to bear in mind that one picture may have different interpretations and applications.

## ALBUM No. 1

1. Ravery's original one. See above. (194.1/1)
2. Variations of the previous one. (194.112 and ff)
3. Photographic study done in Lyons by PIERRE-BENITE. Shows slight variations with regard to the previous one. (194.1/114)
4. Photographic study by GERARD LACOTE. (1944.1/115)
5. Photographic study by UNIVERSELLE, Lyons. Shows very few variations with respect to Ravery's. (194.1/121)
6. Photographic study by Marmand, made in Saint-Genis-Laval, Lyons. Variations: the eyes appear more open and concentrated. (194.1/122)
7. Photo-engraving by L.DEMAN. Shows some variations: face more rounded. (194.1/131)
8. The previous one is used with different applications as to size and printing format: a souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of the first promotion (1845-1895), hand-painted and signed by Br Théophane. (194.1/132)
9. With writing on the back as a souvenir to benefactors of the Institute. (194.1/133)
10. Photographic study by H. LE LIEURE, Rome. Printed in format 7 X 11.5 cm, the same model used as a reminder to pray for the benefactors of the Institute. (194.1/141)
11. Variation on the previous ones. (194.1/145)
12. Photographic study by RAPHAEL ROYER and C. CHOL. Done in Saint-Etienne. It is a variation of the RAVERY: the eyes are more open and he is holding a book in his hand. (194.1/151)
13. Photographic study by L. PERRIN, Lyons. With text to promote the work of the Juniorate among benefactors. Some appear to have been signed by Cardinal de Bonal. (194.1/161)
14. Lithograph by SAINT-COME, Lyons. Variations on REVERY with the countenance more rounded. (194.1/171/02)

## ALBUM No. 2

15. Oil painting on canvas 75 X 100 cm by the artist CAPPARONE. Father Champagnat in soutane and cloak is looking at a crucifix which he is holding in his left hand while his left hand is on his breast. In the background, on a table to the left, is a statue of Our Lady, an exercise book and a rosary. The painting was made with a view to the introduction in Rome of the cause of Beatification of Father Marcellin Champagnat. It is based on the RAVERY model with some variations. (194.1/21a)
16. Copy of the previous one, oil painting on a canvas of 75 X 100 cm, name of the painter unknown, perhaps an Australian Brother. (194.1/121a/03 to 194.1/21a/07)
17. Variations of the previous one for different purposes: souvenir of Second Novitiate, prayer to Father Champagnat for vocations. (194.1/21b)
18. The previous one used in printed format as a souvenir of the taking of the habit, 10 X 13 cm. (194.1/21b/02)
19. The previous model put to different uses. (194.1/21b/03 to 194.1/21b/09)
20. Photogravure by BENZIGER, Switzerland, in black and white. (194.1/22a)
21. The BENZIGER model put to different uses: prayers to Father Champagnat for vocations, Father Champagnat's consecration to Our Lady of Fourvière, etc. (194.1/22a/02 to 194.1/22a/12)
22. Variation of the previous one, with a slight correction done to the hair. This is a photographic study. (194.1/23/01)
23. Different uses of model 194.1/23/01): prayers, summary of the life of Father Champagnat, the work of the juniorate, prayers to obtain the canonization of Father Champagnat, etc. (194.1/23/02 to 194.1/23/18)
24. Combination of the previous models slightly touched up. Photographic study by an unknown photographer. There follow different variations applied to different purposes: summary of the life of Father Champagnat, prayers. (194.1/24)
25. Oil painting which is in the Publications Room in the Generalate in Rome. Unfinished. (194.1/25)
26. The previous one put to different uses. Photographic study by LOUIS DEMAY, Lons-le-Saunier (194.1/25/02 and ff)
27. A gouache, 15 X 20 cm related to the previous ones with some variations, for example, the face is more rounded. (194.1/26)

28. The previous painting put to different uses: prayer of Father Champagnat to obtain vocations, prayer to obtain the beatification of Father Champagnat, in different languages. (194.1/26a/02 to 194.1/26a/12)
29. Applications: prayer to obtain the beatification of Father Champagnat, in different languages. (194.1/26b/01,02 and 194.1/26c/01 to 09)
30. Applications: souvenir of Religious Profession. Others follow with similar applications. (194.1/26d/01,02)
31. Champagnat philately, from Brazil. They use the picture from model 194.1/26. (194.1/26k/01)

### ALBUM No 3

32. The spiritual bouquet. Father Champagnat is shown on his knees in front of the statue of Our Lady who is seated, with the Child in her arms. He is offering her a spiritual bouquet expressed as texts on the vows and Marist virtues. In the background is the large church window which frames the whole scene. It is in colour. (194.1/31/01)
33. Different applications of the previous one: Marist Brother's consecration to Our Lady, prayer to ask a favour, souvenir of Silver Jubilee, prayer to obtain the Beatification. All in different languages. (194./31/03 to 194.1/31/13)
34. Variation of the previous one. In place of the window as background there is a niche with a statue of the Sacred Heart. In colour. (194.1/32/01)
35. Applications of the previous one with some variations. Black and white. (194.1/32/02 and ff)
36. Variation of 194.1/31/01. The statue of the Sacred Heart is replaced by a curtain to the right of the background wall. Used for maxims, benefits granted to benefactors of the Institute. (194.1/33/01)
37. Applications of the previous one: Data concerning the Process of Beatification of Father Champagnat. (194.1/34/01)
38. Variation of picture 194.1/31/01, the background window has a floral motif. In colour. The text is in Italian, not in Latin as in the previous ones. (194.1/34/02)
39. Variation of pictures 194.1/31,32,33,34. The positions of Mary and Marcellin are changed as if it was the negative of the previous ones; ambience of a Gothic church. In colour. The numbers following are applications of the same. The artist is CONTI. (194.1/35/01)

40. Watercolour 50 X 35 cm by G. BIZZOTTO. Mary is seated, surrounded by a cloud and with the child on her knee. Marcellin Champagnat is kneeling on the right with hands joined and wearing a surplice and stole. In the background, above the lintel of a door is the legend we saw on the spiritual bouquet. (194.1/36)

#### ALBUM No 4

41. Oil painting on canvas 75 X 100 cm by A.DIES. Marcellin Champagnat is seen surrounded by a group of children with their school satchels etc. in different attitudes. Marcellin is pointing to the picture of Our Lady and is holding a book in his left hand. Behind him are Brothers François, Louis-Marie, Jean-Baptiste and others; further back still is a Brother with a group of children. The scene is a classroom with crucifix, wall-map etc. In colour. (194.1/41)
42. Applications of the previous one: prayer to obtain the Beatification of Father Champagnat, in different languages. (194.1/41a/01 and ff)
43. A gouache on cardboard, 20 X 34 cm, author unknown. Father Champagnat is with a group of children to whom he is showing Our Lady's statue. He is wearing soutane and cloak and holding a book in his left hand. Classroom scene. The room has coloured tiles on the floor. (194.1/42)
44. Applications of the previous one: different prayers relating to Father Champagnat in different languages. Sepia. (194.1/42/01 and ff)
45. Variation of the previous one. Inside a classroom. Sepia. Possibly it is a montage with colours added to the original. (194.1/43)
46. Applications of the previous one: summary of the life of Father Champagnat in different languages. (194.1/43/01 - 04)
47. The same motif as 194.1/41, printed with different contours and applications: souvenir of Second Novitiate, prayers etc. (194.1/44/01)
48. Gouache on cardboard by F.CONTI, 21 X 33 cm. The same scene: Champagnat with a group of children. The legend "Dieu me voit" is framed. (194.1/45)
49. Applications of the previous one: prayer to obtain the Beatification of Father Champagnat. Children's prayer to Blessed Marcellin Champagnat in different languages. (194.1/45/01 and ff)
50. Different applications of the previous one: a young man's prayer to Our Lady; motif prepared for the occasion of the centenary of the death of Father Champagnat. (194.1/46a/02 and ff)

51. Photographic study by TESTA, Turin, Italy. (194.1/46a/05)
52. Oil painting on cardboard, 23 X 33 cm by F.CONTI, 1954. Father Champagnat, wearing a soutane and cloak, is showing a group of children a statue of Our Lady in the background. It is Our Lady of the Hermitage. One of the children is holding up a book on which is written in big letters the Ave Maria, in Latin. It was done in connection with the Beatification of Father Champagnat. (194.1/46k)
53. Same model as the previous one in size and printing. Colour and black and white, with different applications. Publicizing the Beatification, prayer to Blessed Marcellin Champagnat in different languages. (194.1/46k/01 - 06)

### ALBUM No 5

54. Official portrait of the Beatification, by T. RIDOLFI, 1954. Shows a bust painting of Father Champagnat wearing soutane and cloak. His hands are joined over his breast and there is a book lying on a table. Sepia. It appears to be based on Ravery's original as it was altered through the years. The face is rounded, the hair stylized. (194.1/51)
55. The same model printed in black and white; photograph or photographic study. (194.1/51/01)
56. Variations on that of 194.1/51, with or without a relic, plasticized. (194.1/5121/02 to 04)
57. Charcoal drawing by T. RIDOLFI. Possibly from the sketch used for 194.1/51. (194.1/51a)
58. Charcoal drawing, oval, by T. RIDOLFI from the model 194.1/51. (194.1/51b)
59. Applications of the same; prayer to Blessed M. Champagnat in the four official languages of the Institute. The numbers that follow show more applications. (194.1/51/05 to 09)
60. Oil painting on a cardboard plaque, 52 X 62 cm, by M.SANTINI, 1961. Shows a portrait of Father Champagnat. It was done on the occasion of the Beatification and is at present in the gallery of Superiors in the Generalate in Rome. (194.1/52)
61. A photographic study of the previous model by MULDER. Two models with slight variations. Black and white. (194.1/52a/01 and 02)
62. Copy of the previous model done with a pen by an artist in Buenos Aires, Argentina. (194.1/52b)

63. Different artists with different techniques. (194.1/53/01 and ff)
64. Portrait of Father Champagnat by Br J. BOSSAERT, using a special technique. (194.1/54)
65. Variation of the previous one in black and white. (194.1/54/01)

## **ALBUM No 6**

66. Paintings done by F. CONTI for an illustrated life of Father Champagnat. Most important moments. In colour and in black and white. The original is in the corridor of the big stairway in the Generalate in Rome. (194.1/61/01)
  - The flame over Marcellin's cradle. 194.1/61/01
  - Catechism lesson with the apple. 194.1/61/03a
  - The Founders of the Society of Mary. 194.1/61/04
  - Marcellin, the curate, arriving at La Valla. 194.1/61/07
  - Catechism lesson in La Valla. 194.1/61/08a,b,c
  - The "Memorare" in the snow. 194.1/61/10
  - The first missionaries in Oceania. 194.1/61/11
  - Mass in the chapel in the wood. 194.1/61/
  - Champagnat in class with a Brother. 194.1/61/17
  - The Beatification of M. Champagnat. 194.1/61/19

I end this presentation of the iconographic material in our Archives claiming only to have offered offered some information on this topic. How I would like it to be a useful contribution towards a better knowledge of our Blessed Founder.

At the same time, I would like to take this occasion to thank certain Provinces which answered my request last year by sending me some iconographic material, some of it high quality too. Thank you.

Br Fernando Hinojal

## CHAMPAGNAT ARCHIVES

Details of documents concerning M. Champagnat which we have in our Archives.

***The dates are always given as follows: Year Month Day***

Abbreviations: AN = National Archives of Paris ; Br.L. = rough copy of a letter; Ch. = Champagnat ; fin. ac. = financial account ; Fç. = Frère François ; Phc. = photocopy ; Phg. = photograph ; Br = Brother ; Bros = Brothers

### ***110 - Letters sent***

#### **111 - Letters to the Brothers**

- 111.01 - 1823.12.01 L.to Br Jean-Marie, S.Symphorien s/ Coise
- 111.02 - 1830.01.21 L.to Br Barthélemy, Ampuis
- 111.03 - 1830.08.05 L.to Br Antoine and confrères, Millery
- 111.04 - 1830.09.10 L.to Br Antoine, Millery
- 111.05 - 1831.01.03 L.to Br Barthélemy, Ampuis
- 111.06 - 1831.02.04 L.to Bros Antoine and Gonzague, Millery
- 111.07 - 1831.11.01 L.to Br Barthélemy, S.Symphorien d'Ozon
- 111.08 - 1839.03.10 L.to Br Avit, Pélussin
- 111.09 - 1833.11.03 L.to Br Alphonse, Mornant
- 111.10 - 1833.11.10 L.to Br Antoine, Millery
- 111.11 - 1834.06.03 L.to Br Dominique, Charlieu
- 111.12 - 1834.11.04 L.to Br Antoine, Millery

- 111.13 - 1834.11.23 L.to Br Dominique, Charlieu  
 111.14 - 1835.01.09 L.to Br Antoine, Millery  
 111.15 - 1835.07.12 L.to Br Théophile, Marlhes  
 111.16 - 1835.08.24 Circ. convocation to the retreat  
 111.17 - 1836.01.19 Circ. New Year good wishes  
 111.18 - 1836.08.28 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage, arrival in Paris  
 111.19 - 1836.12.21 L.to Br Antoine, Millery  
 111.20 - 1837.01.01 Circ. New Year good wishes  
 111.21 - 1837.01... Circ. dispatch of the Rule  
 111.22 - 1837.03.19 L.to Br Euthyme, Ampuis  
 111.23 - 1837.07.05 L.to Br Denis, S. Didier-sous-Rochefort  
 111.24 - 1837.08.04 L.to Br Apollinaire, S. Paul-3-Châteaux  
 111.25 - 1837.08.12 Circ. organizing the holidays  
 111.26 - 1837.11.25 L.to Br Sylvestre, La Côte-Saint-André  
 111.27 - 1837.12.12 Circ. letter of Père Servant on his way to Oceania  
 111.28 - 1834.01... L.to Br Antoine, Millery - authoriz. journey Br Théophile  
 111.29 - 1838.01.05 L.to Br Denis, S. Didier-sous-Rochefort  
 111.30 - 1838.01.10 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.31 - 1838.01.25 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.32 - 1838.02.04 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.33 - 1838.02.24 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.34 - 1838.03.07 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.35 - 1838.03.12 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.36 - 1838.03.13 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.37 - 1838.03.15 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.38 - 1838.03.18 L.to Br Hilarion, Boulieu  
 111.39 - 1838.03.22 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.40 - 1838.03.24 L.to Br Antoine, Millery  
 111.41 - 1838.04.12 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.42 - 1838.05.20 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.43 - 1838.06.07 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.44 - 1838.06.20 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.45 - 1838.06.23 L.to Br François, N.-D. de l'Hermitage  
 111.46 - 1838.08.12 L.to Br Victor, Viriville  
 111.47 - 1838.08.12 L.to Br Théodoret, Ampuis  
 111.48 - 1838.08.21 Circ. giving the date of the holidays  
 111.49 - 1838.12.05 L. to a Brother summoning him back from his family  
 111.50 - 1838.12.10 L.to Br Denis, Boulieu  
 111.51 - 1838.12.28 L.to Br Dominique, Charlieu  
 111.52 - 1839.01.13 Circ. thanks for favours, Br Pacôme  
 111.53 - 1839.02.14 L.to Br Dominique, Charlieu  
 111.54 - 1839.02.23 L.to Br Basin, St.-Paul-en-Jarret

- 111.55 - 1839.03.23 L.to Br Anaclet, St.-Didier s/ Rochefort
- 111.56 - 1839.07.20 L. to a young Brother to help him in difficulties
- 111.57 - 1840.01.10 Circ. organization of the "Conférences"
- 111.58 - 1840.02.04 Circ. death of Br Pascal, report date of "Conférences"
- 111.59 - 1840.03.14 Circ. death of Br Jean-Pierre

### **112 - Letters to M. Mazelier, at St.-Paul-Trois-Châteaux**

- 112.01 - 1836.05.08 Sending 4 Brothers : Union of two Institutes
- 112.02 - 1836.07... New proposal for a union
- 112.03 - 1836.11.04 Invitation to make a visit ; union ; gratitude
- 112.04 - 1837.02.23 Reply to two letters ; dismissal of Brothers : gratitude
- 112.05 - 1837.04.24 Brothers recommended : gratitude : news
- 112.06 - 1837.07.26 Frustrating journey : results of the draw (lots)
- 112.07 - 1837.08.06 Directives on the subject of Bros. confided to his care
- 112.08 - 1837.09.28 Reply : thanks : project of union
- 112.09 - 1837.12.13 Sending a new contingent : legal authorization
- 112.10 - 1838.07.16 Information about an ex-Brother ; various news items
- 112.11 - 1838.08.08 Announcing the arrival of 2 Bros. : thanks : news
- 112.12 - 1839.07.21 Announcing the arrival of Br. Raphaël ; thanks
- 112.13 - 1839.10.06 Bros Apollinaire and Gerasime ; news
- 112.14 - 1835.06... Brothers' commitments : desire for a meeting: thanks
- 112.15 - 1839.10.20 Sending Br Gerasine : situation of Br Apollinaire : thanks

### **113 - Letters to different people**

- 113.01 - 1829.04.11 L.to M. Desroutours of Chaulieu, Préfet, Montbrison
- 113.02 - 1831.08.29 L.to M. Labrosse Pierre, Ranchal
- 113.03 - 1835.01.22 L. to a parish priest asking for Brothers
- 113.04 - 1834.01.28 L. au Roi Louis-Philippe, Paris ; request authorization
- 113.05 - 1834.09.08 L.to M. Cholleton Jean, Vicar General, Lyons
- 113.06 - 1835.03.29 L. au R.P. Colin Jean-Claude , Belley
- 113.07 - 1835.05.03 L.to M. Lacheze Désiré, deputy of la Loire
- 113.08 - 1836.10... L.to M. Douillet Ferréol, La Côte-Saint-André
- 113.09 - 1836.09.28 Invitation for the blessing of the new chapel
- 113.10 - 1837.08.05 L.to M. Cholleton Jean, Vicar General, Lyons
- 113.11 - 1837.11.22 L.to Mgr. De Pins Gaston, Lyon
- 113.12 - 1838.03.16 L.to Mme. Champagnat Clermondon, Sis.-in-law, Marthes
- 113.13 - 1838.05.27 L.to Mgr. Pompallier Jean-Baptiste, Océanie
- 113.14 - 1838.07.25 L.to M. Cholleton Jean, Vicar General, Lyons
- 113.15 - 1840.02.22 L.to M. Pradier, Le Puy
- 113.16 - 1840.03.02 L.to M. Pradier, Le Puy
- 113.17 - 1834.02... L.to M. Rossary Jean-Baptiste, St. Paul-en-Jarret
- 113.18 - 1838.05... BL.to MM. the Administrators of hospices, Saint-Etienne

- 113.19 - 1837.11... L.to Jayr Hippolyte, Préfet de la Loire, Montbrison
- 113.20 - 1837.11... L. to government official: exemption military service
- 113.21 - 1837.11... L. to gov. official (M. Levet H. secret. of préfecture)
- 113.22 - 1833.07... L.to Mgr. Devie Alexandre, bishop of Belley
- 113.23 - 1832.08... L.to Mère Saint-Joseph, Belley -copy of APM fonds Champ.
- 113.24 - 1838.02.03 L.to Mgr Archbishop of Lyons-copy of AAI., dossier FM
- 113.25 - 1838.02.20 L.to M. Salvandy, Minister, Paris -copy AN. Br17 12476
- 113.26 - 1838.04.11 L.to M. Salvandy, Minister, Paris - copy AN.
- 113.27 - 1838.04.21 L.to M. Salvandy, Minister, Paris - copy AN.
- 113.28 - 1835.04.30 L.to M. Ardaillon Jacques-Marie, député, Paris - copy AN
- 113.29 - 1839.10.19 L.to M. Dugas Victor, Saint-Chamond - copy arch.  
family

*120 - Correspondence received*

**121 - Letters from Brothers**

- 121.01 - 1831.01.12 L. fr Br Etienne, Bourg-Argental
- 121.02 - 1833.05.03 L. fr Br Louis-Marie, Lyon
- 121.03 - 1836.01.10 L. fr Br Maurice, Bourg-Argental
- 121.04 - 1836.08.11 L. fr Br Jean-Pierre, Ampuis
- 121.05 - 1836.12.29 L. fr Br Louis-Marie, La Côte-Saint-André
- 121.06 - 1837.02.11 L. fr Br Louis-Marie, La Côte-Saint-André
- 121.07 - 1837.05.26 L. fr Br De la Croix, Semur-en-Brionnais
- 121.08 - 1839.12.14 L. fr Br Paul, Genas
- 121.09 - 1838.04.25 L. fr Br Pierre-Marie, Saint-Genest-Malifaux
- 121.10 - 1838.11.23 L. fr Br Louis-Marie, La Côte-Saint-André
- 121.11 - ..... Petition of 6 Brothers
- 121.12 - 1840.03.16 L. fr Br Barthélemy, Saint-Symphorien-d'Ozon

**122 - Letters from Jean-Claude Colin**

- 122.01 - 1826.12.05 union ; prosperity ; happily finished with Courveille
- 122.02 - 1828.04.07 invitation to go to Belley ; thanks
- 122.03 - 1828.05.22 expecting his visit ; meeting with Mgr. ; Terrailon
- 122.04 - 1830.02.13 Mgr. thinks: obtain authorization under approved statutes
- 122.05 - 1830.10.22 feelings after election : advice ; approv. La Côte
- 122.06 - 1831.11.07 value of contradictions ; Valbenoîte affair
- 122.07 - 1831.12.31 request elect sup. of Lyons group, procedure to follow
- 122.08 - 1832.02.03 election of superior adjourned ; FM et FSJ
- 122.09 - 1832.04.08 agreement with Cattet for Valbenoîte ; FSJ.to Belley
- 122.10 - 1833.06.24 Mgr. Devie asks for 2 Bros. ; send project for Rule
- 122.11 - 1834.09.04 spirit of faith and abnegation ; FSJ ; Third Order

- 122.12 - 1835.01.07 news ; directives for the FSJ at l'Hermitage  
 122.13 - 1835.01.17 FSJ: habit ; formation ; novitiate at Grange-Payre  
 122.14 - 1835.10.03 (L. addressed not to Champ. but to a FSJ novice at l'H.)  
 122.15 - 1836.04.11 approval of Fathers by Rome ; Rule ; announces visit  
 122.16 - 1836.06.24 election Sup. Gen.; L. from Mazelier ; novitiate of PP.  
 122.17 - 1837.03.01 be patient with Douillet ; break would be disastrous  
 122.18 - 1837.03.15 a) L. fr M. Séon: receive his old father among old men  
                   b) L. fr Colin: M. Depéry going to Paris, give inform.  
 122.19 - 1837.06.22 asks for news ; recommendation ; watch over health  
 122.20 - 1837.08.09 give more attent. to spirit. than temp. ; date retreat  
 122.21 - 1837.10.12 result of interview with Douillet ; requ. for Bros.  
 122.22 - 1837.10.19 requ. Bros. for Belley ; recommendations ; appointments  
 122.23 - 1837.10.27 quality of the Br. asked for ; personal observations  
 122.24 - 1838.01.10 request for prayers for the choice of missionaries  
 122.25 - 1838.07.14 directives concerning certain Brothers  
 122.26 - 1840.02.29 property of St.-Didier-sur-Chalaronne ; FM. et FSJ.  
 122.27 - 1840.04.24 how is the health? ; arrangements should he die  
 122.28 - . . . .03.01 Br Paulin ; P. Besson ; contract of the Society  
 122.29 - 1836.11.16 blessing of house in Lyons ; act of the Society  
 122.30 - 1839.02.22 rebuke for not having sent Bros to Verdelaix

### 123 - Letters from M. Courveille

- 123.01 - 1826.01.03 L. to Bros asking prayers for cure of M. Champagnat  
 123.02 - 1826.06.04 impressions of la Trappe ; do they want him back in L'II.?  
 123.03 - 1826.09.29 rendez-vous to settle temporal matters

### 124 - Letters from M. Cattet, Vicar General, Lyons

- 124.01 - 1827.12.10 authoriz. granted ; relics ; plen. indulg. ; Charlieu  
 124.02 - 1829.09.12 authoriz. granted, restriction for Pompallier  
 124.03 - 1829.09.31 communic. decision of Council, further expl. re Charlieu  
 124.04 - 1830.02.18 repeat request for legal authorization : model schools  
 124.05 - 1830.02.25 Mgr. looks after legal author. ; send help to Rouchon  
 124.06 - 1830.03.30 Rouchon ; powers granted ; Brothers for Vienne  
 124.07 - 1830.05.24 congrats. ; encouragement ; the edict is ready  
 124.08 - 1830.12.18 nomination as Superior of the Society of Mary  
 124.09 - 1831.09.16 nominations of Fontbonne, Bourdin, Chanut  
 124.10 - 1832.11.30 send dossier to Mgr. in Paris ; ruses of the University  
 124.11 - 1832.12.05 make use of the Royal Ord. of the Clercs de St. Viateur  
 124.12 - 1832.12.06 cancellation of preceding letter : do not see M. Querbes  
 124.13 - 1837.05.07 pressing request for foundation at Perreux  
 124.14 - 1827.08.27 P.P. of Argentière asks for Bros.;change Dir. of Neuville

### **125 - Letters from M. Mazelier**

- 125.01 - 1835.05.26 B.of L.delighted by the project of union ; accepts Bros.
- 125.02 - 1835.06.14 the 4 Bros. have arrived; send your project for union
- 125.03 - 1837.09.20 send copy of minister's L. - text of that letter
- 125.04 - 1838.04.03 return from Paris ; good news? ; Br. Mourgue dismissed

### **126 - Letters from M. Pompallier**

- 126.01 - 1832.05.02 grief at death Br Anselme; news of mission at Beaujolais
- 126.02 - 1833.02.14 arrangem. with Décours ; private petition ; M. Forest
- 126.03 - 1833.08.18 various news items ; expecting to go to Lyons
- 126.04 - 1834.04.25 riots in Lyons, all safe, give thanks ; Mornant law
- 126.05 - 1835.11.13 Oceania mission project ; Pompallier volunteers
- 126.06 - 1835.12.29 New Year wishes ; confessor for Bros. ; offers a remedy
- 126.07 - 1836.02.17 Roman approval in sight ; preparations for mission
- 126.08 - 1836.06.10 news of stay in Rome ; recommendations
- 126.09 - 1836.10.09 preparations for departure; confides affairs to Champ.
- 126.10 - 1836.12.10 from le Havre ; efforts in Paris for authoriz. ; Farewell

### **127 - Letters from M. Douillet**

- 127.01 - 1834.07.17 News of Bros. at La Côte ; Bros. promised for diocese
- 127.02 - 1834.09.14 pressing requ. send Bros. Sassenage ; news from La C.
- 127.03 - 1835.05.23 requ. for novitiate at La C. ; estimates for this
- 127.04 - 1835.06.04 new entreaties to send Bros to dioc. of Grenoble
- 127.05 - 1835.06.14 solemn declaration of fidelity to commitments
- 127.06 - 1836.02.03 request for Bros for a novitiate
- 127.07 - 1836.02.04 sending poor novices ; gives up idea of nov. at La Côte
- 127.08 - 1837.04.23 relations with Marist Fathers ; news of the school

### **128 - Letters from Bishops**

- 128.01 - 1837.01.07 L. fr Mgr. Devie, Belley: novitiate of St Didier
- 128.02 - 1837.02.07 L. fr Mgr. Devie, Belley: legal auth. house St Didier
- 128.03 - 1833.05.21 L. fr Mgr. Troussset d'Héricourt B., Autun
- 128.04 - 1837.10.11 L. fr Mgr. Devie A., Belley: Bros for Thoissey and Nantua
- 128.05 - 1837.11.13 L. fr Mgr. Bonnel, Viviers: authorizes Bros for La Voulte
- 128.06 - 1838.04.21 L. fr Mgr. De Bonald L., Le Puy: Bros for Craponne
- 128.07 - 1838.05.22 L. fr Mgr. De Bonald L., Le Puy: Craponne before l'ence
- 128.08 - 1838.07.28 L. fr Mgr. De Bruillard, Grenoble: Bros for S. Lattier
- 128.09 - 1838.09.02 L. fr Mgr. De Bruillard, Grenoble: order of preference
- 128.10 - 1839.01.04 L. fr Mgr. Devie A., Belley: present statutes of LaMenais
- 128.11 - 1840.05.24 L. fr Mgr. Troussset d'Héricourt B., Autun: Vauban
- 128.12 - 1840.02.21 L. fr Mgr. Latour d'Auvergne, Arras: asks for documents
- 128.13 - 1840.06.04 L. fr Mgr. Troussset d'Héricourt B., Autun: Bros for Digoin

- 128.14 - 1838.08.29 L. fr Mgr. Devie A., Belley: author. imminent ; S.Didier  
 128.15 - 1832.12.06 Copie of L. fr Mgr. De Pins G.: author. ; sign statutes

### 129 - Letters from various people

- 129.01 - 1823.09.15 L. fr M. Clérimbert, mayor of St. Symphorien-le-Château  
 129.02 - 1828.08.25 L. fr a secretary of the prefecture of la Loire  
 129.03 - 1828.09.01 L. fr M. Tripier, Neuville  
 129.04 - . . . . . L. fr M. Bourdin, SM.: kept by M. Cattet, V.G.  
 129.05 - 1833.01.24 L. fr M. Chanut, SM, proposes his little nephew for l'H.  
 129.06 - 1833.05.10 L. fr M. Verdier, P.P. of Bourg-Argental  
 129.07 - 1833.10.06 L. fr M. Artru, P.P. of Péaugres  
 129.08 - 1834.07.11 L. fr M. Gillibert, P.P. of St.-Genest-Malifaux  
 129.09 - 1834.07.17 L. fr M. Gérin, P.P. of St.-Symphorien-d'Ozon  
 129.10 - 1835.03.11 L. fr M. Rossat P.P. of Saint-Jean de Lyon  
 129.11 - 1835.06.09 L. fr M. Roche, P.P. of St.-Didier s/ Rochefort  
 129.12 - 1835.06.26 L. fr M. Menaide , P.P. of Saint-Nizier, Lyon  
 129.13 - 1835.09.02 L. fr M. Vial, P.P. of Pélussin  
 129.14 - 1835.09.07 L. fr M. Quantin, mayor of Genas  
 129.15 - 1835.09.07 L. fr M. Artru, P.P. of Péaugres  
 129.16 - 1835.02.27 L. fr Br Paul of St.-Paul-Trois-Châteaux  
 129.17 - 1835.10.05 L. fr M. Dorielle, mayor of Pélussin  
 129.18 - . . . . . 09.07 L. fr M. Koenig, P.P. of Genas  
 129.19 - 1836.01.18 L. fr M. Cholleton, Vicar General, Lyons  
 129.20 - 1836.01.23 L. fr M. Delorme, curate of Mornant  
 129.21 - 1836.07.12 L. fr M. Béraud, curate of Semur-en-Brionnais  
 129.22 - 1836.07.20 L. fr M. Forest, SM. Sup. of La Favorite, Lyons  
 129.23 - 1836.08.26 L. fr M. Balmon, P.P. of St.-Martin-la-Plaine  
 129.24 - 1836.11.04 L. fr M. Madinier, P.P. of St.-Didier-sur-Chalaronne  
 129.25 - 1836.12.03 L. fr M. Madinier, P.P. of St.-Didier-sur-Chalaronne  
 129.26 - 1836.12.22 L. fr M. Preynat, mayor of Sorbiers  
 129.27 - 1837.02.20 L. fr Mme Vve Ranvier, née Saunier, Lyons  
 129.28 - . . . . . L. fr M. Page, P.P. of Digoïn  
 129.29 - 1837.03.10 L. fr R.P. Rigaud, SJ. La Louvesc  
 129.30 - 1837.04.05 L. fr M. Quantin, mayor of Genas  
 129.31 - 1837.04.26 L. fr M. Moine, P.P. of Perreux  
 129.32 - 1837.07.06 L. fr M. Dumas, P.P. of Usson-en-Forez  
 129.33 - 1837.08.19 L. fr M. Fontbonne, SM., Saint-Louis, USA  
 129.34 - . . . . . L. fr M. Moine, P.P. of Perreux  
 129.35 - 1837.09.11 L. fr M. fr la Rochette, (for the parish of Lapalud)  
 129.36 - 1837.09.11 L. fr Mme Vve Ranvier, née Saunier, Lyon  
 129.37 - 1837.10.10 L. fr M. Béraud, curate Semur-en-Brionnais  
 129.38 - 1837.10.12 L. fr M. Bois, P.P. archpriest of St.-Symphorien-d'Ozon

- 129.39 - 1837.10.23 L. fr M. Michaud, P.P. of Thoissey
- 129.40 - 1837.11.02 L. fr M. Cadillon, mayor of St.-Didier-sous-Rochefort
- 129.41 - 1837.11.06 L. du R.P. Rigaud, SJ., La Louvesc
- 129.42 - 1837.11.10 L. fr M. Tripier, Curis-au-Mont-d'Or
- 129.43 - 1837.11.14 L. fr M. Lafay, P.P. of Firminy
- 129.44 - 1837.11.17 L. fr M. Génissieu, son, managing agent, Terre-Noire
- 129.45 - 1837.11.18 L. fr M. Quantin, mayor of Genas
- 129.46 - 1837.11.29 L. fr M. Génissieu, son, managing agent, Terre-Noire
- 129.47 - 1837.12.05 L. fr M. Moine, P.P. of Perreux
- 129.48 - 1838.01.09 L. fr M. Millerand, P.P. of Semur-en-Brionnais
- 129.49 - 1838.03.09 L. fr M. Millerand, P.P. of Semur-en-Brionnais
- 129.50 - 1838.04.18 L. fr M. Debelay, P.P. of Nantua
- 129.51 - 1838.06.20 L. fr Br Anaclel, Superior General, FEC.
- 129.52 - 1838.07.03 L. fr M. Hector, curate, Saint-Lattier
- 129.53 - 1838.09.04 L. fr M. Libersat, official, Paris
- 129.54 - 1838.10.27 L. fr M. Dorzat, P.P. of Roches-fr -Condrieu
- 129.55 - 1838.10.01 L. fr M. Vallas, mayor of Péaугres
- 129.56 - 1838.10.25 L. fr M. Cussier, P.P. of Viriville
- 129.57 - 1838.10.25 L. fr M. Chanut, SM. Verdélais
- 129.58 - 1838.10.25 L. fr M. Lafay, P.P. of Firminy
- 129.59 - 1838.10.31 L. fr M. Dorzat, P.P. of Roches-de -Condrieu ;  
L. joint: M. Chatales, deputy inspector, Vienne
- 129.60 - 1838.12.23 L. fr M. Bertholey, mayor of Mornant
- 129.61 - 1838.12. . . L. fr M. Dorzat, P.P. of Roches-de -Condrieu
- 129.62 - 1839.01.05 L. fr M. Hector, curate, Saint-Lattier
- 129.63 - 1839.01.15 L. fr M. Deputy Prefect of Vienne, Isère
- 129.64 - 1839.02.01 L. fr M. Dorzat, P.P. of Roches-de-Condrieu
- 129.65 - 1839.03.06 L. fr M. Chanut, SM., Verdélais
- 129.66 - 1839.05.09 L. fr M. Sallanon, P.P. of Craponne
- 129.67 - 1839.05.31 L. fr M. Hector, curate, Saint-Lattier
- 129.68 - 1839.10.06 L. fr M. Revol, P.P. of Bougé-Chambalud
- 129.69 - 1839.10.09 L. fr M. Balmon, P.P. of Saint-Martin-la-Plaine
- 129.70 - 1839.11.05 L. fr M. Gaucher, P.P. of Chavanay
- 129.71 - 1839.11.11 Deliberation of Municipal Council of Craponne
- 129.72 - 1839.11.27 L. fr M. Gaucher, P.P. of Chavanay
- 129.73 - 1839.12.09 L. fr M. Revol, P.P. of Bougé-Chambalud
- 129.74 - 1839.12.12 L. fr M. Hector, curate of Saint-Lattier
- 129.75 - 1839.12.22 L. fr M. Revol, P.P. of Bougé-Chambalud
- 129.76 - 1839.12.27 L. fr M. Maniouloux, P.P. of Le Cheylard
- 129.77 - 1840.01.05 L. fr M. Artru, P.P. of Péaугres
- 129.78 - 1840.04.22 L. fr M. Debelay, P.P. of Nantua
- 129.79 - 1840.05.11 L. fr M. Page, P.P. of Digoin

- 129.80 - 1840.05.23 L. fr M. Page, P.P. of Digoïn
- 129.81 - 1840.06.10 L. fr M. Page, P.P. of Digoïn
- 129.82 - 1840.06.15 L. fr M. Fustier, P.P. of Saint-Félicien
- 129.83 - 1828.11.06 L. fr M. Rouchon, P.P. of Valbenoite
- 129.84 - 1839.12.30 L. fr Dufour, assistant mayor of Valbenoite
- 129.85 - 1836.10.16 L. fr M. Mondelert, Lyon
- 129.86 - 1836.12.24 L. fr M. Mondelert, Lyon
- 129.87 - 1837.10.20 L. fr M. Chaumont, P.P. of Anse

**130 - Different writings of Father Champagnat**

- 131.01 - 1812.01.19 Resolutions
- 131.02 - 1815.05.03 Resolutions
- 131.03 - . . . . . Rule for holidays
- 131.04 - 1821. . . . . Rule of life
- 131.05 - 1820.10.12 Resolutions
  
- 132.01 - Notebook with attempts at Rule and rough copies of letters
- 132.0101 - Translation of Rule of the Society of Jesus, chap. 1-4 (15 pages)
- 132.0102 - Statutes of the Brothers of Mary, attempts; remarks (6 pages)
- 132.0103 - Br.L.to M. Caumette, P.P. of Mèze
- 132.0104 - Br.L.to M. Douillet
- 132.0105 - List of 11 Br "to be pulled out during summer" - so, conscription
- 132.0106 - Br.L.to M. P.P. of Viriville
- 132.0107 - Br.L. to P.P. of Chavanay, 1834 avril
- 132.0108 - Br.L.to M. Ardaillon, député, 14 avril 1834
- 132.0109 - Br.L. to Br Cassien
- 132.0110 - Questions before taking habit
- 132.0111 - Request to M. le Préfet by M. Ardaillon (2 attempts)
- 132.0112 - Br.L. Reply to M. Frain, Vic. Gen. and Sup. of Seminary
- 132.0113 - Br.L.to Mayor of Sorbiers
- 132.0114 - Br.L. Vic. Gen. (3 pages) - (cf. L.C. vol.1, doc.44, p.118)
- 132.0115 - Br.L. Vicar General - (cf. L.C. vol.1, doc.45, p.120)
- 132.0116 - Br.L. P.P. of Neuville
- 132.0117 - Br.L. Monsieur le Préfet
- 132.0118 - Br.L. M. le Préfet (about Br Sebastien Bursar at Ampuis)
- 132.0119 - Br.L.to Queen Marie-Amélie (3 pages)
- 132.0120 - 3 trials at letter to the King (cf. L.C. vol.1, doc.68, p.167)
- 132.10 - Hermitage account book for expenditure from 1826 to 1841 each page numbered from 132.1001 to 132.1172, only for expenditure
- 132.1173 - Br.L.to Monsieur Arquillière (L.64)

- 132.1175 - Br.L.to M. Arquillère (id)
- 132.1176 - Br.L.to Monseigneur De Pins (L.56)
- 132.1177 - Br.L.to the Mayor of Saint-Symphorien, L.22b
- 132.1178 - List of postings, 21 houses
- 132.1179 - List of 24 Brothers (Bros. Louis and Laurent are not on it)
- 132.1180 - Bill of carpenter Arnaud and others
- 132.1181 - Gifts received and expenditure on food
- 132.1182 - Br.L. to the Mayor of Feurs (L.21)
- 132.1183 - Conditions for dispensation from military service
- 132.1184 - Various bills
- 132.1185 - -id-
- 132.1186 - -id-
- 132.1187 - Br.L.to the Mayor of Saint-Symphorien, L.22a
- 132.1188 - 7 August 1826, Statement of what we owe
- 132.1189 - Account of what is owed to me or my other means
- 132.1190 - List of names of persons and places followed by a figure
- 132.1191 - Patouillard's bill

- 132.20 - Account book for produce and money received
- 132.2001 - 2005 - 5 pages of receipts, two written by M. Courveille
- 132.2006 - Br.L.to a neighbour (L.18)
- 132.2007 - 2009 - Br. of part of set of rules
- 132.2010 - The ten commandments for the Brothers of Mary
- 132.2011 - Br. of the Rule: Chapter 17
- 132.2012 - Outline of the Rule: Chapter 3: Exercises of piety
- 132.2013 - -id- : Ch. 4: Mortification and humiliations
- 132.2014 - -id- : the Brothers at recreation
- 132.2015 - -id- : Chapter 6: with outsiders
- 132.2016 - 2104 - Receipts for the Hermitage
- 132.2105 - List of people who owe money
- 132.2106 - 2108 - List of Brothers who still owe
- 132.2109 - Br.L.to M. Courveille (L.2)
- 132.2110 - Br.L.to Monsieur le Supérieur (Gardette) (L.3)
- 132.2111 - Br.L.to the Senior Vicar(L.4)
- 132.2112 - Br.L.to P.P. of Neuville (L.5)
- 132.2113 - Br.L.to Monseigneur (De Pins) (L.6)
- 132.2114 - Br.L.to M. Barou, V.G. (L.7)
- 132.2115 - Br.L.to the Mayor of Bourg-Argental (L.8)
- 132.2116 - Br.L.to Parish Priests of Annecy, Savoie (L.9)
- 132.2117 - Br.L.to M. Cattet, V. G. 18. October 1828 (L.11)
- 132.2118 - List of names of Brothers
- 132.2119 - Br.L.to M. Preynat, Mayor of (L.73B et A)

- 132.2120 - Amounts due by different establishments  
 132.2121 - Br.L.to P.P. of Charlieu (L.13B)  
 132.2122 - Br.L.to P.P. of Charlieu (L.13A)
- 132.300 - Rough notebook used as much by his successors as by Champagnat himself. Different texts overlap each other.
- 132.3001 - Ch.: Financial account Br Augustin ; Br George ; Monier  
 132.3002 - Fç.: Certificate of good conduct to François Bonin  
 132.3003 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Aubert, Cl.de St-Pal;Aubert P.de Boisset; Bonnefoix  
 132.3004 - Fç.: Br.L.to an ex-Br claiming his tools etc.  
 132.3005 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Civier Br; Cossange M.; Dantogne J.; Fleury J.  
 132.3006 - Fç.: Br.L.to the brother of a Brother who is seriously ill  
 132.3007 - Ch.: Fin.ac.Furet J.-B.and J.;Girard J.;Gratallon A.;Marconnet M.  
 132.3008 - Fç.: Br.L. about Br Berard, seriously ill  
 132.3009 - Ch.: Fin. ac.Monier A.;Bruet J.;Ponset G.; Verot re J-P.;Vassal A.  
 132.3010 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Verot B.; Payre J-M.  
 132.3011 - Ch.: merchandise received  
 132.3012 - Ch.: order for enrolment in the 8 establishments to be founded.  
 132.3013 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Pinçonet J.; Bolant A.  
 132.3014 - receipt signed Rand ;  
 132.3015 - lists of names  
 132.3016 - Ch.: Br.L.to the Vicar General (L.30)  
 132.3017 - Ch.: receipt for the year 1822  
 132.3018 - Ch.: purchase of materials  
 132.3019 - (?): Br.L. reply to a request for Brothers for (Vaison?)  
 132.3020 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Saby M.; Dion P.; Exquis B.;  
 132?3021 - Ch.; Fin. ac. Villelonge J.; Roche B-Cl. pension  
 132.3022 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Dion Pierre  
 132.3023 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Poinard Cl.; Sabot P.; Robert P.; Ruard J.Cl.  
 132.3024 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Fournéron P.; Brunon J-B.; Joseph ; Nolin  
 132.3025 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Fara J.; Pause J-L.  
 132.3026 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Praire J.; Rivat J-L.;  
 132.3027 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Dumas Etienne Basset  
 132.3028 - Ch.: Fin. ac. P.P. of Boulieu;Despinasse A.; P.P. of Tarentaise  
 132?3029 - Ch.: Fin. ac. factory ; Dard ; Séjoubard ; Extier Cl.;Duranton G.  
 132.3030 - Fç.: Note of what changing the river would cost  
 132.3031 - Fç.: List of names of people  
 132.3032 - Fç.: Br.L. asking for money from a Br Director  
 132.3033 - Fç.: Br.L. to M. Ant. Didier, asking for payment of arrears  
 132.3034 - Ch.: Fin. ac. nephew of Br Stanislas ; Souchon P.  
 132.3035 - Fç.: Br.L. asking money for the novitiate at Champignat  
 132.3036 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Couturier J.; Couturier J-J. apprentice carpenter

- 132.3037 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Vialaron A. ; Fç. daily exercises
- 132.3038 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Souchon P.; Mercier J-M.
- 132.3039 - Fç. Br.L. re asking Souvignet for money for Champignat
- 132.3040 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Salanon Mat.14 Oct.1824; Saive et Robert; Monier Ant.
- 132.3041 - Fç.: opening lines of conference on love
- 132.3042 - Fç.: Conference on prayer, on 9 pages, empty spaces left
- 132.3043 - Ch.: opening lines of a welcoming address to Monseigneur
- 132.3044 - Ch.: order for establishments at : Chavanay, Cerdon, Bessamorel
- 132.3045 - Ch.: Br.L.to Mademoiselle (Fournas) (L.27)
- 132.3046 - Ch.: Fin. ac. Saive ; Monteiller ; structure of council délibératif
- 132.3047 - (?) : Fin. ac. of Vialleton from 1834 to 1841
- 132.3048 - (?) : list of novices who still owe money
- 132.3049 - (?) : distribution of the Brothers by dormitories
- 132.3050 - Fç.: Br.L.to the P.P. of Conliège Jura, Apr 1844 (cf RCLA,1, p 550)
- 132.3051 - (?) : accounts, 6 pages
- 132.3052 - Ch.: Br.L.to Monsieur Ardaillon (L.50)
- 132.3053 - Fç.: Br.L. about installing a press
- 132.3054 - Ch.: List of the Brothers
- 132.3955 - Fç.: Br.L. to the parents of a Brother to ask for arrears
- 132.3056 - Ch.: Fin. ac. for month of December 1823
- 132.3057 - Ch.: Fin. ac. for January, February, March, 1824
- 132.3058 - Ch.: kind of table for subjects in alphabetical order
- 132.3059 - Fç.: Br.L. to the P.P. of Cublize about Chavany Cl-M.
- 132.3060 - Fç.: Br.L. model of a young religious to urge him to follow him
- 132.3061 - Fç.: -id-

- 132.40 - Notebooks ; aide-mémoire, 57 pages
- 132.4001 - Different remarks to be made to the Brothers, p.1-2
- 132.4002 - Order to be followed in the burial of members of the Society
- 132.4003 - Remarks to be made to the Brothers
- 132.4004 - giving their name as a Brother to the postulants, 1835
- 132.4005 - Observations with regard to certain points, pp. 7,8,9
- 132.4006 - Those trying their vocation; those wanting to make vows
- 132.4007 - giving their name as a Brother to the postulants
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- 132.50 - Project on the Rule, 22 pages
- 132.5001 - Introd. and Chap. 1:Aim of the Institute of the Marist Brothers
- 132.5002 - Ch.2: Community spirit which must reign in this Institute
- 132.5003 - Ch.3: On the exercises of piety
- 132.5004 - Ch.4: On mortification
- 132.5005 - Ch.5: How the Brothers should spend recreation time
- 132.5006 - Ch.5(sic): On the union which should reign among the Brothers
- 132.5007 - Ch.6: How Brothers should behave in relations with outsiders
- 132.5008 - Ch.7: How non-teaching Brothers should behave
- 132.5009 - Ch.8: On manual work; How to sanctify it
- 132.5010 - Ch.9: On the daily timetable
- 132.5011 - Ch.10: On Sunday exercises
- 132.5012 - Ch.11: On meals and how they should be taken
- 132.5013 - Ch.12: On the vows (only on conditions of admission)

- 132.60 - Order of the day for the Mother House of the Brothers of Mary
- 132.6001 - Introduction - necessity and advantages of the Rule
- 132.6002 - Daily exercises (Details on how to perform them, on 15 pages)
- 132.6003 - Special timetable for the week (1 page)
- 132.6004 - Notes: recommendations to be made to the Brothers

- 132.61 - Project on the Rule ; programme of instructions ; notes
- 132.6101 - Aide-mémoire for things to be done
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- 132.6103 - Notes for an instruction on obedience
- 132.6104 - Notes of instruction on the examination of conscience
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- 132.6106 - Project on an article of the Rule on vocation
- 132.6107 - (different author): rule for the end of the day (2 pages)
- 132.6108 - Circular to announce date of holidays 12 août 1837 (L.132)
- 132.6109 - (different author): How to practise the Rule (4 pages)
- 132.6110 - (different author): Novitiate timetable
- 132.6111 - Daily exercises

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132.7003 - Extracts from the Imitation of Christ, pp.24-26  
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- 132.80 - Accounts; Fragments of the Rule and regulations  
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- 132.8031 - Copy of a letter about Br Dariès  
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 2.90 - Points for conference  
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- 134.20 - Instr. on the sacr.of penance: 1 contrition, 6 pages
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- 134.31 - Notes for a sermon on the love of God, 3 pages
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- 134.33 - Conference on praying the rosary, 5 pages
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- 135.01 - 1st Comm. picture of Poyeton A.;Order of Corpus Christi procession
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- 135.03 - Handing over the Institute to Colin J.-Cl. superior, 1837.09.18
- 135.04 - List of postings of Brothers, 1839
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- 135.08 - Inventory of objects left in a house

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- 140.01 - Photocopies of birth and baptism entries
- 140.02 - Copy of manuscript on stamped paper of death certificate
- 140.03 - Photocopy of the deaths register:the page concerning Champagnat M.
- 140.04 - Copy of the manuscript of the death and burial
- 140.05 - Removal from electoral and Jurors' list because of his death, 22.08
- 140.06 - Passport for free circulation between St.-Martin-en-C. and Paris 1836
- 140.07 - Passeport for free circulation between St.-Chamond and Paris, 1838
  
- 140.20 - Genealogical table of the Champagnat-Chirat family, typed
- 140.21 - Table of ancestry of Champagnat according to Br Marie-Jubin, typed
- 140.22 - Paternal ancestry of Champagnat M., typed table
- 140.23 - Maternal ancestry of Champagnat M., typed table
- 140.24 - Champagnat-Chirat ancestry, typed table
- 140.25 - Champagnat-Chirat ancestry, typed table. different presentation

- 140.26 - Champagnat-Chirat ancestry, typed table. more brief  
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 140.29 - List of Champagnat children with curriculum vitae, 8 typed pages  
 140.30 - La familia del B. M. Champagnat, typed table. in Spanish  
 140.31 - La familia del B. M. Champagnat, typed manuscript, Br Juan-Maria  
 140.32 - Certificate of resale of National Property by Ch. J-B. 1795.06.26  
 140.33 - Manuscript of minutes of a meeting , signed Champagnat J-Bte  
 140.34 - 2 Phc. of extract of civil status: marriage Champagnat-Chirat  
 140.35 - Phc. of acts of Municipal Council naming Champagnat J-B. clerk
- 141.01 - 1814.01.06 Certificate of reception of tonsure  
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 141.06 - List of 52 priests ordained in Lyons with Champagnat M.  
 141.07 - 1821.03.06 Authorization to bless up to 1000 crosses, rosaries, etc.  
 141.08 - 1821.03.26 Concession to celebrate three Masses a week for the dead  
 141.09 - 1827.07.19 Authorization to celebrate Mass in the diocese  
 141.10 - 1830.10.22 Authoriz. to preach and hear confessions; prorogations  
 141.11 - 1833.09.22 Altar of the chapel in l'Hermitage declared "privileged"  
 141.12 - 1836.06.07 Authorization to bless and indulgence pious objects  
 141.13 - 1836.06.15 Authorization to bless Mount Carmel scapulars  
 141.14 - Phc. Cahier : notes of the seminarists at Verrières  
 141.15 - 1839.11.28 Authorization to confess, preach in diocese of Autun  
 141.16 - 1836.09.24 Phc. of emission of vows of Champagnat M.  
 141.17 - Phc. of 8 pages of the parochial register at Lavalla
- 142.01 - 1824.05.13 Copy of deed of sale of Monteiller land to Champagnat  
 142.02 - 1825.05.25 Receipt by Monteiller to Champagnat-Courveille, 2.000 f.  
 142.03 - 1826.05.05 Receipt by Monteiller to Champagnat-Courveille, 3.000 f.  
 142.04 - 1824.07.03 Deed of sale Thiollière-Laroche to Champagnat-Courveille  
 142.05 - 1824.10.04 Deed of sale of land by Thouilly to Champagnat-Courveille  
 142.06 - 1825.12.13 Acknowledgm. of debt of Champagnat-Courveille to  
 Divonne  
 142.07 - 1826.01.06 Phc. of will of Champagnat M., + negative photo  
 142.08 - 1826.02.14 A Deed of sale of land Bertholon to Champagnat-  
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 142.09 - 1826.05.01 Phc. of settlement of rent with Petitain  
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 142.11 - 1824.10.02 Obligation of Champagnat-Courveille to Bonnard  
 142.12 - 1827.04.17 Release from mortgage by Bonnard to Ch.-Courv. 3.000 f.

- 142.13 - 1833.05.15 Phc. of the will of Mlle Fournas  
142.14 - 1829.08.24 Deed of sale of land Ginot to Champagnat  
142.15 - 1833.09.12 Deed of sale of land Ginot-Ravachol to Champagnat  
142.16 - 1834.06.12 Deed of alienation of Chomat-Fayolle to Champ., 15.000 f  
142.17 - 1835.04.13 Phc. Deed of sale of property Boiron Cl. to Champagnat  
142.18 - 1835.04.15 Phc. acte of sale of property Boiron Cl. to Champagnat  
142.19 - 1790.12.09 Phc. donation of the property Boiron J. to his son Claude  
142.20 - 1815.01.12 Phc. cession of goods Boiron Elisabeth to her bro. Claude  
142.21 - 1836.02.28 Settlement of life annuity Champagnat to Boiron  
142.22 - 1836.04.07 Deed of sale of land Parrin to Champagnat  
142.23 - 1836.04.11 Deed of sale of land Roussier to Champagnat  
142.24 - 1836.04.11 Deed of sale of land Fara to Champagnat  
142.25 - 1836.07.04 Deed of sale of land Fara to Champagnat  
142.26 - 1837.10.26 Phc. certificate sale of land Champagnat to Crapanne  
142.27 - 1838.11.01 lease between Douillet and Champagnat  
142.28 - 1839.01.01 Deed of sale of land Pathouillard to Champagnat  
142.29 - 1839.03.11 Phc. agreement betw. Royer de la Bastie and Champagnat  
142.30 - 1837.10.26 Phc. deed of sale of land Champagnat to Jaboulay  
142.31 - 1839.05.16 Phc. deed of cession land Champagnat to Jaboulay  
142.32 - 1839.09.02 Phc. attestation of no financial claim in Ch.'s favour  
142.33 - 1839.09.02 Phc. attestation of no fin. claim Champagnat to Boiron  
142.34 - 1839.08.04 Phc. deed of sale property Champagnat to Jaboulay  
142.35 - 1841.04.30 Phc. of copy of receipt of Rivat, etc. to Jaboulay  
142.36 - 1841.04.30 Phc. of copy of receipt of Rivat and Cic. to Jaboulay  
142.37 - 1840.03.22 Phc. certificate of constitution of non-trading company  
142.38 - 1840.03.22 Phc. of dispatch of cert. of constit. of non-trading soc.  
142.39 - 1040.03.23 Phc. of civil will of Champagnat M.  
142.401 - 1817.10.01 Phg. of deed of sale Bonnair to Champagnat, Lavalla  
142.402 - 1825.04.14 Phg. entrusting the above deed to Me Finaz  
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142.42 - 1816.08.12 Power of confession, prorogued 8 times till 6 June 1825  
142.431 - 1828.03.28 Deed appointing Séon, Rivat universal heirs  
142.432 - 1833.06.30 Deed appointing Rivat, Deville universal heirs  
142.44 - 1839.04.25 Notarised receipt for money rec. by Mme. Delabarmondière
- 143.01 - 1830.02.25 Statutes of Little Bros of Mary of St.Martin-en-Coail.  
143.021 - 1834.02.28 Statutes modified by Royal Council  
143.022 - 1834.02.28 Another manuscript of the same Stautes  
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# STUDIES

## OUTLINE OF A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE OF FATHER CHAMPAGNAT

### *INTRODUCTION*

On the occasion of the bicentenary of the birth of Father Champagnat the General Administration published a new edition of the life of the Founder by Brother Jean-Baptiste. Since this work was destined for a relatively wide public they did not wish to clutter the text with copious notes.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that a critical introduction of about twenty pages might have been necessary for a work which has become the centre-piece of a kind of canon of Marist writings on our origins. In fact, as the time of our origins becomes more remote, as the Institute spreads throughout the world, as culture changes, we risk becoming less able to understand the historical and cultural context in which this work was drawn up and thus place ourselves in danger of misinterpreting it. A minimum of historical criticism could, for the most part, prevent this.

Furthermore, this method of critical introduction to historical sources has been codified for a long time, and we are well aware that in most of our Bibles the holy books themselves are provided with such introductions which are absolutely necessary for a correct reading.

First of all it is appropriate to situate the document in the historical context of its composition (which, as far as I know, has not yet been done) and to gather the maximum of information about the author. Thus we are unable to understand fully the Life of Father Champagnat if we do not remember that it was published in 1856, 16 years after his death, by one of his first disciples at a time when his foundation was undergoing a difficult crisis of growth, in a world which was beginning to become hostile towards it. But let us enlarge on all this.

## Chapter I

Brother Jean-Baptiste, an author not well known.

### **a) What has been written about him**

Until now we have been so absorbed in the origins of the Institute that we do not yet have at our disposal a scientific biography of Brother Jean-Baptiste. We must content ourselves then with sources and studies which can only be guidelines with a view to an exhaustive biography.

We have available first of all in Vol. 4 of the *Circulaires* (p. 239...) a letter of Brother Louis-Marie entitled: "Br Jean-Baptiste or the fervent vocation". It is a eulogy of the deceased by a man who had known him well and who quotes from a certain number of his letters.

A few passages on Brother Jean-Baptiste can also be found in the *Annales de l'Institut* by Br Avit. Thus when Father Champagnat dreams of Brothers as partly soldiers (1993 Edition, p.142) it is Br Jean-Baptiste who interprets the dream. A little further on Br Jean-Baptiste is the hero of a strange scene that Br Avit places, probably wrongly, in 1836 (1993 Edition, p.180)<sup>1</sup>.

*"Among the Brother Directors there was one he greatly esteemed and who was later to write his life. Br Dorothee called this Brother to him and said:*

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<sup>1</sup> It would seem to me more logical to place this scene in 1826 because it was that year that Br Jean-Baptiste was appointed director of Neuville-sur-Saône and Father Champagnat would have been able to test the humility of this very young director. Moreover, this kind of order, which arises from an archaic notion of obedience, seems to me characteristic of Father Champagnat who was still guided by a spirituality which is very monastic and sacrificial.

*“Follow me.” Having arrived at the latrines Br Dorothée added: “The reverend Father wants you to go down into the pit of the latrines to pull out the calf we threw in there two days ago.” The Brother Director obeyed without protest. When he was going to seize the putrefying animal Br Dorothée called to him: “That’s enough, Father doesn’t want you to go any further.” And the good Brother climbed out without a word and went to wash himself. The pious Founder later placed the same Brother in charge of the kitchen during the whole holiday period, not through necessity, but to give him the opportunity of practising humility and obedience.”*

Vol. 4 of *Origines Maristes* has an extremely practical biographical entry and the work *Nos Supérieurs* offers us an edifying biography. But the most recent work on Br Jean-Baptiste is that of Br Paul Sester in N° 1 and 2 of “Marist Notebooks” entitled “Br Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographer of Marcellin Champagnat” and I venture to direct you back to this work, contenting myself with adding some traits which I think complete what Br Paul Sester has said.

Thus I draw attention to the fact that Br Jean-Baptiste suffered a lot of serious illness. At Bourg-Argental, in 1823, he fell ill and it was while returning from a visit to him that Fr Champagnat and Br Stanislaus became lost on Mt Pilat (*Annales de l’Institut*, Rome 1993, p. 40). In 1842 he is obliged to rest at Bouillargues where he was at the same time director and cook. For the last twenty years of his life he was unable to make any visits or journeys. He slept very little and in an armchair, and his food was more than frugal:

*“In the morning, he drank a little chocolate without bread; during the day some herb soup; in the evening, at 4.30, a semblance of dinner” (Circular of Br Louis-Marie).*

## **b) What he wrote**

As regards the work of this invalid, I will merely recall the titles while attempting to define what seems to me to be the stance he takes.

Brother Jean-Baptiste was, of course, one of the principal drafters of the *Common Rules* (1852), the *Teacher’s Guide* and the *Rules of Government* (1854). In 1835 there appeared *The Manual of Piety* containing the method of meditation, the elements of *Christian and religious perfection* and *the Office of the Blessed Virgin*. In 1863 this became the *Directory of Solid Piety*. *The Life of Father Champagnat* in 1856 closed this first stage.

It is only ten years later (1865) that he takes up once more the editorial task with *The Principles of Christian Perfection* composed by Brothers Jean-Baptiste and Louis-Marie, a kind of catechism for the use of the novices. In 1868 *Les Avis, Leçons, Sentences* and *The biographies of a few Brothers* appeared; The following year *Le Bon Supérieur*, a manual for the use of Brother Directors was published. His final works, which were not so didactic, were *Meditations on the Passion and on the titles of Our Saviour* in 1870 and *Meditations on the Mystery of the Incarnation, on the virtues of Jesus Christ and on the Eucharist* which did not appear until 1875, after the death of Brother Jean-Baptiste.

The chronology of the publication of these works allows me to detect two basic preoccupations of unequal importance.

First of all, from 1852 to 1856, it was necessary to create some fundamental texts, “blocks of granite” Napoleon would have called them, which allowed the body to flourish on solid principles. And the life of the Founder crowned this primordial work. The other works, after 1860, only developed and systematized what had been worked out during the 1850’s.

To this published work we must add the copious letters (almost 600) and a voluminous manuscript on education of which Br Paul Sester has made a study in N° 1 and 2 of the Marist Notebooks.

Nevertheless, I put forward one reservation on an interpretation of Br Paul Sester (N° 1, p. 52) which suggests that without neglecting administrative matters Brother Jean-Baptiste “judged it more important ... to play the part of spiritual director”.

I think that in fact all the Assistants had to assume this role since the Rule of 1837 (Ch. 2, p. 52) required the First Brother Directors (probably directors of Provincial Houses) to write every month to the Superior, the Brother Directors every two months and the Brothers who were second-in-charge every four months. This enormous correspondence showed the value that was placed on the hyper-centralized structure of the Institute. It ceased only after 1890 because of the decree *Quemadmodum* of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars which forbade the barring of conscience to the superiors of congregations excluded from the priesthood (*A. Lanfrey, Une congrégation enseignante: les Frères Maristes de 1850 à 1904, p. 154*).

So it seems to me that if Brother Jean-Baptiste had a great influence it was perhaps less through the volume of his correspondence than through his

exceptional moral authority. And I think this authority was due in large part to the fact that he had a style both in writing and in speaking that appealed to the Brothers. On his talent as a speaker with a pointed and familiar style we have the witness of Br Louis-Marie:

*“Brothers, when I was a child myself, well now! I was always going searching for bird nests. I have to confess to you dear Brothers that I like hunting out bird nests very much. You see, when I was a child I had a passion for bird nests, and my good mother and my poor clothes bore the brunt of it more than once.”*

“Laughter” was added here in brackets.

*“I was not satisfied that I knew where there were a hundred at least.”*

So he must have known the whereabouts of a hundred nests.

*“And when I would arrive home my poor mother would be angry and growl: Ah! here he is again, my trial! (laughter) with his clothes in rags ...”*  
(laughter)

### c) How he wrote

His writing seems to me to bear the same characteristics; especially when compared to that of Br Louis-Marie.<sup>2</sup> It is, in fact, interesting to note that Brother Jean-Baptiste was not content with popularizing the teaching of the Founder. He applied himself to that of Br Louis-Marie as well.

The latter had written a long circular of 39 pages, dated March 19th 1862, on charity. Like a good theologian he had based his argumentation firstly on the Holy Scriptures and then on the Tradition of the Church. Only then did he move to practice, notably that of the 8 little virtues.

In *A.L.S.* Chapter XXIV Brother Jean-Baptiste compresses all that. Where Br Louis-Marie had spent two pages developing the idea that Christ has given us the example of charity, Brother Jean-Baptiste reduces it all to three lines: *“He taught us the practice of this virtue not only by his words but above all and to a much greater extent by his example; his life, in fact, was nothing but a continuous act of charity towards mankind.”*

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<sup>2</sup> A. Lanfrey op. cit. p. 36-42.

And everything follows this pattern: what the one had said in nine pages with due regard for progression and demonstration, the other reduces to less than a page and summarizes it in seven bare statements, then he moves on to the practical: "What does it mean to love one's neighbour?" And Brother Jean-Baptiste delivers eleven well-aimed responses all following the same pattern: a statement illustrated by a quotation from the Gospels, an example or a saying of a saint, a comparison. And the chapter stops short without a conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

In short, the writing of Brother Jean-Baptiste is well described by the ambiguous eulogy conferred on it by Br Louis-Marie: works which are "down to earth, leaving nothing (or almost nothing) to the imagination"; they are "full of common sense".<sup>4</sup>

In short, it is the writing of a catechist with the strong points and shortcomings which that entails. It is never concerned with demonstrating but only with illustrating. Starting with a postulate, its multiple aspects are enumerated and then illustrated with quotations or stories.<sup>5</sup> This writing has more to offer by way of relatively extensive knowledge in clear, simple and easily memorizable language. But it is in the style of a handbook and not able to satisfy more demanding minds.

The question is whether Brother Jean-Baptiste chose this style deliberately as being appropriate for his readership, and in order to provide them with examples of methodology, or whether he was incapable of developing arguments as Br Louis-Marie did. I rather think that Brother Jean-Baptiste was, before all else, a conscious compiler, intelligent enough to engage in a literature of popularization and content to leave to others - perhaps through incapacity but also through an anxiety to keep in his place - the task of theorizing. But it goes without saying that a deeper study of the writing of Brother Jean-Baptiste would be needed in order to give a more reliable answer to this question. In the meantime, I consider the following comment of Br Paul Sester regarding the last work of Brother Jean-Baptiste, his treatise on education, as entirely valid for the whole of his prose: "*The text is composed of quotations from the Fathers of the Church; very little space is devoted to the author's own ideas*" (Marist Notebooks N° 2, p.34).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Chapter XXVIII of *A.L.S.* on the little virtues is also a reworking of a text used as well by Br Louis-Marie and summarized in the same manner. (Lanfrey. op. cit. p. 39).

<sup>4</sup> Circulars Vol. 4, p. 262.

<sup>5</sup> Br Louis-Marie recalls that Brother Jean-Baptiste spent thirty years gathering "pious thoughts, admirable sayings and solid maxims which he now bequeaths to us".

<sup>6</sup> Even in the letters he speaks very little of himself. (Sester op. cit. ).

#### d) The person behind the text

Paradoxically, this apparent absence of self-affirmation becomes awkward for the critic of such literature because the author is, in a way, too elusive, and hardly allows us to grasp the existential and individual aspect of such a work. The texts of Brother Jean-Baptiste, because they seem to burgeon spontaneously from a collective devotion to a founder and continually hark back to a holy origin, tend to become mythologized, while the circulars of the superiors, though much more carefully weighed and bearing the stamp of their time, seem commonplace. In short, in erecting the statue of the Founder and fixing the story of our origins Brother Jean-Baptiste has involuntarily erected a statue of himself. And in order to read his work correctly today it is important to resist the temptation to consider it an oracle, while, on the other hand, being careful to do it full justice.<sup>7</sup>

### Chapter 2

#### Stages in compiling the Life

But after this general glimpse of Brother Jean-Baptiste we must return to our main purpose: how was the Life of Father Champagnat drawn up?

A very precise response has been provided already by Fathers Coste and Lessard (*O.M. Extraits concernant les Frères Maristes* pp. 424-428). In their introduction to “first-hand narratives gathered among the Marist Brothers” they remind us that the first narratives concerning the Brothers come from Fr Bourdin who stayed at the Hermitage from the end of 1828 to November 1831. It was not until 1837 that Father Champagnat invited Brother Jean-Baptiste to take some notes for the edification of future Brothers. But it took the intervention of Fr Maîtreperre, 18 months after Father Champagnat’s death, to get Brother Jean-Baptiste started on the task.<sup>8</sup> He collected notes

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<sup>7</sup> For example, it seems evident to me that a part of the work that is attributed to him is not all from his pen. Thus Chapter XXXIII of A.L.S. “L’union fait la force” eulogizing the “united three” (Brs François, Louis-Marie and Jean-Baptiste) which cannot be the work of Brother Jean-Baptiste. How could he, at this stage, eulogize himself?

<sup>8</sup> Brother Jean-Baptiste, when he explains the origins of his work (*Biographies*, 1868, p XXI), claims to have been fulfilling a mission confided to him by Father Champagnat, but he admits on the preceding page that he had not taken this order seriously. In fact, it was the influence of the Marist Fathers that induced him to set about the task, together with the fact that Brother François was too busy and was suffering from headaches. So I do not think it is necessary to attach too much importance to the Christmas of 1837 when Father Champagnat invited Brother Jean-Baptiste to write a chronicle of the origins.

written by the Brothers (Preface to the Life, 1989 edition, p. xii) and completed them by means of interviews with the writers. Only one of these has survived: that of Br Laurent (doc 167 (756)). He also received the witness of ecclesiastics and pious lay people. To all this he joined the writings of Father Champagnat and his own recollections.

Fr Mayet informs us about the order of the work. In 1842, he notes: "Their story must be sought in the memoirs of the Brothers set down on the advice of Fr Maîtreperre" (O.M.E (537) b p. 367). In 1844, he mentions that "the Marist Brothers are writing his life" (doc 159 (611)). In 1847 he spent some time at the Hermitage (19-25 March) where, he says: "the reading of the life of Father Champagnat seemed to me to be the life of one of the Desert Fathers..."

And in 1845 (doc 159 (611)) "the Marist Brothers of the Hermitage possess memoirs which include some admirable texts of Father Champagnat".

Finally, in a part that seems to date from 1853-54: "The Marist Brothers ... have in their hands some magnificent material on the life of this admirable man and they intend to publish it at length after it has been suitably arranged. The voluminous exercise books which contain these edifying details were loaned to us for a few days by these good Brothers."<sup>9</sup>

From these observations Fathers Coste and Lessard draw some very interesting conclusions: "The material gathered must have already been rather considerable since it filled voluminous exercise books. Besides, it is clear that it was not simply a dossier of notes. It must have already been written up in such a way as to allow it to be read through continuously thus forming the substance of a life of Father Champagnat." But the work had not been finished since Fr Mayet remarks that it still had to be arranged suitably. Besides, he urged Brother Jean-Baptiste to pursue his work, which he did since in 1852 we find him carrying out further interviews.<sup>10</sup>

So, "Even though Fr Mayet speaks of it most often as a collective work, it is clear that one man was responsible for it."

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<sup>9</sup> "There is no doubt," says the writer of this note, "that this last detail refers to the Fr Mayet's stay at the Hermitage in 1847..."

<sup>10</sup> The O.M.E. refers to doc 757 54 and to a note on this, but it is not mentioned there. I presume there is an error in the reference.

Finally, in 1854, in drawing up the list of works written by the Marists, Fr Mayet mentions: "Life of Father Champagnat by the Marist Brothers, manuscript."

The book that appeared in 1856 was, then, the fruit of a very long task, the editing of which would have been fairly complex since it was a matter of combining the material supplied by many witnesses with the successive revisions. Brother Jean-Baptiste was in charge of the work but that does not necessarily mean that he was the only writer of it.<sup>11</sup>

### **Chapter 3**

The historical context of the writing.

But after having tried to situate the author and the stages in the writing of the work, it is now appropriate to clarify the historical context in which Brother Jean-Baptiste wrote. The task is difficult and can only be provisory because the works attempting a synthesis of this period are, I think, not yet sufficient. The thesis of Br Zind on the congregations of Brothers stops at 1830.

For my part, I have made a study of the Institute from 1850 to 1904. Now, the writing of the Life covers the years 1841-1856. It is then with a certain reticence that I contemplate the task of invoking this period, relying essentially on the historical thesis that I defended in 1979: "A teaching congregation: The Marist Brothers from 1850 to 1904."

#### **a) Rapid changes in France**

First we must realise that between 1840 and 1856 rapid changes were taking place in France at all levels. On the political plane the July Monarchy is giving place to the 2nd Republic (1848-1851) at first democratic and then conservative. Finally, with the coup d'état of 2nd December 1851 we enter an authoritarian regime: the 2nd Empire. Thus, within about fifteen years the Brothers would have known three regimes, a revolution, a coup d'état, not to mention the violent social troubles (the days of '48) stirred up by the working class. So they were continually troubled by the seesawing of political and social order and their counter-revolutionary spirit tended to harden as the century advanced.

<sup>11</sup> An attentive criticism of the Life might reveal several levels of writing and, perhaps, several authors. It would also be necessary to compare the Life with the rest of his writing.

On the economic plane, the Industrial Revolution, particularly after the middle of the century, upset more and more the traditional activities and profoundly modified the way of life causing a rural exodus, a thirst for education, religious indifference etc.

This material progress contributed to the strengthening of the centralization of the State which was aimed at increasing its control over the people. Thus in the domain of primary education the local authorities lost, little by little, their powers of appointing and inspecting teachers. These powers were assumed by the *recteurs* (heads of educational districts), the *préfets*, and the inspectors. So it was in a world, fundamentally unstable, but trying to maintain, cost what it may, an ideal of stability, that Brother Jean Baptiste was writing.

### b) A crisis of growth in the Congregation

Now, the Congregation itself was on the move. It is no exaggeration to say that it was undergoing a violent crisis of growth.. Thus, on the death of the Founder there were 280 Brothers; in 1951 there were 826 Brothers, novices and postulants, and 1,665 in 1857. As for establishments, their number grew in proportion because the Guizot law of 1833 obliged each commune to have a boys school, and the Falloux law 1850, which replaced the *brevet* with the *certificat de stage*, favoured schools run by Congregations. Thus we had 140 schools in 1848, 288 in 1855 and 379 in 1859. So in less than twenty years the number of Brothers and Marist aspirants increased five-fold and the number of establishments tripled. The superiors, inundated with requests for Brothers from all sides, had to initiate a recruitment drive.

Brother Avit several times tried his hand at the statistics of this period.

	Brothers received	Died	Left	Remaining in 1840	Sources
1817-1840	440	49	106	280	Annales Vol 2 p. 232 <sup>12</sup>
1840-1851	915 receptions; 80: fusion with St-Paul, Viviers	111	345	826	Annales Vol 2 p. 233
1851-1857	1051	74	394	1408	Annales Vol 2 p. 370

<sup>12</sup> But in Vol 1 p. 299 Br Avit gives some figures which are a little less.

One notices that between 1851 and 1857 66 Brothers left the Institute each year, while between 1840 and 1851 it was 35. But the proportion was similar in the two cases, about 36%. But this contrasts markedly with the period of the Founder when the proportion of those who left was only 25%.

“It would not have been surprising if more had left”, declared Brother Avit (A.A. Vol 2, p. 370), “considering that the numerous foundations did not allow time for the novices to be sufficiently formed.” And this sentence sums up the whole problem: This drain of vocations was worrying; at the same time one could easily see the cause, but without knowing what to do to remedy it. One can understand, then, why in the Life of the Father Champagnat Brother Jean-Baptiste insists so often on fidelity to vocation and why there are so many imprecations against those who abandon it.

This avalanche of young people was difficult to manage, not only in the novitiates but also in the schools where the older Brothers and those finally professed were greatly outnumbered by those in temporary profession and novices. Frequently these raw recruits were an embarrassment rather than a help and made blunders that brought ridicule on the Brothers. But also these young men were often more learned than their seniors, having obtained their *brevet*, and often were made directors of the schools, while the older Brothers were content to teach the lower classes, unless they were relegated to the kitchen. There was then a generation gap; the older Brothers whom the superiors trusted, supervised the younger more competent men.<sup>13</sup>

And the Superiors had no choice but to favour the competent since they never had enough Brothers with their *brevet* to run the schools. In 1842 Brother François (Circulars Vol 2, p. 62) reminds the Brothers that their learning must be limited to “model handwriting, a deep and practical knowledge of the catechism, good reading, a little grammar and arithmetic... Beyond that we must only study what is necessary to satisfy the requirement of the locality and the times.” In the 1850’s the Superiors had changed their view: they accepted that profane studies be at the same level as the study of religion (See notably Circulars Vol 2, p.171. 189...).

But this professionalization of the teaching vocation caused many Brothers, notably directors, to seek a career as lay school masters. Some others with stronger religious motives seemed to consider the Brother as an incomplete cleric and so aimed at the priesthood, unless they chose to become monks.

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<sup>13</sup> A. Lanfrey, op. cit. pp 123-124.

In short, many Brothers during the 1850's sought a rise in social status or a more radical religious commitment, very understandable in a society undergoing profound changes. And one of the preoccupations of Brother Jean-Baptiste will be to convince them that they do not have the right to abandon their humble and holy state.

Because of a recruitment which was not selective enough there was an increase in the number of Brothers whom Br Avit was to call "of no value" and which the *Avis, Leçons, Sentences*, especially in Chapter V labels as "the Brothers that Venerable Champagnat did not like."

### c) Centralization of power

Precisely because the cohesion of the Institute seemed more fragile, the centralized authority, from the beginning in the hands of Father Champagnat, tended to intensify still more. In 1841 Father Mazelier, Superior of the Brothers of St. Paul raised the matter of a decentralized authority<sup>14</sup> while Brother François and his two Assistants responded:

*"It seems that the interests of a united Congregation demand that the Superior General (Fr Colin) and the Brother Director General (Br François) be able to place the subjects of all the Provinces, saving the obligation of founding in each diocese establishments in proportion to the number of subjects that come to it from these dioceses."*

This basic problem had not been settled when the Brothers of St-Paul united with those of the Hermitage: there would certainly be a Provincial Director, but the powers of the Superior General and the Director General remain full and entire. In fact, St-Paul was not to have any autonomy, since the Provincial Director came from the Hermitage.

Again, at the 1852 Chapter, M. Mazelier renewed his request "that each Province of the Institute be directed and governed by a Provincial who is resident in his Province".<sup>15</sup> But the Chapter regrets this point of view, and the Constitutions of 1852 have a distinctly centralizing tone.

Moreover, the composition of the Chapter was such that M. Mazelier's request was hardly likely to be understood, since it was made up only of Brother Directors and older Brothers, and the Hermitage had elected 18

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<sup>14</sup> See Lanfrey op. cit. p. 141-148.

<sup>15</sup> Abbé Ponty, Vie de F. François, p 95-96

capitulants, whereas St-Paul and Viviers had elected 5 each and the North only 2.<sup>16</sup> Again, the attitude of the capitulants was a disinclination to engage in debate: “they voted according to their lights and their conscience, but they did not dare to take the floor even to propose the decisions they wanted”.<sup>17</sup> In spite of that, a dozen Brothers asked for decentralized government, which would give one to understand that the Provinces of the periphery with their 12 representatives voted against the Hermitage with its 18 capitulants. Then again, during the Chapter a cabal was formed in connection with the suffrages for the deceased, “the 7 or 8 Brothers who usually took the floor asked for better treatment for professed Brothers”.<sup>18</sup> The leader of the cabal was deprived of any vote, active or passive, and of the right to suffrages for the deceased.

Behind this incident, one can sense that the Superiors (especially Br Louis-Marie) are shrivelled up into a unity which they can only conceive of as that of obedience to an authority that is paternal and strict, just as we see it presented in Br Jean-Baptiste’s letters.

But there is another problem challenging the cohesion of the Institute: professed Brothers. According to a statistic drawn from Br Avit’s figures we can see that of two Brothers taking the habit only one would make profession.

Year	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
Total Habit	54	58	77	99	130	173	70
Prof.	18	36	32	49	47	62	58
Year	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	Total
Total Habit	51	78	92	117	170	207	1276
Prof.	8	32	51	65	87	145	690

On this point the above table seems to me to be significant.

During that period of 13 years the percentage of professions in relation to those taking the habit is 54%.

<sup>16</sup> Circulaires T2 p. 114-115

<sup>17</sup> A.A. Année 1852

<sup>18</sup> You may see in the “registre des projets des Constitutions” 1 p. 99, Brother Louis-Marie’s version on this point.

We observe that the big drop in the numbers of those taking the habit in 1947-48, because of the economic crisis and political upheavals, has its repercussions in 1955-56.

When all is said and done, this professions ratio is not at all bad, considering that that the postulants and novices who have been hurriedly weeded out in the novitiate have then been selected by on the job training (Br Avit speaks of “rossignols” - nightingales, to designate those who did not measure up) or have chosen to leave.

But the superiors notice that the professed, on whom they ought to have been able to count, are not as solid as one could expect. Br Avit's annals often mention this phenomenon.

This little table gives a brief survey of professed Brothers who have left the Institute.

Year	1846	1851	1853	1854	1856
Prof.	25	49	62	58	32
Left	8	4	6	6	5

These figures, which would seem to indicate about 10% of a promotion, is very serious, for it is a question of Brothers who should form the executive of the Institute: directors, visitors...

It is for this reason, it seems to me, that in 1855 they instituted the vow of stability, made that year by twenty Brothers, who commit themselves “to maintain the aim, the spirit and the Constitutions of the Institute...” , “to perpetuate the said Institute and not to leave it even should it happen that they become destitute.” Since admission to this vow was restricted to superiors, it constituted a real aristocracy in the congregation from which the executives, and therefore the capitulants would be chosen.

#### **d) A period of much needed reorganization**

But there was another cause of tension in the congregation: the need for an administrative organization to keep pace with the expansion. That meant buying the property of St-Genis-Laval in 1853 and the building, from 1854 to 1858, of the new Mother-House, at great expense. The view that opposed this choice was the cause of a tension between the divine inspiration that was

symbolised by the Hermitage and the worldly initiative that was manifested by the establishment in St-Genis-Laval. There was also the profound disagreement between Br François and Br Louis-Marie that the myth of the “trois un” (three as one) quoted in the Avis, Leçons, Sentences in Chapter XXXIII tries to hide.

One serious consequence of this daring policy of expansion was the financial problem: the purchase of the property of St-Genis having left the coffers almost empty. In his circular of 24 February 1854, Br François appeals to the thrift of the Brothers as well as to their patrimonies (without much success, I may add) and, since that was not enough, in 1856 the Institute contracted a loan of 100,000 francs. This was the start of a risky policy of financial management which was to last throughout the whole period of Br Louis-Marie's tenure of office. In any case it is significant that the superiors should have agreed to publish the Life of Father Champagnat in the same year in which they were suffering great financial distress.

#### e) Getting approval from Rome

To conclude, let us add that during this period when the Life of Father Champagnat was being prepared, a problem to be faced was that of approval of the Institute by Rome, since it was only the Marist Fathers who had obtained this approval in 1836. In 1852, from the very beginning of the Chapter, Father Colin expressed his opinion that the Brothers ought to govern themselves. And in the third session of the Chapter of 1854, the Brothers ratified this option, deciding that henceforth Br François would take the title of Superior General. That meant they would have to start the necessary procedures in Rome. Since these started in 1857, I do not think it serves any purpose to speak about them, but we must bear in mind that this question of separation from the Marist Fathers and of approval by Rome underlies all that went on during this period. Among the Marist Fathers and at the Archbishop's palace there were some who doubted the Brothers' ability to govern by themselves. Cardinal de Bonald, the Archbishop of Lyons, is quite positive in this regard, writing in 1859:

*“...the Superiors of this congregation, being simple Brothers, have neither enough learning nor enough authority to direct novices... and to keep everyone in the way of obedience and submission.”<sup>19</sup>*

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<sup>19</sup> Archives des Frères Maristes. *Registre des Constitutions*, 1

And he recommended that the Brothers should be returned to their state of dependence on the Marist Fathers, a certain number of whom, it would appear, were making moves to keep the Brothers under their tutelage.<sup>20</sup>

#### **f) A conquering spirit**

However, all these problems must not let us lose sight of the fact that they are the price to be paid for an extraordinary dynamism, nourished by the conviction that the school is the best place for the regeneration of society, and the Brothers have no hesitation in establishing themselves in real mission schools like the one in la Seyne (Biographies, 1868 p. 329) where Br Urbain has to cope with children who are “extremely ignorant” and who, the first time he tried to make them pray, burst out laughing. That is one of the reasons why the Brothers would have no scruple, after 1848, in ousting lay teachers, who were often good Christians but were considered by them as being too much in collusion with a corrupt society.

So, to have a good understanding of the Life written by Br Jean-Baptiste we must situate it in the normal procedure in establishing religious orders and congregations. Raymond Hostie (Life and death of religious orders) has given a breakdown of this which I consider apposite.

After a first phase where a group of fanatics get together, inspiring both attraction and suspicion (which could be the time at the seminary and in Lavalla), they undergo a group metamorphosis, a time of conflicts during which a member of the group emerges as leader (1824-26: the time when Courveille was eliminated and Champagnat recognized). Then the group becomes structured round a leader, a common name, a common activity, and the numbers begin to grow in such a way that inter-personal contact, which was easy in the beginning, is no longer sufficient. That would be, as I see it, the phase from 1826 to 1840. Then the phase of organization becomes imperative, when a rule is drawn up, stabilizing the spirit and the letter of the new religious order. It is in this phase that the Life of Father Champagnat is situated and, with the Common Rules (1852), the Teacher's Guide (1853), the Constitutions (1854), the phase of organization is closed.

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<sup>20</sup> I am not speaking of the steps taken for the legal approval of the Institute obtained in 1851. That question has been dealt with by Br Gabriel Michel.

**g) A risk of “sacralizing” the origins**

However, it stands to reason that if the congregation gained in clarity and unity of action it risks losing in inspiration since it is now bound by a text that is almost sacred, and may be tempted to apply the letter rather than the spirit. Moreover, it seems to me that Brother Jean-Baptiste was aware of this when he wrote (Life 1989 p xviii); “As we write this story, we can say that we are relating what we have seen, what we have heard, and what has been given to us to think over and to study during a good number of years.” Do we not find in these words the ending of St John’s Gospel: “It is this same disciple who is the witness to these things; it is he who wrote them down and his testimony, we know, is true”?

That is why it is fundamental to recall, as I have tried to do here in a rapid manner, that the basic texts of the Institute, far from being original in their wording are writings that are appropriate to the circumstances, answering the precise needs of a body that was just being organized, that was facing up to a world which was unsettled and aggressive. Jean-Baptiste’s writings - and especially his Life of Father Champagnat - must be considered as a lesson that answers the needs of a time which is no longer ours, but neither was it that of our origins.

I think we understand that very well today for History, since the end of the 19th century has been able to finalize a strictly historical method, extricating it from literature, hagiography, and morality, and establishing it as a human science in its own right. More recently, exegesis, by establishing the concept of the literary genre has been able to free itself from the letter of the sacred text in order to understand the deep meaning that the authors intended to give it.

**Chapter 4**

Difficulties when re-interpreting the Life

Very soon, as I see it, the Life of Father Champagnat was subjected to some discreet criticism, and I think it would be helpful if I gave you here a general idea of this, but at the same time it had some solid defenders.

To demonstrate this I shall make use especially of the “Témoignages sur Marcellin Champagnat, enquête diocésaine”, transcribed and presented to Rome in 1991 by Br Agustín C. Carazo.

### a) The process of beatification

We must first of all remember that these testimonies were collected at the time of the process of Beatification of Father Champagnat in 1888-91. There again, the introduction of the Cause, announced by Br Théophile in a Circular of 2 February 1886, comes during a situation of an internal and external crisis of which I am able to recall only the broad lines.

The external crisis first. This was the laicization of schools and the obligation for every teacher to have the brevet, from 1881 onwards. Finally, the Goblet law in 1886 banned religious congregations from public teaching. The internal crisis arose from the fact that since 1863 the superiors had hidden from the Brothers the Constitutions that Rome wanted to impose and that at the 1883 Chapter it had been necessary to reveal their existence in part. Finally, starting from that date, the Assistants began the operation of putting younger blood into the executive posts, dismissing the older Brothers, the “uncles”, from important posts to which they thought they had been appointed for life.<sup>21</sup>

I believe, then, that the introduction of the Cause of Father Champagnat was intended, conspicuously, to reestablish a homogeneity which had been seriously neglected. But, you will ask me, what had the Life of Father Champagnat to do with that?

### b) The “articles” taken from the Life

The interrogation of witnesses at the time of the process of Beatification was done through “articles” (376 in all) which made up a “canonical biography” of the candidate for sanctity. (See *Témoignages...* op. cit., pp. 41-44 at the end of the volume)

Thus, article 9:

*“They will ask him (the witness) if he knows or has heard the year of birth of the servant of God, the month and the place, and if he knows who his parents were. He will also be asked about their name and Christian name, about their homeland, their profession, their moral behaviour, and other pertinent details.”*

Or, according to Br Agustín Carazo (p 42)

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<sup>21</sup> See A. Lanfrey op.cit. pp 237-280

*"... most of them... were no doubt written by Brothers, indeed by members of the General Council.... Father Nicolet (postulator of the Cause) would simply have read over the whole collection."*

*And "... the author has borrowed almost all his material from the Life of Father Champagnat written by Br Jean-Baptiste... The author has simply copied from that work the passages in which he was interested."*

There, then, is a good example of the somewhat sacred use of the Life of Father Champagnat. But that creates a difficulty: if the testimonies do not agree with what is in that Life, all is lost.

### c) Some discordances

Now, from this collection of testimonies, we note some discordances. Br Avit (*Témoignages...* p. 52) says simply: "I have read the Life of Father Champagnat written by Br Jean-Baptiste" without approving or disapproving. He then endeavours to show that most of the articles contain "nothing wrong" or are "the exact truth". On the other hand, he corrects Br Jean-Baptiste on two points, showing that J-B Champagnat, Marcellin's father was committed to the Revolution. More than that, he questions article 254 which tells about the Memorare in the snow and says that on the following day

*"they went to Tarentaise for Mass and came back some distance to have another look at the house which had saved them. They did not see anything, and the parish priest of Tarentaise to whom they spoke about that house told them that there was no house in the place they had indicated" (*Témoignages...* 2nd part, p 105).*

Br Avit, having made an inquiry into it, asserts that the house certainly did exist (*Témoignages...* p 54).

Br Marie-Jubin (*Témoignages...*p 26) specifies that

*"in a note that I had to copy out, a note that was critical of the composition of the Life of Father Champagnat, there was this allegation, that when he was at the minor seminary he was part of the "happy band"."*

Br Marie-Jubin is trying to explain away this unfavourable testimony by pointing out that "being himself of a cheerful disposition, he (Father Champagnat) wanted to attract the others to good behaviour". But that is not very convincing.

Finally, with regard to the light which was supposed to have hovered round the head of Marcellin when he was in his cradle, Br Amphien quotes the testimony of Philippe Arnaud, Father Champagnat's nephew (*Témoignages...* p. 77): "I am the one who spoke about that light to Br Jean-Baptiste, but he arranged it". "And," adds the Brother, "fearing he might destroy this fact, which meant a lot for me, I cut short the conversation."...

These few distortions do not call into question to any great degree the Life of Father Champagnat. Nevertheless, they give us cause to conclude that the facts reported by Br Jean-Baptiste have lost their objective character in the eyes of some people and have entered into the realm of the golden legend that cannot be questioned. This is particularly plain in the case of Br Amphien who is not anxious to know the correct version of the fact. As for Br Avit, he is more representative of the end of the century spirit, keen to verify the testimonies and to show their fragility. Thus there are two different sympathies with regard to the Life: one which accepts everything out of hand; the other which wants to pass the message received through a filter.

#### **d) The Life regarded as unquestionable**

This last school of thought seems to have had real weight if we are to judge by a fierce defence of the Life by Brother Callinique,<sup>22</sup> backed up by Brothers Euthyme and Théophane (*Témoignages...* pp. 48, 231, 240), whose dogmatic nature is disproportionate to the points for dispute which are contained in the volume of testimonies. In fact, what they are putting before our eyes is the thesis of the promoters of the cause of beatification, conceding nothing to those who contest their views. Thus, in these works, "there is no exaggeration" (Br Euthyme, p 231), no one has ever expressed the least criticism, Br Jean-Baptiste is a man above all suspicion. The latter, in the preface to his *Biographies* (p. xx) writes: "... and I had never taken a single note during the life of our venerated Father; even after his death I was not thinking about it yet, and it was only after receiving a formal order that I took on that task."

Now, Br Callinique claims:

*"During the life of the Founder, Br Jean-Baptiste had taken many notes on the counsels, instructions and details of the life of the servant of God"* (*Témoignages...* p 48).

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<sup>22</sup> He develops a closely argued argument in 10 points that other partisans of the absolute truth of the Life take up in abbreviated form.

We must put the memoirs of Br Sylvestre in the same school of thought. His foreword speaks of “unquestionable exactitude” twice, and for him the Life is a “piece of sacred writing”.

Therefore, in spite of the barrage fire of the superiors and of old Brothers like Br Sylvestre, it is clear that a fundamentalist reading of the Life of Father Champagnat has begun to be seriously called in question at the end of the twentieth century. Br Avit who, all through the Annals mentioned Br Jean-Baptiste’s mistakes and recalled that the latter was trying to set up a “body of doctrine”<sup>23</sup> seems to me to be one of the protagonists of a more critical reading of the Life which has not, up till now, been systematically undertaken.

## **Chapter 5**

### Outline of the criticism of the document itself

But we must finally come to the analysis of the document itself which can only be outlined here.

#### **a) Br Jean-Baptiste’s intentions**

In his preface, the author clearly shows us what he intended to do: to write the life of a saint in order to proclaim the glory of Jesus Christ, “to stigmatize vice, to encourage piety and virtue”; to make the Founder into a living rule, the model for a Brother.

In the first part of this programme, what was needed then was an edifying historical account; the second part would give us his spirit (Preface p. xix). As to being faithful to the sources, Br Jean-Baptiste assures us: “We lay no claim to a verbatim reproduction of his words” but “but we have been able to capture faithfully his views and attitudes”. Br Paul Sester, in Marist Notebooks (No. 2 pp. 42 and 43) has shown how Br Jean-Baptiste did this in practice.

In a word, Br Jean-Baptiste displays the intentions of an honest hagiographer and we are well advised to accept him as such, no more, no less.

However, when we know how to read between the lines, this literary

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<sup>23</sup> In “Avis aux lecteurs” (Notice to readers) at the beginning of the Annals.

genre has this advantage, that it shows us interesting aspects of the story that a naive or pious reading does not allow us to see. Thus, I am going to devote myself, as an example of that, to a criticism of chapters 1 and 2 which deal with Marcellin Champagnat's education and vocation.

## **b) What should we think of chapters 1 and 2?**

For example, in the first chapter on Marcellin's education, Br Jean-Baptiste gives 9 lines to the father while the mother is given 66 lines and the aunt 26. Why? First of all it is because the education of small children is in the hands of women. In the biographies of Brothers you find this pattern 95% of the time. The picture of the father is always more blurred for the male is engaged in outside activities and does not provide religious education. Often, too, he is made out to be less faithful to his religion.

And here we come to an ideological and social pattern: men practise their religion elsewhere, especially in these penitential confraternities of which J-B Champagnat was a member and where a masculine sociability was practised with a mixture of religion and politics, to such a point that, when the Revolution came, many of these penitential confraternities were transformed into municipal councils which were far from being inclined to submit to the clergy.<sup>24</sup> The story of J-B Champagnat, head of the penitents of Marthes, comes, therefore, in the framework of a broad sociological phenomenon where one can perceive the beginning of what is called the sexual dimorphism of religious practice, with the men of the 19th century becoming emancipated from the clergy to a large degree while the women remained faithful. It is quite natural, therefore, that in an edifying life the influence of the father would be toned down, offering as it did a more or less edifying picture of religious zeal. All the same, his father's influence on Marcellin was very strong, since it was from him that he learned his skills in carpentry, building and the flour trade,... (p 7).

As to the picture of the mother, it is always that of the valiant woman of the Bible. As to her withdrawal from the world, Br Jean-Baptiste exaggerates it to such an extent that he gets all tied up in contradictions which are little short of ridiculous: thus, "she hardly knew the families of the hamlet although it boasted only fifteen to twenty households". "The neighbouring women resorted to her in troubles", but "Madame Champagnat was a woman of few words and didn't seek out the news of the village or of individuals".

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<sup>24</sup> See Maurice Agulhin: *Pénitents et francs-maçons*..

Obviously she did not allow her children to keep company with other children of their age. And so, Marcellin, “being kept at a distance from harmful company” became a pious, docile and pure child, and so made a good first communion.

There we have the exaggerated stereotype of the holy mother who crowns her work of education with a good first communion. But at the same time this portrait of a woman who is almost a cloistered nun, helps us to give credence to the scene of the flame over the child’s cradle and therefore suggest a sanctity that was there from the beginning.

Afterwards, although Br Jean-Baptiste does not say so explicitly, his education passes more into the hands of men: Marcellin goes to school, he learns manual trades, he engages in business. For reasons mentioned above the paternal influence is more hinted at than affirmed.

Apart from the fact that it gives pride of place to the educational role of the women, this chapter is a collection of pieces of advice for the Brothers: thus, the Brothers must not strike their pupils for Marcellin was put off school by a brutal teacher, and they must not use nicknames as the ecclesiastic who was teaching catechism did, because this can have a deeply disturbing effect on children.

Br Jean-Baptiste also takes advantage of a childish question (“Aunt, what is the Revolution? Is it a man or a beast?”) to portray the family as being against the Revolution and to remind us that, around 1850 when he is writing, it is still as fearsome. This tells us clearly what his political opinions were.

Again, Chapter 1 keeps the promises made by Br Jean-Baptiste: it offers us a religious, educational and ideological message. At the same time, it establishes Marcellin’s sanctity as a real sign of predestination. But the reality of the individuals disappears completely: they are ideal types with no real consistency. As Br Avit said it is a “body of doctrine”(Annales de l’Institut, Avis aux lecteurs, édition 1993, p. x).

Chapter 2 shows similar characteristics. It is, in fact, an instruction on vocation. This comes in “the mountains, which are the home of faith” (p. 9) in boys who are “rather shy”, indeed “self-effacing” (p. 9, lines 9 and 14). The signs of a vocation are “his unassuming manner, his candour, his unpretentious attitude and his open and frank character” (lines 28-29). And it is the superiors who decide if the call is real, not the individual himself. So the scenario of Marcellin’s vocation can be read at several levels: it is a lecture on

the religious vocation with the classical actors: a Christian family in the country, a priest who is the messenger of God; a pure young man. It is also a Biblical reminiscence, for this scene has strong suggestions of the account of David's vocation in the Book of Samuel (I Samuel 16,8-13). In a word, the historical aspect is secondary. The proof is that, after this account, Br Jean-Baptiste launches forth into an imprecatory discourse against Brothers who have doubts about their vocation:

*"It is therefore a serious mistake to question a vocation because it was begun at an early age, led by the advice of a father or mother or of a pious teacher; or, following the example of a childhood friend ; or, in response to some natural motives"* (Life p 10).

The whole of the remaining part of the chapter constitutes the manual of the perfect little Brother who is outstanding for being "pious, faithful to his duty and responsive" (p 12 line 23). "Marcellin's dedication to study did not divert him from his efforts in spiritual advancement" (p 14) etc.

On page 15 we even have an "example"<sup>25</sup> on the art of reviving the spirits of a confrère, etc. And the chapter ends with a synthesis of all the virtues that must be cultivated by anyone entering religious life (p 19):

*"... fidelity to rules, respect for Superiors, obedience, humility, charity, affability, mildness, modesty, piety and assiduous effort at work... zeal... spirit of faith... total detachment... immense confidence in God... love of mortification... generosity."*

So we learn in this chapter as many things about what Br Jean-Baptiste thinks a perfect novice should be like as we do about the seminary formation of Father Champagnat. Let us add that in this kind of chapter, as in a good part of the work, Br Jean-Baptiste tends to "déprêtriser" Father Champagnat (to forget about his being a priest- Translator) in order to make him a model for the novice, the Brother Director, the educator, the Superior... In a word, his biography has to meet all the situations in the lives of the Brothers. His Life is a manual for the perfect Little Brother of Mary, especially in the second part.

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<sup>25</sup> "examples" were anecdotes used by preachers and catechists to arouse or stir up the attention of the audience and give concrete expression to their teaching.

**c) An illustration of the Rule of 1852**

Br Jean-Baptiste never made any secret of this intention as we saw earlier on.<sup>26</sup>

A comparison of the order of the chapters in the second part of the Life with those of the Common Rules shows that he has made liberal use of the order of the chapters of these latter. He has sometimes added to them some points of the Constitutions or of the Teacher's Guide. He did not, I may add, hide the fact. Thus, in chapter II on the spirit of faith (p 327) he invites us: "Read in the Rule the chapter on the spirit of faith; it is the faithful expression of his sentiments." And here and there you find parts of articles even whole articles quoted more or less word for word. For example in the article on the spirit of faith, the author writes: "... he saw only God and his holy will in all that happened"... being obviously inspired by article 5 of the Common Rules in the chapter on the spirit of faith: "It ( the spirit of faith) will teach them to find God everywhere...". A little further on in the biography we find: "Enlightened by this spirit of faith, he was fully aware of his own weakness, of the nothingness of creatures and the inadequacy of merely human means. So, he relied entirely on God for the success of his enterprises". Now, article 9 of the chapter in the rules reads: "It is by the practice of virtue, by good example and prayer that they will win children to God, and not by talents, knowledge and other human means..".

In other passages, Br Jean-Baptiste appears to invent a conversation in order to slip in some teaching of the Rule. He writes how one day the Founder asked an old Brother why he so easily missed holy communion. When the other answered that it was because of his numerous defects, he received this reply:

*"My dear friend... it is precisely because of your imperfection and your numerous faults that I would like to see you communicate often for the sacrament of the eucharist is the most efficacious means of correcting our defects and withdrawing you from that state of tepidity in which you find yourself... It is not by refraining from Holy Communion that we correct our faults and acquire virtue; it is by frequently drawing near to our divine Saviour."*

Now, what does article 5 of chapter III in the first part of the Common Rules say?

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<sup>26</sup> A.Lanfrey op. cit. pp 32.33 and footnote 8 p 344.

“The Brothers must love Holy Communion above everything; nothing, in fact, is more helpful than the divine Eucharist to support them when they are tempted, to help their progress in virtue, to fire them with holy zeal for the salvation of their pupils, to comfort them and bring them solace in their sorrows. They shall therefore see to it that they receive it frequently and do not miss their regular communion without a good reason.”

There would be no end if we were to compare the articles of the Rule with the words or actions mentioned by Br Jean-Baptiste. The second part of the Life is hardly any more than a paraphrase.

#### d) Problems of chronology

This manner of composing leads to a difficulty which Br Avit (*Annales de l'Institut*, édition 1993, Vol. 1, p. x) has emphasized: “He has collected the maxims, the opinions and the instructions of the good Father, according to a plan that he himself had conceived, **but without telling us the dates on which the reverend Father had given these maxims, these opinions, and these instructions.**”

This lack of chronology is very annoying because, especially in the second part of the work, it keeps us from making an easy appreciation of the evolution of Father Champagnat's spirituality, which, nevertheless, was undeniable. So in the chapter on mortification (Life p 387) Br Jean-Baptiste presents Father Champagnat to us showing Br Jean-Marie two hair shirts and a discipline and promising to show him later how to use them. And Br Jean-Baptiste adds that Br Jean-Marie, some months later, was initiated into the use of these instruments and that he used them “so zealously even, that the Founder was obliged to moderate his fervour”. So here we have a founder, imbued with a penitential spirit which he is communicating to his disciples, and not only to Br Jean-Marie, since there are numerous testimonies as to the extreme mortification of the early Brothers. But when did this event take place? Probably before 1820.<sup>27</sup>

Br Jean-Baptiste recalls also that Father Champagnat in the end did not impose any corporal penance on the Brothers, and that the use of wine, which was at first forbidden, was afterwards allowed.

That means that there was a change in Father Champagnat's spirituality with regard to mortification. But when? And following what events?

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<sup>27</sup> In 1822 (OME doc 19 (75) p 74) inspector Guillard notes that Br Jean-Marie remained on his knees, in the same place, from 8pm till 8am the following morning.

Br Jean-Baptiste gives some partial answers to that when he makes it clear that Father Champagnat (p 398) “was aware that, for most Brothers, the sacrifices and difficulties inherent in teaching could well substitute for corporal penances”. We could be allowed to deduce from that statement that the change took place when the Institute had become more distinctly a teaching congregation and less a monastery, that is to say at the time of the discussion on reading methods, cloth stockings, soutane sewed up from the bottom like that of the Brothers of Christian Schools, that is about 1828-29.

It is also the time when Father Champagnat saw the ravages caused by an obsession with an exaggerated spirituality in the cases of Father Courville and Br Jean-Marie (1826). Moreover it was the time when the archbishop's house intervened to encourage the work of the Brothers by a visit of Mgr de Pins (1827 then by an invitation to ask for legal authorization (1828).

Reading between the lines, then, we can perceive some evidence of evolution which Br Jean-Baptiste has not hidden but has not been willing to bring to the fore. In this way he has preferred to present systematically a picture of stability in Father Champagnat which is a long way from corresponding with historical truth. And so he develops a picture of the sanctity of the Founder **from the cradle** to the detriment of a sanctity forged during years of trial and error and painful ordeals.

Admittedly it is possible for us, as I have shown above, by dint of historical criticism, a few examples of which I have outlined above, to find traces of the evolution of the Founder as a person, but the operation although indispensable - is laborious and often uncertain.

While we are waiting for a critical appraisal at a deeper level, it is important for everyone reading the second part of the Life to know that Father Champagnat's virtues, which have been described without any great concern for chronology, were acquired gradually, even on the occasion of some disruption in his life.

## Conclusion

And so it seems obvious to me that the Life of Father Champagnat, while it remains of great value as the fundamental source on the origins of the Institute, can only reveal its richness if the reader treats it as a literary genre of hagiography starting off with an original sanctity which develops throughout the life of a predestined individual. On the other hand, the reader must keep

in mind the character and position of the author who lets his spirituality, his culture, his ideological options show through throughout the text, and these are not necessarily those of the Founder. Finally, this account is written in specific circumstances and its aim is not only to recall the origins but to correct some abuses which were prevalent at the time of writing, to serve as a reference book for those in certain jobs and with certain difficulties, and finally to maintain and strengthen the cohesion of a body whose unity, during a crisis of growth and organization, was seriously threatened.

Such a reading not only does not only take nothing away from the sanctity of the individual whose life has been exalted, but by making him lose an excessively sacred and dehumanizing dimension, it also keeps the body which is perpetuating his memory from getting bogged down in an original myth that is disembodied and exists outside of time, something that is quite the contrary of a healthy spiritual vision.

Br André LANFREY

## THE SPIRITUAL TESTAMENT OF FATHER CHAMPAGNAT

*“Brother François’s copy would be the text in fair copy which was read to the community and signed by the Father Champagnat. The codicil consists of the few words uttered by the Founder after this reading, and which were dutifully taken down, written in after the text itself and also signed by Father Champagnat. (OM, p. 954)*

Brother Jean-Baptiste, who reports the circumstances of the composition of the Spiritual Testament, was not at the Hermitage at the time of the final illness and death of the Blessed Founder. Besides, we know that we cannot always take literally statements made in 19th century biographies. So we cannot exclude *à priori* the possibility that it was Brother François who took the initiative of asking Father Champagnat to perform this task so important for the “well-being of the Society”.

Father Champagnat, being very ill, would certainly not have been capable of great effort of thought and expression. We can say, with all the more certainty, that the few suggestions he did give truly represented his major concerns with regard to the Congregation. Besides, who else would have thought of devoting practically half of the text to relations with the De la Salle Brothers and the Society of Mary? The final codicil, faithfully recorded in substance, also points to a substantial authenticity. Nevertheless, it is evident that the ordering and drawing up of the text was on the whole the

work of Brother Louis-Marie, with perhaps some assistance from Brother François.

The text appears to be organised according to a fairly simple plan. The first and most important part concerns the Congregation and its survival: within, by the practice of obedience and charity; without, in its relations with the De la Salle Brothers and the Society of Mary. The second part makes recommendations regarding the essential virtues and devotions, and defines the spirit. Then follow the actual farewells and a return to the preoccupations of Father Champagnat.

The Founder was justifiably concerned about the future of his work. He had not succeeded in having it definitely included in the Society of Mary, and on the other hand, the team of Brothers destined to take over from him was very young. Brother François, having neither his prestige as Founder nor his qualities of heart or decisiveness, was going to face difficulties in succeeding Father Champagnat.

*"Most were wondering how the Congregation would be able to operate with those who were going to direct it from then on. Their devotion was never in doubt but one feared the consequences of their inexperience. Brother François, even though he was esteemed greatly by all, did not have the disposition, the initiative, the energy and the high spirits of Father Champagnat. He was not able to captivate hearts or influence wills as the deceased Father had done so easily." (Avit, Annales de l'Institut, vol. 1, p. 309)*

Thus we can understand Father Champagnat's insistence on obedience (and the importance that the first Superiors attached to the Testament of the Founder). This obedience was to be of "heart and mind". Father Champagnat expressed one of his main concerns in saying that "obedience is the foundation and the support of a community". This is true at the simple human and social level. By appealing to supernatural motivations one can claim even blind obedience and obedience of the will. This doctrine is far from being new in the Institute since the 1837 Rule reproduced in full the letter of St Ignatius on obedience and since Father Champagnat, in notebook N° 7, copied out the strongest passages on submission from *The Imitation of Christ*.

As for the interior cohesion of the body through charity, it became one of the fundamental themes of Father Champagnat during the last years of his government of the Institute (cf. Circulars from 1836 and 1837). It seems that the human and spiritual maturity of Marcellin Champagnat centred around

love. Besides, it was one of the fundamental values incontestably recognised in the community of the first Brothers.

But if they were united by this love “as the members of the same body”, the danger that the spirit of the body might degenerate through rivalry with similar bodies was not entirely imaginary.

And we know, above all from the allusions of Brother Avit, that difficulties with the De la Salle Brothers and the Marist Fathers began even at the time of the Founder. The latter was attempting the impossible in camouflaging these from the eyes of the Brothers but he succeeded for the most part, above all with regard to his own disagreements with Father Colin.

The Little Brothers of Mary could hardly avoid coming into conflict with the De la Salle Brothers even though Father Champagnat willingly affirmed that his work was complementary to that of St Jean-Baptiste de la Salle. (cf. Letter of 3.2.1838)

In spite of its apparently irreproachable presentation, the letter of the Very Respected Brother Anaclet to Father Champagnat (2.8.1838) shows, in his insistence on “small localities”, that the De la Salle Brothers did not favour the authorization that Father Champagnat was seeking. The latter was to reject vigorously a plan limiting his Institute to communes of fewer than 1200 souls.

Besides this official act there were the little rivalries stirred up by the fact that the Marist Brothers were asking a much smaller stipend. As an example, here is Brother Avit’s report of a little incident (“Annales de l’Institute” vol. 2 pp. 200-201, N° 61):

*“The De la Salle Brothers had established a boarding school at Beaurepaire (Isère) the year before ... The director, Br Renovatus had published a prospectus, extravagant in all its claims. The lay music master at the house in Vienne overheard the Brothers saying among themselves: “Our boarding schools in Vienne and Beaurepaire must wipe out that of the Marist Brothers in Côte-Saint-André”.*

This layman had reported what he had heard to Br Eutrope, director at La Côte and to Br Victor, director at Viriville, who were already annoyed by the prospectus and the boasting of Br Renovatus... (There follows an account of a trick played by the Marist Brothers on the De la Salle Brothers).

The Founder, being perfectly upright and courageous, did not neglect giving his Little Brothers a concrete lesson in charity even on his death bed.

Far from envying the other Brothers they must rejoice at their success and pray for them. In any case, they must “yield to them without difficulty”, as being superior to them and not add their contribution to evil rumours which were bound to arise here and there. They must purify their zeal and have no other aim than the glory of God and the honour of Mary.

Logically the exhortation regarding the Society of Mary ought to have followed that aimed at internal cohesion by means of charity: the greater Society of Mary was to form but “one family”. It is again a question of obedience and charity as in the second and third paragraphs. In fact, this exhortation follows the paragraph devoted to the De la Salle Brothers with whom there were some difficulties and so was considered as following naturally from the introduction: “all other Institutes”. (Besides there is not even a transition between the paragraph about the De la Salle Brothers and the one about the Society of Mary.) So the original purpose does not seem to have been a mere “outburst of devout sentiments” with regard to the Society of Mary but rather a supreme effort to restore a union which had become more and more compromised.

From the first sentence one detects a disparity between external statement and the interior sentiments which ought to go with it:

*“Just as your wills are to be united with those of the Fathers of the Society of Mary in the will of one and the same Superior, so I desire that you be always united with them in Jesus and Mary.”*

Basically, the main stumbling block was the problem of the Brothers being at the service of the Fathers. Father Colin had some ideas on this which seemed unacceptable to Father Champagnat and his Brothers. The difficulties only increased in spite of the provision to “come to the help” of the Fathers which Father Champagnat inserted in the statutes of the Congregation from 1833 on. At the time of the printing of the 1837 Rule this attestation of good will remained without specifying further the ties between the two societies.

Father Champagnat is constant in affirming that there was only one Superior General for the whole Society of Mary, the Superior of the Brothers being himself subordinate to him. In the draft of the text regulating the election of his successor (cf. Note-book N° 9) he retains the title, Director General, to stress once more the fact that there was only one Superior General. (It seems that Father Colin would accept union only on the condition that the Brothers were completely subject to the government of the Fathers).

In an outpouring of good will and ardent affection for his religious family he again exhorts the Brothers to try once more to overcome the difficulties:

*“May the Fathers’ interests be yours ... come to their help ... May you be united to them as branches of the same tree. May the same spirit and the same love keep you united, as one family, to Mary the divine Mother.”*

Following his habitual logic Father Champagnat redoubles his recommendations in a second “wave”, while modulating them a little. In his mind the common Superior General must be the “centre of unity”. (He already had this idea in the autumn of 1830 when the two groups, of Lyons and of Belley, elected Father Colin). He now exacted the same obedience for the common Superior General as the Brothers were showing towards him. He pushed the identification to the limit: “His mind is mine and his will is mine”.

Here Father Champagnat called on what he held most precious, namely, the affection, the confidence, the submission that the Brothers evinced towards him. To convince the Brothers finally to bind themselves with good heart to the Society of Mary, he made this union the condition on which the prosperity of the Institute depended:

*“I consider this full accord and submission as the base and support of the Society of the Brothers of Mary.”*

The opinion generally accepted was that a congregation of Brothers must depend on a group of priests. (It was also the conviction of Father Mazelier). Here Father Champagnat returns once more to his fundamental concerns for the future of the Congregation. It was a similar anxiety which had already caused him to join his idea of teaching Brothers to the plan for the Society of Mary in 1815.

In fact the die was already cast the previous year when, following disagreements on the matter of the government of the Brothers, the Fathers voted to separate the Servant Brothers and the Teaching Brothers. Time would only widen the gap between the two Marist Congregations.

In his letter of 13th August 1870, Father Colin made his thoughts and first intentions perfectly clear:

*“Teaching Brothers did not figure at all, before God, in my original plan for the Society; if later they were admitted it was simply to oblige, and in*

*gratitude for the services they were rendering us and above all at the request of Father Champagnat and his Brothers.” (OM3, p.624)*

The Founder, having made his most pressing recommendations for the life of the Congregation as a social body, added a few more directly spiritual counsels. (The disproportion between the two parts, practical life and doctrine, is characteristic of Father Champagnat.) This passage could be divided into two sections: 1) the spirit of prayer and the devotions; 2) the religious virtues.

At the heart of the first part, between the passage on the Presence of God and that on Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, is inserted the definition of the spirit of the Institute.

This piece is difficult to analyze. Father Champagnat begins the paragraph with the reference to God. We might take this as being simply conventional if we did not know that the sense of God was one of the fundamental characteristics of his spiritual life.

The expression “presence of God” is a global formula whose sense needs to be specified in each particular case. With Father Champagnat it seems to signify above all the attitude of the poor before God, as suggested by his reflex-aspiration “You know it my God”. This existential dialogue, this “face to face” of the creature with his God, can well be regarded as “the soul of prayer, of meditation, and of all the virtues”.

Following this interpretation and in this attitude “face to face with God”, it is natural that the Institute be characterised by humility and simplicity. It is certain that humility was one of the great virtues of Father Champagnat. As for simplicity, which these days we accept as a virtue relating to everyday behaviour, it was not defined as such in the language used by spiritual or ascetical writers. It was often even rejected as being contrary to what people considered to be “good breeding”.

Brothers François and Louis-Marie little by little made it more acceptable (always linking it with humility), and presenting it as the general characteristic of the first Brothers. Brother Avit does the same:

*“Br Alexandre, one of the first disciples of Father Champagnat, was ‘a true Israelite’, of great simplicity, like most of the original Brothers.” (Annales de l’Institut, vol. 3, p.262, N°55)*

This is the sense of the word we retain here: simplicity depending on humility, in language, in the sentiments of the soul and in exterior comportment. These days we have no difficulty in saying that the characteristic of the Brothers of Mary is simplicity, in the modern sense of the term. (Note the use of the singular in the text: the characteristic of the Little Brothers of Mary”).

It is a form of spiritual childhood, characterised by a filial attitude, (that, even, of the Incarnate Word).

*“I tell you solemnly, unless you change and become like little children you will never enter the kingdom of heaven.” (Mt. 18:3)*

This attitude leads naturally to a “tender and filial devotion for our good Mother”, following the constant proclivity of Marcellin Champagnat, that everything must find expression in day to day life.

This Marial piety is still characterised by the fundamental and vital notion of belonging, and by following a Marial apostolate:

*“Do all that you can to make her loved everywhere. She is the First Superior of the whole Society ... How consoling it is ... to know that one has lived under the protection of Mary and in her Society! May that good Mother keep you safe ...”*

Father Champagnat’s best expression on devotion to Mary is probably that which occurs in his letter of 25th May to 1838 to Bishop Pompallier:

*“Without Mary we are nothing and with Mary we have everything, because Mary always has her adorable Son in her arms and in her heart.”*

As Mary has her role in the mystery of the Incarnation, devotion to Mary is a means for us to enter into this mystery and to unite ourselves to Jesus. The love of our “Good Mother” leads us directly to the filial spirit, the spirit of Jesus which has us say “Abba, Father”. The fact that the definition of the spirit of the Institute as simplicity occurs between the presence of God and filial devotion to the Blessed Virgin can thus take on a symbolic sense: the Marist Spirit is a Marial way to God.

The little exhortation on the religious life which occurs towards the end of the text completes, on the personal level, the recommendations on obedience and charity of the first two paragraphs. Here Father Champagnat

shows himself once again realistic while at the same time evincing a vigorous idealism. It is surprising to find in a man at his last extremity so much confident vitality. The Marist vocation is an ideal to “love” and to preserve with “fidelity” and “courage”. The fundamental condition for remaining faithful to this ideal is poverty and detachment.

***“No one can be the slave of two masters...” (Mt. 6: 24)***

***“When he finds a pearl of great value, he goes and sells everything he owns...” (Mt. 13: 46)***

***“If you wish to be perfect go and sell what you own...” (Mt. 19:21)***

The Rule is presented as the means of remaining faithful to the ideal of religious consecration incarnated in the vow of chastity. This virtue, “the fairest and the frailest” of all, must be especially dear to the Marist Brother educator, following the desire of Father Champagnat and the traditions of the Institute. Undoubtedly, following Christ involves the Cross, but it also means sharing in its graces of salvation:

*“There are difficulties in leading the life of a good Religious, but grace makes all things easy. Jesus and Mary will help you.”*

Here is the Founder, at the end of his Spiritual Testament, referring to the circumstances of the moment and merging his personal destiny with that of the Brothers, in death as right through his life:

*“How consoling it is... that one has lived under the protection of Mary and in her Society!”*

This is a way of recalling globally the Marial character of the religious consecration of the Brothers, with the particular nuance of belonging. In the face of imminent death he does well to throw himself one last time “into the arms” of the “Good Mother”.

After this fleeting allusion to his own death the farewells of Father Champagnat are transformed into wishes of life and prosperity, :

*“May that Good Mother keep you safe, give you increase, and bring you to holiness.”*

## THE SPIRITUAL TESTAMENT OF FATHER CHAMPAGNAT

He gave his whole life to “the work of Mary” and, at the moment of death, he is still thinking only of its prosperity.

The actual farewells consist of three lines, those that the Good Father most often put at the end of his letters. They express the fraternal union of the Father with his dearly loved Brothers, while raising it to the supernatural level of intimacy with Jesus and Mary. It is, furthermore, in this perspective that love receives its consecration and abides forever.

*“I leave you all with confidence in the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary...”*

The final formula recalls the introduction and stresses that the Spiritual Testament summarises the express wishes of the Founder with regard to his work and directs the whole once more to “the glory of Jesus and Mary”. The introduction and the conclusion, requiring a certain formality, bear more directly the mark of the editor, Brother Jean-Marie.

The committing of the Testament to the hand of Father Colin constitutes an act of religious homage with regard to his Superior, but equally is a reminder of the express wish of the Founder of the Brothers (and co-founder of the Fathers), to bind his work to the Society of Mary.

The codicil, seemingly due merely to feelings of humility, was probably induced by something more concrete, as was usually the case with Father Champagnat. The motivation was very likely a certain feeling of guilt, even anguish. Since 1837 differences existed between the Superior of the Marist Brothers and Father Colin on the question of the Brothers being at the service of the priests. We are aware of the severe letters written by Father Colin which seem to have led to a certain rupture of relations with Father Champagnat. (From February 1839 to February 1840 there is no trace of correspondence).

This tense state of affairs in the heart of his religious family was probably one of Father Champagnat's greatest sorrows during his last years. It is undoubtedly this anguish which finds expression in the short addition to the end of the Spiritual Testament. According to Father Champagnat's own particular reasoning, a logic of feelings difficult to express, the author makes two attempts to achieve his aim.

It is natural for a dying saint to ask pardon for hypothetical offences and implore prayers to obtain the mercy of God. This provided the opportunity for a last solemn protestation of respect and submission to “the Superior

General of the Society of Mary” and of union with all the members of that Society.

It is not to deny *à priori* that Father Champagnat may have wanted to ask pardon in so far as he was responsible for the “scandal” of division at the heart of the Society of Mary. The mention of the Brothers at the end is superfluous since Father Champagnat has already amply expressed his affection toward them. It may come from the pen of the editor who feels the need to round the edges and to counter what might be too pointed and too evocative in this last allusion.

## REFLECTIONS

This Testament bears to a certain extent the mark of an improvisation in its lack of solemn formulas, more or less long, that are usual in such circumstances. The text is reduced to the essential recommendations which often refer to actual and vital problems for the Congregation. In this sense it is the last lesson (in life) that the Founder gave his disciples.

In what concerns the virtues, much of the advice of Father Champagnat on the occasion of retreats concerned poverty. There were also grave warnings against familiarity with the pupils which were, moreover, summed up in the Rule of 1837, (p.44).

This is far from being a merely customary, edifying reading where one distances oneself from actual situations. Father Champagnat never distances himself from real life.

We notice also that in this essential text there is no mention of the motto, “All to Jesus through Mary”, nor the formula, “Ordinary Resource”. On the other hand “The Good Mother” is often employed.

The charity and the humility of the holy Founder are made more evident by his disinterested recommendations in favour of other teaching Brothers than by the beautiful expressions on union and charity within the Congregation found in the second paragraph.

Brother Alexandre BALKO

# **THE AFFECTIVE LIFE OF MARCELLIN CHAMPAGNAT: CELIBACY, LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP**

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

I was motivated to undertake this study on the affectivity of Marcellin Champagnat after attending a seminar on “friendship and the religious life”. In the beginning I looked upon this topic as a great challenge, because it had not been studied before in any meaningful way. Father José Rivera and Brother Alexander Balko helped me to focus on the objectives of the work.

In the first part I have tried to clarify some concepts pertaining to the theme which is amply developed in the central body of the work. The central concepts of the latter part of the study are made clear. I give a descriptive definition of affectivity, emotion, sentiment, affective maturity. Afterwards I point out the fundamental aspects of human sexuality from the anthropological point of view, and the theological elements of celibacy for the sake of the Kingdom. I also indicate some characteristics of celibate love and of love in the religious life.

In the second part I consider as central Chapter Three, in which I deal with celibacy and affectivity in Marcellin Champagnat, from his writings, from some of the events in his life and from the testimonies or stories of those

who knew him. The first two chapters aim at entering into the context of the ambience in which Champagnat lived in order to observe the influences he received in his education and which were forming his personality. On the other hand, the last two chapters let us see the consequences of his active life, reflected in his spirituality, his relationship with God and his affective dealings with people.

The third part is a confirmation of all the points I have dealt with previously, using original texts which the Founder wrote, among which his letters are very relevant and significant. In this third part I analyze the texts, starting with the original ones, under the aspect of celibacy and affectivity, while in the second part I make a synthesis, starting with the different sources.

Original texts of the Founder of the Marist Brothers which make direct reference to celibacy, friendship and affectivity are rare. This was one of the difficulties I had to face when studying this topic. However, there do exist texts in which these themes appear indirectly. These texts are quite plentiful and allowed me to see in Champagnat a man of generous spirit and pure heart, affectionate and friendly. His writings, along with the testimony of his biographers, have led me to the desired end: to find the relation between celibacy, love for one's neighbour, and the friendship of Marcellin Champagnat.

## **CELIBACY IN MARCELLIN CHAMPAGNAT**

In the writings of Champagnat we have only two letters which mention purity and chastity, and that very discreetly. In the Spiritual Testament he alludes in a veiled way to chastity, referring to it as “the fairest of virtues and the frailest”.

In these writings, Marcellin speaks of “the very lovable virtue”, referring to purity (Letter 247), and of “the fairest of virtues and the frailest”, when alluding to chastity; he considers it as an angelic virtue, then he himself says to his correspondent: “Mary will keep you as chaste as an angel” (Letter 259). Among the means he suggests for cultivating purity and chastity the following figure: think about the Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ, always keep yourselves busy and enthusiastic in your teaching, obey your superior and follow his advice, observe the Rule faithfully, practise the presence of God, and have a great devotion to Mary.

In some sermons he has written, Champagnat attacks dances, licentious customs, “cabarets”, forbidden readings; he takes a firm stand on purity of habits and the necessity of living a chaste and austere life; he puts forward Mary as the supreme model of purity, and the goal we must attain by living a chaste life is charity, love of our neighbour, mercy and forgiveness of offences (cf Sermons 2, 10, 14, 25, 28).

In several of his letters (cf Letters 5, 93, 103) and in the text of the first Rule (Ch VIII and IX) he puts on record the preventive measures and the care which must be observed in our dealings with women (“persons of the other sex”), who may not come into the Brothers’ house unless accompanied by the parish priest or by the mayor (cf Règles des Petits Frères de Marie, ch IX, art 9).

Notwithstanding this, Marcellin’s relations with women were normal. In one of the resolutions he took for his holidays in 1813 he promises to “arrange things so that I shall never be alone with a woman”; but, at the same time, he promises to visit the sick and instruct the ignorant, the rich as well as the poor”, which implied meeting women as well as men (cf Marist Notebooks, 1990, no 1 p 93).

We have two letters in which he shows himself attentive and friendly in his dealings with women, whether with Jeanne Chavoïn, foundress of the Marist Sisters, or with his cousin, Marie Clermondon, to whom he sends from Paris an affectionate letter on the occasion of the death of her husband (Letters 25 and 180).

We have no other writings of Father Champagnat which are significant with regard either to celibacy or to relations with females. We can deduce that Marcellin followed the advice of his mentors and followed the teachings of spiritual authors and the practice of zealous priests of his time.

With regard to his attitude to feasts and village dances, we must note his direct attacks on them, as can be seen in his sermons and as his biographers relate. Dance meetings were considered to be an invention of the devil and a proximate occasion of sin; for that reason, zealous priests of Champagnat’s time gave eloquent sermons against them and imposed penances, even public ones, on the parishioners who were responsible. Even as a seminarist, Marcellin broke up a dance in his home village, and in the parish of La Valla he was to continue this crusade (cf Cahiers Maristes I, pp 74, 94-95; Vie 26-27).

When confronted by moral faults against purity or chastity, Marcellin is presented by his principal biographer, Jean-Baptiste Furet, as a strict man. He

tells us, with moving realism, of two faults which caused a scandal among the postulants; the Founder took harsh measures to deal with them and with those who were guilty of them in order to avoid contagion. One case occurred in La Valla, with a postulant, the other, similar to the first, in the Hermitage (cf Cahiers Maristes I, 486-488; Vie, 190). However, when he had to deal with a fault of the same type committed by one of his priest companions, Courveille, Marcellin showed himself more understanding and tolerant (cf Vie, p 151, Cahiers Maristes I, 190). From this we deduce that the fundamental attitude of Marcellin was not one of rigour, but that he was trying to avoid contagion.

Prudence, vigilance, realism, active presence among the Brothers and among the children, these were the means he proposed, and practised himself, to avoid any scandal or fault against purity. In fact, we have no information that, in his time, there was any failing in purity or chastity among the Brothers or their pupils. Continued and mutual watchfulness, apostolic zeal, fraternal charity, openness of conscience, simplicity and humility, austerity and sacrifice, prayer and devotion to Mary were the means used by Marcellin Champagnat and taught to his Brothers for the cultivation of chastity (cf CM I, pp 288-289; Vie, pp 242, 405-414; TMC, p 116-118; RPFM, pp 72-75; ALS, pp 177-197).

## **LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP IN MARCELLIN CHAMPAGNAT**

In connection with the theme of celibacy, we have studied our Founder's way of life, that is to say, his affective relationship with God and with others. We are talking of a man who was sensitive to the needs of others, to the circumstances of the Church and of society in his time.

In his relations with God, what stands out in Champagnat is his attitude of abandonment to the will of God, confidence in Providence, spiritual childhood. We can say that the coordinates of his spirituality were his love for Jesus Christ and his love for Mary. The mysteries of Christ which Marcellin liked most all refer to Christ's humility: Jesus in Bethlehem and in Nazareth (the Word incarnate), Christ on the Cross (Redemption), Jesus in the Tabernacle (Eucharist). A tender and filial devotion to Mary is also connected with humility and love, from which spring his apostolic zeal and his commitment to the Church. Marcellin cultivates prayer as "the presence of God" who is always near in anything he does; we mean that his prayer is a prayer of the heart as a basic experience in which humility, confidence, surrender to the Lord, all predominate. In this way there is developed a

profound union and friendship with the Lord. The fraternal love and friendship with people which Marcellin cultivated was to be the fruit of this profound relationship with God.

In fact, Marcellin maintained affectionate relations with his family. We have documents which confirm this relationship of loving closeness, especially with regard to his brothers Jean-Pierre and Jean-Barthélemy; he also showed affectionate attachment to his nephews in the Arnaud family and to his sister-in-law, Marie Clermondon.

We have found that Marcellin had many good friends. This subject has not yet been gone into deeply enough, but we have discovered links of sincere friendship between Champagnat and Duplay, Mazelier, Dervieux, Colin, Janvier, Jourjon, Bellicier, Preher and other persons I mention in the work.

Champagnat also maintained friendly relations with his superiors; especially with Gardette, Cattet, Cholleton, Courbon, Barou and Mgr De Pins. We can say the same for his dealings with benefactors and parishioners. He knew how to win the confidence, appreciation and endearment of people.

As to his relations with the Brothers, love and friendship, concern and understanding were his basic attitudes. His secret, as Founder, was in his paternal heart and his friendly manner. These aspects are reflected clearly in many of his letters which I have quoted freely in the second and third parts. Marcellin used informal meetings, letters and circulars, conferences and personal interviews to guide and express his love for the Brothers. His affectivity is shown by his friendly manner, understanding, closeness and confidence. Many of his letters and the testimony of Brothers show clearly these aspects of the Founder (cf AA, pp 249-255; Letters, 135, 168, 169, 172, 175, 181, 193, 204).

Marcellin showed his love for the Brothers by making himself all things for all men, in a thousand practical ways, in prayer, in friendliness, in human and spiritual affection. He expressed special confidence and friendship towards certain Brothers: François, Stanislas, Sylvestre, Laurent, Antoine, Barthélemy, Jean-Marie, Louis, Jean-Baptiste, Bonaventure, Louis-Marie.

He was generous and compassionate towards children, old folk, the sick, the poor, his parishioners (Vie, p 504, 520, 525; AA, p 317; RMC, p270). His love for all and his pastoral concern extended to the whole Church, as he says in one of his letters: "Our plans include all the dioceses of the world" (Letters, 93). Love in the name of the Lord, apostolic zeal arising from a practical love for people, brotherliness and a family spirit, these were some of the virtues which he fostered in the religious congregation he founded.

Champagnat was a man whose relations with people were deeply affectionate and open.; he cultivated friendship and love of his neighbour, a love which arose spontaneously from his affectionate and compassionate heart.

## CONCLUSIONS

Making a synthesis of the topic treated in this little treatise, I can emphasize or underline the following aspects:

1. Affectivity, sexuality, celibacy, love and friendship are intimately related. Religious life and consecration cannot be truly lived without integrating and developing these aspects.

2. Marcellin Champagnat lived in a cultural, social, religious and family environment where his vocation and capacity for love were developed. He gave expression to his human and spiritual dynamism in a determined time and place: revolutionary and post-revolutionary France. He was acquainted with new currents of thought and action: enlightenment, social unrest and yearning for liberty, equality and fraternity; the Church in France was passing through a period of crisis and restoration as a result of persecution, romanticism, rigorism and Gallicanism. The final fruit of this was a great spiritual resurgence of which Champagnat was part. He knew the vicissitudes and the needs of his times, being sensitive to them and making a successful contribution to social and religious renewal.

3. As traits which were characteristic of Marcellin Champagnat's personality we can point out the following, which were outstanding: simplicity, common sense, a strong will, a good way with people, capacity for action and work, intimacy and friendliness in his leadership, sensitivity and affection when confronted with the needs of others.

4. The way in which Champagnat lived his celibacy was in direct relation to his humility, obedience and fraternal charity. Underlying this picture, its background, as it were, was the Marian dimension of all his spirituality, as well as an intuitive vision of what constitutes the most genuine roots of the religious life (see diagrams 1 and 2).

The most important means he used and recommended for living celibacy for the Kingdom were the following: fraternal charity, apostolic zeal, watchfulness over one's feelings, openness of conscience, prayer and the sacraments, humility and devotion to Mary.

I suppose that Marcellin did not write much about chastity for reasons I shall now suggest. He did not write at length or in any depth about any topic; for example, although he was a founder of an educational institute, he wrote about neither education nor pedagogy since he was not a man of theory but of practice. In those days it was not usual to talk about those topics, concerning which people adopted an attitude of respectful silence. He did not find it necessary to lay greater stress on this since neither he nor the early Brothers - according to what we can deduce from the writings and testimonies that we know - had any problems in that regard. Finally, as a positive reason, I think that he saw celibacy in relation to humility, obedience, charity ... and not as an end in itself. Therefore he proposed as a means towards celibacy and as its source, the cultivation of fraternity, apostolate, humility and imitation of Mary.

5. Marcellin's spirituality is related to his affectivity. Love of God and his abiding presence as a form of prayer, a tender and filial devotion to Mary, a predilection for the mysteries of the Incarnate Word (Bethlehem, Nazareth, Calvary), love for the Eucharist, surrender to and confidence in Providence, respectful reverence for superiors, apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls, a generous commitment to people who were most in need, and his attraction towards the community life of the Little Brothers of Mary (living, as he did, with them), are outstanding elements of Champagnat's spirituality, and these are connected with the fervour of his heart. Moreover, Marcellin was neither an inventor nor an innovator; his spirituality was in relation to and was dependent on other earlier movements which he had assimilated and on which he had imprinted a particular character. His charism, as a Founder, comes from the Spirit and from the Church, and redounds to the good of and to the service of that same Church (see diagrams 3 and 4).

6. Celibacy, as lived by Marcellin, was closely bound up with his love for all men and with his closeness to each person in particular. He was a man of unsophisticated manner, capable of cultivating deep friendships and candid relationships with those around him. In chapter five of the second part we have amply developed the kind of relationships that Marcellin had with his family, with his friends and his fellow-priests with his superiors and with the Brothers, with his parishioners and with the children. From the texts of many of his letters you can deduce the deep love and friendship that Marcellin had for his correspondents where the affectivity of his heart shines through. The secret of his efforts at formation and of his system of pedagogy lies in love, a combination of tenderness and paternal insistence. His apostolic action is summed up in the words, compassion and love for all men.

7. Marcellin Champagnat's writings refer only indirectly to the themes of celibacy, affectivity and friendship. This notwithstanding, I have found sufficient elements in his letters, his exhortations, his sermons, his Spiritual Testament and in the first printed Rule to lead me to discover and value the importance of these aspects in the Founder's life. For him celibacy and friendship were useful for fostering love and freedom for the service of God and men.

8. In religious consecration, formation and affective development are essential dimensions. The faculties of the human person (intelligence and will) must be integrated and powered by affectivity. A wholesome development of emotivity and sensitivity is the unifying element in the beauty, goodness and truth which are so longed for by the human soul. Conforming to the person of Christ and internalizing the evangelical values infer the ideal of following and imitating the one who is the Way the Truth and the Life. Moved by the Spirit, Marcellin Champagnat followed the Master and was able to unify celibacy and love in his life, being an instrument of divine love.

9. We have to situate the stories of excessive rigour in matters relating to chastity, which are related by his principal biographer, Jean-Baptiste Furet, in the historical and religious context of that period. Certain ways of acting which appear cruel to us, certain reactions and procedures, which can appear to us to be out of all proportion to their cause, do not surprise us in the context of the way things were done in those days and in view of the formation Marcellin received in the seminary. In the third chapter of the second part I have already explained that dealings with women were limited to the strictly necessary; I gave the reasons which prompted his dramatic behaviour with regard to dances; I gave the argument for his rigorous behaviour when dealing with the scandal of the postulants and the rebellion that was spreading among some of the Brothers.

10. The basic attitude of Marcellin Champagnat is prudence and daring love. The wisdom of his heart enlightened and energized his thoughts and his actions. His way of acting is understood when seen in the light of his amicable way of dealing with people which fostered simplicity in his relations with God and man, his friendship, compassion and generosity. I conclude by saying that Marcellin was able to love in accordance with the heart of God, the only source of purity and charity.

# DOCUMENTS

## 2.14 PENANCE

Conference on repentance in general:

according to the manuscript in AFM 134.23  
on a leaflet of 8 pages, format 20.3 x 14.4  
of which the 6th page has only 3 lines and  
the 7th, 4 lines written lengthwise on the page,  
and the 8th is completely blank.

In the series of conferences or instructions on the sacrament of Penance which follow, this one can be considered as an introduction. It is a reflection on the word “penance” in its most general sense which leads the preacher fairly quickly to the sacrament of Penance and its necessity. In order to make the lesson more immediate it is presented as responses to questions that the listener might ask himself.

It is not easy to situate this text in the life of Father Champagnat. It could very well be one of those instructions that he used to give his parishioners on Sundays after the evening prayer (cf. Life pp. 45-47) or one of those given in the course of a mission to prepare the people for a general confession. In the first case it would be placed at the beginning of his curacy, around 1816/17, in the second, after 1924. The note on page 7 of the original can hardly give us any precise indication because it could have been written either prior to or later than the text.

N.B. the words in ordinary brackets ( ) are crossed out in the text;

the letters in square brackets [ ] have been substituted by the editor.

## CONFERENCE SUR LA PENITENCE

Le mot latin *PENITENTIA* signifie repentir. Repentir marque, outre le changement de sentiment pour l'avenir, le regret et la douleur pour le passé.

- 5 Si l'on a manqué à quelqu'un dont on dépende et qui soit fort au-dessus de nous, la douleur qu'on en ressent porte à nous abaisser et lui en faire satisfaction. Un sujet, par exemple, qui a porté les armes contre son prince, met bas les armes, condamne hautement sa conduite passée, s'abaisse profondément pour réparer le crime de sa révolte.

10 La pénitence est donc, selon la force du nom que lui donnent les latins, une douleur et une détestation du péché que l'on a commis avec la résolution sincère de le le plus commettre et la volonté de réparer en la manière qu'on le peut l'injure faite à Dieu par le péché.

Ainsi, faire pénitence, c'est détester le péché, y renoncer de tout son cœur et le punir en soi-même.

- 15 Et ce qu'on appelle l'esprit de pénitence, c'est la disposition d'un homme qui, pénétré du regret d'avoir péché, reconnaissant ce qu'il doit à la justice de Dieu, prend contre lui-même, sans se flatter, les intérêts de sa justice et s'efforce par tous les moyens possibles d'y satisfaire afin d'en obtenir miséricorde. C'est encore ce qu'on appelle: vertu de pénitence.

- 20 On appelle encore: faire sa pénitence, s'acquitter des œuvres satisfactives imposées par le confesseur; c'est ce dont nous parlerons dans la conférence touchant la satisfaction.

Enfin on appelle pénitence, le sacrement institué par Notre Seigneur Jésus Ch. pour la réconciliation des pécheurs.

- 25 - Avant de passer au sacrement de pénitence, voudriez vous nous dire s'il est nécessaire d'avoir la vertu de pénitence maintenant que N.S.J.Ch. a institué le sacrement de pénitence? et quelle différence y a-t-il entre la pénitence comme vertu et la pénitence comme sacrement?

- 30 - Il y a cette grande différence que le sacre[men]t de pénitence n'est nécessaire que depuis que Notre Seigneur J.C. l'a institué et qu'il n'a lieu que pour les péchés commis après le sacrement de Bap.

- Au lieu que la vertu de pénitence a été, dit le concile de Trente, nécessaire en tout temps pour obtenir la grâce de la justice à tous ceux qui s'étoient souillés par quelque péché mortel et même à ceux qui  
35 demandoient à être lavés par le sacrement de Bap. Il a toujours été nécessaire que le pécheur renonçât à la malice et qu'il s'en corrigeât, en détestant avec une saine haine et une sincère douleur de cœur l'offense qu'il avoit commise contre Dieu.

## CONFERENCE ON PENANCE

The Latin word *PENITENTIA* means repentance. To repent means, besides a change of heart for the future, regret and sorrow for the past.

- If you fail in your duty towards someone on whom you depend and who is far above you, the concern you feel drives you to humble yourself and make amends to him for it. A subject, for example, who takes up arms against his prince, lays down his arms, roundly condemns his past conduct, humbles himself profoundly in order to make up for the crime of his revolt.
- 10 Penance, then, according to the meaning given the word by its Latin origin, is sorrow and detestation for the sin that one has committed along with the determination to repair as far as one can the injury done to God by the sin.
- Thus, to do penance is to detest sin, to renounce it with all one's heart and to punish oneself for it.
- 15 And what is called the spirit of penance is the disposition of a man who, filled with regret for having sinned, recognising his debt to the justice of God and, without deluding himself, turns on himself the demands of this justice and strives by all possible means to satisfy these demands in order
- 20 to obtain mercy. This, again, is what is called the virtue of penance. One also speaks of doing one's penance, performing the works of satisfaction imposed by the confessor, that is what we will speak about in the conference dealing with satisfaction.
- Finally we use the word penance for the sacrament instituted by Our Lord Jesus Christ for the reconciliation of sinners.
- 25 - Before passing on to the Sacrament of Penance, would you like to tell us whether it is necessary to have the virtue of penance now that O.L.J.Ch. has instituted the Sacrament of Penance? and what difference there is between penance as a virtue and penance as a sacrament?
- 30 - There is this great difference that the Sacra[men]t of Penance has only been necessary since Our Lord J.C. instituted it, and it takes place only for the sins committed after the sacrament of Bap.
- On the other hand, the virtue of penance, says the Council of Trent, was always necessary in order to obtain the grace of justice for all those who
- 35 were stained by some mortal sin, and even for those who were asking to be cleansed by the sacrament of Bap. It has always been necessary that the sinner renounce the evil and that he correct himself of it, while detesting with a holy hatred and a sincere sorrow of heart his offence against God.

Cette nécessité de la pénitence pour tous les temps et pour tous les  
40 pecheurs est fondée sur deux loix que Dieu a établies:

1° Dieu est l'ordre essentiel et immuable, il ne se reconcilie avec le  
pecheur que quand celui ci rentre dans l'ordre de ses devoirs.  
L'opposition de sa volonté avec celle de Dieu est un desordre et une  
revolte, et pour que Dieu lui pardonne, il faut que le pecheur detruise  
45 cette opposition de sa volonté avec ce Dieu: *Nisi paenitentiam egeritis  
omnes similiter peribitis.*

2° Il faut que tout péché soit puni. Tel est l'arret irrevocable prononcé  
par celui qui est la souveraine justice et le pecheur ne peut rentrer en  
grâce avec Dieu s'il ne se soumet volontairement a cet arret. Il est donc  
50 absolument necessaire que le pecheur entre dans les vues de Dieu sur  
lui, qu'il prenne contre lui-même les interets de sa justice en les  
punissant volontairement et en acceptant de bon coeur les maux par  
lesquels il plut a Dieu de le punir en cette vie, s'il ne veut que cette  
justice ne tombe sur lui de tout son poids et l'ecrase pendant toute  
55 l'éternité. Car il n'y a point de milieu: tout péché, grand ou petit, dit St.  
Augustin, doit incessamment etre puni ou par le pecheur penitent, ou par  
la justice vengeresse de Dieu.

- Voudriez vous nous dire ce que c'est que le sacrement de penitence et  
en quoi il consiste?

60 - Le sacrement de penitence est un signe sensible, institué par Notre  
Seigneur Jésus Ch., pour remêttre les péché commis après le Bap. Jesus  
Ch. l'institua après sa resurection quand il dit a ses Apôtres: Recevez le  
St. Esprit; les pechés seront remis à ceux a qui vous les remettrez et ils  
seront retenus à ceux à qui vous les retiendrez.

Le sacrement de pénitence consiste dans la contrition, la confession, la  
65 satisfaction du penitent et l'absolution du prêtre.

*sur la page 7, dans le sens de la longueur:*

Correspondance factures quittances

Correspondance, factures quittances Notes

Bourg Argental St.Sauveur extrait Bap(teme) certificat autorisation

70 Boulieu Brevet (Lettres demandant)

Empuis Chavanais

40 This necessity of penitence for all times and all sinners is founded on two laws that God has established:

1 God is essential and immutable order, he reconciles himself with the sinner only when the latter returns to the state of order, namely, the practice of his duties. The opposition of his will to that of God is a disorder and a revolt, and in order that God pardon him, it is necessary  
45 that the sinner destroy this opposition of his will to that of God: *Nisi paenitentiam egeritis omnes similiter peribitis.*

2 It is necessary that all sin be punished. Such is the decree irrevocably pronounced by him, who is sovereign justice, and the sinner cannot  
50 return to favour with God if he does not submit voluntarily to this decree. So it is absolutely necessary that the sinner enters into the plans of God for him, that he takes on himself the demands of this justice by punishing his sins voluntarily and accepting in good heart the evils by which it pleases God to punish him in this life, if he does not want this  
55 justice to fall on him with all its weight and crush him through all eternity. Because there is no middle way: all sin, great or small, says St. Augustine, must be punished without delay either by the penitent sinner or by the avenging justice of God.

- Would you like to tell us what is the Sacrament of Penance and in what  
60 it consists?

- The Sacrament of Penance is an outward sign, instituted by Our Lord Jesus Ch., to remit the sins committed after Bap. Jesus Ch. instituted it after his resurrection when he said to his Apostles: Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you forgive shall be forgiven and whose sins you retain  
65 shall be retained.

The Sacrament of Penance consists in the contrition, confession, satisfaction of the penitent and the absolution of the priest.

*On page 7, lengthwise on the page:*

70 Correspondence bills receipts  
Correspondence, bills receipts Notes  
Bourg Argental St. Sauveur Bap(tism) certificate authorization  
Boulieu Brevet (Letters asking).  
Empuis Chavanais

**A - Contrition**

**Doc. 134.20**

*Deus nunc annuntiat hominibus ut omnes ubique paenitentiam agant.*  
Dieu fait maintenant annoncer à tous les hommes et en tous les lieux,  
qu'ils fassent pénitence. ch.19

## 2.15

# ON THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE

According to the manuscript in AFM 134.20; 21; 22  
in a leaflet of 16 pages (presently separated),  
format 20 X 14, pages 1,2 and 16 are completely blank,  
page 8 has only three lines, the end of 314.20.

The three texts form a set dealing with different aspects of the Sacrament of Penance. After a general introduction, Father Champagnat develops the three elements of the Sacrament of Penance, treating each in a separate session. He calls them "Conferences" but they are rather instructions, catechism lessons simply outlined.

They are presented in the form that he always recommended to the Brothers: question and response. However, he does not seem to be addressing children or the Brothers: the Latin quotations would be more appropriate in the pulpit than in the classroom. The style puts one in mind of a parish mission but we do not have any other reasons to justify this hypothesis.

### **A - Contrition**

**Doc. 134.20**

*Deus nunc annuntiat hominibus ut omnes ubique paenitentiam agant.*  
God at this time has it proclaimed to all men and in all places that they do penance. Ch.19

- 5 *Nisi paenitentiam egeritis, omnes similiter peribitis.* St L. 13,3.  
Penitence, comme vertu, pénitence comme sacrement.  
Notre Seigneur Jésus Ch. institua ce sacrement après sa résurrection,  
quand il dit à ses apôtres: *Recevez le St Esprit; les péchés seront remis à*  
*ceux à qui vous les remettrez, et ils seront retenus à ceux à qui vous les*  
10 *retiendrez.*

Ce sacrement consiste dans la contrition, la confession (l'absolution) et la satisfaction du pénitent et dans l'absolution du prêtre.

### 1ère Conf. De la contrition

- 15 Quelle est la première chose que doit faire un pécheur qui veut rentrer en grâce avec Dieu?

R - Il doit avoir une contrition sincère de tous ses péchés.

Cette contrition, dit le saint concile de Trente, est une douleur d'avoir offensé Dieu, accompagnée d'un ferme propos de ne le plus offenser:

- 20 *Fuit quovis tempore, ad impetrandam remissionem peccatorum, hic contritionis motus necessarius.*

Le St Concile de Trente ajoute: Cette contrition regarde le passé et l'avenir

*Paenitentia est mala praeterita plangere et iterum non committere.*

*Paenitemini et convertimini ut deleantur peccata vestra.* (Act. 3. 29)

- 25 D - Tous ceux qui récitent par cœur ou dans leurs heures?..

R - La contrition selon tous les Théologiens doit avoir quatre qualités: elle doit être intérieure, souveraine surnaturelle et universelle.

1° Intérieure: *Scindite corda.*

2° Souveraine: Le péché est le plus grand de tous les maux.

- 30 3° Surnaturelle *idest* quelle doit être excitée en nous par un mouvement du St Esprit.

4° Universelle: *Peccatum quod diligitur confitendo minime deletur.*

D - N'y a-t-il pas deux sortes de contritions?

- 35 R - Un homme peut concevoir du regret de ses péchés, ou par la crainte du châtement de Dieu. ou par un pur amour de Dieu; cela fait qu'on distingue deux sortes de contritions: l'une parfaite, l'autre imparfaite.

D - Est-on obligé de faire un acte de contrition aussitôt qu'on est tombé dans le péché mortel? Celui qui passerait plusieurs mois sans ...

5 *Nisi paenitentiam egeritis, omnes similiter peribitis.* St L. 13,3.

Penance, as virtue, as sacrament.

Our Lord Jesus Ch. instituted this sacrament after his resurrection, when he said to his apostles: Receive the Holy Spirit; for those whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven; for those whose sins you retain, they are retained.

This sacrament consists of contrition, confession (absolution) and the satisfaction of the penitent and the absolution of the priest.

### 1st Conf. On contrition

What is the first thing that a sinner must do who wants to return to favour with God?

R - He must have sincere contrition for all his sins.

This contrition, says the holy Council of Trent, is a sorrow for having offended God, accompanied by a firm resolve not to offend him any more:

20 *Fuit quovis tempore, ad impetrandam remissionem peccatorum, hic contritionis motus necessarius.*

The Holy Council of Trent adds: This contrition applies to the past and the future.

*Paenitentia est mala praeterita plangere et iterum non committere.*

25 *Paenitemini et convertimini ut deleantur peccata vestra.* (Act. 3. 29)

Q - All those who recite by heart or from their prayer book?..

R - Contrition according to the Theologians must have four qualities: it must be interior, sovereign, supernatural and universal.

1 - Interior: *Scindite corda.*

30 2 - Sovereign: Sin is the greatest of all evils.

3 - Supernatural *idest* which must be aroused in us by a movement of the Holy Spirit.

4 - Universal: *Peccatum quod diligitur confitendo minime deletur.*

Q - Are there not two kinds of contrition?

35 R - A man can experience regret for his sins, either from fear of the punishment of God, or from a pure love of God; This means that we can distinguish two kinds of contrition: one perfect and the other imperfect.

Q - Is one obliged to make an act of contrition as soon as one falls into mortal sin? The one who would allow several months to pass without...

R - Quand on a eu le malheur d'offenser Dieu, on ne doit pas différer de  
40 se convertir: *Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem.*

D - Quels sont les cas où l'on est particulièrement obligé à faire des actes  
de contritions

R - On y est obligé,

1° quand on se trouve dans un péril évident de mort,

45 2° quand on (va) recevoir ou administrer un sacrement

3° Quand on se trouve enveloppé dans une calamité publique.

D - Ceux qui ne se confessent que des péchés véniels, dont ils n'ont point  
de contrition, ou qui ne forment pas un ferme propos de ne les plus  
commettre, en reçoivent-ils le pardon dans le sacrement de pénitence?

50 R. 1°- Je réponds d'abord que celui qui reçoit le sacrement de pénitence,  
sans contrition, ne peut pas recevoir le pardon des ses péchés...

R. 2°- Que celui qui reçoit le sacrement de pénitence et qui n'a pas un  
ferme propos de n'en plus commettre à l'avenir, celui-là, dis-je, reçoit le  
pardon des péchés qu'il deteste et qu'il se propose de ne plus commettre.

55 Il y a une grande différence entre le péché véniel et le péché mortel.

D - Par quels motifs, un pénitent peut-il s'exciter au regret de ses péchés?

R - Il doit se bien pénétrer de la nécessité de la contrition. La contrition  
peut tenir lieu de tout, mais rien ne peut remplacer la contrition. Il n'y a  
ni prière, ni aumône, ni jeûne, ni indulgence qui puisse obtenir le pardon  
60 des péchés.

*Fuit quovis tempore*, dit le St Concile de Trente, *ad impetrandam remis-*  
*sionem peccatorum hic contritionis motus necessarius.*

Histoire d'un pécheur mourant.

1er Un grand pécheur alla se confesser au vénérable archevêque de

65 Sans, Pierre de Corbeil.

40 R - When one has had the misfortune to offend God, one must not delay being converted: *Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem.*

Q - What are the cases in which one is particularly obliged to make acts of contrition

45 R - One is obliged to do this, 1st when one finds oneself in the evident danger of death,  
2nd When one (is going) to receive or administer a sacrament.  
3rd When one finds oneself in the midst of a public calamity.

Q - Those who have only venial sins to confess, for which they have no contrition at all, or who do not form a firm purpose not to commit them any more, do they receive pardon in the Sacrament of Penance?

R. 1st - I reply firstly that the one who receives the Sacrament of Penance, without contrition, cannot receive pardon for his sins...

55 R. 2nd - That the one who receives the Sacrament of Penance and who has a firm purpose of amendment, that one, I say, receives pardon of the sins that he detests and that he purposes not to commit again. There is a great difference between venial sin and mortal sin.

Q - What motives can arouse regret for sin in the penitent?

R - He must be thoroughly convinced of the necessity of contrition.

60 Contrition can take the place of everything else, but nothing can take the place of contrition. There is no prayer, no alms, no fasting, no indulgence which can obtain pardon for sins.

*Fuit quovis tempore, says the Holy Council of Trent, ad impetrandam remissionem peccatorum hic contritionis motus necessarius.*

65 Story of a dying sinner.

1st A great sinner went to confess to the venerable Archbishop of Sens <sup>1</sup>, Pierre de Corbeil.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> read: Sens, the main city of the arrondissement of l'Yonne, France.

<sup>2</sup> Schmid, *Catéchisme historique*, trad. Belet, publ. 1857, vol. 3, pp. 140-142; Gaume, *Catéchisme de persévérance*, vol. IV, publ. 1854, pp. 170-171. This example, therefore, must have been fairly well known to preachers. It has not been possible to find out exactly where M. Champagnat found it. Here it is in the version of Gaume, the briefest. 'In the centuries of faith some great sinners were seen to die of sorrow at the feet of the Priest to whom they had come to confess their sins. One of these robust Christians had the misfortune to commit an enormous crime. Some time after he came to find the Archbishop of Sens in order to go to confession. After having accused himself with many tears and much sorrow he asked if he could hope for pardon. "Yes," replied the holy Archbishop, "if you are prepared to do the

2d Un fameux voleur étant poursuivi par la justice, alla se jeter dans cette triste position, entre les bras du Stylite Siméon. Tiré des vies des Pères de déserts.

2nd A famous robber being pursued by justice went to throw himself, in this sad state, into the arms of Simon Stylite. Drawn to the life of the 70 Fathers of the desert.<sup>3</sup>

penance that I will impose on you." - "Everything that you require," replied the penitent, "were it necessary that I suffer a thousand deaths." - "I am giving you seven years penance," said the Archbishop. - "What is it, Father? Were I to do penance until the end of the world it would be too little." - "Well, you will fast on bread and water for only three days." - "Father, Father," the sinner said to him, sobbing and bursting into tears, "I beg you, give me an appropriate penance." The Archbishop seeing him so contrite: "I enjoin you," he told him, "to recite just one Our Father, and I assure you that your sin will be remitted." At these words the sinner was overcome with such compunction that he uttered a profound sigh and dropped stone dead. The holy Archbishop, himself moved to tears, was sure, and with good reason, that this sinner had such great contrition that he went straight to heaven without passing through Purgatory.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> R.P. Michel-Ange Marin, *Les Vies des Pères des déserts d'Orient*, publ. 1864: vol. IV, pp. 469-470. We will find here the story of the admirable conversion of a robber which Anthony, disciple of Saint (Simon Stylite), recounts in his life. The Isaurians had among them a chief named Antiochus Agonatus whose brigandage caused a great stir and against whom soldiers had been sent without being able to seize him because of his extraordinary strength. Finally, the whole city of Antioch, which the crimes of this brigand had appalled, rose up and put in the field one hundred and fifty-six chosen men, well armed, to hunt him down. They found him in a tavern; but, seeing the danger, he leapt up, brandished his sword threatening to kill all those who approached him, and having mounted his horse, which was awaiting him at the side of a little river close by, rode hell for leather to take refuge near Saint Simon as in a sanctuary.

He embraced the Saint's column and cried out in a loud voice: "Servant of God, save a lost soul." - "What do you want of me?" the Saint said to him. - "I am", replied Agonatus, "the famous robber chief, and I am having recourse to you in order to find my salvation." - "Do you have sincere sorrow for your crimes?" retorted the Saint. - "It is with this intention that I seek refuge here."

While they were thus speaking, the soldiers who were pursuing him arrived and addressed Saint Simon: "Very holy Father," they said to him, "it is not right that you should shelter this scoundrel. Drive him away so that he can be punished as he deserves." - "My children," the saint replied, "it is not I that had him come here, but the one who knows his crimes and his conversion will have mercy on him. As for me, I cannot chase him away because the kingdom of Heaven is for penitents. Of the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus Christ there was one who entered into the possession of the kingdom of Heaven, and the other received the punishment he deserved. If someone among you can set himself against the One who sent him here, he has only to enter and take him."

The soldiers drew back on hearing that, and so Agonatus said to the Saint: "My Lord, I will leave." - "What," said the Saint, "you are returning to your crimes?" - "No, my Father," he replied, "but the Lord Jesus calls me." And raising his hands to the heavens he said: "Lord Jesus Christ, son of God, receive my spirit." He wept for two hours in a manner so touching that it drew tears from the eyes of the Saint and from all those who witnessed it. Then, leaning his head against the column, he gave up his spirit to God. They took his body and buried it in the monastery.

70 **2de Conf. - De la confession, seconde partie du sacrement de pénitence.**

1ère D - Qu'est-ce que la confession sacramentelle? Est-elle nécessaire pour obtenir le pardon des péchés commis après le Baptême? A-t-elle toujours été en usage dans l'Eglise?

75 R.1 - Que la confession qui est la seconde partie du sacrement de la pénitence, est une accusation que le pécheur fait lui-même de ses péchés à un prêtre approuvé pour en recevoir la pénitence et l'absolution.

R.2 - Que la confession est de l'essence du sacrement de pénitence, et elle est nécessaire de droit divin à tous ceux qui après le baptême sont tombés dans le péché mortel, pour en obtenir le pardon, ce qu'on 80 comprendra sans peine, si l'on considère avec les saints Pères, que le pouvoir que Jésus donna aux prêtres, en instituant le sacrement de pénitence, ne peut s'exercer que par manière de jugement.

Le prêtre est encore le médecin des âmes, et en cette qualité, il doit connoître le mal en lui-même.

85 R.3 - La confession a été en usage même du temps des apôtres: *Multi credentium veniebant, confitentes et accusantes actus suos.*

D - Quand est-on obligé de se confesser?

R - St. Thomas et le commun des théologiens ne croient pas qu'on soit obligé, sous peine d'un nouveau péché, de s'aller confesser aussitôt 90 qu'on (n') est tombé dans le péché, quoique Guillaume de Paris, Hugues de St Victor et St Bonaventure.

On y est obligé en certains cas: 1° quand [on] est en danger de mort, quand on veut recevoir ou administrer un sacrement.

95 Quand on est en danger de mort, comme un soldat qui va au combat, une femme enceinte.

On y est obligé par le précepte de l'Eglise qui ordonne à toutes les personnes qui ont atteint l'âge de discrétion, de se confesser au moins une fois l'an.

100 D - Comment faut il se confesser? Quelles sont les qualités dont la confession doit être revêtue pour être bonne?

R - La confession pour être bonne doit avoir trois qualités: elle doit être humble sincère et entière.

D - N'y a-t-il pas des cas où un pénitent est obligé de réitérer ses confessions?

B -

Doc. 0134.2100

**2nd Conf. - On confession, the second part of the Sacrament of Penance.**

75 1st Q - What is sacramental confession? Is it necessary in order to obtain pardon for sins committed after Baptism? Has it always been in use in the Church?

R.1 - That confession which is the second part of the Sacrament of Penance is an avowal of his sins that the sinner himself makes to a priest approved to receive it and to give absolution.

80 R.2 - That confession is of the essence of the Sacrament of Penance, and it is necessary by divine right for all those who after baptism have fallen into mortal sin, in order to obtain pardon, which one will understand without difficulty if one considers with the holy Fathers, that the power that Jesus gave to priests, in instituting the Sacrament of Penance, can  
85 only be exercised by means of judgement.

The priest is moreover the doctor of souls, and in this capacity he has to know the evil in itself.

R.3 - Confession has been in use even since the time of the apostles: *Multi credentium veniebant, confitentes et accusantes actus suos.*

90 Q - When is one obliged to confess?

R - St. Thomas and the generality of theologians do not believe that one is obliged, under pain of a new sin, to go to confession as soon as one has fallen into the sin, although William of Paris, Hugh of St Victor and St Bonaventure.

95 One is obliged to go in certain cases: 1st when [one] is in danger of death, when one wants to receive or administer a sacrament.

When one is in danger of death, like a soldier going into battle, a pregnant woman.

100 One is obliged by the precept of the Church which orders all who have attained the age of reason to confess at least once a year.

Q - How must one confess? What qualities must confession have to be good?

R - In order to be good a confession must have three qualities: it must be humble, sincere and entire.

105 Q - Are there not some cases when a penitent is obliged to repeat his confessions?

105 R. On doit réitérer ses confessions quand on y remarque des défauts essentiels.

1° Quand on s'est confessé a un prêtre qui n'avait pas le pouvoir d'absoudre, etc.

110 2° Quand un pénitent a divisé sa confession, disant une partie de ses péchés à un confesseur et le reste à un autre.

3° Quand, par malice, par crainte, par honte ou par ignorance volontaire et affectée, on a omis quelque péché mortel dans sa confession.

4° Quand on s'est confessé sans contrition.

115 5° Quand on a pas accompli la pénitence qui à été enjointe et qu'on a pas eu la volonté sincère de l'accomplir, de satisfaire à Dieu et au prochain. Dans ces cas, et autres semblables...

D. Faut-il s'examiner avant que d'aller se confesser et combien de temps faut-il mettre à s'examiner.

120 R. 1°- On doit s'examiner avant que d'aller se confesser, sur les devoirs de son état;

2° sur les péchés que commettent ordinairement les personnes du même état;

3° sur la réformation des moeurs; il y a tant de temps que je me confesse, ma vie en est-elle mieux réglée?

125 D. Quel(le)s avantages retire-t-on d'une confession bien faite?

R. 1 - Elle remet les péchés; *Emundet nos ab omni iniquitate.* (St Aug.)  
*Vis esse pulcher confitere.*

130 Le St. Esprit dit dans l'Écriture Sainte que la bonne confession est une veine de vie: *Vena vitae os justi, et os impiorum operit iniquitatem* (Prov. 10.11).

2° La confession ramène les plus grands pécheurs.

3° Elle tire de la tiédeur ceux qui y sont tombés.

- C -

Doc. 0134.2200

### Conférence - Sur la satisfaction du pénitent et sur l'absolution du prêtre.

135 *Facite ergo fructus dignos paenitentiae.*

Dieu ayant fait entendre sa voix à Jean qui depuis son enfance avait vécu dans le désert, il vint, dit St Luc, prêcher (dans) le baptême de la pénitence et préparer les Juifs à la venue du Messie.

R - One must repeat one's confession when it has certain essential faults.

1st When one has confessed to a priest who did not have the power to absolve, etc.

110 2nd When a penitent has divided his confession, telling one part of his sins to one confessor and the rest to another.

3rd When by malice, by fear, by shame or by voluntary, pretended ignorance, one has omitted some mortal sin in his confession.

4th When one has confessed without contrition.

115 5th When one has not accomplished the penance enjoined, and when one has not had the sincere intention of accomplishing it, of making satisfaction to God or to neighbour. In these cases and in other similar ones...

Q. Is it necessary to examine one's conscience before going to confession and how much time must one devote to this examination.

120 R. 1st - One must examine one's conscience before going to confession, on the duties of one's state;

2nd - on the sins that persons of the same state ordinarily commit;

125 3rd - on the reformation of morals; I have been to confession so many times, is my life better regulated as a result?

Q. What advantages does one gain from a confession well made?

R. 1 - It remits the sins; *Emundet nos ab omni iniquitate.* (St Aug.)

*Vis esse pulcher confitere.*

130 The Holy Spirit says in Sacred Scripture that a good confession is a life giving fountain: *Vena vitae os justi, et os impiorum operit iniquitatem* (Prov. 10,11).

2nd Confession brings back the greatest sinners.

3rd It draws out of tepidity those who have fallen into it.

C-

Doc.0134.2200

135 **Conference - On the satisfaction of the penitent and the absolution of the priest.**

*Facite ergo fructus dignos paenitentiae.*

140 After God had made his word known to John who had lived in the desert since childhood, he came, says St Luke, to preach the baptism of repentance and to prepare the Jews for the coming of the Messiah.

D - Qu'est-ce que la satisfaction du pénitent dont vous paraissez vouloir nous parler?

R - *Est illatae injuriae compensatio*, dit St Thomas.

D - Est-on obligé de satisfaire à Dieu pour les péchés commis après le baptême?

R - La satisfaction est fondée sur trois fortes raisons:

145 1° Sur la justice de Dieu qui ne laisse rien d'impuni.

2° Sur l'abus de la grâce baptismale.

3° Sur l'infidélité et la malice du pécheur qui a besoin de ce remède.

D - Jésus-Christ n'a-t-il pas assez satisfait, pourquoi nous obliger encore à satisfaire?

150 R - *Adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea.*

D - Comment faut-il satisfaire à Dieu et quelles qualités doivent avoir nos satisfactions?

R - Il faut satisfaire d'une manière proportionnée à nos péchés.

155 1° Il faut qu'il y ait quelque égalité entre la pénitence et le péché et que le pécheur soit puni selon le nombre et l'énormité de ses péchés.

2° Que sa pénitence soit convenable dit le St. Concile de Trente, par conséquent, que ce soit une peine et un remède.

3. Il faut autant que cela se peut, que la pénitence consiste en des oeuvres contraires au péché qu'on a commis: *Contrariis contraria curantur.*

160 D - Quelles sont les oeuvres par lesquelles nous pouvons satisfaire à Dieu?

R - On peut les réduire à trois: la prière, le jeûne et l'aumône.

D - Ne peut-on pas refuser la pénitence qu'impose le confesseur, et y a-t-il un péché de ne pas l'accomplir?

165 R - *Injunctam sibi paenitentiam propriis viribus strideat adimplere*, dit le conseil général de Latrant tenu sous Innocent 3.

D. Ne peut-on pas changer la pénitence qui nous a été imposée ou du moins la faire changer par un autre confesseur?

170 R. 1° Un pénitent ne peut pas, par la raison que personne ne peut être juge en sa propre cause.

2° Un confesseur ne doit pas changer la pénitence qu'a imposée un autre confesseur, quand la pénitence est juste, convenable et proportionnée.

Q - What is the satisfaction of the penitent which you want to speak to us about?

R - *Est illatae injuriae compensatio*, says St Thomas.

145 Q - Are we obliged to make satisfaction to God for sins committed after Baptism?

R - Satisfaction is based on three very good reasons:

1st On the justice of God which leaves nothing unpunished.

2nd On the abuse of baptismal grace.

150 3rd On the infidelity and malice of the sinner who is in need of this remedy.

Q - Has not Jesus Christ made enough satisfaction, why are we still obliged to make satisfaction?

R - *Adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea*.

155 Q - How must we make satisfaction to God and what qualities must our satisfaction have?

R - We must make satisfaction in a manner proportional to our sins.

1st There has to be some relationship between the penance and the sin and the sinner ought to be punished according to the number and the enormity of his sins.

160 2nd The penance must be appropriate, says the holy Council of Trent, consequently, it must be a penalty *and* a remedy.

3rd It is necessary, as far as is possible, that the penance consist of works contrary to the sin that one has committed: *Contrariis contraria curantur*.

Q - What are the works by which we can make satisfaction to God?

165 R - They can be reduced to three: prayer, fasting and almsgiving.

Q - Can one not refuse the penance that the confessor imposes, and is there a sin in not performing it?

R - *Injunctam sibi poenitentiam propriis viribus strideat adimplere*, says the General Lateran Council held under Innocent III.

170 Q - Can we not change the penance that has been imposed on us or at least have it changed by another confessor?

R. 1st A penitent cannot, by reason of the fact that no one can be judge in his own case.

175 2nd A confessor must not change the penance imposed by another confessor, when the penance is just, appropriate and proportionate.

D - Quand un pénitent a une véritable contrition, qu'il a confessé et surtout qu'il a satisfait ou au moins qu'il est bien déterminé à l'accomplir.

175 R - Il ne lui reste qu'à recevoir l'absolution du prêtre.

D - Les confesseurs ne doivent-ils pas donner l'absolution à tous ceux qui la demandent ?

R - Les confesseurs ont non seulement le pouvoir de délier, mais encore de lier, ils ont des règles qu'ils doivent suivre..

180 D - Que doit faire le pénitent auquel on refuse l'absolution?

R - Il doit s'y soumettre humblement.

ON THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE - 2.15

Q - When the penitent has true **contrition**, **when he has confessed** and above all made satisfaction or at least **has firmly resolved** to accomplish it.

R - It remains only for him to receive **absolution** from the priest.

Q - Are confessors obliged to give absolution to those who ask it?

180 R - Confessors have power to release, but **also to bind**, they have rules that they must follow.

Q - What must a penitent do if absolution is refused him?

R - He must submit humbly to it.

## **2de Conference sur la confession et sur ses qualités**

Je suis convaincu de la nécessité de la confession; je vais commencer enc[ore par la] confession, si vous voulez l'entendre.

## 2.16

# THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE

Second series of CONFERENCES on the Sacrament of Penance, according to the manuscript in AFM 134.24, leaflet of 4 pages, format 25.5 x 20, thick, rough paper which has been folded in four.

This second series differs from the preceding one both in content and in form.

Unlike the latter, which deals with interior dispositions, this one speaks of the administration of the sacrament or of the manner of confessing.

As for the form, here we have only an outline indicating, under a number, the general idea of each paragraph, while still keeping to the method of question and answer though in a much less sustained manner.

The series begins with the second conference. Has the first been lost, or must we consider the one we have given above, 2.14, which mentions a following one, as the first? But according to the format of the paper, it would rather be number 2.15, while going by the contents the present order seems the correct one. So the question remains unresolved through the lack of any clear evidence.

The text is reproduced in its entirety according to the original, with the spelling errors<sup>4</sup> and the obscurities of purpose, like the meaning of a “gloss”, the repetition of the “4th Conference”.

### **2nd Conference on confession and its qualities**

I am convinced of the necessity of confession; I am going to start once again with confession, if you want to hear about it.

- M. la confession, pour être bonne doit renfermer trois qualités: elle doit  
5 être 1° humble; 2° sincère; 3° entière.
- 1° Humble: Il faut déclarer ses péchés avec une grande confusion  
d'avoir offensé Dieu.
- 2° La confession doit être sincère: Il ne faut dans la confession ni  
diminuer, ni augmenter, ni excuser ses péchés.
- 10 - 2° Vous convenez cependant, Mr. qu'il y a des choses trop difficiles à  
dire et qu'il est même impossible de dire.
- R. - Je sais qu'il est des aveux qui coûtent, mais adressons de ferventes  
prière à Dieu qui ne commende rien d'impossible et il nous aidera à  
confesser ce qui nous paroît le plus difficile à dire. Oublions pour un  
15 moment que c'est à un homme que nous confessons.
- 3° J'ai dit en troisième lieu que la confession doit être entière. On entend  
par une confession entière, celle qui renferme tous les péchés mortels,  
leur nombre, leur circonstance aggravante ou qui changent l'espèce.  
Il faut tous confesser ses péchés mortels; l'omission d'un seul (causerait  
20 serait cause de la nullité du péché).

Il y a les circonstances de temps, de lieu, de choses et de personne.  
(Les motifs les moyens)

### Troisième conférence: Sur la manière de se confesser

- A votre réveil, pensez à ce que vous avez à faire; dites à Dieu: *Dimite*  
25 *nobis peccata nostra*. Dites encore en vous habillant: *Indue me Domine*  
*novum hominem* - revêtez moi Seigneur du nouvel homme. En vous  
lavant le visage ou les mains: *Amplius lava me Domine ut innocuis manibus*  
*et corde tibi servire valeam*. En entrant dans l'église, prenez de  
cette eau sanctifiée par les prières de l'église et dites encore plus du  
30 cœur que de la bouche: (*Amplius* !) *Asperges me Domine hyssopo et*  
*mundabor etc...* Ensuite, retirez dans un coin de l'église (le plus retiré) et  
la, prosterné comme l'humble publicain: *Propitius esto mihi peccatori*.  
Pour achever son examen on suit la méthode que prescrivent les Sts. P.,  
les Thés... les auteurs ascétiques comme très propre à inspirer le repentir  
35 de ses fautes et la volonté de s'en corriger.
- Cette méthode se réduit à cinq points:
- 1° à se mettre en la présence de Dieu, à le remercier de ...
- 2° à lui demander les grâces et les lumières pour bien connaître et  
distinguer ses fautes;

- Remember that for confession to be good it must include three  
 5 qualities: it must be 1st humble; 2nd sincere; 3rd entire.  
 -1st Humble: It is necessary to declare one's sins with a great confusion  
 for having offended God.  
 2nd Confession must be sincere: You must not diminish, nor augment,  
 nor excuse your sins.  
 10 -2nd you agree however, Fr. that there are some things too difficult to tell  
 and that it is even impossible to tell.  
 R. - I know that there are some admissions which cost dearly, but let us  
 address some fervent prayers to God who does not require anything  
 impossible and he will help us to confess what seems to us most difficult to  
 15 tell. Let us forget for the moment that it is to a man that we are confessing.  
 3rd I said thirdly that the confession must be entire. By entire we mean  
 that the confession must include all the mortal sins, their number, their  
 aggravating circumstances which change the type.  
 One must confess all one's mortal sins; the omission of a single one  
 20 (would cause would be the cause of the invalidity of the sin).

There are circumstances involving time, place, things, person.  
 (Motives, means)

### Third Conference: On the manner of making confession

- On your awaking, think of what you have to do; say to God: *Dimite nobis*  
 25 *peccata nostra*. Say again while getting dressed: *Indue me Domine novum*  
*hominem* - clothe me Lord in the new man. While washing your hands  
 and face: *Amplius lava me Domine ut innocuis manibus et monde corde tibi*  
*servire valeam*. On entering the church take this water sanctified by the  
 prayers of the Church and say, more with the heart than with the tongue:  
 30 *(Amplius I) Asperges me Domine hyssopo et mundabor* etc... Next, having  
 retired to a corner of the church (the most secluded), and there  
 prostrated like the humble publican: *Propitius esto mihi peccatori*.  
 In order to carry out one's examination of conscience one follows the  
 method prescribed by Sts. P., the Thes... the ascetical authors as very suit-  
 35 able for inspiring repentance for one's faults and the will to correct them.  
 This method can be reduced to five points:  
 1st to place oneself in the presence of God and to thank him for...  
 2nd to ask of him the grace and the light to know and distinguish ones  
 faults more clearly;

- 40 3° a nous rappeler en mémoire nos pensées, nos paroles, nos actes, nos occupations, les devoirs de notre état, et voir en quoi nous aurions pu offenser Dieu;
- 4° a lui demander pardon et à concevoir un regret sincere d'avoir péché;
- 5° a former la resolution ferme et inébranlable de ne plus l'offenser a
- 45 l'avenir.

#### **4ème Conference: Sur la contrition**

La contrition, d'après la definition du Concile de Trente, est une douleur d'avoir offensé Dieu, avec un ferme propos de ne plus l'offenser a l'avenir.

- 50 Il y a deux sortes de contritions: la contrition parfaite et la contrition imparfaite.

La contrition parfaite est la douleur d'avoir offensé Dieu parce qu'il est infiniment bon, infiniment aimable et que le péché lui déplaît.

- 55 La contrition, dit le St. Concile de Trente, qui tient le premier lieu entre les actes du pénitent, est une douleur de l'ame et une détestation du péché que l'on a commis, avec resolution de ne plus pécher a l'avenir.

Ce mouvement de contrition a été nécessaire en tous temps pour obtenir le pardon des péchés. Le St. Concile declare donc que cette contrition ne comprend pas seulement la cessation du péché, la resolution (d'une) et

60 le commencement d'une nouvelle vie, mais aussi la haine de la vie passée, suivant ces paroles: Rejetez loin de vous vos peches et faites vous un coeur nouveau.

La contrition, pour être bonne, doit renfermer quatre conditions, savoir: surnaturelle, interieure, universelle, souveraine.

- 65 Glose

1er commandement

2e commandement

3e commandement

#### **4ème Conference: Sur la satisfaction**

- 70 1° La satisfaction est une reparation que l'on fait a Dieu pour les pechés qu'on a commis. La satisfaction est la (reparation que l'on) troisième partie du sacrement de penitence.

- 40 3rd to recall to mind our thoughts, our words, our acts, our  
occupations, the duties of our state, and see in what we might have  
offended God;  
4th to ask pardon of him and arouse sincere regret for having sinned;  
5th to form the firm and unshakeable resolution not to offend him any  
45 more in the future.

#### **4th Conference: On contrition**

Contrition, according to the definition of the Council of Trent, is sorrow  
for having offended God, with a firm purpose not to offend him any  
more in the future.

- 50 There are two kinds of contrition: perfect contrition and imperfect  
contrition.  
Perfect contrition is sorrow for having offended God because he is  
infinitely good, infinitely amiable and because sin displeases him.

- Contrition, says the Council of Trent, which holds first place among the  
55 acts of the penitent, is sorrow of soul and detestation of the sin one has  
committed with resolution to sin no more in the future.  
This arousal of contrition has always been necessary in order to obtain  
pardon of sins. The holy Council declares, therefore, that this contrition  
does not only include the cessation of the sin, the resolution (of a) and  
60 the start of a new life, but also hatred of the past life, according to these  
words: Cast far from you your sins and make for yourself a new heart.

Contrition, in order to be good, must include four conditions: super-  
natural, interior, universal, sovereign.

Note

- 65 1st commandment  
2nd commandment  
3rd commandment

#### **4th Conference: On satisfaction**

- 1st Satisfaction is a reparation one makes to God for the sins one has  
70 committed. Satisfaction is the (reparation that one) third part of the  
Sacrament of Penance.

*Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus.*

Vous pouvez bien l'attester, maintenant, mes frères, cette vérité. Vous voilà lavés dans le sacrement de pénitence. Vous voilà déchargés du poids accablant de vos péchés. Vous êtes délivrés des remords de votre conscience; vous éprouvez en ce moment les douceurs que la grâce du sacrement de réconciliation a versé dans votre âme.

Vous touchez encore au moment où vous allez vous nourrir de la manne céleste qui vous fera éprouver les goûts célestes et délicieux. Les tabernacles s'ouvrent; Jésus-Christ s'avance pour se donner à vous, non sous un extérieur imposant, mais sous l'apparence d'un peu de pain.

La joie que nous pourrions éprouver en ce moment, est troublée par la crainte que l'expérience n'a que trop justifiée.

## 2.17

# ON COMMUNION

CONFERENCE, according to the manuscript in AFM 134.19  
on a leaflet of four pages of format 22.8 x 17.5  
written on page 1 and the start of page 2.

This is an outline of an instruction on Communion of which only the introduction has been developed. This text follows naturally on the preceding ones on Confession. So we place it in the same context without being able to give any more precise indications.

*Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus.*

You are now well able to bear witness to this truth, brethren. You are washed in the Sacrament of Penance. You are freed from the crushing weight of your sins. You are delivered from the remorse of your  
5 conscience; you feel at this moment the consolations that the grace of the sacrament of reconciliation has poured into your souls.

You are close to the moment when you will be nourished with the heavenly manna which will cause you to experience celestial and delicious tastes. The tabernacles are opened; Jesus Christ comes forward  
10 to give himself to you, not with an imposing exterior but under the appearance of a little bread.

The joy that we could feel at this moment, is troubled by a fear only too justified by experience.

Jésus-Christ, la veille de sa Passion, étant à table avec ses apôtres institua le sacrement de l'Eucharistie, et les communiant de sa main, leur adressa  
15 ces paroles: Il y en a un parmi vous, qui me trahira.

M.C. f., si Jésus-Christ, du fond de son tabernacle, vous adressait ces mêmes paroles et s'il vous disait: Parmi ce grand nombre qui vont me recevoir, il y en a un qui me trahira, vous seriez sans doute épouvantés, vous trembleriez. Mais s'il (lui) gravait sur le front de l'indigne  
20 communiant en caractère visible: Voici un nouveau Judas, un profanateur, un sacrilège!

Choisis infame traître, choisis où tu porteras tes, où tu enfonceras ton poignard.

Je suis persuadé que tous ont purifié leur âme par le sacrement de  
25 pénitence, et que chacun recevra les salutaires effets de ce sacrement:

1° Effet: Union intime avec Jésus

2° Effet: La sainte communion augmente la vie de la grâce

3° Effet: Elle affaiblit le penchant au mal

4° Effet: Elle est le gage de la vie éternelle

30 Comment doit se comporter celui qui a eu le bonheur de communier?

Jesus Christ, on the eve of his Passion, being at table with his apostles  
15 instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and after giving them  
Communion with his own hand, addressed these words to them: There is  
one among you who will betray me.

Dear brethren, if Jesus Christ, from the depth of his tabernacle,  
addressed these same words to you saying: Among this great number  
20 who are going to receive me, there is one who will betray me, you would  
without doubt be distressed, you would tremble. But if he engraved  
(him) on the forehead of the unworthy communicant in visible  
characters: Here is a new Judas, a profaner, a sacrilege!

Choose infamous traitor, where you will bear your -, where you will  
25 plunge your dagger.

I am convinced that all have purified their souls by the Sacrament of  
Penance, and that each will receive the salutary effects of this sacrament.

1st Effect: Intimate union with Jesus

2nd Effect: Holy Communion increases the life of grace

30 3rd Effect: It weakens the inclination towards evil

4th Effect: It is the pledge of eternal life.

How must the one who has had the happiness to receive Communion  
conduct himself?



## 2.18

### SANCTIFICATION OF THE SUNDAY

The two texts which follow both deal with exactly the same subject, the sanctification of the Sunday, and develop the same ideas but not in the same way. Both of them are only the beginnings of instructions, one going scarcely any further than the other in the exposition.

They differ in the presentation because, undoubtedly, they are addressed to different audiences. The first seems simpler, more within the reach of country people, tied without respite to work, as witness the second question. The other seems addressed to townspeople whose rhythm of life allows for some leisure; so they cannot claim pressure of work. Besides, since these latter are reputedly more intellectual and of a less solid faith, they expect proofs to support any assertions.

Given this, might we not assume that these texts, like the preceding ones, belong to the context of missions?

#### A

CONFERENCE, according to the manuscript in AFM 134.29  
in a leaflet of four pages, format 22.2 x 16.7  
written on the two first pages only.

## Conférence sur la sanctification du dimanche

1ère question: Que doit on faire pour sanctifier le dimanche?

*Septimo autem die sabbatum Domini Dei tui est, non facies omne opus in eo.  
Memento ut diem sabati sanctifices.*

- 5 Ce commandement, M.C.F. est aussi ancien que le monde. Dieu ayant tiré du néant ce vaste univers et tout ce qui contient en six jours, se reposa le septième. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il eût besoin de se reposer à cause de ce qu'il venait de faire, puisque ce grand ouvrage qui fait notre admiration ne lui avait coûté qu'un acte de sa volonté, mais seulement  
10 qu'il entraînait dans son éternelle béatitude.

Pour rappeler à l'homme qu'il est l'ouvrage de Dieu, Dieu veut que nous le sanctifions le jour où qu'il a cessé de créer. Oh quoi de plus juste.  
*Memento ut diem sabati sanctifices* - Souviens-toi, ô homme de sanctifier le jour du sabbat.

- 15 Ce jour, M.C.F. que le peuple hébreu gardait avec tant de scrupule a été remplacé par le dimanche, jour à jamais mémorable par le triomphe que J.C. a remporté sur la mort et sur l'enfer. Sur la mort en lui ôtant ce qu'elle avait de plus amer, et sur l'enfer (en l'enfermant pour toujours) en lui arrachant ses malheureuses victimes.  
20 Le st. jour de dimanche a été par les apôtres eux-mêmes substitué au sabbat de la sinagogue.

Nous devons donc, nous chrétiens, sanctifier le saint jour de dimanche en mémoire du repos du Seigneur puisque puisque ce commandement n'a pas été abrogé (et) mais seulement transféré au dimanche en  
25 mémoire de la résurrection de Jésus-Christ. Vous voyez donc que nous avons deux grandes raisons de passer bien saintement le dimanche:

1ère Que devons-nous faire pour sanctifier le dimanche?

- Ce qu'il faut faire pour sanctifier le st. jour de dimanche: entendre la sainte messe, être assidu aux offices et aux instructions de sa paroisse et  
30 s'appliquer à des œuvres de religion.  
- Ce qu'il faut faire pour...etc...

Le soir, il faut dès la veille prendre ses précautions pour que rien ne (sur)vienne (pour) nous empêcher de passer saintement le grand jour de dimanche, le voir arriver avec plaisir à cause des grandes faveurs dont ce  
35 jour est toujours accompagné quand on le passe saintement. Un père, une mère, un maître ... doivent donner leurs ordres pour que leurs inférieurs remplissent leurs devoirs de religion.

Tout étant ainsi réglé, on va prendre son repos avec la sainte résolution de passer bien chrétiennement le jour de dimanche.

### Conference on the sanctification of the Sunday

1st question: What must one do to keep the Sunday holy?

*Septimo autem die sabbatum Domini Dei tui est, non facies omne opus in eo. Memento ut diem sabati sanctifices.*

- 5 This commandment, my dear brethren, is as ancient as the world. God having drawn out of nothingness in six days this vast universe and all it contains, rested on the seventh. That does not mean that he had need of rest after what he had just done, since this great work which inspires our admiration cost him no more than an act of his will, but only that he was  
'0 entering into his eternal beatitude. In order to remind man that it is the work of God, God wants us to sanctify the day when he ceased creating. Oh what could be more fitting.

*Memento ut diem sabati sanctifices.* - Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day.

- 15 This day, my dear brethren, which the Hebrew people kept so scrupulously has been replaced by the Sunday, a day made forever memorable by the triumph that J.C. won over death and hell. Over death in stripping it of what is most bitter in it, and over hell (by closing it forever) by snatching from it its unfortunate victims.
- 20 The apostles themselves substituted the holy day of Sunday for the sabbath of the Synagogue. So we Christians must sanctify the holy day of Sunday in memory of the rest of the Lord since this commandment has not been abrogated (and) but only transferred to the Sunday in memory of the resurrection of Jesus Ch. So you see that we have two important  
25 reasons for keeping holy the Sunday:

1st What must we do in order to keep the Sunday holy?

- What we have to do to sanctify the holy day of Sunday: hear holy Mass, be assiduous at the offices and instructions of the parish and apply oneself to the works of religion.

- 30 - What we have to do in order...etc...

In the evening: it is necessary from the eve to take precautions that nothing will arise to interfere with the sanctification of the great day of Sunday, to welcome its arrival because of the great favours which always accompany this day when it is kept holy. A father, a mother, a

- 35 master...must issue orders that their inferiors fulfil their religious duties.

Everything being thus well-ordered, you can take your rest with the holy resolution of spending Sunday in a thoroughly Christian manner.

- 40 2de Pardon Mr. si je vous interromp, nous verrions volontiers venir avec joie le dimanche si nous n'etions pas surchargé d'ouvrage. Assister à la messe, tout cela ne fait pas nos affaires.

### Conference sur la sanctification du dimanche

*Septimo autem die sabbatum Domini Dei tui est, non facies omne opus in eo.*

Ce commandement est aussi ancien que le monde. Dieu ayant tiré ce vaste unvier du neant et tout ce qu'il contient en six jours, se reposa le  
5 septieme.

*Memento ut diem sabati sanctifices* [Ex. 20,8] – Souviens toi ô homme de sanctifier le jour du sabbat.

Ce jour que le peuple hébreux gardoit avec tant de scrupule, a été remplacé par le dimanche, jour a jamais mémorable par le triomphe que Jésus Christ a remporté sur la mort et sur l'enfer.

- 10 Le dimanche a été par les apôtres mêmes substitué au sabbat de la sinagogue. Nous devons donc, nous chretiens, sanctifier le saint jour de dimanche en memoire du repos du Seigneur, parce que ce commandement n'a pas été abrogé, mais seulement transféré au dimanche, en memoire de la resurrection de Jésus Christ.

- 15 Que devons nous faire pour ...etc...

- entendre la st. messe, etre assidu aux offices et aux instruction de la paroisse.

- 20 St. Bon[iface] qui gouvernoit l'Eglise au milieu du 5ème siecle, ecrivait a Dioscore, patriarche d'Alexandrie, nous fait connoitre ce precepte en disant qu'il avoit coutume de faire celebrer en plusieus fois le dimanche et les fêtes solennel[les] parce que le peuple ne pouvoit pas y assister tous à la fois.

- 25 St. Cesaire d'Arles qui vivoit au commencement du siecle suivant reprend fortement ceux qui n'entendoient pas la messe toute entiere les jours de dimanche et sortoient de l'église avant que le prêtre eut donné la benediction au peuple.

2nd Excuse me Father if I interrupt you, we would willingly welcome the coming of Sunday with joy if we were not overburdened with work. To assist at Mass, all that does not apply to us.

**B**

CONFERENCE, according to the manuscript in AFM 134.30  
leaflet of 4 pages, format 19.4 x 12  
written on the first two pages and half of the 3rd.

**Conference on the sanctification of the Sunday**

*Septimo autem die sabbatum Domini Dei tui est, non facies omne opus in eo.*

This commandment is as ancient as the world. God having drawn this vast universe and all it contains out of nothingness in six days, rested on the seventh.

- Memento ut diem sabati sanctifices* [Ex.20,8] - Remember O man to keep holy the Sabbath Day. This day that the Hebrew people kept so scrupulously has been replaced by the Sunday a day made forever memorable by the triumph that Jesus Christ won over death and hell.
- 10 The apostles themselves substituted the Sunday for the sabbath of the Synagogue. So we Christians must sanctify the holy day of Sunday in memory of the rest of the Lord because this commandment has not been abrogated but only transferred to the Sunday in memory of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.
- 15 What must we do in order etc.  
- hear holy Mass, be assiduous at the offices and instructions of the parish.  
St. Bon[iface] who governed the Church in the middle of the 5th century, writing to Dioscore, Patriarch of Alexandria, we make known
- 20 this precept saying that it was the custom to celebrate several times on Sundays and solemn feasts because the people could not assist at them all at one time.  
St. Cesaire d'Arles who lived at the beginning of the following century strongly admonished those who did not hear a complete Mass on
- 25 Sundays and who left the church before the priest had given the blessing to the people.

Celui qui a entendu la messe sans l'intention de satisfaire au precepte, a satisfait également au precepte. Le concile de Trente dit qu'on ne peut pas célébrer le saint sacrifice que les assistans ne témoignent par leur  
30 extérieur qu'ils sont présents de corps et d'esprit.

La meilleure manière d'entendre la messe est de s'unir au prêtre (qui la dit), de le suivre dans les prières et les actions qu'il fait sur les mystères de la mort et passion représentées dans la messe qui est une imitation.

Gerson, dans son (regles morales) traité des commandements du  
35 décalogue, dit qu'on peut suivre la coutume des lieux quand elle n'est pas condamnée par les évêques et si on souffre quelque doute sur cette coutume, on doit consulter les supérieurs ecclésiastiques et les gens  
savants. St. Antoine approuve cette règle. Gerson, dans ses règles  
40 morales, en apporte pour raison que c'est plus la coutume des lieux et des personnes et l'approbation des évêques qu'aucune loi écrite qui nous apprend de quelle œuvre il nous faut abstenir les dimanches et les fêtes.

One who hears Mass without having the intention of satisfying the precept satisfies the precept nonetheless. The Council of Trent says that one cannot celebrate the Holy Sacrifice unless the congregation shows  
30 outwardly that they are present both in body and in mind.

The best way to hear Mass is to unite oneself with the priest (who says it), to follow him in the prayers and actions that he performs on the mysteries of the passion and death represented in the Mass which is in imitation.

35 Gerson, in his (rules of morality), treating some commandments of the Decalogue, says that one may follow the local custom when it is not condemned by the bishops, and if one has some doubt concerning this custom, one is to consult the ecclesiastical superiors and other learned people. St. Anthony approved this rule. Gerson, in his rules of morality,  
40 bases this view on the fact that it is more the customs of places and persons and the approbation of the bishops rather than any written law that tells us what kind of work justifies our absenting ourselves on Sundays and feasts.

### **Entretien pour le jour de la fête de tous les STS.**

*Gaudete et exultate ecce merces vestra copiosa est in coelo.*

Réjouissez vous et faites éclater votre joie, car une grande récompense vous est réservée dans le ciel. en St Matthieu, c. 5.(12)

- 5 C'est, M.f. notre divin Sauveur qui dans l'évangile de ce jour nous propose la gloire céleste, non comme un simple héritage qui nous est

## 2.19

# HEAVENLY REWARD

CONFERENCE, according to the manuscript in AFM 134.11  
leaflet of 12 pages, format 25.8 X 20.7, written on pages 1 to 5,  
pages 6 to 8 are blank, pages 9 to 12  
contain Doc. 134.12 beginning at the back.

The word "Conversation" by which Father Champagnat describes this text is no doubt meant to emphasise the familiar tone that he intends to give it. A second reason could be that he has prepared it not as a homily for Mass but as one of those talks he used to give at evening prayer. If this hypothesis is correct, we may deduce that the curate of Lavalla composed it for his parishioners for the occasion of All Saints' Day between 1816 to 1824. He sets down only the first point and the beginning of the second, no doubt relying on his memory and inspiration for the rest.

### Conversation for All Saints' Day

*Gaudete et exultate ecce merces vestra copiosa est in coelo.*

Rejoice and be glad for your reward will be great in heaven. In St. Matthew, c.5.(12)

- 5 It is, brethren, our divine Saviour who in today's Gospel presents heavenly glory to us not simply as an inheritance we have acquired but as

acquis, mais comme une récompense qu'il faut gagner. Il savoit, ce divin Sauveur, combien nous sommes intéressés et c'est pour cela que, pour nous attirer à lui, il nous prend par notre intérêt. Mais il ne faut pas que  
10 cet intérêt soit servile, c'est-à-dire qu'il faut aimer et servir Dieu parce qu'il est aimable, puisque sa bonté le porte même à notre amour: *Gaudete et exultate ecce merces vestra multa est.* Entrons, mes chers frères, dans la pensée de Jésus Christ et ne nous piquons pas d'une spiritualité plus sublime que celle qui nous est enseignée par cet aimable  
15 maître; attachons nous à la récompense où il nous appelle quand il nous dit: *Ecce merces vestra, etc...*

Il est de foi, mes chers frères, que nous pouvons la mériter, cette récompense. Mais pour vous en donner une idée juste, je m'arête aux parole de mon texte. Concevez en bien l'ordre: *Ecce merces vestra copiosa*  
20 *est in coelis.* Cette récompense que Dieu prépare, est une récompense sûre; *Ecce*, la voilà; c'est un Dieu qui vous la promet, il ne tient qu'à vous de la prendre. C'est une récompense abondante: *Ecce merces vestra copiosa est in coelis.* Enfin, c'est une récompense qui durera tout l'éternité puisque c'est dans le ciel qu'elle aura lieu et que dans le ciel il  
25 n'y a plus de changement, ni révolution. Toutes ces qualités, mes f. sont, je crois, bien propre à faire impression sur vos coeurs.

La récompense des élus est une récompense sûre, au lieu que les récompense du monde sont douteuses et incertaines, ce sera le premier point.

La récompense des élus sera une récompense abondante, au lieu que les  
30 récompense du monde sont vides et défectueuses, ce sera mon second point. La récompense des élus sera éternelle, au lieu que les récompenses du monde sont caduques et périssables, ce sera le dernier point.

Mes f. L'Eglise nous propose trois sujets de consolations et de joie en nous mettant devant les yeux la gloire des Sts. et en nous animant par ce  
35 motif a les imiter: *Gaudete et exultate.* Si vous vous conformez à leur exemple, réjouissez vous de ce que vous serez sûrement, pleinement et éternellement récompensé. Au contraire, pleurez, affligez si, malgré tous ces avantages possédé de l'amour du monde vous vous sentez peu du goût par la récompense des justes. Non seulement pleurez, mais  
40 tremblez, si la dureté de votre coeur vous rend insensible à ces verités touchantes.

On se fatigue, on s'épuise et souvent même on s'imole pour des recompenses incertaines qu'on obtient rarement et dont tous les jours, après de vaines espérances, on s'en voit malheureusement ou même  
45 injustement frustré. C'est la le sort... Au contraire, pe(u) travailler pour un maître auprès duquel on peut compter qu'il n'y aura rien de perdu.

C'étoit, mes f. ce qui soutenoit et animoit ceux qui nous ont precedé dans la voie de la bienheureuse éternité. C'étoit, dis-je, ce qui soutenoit

a reward that we have to earn. This divine Saviour knew where our interest lay and because of that, drew us to himself by means of this interest. But we must not allow this interest to be slavish, in other words,  
 10 we must love and serve God because of his kindness, since his goodness prompts our love: *Gaudete et exultate ecce merces vestra multa est*. Let us enter, my dear brethren, into the mind of Jesus Christ and not pride ourselves with having a spirituality more sublime than that taught us by this kind master; let us allow ourselves to be attracted by the reward he  
 15 calls us to when he tells us: *Ecce merces vestra, etc...*

It is by faith, my dear brethren, that we can merit this reward. But in order to give you a clear idea, I pause in my text. Consider one after the other the words: *Ecce merces vestra copiosa est in coelis*. This reward that God is preparing is a sure reward; *Ecce*, behold; it is a God who  
 20 promises it to you, all you have to do is accept it. It is an abundant reward: *Ecce merces vestra copiosa est in coelis*. Finally, it is a reward which will last for all eternity since it is in heaven that it will take place and in heaven there is no longer any change, nor revolution. All these qualities, brethren, I believe, are capable of making a deep impression on  
 25 our hearts.

The reward of the elect is a sure reward, whereas the rewards of the world are doubtful and uncertain, this will be the first point.

The reward of the elect will be an abundant reward, whereas the rewards of the world are crumbling and perishable, this will be the second point.

30 Brethren, the Church proposes to us three causes of consolation and joy in placing before our eyes the glory of the Sts. and in inspiring us by this motive to imitate them: *Gaudete et exultate*. If you model yourselves on their example, rejoice that you will surely be fully and eternally rewarded. On the contrary, weep, grieve if, in spite of these advantages,  
 35 possessed by the love of the world you feel little taste for the reward of the just. Don't only weep, but tremble, if the hardness of your heart makes you insensible to these moving truths.

We exhaust ourselves, we wear ourselves out and often even sacrifice ourselves for the uncertain rewards that we rarely obtain and after vain  
 40 hopes we see ourselves every day unjustly thwarted of them. That is fate... On the contrary, we work little for a master in whose service we can be sure that nothing will be lost.

This, brethren, was what supported and inspired those who have preceded us on the way to a happy eternity. This, I say, was what

50 dans les souffrances l'assurance où ils étoient qu'ils recevraient un jour la récompense de leurs actions, les rendoit capable de tout entreprendre, de tout souffrir. *Pator*, disoit un d'entre eux, plein de cette force héroïque que donne la foi: *sed non confundor*, - je souffre, mais bien loin de m'en affliger, je m'en glorifie.

Et pourquoi cela, mes chers frères ? Il nous l'apprend tout de suite: *Scio enim cui credidi, et Certus sum quia potens est depositum meum servare in illum diem* (2 Thim. 1,12).

J'ai combattu, disoit (ailleurs) encore dans la même épître, j'ai achevé ma course, j'ai été constant dans ma foi, il ne me reste que d'attendre la couronne de justice qui m'est réservée et que le Seigneur, en ce jour là, 60 me donnera comme juste juge (me donnera): *In reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae quam reddet mihi Dominus illo die justus iudex*.

Ainsi parloit l'appôtre de Jésus C., ainsi a droit de parler tout chrétien puisqu'il reconnoissoit lui-même que cette couronne de justice n'étoit pas seulement réservée pour lui, mais généralement et sans réserve à tout 65 serviteur de Jésus Christ: *Non solum autem mihi, sed et iis qui diligunt adventum ejus*.

Car voici, mes chers auditeurs, comment chacun de nous doit raisonner en s'appliquant personnellement ces paroles: *Scio cui credidi*. Je ne sçai pas si je serai jamais assez heureux pour mériter la récompense que Dieu 70 prépare à ceux qui l'aiment, mais je sçai bien que si je la mérite, je l'obtiendrai. Je sais que tout ce que je fais, tout ce que je souffre pour Dieu, est un dépôt sacré que Dieu me garde: *Scio cui credidi*. Je sçai, dis je, comme il m'en assure qu'un verre d'eau fraîche donnée en son nom ne restera pas sans récompense: *et certus quia potens est*.

75 Et vous, M.f. qui êtes si attaché au monde, pouvez vous tenir un pareil langage à l'égard du monde et de ses récompense. Il [*celui qui s'attache au monde*] peut bien dire avec le vrai serviteur de Dieu: *Scio cui credidi*, - je sai en qui j'ai mis ma confiance, [*mais pour signifier*]: je sai que je me suis confié à un injuste, un envieux, un jaloux; je sai que, loin de récompenser 80 ce que j'ai fait pour lui, il me payra de la plus noire ingratitude.

Tandis que le vrai chrétien, plein de confiance dans les promesses de son Dieu *Certamen certavi cursum consummavi, fidem servavi; in reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae quam reddet mihi in illa die justus iudex*.(2 Thim.4,7-8) *Scio*, je sai aussi que cette recompense n'est pas 85 seulement pour moi, mais pour tout homme qui fait la volonté de Dieu: *Non solum autem mihi, sed et iis omnibus qui diligunt adventum ejus*.

Mais si la récompense que Dieu prépare à ceux qui le servent est sûre, elle est aussi abondante, pleine, au lieu que celles d'ici-bas sont vaines et défectueuses, Second point.

45 supported them in their sufferings, the assurance that they would one day receive the reward of their actions, made them capable of undertaking anything, of suffering all. *Patior*, one of them used to say, full of that heroic strength that faith gives: *sed non confundor*, - I suffer, but very far from being afflicted by it, I glory in it.

50 And why so, my dear brethren? He tells us right away: *Scio enim cui credidi, et Certus sum quia potens est depositum meum servare in illum diem* (2 Thim. 1,12).

I have fought, he says (elsewhere) still in the same epistle, I have finished my race, I have been constant in my faith, nothing remains to me but to  
55 await the crown of justice which is reserved for me and which the Lord, on that day, will give me as a just judge (will give me): *In reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae quam reddet mihi Dominus illo die justus iudex*.

Thus says the apostle of Jesus C., thus every Christian has the right to say since he himself recognised that this crown of justice was reserved not  
60 only for him but for every servant of Jesus Christ: *Non solum autem mihi, sed et iis qui diligunt adventum ejus*.

Because, my dear brethren, here is how each of us must reason in applying to ourselves these words: *Scio cui credidi*. I do not know whether I will ever be happy enough to merit the reward that God is  
65 preparing for those who love him, but I do know that if I merit it I will obtain it. I know that everything I do, everything I suffer for God, is a sacred deposit that God is keeping for me: *Scio cui credidi*. I know, I say, since he assures me that a glass of cold water given in his name will not go without reward: *et certus quia potens est*.

70 And you, brethren, who are so attached to the world, can you enjoy similar assurances with regard to the world and its rewards? He [the one who is attached to the world] can well say with the true servant of God: *Scio cui credidi*, - I know in whom I have placed my trust, [but to mean]: I know that I have placed my trust in an unjust, an envious, a jealous  
75 one; I know far from rewarding what I do for him he will pay me with the blackest ingratitude.

While the true Christian, full of confidence in the promises of his God: *Certamen certavi cursum consummavi, fidem servavi; in reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae quam reddet mihi in illa die justus iudex*. (2  
80 Thim.4,7-8)*Scio*, I also know that this reward is not only for me but for everyone who does the will of God: *Non solum autem mihi, sed et iis omnibus qui diligunt adventum ejus*.

90 Pour faire entendre ma pensée, il faut vous expliquer qu'est-ce que j'entens par récompense abondante. Le voici. Mes f. une récompense pleine est abondante, est une récompense qui surpasse tous les services par où l'on s'en est rendu digne.

Et c'est ce que notre divin Sauveur nous dit dans l'Évangile quand il nous dit: (Je vous donnerai) je vous donnerai (une): *Mensuram bonam et confertam et coagitatam et superfluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum*, (Luc, 6,38) - on versera dans votre sein une bonne mesure qui sera pressée, qui sera entassée, comblée.

100 En effet, dans l'état glorifié des Sts. que cette promesse trouve son accomplissement. Mais prenons la chose plus à la lettre: j'appelle une récompense pleine et abondante, une récompense capable par elle-même de satisfaire le cœur de l'homme: *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*, - je serai rassasié quand vous me découvrirez votre gloire (Ps. 17,15).

So as to help you follow my thought, I must explain what I mean by abundant reward. Here it is. Brethren, a reward full and abundant is a  
 85 reward which surpasses all the services by which we made ourselves worthy of it.

And this is what our divine Lord tells us in the Gospel when he says: (I will give you) I will give you (a): *Mensuram bonam et confertam et coagitatam et superfluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum*, (Luc,6,38) - a full  
 90 measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over will be poured into your lap.

In fact, in the glorified state of the Sts. this promise finds its fulfilment. But let us take it more literally: I call a full and abundant reward, a reward capable by itself of satisfying the heart of man: *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*, - I will be satisfied when you reveal to me your  
 95 glory. (Ps. 17,15)

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