

# 23

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# AMS

## MARIST NOTEBOOKS

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- Centenary of the suppression and exile from France of the Congregations
- On Father Querbes and the Clerics of Saint Viator
- Correction Notebook no 21

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Fr. Aloïs GREILER, sm
- **A mother society of the Society of Mary? The "Friends of the cord" in the seminary of Saint Irénée**  
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Institute of the Marist Brothers

**Record of the printed version (original in English)**

**FMS MARIST NOTEBOOKS**

Number 23 – Year XVIII – June 2006

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# SUMMARY

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# *Centenary of the suppression and exile from France of the Congregations*

**Br. André LANFREY, fms**

The year 2001 was, in France, the centenary of the law of the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1901 which authorised all associations, except religious congregations whose legal existence had to be sanctioned by a law. We know that the hundreds of teaching and preaching congregations that had asked for authorisation were rudely refused in 1903. As to the authorised teaching congregations, mainly women's congregations, a law of July 1904 prohibited them from teaching. The number of religious who left France is estimated to be close to 30,000 but the number of those who secularised while staying faithful to their religious commitment is unknown.

Although the suppression of the congregations has practically not been recalled by the French media, through amnesia or voluntary overshadowing, a certain number of conferences were held and a few works appeared about this affaire. We are giving a summary bibliography, adding other sources proper to congregations of brothers. If works or articles have appeared on this question in other languages, it would be good to make them known in order to complete this bibliography.

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## **GENERAL WORKS**

**Gaetano Vinai Michele**, fms, *Un secolo di lotte per l'insegnamento libero in Francia*, Stampa Universitaria Nazionale, Genova, 2005, 319 p.

A very meticulous publication. Pages 204-313 (Chapters IX-XII) treat the period of 1901-1904. The sources are a little dated.

**Lanfrey André**, fms, *Sécularisation, séparation et guerre scolaire. Les catholiques français et l'école (1901-1914)*, preface by Cardinal Jean Honoré, Cerf-Histoire, 2003, 638 p.

Republication of a thesis defended in 1989.

**Laperrière Guy**, *Les congrégations religieuses. De la France au Québec, 1880-1914*. Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Canada.

**T. 1**, *Premières bourrasques, 1880-1900*, 228 p.;

**T. 2**, *Au plus fort de la tourmente, 1999*, 595 p.;

**T. 3**, *Vers des eaux plus calmes, 1905-1914*, 728 p.

The author masters remarkably the knowledge of the French events and sheds exceptional light on the implantation of congregations in a country both close and far away for them.

**Sorrel Christian**, *La République contre les congrégations. Histoire d'une passion française. 1899-1904*, Cerf, Paris, 2003, 265 p.

An excellent synthesis accessible to a large public

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## **VARIOUS CONFERENCE PAPERS**

**Jacqueline Lalouette and Jean-Pierre Machelon** (under the direction of), 1901. *Les congrégations hors la loi ? Autour de la loi du 1er juillet 1901*, Letouzey and Ané, Paris, 2002, 304 p. Proceedings of a conference held on the 27<sup>th</sup> and the 28<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

Some valuable information on several congregations of priests and religious.

**Proceedings of a conference organised by the Conference of Major Superiors of France** on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> October 2003, *Les congrégations religieuses et la société française d'un siècle à l'autre*, Éditions Don Bosco, Paris, 2004, 340 p.

Not only an historical evocation but also a reflection on the place of congregations today, in a secularised society. Brother Henri Vignau, former General Councillor and secretary of the Conference of Major Superiors, was one of the organisers of this conference. Brother André Lanfrey gave a presentation on the teaching brothers faced with secularisation.

**Patrick Cabanel and Jean-Dominique Durand** (under the direction of). *Le grand exil des congrégations religieuses françaises. 1901-1914*, Cerf-

Histoire, Paris, 2005, 489 p. Proceedings of an international conference in Lyon, 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

Numerous articles on the exile in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, United States of America, Quebec, Latin America, Maghreb, Levant. An article by Brother André Lanfrey underlining the secularisation as an important and poorly recognised form of exile.

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### **WORKS OF CONGREGATIONS OF BROTHERS MORE OR LESS LINKED TO THE EVENT**

**Études lasalliennes, Les temps de la « sécularisation » 1904-1914** ; n° 1, *Dernier tome de l'Histoire générale des FEC* by Georges Rigault, written in 1953 and published in 1991, 307 p.; n° 2, *Notes et réflexions* (on the secularisation of the FSC), 1991, 207 p. ; n° 3, *La liquidation* (sale of congregations' goods in France...), 1992, 270 p., General House FSC, Rome.

The history of the suppression and of the secularisation of the FSC is a little special, for being one of the rare authorised congregations of men, it was only suppressed in July 1904. Nevertheless, many of the situations recalled in this history are in common with those experienced by other congregations.

**F. Hilaire Nourrisson, Études mennaisiennes, n° 27**, juin 2002, *Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne de Ploërmel dans la tourmente en France de 1880 à 1914*, 163 p.

A remarkably detailed and realistic synthesis of the dramas, disorganisation, then the tenacious resistance by a congregation of brothers made destitute by the brutal liquidation by the State in 1903.

**Berzal Theodoro**, (presented by...) *Les Frères de la Sainte Famille en 1903*, 95 p. Rome, 2003.

Publication of a manuscript entitled "Histoire de la persécution soufferte par l'Institut des Frères de la Sainte Famille de 1903 à 1909" (History of the persecution suffered by the Institute of the Brothers of the Holy Family from 1903 to 1909).

To my knowledge the Brothers of the Sacred Heart have not made any recent studies on the times of secularisation. Nevertheless, we find some useful information in two of their works:

**Les Frères du Sacré-Cœur**. *Historique de l'institut 1821-1956*, General House, Rome, p. 129-171, which quickly recounts the generalates of Broth-

ers Paulus (1900-1906) and Albéric (1906 -1925).

**F. Stanislas**, *Supérieurs généraux*, Frères du Sacré-Cœur, Rome, 1973.  
Pages 151-205 are a critical history of the difficulties of Brother Paulus, Superior General, and of his congregation at the time of secularisation.

**Bauvineau Louis**, *Histoire des Frères de Saint-Gabriel*, Rome 1994, 611 p.  
Chapters 10-14 p. 171-248 treat the secularisation and the expansion of the Institute in the world at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Bonnafous Robert**, Cleric of Saint Viator, four short articles on the congregation in 1903 in *Viateurs-France*, internal magazine of the congregation, in 2003.

**Bou Roger**, *Les Clercs de Saint-Viateur en France. L'obédience (province) des Ternes 1844-1905*, p. 91-111, General House of the Clerics of Saint Viator, Rome 1999.

**Du même**, *La province-mère. Vourles. 1859-1991*, Rome, 2004, 357 p.

**Leygues Clément**, *Histoire de la province de Rodez*, p. 122-129

**Lanfrey André**, fms, *Une congrégation enseignante: Les Frères Maristes de 1850 à 1904*, New edition, Rome, 1997, 210 p.  
The secularisation is treated here from pages 161 to 198.



# *On Father Querbes and the Clerics of Saint-Viator*

Br. André LANFREY, fms

**An important work for the religious and congregational history has just appeared:**

**Robert Bonnafous**, csv, *Un fondateur contrarié. Louis Querbes 1793-1859*, The Clerics of Saint Viator, Vourles, 2004-2005.

**T. 1** *Les années de formation et de fondation*, 478 p.

**T. 2** *Monsieur le supérieur*, 621 p.

**T. 3** *Annexes et index* (with the collaboration of Aimé-Onil Dépôt and d'Elie Salesses), 161 p.

Marists know that their origins are contemporary with those of the Clerics of Saint Viator and that Louis Querbes, their founder, was at the Saint Irenaeus seminary at the same time as the first Marist aspirants. The relationships between the Hermitage and Vourles, their place of foundation near Lyons, were rather intense, notably through Father Pompallier, a friend of Querbes, who dreamed of uniting the Brothers of Mary with the congregation of Querbes (*Origines Maristes*, t. 4 p. 577, historical synopsis n° 343.31).

The first volume especially appears to me to be indispensable for those who want to have a deeper knowledge of our Marist origins. There are some remarkable pages on the religious ambiance in Lyons, in France and even in Rome from 1793 to 1938, a time of childhood, of formation and foundation of Father Querbes. With a few years difference, it is nearly the exact chronology corresponding to the work of Marcellin Champagnat and Jean Claude Colin.

One of the newest aspects of the work of Robert Bonnafous is the highlighting (p. 70-75) of a network of about twenty seminarians of Saint Irenaeus strongly attracted by the Company of Jesus. It concerns Joseph Rabut, Claude-Marie Huet, Antoine Steyert, Dominique Dufêtre (future diocesan missionary and then Bishop of Nevers, cf. OM t. 4 p. 746) Ferdinand Donnet (future cardinal and close to the Marist aspirants, cf. OM t. 4 p. 744), Vincent Pater, Louis Montbernier, Antoine Pascal, Claude Soviche, Jean-Baptiste Madinier (OM t. 4 p. 778), Chambeyron, Dumas (OM t. 4 p. 746), Nicolas Nivet, Devienne, Chanou, Détard, Boissart, Barret (OM1, doc. 31 p. 184-185) and, evidently, Querbes.

Several of these persons are mentioned in *Origines Maristes*. Many are mentioned as fervent seminarians in the archives of Chartreux: Barret, Nivet, Devienne, Dufêtre, Soviche, Pater, Pascal, Chambeyron. None of them, except Vincent Pater, is in the “Friends of the cord” (refer to the article on them in the same edition of Marist Notebooks).

The information provided by Brother Bonnafous contributes to enriching our knowledge of the seminarians’ networks which seem to be at least four: the disciples of Bochard around the “Pious thought”, the “Marists” linked to Cholleton, the “Friends of the cord”, a society described in the article that follows, and finally the network of Jesuit aspirants of whom we do not know if they were an organised society or simply a group of friends. There seem to be frequent relationships between these diverse groups, notably by certain seminarians who belonged to several of them or had close friends in them. Besides, there are strong common points manifested: a great fervour, an ardent apostolic spirit and, probably, a strong spirit of opposition to the finishing Empire.

One last remark: volume 3 offers major documents and a critical study on the iconography concerning Father Querbes which appears to me to be a good methodological model for an analogous work to be done on the portraits of Champagnat. An index of themes and another of proper names make the work a rich and practical bank of data.

The quite recent work of Father Roger Bou on the Mother Province of Vourles from 1859 to 1991 contributes a valuable complement. I notably learnt that the relations between Bishop Pompallier and Querbes were lasting: the latter was his vicar in Europe and his authorised representative for his relations with the Council of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon. Querbes acted as mediator in the dispute between Father Colin and

Bishop Pompallier. Finally, we learn that in 1860 Bishop Pompallier returned to New Zealand with two Clerics of Saint Viator who would not be able to implant the congregation in New Zealand for any length of time but they show the wish of Pompallier to find auxiliaries outside of the Marist environment. The work outlines (p. 97-103) the history of the Brothers of the Cross of Jesus of Bochard, finally absorbed by the Clerics of Saint Viator in 1822.

Briefly, the Clerics of Saint Viator offer us a synthesis on their founder and his foundation capable of shedding light on our own history.

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## CORRECTION

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A significant paragraph was omitted from the article by Br. Frederick McMahon “As Others See us” published in Marist Notebooks No.21.

On Page 25 of the published article is the following text:

*Archbishop de Pins wrote to Champagnat (perhaps it was on 3 March 1824), insisting that Champagnat come in to see him. At the meeting he told La Valla’s curate that he wanted to appoint him parish priest of La Valla. Champagnat politely refused, on account of his project concerning the teaching Brothers and also because he did not want the spread of calumnious statements to the effect that he was supplanting the then parish priest.*

*The following four paragraphs comprise the passage that does not appear in print in ‘Marist Notebooks’:*

*Father Barou, one of the new Vicars General, also received Champagnat, offering his ring to be kissed and asking Champagnat a great number of questions. Father Cholleton, a friend of the Marists and also Champagnat’s former seminary professor, was present, and, knowing a little about the project, added his support in favour of what Champagnat was doing.*

It therefore appears to have been a serious reception, a session, too, in which to seek information in the presence of several members of the archdiocesan Council. This interview could have taken place before, or it may have followed, the meeting of 3 March, when Father Champagnat’s project was officially encouraged.

*Champagnat had thought, in the time of Father Bochard, to make a little oratory and to be wholly engaged in his project. “Oh, my God! I would be too happy to have these. But the archbishop did more, and how happy I was!”*

We can understand from this that, in the time of Father Bochard, Champagnat had never dreamed of having for his work the many advantages that Archbishop De Pins now offered him.

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Then follows this text as in the published article:

**There then follows a statement from Champagnat: Father Seyve helped the project.** Seyve was also a Marist aspirant. There is authoritative information that he was working in the La Valla parish in May 1824, having left his previous parish on 20 October 1823.

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The editors apologise to Br. Frederick for this omission.

# *The Circulars*

## *Witnesses to Marist spiritual tradition*

**Br. André LANFREY, fms**

From Father Champagnat's time the tradition of two circulars per year was already established: the first in January or February, making use of replies to the Brothers' wishes; the second, in summer, announcing the retreats and the fruits to be derived from them. Alongside the spiritual part of the circular were attached all sorts of notices concerning schools, finances, administrative processes. The circulars also had the function of announcing deaths, of publishing the necrological notices and listing departed Brothers for the year. As time went on, the Superiors added Papal Acts, accounts of missionaries' voyages, reports of Superiors' visits, the status of our causes of beatification, etc. to the circulars. ... Obviously, they also announce General Chapters and provide reports of their doings.

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### **I. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DISTRIBUTION AND CONSERVATION OF CIRCULARS**

In regard to the more technical story of their distribution and conservation, Brother Avit (*Abrégé des Annales*, 1848, vol. 2 p. 176) provides us with valuable elements: first, manuscripts up until 1838—these were lithographed until 1842 by Brother Marie-Jubin. In January 1841 (*Circulaires*, vol. 1 p. 46) Brother François invited each community to obtain a register in which the circulars received were to be entered. From 1842 to 1848 they were printed without anyone ever giving a thought to providing supplementary copies for conservation. This would, however, be done from 1848 onwards.

The conservation of these bundles of sheets must have been done in a very uneven manner from one community to another. Indeed collections of circulars prior to the 1916-7 edition are incomplete and very rare today, since quite a number of booklets were lost before they were bound. Furthermore, those predating the printed circulars (that is, Father Champagnat's and the early ones of Brother François) have not been kept (Circulaires, vol. 12 p. 163). It is probably for the first of these reasons that Brother Théophane ordered the reprinting of Brother Louis-Marie's circulars on simplicity, prayer, the school of Pontmain, the formation of the Brothers, and fraternal charity (Circulaires, vol. 9 p. 133, vol. 10 p. 419-420, vol. 11 p. 137, 315).

The House of Varennes-sur-Allier holds important samples of these early works, in particular a collection of circulars running from 15 December 1848 to 17 January 1878 in three volumes. The first volume (1848-1865), though marred by numerous gaps exposing the difficulties communities experienced in correctly conserving circulars received in booklet form, presents at its beginning a circular from Brother François dated November 1846; it employs a format different from that of the others.

The volumes preserved at Varennes seem, therefore, to confirm Brother Avit's suggestion that the standardised formatting of circulars did not occur before 1848. Their organisation in volumes would seem to come slightly later. The first printed table appearing at Varennes lists the circulars from 1860-69 without mention of volume numbers, whereas the tables of contents from the 1887-92 circulars indicate that they constitute Volume 7.

The Varennes collection furthermore preserves two collections of circulars re-edited by Brother Theophane: the first, of 492 pages dated from 1885, the second, of 628 pages, from 1900. Both of these collections present an excellent synthesis of the heart of Marist spirituality in the second part of the 19th Century.

### ***Necessity of a complete and official edition***

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The events of 1903, the internationalisation of the Institute, the difficulty of having access to a complete corpus of the fundamental texts, to say nothing of the approaching Centenary of the Congregation: all of these happenings led the Superiors to undertake a systematic re-edition of the circulars, including therein those of the Founder himself.

The Centenary Edition was announced in the circular of 22 April 1912 (vol. 12 p. 163). That of 24 May 1916 (vol. 13 p. 242) indicates that the re-edition was being actively pursued and would, all going well, be finished

that December. In actual fact, the War slowed the work, and the circular of 2 February 1917 states that the last volume was in press (vol. 14 p. 85). That of 24 May 1918 (vol. 14 p. 219) adds that transport difficulties and high costs have rendered impossible the distribution of sufficient copies to the Provinces. In fact, it was shortly before the 1920 Chapter that the re-edition would be actually available in the communities.

What of the welcome accorded them? Here one must discern a little more closely, given that we are dealing with thirteen volumes in French arriving in a largely internationalised Congregation. Volumes moreover which, even for the French, evoke a situation totally different from what is currently being lived at the end of a war which has shattered the world. The thirteen volumes of the 1914-17 edition become, by this fact, a sort of memorial for a religious educational Society essentially linked to a past time and place: France of the 19th Century. From Volume 14 onwards, the status of the circulars is changed: from that moment they become the locus for the Superiors' doctrinal teaching, all the more because, since 1908, the *Bulletin de l'Institut* has concerned itself with miscellaneous information concerning the Congregation and its educational system. This change has been further reinforced since that time.

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## 2. CURRENT INTEREST IN THE CIRCULARS

With the Institute's second Centenary approaching, the question of a new re-edition could well arise, a project which may have little in common with the first, since a large part of the content of circulars prior to 1917, and even to Vatican II, is of mere historical interest. On the other hand, circulars of doctrinal import offer irreplaceable perspectives for our spirituality, in that they link our origins to our todays—an operation which is too often forgotten when spirituality is discussed.

In reality, the circulars guard us from sacrificing excessively to the "myth of origins". They show us that spirituality constructs and deconstructs itself endlessly in a complex historical process which merits discerning attention. It follows that the origins can no more be understood without the tradition which has nourished itself on them, than can "today" refer itself directly to the origins without respecting the historical thickness which has mediated their transmission to us. Our spirituality is like Jacob's ladder upon which angels both ascend and descend: to understand it we must act like them in not forgetting that the circulars constitute important rungs along the spiritual return journey between our origins and us.

## ***Outline of the History of our superiors' spiritual teaching***

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I will pass quickly over Champagnat's circulars, since they have been already published in the *Letters* of the Founder, and because I have commented on them elsewhere. I would emphasise only that they reinforce what at the time were referred to as "maxims" or "*sentences*", and which enjoyed a wide spiritual outreach.

I will be equally brief on Brother François whose circular on the Spirit of Faith seems to me the first synthesis of Marist spirituality<sup>1</sup>. It seems however that the nineteen texts chosen incorporate three complementary preoccupations: to preserve the memory of the deceased Founder's acts and writings; to build a "Marist" spirituality (one simultaneously emancipated from him yet in his spirit); to ensure interiorisation of the Rule and chief virtues of the Marist spirit.

**Brother Louis-Marie** seems to me at first blush both more ambitious and less profound than Brother François. From the outset he undertakes to implement a work of restoration of the spirit of the Congregation in a crisis of expansion, and to do this through the renewal of regularity, piety and charity (circulaire du 27/12/1860). In contrast to François who, in his circular on the Spirit of Faith, does not once cite Father Champagnat, Louis-Marie makes abundant use of his doctrine and examples, as well as those of the "model" Brothers: Bonaventure and Jean-Baptiste. At base, he insists less on charity and more on piety and regularity.

During the years 1860-70 there seems to me to be a triumph of an ascetic and somewhat military conception of the Congregation, in mild opposition to that of François and in strong complicity with that of Jean-Baptiste. The circular on Formation, of 1867, seems to me typical in this regard, in that it strongly hierarchises the Institute: the Directors in the lead both ensure the forward march of their school and form their assistants to religious life under the watchful eye of the Major Superiors.

Far from questioning a slightly populist conception of the Congregation which goes back to the Founder himself<sup>2</sup> and which crushes the Institute under the mass of candidates it has to form, he charges the leadership, notably the Directors, with virtually impossible tasks. This strate-

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1 1 See André Lanfrey, « La circulaire sur l'esprit de foi » in *Cahiers Maristes*, n° 16 p. 21-52 ; Essai sur la spiritualité mariste, Rome, September 2001, p. 168-179.

2 He didn't refuse postulants because he considered that they had been sent by the Blessed Virgin.



gy cannot but be related to the feeble perseverance rate of the Brothers: the young because poorly formed by Directors unable to take on the multiple tasks; the Directors repulsed by an impossibly demanding role-description. With Brother Louis-Marie we witness, then, the aggravation of a perverse effect of Champagnat's strong intuition: the Hermitage as a mystic city destined to welcome all those who wish to combat under the standard of Jesus and Mary.

In the circular on Pontmain, a development is unveiled: the war of 1870 and the Commune have manifested such perversity in the modern world that only prayer will save it. It is perhaps this suspecting of its certitudes which arouses in Louis-Marie a return to what is deepest in Marist tradition: the theme of the "mystical life of J.C. in our souls" (circular du 16 juin 1877) in the struggle against the "powers of darkness" (vol. 5 p. 404). This circular, sadly spoilt by an excessively long and somewhat banal conclusion, seems to me one of the high points of Marist spirituality. It is not unconnected with those which follow – on hell, on eternity and holiness – because in these texts, strongly influenced by the Exercises of St Ignatius<sup>3</sup>, we find the same inspiration: to struggle against the Kingdom of Evil after the example of J.C. for one's own salvation and that of one's neighbour.

The teaching of Brother Louis-Marie seems, then, to reflect two opposing epochs: in the first, of a Superior sure of himself and who reorganises from top to bottom a Congregation in dire need of a leader; in the second, who returns to an original tradition which situates the Congregation in the great cosmic struggle between Good and Evil at a moment when France is tottering irresistibly towards the Republic. We may be permitted to see here an ageing Louis-Marie meditating on his own last end.

**Brother Nestor** had not long acceded to the head of the Institute before his circulars seem to be taking something of a counter-position to Louis-Marie's options, and endeavouring to resolve at depth problems that the latter had envisaged in a more administrative than spiritual manner. Though he remains classical in his treatment of Christian Instruction for Children (19 March 1881), the introduction to his ambitious Plan of Studies (1 March 1882) outlines a spirituality of work and begins to get away from a negative and utilitarian concept of culture. On the more explicitly

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<sup>3</sup> See t. 6 p. 78: the Chapter of 1863 was opened by the meditation on hell and the unhappy eternity.

spiritual level, his circular on Devotion to the Sacred Heart offers a theocentric and Christological definition of humility (pp. 337-8) which contributes significantly to Marist spirituality. Above all, the same circular is an implicit critique of a whole Marist tradition on hell (of which the recent circular of Brother Louis-Marie was the latest manifestation.) Here is the key passage of that instruction (p. 340).

*"There are indeed two ways of understanding Christianity. There are souls who, in their entire habitual practice, envisage God above all as a master, are attentive to His rights, march under the flag of justice, and are penetrated by fear of Him. Such souls scarcely surpass in their inner purposes the severe idea of duty. All their preoccupations and all their supernatural ambitions are summarised and contained, as it were, in one word: Salvation ..."*

*"...if however we restore his place to J.C. [...] everything remains, yet everything is changed [...]; everything smiles, everything is clarified, everything is warmed by the rays of heaven. Why is this? Ah! Simply because love has made its appearance in the world. The great question is still put: what must I do to be saved? But another completes it, dominates it and transforms it: How can I repay the LORD for all the good he has done for me? (Ps 116,12)."*

With **Brother Théophane** we return to the tradition of Brother Louis-Marie in a rather unusual way: this Superior gives very few doctrinal instructions of his own, but refers to those of Louis-Marie. Up to a point, he thinks that with him is completed a sort of Marist Sacred Scripture after the death of the last Superior General who intimately knew the Founder. Having entered the Hermitage in 1845, Brother Théophane clearly does not feel within himself a spiritual authority comparable to that of his predecessors. Having known Louis-Marie well, he does however refer to this bearer of tradition in a privileged way.

With him, the Institute enters into a spirituality founded on memory and repetition more than on interpretation and enrichment. Brother Théophane, on the other hand, reproduces the overflowing activity of Brother Louis-Marie, investing himself in the rapid internationalisation of the Institute. We do not know what happened during his generalate to Brother Nestor's ambitious programme of studies, but we do know that Théophane concerned himself more than Louis-Marie to review the educative function of the Congregation, not so much in thinking it through himself, but by reference to contemporary studies on the subject. His most important circulars, then, concern piety in the schools and post-school works, strongly influenced by Salesian pedagogy. The pontifical texts are systematically pub-

lished. The cause of beatification of Father Champagnat, and accounts of his voyages around the world occupy numerous pages. The epoch of Brother Théophane thus appears rather poor spiritually, at least if one refers to his circulars. Brother Stratonique, his successor, does nothing to mute this impression by referring to him as a “living Rule” (vol. 11 p. 204-208).

There is, nonetheless, a significant exception to this overall judgement: it is his short instruction on the spirit of prayer (10 May 1902, vol. 10 p. 143-152) which places before us a remarkably profound vision of prayer, far removed from the heavy insistence of Brother Louis-Marie’s instructions:

*“What is the spirit of prayer? [...] It is like an aromatic oil, composed only of what is the purest, the most burning, the most divine in the relation between a soul and heaven, coming to float in our soul, and burning eternally in God’s honour.” (p. 143)*

*“This spirit of prayer contains nothing which obstructs the soul’s movements: it creates in the heart absolutely nothing of constraint or servitude. One begins with gradual steps, and finishes by so living of God, with God and in God, just as one breathes with such freedom and ease as to be almost unaware of doing so.” (p. 149)*

Even the conclusion which, according to literary genre of such instructions, should have sought to propose bland ascetical applications, maintains the same tone:

*“If by our generous efforts we come to establish in ourselves the spirit of prayer and the everlasting desire of our heart, our entire life will become nothing but a hymn to God’s glory: a hymn whose verses will continue in heaven.”*

His final instruction, on fidelity to our vocation, is significantly dated 19 March 1904, marking the inauguration of a problem the Institute will not be able to resolve in spiritual terms: “the Secularisation.” He condemns firmly, though in veiled terms (vol. 10 p. 414):

*“Let us then conduct ourselves according to this consideration, that the good we have to do, if we wish to please God, is not limited to any particular country or children, whether on this side or the far side of the Alps or Pyrenees—indeed it must extend itself far across the oceans, wherever there are children to be instructed, souls to be saved.*

*[...] In vain will you protest to God that you will remain faithful to him, that you will continue to walk in his path. Alas! You will start by following him from afar, from such a distance that he will be lost to view [...]. The world’s seductions are so formidable, the abuse of grace so grievous, the slope so slippery for a soul already on the way of perdition!”*

Brother Théophane seems not to have perceived that his argument in favour of the children of the world at large could easily be turned against him by Secularisation's victims: in France too there were children's souls to be saved, and that task was more urgent according since their salvation was more gravely menaced. His theory of vocation, marked by the concern to protect itself from the world, classical though it might be, did not thereby seem any the less cold—as if concern for the security of religious life and fidelity to its forms should prevail over everything else. In the end he was so beguiled by an internationality which owed its origin in part to the Founder's own universalism (All the dioceses of the world enter into our plans), that he no longer understood the apostolate as rooted in a given milieu and country.

Brother Théophane's spiritual itinerary seems to me like the era itself, a transition to multiple aspects. With him, we leave the epoch of the great interpreters for that of the re-readers; the time of France to enter the international; the time of the Congregation as a semi-monastic entity to enter the time of Secularisation; the time of peace to enter that of persecution. In summary, like Brother Louis-Marie, Brother Théophane experienced a huge institutional success and a relative doctrinal failure.

**Brother Stratonique** (1907-1920) had to manage the problems bequeathed to him by his predecessor: Secularisation and the internalisation of the new Constitutions of 1903 which created a decentralised government. To these two items, two others were added: the Centenary of the Institute, and the War. It will, therefore, be understood why during his generalate he multiplied instructions on the Constitutions and the necessity of returning to the spirit of our origins. Intractable on questions of adaptation (vol. 11 p. 486-487: "God doesn't change"), and lacking a great depth of thought, he possessed a style made of simplicity and good-heartedness which cuts through the grandiloquence of Brother Louis-Marie and the coldness of Brother Théophane.

His preoccupation with recovering the primitive spirit of the Institute (cf. vol. 11 p. 314) reduces his interpretation of spirituality to a concern for mere memorisation, and the re-edition of the circulars was a masterpiece of just this will to perpetuate the tradition. Just the same he had a wideness of vision in that he included, alongside Father Champagnat, Brother François and "all our sainted elders of Lavalla" (vol. 11 p. 485, 2/2/1911). He takes up again the same formula on 18 May 1911 (vol. 11 p. 559) where he invokes "our elders": Brothers François, Louis, Laurence, Jean-Baptiste, Stanislaus, Louis-Marie, Jérôme, and Bonaventure. On 24

May 1913 there is the invitation to imitate Champagnat “and our elder Brothers” (p. 260) and “beyond the Venerable Father Champagnat we have the three thousand of our Brothers who have gone before us into the next life” (p. 263). He evokes the examples of Brothers Louis, Stanislaus, Damien, Chrysostome, Bonaventure, Léon, Cassien, Ribier, Pascal, Timothée, Jean-Claude, Philogone (p. 266-270)<sup>4</sup>.

In this manner, Brother Stratonique without conceptualising it too much, conceives the Institute as a mystical body of which Champagnat is merely the initiator. This way of seeing is sufficiently original to warrant notice. Perhaps an explanation for such an insistence on a fraternal vision of the Institute is to be found in the fact that, since 1860 he was the first Superior General (with the exception of Brother Nestor—whose generalate was so short) not to have passed through the seminary.

Brother Stratonique is relatively original also in the matter of devotion. From 6 June 1908 he begins to envisage a book on the practice of devotion in the Institute during its first century and ask for testimonies (vol. 11, p. 321). Right to the very end of his generalate he had not abandoned his project. In the circular of 24 May 1919 he commends as fruits of the retreat, a perfect regularity, a solid piety, and farternal union—the three cardinal virtues recommended by Brother Louis-Marie in 1860—and he adds devotion to the list. In the same circular (p. 298) he foreshadows a Golden Book on devotion and once again requests testimonies.

Finally we may say that Brother Stratonique’s generalate, while it does not renew the spiritual perspectives of the Institute, it does mark them in two ways: on the one hand, he draws up a memorial to its history and to its spirituality; on the other, he performs this task in a spirit of modesty and fraternity not heretofore seen to the same extent in his predecessors. As for style and substance, Brother Stratonique would be closer to Brother Jean-Baptiste and to the mentality of the greater number of the Brothers.

With **Brother Diogène** (1920-1942), we have the impression of being once more alongside Brother Théophane: real circulars are few, but numerous pontifical texts are published. Few circulars present the author’s personal thought, Brother Diogène frankly stating that he used this or that book or conference which had pleased him. Accordingly, one might think that Brother Diogène did not possess a sufficiently deep doctrine from

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<sup>4</sup> In the circular of 2/2/1916 (vol. 13 p. 130) Brother Stratonique gives a further list of the most senior Brothers. See also t. 14 p. 67.

which to fashion a personal message. But the problem is perhaps – as in the case of Brother Théophane – much more complex. Both these men in fact governed in the wake of very verbose Superiors, and were obliged to take into account a certain weariness in their public. On the other hand, they might well have been cramped by a conceptual fixity in Marist spirituality: if the origins are definitively established in the Institute's Rule and official books, why go on repeating them forever? Hence they devote themselves to what they judge might engender something new: pontifical documents and contemporary spiritual works.

In any case, when he does present more personal material, Brother Diogène comes across as rather traditional. In his 25 December 1921 circular on vocation (vol. 14 p. 515-536) he envisages it as a true predestination (p. 518) from which the one called cannot remove himself even if he has not yet made vows. Clearly, there lurks behind this text the whole problem of the perseverance of Brothers mobilised into the armed forces and who are tempted not to rejoin the Congregation. But there seems to be more yet: an excessively rigid concept of vocation which is being called into question, and to which he responds without concession.

The circular of 25 December 1923 on what constitutes the essential of religious life is perhaps the subtlest of Diogène's texts. In it he seeks to formulate a new doctrine on secularisation directly addressed (p. 84) for the first time in a circular<sup>5</sup>. Since at the 1920 General Chapter those secularised were recognised as religious and full members [of the Congregation], the question arises: what then is the essence of religious life? Brother Diogène responds that a religious is not of any given time, and that "we must be in this second century of our existence, just what our ancestors were", yet he adds a bit further on:

*"The essential is the inner being<sup>6</sup> – we must be clear on this – it is holiness, at the very least personal virtue. The rest is not unimportant, but it is accidental [...]. The essential for a religious [in italics] is an infallible safeguard for us :if we have enough cf it; [...] this is a matter cf experimental proof, especially in countries where our Brothers have endured either persecution or revolution. For a Congregation spread over five continents cf the world, it is very rare that persecution or revolution do not serve us in one way or another.[...] It is, therefore, wise to hold ourselves ready for the*

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<sup>5</sup> The 1920 Chapter had a Commission on « the Secularisation », but its Acts (vol. 14 p. 411-453) make no mention of it in order to avoid possible repercussions (éviter d'éventuelles poursuites).

<sup>6</sup> Today we would say «It is the interior being».



*struggle, and to ask God to provide us in all the circumstances in which we may find ourselves, with the graces necessary to remain faithful to him."*

As formulated here, the thought of Brother Diogène seems quite confused. I believe it can be interpreted as follows: in its essence religious life is a temporal, but in its lived reality, it is forced to confront persecutions and revolutions. To do this, it must fall back to what constitutes its essence: conscience, and be ready to sacrifice what is accidental (e.g. the habit...).

The difficulty in which this puts Brother Diogène is understandable, for his statement confirms the thesis of secularisation as legitimate and above all a conception of religious life which defines as accessory, external signs such as habit, rule, and community. It follows that religious life appears no longer as founded on community and exterior signs, but on the individual. Evidently Brother Diogène refrains from deducing their ultimate consequences from the principles which he has expounded. Indeed he still speaks of "the spirit of religious life" which leads – he says – to the exact observance of the rules, and he concludes by firing a volley at infractions of poverty and the abuse of visiting, to say nothing of a tirade against the spirit of the world of the most traditional kind. .

No matter how ambiguous, and in the last resort untenable, this doctrine of Brother Diogène's may be – taking back with one hand what he has just let go of with the other – it nonetheless constitutes nothing less than a breach in the classical concept of religious life. Obviously it will have little effect in practice, since it's not the fruit of a doctrine but as an adaptation to the calamities of the time. One may regret today that Diogène did not show more audacity, but was it possible to go further? Nothing is less sure. It remains true that this text represents one of the rare attempts to rethink religious life before Vatican II.

The second of Brother Diogène's circulars which seems to me worthy of commentary is that of 24 May 1926 on the Spirit of the Venerable Father Champagnat (vol. 15 p. 432-465) in which he compares the Hermitage to the monastery of Clairvaux still impregnated with the memory of St Bernard. It is in that place, venerated by Brothers from all parts of the world (p. 433) where one breathes as it were "an atmosphere of sanctity" that Brother Diogène interceded for the Brothers menaced by persecution in many places. In order to prepare themselves for every eventuality, he invites them to reproduce the Founder's virtues following the order of the chapters in the Second Part of his Life: Spirit of Faith, ...

This resumption of the founding virtues seems to me of secondary interest. More significant is the powerful way in which, at a century's re-

move, the link between the Founder and his successor is manifest: a Founder who saw the Hermitage as the mystical city of Mary destined to spread all over the earth, and a disciple who saw that promise at once realised and threatened.

The interregnum of four years (1942-46) between Brother Diogène and Brother Léonida is administered by **Brother Michaëlis** followed by **Brother Marie-Odulphe**. The five circulars they produced are far from uninteresting. But, yet again, troubles and wars aroused the will for restoration. Thus Brother Marie-Odulphe, on 24 May 1945, notifies his intention of “restoring all in the spirit of the Venerable Founder through the observance of the Rule” (vol. 19 p 351). During the secularisation, the War of 1914-18, the persecutions in numerous countries, and the Second World War, he saw only a sort of religious weakening which demanded the remedy of reinvigorating one’s spiritual energies. Upheavals had occurred, and the world would never be the same again, but this did not concern Marie-Odulphe: we must return to the Rule of the Founder. The hiatus between the official spirituality and the reality seemed total.

From 1946 to 1958, Brother **Léonida** exerted a considerable doctrinal effort. Though he retained the fundamental idea of restoration, he opened it to the possibility of adaptation, especially in formation. Perhaps the underlying theme of his entire generalate would be faced with anxiety deriving from the feeble perseverance rate of the Brothers, how to restore to them a strong Marist identity made of love and esteem for their vocation. The key circular on this subject seems to me to be that of 8 December 1952, entitled: “We are Religious, Little Brothers of Mary”, in which he treats of the religious spirit, and the Marist spirit – themes eminently traditional. Where he shows evidence of originality is in the causes of relaxation of religious spirit: the rapid extension of the Congregation, persecution, military service and compulsory labour<sup>7</sup>, the large measure of official protection which the Institute had enjoyed in numerous countries, and lastly: insufficient personnel.

This is one of the first times that a Superior had recognised that a religious deficiency could be the result not only of external causes, but of internal and even institutional causes as well. In the second part of his “Sources

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<sup>7</sup> Service du Travail Obligatoire (STO) [= Compulsory Work Service] which obliged young people, under the German occupation, to go to Germany and work for the war economy.



of religious and Marist spirit” (vol. 21 p. 113) he cites the corpus of texts which, in his opinion, contain the Marist spirit: The Life of the Founder; the Rule; Avis, Leçons, Sentences; the Biographical Notices; the Circulars of the early Superiors; the Bulletin of the Institute. Further on he adds—but clearly in a subordinate position—: the Teachers’ Guide; the Bon Supérieur; the Christian Perfection; the Meditations of Brother Jean-Baptiste; the Catechism on the Blessed Virgin Mary. Here we have a manifest effort to discern in the tradition what remains fundamental, and what is transient.

He does a similar thing in his circular of 8 December 1948 (vol. 20 p. 91-118) on spiritual direction. Here one must recall that in 1890 the Holy See’s decree *Quaemadmodum* forbade non-clerical Congregational Superiors from requiring an internal forum Account of Conscience, and from that time the Spiritual Direction previously given by the Assistants was abandoned. Brother Léonida (p.96) nuances the effects of this prohibition, and encourages a return to spiritual direction.

On the question of perseverance (vol. 22 p. 739), Brother Léonida provides an interesting historical synthesis of the problem which he introduces by emphasising that vocation is fundamentally a mystery and a problem relating to freedom and faith—an idea which nullifies the appalling doctrine of predestination earlier formulated by Brother Diogène. Nonetheless, though intelligently formulated, his examination of the causes of defection and the remedies to be applied, contribute nothing profoundly new, even if the 4th Part (pp 25ff) seems for the first time to offer a synthesis of the arguments of those who leave. At base, and in a nuanced manner, Brother Léonida aligns himself with the classical doctrine: the departure of a Brother is a problem for himself, not for the institution.

The 1958 General Chapter (vol. 22 p. 322-358), whose programme was to revive the spirit of the Blessed Founder through a more intense religious fervour, a more efficacious zeal, and a more intimate family life, situated itself in continuity with Brother Léonida; furthermore the first two circulars of **Brother Charles-Raphaël** treat of zeal and of family life. But perhaps the real change of tune occurs with the circular of 8 December 1960 on the Common Rule, which had just been recast.

In fact, it is in the part which treats of “Our traditions to be preserved” (p. 501-504), that Brother Charles-Raphaël reformulated the spirit of the Congregation, recalling that “there was in him [Champagnat], in the very first place, an apostolic preoccupation”, and that even if “the thought of founding a religious institute followed almost immediately after”, it did not come first. He goes further: “it is in these two directions

that we must seek what is essential in the work of the Blessed Founder". Such propositions seem to me unabashedly novel, given that since Brother Jean-Baptiste it was taken for granted that religious life was first and zeal second. Father Champagnat himself, in founding the Hermitage like a convent, gave ample credibility to this thesis. Thus did Brother Charles-Raphaël, without insisting on it, recall that historically zeal came first, and that the Institute was at the service of the apostolate.

This same part of the circular contributes another significant novelty in its title: "The Spirituality He Proposes to the Brothers" which is—as far as I know—the first usage of the word "spirituality" in any circular. And the definition of spirituality which follows the title is far from banal. Charles-Raphaël reminds us that "the life of the Brothers should be impregnated with a Marial spirit" made of the virtues of Nazareth: humility, simplicity, modesty—which are consonant with our way of life and our apostolate. Linked to family spirit, which he considers fundamental, such a definition of Marist spirituality integrates around the spirit of Nazareth (developed more by Father Colin than by Father Champagnat) a Marist spirit which had too often isolated apostolate from religious life, and humility from Mary. Through this brief text, Brother Charles-Raphaël shows himself to be a profound connoisseur of Marist spirituality, and probably the first to formulate it in new terms after a long period of more or less felicitous repetitions.

The opening of Vatican II in 1962 cut Brother Charles-Raphaël's generalate in two, and in 1963-64 he produced a great circular in four parts with the surprising title: "Preservation and Growth of the Institute". It seems distinctly out of date, and all in all, conservative—and this at a time when conciliar events were overturning the entire religious landscape. Perhaps it needs to be seen as the will of the responsible superior to decisively confront an enthusiasm which threatens to sweep all before it. The circular of 1 May 1965 on "Fidelity to the spirit of our vocation and the law of adaptation" certainly has this preoccupation—its very title bespeaks the need to reconcile fidelity and change. The third part (pp. 278ff), with a view to the upcoming Chapter, attempts to give some norms on what should remain firm and what should be changed in a moment of ferment where the tradition risks being swept away.

The first circular of **Brother Basilio Rueda**, dated 2 January 1968 is distributed in five parts which appear sequentially up till July. It deals essentially with the XVI<sup>th</sup> General Chapter whose first session had just concluded. Thus the first part (vol.24, 2/1/1968) is consecrated to a critique of that event. Brother Basilio observes that, for the first time in a long period,

the Chapter experienced a veritable confrontation which he synthesises as follows: spirituality versus psychologism, and structure versus freedom.

It would seem unprofitable to cite excessive detail, but this circular brings to the light of day a huge division within the Institute, already existing from way back, and traces of which can be found especially from Brother Stratonique's generalate onwards. To save time—and at the risk of caricature—one could say that the “conservative” party—that of spirituality-structure—seemed to have dictated the forward march of the Institute for a century, without having thereby reduced the more “progressive” party—that of psychology-freedom. In effect, what had happened at the Council would also happen in the Congregation, which was lucky enough to have a Superior General with the sang-froid and the competence to theoretically resolve, for the first time, an ancient Congregational dilemma: how to adapt without denying oneself? How to maintain the spirit of the Institute without the traditions which weigh it down?

A first conceptual revolution was achieved in the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the 2 January circular, which was in fact issued on 2 July 1968 (cf Chronologie) and entitled: “A Chapter for Today's World”. It relieved the Congregation of its old vision of a corrupt world from which it must preserve itself, and offered that of a world which calls and within which we must be “a sacrament and a heaven” (p. 301).

In the 5<sup>th</sup> part of the circular which did not appear until 1 November 1969, Brother Basilio treats of the “The Council's appeals to our Special Chapter”. His conclusion announces (p. 596) a new way of being Marist:

*“I am sure we are making progress towards new ways of life which are less legalistic, more audacious in the field of the apostolate, more in harmony with growing social and professional conditions, with more individual independence and a great freedom in the structures.”*

And he added that such a change would ultimately lead to a crisis of vocations since “it is not only a question of standard, but of style and even of system”. In saying this, he takes an opposite direction to the entire circular tradition which ceaselessly affirmed that there was only one legitimate system which had to be maintained cost what it might. At the same time he implicitly disconnects spirituality and system: to change the system is not to launch an attack on spirituality, on the contrary it is to reinterpret it.

He will take up this idea explicitly in his circular of 1 July 1971 which provides a report of the General Conference of Superiors, particularly in his “The meditation of a Superior General shared with his Provincials” (p. 305-358). There he says quite clearly that the Institute must “change our mentality, to bring about a new attitude – ‘metanoia’ – on the institution-

al level" (p. 306). In any case, there is no choice: we are going through "a transformation of Religious Life—not in its essentials, but in the accidentals; not in its evangelical inspiration, but in its cultural expression. We are caught up in an abandonment of former ways of life and in the new formulation of this Religious Life" (p. 307).

The circular of 25 December 1975 on "The Spirit of the Institute" is of capital importance because it re-evaluates a formula incessantly asserted from the Founder's time to define the heart of Marist spirituality. It is an adjustment of what Marist spirituality is, in that it clearly distinguishes spirit, charism, and spirituality (p. 176-178). It insists on the fact that the spirituality of Champagnat—priest and Marist Father—is not completely ours. He invites us also to relativise our spirit in view of the Gospel and of history. He acknowledges that quite often "the slipping from the spiritual to the purely psychological level has not been a success" (p. 189). For example humility has engendered inferiority complexes. And he concludes by sketching a humility, a simplicity, and a modesty which have been thought out in the new context.

In further circulars, Brother Basilio will attempt to reinterpret other fundamental aspects of our identity: for example, relation to Mary in "A New Space for Mary" (8 September 1976, t. 26). There is also the strange and gigantic circular on Fidelity (8 September 1984), a meditation on the vocation of Marist Brother, starting not from the ideal but from the testimony of many Brothers. Thus, for the first time and in a systematic way, a Superior General applies himself to Marist life, not as it should be lived, but as it has been lived—with all the deficiencies and greatness of both persons and institution.

Thus Brother Basilio worked in masterly fashion to have the Institute rethink itself from top to bottom. **Brother Charles Howard**, through his circular on Marist Apostolic Spirituality, seems to me to conclude this stage of attempted redefinition begun by Brother Charles-Raphaël. The Appendix of the circular's 1<sup>st</sup> part (p. 525-532) in particular, is an excellent historical synthesis of the passage from Marist spirit to Marist spirituality.

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## CONCLUSION

It is evident that we lack the distance necessary for offering an assessment of these recent circulars. But it can be said, without much risk of error, that they are situated in a new context: namely that of a Marist spirituality conceived not as an original 'given' which must be ceaselessly recalled, but as a continuing creation, not just of the head, but also of the Marist body.

The history of the circulars, however, appears in large measure typical of an institution which has not known with enough clarity to distinguish and manage in a balanced manner the two complementary aspects of its role: to assure stability and guarantee dynamism. Especially from 1903 onwards, and up to the Chapter of 1958, the preoccupation for unity and the cult of origins overwhelmed attention to the signs of the times.

The first break, whose importance seems to me not to have been adequately perceived, is the 1958 General Chapter, which accorded to the individual the right of a certain autonomy of religious living. The deep sign of this mutation is the passage from the Spirit of the Institute to that of Marist Spirituality: in other words from a communitarian and hierarchical vision of the Congregation to a more equilibrated articulation between institution and individual. Even if this change was too late in coming to pre-empt a certain delirium of individualism and anti-institutionalism between 1965-1975, it does demonstrate that the Institute was capable of a certain measure of anticipation.

Whatever about that, and in spite of the deficiencies which can be pointed out, the Institute has, from the beginning, well nourished a lively awareness of being a spiritual body concerned with a "spirit of the Institute" made of humility and faith in imitation of Mary. It has had a spirituality which was quite clearly defined. Its major problems, in an ecclesiological context which scarcely permitted openings, would seem to have been:

- a relationship to the world too tightly anchored to the monastic tradition,
- a conception of religious life which was too clerical and insufficiently brotherly.

The spirit of the Institute could only exist in the unique form handed down by the Superiors alone. In this dichotomous context of either unreserved adhesion or "bad spirit", there was little space for public debate. It is for this reason that it seems to me difficult to speak of a school of Marist Spirituality in the Institute before 1958, even if in certain places and at certain moments (teams of major superiors, Chapters, second novitiates, ...) there could have functioned official or informal groups moving in that direction.

May we say that in our time the Institute has built up a school, or several schools of spirituality? It seems to me that it is tending that way and that, in any case, conditions are ripe for their emergence, namely: a lively awareness of their necessity, as well as the intellectual and institutional capacity to bring them into existence. Let us add—and this is no small thing—that such hypothetical schools of spirituality will be able to avail themselves of considerable Marist material of which the circulars, for all their limitations, will form no small part.

## **TABLE** **SYNTHESIS OF DOCTRINAL CIRCULARS**

To facilitate renewed contact with our spiritual tradition it would be helpful to tidy up the circulars by reorganising them in large volumes, ordered according to topic and chronology, such as the following:

- Fundamental spiritual teaching: including all the doctrinal texts of substantial length so far composed.
- Occasional spiritual teaching such as invitations to retreats, exhortation to this or that particular devotion...
- Education and teaching: including the development of educational thought, various technical methods, the life of the schools...
- Deceased Brothers: biographical notices...
- Causes of beatification and canonisation.
- General Chapters...

The work set out below is a sketch of what could be a dossier on the history of Marist spirituality through the circulars. For this purpose, only those texts which seem to us to present a fundamental and structured spiritual teaching, or which mark important steps in the spiritual history of the Congregation. An exception is made for Father Champagnat's circulars which are very short (reproduction by hand demanded such!) but of evident importance since they are at the very beginnings.

One to three asterisks mark the circulars which seem to me of most interest, 186 texts being listed. I have opted to retain in their original form those circulars which are divided into several parts so as to respect to the utmost the chronology of their publication. It can be said that the collection hereunder contains roughly one hundred and fifty teachings on Marist spirituality by some 15 authors spread over nearly 170 years. The contribution of each author is rapidly recalled at the head of the list of his circulars.



**THE SPIRITUAL CIRCULARS:*****From the spirit of the Institute to Marist Spirituality*****Circulars from the time of Father Champagnat: 1817 – 1839**

Father Champagnat's circulars are brief, affective, tailored to the occasion: e.g. for the New Year, to announce the retreats. They present the Hermitage as the city of Jesus and Mary ("one heart and one mind"). Only the last, on the relation between profane and religious teaching, is doctrinal.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
1	1	15/1/1829	"la Sainte Vierge nous a plantés dans son jardin"
1	3	10/9/1830	"Nous avons Dieu pour défenseur"
1	4	10/8/1834	"Je souhaite que Jésus et Marie soient toujours votre unique trésor"
1	5	24/8/1835	"Comme les apôtres au cénacle...un cœur et une âme"
1	7	19/1/1836	Esquisse de testament spirituel
1	11	10/1/1837	"Aimons-nous les uns les autres"
1	13	21/1/1837	Don de la règle "aux doux noms de Jésus et de Marie"
1	14	12/8/1837	Tous réunis "sous l'étendard de l'auguste Marie"
1	15-16	15/8/1837	"Cette bonne Mère ...vous a établis comme de nouveaux apôtres"
1	17-18	4/9/1837	Mort du F. Dorothée. "Dieu nous a appelés pour être saints"
1	19-22	23.8/1838	Vivre et mourir sous les auspices de Marie
1	24-25	13/1/1839	Action de grâces envers St Joseph
1	26-27	9/9/1839	Réunion "sous les auspices de Marie notre tendre Mère"
1	28-31	6/12/1839	Travailler avec courage à l'œuvre de Marie ( <i>auteur: Fr. François</i> )
1	32-37	10/1/1840	Priorité au catéchisme sans négliger les matières profanes

**Under the Generalate of Brother François: 1839 – 1860**

Brother François: Concerned to cultivate the Founder's memory. Most important is the first spiritual synthesis: the circular on the Spirit of Faith (probably a collective work involving Brother Louis-Marie and the chaplains of the Hermitage [cf Brother Avit], without direct reference to Father Champagnat.) Circulars for special circumstances (the Immaculate Conception,..., the Rule).

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
1	41-42	6/6/1840	Mort du P. Champagnat "bon père, digne supérieur et fondateur..."
1	43-44	8/9/1840	Cultiver le souvenir du P. Champagnat
1	45-55	15/1/1841	Ouverture d'un registre pour classer les circulaires (p. 46)
1	58-60	10/8/1841	Recueillir les documents de Champagnat

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
1	84-93	15/1/1844	Testament spirituel du P. Champagnat
1	122-132	31/7/1847	"Que nous sommes heureux d'être les enfants de Marie"
2	5-23	15/12/1848	Esprit de foi (I)
2	29-41	16-6-1849	Esprit de foi (II)
2	75-98	21-12-1851	Esprit de foi (III)
2	123-141	11-1-1853	La Règle
2	145-168	9-4-1853	Esprit de foi (IV)
2	192-197	21-6-1854	Sur les règles et les constitutions. ( <i>auteur: Chapitre général</i> )
2	203-222	2/2/1855	Sur le dogme de l'Immaculée-Conception
2	261-287	6/1/1857	Tableau thématique des maximes et exemples du Fondateur
2	301-309	8/12/1857	Sainte joie et confiance en Dieu
2	345-364	15/4/1859	L'esprit de piété
2	376-396	31/12/59	Le religieux est le temple du Saint Esprit

### Under the Generalate of Brother Louis-Marie: 1860 – 1879

Brother Louis-Marie: He builds up a veritable corpus of doctrine which following Superiors will cite and reprint. This series of great instructions seems to continue up to 1873. They are marked by a triple objective: to restore piety, charity, and regularity.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
3	5-28	27/12/60	Régularité, piété, charité (programme de gouvernement) **
3	39-62	16/7/1861	Sur la dévotion à Marie ***
3	67-103	19/3/1862	Charité fraternelle (classique sans plus)
3	129-151	2/2/1863	Devoir de la prière (I)
3	176-206	8/12/1863	Ponctualité (régularité)
3	234-265	19/3/1865	Devoir de la prière (II)
3	275-296	17/1/1866	F. Bonaventure modèle du Frère Mariste ***
3	331-362	9/2/1867	Formation des frères et esprit religieux ***
3	397-425	8/12/1867	Formation des frères (suite) ***
3	463-485	2/2/1869	Pureté d'intention et imitation de Jésus Christ
4	206-230	2/7/1871	Méditations sur la Visitation. Marie médiatrice
4	239-306	8/4/1872	F. Jean-Baptiste: l'esprit sérieux ***
4	349-411	24/5/1873	F. Jean-Baptiste (suite); esprit de foi ***

A second Brother Louis-Marie ? An anxious Superior who sees the arrival of a new and hostile political regime. Attempts to deepen his spirituality,



utilising Pontmain<sup>8</sup> as a foundation: when the situation is catastrophic, turn to Mary and Jesus.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
5	7-67	6/6/1874	Pontmain ou l'école de la prière (I)*
5	68-113	24/5/1875	Pontmain... (II)*
5	114-187	17/1/1876	Pontmain... (III)*
5	402-434	16/6/1877	Vie mystique de Jésus Christ dans les âmes ***
5	505-566	17/1/1878	Pontmain... (IV). La simplicité chrétienne
5	573-578	17/1/1878	La simplicité chrétienne (suite et fin)

An ageing Superior, concerned about his final end.

In summary, there are two stages in his instructions a first phase—imperious, reframing the Congregation; a second—more personal, more mystical, and more anxious as well.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
6	78-111	8/12/78	Sur l'enfer et la malheureuse éternité
6	142- 163	2/7/1879	Sur l'éternité... (suite)
6	166-192	30/11/79	Vocation. Appel à la sainteté

### Under the Generalate of Brother Nestor: 1880 – 1883

Though his generalate was brief, Brother Nestor introduced an opening to a renewed concept of Marist spirit by promoting a religion of the heart as well as a larger vision of instruction and intellectual work.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
6	241-266	19/3/1881	Sur l'instruction chrétienne des enfants ***
6	268-274	19/3/1881	Notice biographique du F. François*
6	333-343	12/7/1881	Dévotion au Sacré-Cœur ***
6	361-376	1/3/1882	Le plan d'études (présentation) ***

<sup>8</sup> Apparition of Mary in Normandy during the war of 1870.

### Under the Generalate of Brother Théophane: 1883 – 1907

The doctrinal contribution of Brother Théophane is minimal: his circulars utilise the works of others (Br Louis-Marie, the Pope, certain priests, ...) and present numerous accounts of voyages. He appears as a man of action and an administrator plunged into the world-wide spread of the Congregation and preoccupied by the difficulties of education in France. Yet this perspective is balanced by the remarkable depth of certain circulars, especially at the beginning and end of his generalate. We may perhaps imagine also that it took time to digest the abundant and sometime prolix literature of Brother Louis-Marie. Finally, it is understandable that, in confronting secularisation he should revisit, in his last circulars, fundamental topics such as prayer and vocation.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
7	308-314	25/01/87	Esprit de foi. Esprit du Fondateur. Esprit de l'Institut**
7	338-357	22/10/93	De l'éducation
8	512-532	1/1/1895	La piété dans les écoles libres (I) (d'après l'abbé Fèvre, salésien)
8	575-591	11/6/1895	La piété dans les écoles libres (II)
8	687-705	27/12/95	La piété dans les écoles libres (III)
9	330-336	24/5/1898	Les œuvres de jeunesse (I)
9	375-379	27/12/98	Les œuvres de jeunesse (II)
9	447-455	2/6/1899	Les œuvres de jeunesse (III)
10	143-152	10/5/1902	Esprit de prière ***
10	410-420	19/3/1904	Fidélité à la vocation *

### Under the Generalate of Brother Stratonique: 1907 – 1920

Like Brother Théophane, Brother Stratonique has to face enormous difficulties: secularisation and war. He has to ensure the assimilation of the new Constitutions of 1903, following upon the recognition by Rome. Then he has to prepare the Centenary of the Institute. His circulars, then, will naturally emphasise concern for fidelity to the origins, respect for Rule and Constitutions, confidence in Providence. His interpretation of the origins is marked by two original characteristics: the importance he attributes to the First Brothers, and the virtue of devotedness.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
11	197-204	31/12/07	Confiance en la Providence
11	204-208	31/12/07	Éloge du F. Théophane : une « règle vivante »
11	335-350	2/2/1909	Les constitutions (Historique)

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
11	395	25/4/1909	Préparation au centenaire : imiter le P. Champagnat (I)
11	447	25/5/1910	Imiter le P. Champagnat : son esprit de foi ***
11	485-508	2/2/1911	Les constitutions ***
11	558-565	18/5/1911	Imiter la force et la crainte de Dieu du P. Champagnat
12	7-24	2/2/1912	Nos constitutions (article 144) (pb. de la sécularisation) ***
12	119-124	22/4/1912	Imiter le P. Champagnat : présence de Dieu et zèle ***
12	175-204	2/2/1913	Nos constitutions : articles 67 (étude religieuse) et 71
12	245-259	24/5/1913	Considérations utiles : Réformer, conformer, transformer
12	259-272	24/5/1913	Imitation du P. Champagnat et des « frères aînés »***
12	325-343	2/2/1914	Nos constitutions ...
12	505-523	24/5/1914	Crainte de Dieu (horreur du péché, enfer) *
13	18-37	2/2/1915	La Divine Providence.
13	37-45	2 /2/1915	La paix
13	67-86	2 /2/1915	Le purgatoire et la dévotion aux âmes du purgatoire *
13	98-104	1/6/1915	Renouvellement dans l'esprit de piété
13	130-164	2/2/1916	Imiter foi, ferveur et force du P. Champagnat et des 1 <sup>ers</sup> frères
13	165-188	2/2/1916	Nos constitutions : article 58 sur l'obéissance
13	207-222	24/5/1916	Evocation des derniers jours de M. Champagnat
14	4 -29	2/1/1917	Rôle providentiel de l'Institut durant son 1 <sup>er</sup> siècle. ***
14	58 - 80	24/5/1917	Accroissement de l'esprit surnaturel
14	40 p.	9-12-1916	Bienfaits de ma congrégation : sa beauté ( <i>auteur : un frère</i> )
14	91-104	2/2/1918	Les Béatitudes
14	104-133	2/2/1918	La persévérance
14	175-202	24/5/1918	Fortifier en nous le règne de Dieu... (Christ-roi)
14	223-256	19/3/1919	Sur la régularité (testament spirituel du F. Stratonique)
14	293-300	24/5/1919	Dévouement (typique du F. Stratonique)

### Under the Generalate of Brother Diogène: 1920 – 1942

While Brother Stratonique would approach Brother Louis-Marie in the abundance of his doctrinal contribution, Brother Diogène is closer to Brother Théophane: little personal contribution, but many summaries of pontifical texts and of contemporary spiritual authors. Though conservative in spirit, he strove to think of secularisation as an authentic form of religious life, all the more in view of his lively awareness that some parts of the Institute were always facing situations of more or less overt persecution.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
14	515-536	25/12/21	Vocation, persévérance, vœux, dispense *
14	613-620	25/12/22	Sur la joie
15	1-11	24/5/1923	Du bon emploi du temps
15	81-95	25/12/23	Sur l'essentiel de la vie religieuse (problème de la sécularisation)***
15	150-160	24/5/1924	Dévotion à la SainteVierge dans l'éducation
15	293-308	8/5/1925	Du vœu et de la vertu d'obéissance (rappel)
15	432-465	24/5/1926	L'esprit du Vénérable P. Champagnat ***
15	519-542	25/12/26	Sur les 12 vertus recommandées par St Alphonse de Liguori
16	199-218	25/12/28	Sur la grâce et la charité (inspiré du P. Janvier)
16	585-594	24/5/1931	St Augustin maître de vie intérieure (d'après le P. Cayré)
17	10-30	25/12/32	Marie modèle de pauvreté, chasteté, modestie, obéissance
17	65-88	16/4/1933	Les persécutions antichrétiennes
17	125-140	25/12/33	L'âme de Jésus dans sa passion (d'après le P. Monsabré)
17	570-584	25/12/36	L'Action Catholique
17	599-613	24/5/1937	Le purgatoire
18	7-45	24/5/1938	Dévotion au Sacré-Cœur
18	167-227	24/5/1939	Centenaire de la mort de Champagnat. Historique de sa cause

### During the time of Br. Michaëlis (Interim Vicar General): 1942 - 1945

Brother Michaëlis seems essentially concerned with preservation of the Institute in a war which forces many Brothers to live out unforeseen situations. The circulars appear detached from the reality of the time.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
19	233-248	25/12/1943	Nos maisons comme des «Domus Dei»
19	310-330	25/12/1944	Conservation des vocations

### During the time of Br. Marie-Odulphe (Interim Vicar General): 1945 – 1946

Brother Marie-Odulphe presents instructions of undoubted spiritual value, and it is easy to understand his concern with restoration after such a troubled epoch. It is, nonetheless, disappointing to find no serious reflection on the world-wide upheaval which has just occurred and which is destined to continue.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
19	351-362	24/5/1945	Restaurer dans l'esprit du Fondateur par la règle ***
19	369-390	25/12/1945	Retour à l'esprit du P. Champagnat ***
19	430-454	24/5/1946	Zèle pour l'éducation

### Under the Generalate of Brother Léonida: 1946 – 1958

Brother Léonida expended a great doctrinal effort: two circulars per year, traditional but of a high level. One can sense therein a will to restore the Institute at depth in the face of disturbing problems such as the feeble esteem for vocation and lack of perseverance. The idea of necessary change is grasped even though in a very timid fashion.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
19	574-594	24/5/1947	Un grand amour de notre vocation
19	631-648	8/12/1947	Bon emploi du temps
20	8-32	24/5/1948	Tendre à la sainteté par la règle comme le Bienheureux Bénilde
20	91-118	8/12/1948	La direction : moyen de faire régner l'union ***
20	175-198	24/5/1949	Zèle apostolique
20	262-287	8/12/1949	Les conseils (de maison...) leur nécessité
20	337-363	24/5/1950	Donner le bon exemple
20	407-453	8/12/1950	Recrutement et culture des vocations
20	481-511	24/5/1951	Mieux aimer la congrégation et la mieux servir
20	568-604	8/12/1951	Soin de la santé et des malades
21	11-48	24/5/1952	Une plus grande confiance en la Très Sainte Vierge **
21	84-122	8/12/1952	Nous sommes des Petits Frères de Marie (Esprit Mariste) ***
21	173-203	24/5/1953	Charité fraternelle
21	233-261	8/12/1953	Lutte contre le péché impur
21	259-327	24/5/1954	Retraite (cf. manuscrits du F. Jean-Baptiste)
21	361-393	8/12/1954	Visites et correspondances
21	393-401	8/12/1954	Estime de nos constitutions
21	441-466	7/5/1955	Béatification. Imiter M. Champagnat (son esprit de foi) **
21	510-547	8/12/1955	Fidélité à la pauvreté
21	570-585	24/5/1956	Imiter le don de force de Champagnat **
21	625-644	8/12/1956	Charité envers les élèves
22	7-39	24/5/57	La persévérance **
22	80-98	9/12/1957	Glorifier Dieu par notre vie : pureté d'intention

### Under the Generalate of Brother Charles-Raphaël: 1958 - 1967

The 1958 General Chapter marks a certain break with tradition; it took decisions which by today's standards appear banal, yet at the time had a significant impact, such as individual meditation. It signalled the irruption of a certain individualism into an extremely communal universe.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
22	322-358	24/5/1959	Revivification de l'esprit du Bienheureux Fondateur

Brother Charles-Raphaël's circulars seem to obey two successive concerns: first, to ensure access to the Institute of the required development; secondly, to recall the foundations of the tradition in the face of a torrent of innovation and destructuring occasioned by the Council and by upheavals in society. An important sign of change appears: the word "spirituality".

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
22	384-422	8/12/1959	Un zèle plus ardent et plus éclairé
22	429-458	24/5/1960	Vie de famille
22	492-515	8/12/1960	Nos règles communes (1 <sup>er</sup> usage du mot « spiritualité » ?)
22	529-565	1/5/1961	Notre vie spirituelle ***
22	621-652	24/5/1962	La volonté d'union
22	673-703	8/12/1962	Exigences actuelles de notre vocation apostolique
23	7-46	24/5/1963	Conservation et accroissement de l'Institut (I)
23	54-102	8/12/1963	Conservation et accroissement de l'Institut (II)
23	117-176	24/5/1964	Conservation et accroissement de l'Institut (III)
23	187-222	8/12/1964	Conservation et accroissement de l'Institut (IV)
23	249-290	1/5/1965	Fidélité à l'esprit de notre vocation et loi de l'adaptation
23	207-303	1/12/1965	Le concile Vatican II et la préparation du chapitre général (I)
23	359-394	1/5/1966	Le concile Vatican II et la préparation du chapitre général (II)
23	425-471	1/12/1966	Préparation du chapitre général de 1967
23	525-541	6/6/1967	Considérations sur le chapitre spécial

### Under the Generalate of Brother Basilio Rueda: 1967 – 1985

With Brother Basilio we witness a cultural and institutional rupture clearly seen and accepted, along with a systematic effort at reinterpretation of the Marist tradition. The Congregation is no longer perceived as a sealed unit disconnected from times and places, but on the contrary as a society which has no meaning except in receiving and transmitting divine salvation to persons, to the Church, and to the world. This represents a veritable refoundation of the Congregation's spirituality at least as important as that which was achieved in 1850-70 during the generalates of Brs. François and Louis-Marie.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
24	1-67	2/1/1968	General Chapter (I): The first session of the Chapter
24	69-91	2/1/1968	General Chapter (II): The Intersession
24	121-159	2/1/1968	General Chapter (III): Preview of the Second Session
24	161-343	2/1/1968	General Chapter (IV): Chapter for the modern world
24	347-668	2/1/1968	General Chapter (V): Appeals of the Church and of our Founder
25	47-308	6/6/1970	Community Life
25	344-399	1/7/1971	First General Conference
25	482-556	1/11/1973	A Talk about Prayer (I)
25	557-580	1/11/1973	A Talk about Prayer (Appendix)
26	7-150	30/5/1975	Obedience
26	173-249	25/12/1975	The Spirit of the Institute
26	253-714	8/9/1976	Mary in our life
27	5-168	19/3/1978	Project for Community Life (I)
27	193-258	21/11/1980	Project for Community Life Supplementary Chapter
27	326-364	8/12/1982	Meditation (Circular to the Brothers Provincial)
28	3-623	8/9/1984	Fidelity

### Under the Generalate of Brother Charles Howard: 1985 – 1993

As is fitting after a time of intense doctrinal activity, the generalates following tend to greater discretion whilst situating themselves in the same current. With Brother Charles Howard there appears the first circular having as its title “Marist Spirituality”.

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
29	16-40	25/12/1986	Our New Constitutions
29	47-93	1/11/1987	Vocations
29	107-147	31/7/1988	Discernment
29	155-163	20/5/1989	The Founder challenges his Brothers
29	255-283	12/3/1990	Sowers of Hope
29	297-340	30/11/1990	An urgent appeal: <i>Sollicitudo Rei Socialis</i>
29	345-419	15/10/1991	The Champagnat Movement of the Marist Family
29	425-532	25/3/1992	Marist Apostolic Spirituality (I)
29	535-585	10/7/1993	Marist Apostolic Spirituality (supplement): Reflections on our Marist mission <i>(written by members of the General Council)</i>

## Under the Generalate of Brother Benito Arbuès: 1993 – 2001

VOL.	PAGES	DATE	TITLE OF CIRCULAR
30	5-53	8/11/1997	Walk peacefully yet with a sense of urgency ( <i>General Conference</i> )
30	61-102	8/5/1998	Fidelity to the mission in situations of social unrest
30	123-157	1/9/2000	To convoke the General Chapter
30		31/10/2000	Concerning our material goods



# *‘Marist Family’ – in a Literal Sense –*

**Fr. Alois GREILER, S.M.**

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The Marist family of religious congregations includes many links among the natural families of its members. The Colins, Chanel, Chavoin and others were families of first Marists with one or more members in the Marist congregations. The following references, by no means meant to be complete, are to illustrate these ties.<sup>1</sup>

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## **I. THE COLIN-FAMILY**

Jean-Claude Colin (1790-1875) was the founder and superior general of the Society of Mary (priests and brothers), head of the Third Order, and cofounder of the Marist sisters. Pierre Colin, his brother, was his first

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<sup>1</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the material gathered by others: *Correspondence Mother Saint-Joseph* (CMJ); *Index Mother Saint-Joseph* (IMJ); *A Founder Speaks* (FS); *A Founder Acts* (FA); *Origines Maristes* (OM) and volume; *Abrégé des Annales de Frère Avit*; Gabriel Michel FMS, *Champagnat au jour le jour*, Rome, 2001; *Chronologie de l'Institut des Frères Maristes des Écoles*, Rome, 1976. Jean Jeantin, *Colin*, vols. 1 and 6, Archive Society of Mary in Rome (APM). For more information see biographical works. In their family links the Marists are not unique. The sodality at the origin of the Marianists started with three Chaminade brothers, of whom William Joseph (beatified in 2000) became the founder of another religious family by the name ‘Society of Mary’.

recruit and held different important posts (director for laity and sisters). Often Jean-Claude consulted him. Pierre, as priest in Coutouvre, had met Jeanne-Marie Chavoin and Marie Jotillon. It was he who invited them to Cerdon and so helped to discern their Marist vocation as foundresses. Jotillon had worked with Jeanne-Marie Colin, older sister of the Colin's in a group of lay teachers.

Nephews and nieces of his, four siblings, joined the priests and the sisters.

- Eugène Colin became a Marist Father and was present when Colin died.<sup>2</sup>
- His brother Alphonse was a novice but left in 1847.<sup>3</sup> He joined the Third Order in Lyons.
- Jean-François Colin (1818-1899) seventh child of Jean Colin, older brother of the founder, entered the Hermitage, the motherhouse of the Marist Brothers, 1844. He left, owing to bad health, in 1870. Later he became mayor of Chapelle-de-Mardore. His father, Jean, came to live with him and, in 1867, at Jean-François' insistence, Jean-Claude came to visit him there.<sup>4</sup>
- Clothilde (Sister Ildephonse) and
- Louise (Sister Agnes) Colin, sisters of Eugène and Alphonse, became two of the first Marist sisters.<sup>5</sup> Clothilde,<sup>6</sup> superior of the first government school of the sisters at Collonges, was the third superior general. Louise also held other posts.<sup>7</sup>
- Jeanne-Marie Colin, sister of the founder, and her friend entered at Bon Repos in 1836 but left the next year.<sup>8</sup>
- Jean-François Mercier (1832 – 1892) was the son of the second marriage of a sister of Colin. He was born in Saint-Bonnet and became a Marist priest. In 1860 Mercier left the Society.
- Berthe Colin was sister with the Marist sisters.

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2 CMJ, doc. 263.

3 FA, doc. 267; CMJ, p. 167, p. 14.

4 See G. Lessard (ed.), *Projet d'édition des lettres écrites par Jean-Claude Colin pendant son généralat (1836-1854)*, 9 fascicules, Hull, 1986 - 1990.

5 CMJ, p. 188, footnote 8, two nieces of Colin entered in 1847 and made profession in 1848.

6 CMJ, doc. 53; p. 32, n. 61; p. 264.

7 CMJ, p. 239 footnote 8; p. 265, footnote 17; p. 270, footnote 5.

8 C. Rozier SM (ed.), *Écrits de S. Pierre Chanel* (EC), Rome, 1960, p. 152.

- Claudine Colin, sister and godmother of Jean-Claude, became a sister of the Holy Family.
- Marie-Louise Colin was Sister Saint-Agnes with the Marists.
- Fathers Poupinel and Yardin are close friends to the Colin family and come to family reunions, as did Clothilde and Louise.<sup>9</sup>

After his resignation we have many letters by Colin to his relatives who had entered the Society: Eugène, Sœur Ildephonse, Sœur Agnes,<sup>10</sup> and his 'petit neveu' Joseph Colin.

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## 2. THE CHAMPAGNAT-FAMILY

Marcellin Benedict-Joseph Champagnat (1789-1840), Marist priest and founder of the teaching brothers, had an aunt, Louise, who was a Sister of Saint Joseph, at home. Many of his family lived at the Hermitage at different times.<sup>11</sup> He allowed his brother Jean-Pierre (1787-1833) and his children to move to the Hermitage in November 1833. The whole family seems to have been ill with tuberculosis. Jean-Pierre died 16 November, and his wife moved back to her parents. One daughter joined the Marist Sisters at Bon Repos but had to go back to look after her mother at Marlhes. Another daughter, Anne, became a Sister at Bon Repos and died there in 1835.<sup>12</sup> Three sons died in 1834, among the first to be buried in the new, the present cemetery: Jean, at the age of four,<sup>13</sup> Jeanne-Marie Champagnat,<sup>14</sup> 15 years, and Barthelémy, 19 years, who made his profession on his death-bed.<sup>15</sup> Their brother Marcellin, aged seven, died 8 December 1837.<sup>16</sup> They were all buried at the Hermitage. Marcellin's brother Jean-Barthelémy (1777- 20.1.1838) stayed at home. He gave two of his sons to the Hermitage. J.B. Champagnat became Brother Théodoret, left and died of an accident in 1849.<sup>17</sup> The other was Brother Régis (1827-1885).<sup>18</sup>

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9 CMJ, p. 264, p. 239, footnote 8; APM 230.1, Letters Colin, copy, letter to Poupinel, 24.1.1857, where Colin thanks Poupinel for his interest in his family.

10 APM 230.1, Letters Colin.

11 *Chronologie de l'Institut*, p. 15 – 16;

12 IMJ, p. 121.

13 Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 275, p. 279; *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 142.

14 Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 282.

15 *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 150.

16 Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 326.

17 Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 280 ; *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 11.

18 Brother Régis: *Abrégé des Annales*, pp. 11, 155, 184.

Champagnat's sister Marguerite-Rose was the mother of ex-brother Straton ("le trop petit savant qui nous a quittés").<sup>19</sup> Marie-Anne (1775-1817), another sister, married Benoît Arnaud, who taught Champagnat at St Sauveur. Their son, Philippe, studied Latin with his uncle in 1821 (together with future Marist Matricon) and did much work for his uncle at the Hermitage. Since 1828, he lived there with his family, next to the present day chapel. Marie-Anne had two grandsons who became brothers: Tharsise (J.B.Seux, 1829-1890) and Théonas (A.Seux, 1840-1902; Oceania). The hospice of the Hermitage witnessed the death of another relative, Théodore Bernard Arnaud, 60 years, father of J.M. Arnaud, bursar at La Favorite, school of Marist Tertiaries, on 9 July 1835.<sup>20</sup>

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### 3. THE CHANEL-FAMILY

Pierre Chanel (1803-1841),<sup>21</sup> priest, ranks among the first twenty to make profession as a Marist and among the first missionaries sent to Oceania. Françoise Chanel, his favourite sister, became a Marist Sister. She died before Chanel. Another sister, Josephte, spent 1832 as a boarder at Bon Repos but then married in 1833. His cousin Antoine was for some time teacher at the Minor Seminary of Belley.

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### 4. THE CHAVOIN-FAMILY

Jeanne Verchère, the mother of the foundress, took over as caretaker in the presbytery at Cerdon when Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn (1786-1858) moved into a new house with the first community of sisters.<sup>22</sup> Later she followed her daughter to Bon Repos and died there. Jeanne-Marie became the foundress of the Marist Sisters. Another Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn, a first cousin of the foundress, arrived as the first postulant of Marist sisters at Cerdon.<sup>23</sup> Nephews and nieces of Chavoïn, siblings, Jean and Théodore-Augustin Millot and their sister became involved with the Marists and

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<sup>19</sup> Avit in his *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 18 (numbering of the new edition).

<sup>20</sup> Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 290.

<sup>21</sup> EC, p. 509-512.

<sup>22</sup> IMJ, p. 118; CMJ, p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> IMJ, p.118.

caused certain difficulties. The boys had stayed with their aunt and the Colin-brothers at Cerdon, in 1825.<sup>24</sup> Both were seminarians at the Minor seminary at Belley. Jean became a Marist priest.<sup>25</sup> Théodore-Augustin tried different vocations, staying at the Hermitage in 1836 and 1837, and with the Capuchins and at the Chartreuse. In 1847 he died at St Etienne as teacher without having started a family. Jean M. Millot entered La Capucinière 1 October 1834 and became a Marist priest.<sup>26</sup> Thérèse became a Marist Sister and was very close to Chavoin who backed her although it seems that she caused problems within the sisters' congregation. Thérèse had much respect for Colin. She stayed with her aunt at Bon Repos and, after the latter's resignation in 1853, went with the foundress to Meximeux and Jarnosse, most likely at the request of the foundress.<sup>27</sup> However, she did not always make things easy and was probably 'spoiled' by her aunt.<sup>28</sup>

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## 5. THE DÉCLAS, DELORME AND POMPALLIER FAMILIES

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With his arrival and participation in the Bugey-missions, Etienne Déclas helped to begin the Society of Mary at Cerdon. Four of his nieces became Marist Sisters.<sup>29</sup>

Three brothers of the Delorme-family joined the Hermitage. One of them stayed, Marie-Nizier, who went to Futuna.<sup>30</sup> Father Victor Poupinel SM visited the brothers and sisters of Brother Marie-Nizier. The Delorme brothers knew Father Fontbonne who had been curate in their parish and later at the Hermitage. With Jean-Marie Delorme there also entered a friend of his, Brother Raphaël whose sister had entered Bon Repos along with two of her friends.

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24 CMJ, pp. 24 and 30; OM 4, p. 313-314; Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 192, and p. 319.

25 CMJ, pp. 199, 291.

26 Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 283.

27 CMJ, p. 273 passim.

28 CMJ, p. 176, footnote 32.

29 Marie-Thérèse Aubauque SM, *La congrégation des sœurs maristes jusqu'au la démission de mère Saint-Joseph (1786 - 1853). Dix-huit conférences données aux novices de Sainte-Foy du 24 octobre 1962 au 20 août 1963*, Ms, Belley, 1964, p. 123 - 4; CMJ, p. 86, footnote 7; CMJ, p. 197, footnote 9; p. 228, footnote 5; CMJ, p. 284, footnote 6; IMJ, p. 122.

30 J. Ronzon FMS, *Jean-Marie Delorme - Frère Marie-Nizier (1817 - 1873). De Saint Laurent d Agny à l'île de Futuna*, Saint-Martin-en-Haut, 1995.

Although with the priest aspirants from 1829, Jean-Baptiste Pompallier finally did not become a Marist, because he was appointed and ordained bishop for Western Oceania. From 1831 to 1832 a half-brother of his was a boarder at Belley College.<sup>31</sup> When Pompallier returned to New Zealand in 1860, he took his niece Luise, a sister, and her brother, Antoine, a priest, with him.<sup>32</sup> Antoine Pompallier, his nephew, born in Lyons in 1839, died in the US on 15 August 1886. He had spent some time with his bishop uncle in Auckland.

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## **6. OTHER EARLY MARISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES IN THE WIDER SOCIETY OF MARY**

- Breton, a diocesan priest, became a Marist and left for Tonga. One of his nieces joined the Marist Sisters.<sup>33</sup>
- The Audras family gave two of the first teaching Brothers while one of their sisters, Marie Audras, entered Bon Repos as Sister Saint-Louis, in September 1828.<sup>34</sup>
- Chanut, one of the first Marist priests, sent his nephew, whose father had died and who was left on his own, to the Hermitage as a Brother candidate in 1833.<sup>35</sup>
- Father Jean-Baptiste Anliard went together with his brother Michael, lay Brother, to Oceania in 1848.
- Sister Ambrose, second superior general of the Marist sisters, had one sister and two cousins in her congregation.<sup>36</sup>
- Charles-Alphonse Ozanam was a Marist priest for some years but left later. He worked in Paris and supported his brother Frédéric, founder of the St Vincent de Paul Society. Frédéric has been one of the circle that used to meet in the house of Louis Janmot, where Perroton worked.

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31 OM I, doc. 239.

32 Jessica Munroe, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, Auckland, Auckland University Press Bridget Williams Books Ed., 1996, pp. 6 - 7; 55.

33 CMJ, doc. 68.

34 CMJ, p. 160, footnote 7; Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 228 ; OM I, doc. 445, footnote 7.

35 OM I, doc. 263; *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 126.

36 CMJ, p. 160, n. 13; IMJ, p. 122.

- Biographies of the first SMSM show family members among the priests especially.<sup>37</sup>
- Jean-Anthelme Buyat, Marist priest, had a sister with the Marist sisters.<sup>38</sup> He was directed to the Marists by his brother, priest at Belley and former pupil of Colin, Jean-Claude Buyat, who wrote a biography of his brother.<sup>39</sup>
- Barthelémy Epalle followed his younger brother Jean-Baptiste and like him joined the Marists.
- Six nieces of Marie-Thérèse Jotillon, first companion of Chavoin, became Marist Sisters.<sup>40</sup>
- Gabrielle Fayasson, a sister of two Marist Brothers, lived at the Hermitage and did the laundry until a group of Sisters of the Holy Family arrived.
- Marie Gardet, niece of Marie Jotillon, was among the first postulants of the Marist Sisters at Cerdon.
- Claude-Antoine (killed in Oceania in 1847)<sup>41</sup> and Jean-Baptiste Jacquet, Étienne and Antoine Séon, Augustin and Félicien de Verna were among the first Marist priests.
- Marie-Hermeline Courveille became a Benedictine nun at Pradines, where Chavoin went for retreats.
- Brother Liguori had his parents, the Chevalier couple, living in the old people's home at the Hermitage. They died there in 1839.

We also know about moves from one branch to another. Laywomen who supported the missions left to become missionary sisters.<sup>42</sup> Tertiaries like Viennot and others joined the Society as priests or lay brothers. Ey-mard and Champion became the first and third superior general of the Blessed Sacrament Fathers.

Not all family members who joined Marist groups stayed. Jean-Marie Delorme (Brother Marie-Nizier), who laboured with Chanel on Futuna, had a sister who was a religious sister although not Marist. Gabriel-Claude Mayet was the nephew of Claudine Thévenet, foundress of the Sisters of

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<sup>37</sup> *Our Pioneers*, vol. 4.

<sup>38</sup> CMJ, p. 167, p. 14.

<sup>39</sup> *Notice on the life of J.M.A. Buyat*, Lyons, Pelagaud, 1852.

<sup>40</sup> Vivienne Goldstein SM, *Marie Jotillon: A Study in Light and Shade*, Ms, Bon Repos, 1988.

<sup>41</sup> FS, p. 368.

<sup>42</sup> See G. Girard (ed.), *Lay Marists. Anthology of Historical Sources*, Rome, 1991 (LM), 'Index of names'.

Jesus and Mary. A friend of the Mayet-Thévenet family became bishop in Canada and invited the Marists during the generalate of Colin to come to his diocese.

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## **7. MARISTS AND CONTACT WITH THEIR FAMILIES**

Another line of interest is the relationship of the early Marists with family members who did not themselves become Marists. We noticed already that the foundress offered her elder mother a place in the sisters' convent. In Belley, both boarding schools at Bon Repos and the Minor Seminary had as boarders relatives, some of whom were orphans (members of the Chanel, Chavoin and Colin families).<sup>43</sup> Devie ordered Colin to see his relatives – something Colin did not for a long time because of his childhood experiences. Did Colin join family-reunions? He only did so later when he was General. He visited Eugene, his nephew, where the latter was posted, and saw his nieces who were Marist Sisters. Peter Chanel SM, Joseph Chevron SM, Suzanne Aubert and Françoise Perroton left for the missions without saying goodbye to their closest family – they found it too difficult. This is but one indication of close ties after family members entered religious life. Others spent time at home to look after ill parents, to attend a reunion or to a visit: Mariette Louvat, novice and later professed, went home for some time to look after her family.<sup>44</sup> Father Mayet stayed with his family for long periods of time for his convalescence. The missionaries in Oceania kept contact via the letters sent back either to their superior general or directly to relatives. Those letters took a long time to reach their destination. Chanel died before he heard of the death of his mother. Father Detours left the SM for some years to help his family and later returned.

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## **8. JOINING THE MARIST FAMILY VIA THE SAME VILLAGE OR SOME CHURCH ORGANIZATION**

The same village or town of origin stimulated personal contact and Marist vocations. After Chavoin and Jotillon started at Cerdon, young women from this parish were attracted by their example. Dussurgey made his novi-

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<sup>43</sup> CMJ, p. 239, footnote 9.

<sup>44</sup> CMJ, p. 283, footnote 1.



tiate under the guidance of his friend, Girard, from his hometown. Lagniet came from the same village as the Courveille-family, a circumstance which kept him from becoming a Marist. As priest in Lyons he got to know Pierre Colin, Servant and Pompallier and got a better impression. When the diocese postponed his permission to leave for the foreign missions he joined the Marists, originally to go to Oceania. Champagnat taught catechism to Gabriel Rivat (1808 - 1881; Brother François) who became his successor as head of the Institute. A brother and cousin of Gabriel joined the priesthood, but not as a Marist. Jean-Baptiste Epalle, a boy from Marllhes, attended catechism classes given by the seminarian Champagnat. At one time they talked about the missions. Later Epalle traced back his missionary vocation to this moment. He became a bishop and martyr in the Solomons.<sup>45</sup> Marie-Claudine Deville (Sister St. Francis Régis), from St Julien-en-Jarez near Marllhes, was sent by Champagnat to join the Marist sisters in 1838.<sup>46</sup> Marist J.B. Matricon was a priest in Marllhes in 1828. Champagnat had taught him Latin and supported him when in difficulties as young priest, Matricon joined the Society in 1835 and became chaplain at the Hermitage for many years.<sup>47</sup> Champagnat and Brother Stanislaus were saved by Mr Donnet ('Memorare' incident). One member of the Donnet family was the later Archbishop Donnet of Bordeaux. In 1838 the Marist priests opened in Verdelaix, Bordeaux diocese, their first community and apostolate outside the Lyons diocese.

Church organisations brought people into contact. This contributed to later forms of cooperation. The parish was one common place. Years spent together in one of the minor and later the major seminary of Lyons shaped the first group of Marist aspirants. Champagnat, Colin and Vianney knew each other from seminary days. Courveille related his Le Puy experience to his fellow seminarians. Fellow seminarians of the first Marists became parish priests and bishops who asked for Marist brothers or priests. In the seminaries much depended on the attitude of the superiors towards religious or missionary vocations. Fontbonne and Janvier studied with the first Marist priests in the major seminary of Lyons and signed the Fourvière-pledge. Both went as missionaries to the States, with the bishop who had ordained all of them, Dubourg. Champagnat kept in contact with both. Fontbonne had asked him for Brothers to come over, and Champagnat

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<sup>45</sup> See the stained glass window in the Hermitage chapel; *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 26.

<sup>46</sup> Michel, *Au jour le jour*, p. 219 ; OM I, p. 445.

<sup>47</sup> *Abrégé des Annales*, p. 167.

considered this seriously when he failed to gain state approval. Janvier returned to St. Chamond after ten years. Champagnat reminded him of his early association with the Society of Mary. Janvier did not join, but he did help Champagnat.

Champagnat sent about 15 young women to Bon Repos as Marist Sisters (see stained glass window at the Hermitage, with a Marist sister at his death bed, although no sister had been there). The Little Brothers of Mary of Notre Dame de l'Hermitage are a good example of vocations that arose from the personal presence of the Marist founder in neighbouring villages like La Valla, Marlhes, Saint-Genest-Malifaux, Saint-Sauveur-en-Rue. Paul Sester FMS, working from the "Entries Register", summed it up this way: "Origins. Nearly half of the postulants came from the Loire department."<sup>48</sup>

Guillaume Douarre brought three men from his parish in the Auvergne, a non-Marist area in France, with him when he joined the Marists to go to Oceania. Their names held a special place in the story of New Caledonia: Douarre as bishop, Blaise Marmoiton, Jean Taragnat and Gilbert Roudaire.<sup>49</sup>

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## **9. THE LYONS-NETWORK, THE CURÉ OF ARS, AND THE EUCHARISTIC MOVEMENT**

The early Marists lived in networks of personal relationships. We point out three of those circles which were very important for the beginnings of the Society of Mary. First, there is the Lyons circle in general<sup>50</sup> and the Lyonese support for the foreign missions, then the national figure of the curé of Ars, friend of the Marists, and finally, the Eucharistic movement.

Lyons was a hot bed of religious renewal and missionary activity. The Marists are very much a Lyonese congregation. This is evident from their place in this network. Not by chance it was a former Lyons missionary, Jean-Louis Pastre, who was asked by Rome to go to Oceania. Pas-

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<sup>48</sup> Paul Sester FMS, *Brought in by Mary. Presentation of the "Entries Register"*, in *Marist Note Books* Nr. 20 (2004) 7 – 35, here p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> Georges Delbos, *L'Église catholique en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Paris, Desclée, 1993, p. 26f.

<sup>50</sup> Foreign missions boomed in Lyons and many of the men and women knew each other, see: Yannick Essertel, *Réseaux et vocations missionnaires dans le diocèse de Lyons de 1815 à 1962*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 90 (1995) 49 – 70.

tre knew the vicar general, Cholleton. Cholleton knew the Marists and so the Marist aspirants were asked to accept this mission. Duplay, long time rector of Saint Irenée, allowed over half of the seminarians to go to the foreign missions. His successor did not. At the end the bishop alone gave permission to join a congregation or to go to the missions. In the time after the 1789 Revolution they needed personnel themselves. So, this led sometimes to conflicts as in the case of Father C. Jacquet who left Lyons for Oceania without permission and Colin had to see the archbishop. The *Prpagation cf the Faith* and the *Société d'Océanie* supplied benefactors and vocations for the Society of Mary (Auguste Marceau, Collomb). The first Marists and chaplains at the Hermitage were seminarians, deacons (E. Séon) and priests from Lyons diocese. Loras, director of the minor seminary at Meximieux, encouraged Chanel and Bret and went himself to the missions (USA).

Prominence must be given to Pauline Jaricot, her *Living Rosary* and her *Prpagation cf the Faith*. The *Prpagation* made the Marists known. Meynis, secretary of the Lyons branch, wanted to join the Marists but Colin did not allow him to do so for the importance of his work. The *Annales de la Prpagation de la Foi* contributed to a new missionary awareness and stimulated many to go to the missions. This was the case in families that subscribed to it, in parishes which promoted the *Annales* and in minor and major seminaries. The *Annales* were read outside France as well. From 1837 onwards, news and edited letters of Marist missionaries appeared. So did the famous letter of the women of Wallis to the women of Lyons. This letter inspired Perroton to go to Wallis in 1847. The confessor and protector of Pauline Jaricot organized financial support for the Hermitage at some stage.<sup>51</sup> Françoise Perroton was a leader of a group of ten to collect donations. Suzanne Aubert was a friend of hers and went to the Pacific where, in New Zealand, she worked among the Marists and was later to found her own congregation. Chanel had a contact with a friend of Jaricot.<sup>52</sup> Colin himself knew Jaricot at an early stage and had a lot to do with the association she was leading. A brother of Jaricot was studying in Paris when Colin went there to see the nuncio.<sup>53</sup> Eymard had a good friend, Mademoi-

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51 OM 1, doc. 265.

52 Anthony Ward SM (ed.), ... *Ever Your Poor Brother. Peter Chanel: Surviving Letters and Futuna Journal* (AMMA, 2), Rome, 1991.

53 Donal Kerr, *Jean-Claude Colin, Marist. A Founder in an Era cf Revolution and Restoration : the Early Years 1790 – 1836*, Dublin, Columba Press, 2000, p. 185.

selles Perrin, who was a niece of Jaricot. In fact, the Marists owe most material, financial and moral support at the beginning to the Lyons and Paris agencies of her association. Via his aunt Claudine Thévènet<sup>54</sup> Mayet and his family had contact with the Jaricot family. Eymard was in regular contact with members of the Mayet family. Sophie David, a leading member of the Third Order of Mary under Eymard, was among the first to assist Jaricot.<sup>55</sup>

When Epalle, Pompallier and Bataillon were in France, they went to parishes preaching and recruiting. Antoine Martin had listened to Epalle and wanted to join but his parents were against him becoming a missionary. In the end Martin became a Marist, but did not go to the foreign missions as his talents made him suitable for major seminaries. He became the third superior general.

Another circle to be added was around Jean-Marie Vianney, the curé of Ars. He directed many vocations to the different Marist branches. Marists went to see him and they themselves, like thousands of others, made a pilgrimage to Ars. Suzanne Aubert was among the pilgrims and his guidance was important for her.<sup>56</sup> His relative Clothilde had joined the TOM and went as a pioneer SMSM to Oceania in 1858.<sup>57</sup> It should be noted, however, the curé of Ars encouraged vocations for various congregations, not the Marists only.

The third circle links the Marists with the Eucharistic movement in France in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Circles of men and women focusing on Eucharistic adoration in Paris and Lyons formed a group of benefactors and vocations. The Marists were quite involved in this work in many places. Marists Bertholon and later Juillard in Paris were involved in groups working towards Eucharistic adoration for men and women. A niece of Bertholon joined a congregation called Adoration Reparatrice. Mère Dubouché was a central figure. Bishop Douarre had met her in Paris, Eymard met her when on visitation in Paris (1849). Dubouché came to start at house in Lyons (1850). Eymard, Colin and Mère Dubouché had various forms and plans for cooperation. Eymard was a friend of Mayet and in contact with his family. Another friend of the Mayet-family was Char-

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<sup>54</sup> *Life and Work of Mother Mary St Ignatius (Claudine Thévènet), 1774-1837, Foundress of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary*, Dublin, Clonmore and Reynolds, 1953.

<sup>55</sup> *Recollections: Mother Saint-Joseph*, doc. 186.

<sup>56</sup> Munroe, *Aubert*, p. 40 - 42.

<sup>57</sup> LM, doc. 287.

bonnel, later archbishop of Toronto, who was asking urgently for Marists for his diocese.<sup>58</sup> Near the Marist community of rue Montparnasse there lived a group of men: De Cuers (later second general of the Blessed Sacrament Fathers), Hermann Cohen and Fage, who promoted nocturnal adoration for men. While Bertholon SM resided in Paris (1844 – 1852) he was directly involved in various projects linked to eucharistic congregations and eucharistic adoration. He was the spiritual director of Dubouché. He knew Cohen and his friends. The Sœurs de Marie and Dubouché's congregation were influenced by him. Viennot, Eymard, Philipon and Bertholon himself were interested in the possibility of a Marist contemplative branch. After his visit in Paris in 1849 Eymard helped to establish those groups in Lyons. Eymard knew personally the Seer children of la Salette and Herman Cohen. Father Lagniet was a cousin of Sister Agnes who was the superior of a convent of the Adoration Reparatrice Sisters. Madame Guillot, co-foundress of the Daughters of the Blessed Sacrament, had known Eymard for many years because of their activity in the Third Order.

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### **Summary**

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The gospels tell us about brothers among the first followers of Jesus, about persons from the same town, about the relatives of Jesus, among them in the first place Mary, his mother, and other relatives, struggling with his mission and finally believing in him. The gospels also tell us that relatives encouraged each other to follow him, as did Andrew for Peter. Both phenomena, family ties and vocational activity, we find in the wider Marist family. This gives a beautiful biblical touch to the early Marist family.

Colin was without parents at the age of five, due to dramatic circumstances. Also Champagnat lost both his parents early, his father in 1804, his mother in 1810. All the early Marists in one way or another inherited from their parents parts of their character and parts of their personal story. The founders also had sometimes to deal with family business and financial matters. In 1840 Colin's sister left him a large sum of money. Champagnat, amidst the financial affairs of his institute, was also involved in financial concerns for his family.

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58 FS, doc. 150.

Jean-Claude Colin had an ardent love for his religious family, the Society of Mary, and a varying relationship to his natural family. As an orphan he was entrusted to the care of his uncle and his housekeeper. Later, many were entrusted to him. He looked at Mary as his mother, as his own mother had told him on her deathbed. The time at the presbytery of Cerdon, with his brother Pierre, Jeanne-Marie Chavoin and the two Millot boys, was a real family experience and a Marist family experience, especially for Jean-Claude. After the terrible experience of receiving the last rites as a young man, he distanced himself from his natural family. Yet, as a priest and Marist he was with one of his brothers, Pierre, his first recruit. The relationship of Colin to his own family changed later, due to his own visits to family members who had become Marists, to his oldest brother Jean, and with some of his closest associates present at family reunions. His traumatic experiences with his family during his childhood should not be taken exclusively as example for his family relationships.

There have been many new religious groups and recruitment must have built on different factors. One it seems was the family. Vocations to the different branches came from their own families. In addition, they encouraged vocations to the different congregations, and so did non-Marists such as Jean-Marie Vianney.

On the other hand, we know that some family members associated with the Marists caused difficulties.<sup>59</sup> Family members slowed down the development of the Sisters<sup>60</sup> and contributed to the tensions between Colin and Chavoin.<sup>61</sup> The early Marists had close family links and did not always give them up completely or easily. Missionaries, men and women, would write home often from the Pacific. The letters from family members and friends would be one of the few means of moral support. When family members died, Suzanne Aubert inherited various items of value, which helped her to finance her work in New Zealand.

Thus, this presentation of one aspect of Jean-Claude Colin and the other early Marists throws some light on various other aspects: a literal understanding of 'Marist family', relationship with family after joining religious life, difficulties arising from that for the founders and also for the relationship among the them. It was yet another task for Colin and

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<sup>59</sup> CMJ, p. 261, et alia.

<sup>60</sup> CMJ, p. 215, footnote 5; p. 222, footnote 79.

<sup>61</sup> CMJ, p. 30-31.

Champagnat and Chavoin to see how their relatives got on within the Marist vocation. Therein we see part of the human side of their background, and also a difference to our time. As Karl Rahner once reflected on 'the Christian and his non-believing relatives'. Like then, we today could understand our links as Marists anew in cooperation, adult brothers and sisters of the same religious family.





*A mother-society of the Society of Mary ?*

*The “Friends of the cord”*  
*in the Seminary of Saint Irénée*  
*( 1805-1816 )*

**Br. André LANFREY, fms**

All Marists know that the nascent Society of Mary had conflicting relationships with Father Bochard, founder of the Fathers of the Cross of Jesus, whose work started in 1814 by the distribution in the Saint Irénée seminary of a leaflet entitled “Pious thought”. Installed in 1816 in the former Carthusian monastery of Croix Rousse, at Lyons, with Father Mioland as Superior, the disciples of Bochard familiarly called “les Chartreux”, would become later the “priests of Saint Irénée”.

Fathers Coste and Lessard tried to consult the archives of a society that had so many links with the Marists. Volume 1 of the *Origines Maristes* which, in its chapter II, draws up an “Inventory of consulted funds” mentions (p. 92) the “Archives of the priests of Saint Irénée” but specifies that “the greatest mystery hangs over the current fate of these archives, used again in 1937 by Father Odin, author of the work *Les Chartreux de Lyon*.”

Having found, in the course of research in the archdiocese of Lyons, some papers on Father Pousset, one of the Marist aspirants who later became a Father of the Cross of Jesus and founder of the Sisters of the Holy Family, I contacted the Society of the priests of Saint Irénée, still established “aux Chartreux”, whose superior, Father Martin, himself an historian, generously opened for me the archives that Father Coste had not been able to consult around 1960.

My research at the interior of this depot allowed the enrichment in a significant way of our knowledge of the Marist origins, either by documents speaking about it, or by specifying in which ambiance they evolved. I took from there a document regrouping ninety-one documents, which I

keep at the disposition of researchers and a part of which I am going to talk about here.

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## A “SOCIETY OF ZEAL”

In preceding articles, I have developed the idea that the Society of Mary was originally a secret society of the seminary inspired by AAs (Assemblies of Friends)<sup>1</sup> founded in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century and destined to initiate the aspirants to priesthood in the spiritual life and in the apostolate.

By working on the archives of Chartreux I was surprised to discover one of these societies, a contemporary of the Marists in the Saint Irénée seminary. Its members called themselves “the friends of the cord<sup>2</sup>”. Their motto is “*Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Jesu*<sup>3</sup>” which they wrote often under the abbreviated form: L.S.B.M.C.J.

This society is certified by Jean-Marie Mioland (1788-1859), seminarian at Saint Irénée from 1807 to 1812 then director<sup>4</sup> until 1816. He was then superior of the Chartreux from 1816 to 1838. He became bishop of Amiens then archbishop of Toulouse and he died in 1859. His archives are conserved at Chartreux<sup>5</sup>. In his memoirs written in 1838<sup>6</sup>, before he became bishop, he recalls that shortly after his entry to Saint Irénée in 1807 or 1808:

“I have been received in a zealous meeting of which I have become the vice-president under Mr Pastre: another grace that was the source of a thousand others in occupying me with this zealous subject: they<sup>7</sup> accustomed me to observe, to judge, to appreciate people, not to be astonished by their crudeness, by their falsity of their ingratitude: I experienced this myself in the same year<sup>8</sup>; they entrusted

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1 Marist Notebooks n. 9, July 1996, pp. 5-82, “The Society of Mary as a Secret Congregation”; n. 17, May 2001, pp. 55-82, “ Sur la société de Marie comme congrégation secrète”.

2 I have not found the meaning of this cord whose colour seems to be given in a letter that addresses the friends of the cord as “red friends”. cf dossier Archives des Chartreux, doc. 44, letter of Gillibert, Rome, 28th May 1814.

3 Taken from 2 Timothy 2 v. 3. In their letters they call themselves “soldiers of Jesus Christ” or “brave”

4 The teachers at the seminary carried the title of director.

5 In OM4 p. 315-317, biographical notice.

6 Chartreux box 1.

7 The confrères of the society, but mainly its spiritual director: Father Royer.

8 A letter from Argenteuil dated the 24/9/1808 (Chartreux, Register 67/23) seems to allude to these disappointments whose exact nature we are unaware of but which seem to come from seminarians little inclined to allow themselves to be recruited into a pious society.

me with drafting and writing a new rule which lasted a long time."

Mr Pastre, was the president of this society, having been seminarian from 1804 until his priestly ordination on the 26<sup>th</sup> July 1808<sup>9</sup>; Mioland exercised thus its vice-presidency throughout the scholastic year of 1808 and probably succeeded him. As to the "they" that he employs, it refers to the two Sulpician directors who seem to be the patrons of this work: Fathers Royer et Maréchal<sup>10</sup> who had to leave the seminary at the end of 1811 under the order of Napoleon who dissolved the company of Saint Sulpice. The new rule is thus drafted from the end of 1808 to the end of 1811. It is certainly not a matter of a creation but of a modernisation of an aged text previous to the Revolution.

Mioland shed light on the function of this society for us: to form an elite of zealous clerics exercising their action in the seminary. His correspondence and his notes give us other details: the confrères, during their holidays, needed to behave as edifying ecclesiastics, consecrating themselves to zealous work, such as catechism lessons, visits to prisons... They met on certain Sundays to pray and celebrate together. They wrote "communications of good works",<sup>11</sup> letters in which they talked about their apostolic works... Obviously, during the time at the seminary they held regular meetings in which they showed their friendship, exhorting each other to piety, to zeal and practising the chapter of faults. This is what Mioland recalls in his "Reflections on the occasion of my ordination"<sup>12</sup>:

"Will I ever forget those with whom I had the most intimate relationships, these discussions so amiable and so gentle, where the soul poured itself out without fear and from which one never left without being more informed and more virtuous! O happy state that you have prepared for me O my God (like an angel) to open my heart, to make me aware of the wounds, the weak places, and to strengthen them with so much advice, good counsel, holy examples; this memory, will it ever be able to be erased (from my heart)?"

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9 Biographical notice in OM4 p. 321.

10 Numerous letters of Father Royer are contained in the archives of Mioland but only one – very warm – from Father Maréchal who, having left for America, could not communicate easily.

11 Chartreux R. 152, n. 89, letter of Picon 25th May 1816.

12 Box 1, sleeve 8, sheet 8.

## THE RESOLUTIONS AT THE TIME OF ORDINATION

Though the Chartreux papers do not contain the rule of this society, they offer the resolutions of Mioland at the time of his priesthood. In a small notebook contained in the archives of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Lyon, there is a text very similar to Father Pousset, their founder. It concerns the act of the life commitment of the friends of the cord who, at the same time as they were acceding to priesthood, remained linked in a sacerdotal, apostolic fraternity. The two texts are too long to be given here but their plan shows their structure<sup>13</sup>.

Mioland: 14 <sup>th</sup> June 1812	Pierre Pousset: 28 <sup>th</sup> July 1817
<b>RESOLUTIONS TO MAINTAIN YOURSELF IN THE SPIRIT OF YOUR VOCATION</b>	
	L.S.B.M.C.J.
Invocation to God and to the saints 1 <sup>st</sup> resolution: To wear full ecclesiastical clothing: soutane, rabat, hat, tonsure... 2 <sup>nd</sup> resolution: Maintaining a distance from worldly societies. Only visits of necessity	
To remember one's quality as a man of God and to be the good odour of Jesus Christ	
Maintain distance especially from "persons of sex"	
3 <sup>rd</sup> resolution: to be edified by the example of confrères and to give them good example. To cultivate friendship with the better ones. Take one as a spiritual counsellor.	
<b>MORE PARTICULAR RESOLUTIONS</b>	
1. Every day at least a half hour of prayer	
2. Faithful recitation of the breviary for the intention of the entire Church and especially for one's confrères.	
3. Daily spiritual reading	
4. Attentive preparation for Mass and a prolonged thanksgiving.	
5. Daily rosary	
6. A daily quarter of an hour visit to the Blessed Sacrament	
7. No administration of the sacraments without contemplation beforehand sans recueillement préalable	

<sup>13</sup> See the full text in the annex.

<b>PERSONAL COMMITMENTS</b>	
<p>To share good works with the “friends”.</p> <p>Spiritual union with the confrères twice a day in the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary</p> <p>Fidelity to the study of ethics and holy scripture (following the example of Bishop de la Motte of Orléans)</p> <p>Consecration of all of life to the glory of God and for the salvation of souls. <i>Ad maiorem Dei gloriam</i>.</p> <p>To spread the spirit of the apostolate among the faithful. The ungodly unite: why not the friends of God?</p> <p>To despise the approval of people and only have God in view<sup>14</sup>.</p>	
<b>IMPORTANT PRACTICES</b>	<b>As well as spiritual reading, the visit to the Blessed Sacrament, the rosary:</b>
To avoid laxity and to assure salvation, annual spiritual retreat in the seminary seen as the crib of the sacerdotal life.	Preparation for death four times a year
Preparation for death from time to time	Annual retreat in the seminary seen as the crib of sacerdotal life
<p>May these resolutions signed with my blood be my judge if I abandon them or may they be the beginning of the blood that I desire to pour out for the glory of God. Finally, may they remind me of my commitment to live only for God.</p> <p>Brief invocation to Mary.</p>	
No Mioland signature..	Pousset actually signs in his blood.

Although later, Pousset’s text appears more archaic as if it has not taken into account the modernised version of Mioland<sup>15</sup>. Be that as it may, these two texts have been subjected to the influence of a small anonymous work entitled *Association to the Divine love under the protection of the Most Blessed Virgin Mother of God and of her pure love; of Saint Joseph, first associated of the Word Incarnate and of Saint John the Evangelist, his beloved disciple*<sup>16</sup>. In its first pages the work recommends the formation of associations of divine love:

“One must receive in this association only persons who have the fear of God, and who are already touched by his love; or those whom one

<sup>14</sup> Pousset uses as a motto: “D.S.” that is to say “Dieu seul” (God only).

<sup>15</sup> Either the society functioned in two groups, one closer to the old rule, or the confrères had the possibility of choosing between the old and the new formula of consecration.

<sup>16</sup> A first edition, of 236 pages in 1774 and a second, of 192 p. in 1782, were done by Etienne Rusand in Lyons.

hopes will win him hearts, still it is very much about attaching them to him before admitting them.

There needs to be a great union that reigns among the associated, an opening of the whole heart; in order to communicate one's good sentiments, to mutually admonish one's faults, and to encourage one another to do good, and for the love of God."

Each associated... "will see himself as introduced by God to make up for the faults of those who do not love him. As an essential point, his zeal must carry him to communicate his ardours to his neighbour, to win for God hearts who will forever love him, and especially those of his condition, and more particularly yet the young ecclesiastics, destined as they be by their state to be all to God, to make him known, loved and glorified by the entire world."

One appears thus to be there at the source of the rule of the society of the friends of the cord grouping an elite, united by charity (Cor Unum...), zeal, and attention to their perfection by fraternal admonition.

The texts of Pousset and Mioland reflect also the influence of the "*Memoires in the form of letters to serve the history of the life of the late François Gabriel d'Orléans de la Motte, bishop of Amiens*"<sup>17</sup>. This prelate, born at Carpentras in 1683 and having died in 1774 is the model of the saintly priest. The two rules allude to him and quote some of his expressions. Besides, it is not impossible that the association of Divine Love came under his influence<sup>18</sup>.

By its solemn tone, the text of commitment of Mioland and Pousset sounds like a programme of ecclesiastical holiness in the spirit – and sometimes in the vocabulary – close to the Formula of the Marists. Too long to be pronounced publicly in its entirety, it is, like the "Pious thought" of Father Bochard, a manifesto signed by the members. An abridged version could serve as a solemn commitment<sup>19</sup>.

In summary, this "meeting of zeal" also called "friends of the cord" has left us a long version of its project, while the Marist aspirants have only left us the short version of theirs, as Pierre Colin said in his letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> October 1819 to Bishop Bigex, bishop of Pignerol<sup>20</sup>: "They signed in

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17 By the abbot of Argnies, two volumes, 1st and 2nd editions, Malines, 1785.

18 P. 205: "Beautiful effusion from the heart of a prelate cherished by God and by people, on the virtue of simplicity." This prelate could be Bishop de la Motte.

19 The book "Association to the divine love" of 1774 includes, p. 15, a brief prayer of individual consecration to the divine love, and pp. 224 and 229 two collective consecrations to Mary close to that of the Marial congregations. The second edition of 1782 no longer includes these consecrations.

20 Published in *Marist Notebooks*, n. 11, July 1997.

unison the following formula which contains an abridged<sup>21</sup> form of their aim and the plan of their society.”

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**FATHER POUSSET AND THE MARIST ASPIRANTS**

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Father Pousset (1794-1883) has the right, as Jean-Marie Mioland (1788-1859), to a biographical notice in the *Origines Maristes*<sup>22</sup>. Born in 1794 at Cordelle, in the Loire, he frequented the seminaries of Saint Jodard (1807-1812), Verrières (1812-14), Saint Irénée (1814-16)<sup>23</sup>. He is considered as one of the first twelve Marist aspirants but, younger than the others, he left the seminary in May 1816 to become a teacher at Verrières. Thus, he neither signed the Marist formula nor participated in the ceremony of Fourvière in July 1816. He would only be ordained a priest in 1817.

He left<sup>24</sup> a small notebook of fifty-eight pages which contains his autobiography started at Alix (Loire) on the 8<sup>th</sup> February 1822, of which page six is very valuable for us:

“... At the end of 1814, I went to the seminary of Saint Irénée in Lyons. Despite a very weak temperament, I could continue my studies there in spite of the disorder and the fear aroused by the return of Bonaparte (20 March<sup>25</sup>). As to the interior life, same dispositions, a lot of dryness, of temptations of pride, even though I applied myself to the hidden life, there were especially many distractions<sup>26</sup>. **They spoke to me of Lab-ora sicut b. etc, of the congregation of the fathers of the cross, the Marists, I made some commitments, for the first thing, I prepared myself for the second and the last one did not seem repugnant to me.** I was nearly killed by my father upon my arrival on holidays because with Mr Chizelle<sup>27</sup> we were taken for soldiers (the Austrians were just at Tarare).

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21 Therefore, there was a long version.

22 OM4 pp. 315-16.

23 He is in 6th with Etienne Terraillon. J.C. Colin is in 5th (OM1, doc. 9 p. 138-139) at Saint Jodard from 1804 to 1809. In 1812-13, at Verrières he is studying logic in the 2nd division with J.C. Colin, Etienne Déclas, J.M. Vianney... while Marcellin Champagnat and Etienne Terraillon are in 1st division studying logic. (OM1, doc. 21 p. 160).

24 Chartreux, box 43: “M. Pousset. 1794-1883. Divers. Notes. Sermons. Manuscrits.”

25 Date added later by Pousset. It's that of the arrival of Napoleon in Paris. He left the isle of Elba on the 1st March.

26 Telegraphic style: his interior life consists of dry spells...

27 Another seminarian native of the same region near the city of Roanne.



In 1816 – I received the tonsure and the sub-diaconate on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> April by Bishop Dubourg<sup>28</sup> – on the 1<sup>st</sup> May I was sent to Verrières to teach the third...”

This testimony reminds us of the turmoil aroused from March by the One Hundred Days (20<sup>th</sup> March – 22<sup>nd</sup> June) which finished at Waterloo on the 18<sup>th</sup> June and provoked a hard occupation of France by the allied forces whose troops turned to pillaging. As Pousset speaks of “Bonaparte” and not of “Napoleon” one can deduce that he was a royalist and probably one of those who refused to sing *Domine salvum fac imperatorem*<sup>29</sup> at the seminary. In other respects, Pousset confirms what the *Origines Maristes* say about his contact, for a time, with the Marist aspirants<sup>30</sup> and we learn about his constant relationship with the disciples of Bochard<sup>31</sup>. In particular, he reminds us of the existence of the *Labora sicut b...* about which the archives of the Chartreux teaches us a great deal.

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## CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS RAISED

The manner of naming the society of Bochard is somewhat anachronistic for, in 1814-15, the disciples of Bochard are no longer called Fathers of the Cross of Jesus but are simply the followers of the “Pious thought”, that some signed as a form of commitment<sup>32</sup>. Pousset indicates moreover that in 1815 he had not yet accomplished this stage. Concerning the Marists, he used the first spelling of “Mariistes”, as in the formula of 1816, which shows an early contact.

This being done, it opens a chronological problem for, according to Déclas, one of the four first Marist aspirants, this name, which obviously came from Courveille, would have been revealed to him only, on the eve of the holidays of 1815<sup>33</sup>; that is to say, towards the month of August, the other Marist aspirants only having knowledge of this during the scholastic year of 1815-16, starting at All Saints Day. By suggesting that the Marist project had already started in 1814-15, Pousset seems to have been mistaken by one year, unless he does not take his chronology seriously.

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28 Bishop of New Orleans who will ordain most of the Marist aspirants to the priesthood in July.

29 Public prayer for the sovereign, which signifies his recognition by the Church and hence his legitimacy.

30 See his biography in OM4 p. 339-40

31 Doc. 750, § 7.

32 See OM 1 doc. 33. printed text circulating discretely in the seminary in 1814-15.

33 OM2 doc. 591



This is quite pertinent for Pousset writes less than ten years after the events, is very careful with chronology and offers a precise memory that finishes the scholastic year 1814-15. Moreover, by describing his degree of belonging to each of the three societies he suggests the following chronology: firstly membership in the "Labora sicut b." before the One Hundred Days; some relationships with the followers of the "pious thought" rather advanced but not conclusive, perhaps due to the One Hundred Days; finally, with the "Mariistes", only sketchy contact which is confirmed in the Marist sources on the start of the project.

One can compare the memories of Pousset with the testimonies of Déclas and Terraillon. The first (OM. doc. 591) notes a first contact with him and Courveille, certainly before March 1815, then once again after the One Hundred Days in July – August, just before the holidays. In saying that Courveille had not spoken to anyone else about his project, Déclas is jumping ahead of himself for Courveille must have increased his personal contacts and gathered some memberships in principle. If he had not done so, one would find it hard to understand why he claimed on the eve of the holidays that the Marists were going to be created. Besides, Terraillon declares that as soon as he arrived at Lyons, Courveille "cast an eye over the students of this establishment to see those who seemed to have a vocation" (doc. 750).

If one takes the testimony of Pousset seriously, and notably his chronology, one must think that in the holidays of 1815 the contacts with various seminarians were more advanced and more numerous than one would have thought, which would explain the later rapidity of the consultation of the group. As for Pousset, the fact that he did not speak again of the Marists in 1816 suggests that he had decided not to continue with the project. Besides, nothing in his spiritual notes manifests any Marist influence. At best, he was a sympathiser.

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### **TO FORM SOCIETIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE EXERCISE OF ZEAL**

Having posed the broad outlines of this society of friends of the cord, we will focus on a particular point of the commitments of Mioland and Pousset that reveals a form of action close to that of Champagnat at La Valla and Courveille at Epercieux.

Mioland (1812)	Pousset (1817)
<p>I will set clearly in my mind this maxim of Saint Ignatius which is so eminently that of a good priest: “<i>Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam</i>”. My studies, my prayers, my actions, my words, my ministry: I consecrate all to the glory of God and to the salvation of souls<sup>34</sup>; this will be my sole desire, my sole affection. I will willingly seize all the occasions that will be presented in whatever manner. I will not forget that for all the time that I will only be second in a parish<sup>35</sup>, it will not be up to me to make any establishment on my own authority. <b>I could however through the means of the school masters, or on the occasions of those to whom I teach the chant of the Church, make a precious choice among the young people of some fervent and generous souls that I would form in the exercise of zeal</b><sup>36</sup>. But, if ever it pleases the divine providence to elevate me to the pastoral charge, I will not neglect anything in order to spread the spirit of the apostolate<sup>37</sup> among the simple faithful. Alas, the impious unite, the enemies of the Church are in league with each other, the evil join in order to tear souls from God whom he has saved; there would not be anybody who felt such a desire to bring them back to this God of goodness, and to make them believe in his love</p>	<p>... I offer myself to work all my life for the greater glory of God: happy if like Saint Ignatius and several other saints, in his example I would only ever have before my eyes this maxim that makes them undertake such great things:</p> <p><i>Ad majorem Dei gloriam</i></p> <p>Whether I find myself with my confrères or with persons of the world, or that I attend to diverse ministerial works, I will have no other view but that of turning my heart to God, and if it pleases him to make it easy for me to find the means to form some society that may procure his glory I will willingly seize it: however, I must not forget that during all the time that I will be secondary pastor in a parish it will not be up to me to make any sort of establishment unless <b>by the vigilance that I will have to observe young boys and young girls in the schools, I find the occasion to suggest to the school teachers an institution of this kind that I will lead by a counsel without appearing to be the principal agent</b><sup>38</sup>. <b>I will be able then under the pretext of meeting with some young people to teach them the chant of the church, make a precious choice among them of young persons that I will form in the exercise of zeal</b><sup>39</sup>; if it ever pleases</p>

34 All of that is also in the Marist Formula: .... “We solemnly promise that we will give ourselves, us and all that we have, to save souls by all means”...

35 That is to say vicar.

36 That is to say divine love. That is how Champagnat will act.

37 Original idea of the time, typical of secret congregations that envisaged adapting their model, notably to fight against the impious who knew how to group together to do evil.

38 Pousset highlights the concern of the secret.

39 The abbot Lefranc, member of the society of the “friends of the cord” seems to have followed this model with Jeanne Marie Chavoin and her companions.

	<p>God to call me to the pastoral charge I will make a search of the most useful establishments that will exist and, conforming to the circumstances of the time, of places and of persons, I will neglect nothing in procuring for my people such great means of salvation.<sup>40</sup> Alas! The enemies of the church unite, the partisans of the world gather together, the academies of sciences establish themselves everywhere, and for God in the view of making him glorified one would not find the men and especially the priests who employ all the faculties that God has given them to oppose a rampart to irreligion and to the corruption of morals that disfigures all and ravages the heritage of the father of the family<sup>41</sup>! A priest animated with this spirit of zeal could convert all his confrères into apostles.</p>
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In this passage, Pousset is very articulate, while Mioland probably uses a version reformed by his careful attention. But that is not the essential point as the two texts are governed by the Jesuit motto and envisage societies of lay people formed in the "exercise of zeal". That means thus that the friends of the cord want to extend their society to all places, to glorify God but also to group Christians against the impious. It is a veritable utopia of Christian resistance which seems marked by the spirit before the Revolution, but in total sum, close to that of the Marists whose spirit of the offensive is more visible. Champagnat, in particular, in his parish of La Valla, would follow up this step by creating an association of pious teachers whom he formed in zeal without being the superior<sup>42</sup>. Particularly, the abbot Le franc, at Coutouvre, would found his association of divine love in this spirit with Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn and Marie Jotillon, who were the first Marist Sisters.

40 Pousset will thus become the founder of the Sisters of the Holy Family.

41 Frequent reflection in the rules of secret societies at the end of the XVIIIth century.

42 See in the Life, ch. 11 pp. 110-111, his conversation with the Vicar General Bochard.

## THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ZEAL

In his notebook of resolutions, Pousset leaves some blank pages that he then fills with two lists of his friends of the cord. Some, whose name is preceded by a cross, are already dead at the time of his writing these notes, some time after his ordination. Their place of birth is in general indicated. I have been able to complete this data, put in parentheses, when it was missing. A search in the ordination registers of the archives of the archdiocese allowed for the date of the tonsure to be specified, apparently given at the time of entry to the major seminary.

The chronology of entries in the society is very consistent: the friends of the cord function from 1804-5, that is to say from the time when the seminary was reorganised by the Sulpicians, until about 1816. In order to produce it, Pousset had certainly consulted the enrolment register. His motivation is spiritual: for each confrère to pray daily for the others it would be convenient to have the list. It was a *memento*<sup>43</sup>.

N°	Name, first name	Place of birth	Tonsure (registers cf ordinations) <sup>44</sup>	Reference in the OM
« + hos in intimo » MM.				
01	Durand J. Baptiste	St Just en Bas	13/4/1805	OM1/915.
02	Jacquemin J. Claude	St Chamond	5/4/1804	
03	Fontaine J. Marie	Beny	5/4/1804	
04	Paccaud Etienne	Legnieux (Trelain)	5/4/04	
05	Guillot Antoine	St Just en Bas	13/4/05	
06	Drevet Pierre	Valbenoîte	24/2/05	
07	Bourgaud J. Baptiste	St Etienne	13/4/05	
08	Durand Etienne	St Germain Laval	24/2/05	
09	Bernard Jacques	Marboz	13/4.05	
10	Barbier J. Baptiste	Risols (?) d. de Grenoble	?	
11	+ Pichat Louis	Chavanne sur Furan	24/2/05	
12	Perrodin Denis	Marboz	24/2/05	OM4 p.797

<sup>43</sup> Father Colin, in a letter of 1828 to Father Champagnat mentions that he has a *memento* concerning Father Séon in his breviary.

<sup>44</sup> I have chosen this sole index for it offers the largest lists, specifies the parents' names, the parish of origin and sometimes the date of birth. A difficulty remains as to the names, the spelling more or less fixed, and to first names, of which the number can vary. Some homonyms also exist.

## THE "FRIENDS OF THE CORD" IN THE SEMINARY OF SAINT IRÉNÉE

13	Puittet (Puilliet) Jean	Belmont	13/4/05	
14	Grange Martin	St Georges sur Couzan	24/2/05	
15	+ Garel Pierre Marie	St Martin Lestra	24/2/05	
16	Richarme Michel	Rive de Gier	24/2/05	
17	Cattet J. François	Neuville	13/4/05	OM4 p.216, notice
<b>18</b>	<b>Lefranc J. Philibert</b>	<b>Cours</b>	<b>24/2/05</b>	<b>OM4 p. 306, notice</b>
19	Roche J. Bapt.	St Just en Bas	20/4/06	
20	Bertheas Rambert	La Fouillouse	20/4/06	
21	Coignet Martin	Tarantaise	20/4/06	
22	Siméon J. Baptiste	Chevrières	20/4/06	
23	+ Crépet Claude	Chazelles sur Lyon	?	OM1/140; 4/ 127
24	Charretier Benoît	Chazelles sur Lyon	20/4/06 (barré ensuite)	
25	Laffay Jean	St Bonnet	20/4/06	OM1/217
26	St Jean (de) Jean François	St Romain de Popey	20/4/06	OM1/907...
27	Ville Joseph (Benoît)	St Martin en Haut	3/8/06	
28	Pastre Jean Louis	Fenestrelles (Piémont)	3/8/06	OM4/321 notice
29	+ Dutour Jean-Baptiste	Bessenay	24/2/05	
30	Vial Michel	Ste Colombe	20/4/06	OM4 p. 830...
31	Combe Jean Marie	St Didier	20/4/06	
32	Breuil J. Bapt.	Montbrison	?	
33	Nicod J. (Claude) François	Bourg	20/4/06	OM4/126
<b>34</b>	<b>Cholleton Jean</b>	<b>St Marcel de Félines</b>	<b>28/3/07</b>	<b>OM4/notice</b>
35	Denoyel J. Claude	Fleurieux sur A.	28/3/07	
36	Néel Barthélemy	Meys	28/3/07	OM4/127
37	Mioland Jean Marie	Lyon	23/5/07	OM4/notice
38	Greppo J. Gabriel Honoré	Lyon	23/5/07	OM4/760
39	Préher François		Prêtre en 1812	OM4/802
<b>End of the first list</b>				
<b>40</b>	<b>Pichat Félix</b>	<b>Chavanne sur Furan</b>	<b>28/3/07</b>	<b>OM4/329 notice</b>
41	Tarpin J. Louis	Lyon	28/3/07	
42	Pelossieux Antoine	? (St Romain d'Urfé)	28/3/07	
<b>43</b>	<b>Collin Pierre</b>	<b>? (St Bonnet le Troncy)</b>	<b>24/7/08</b>	<b>OM4/notice p. 241</b>
44	+ Arnaud Jean	? (St Bonnet le Courreau)	24/7/08	
45	Morel J. Claude	? (Chevrières)	28/3/07	

46	Minot Jean Louis	? (Combre)	24/7/08	OM1/238
47	Guillot Guillaume	Ste Agathe	24/7/08	
48	Peronnet J. Marie	Violay	24/7/08	OM4/125
49	Ducray Louis Ennemond	Dioc. d'Autun	22/7/09	
50	Jambon Charles Guillaume	Pont de Veyle	22/7/09	
51	Darnand François	Marboz	22/7/09	
52	Mayet J. Claude	St Claude	24/7/08	
53	Villecourt Clément	Lyon	22/7/09	OM4 p. 361 notice
54	Plasse Jean	Sury (Cesay ?)	22/7/09	OM4/132
<b>55</b>	<b>Gilibert J. Antoine</b>	<b>Farney</b>	<b>1/6/10</b>	<b>OM4 / notice</b>
56	Magdinier Pierre Marie	Ste Agathe	22/7/09	
57	Petit Louis	St Domingue	24/7/08	OM1/238
58	+ Berlier Ant. Charl. Aimé	Lyon	1/6/10	
<b>59</b>	<b>Charles Maurice</b>	<b>Amplepuis</b>	<b>28/5/11</b>	<b>OM4 notice</b>
60	Simon Georges Gabriel	St Bonnet le Courau	28/5/11	
61	Picon Ant. François	St Etienne	28/5/11	
62	Josserand Jean Marie	Furciat ? Cursiat ?	12/6/12	
63	Poncet Bernard Benoît	St Didier	?	OM4/119, 133
64	Loras Mathias	Lyon	28/5/11	OM2/658...
65	Carron J. Bte.	St Georges (St Etienne la Varenne)	1/6/10	OM2/152...
66	Guillermet Philibert	Ampuis	12/12/12	OM2/470...
67	Delupé (de Lupé) Aug. Marie Fleury	Lyon	06/13	OM4/492
68	Pater Vincent	Lyon	22/7/09	
69	Horand Denis	Lyon	12/12/12	
70	Chirat Charles	Lyon	24/7/08	OM1/217
71	Boutan J. Bte.	St Etienne	?	
72	Blanc Ant.	Sury le Comtal	6/1/14	OM1/217...
73	Loire Pierre	Violey	12/12/12	
74	Crozet Jacques Marie	Néronde	2/6/14	OM1/208...
75	Mangon Claude	St Didier	Prêtre en 1817	OM3/844
76	Derorry Michel Christophe	D. de Trente : incorporé.	06/13	
77	Dujart Antoine	Lyon	28/5/11	
78	Deville Claude	St Etienne	2/6/14	OM1/217
79	Corsain Pierre	Bourg	6/4/16	OM4/734
<b>80</b>	<b>Pousset Pierre</b>	<b>Cordelle</b>	<b>6/4/16</b>	<b>OM4/ notice</b>

## THE "FRIENDS OF THE CORD" IN THE SEMINARY OF SAINT IRÉNÉE

81	Privat Pierre	Lyon	6/4/16	
82	Brunon J. Bte	Rochetaillée	?	
83	Champion Joseph	Poncin	6/4/16	OM4/720
84	Froget Pierre	? (Panissières)	6/4/16	
<b>85</b>	<b>Orcel (Orsel) Jacques</b>	<b>? (Lyon, St Pierre)</b>	<b>6/4/16</b>	<b>OM4/ notice</b>
86	Blanchard Jean Marie	? (Duerne)	6/4/16	
87	Gabriel Aug. Ambroise	?	6/4/16	OM1/237
88	Alagnard ( ?)	?	?	
89	Magnard Antoine ou Barthélemy	? (St Etienne ou Chavanay)	6/4/16	
90	Portier Michel	? (Montbrison)	6/4/16	
91	Quiblier Joseph	? (Colombier)	6/4/16	

Thirty-nine of these ninety-one people are listed in the OM, of whom eleven are given a notice, and I have put in bold those who had participated in the origins such as Lefranc (n. 18), Cholleton (n. 34), Félix Pichat (n. 40), Pierre Colin (n. 43), Gillibert, (n. 55), Maurice Charles (n. 59), Pierre Pousset (n. 80) and finally Jacques Orsel (n. 85). The links between the friends of the cord and the Marist aspirants are far from being negligible and Pousset's case is not an isolated one. However, one notes that all the eight, except perhaps Cholleton, are not at the heart of the Marist project, because older or only sympathisers, although they are ready to support a project close to theirs.

Finally, one is surprised to not find in this list of seminarians people like André Coindre, future founder of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart and co-founder, with Claudine Thévenet, of the Congregation of Jesus-Mary; Donnet, future cardinal and he was up to date with the Marist project; Querbes, future founder of the Clerics of Saint Viator; Dufêtre, future bishop of Nevers... The friends of the cord (91 from 1804 to 1816, less than ten per year on average) are thus a small society each year of about ten members, imbued with a certain spiritual sensitivity, probably at two levels: a hard core of militants committed by a consecration, of whom Pousset has provided the list, and a second circle, of sympathisers, eventually active members of similar groups. Besides, a certain number of indicators makes one think that the seminary of Saint Irénée contained within its walls a fourth society, of Jesuit spirit<sup>45</sup>. There were thus reciprocal influences

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<sup>45</sup> In a very recent work entitled *Un fondateur contrarié. Louis Querbes. 1793-1859*, Brother Robert Bonnafous, csv, gives some important information on this "Jesuit" group on pages 70-75 of volume 1.



and entanglements of networks even if these small associations nourished different projects.

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### **AN EMBARRASSING CASE: JEAN-ANTOINE GILLIBERT**

The OM dedicate a notice (OM4, p. 288) to this brilliant seminarian. The Mioland papers often speak of him and include several of his letters. Having entered Saint Irénée in 1809 he was still there in 1814, exercising the function of conference master. Being very young (he was born in 1792), he was waiting for the age of priesthood. But his journey was going to be very troubled because, on the 26<sup>th</sup> April 1814, being only a subdeacon, he accompanied Cardinal Fesch who left in exile to Rome after the abdication of Napoleon, to be his secretary. The following year he returned to France with his master who benefited from the turnaround of the One Hundred Days, and left again nearly straightaway after the political failure of the emperor. On All Saints Day 1815, he returned to the seminary of Saint Irénée. Deacon on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1816, he left the seminary on the 1<sup>st</sup> May and only returned for his priestly ordination on the 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1816. His biographical notice in the OM mentions that following this he helped the Marists but that he was finally forbidden in 1831 by Archbishop de Pins.

In his letters to his “friends” who accused him of being unfaithful to the king and country by leaving, he tried to justify himself by invoking that he obeyed the counsel and even orders of his superiors and that his exile was only for a time: he remained faithful to the seminary of Saint Irénée and to his “friends”.

Behind this delicate prose to be interpreted a fact<sup>46</sup> seems to be profiled: Gillibert, a brilliant and ambitious subject, was a decided partisan of Cardinal Fesch and of the Empire. He was probably, by his seniority and intellectual breadth, the head of a “Feschist” party in the seminary at a time when with the majority of seminarians royalist sentiments were exacerbated and strongly mixed with religious sentiment<sup>47</sup>. Some of the “friends” of Gilbert had obviously passed to a royalty - Church amalgam but others, including Mioland, remained more moderate and maintained cordial relationships. At the start of the Restoration, Gillibert, who seems

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<sup>46</sup> Gillibert does not speak openly because of censorship.

<sup>47</sup> When Cardinal Fesch reappeared at the seminary in 1815, he was poorly received by the seminarians who refused for a long time to sing the *Domine Salvum Fac imperatorem*. See notably OM1 docs. 37-38.



to have returned from his dreams of a career and of his Bonapartism, but not from his fidelity to Fesch which was for him a question of honour, could reintegrate easily in Saint Iranaeus: Fesch's Vicars General administered the diocese still in his name and could protect him. It is only with the arrival of Archbishop de Pins in 1824 that his situation would spoil because Gillibert, then parish priest of the Madeleine at Tarare, would figure as one of the heads of the Feschist party<sup>48</sup>. Contrary to Mioland and to the Marists, he would not rally to the new authority of the diocese.

Taking into account what we know of the man, nothing predisposes him, except the belonging to the friends of the cord, to enter the group of Marist aspirants whom he had known only between All Saints 1815 and the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1816. It could be then that he was an isolated man and had sought to meet a substitution group to the friends of the cord with whom he was not perhaps reunited. Father Cholleton, who was at saint Irénée with him in 1812-1814, could also have directed him towards a group needing an experienced man... The most interesting hypothesis, and which does not necessarily exclude the others, is the relationship between Bochard and Gillibert. The first and the second were ardent "Feschists", Gillibert was able to be the agent of the Vicar General at the seminary and thus with a society that he wanted to affiliate to the Fathers of the Cross of Jesus. In any case, leaving on the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1816, Gillibert must not have participated in the elaboration of a Marist formula, but his presence at the start of the Society of Mary shows once more that this was able to be submitted to strong diverse influences even if it was not easy to disentangle them.

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## CONCLUSION

The discovered documents allow us then to better situate the first Marists in networks more complex than we thought, the same person being able to belong to several distinct spiritual entities to various degrees. Furthermore, Pousset suggests a more premature chronology than the first steps of the SM: from the scholastic year 1814-1815, the One Hundred Days (March-July) blocking the project.

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48 In his memoirs (A. Lanfrey, *Archives des Chartreux*, doc. 78) Mioland relates that before his entry to Lyons Archbishop de Pins proposed to Gillibert to become his secretary and to go with him to Lyons. As, according to Mioland, the proposition came from Besson, parish priest of Saint Nizier, and artisan of the elimination of Fesch, Gillibert refuses on the advice of Mioland. If the trap had worked, everyone would have known that one of Fesch's greatest partisans had submitted.

As well, the text of resolutions of Mioland and Pousset gives a good idea of what must have been the Marist formula of which the Fourvière consecration is only an abbreviation. One can say without too much risk that on many points it resembled the Pousset-Mioland resolutions, perhaps having been subjected to their influence, but above all because it bathed in an identical apostolic and sacerdotal context, with the same will to reconstitute an ecclesial web by small fervent groups. The only great difference between the friends of the cord and Marists is that one does not find clearly among them this eschatological, universalist and Marial spirit which characterises the Society of Mary so well.

Another important acquisition: the origin of the Marist Sisters is clarified by the fact that the abbot Lefranc, who founded the association of divine love at Coutouvre and formed Jeanne-Marie Chavoin in the spiritual life and in zeal, is one of the friends of the cord who puts his rule into practice. This also poses the question of the influence of Pierre Colin, friend of the cord, on his brother Jean-Claude.

Finally, we have seen that Champagnat, at La Valla, seems to put into practice, for the formation of the brothers, a strategy suggested by the apostolic project of the friends of the cord, as if he himself had participated in the group<sup>49</sup>. And I was going to forget the most important: Jean Cholleton, the mentor of the first Marists, was himself a friend of the cord.

All these factors thus allow us to affirm that the Marists were, in a measure difficult to determine but certain, under the influence of the friends of the cord.

Brother. André LANFREY,  
10<sup>th</sup> October 2003

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<sup>49</sup> Thus, his "We need brothers" would take a richer meaning without excluding his own personal inspiration. This participation could also explain the mysterious message of Mioland, former president of the friends of the cord, quoted in the memoirs of Father Séon (OM, doc. 625, § 21): "Tell Father Champagnat that he is building in vain." It shows a link between the two men and a divergence on the means of apostolate chosen, perhaps because Mioland interprets the Hermitage as a missionary house which would double that of Chartreux.

**DOCUMENT 1.**

**Pousset Autobiography**

Margin	Text
20 _	<p>At the end of 1814 (added above the line: "after the return of the Bourbons") I went to the seminary of Saint Irénée in Lyons: Despite a very weak temperament, I could continue my studies there in spite of the disorder and the fear aroused by the return of Bonaparte (added: "<u>20th March</u>"). As to the interior life, same dispositions, a lot of dryness, of temptations of pride, even though I applied myself to the hidden life, there were especially many distractions. They spoke to me of <i>Labora sicut b. etc.</i> of the congregation of the fathers of the cross, the Mariists, I made some commitments for the first thing, I prepared myself for the second and the last one did not seem repugnant to me<sup>50</sup>. I was nearly killed by my father upon my arrival on holidays because with Mr Chizelle we were taken for soldiers (the Austrians were just at Tarare).</p> <p>In 1816 (added above the line: "I received the tonsure and sub-diaconate on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> April from Father Dubour") and on the 1<sup>st</sup> May I was sent to Verrières to teach the third. Father Mioland said the Mass for us at Fourvière<sup>51</sup>. Having arrived at our destination with M. Crozet, after the adventures of Largentière and of Montbrison we found the students in complete insurrection<sup>52</sup> I took it all quite calmly; though hated at first, I was then quite liked.</p> <p>The following year, I had some success in zeal especially regarding MM. Roux, Bazin, Billod, Pelley, Vallet... At Easter I was the daughter of Jephthah<sup>53</sup> and left to go after four months to receive priesthood. In this interval of time I spoke too much of my little successes, and I often dreamed since this fault had been punished by the cooling of or the fall of those (corrected: some ones) to whom I had been of some use.</p> <p>I received the diaconate and the priesthood on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> July day of Saint Joachim and Saint Pérégrin priest of Lyons, 1817, from the hands of Bishop Morel de Mons the then bishop of Mende<sup>54</sup>. On the Monday evening I said my first Mass and went to Verrières to meet my brother Claude Marie. While going, I was extremely tired near St Germain-Laval and my brother also, near our place. Mad(ame) Bonnefond took great care of me. May the Lord repay her!</p> <p>On All Saints day I returned to Verrières to cover (?) the functions of vicar and firstly of teacher, then of first prefect. (end of p. 7)</p>
21	
1815	
22	
1816	
23	
1817	
23 years and 4 months	

<sup>50</sup> He confirms what the Marist sources say: he was not a signatory of the Formula.

<sup>51</sup> It seems that this was a classic rite of being sent on mission.

<sup>52</sup> These troubles are not linked to the political events but to the strategy of Father Bochard who placed his men in the seminaries. See the letter of Chazelle in the Besson archives at Metz. (CM n. 18)

<sup>53</sup> Sacrificed

<sup>54</sup> Fesch is exiled and the Vicars General must call upon bishop friends or those passing through.

- 20½ Sur la fin de 1814, j'allai au séminaire  
 1814 et j'étais à Lyon. Quoique mon caractère fût faible  
 néanmoins j'y pus y continuer mes études,  
 malgré les dangers et les craintes occasionnés par  
 21 le retour de Bonaparte. Quant à l'intérieur  
 même de l'école, beaucoup de richesses, de tentation  
 d'orgueil, en ce que j'appliquais à la vie catholique,  
 beaucoup surtout de distraction. Et on voyait  
 1815 paraître des Salons de l'Église. De la congré-  
 gation des R. P. de la vie, des Missionnaires,  
 je pris des engagements pour la première  
 chose, me disposai à la seconde et me  
 réjouis point à la troisième, je me contentai  
 à être toujours un jour à mon arrivée en  
 vacances, parce que avec ces flirts nous fûmes  
 pris par des tentations (les autres étaient jusqu'à  
 22. L'année) je fus même et j'admirais, le 6 et 7 avril, par exemple.  
 1816 En 1816 au premier Mars je fus envoyé à  
 Venise pour y enseigner la troisième M.  
 Miotte dit la même pour nous à Gournay.  
 Arrivé à toute distance avec sa femme, après la

## DOCUMENT 2.

### Resolutions Mioland - Pousset

**J.M. Mioland, 14<sup>th</sup> June 1812**

“Resolutions that I have taken at the seminary of Saint Irénée before leaving there to maintain myself with the help of grace in the spirit of my vocation.

**Pierre Pousset, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1817**

“Resolutions that I have taken at the seminary of Saint Irénée before leaving there to maintain myself with the help of grace in the spirit of my vocation.<sup>55</sup>

Invocation to God and to the saints<sup>56</sup>

After having invoked the assistance of the Holy Spirit, the Blessed Virgin my very pious mother, that of Saint Louis de Gonzaga, Saint Peter, Saint Vincent de Paul, Saint Francis de Sales, Saint Francis Regis, my patrons and my protectors, my guardian angel, for whom I thank God for having given me a tender devotion<sup>57</sup>: I have formed the following resolutions.

After having invoked the assistance of the Blessed Virgin my very pious mother, that of Saint Louis de Gonzaga, Saint Francis Regis, Saint Francis de Sales, Saint Vincent de Paul, Saint Charles Borromeo, Saint Peter my patron, etc. and my guardian angel, for whom I give thanks to God for having given me a tender devotion I have formed the following resolutions.

Wear complete ecclesiastical clothing: soutane, rabat, hat, tonsure...

#### First resolution

The zeal for the glory of God and of the Church, and the salvation of souls, which must be the soul of a priest makes me steadfast in the resolution that I am taking to not withdraw at any point from ecclesiastical clothing, that is to say that in my ordinary residence I will wear the long habit, with the belt, the rabbat (sic), the

#### 1<sup>st</sup> resolution

The zeal for the glory of God and of the Holy cat(holic) ap(ostolic) and ro(man) Church and for the salvation of souls, which must be the soul of a priest makes me steadfast in the resolution that I take to not withdraw at any point from the perfection of the clothing of the ecc(lesiasti)cal state, that is to say that in my ordinary residence

<sup>55</sup> See Jeanne Pousset-Carcel and Bernadette Carcel, *Deo Soli. La vie d'un prêtre. Pierre Pousset. 1794-1883*, Feurs, 1998, pp. 28-30

<sup>56</sup> NDLR. The framed titles have been added to show structure. They do not exist in the original.

<sup>57</sup> These are the usual patrons of congregations of seminarians. One will note the insistence on apostolic patrons.

hat, the ecclesiastical tonsure and that in all my exterior I will try to guard myself from all seeking that would feel vanity or an exaggerated tidiness<sup>58</sup>.

I will always wear the soutane with a modest belt, rabbat (sic) and three cornered hat, the fresh tonsure and hair without curls<sup>59</sup>.

Distancing from worldly societies. Only visits of necessity

### Second resolution

I will conserve all my a life a marked distancing from the societies of the world, according to the rules that all the authors have given who have treated ecclesiastical duties, and which one had put so often under my eyes in the courses of my seminary. I will never appear in these societies, who have no other aim but pleasure, or whose spirit of religion and respect at least for piety is entirely banished. In the visits that I make to the great, and to the rich, I will always have some reason worth of the holiness of my state or the glory of God or the interest of the Church, or the good of the poor, or the duties of decorum and in these conversations I will remember this glorious quality of a man of God<sup>60</sup> that the apostle gives to all the priests in the person of Timothy. I will seek to be everywhere the good odour of J.C.<sup>61</sup> and to never leave these conversations with the world without having found the occasion of mixing adroitly some word of salvation.

### 2<sup>nd</sup> resolution

To conform to what I learnt in the works that treated the eccl(esiasti)cal duties and the advice that was so often inculcated in the seminary, I will have all my life a marked distancing from the societies of the world. Never will I go to these that have no other aim but pleasure. Persuaded however that a priest is sometimes obliged to see the houses of the important, and to go to the places of people of standing, in order to avoid all abuse of this kind and to never fool myself I make a rule for myself to always have as my reason the glory of God or the interest of the poor and the Church, or to honour the people of standing, in order to render them by this deference the protectors of religion and of good order.<sup>62</sup>

Distancing particularly from "persons of sex".

58 The Bishop of Orléans de la Motte demands the wearing of the long habit (*Memoires...* t. 1 p. 221)

59 Father Emery, at St Sulpice, had to fight against curling. Bishop de la Motte is against: *Memoires...* t. 1 p. 221

60 Mioland already uses this underlined term in his holiday resolutions of 1808.

61 Same thing. This Pauline expression is also a common link of AAS and secret societies.

62 One will note here the more narrow perspective of Pousset who seems to have copied an older text.



I will remember this advice of Saint Jerome solus cum sola absque arbitro vel teste non sedeas and this other of Saint Augustine: amor spiritualis generat affectuosum, affectuosus familiarem, familiaris carnalem, and I will forbid myself absolutely all intimate society with persons of sex, especially with those whose holy life and devotion to good could leave me some pretext to distance myself from this rule so important to the judgement of saints.

In all my relationships with men I will unceasingly have before my eyes these words of N.S.: discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde

### 3<sup>rd</sup> resolution.

Having to fear as well as avoid this pitfall that is more common and not less dangerous, I mean the one who is found in intimate society with persons of sex, I will not form any close liaison with them remembering the words of Saint Jerome *solus cum sola absque arbitro vel teste non sedeas*. And this advice of Saint Augustine: *amor spiritualis generat affectuosum, affectuosus familiarem, familiaris carnalem*.

To edify oneself by the example of confrères and to give them good example.  
To foster friendship with the best. To take one of them as a spiritual counsellor.

### Third resolution

It is in the edifying life of my confreres that I must find one of the strongest encouragements to virtue; myself, I must be the example of all; labora sicut bonus miles christi Jesu. Posui vos ut eatis et fructum offeris... exemplum est fidelium.<sup>63</sup> "As soon as I will have arrived in the place where obedience alone<sup>64</sup> will have led me, my first care will be to seek to know the most venerable priests of the canton, to cultivate their friendship and to edify myself by their example. I will choose the most worthy of them as my director, my guide and my counsel, and if he is not too far away to be my ordinary confessor, I will see him at determined times, to expose the state of my conscience to him and the difficulties that trouble me. But if, God will-

### 4<sup>th</sup> resolution

Convinced as I must be that I need to be edified by the example of others and that I must myself be an encouragement for my brothers, God having called me to his glory *Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Jesu... posui vos ut eatis et fructus offeratis*... As soon as I will have arrived in the place where obedience alone will have placed me, my first duty will be to seek the most venerable priests of my canton, 1. to cultivate their friendship; 2. so that their good example may be an encouragement for my weakness. I will choose the most worthy as my director, and if he is not close enough to be my ordinary confessor, I will request of his goodness to see him at determined times, to discuss with him the interests of my conscience and to consult him on the

<sup>63</sup> It is the motto of the secret society. In the letters they are written as an acronym: L.S.B.M.C.J. (Labora sicut ...)

<sup>64</sup> Underlined in the text. The concern of obedience is the same with the Marists.

ing, I was deprived of this precious advantage, I would regard myself, unworthy though I be, as being called to become the model for my confreres, by the regularity of my conduct, the gentleness, the humility, the condescension and the charity that I would seek to put in all the relationships I would have with them.

difficulties that are born afresh without ceasing in the holy ministry. But if, (God willing), I were to see myself deprived of this precious advantage, I would regard myself, unworthy though I be, as called to become the model of my confreres, by the regularity of my conduct, happy if through that I can merit being useful to them in other relationships.

**More particular resolutions**

God having given me the grace of giving me the most intimate conviction that the salvation of a priest is closely linked to the practice of the prayer of each day<sup>65</sup>; to the fervent recitation of the holy office, to the preparation that must precede the celebration of Mass and the thanksgiving that must follow it, I promise to God

**More particular resolutions**

God having given me the grace of giving me the most intimate conviction that the salvation of a priest is closely linked to the practice of meditation, to the fervent recitation of the holy office, to the preparation that must precede the Sacred Mysteries, as well as the thanksgiving that must follow them, I promise

Every day at least a half hour of prayer

**I**o to do regularly each day at least half an hour of prayer, that I will conserve in my heart the intimate conviction that a priest without the practice of prayer is a body without a soul, and that I must deprive my soul of prayer less easily than my body from ordinary food according to this striking reflection of Liguori (sic): It is not rare to see united in a priest charity and sin, the recitation of the breviary and sin, preaching and sin, the celebration of the Sacred Mysteries and sin, all the functions of the apostolic life, all the works of zeal,

**I**o to make every day a half an hour of prayer regularly: if ever I was to distance myself from this rule, when I would read these resolutions I would say to myself what the venerable Liguori would judiciously say that it was not rare to find united in a priest preaching and sin, the recitation of the breviary and sin, charity and sin; but that never in a priest would one find the prayer of each day and sin. I regard this resolution as so important that I will not allow myself in the times when the great apostolic works of ministry oc-

<sup>65</sup> *Mémoires...* t. 1 p. 147. Bishop d'Amiens regarded prayer as the soul of the life of a priest ...



and sin; but one would never encounter together the meditation of each day and sin. I regard this resolution as so important that even in extraordinary circumstances, as in the time of Easter, of a mission, I will not allow myself to interrupt this exercise, without being authorised by my director and without taking its place by fervent ejaculatory prayers.

cupy a priest so much, as at Easter, in a jubilee or in a mission, to interrupt this exercise, without being authorised by the one who is directing me.

The faithful recitation of the breviary for the intention of all the Church and especially for confreres.

2<sup>o</sup> the breviary must save or damn a priest: these words can be applied to it: hic positus est in ruinam aut in resurrectionnem multorum in Israël: thus I will never say the smallest part of my office without having recollected myself, and without having directed my intention by representing myself in this holy exercise as the angel of the sky and the earth; I will take alternatively the following intentions to serve me for eight days, or one month; for the sovereign pontiff and all the pastors of the Church; for the eradication of schisms, heresies, errors and for the peace of the Church; for the people to whom I have been sent; for the souls that I will have to lead; for obstinate sinners; for the perseverance of the just; for the souls in Purgatory and especially for those who would have been detained there due to faults committed in the exercise of my ministry; and finally for all those with whom I am in union of prayer and of good works: during the recitation of the office I will renew my attention to Deus in adiutorium and to Gloria Patri

2<sup>o</sup> it is so obvious that the breviary must save or damn priests and that one can say while the Church puts it in their hands what the saintly elder Simeon said of the Saviour while holding him in his arms *cui positus est hic in ruinam aut in resurrectionnem multorum in Israël*.

In order to arm myself against myself I propose to recall if it is possible these words every time that I will recite it; but in order to particularise this resolution more than all the others

1. I will never say the smallest part of my office without having recollected myself and directed my intention
2. I will bow at each Gloria Patri in the same way as Saint Theresa who offered herself to suffer martyrdom for the glory of the Holy Trinity...

### Daily Spiritual reading

3. Spiritual reading is the most indispensable exercise to the spiritual life after prayer; I will try to do it regularly envisaging only the good of my soul, and my perfection. I will hold onto a small number of books, which I will read with a great deal of reflection; I will find there a guide that no human respect would be able to stop and necessary insights for the direction of souls called to perfection. When I am not able to fulfil this holy exercise I will replace it before going to bed by the reading of some verses<sup>66</sup> of the Imitation.

### Meticulous preparation for the Mass and a prolonged thanksgiving.

4<sup>o</sup> The holiest actions often repeated, degenerate into a habit that no longer says anything. The extraordinary ministries are no longer striking. With this reflection, I feel totally scared by the fear of climbing one day to the altar without this living faith, this purity of heart, this ardent love, this attentive religion, that demands the holiness of these redoubtable mysteries, and that I hope by the Lord's mercy to bring there the first time that I celebrate them. I will prepare myself carefully for this great action.

If the celebration of the Holy Mass does not immediately follow my prayer, I will take at least about a half of a quarter of an hour to recollect myself before dressing in the priestly vestments; my thanksgiving will never be less than a quarter of an hour, and the little bit disposed to prayer as I find myself, I will subtract nothing

3<sup>o</sup> I have too often heard it said in my seminary's courses and I am too convinced by my own enlightenment that the holiest of acts often reiterated, degenerate into a habit that no longer says anything, which is no longer striking, that I am in this moment afraid to celebrate one day the Sacred Mysteries without this living faith, this ardent love, this holy fervour which follow so many priests to the altar: and to protect myself against such a great danger, make me faithful O my God from this day, when I will say my first Mass until that when I will say my last to make the preparation which all fervent priests make an indispensable duty and to give you the thanks that merits such an astonishing favour of consecrating your body making it descend from heaven between my hands.

My preparation made in the morning, if the Mass does not follow it immediately, I will

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<sup>66</sup> The reading of the French word in the manuscript is not sure: it is either *nombres* (numbers) or *members* (members). However the meaning is: verses.

from this time that I fix here: if ever I shorten it, it will only be because my ministry will have called me elsewhere in a manner so pressing that I will be able to say to myself: I am leaving God for God: and as I will have to perhaps administer the sacrament of penance immediately after Mass, for fear that the habit of going straight to the confessional will make me forget the importance of thanksgiving, or for fear of pushing it too far back that it no longer bears fruit, I will always take at least five minutes to recollect myself deeply and to profit from these instants that are so precious.

recollect myself for at least half a quarter of an hour before dressing in the priestly vestments and my ordinary preparation will never be less than a quarter of an hour and when I am before my God insensible like the rock, hard as a diamond, I will subtract nothing from this time that I fix here; if ever I do shorten it, it will only be because my ministry will have called me elsewhere in a manner so pressing that I will be able to say to myself: I am leaving God for God. You will not allow O God that when I read these resolutions I find my condemnation in these words of the Church: *sumunt boni, sumunt mali, sorte tamen inaequali vita vel interitus. Mors est malis, vita bonis; vide panis sumptionis dispar exitus!*

*At the bottom of the page, a little pen drawing representing Calvary with three crosses.*

#### Daily rosary

5° I will always remember the advice of Saint Francis de Sales, the practice of all the saints and the pious habit that our masters have given me and I will try everyday to recite the rosary to consecrate myself to Mary, as well as all the works of my ministry and to ask her for her help.

#### A daily quarter of an hour visiting the Blessed Sacrament

6° I will see to it that I find ordinarily a quarter of an hour to visit the Blessed Sacrament: this will be where I go to lay down my prayers, seek enlightenment, and to console myself from all the afflictions that it pleases God to send me.



No administration of the sacraments without recollection beforehand

7<sup>o</sup> Following the advice of the saintly priests whom God has given me the grace of knowing, so as not to familiarise myself with holy things and in order to treat them with the respect, the religion that they demand and in order to edify the faithful, and to awaken their faith, I will never administer a sacrament without having recollected myself and having reanimated my faith.

Memento of Saint Bernard

8<sup>o</sup> I will often remember these striking words by which Saint Bernard outlines the summary of the obligations of priests: Deo proximi; proximo devoti, sibi mortui

*It seems that a first part of the rule is finished here that only recapitulates the duties of a holy priest.*

### Personal commitments<sup>67</sup>

To share good works with the “friends”.  
Spiritual union with the confrères twice a day in the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary

I bless God for having given me during the course of my seminary virtuous friends who brought me to him; to faithfully keep the holy commitments that I made with them<sup>68</sup>, I share with them all my good works, the Holy Sacrifice, meditation, the holy office, prayers, administration of the sacraments; I will visit these faithful friends as often as I can; I will embrace them twice a day at nine o'clock and at about four o'clock

### Personal commitments

I give immortal thanksgiving to all holy God for having given me during the course of my seminary virtuous friends who brought me to him and who addressed to me the language of perfect charity with so much goodness and in order to faithfully keep the pious commitments that I have made with them, I set as a rule from this day until the last day of my life to share my prayers, visits to the Blessed Sacrament, recitation of the Holy Office and all my

<sup>67</sup> This second part concerns explicitly the society of the friends of the cord.

<sup>68</sup> There is thus a first commitment including certainly a formula of consecration.

clock, in the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and of Mary<sup>69</sup>.

good works in general and especially the august sacrifice, holding them all regularly to the memory of the living. I will visit these faithful friends as often as the distance to these places allows; I will readily correspond with them; but with these means not being able to be sufficient in the ardour of charity that ties me to them, I will embrace them cordially twice a day in the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and I will tell them that Jesus should be praised for ever and ever. Amen

Fidelity to the study of ethics and holy scripture (following the example of Bishop de la Motte of Orléans)

Idleness is the disgrace of the priesthood. The knowledge necessary for a priest is so important, so extended, so varied! I will be faithful to occupy myself with study, according to the time that the order of providence leaves me free.<sup>70</sup> I will forbid myself any profane study which would absorb too much of my time which no longer belongs to me but to God, to the Church, to the people. The study of ethics, among others, the reading of holy scripture, will occupy me often and I will remember this edifying trait of the life of Bishop de la Motte, bishop of Amiens who in his very old age during even the illness that would finish his life, at ninety-one years of age, would have read to him the number of pages of the theology of Poitiers as determined in his rule<sup>71</sup>.

The knowledge necessary for a priest being so extended, so varied, so important (without speaking of idleness which dishonours the Lord's ministers who abandon themselves to it and have it said of them what Jeremiah said with the most intense sorrow: Quomodo obscuratum est aurem mutatus est color optimus... dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarii in capite omnium laterum parvuli petunt panem... I will be faithful on the days that the works do not absorb all the moments of my ministry and of my works of piety, to revise my theological studies, especially ethics, envisaging as my model on this point Bishop De la Motte bishop of Amiens who even in his very old age was so faithful to this resolution that at the age of ninety-one years in the illness that finished his life he had read to him each day the number of pages of the theology of Poitiers, as determined by his rule.

69 Proof that the society of the "friends of the cord" is envisaged not only for the seminary but also for life. As in most of the societies of this type, it is a sharing of merits and good works. The particular practice of thinking about your friends twice a day in the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary is inspired by the work *Association à l'Amour divin...* (p. 16) which recommends: "To have a rendezvous with all the associates once a day in the Sacred Heart of Jesus at three o'clock in the afternoon"...

70 The *Association à l'Amour divin* recommends (p. 11): "To apply oneself particularly at study or at one's profession, and to endeavour to make progress, in view of being more in a state of making God known and glorified."

71 *Mémoires...* op. cit. t. 1, lettre VI p. 147

Consecration of all of life to the glory of God and to the salvation of souls. *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*.

I will be totally absorbed by this maxim of Saint Ignatius which is so eminently that of a good priest: “*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*”. My studies, my prayers, my actions, my words, my ministry: I consecrate all to the glory of God and to the salvation of souls<sup>72</sup>; this will be my sole desire, my only affection.

Convinced however that while I will appear at the tribunal of the redoubtable judge, I will not only have to make account of my studies, but also of the fruit that I have drawn from them, I offer myself to work all my life for the greater glory of God: happy if like Saint Ignatius and several other saints, in his example I would only ever have before my eyes this maxim that makes them undertake such great things:

*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*

Spread among the faithful the spirit of the apostolate.  
The impious unite: why not the friends of God?

I will willingly seize all the occasions that will be presented in whatever manner. I will not forget that for all the time that I will only be second in a parish, it will not be up to me to make any establishment on my own authority. I could however through the means of the school masters, or on the occasions of those to whom I teach the chant of the Church, make a precious choice among the young people of some fervent and generous souls that I would form in the exercise of zeal<sup>73</sup>. But, if ever it pleases the divine providence to elevate me to the pastoral charge, I will not neglect anything in order to spread the spirit of the apostolate<sup>74</sup> among the simple faithful. Alas, the impious unite, the enemies of the Church are in league with each other, the evil join in order to tear

Whether I find myself with my confrères or with persons of the world, or that I attend to diverse ministerial works, I will have no other view but that of turning my heart to God, and if it pleases him to make it easy for me to find the means to form some society that may procure his glory I will willingly seize it: however, I must not forget that during all the time that I will be secondary pastor in a parish it will not be up to me to make any sort of establishment unless by the vigilance that I will have to observe young boys and young girls in the schools, I find the occasion to suggest to the school teachers an institution of this kind that I will lead by a counsel without appearing to be the principal agent<sup>75</sup>. I will be able then under the pretext of meeting with some young people to teach them the

<sup>72</sup> All of that is also in the Marist Formula.

<sup>73</sup> That is how Champagnat will act.

<sup>74</sup> Original idea of the time, typical of secret congregations that envisaged adapting their model, notably to fight against the impious who knew how to group together to do evil.

<sup>75</sup> Pousset highlights the concern of the secret.

souls from God whom he has saved; there would not be anybody who felt such a desire to bring them back to this God of goodness, and to make them believe in his love.

chant of the church, make a precious choice among them of young persons that I will form in the exercise of zeal<sup>76</sup>; if it ever pleases God to call me to the pastoral charge I will make a search of the most useful establishments that will exist and, conforming to the circumstances of the time, of places and of persons, I will neglect nothing in procuring for my people such great means of salvation.<sup>77</sup> Alas! The enemies of the church unite, the partisans of the world gather together, the academies of sciences establish themselves everywhere, and for God in the view of making him glorified one would not find the men and especially the priests who employ all the faculties that God has given them to oppose a rampart to irreligion and to the corruption of morals that disfigures all and ravages the heritage of the father of the family<sup>78</sup>! A priest animated with this spirit of zeal could convert all his confrères into apostles.

Despise the approval of men and have only God in view.

I will never forget that the spirit of domination, of vanity, of readiness, of desire for the esteem and the approval of men, corrupts the best intentions, and that God only blesses the project and undertakings of humble, simple, gentle, mortified souls, who count for nothing, who esteem all the world above themselves and whose total confidence is in the goodness of God.

I will apply myself without ceasing to purifying my intentions of any motive of vain glory, and to only having GOD UNIQUELY IN VIEW.

I must however remember here again that the desire to dominate spoils everything, and that God only blesses the designs of humble souls and who strip themselves of everything, placing all their hope in him. Without expanding more on these various means of sanctification that I have just developed, without having to remind myself of the advantages of holy scripture, of what one can draw from spiritual reading every day, from the visit to the Blessed Sacrament, from the recitation of the rosary, I pass to the resolution that I take at this

76 The abbot Lefranc, member of the society of the "friends of the cord" seems to have followed this model with Jeanne Marie Chavoin and her companions.

77 Pousset will thus become the founder of the Sisters of the Holy Family.

78 Frequent reflection in the rules of secret societies at the end of the XVIIIth century.



moment to make four times a year at the renewal of the four seasons the preparation for death, in the manner that follows

**Important practices  
to assure my perseverance**

Annual spiritual retreat in the seminary seen as the crib of priestly life.	Preparation for death four times a year
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Hell is full of people who made good resolutions; but heaven is only for generous souls, who faithfully kept them; what is the priest who in the course of his seminary, at the time of his ordination, or of an extraordinary retreat did not promise to God to live in all the holiness that his vocation demands; but may there be a few that have persevered until the end: in christianis, says Saint Jerome, non quaerantur initia sed finis; Judae laudantur exordia, sed finis proditione damnatur... Paulus mali, sed bene finivit: this reflection makes me tremble; to avoid this danger of laxity and in order that I never forget that in devoting myself to the salvation of others I have before all my soul to save, I promise to make a spiritual retreat each year. I will choose for this holy exercise, as much as circumstances will allow me, the house that has been my crib, and whose walls remind me of former resolutions, and the lessons of holiness that I received long ago: it is to this practice that I see my spiritual advancement, my ecclesiastical regularity, my perseverance, my salvation are all attached, nothing will be able to dispense me of it.

1. I will examine if, with regard to the Masses that one would have given me to fulfil, alms that one would have charged me to distribute, deposits that one would have confided to me, all is in order, all is so well regulated that in the case of an unforeseen death, nothing would be diverted from its destination.
2. I will make my examination of conscience after having read the present resolutions, to take account of myself regarding the fidelity with which I have observed them.
3. I will say the vigil vespers and compline, matins and lauds of the office of the dead and I will prepare the meditation of the following day.
4. Before going to bed, I will throw holy water on my bed in the form of a cross, as is practised on the dead. I will place myself in my bed in the same manner that a body is placed in the coffin, I will put my breviary on my chest, asking myself if I have been a faithful witness to the fervour with which I have recited the holy office; and I will fall asleep in the thought that the bed is the first tomb for the majority of people.
5. In the morning I will go to the church to make my meditation on death.



6. I will celebrate the Holy Mass in the same dispositions that I would want to be to receive the holy viaticum.

7. I will say the small hours of the office of the dead at a convenient time during the morning.

8. After dinner after the reading of a sermon on death and the recitation of vespers of the dead in the evening I will go to the church kneeling in the sanctuary in the same place where deceased priests are placed, I will make as my absolution, occupying my thoughts that are analogous to this touching ceremony.

9. Finally, I will take my rest this day as the vigil with this difference that instead of my breviary I will try to fall asleep holding the cross between my hands. If I do not practise this important exercise four times I will do it at least twice a year.

Preparation for death from time to time

Annual spiritual retreat in the seminary seen as the crib of the priestly life.

I will also be able to make the preparation for death from time to time in the following manner:

1. I will settle everything regarding the retentions of Masses, alms, && so that in the case of a premature death nothing will be diverted from its destination.

2. I will make my examination of conscience and my confession as for the last time of my life.

3. The vigil having said vespers, compline, matins and lauds of the dead; and after having prepared my meditation on death,

As holy as the resolutions that I have just made are, I cannot ignore that they would not set me in the spirit of my vocation if I did not seek the means for making them durable. What is the man, what is the priest, who, at important times of his life, did not make resolutions more strongly motivated, perhaps, than those which I have just made and which one has seen I the follow-up that they give a sad proof to human fickleness! Hell, it is written, is full of good resolutions. But heaven is only for the generous souls who have faithfully kept them.

Saint Jerome expresses this thought in a

I will throw holy water on my bed as on a coffin, and I will fall asleep thinking that the bed is the tomb of the majority of people.

4. After my meditation I will say Mass in the dispositions where I would want to be in receiving the holy viaticum.

5. In the evening after having recited the vespers of the dead I will do my spiritual reading and my visit to the Blessed Sacrament on death.

6. I will fall asleep in the same dispositions as the vigil.

very energetic way when he says: *in christianis non quaerentur initia sed finis*. Who started better than Judas, happier than I, called, instructed by Jesus Christ and yet for more than 1800 years he has been buried in hell. *Judae laudantur exordia sed finis praeditione damnatur paulus male coepit sed bene finivit*.

It is thus so as to not fail against the fatal reef that God made me envisage here that I promise, that I state, I dare say that I nearly swear, to do my retreat regularly every year. I will choose to attend to this exercise as much as the time and the places allow me to in the houses that I call by so many titles my crib<sup>79</sup>; there where so many memories present themselves to my memory! Ah! If I had the misfortune to let them be wiped away I would question the walls of this place and they would answer me. For the rest, it is less a plan of retreat that I form than the proposal to be faithful to a practice that is so important. I will follow the advice of my directors.

Final invocations: may these resolutions remind me of my commitment to live only for God.

"These are, O my God, the general resolutions that I have formed while exempt of all passion, free of all prejudgement, and the heart full of the holiness of my state you inspire in me the desire to be faithful until the last day of my life. If I came one day to fall into laxity, wouldn't these characters that I have traced with my hand have to accuse me and I would find

Such are, O my God, the resolutions that I have formed, while exempt of all passion, free from all prejudgement, you inspire in me the desire to be faithful to you: until the last sigh of my life.

Ah! If ever I was tempted to become lax I would take these resolutions into my hands and I would say to myself: Do you recognise there the characters that your hand

<sup>79</sup> *Mémoires...* op. cit. t. 1 p. 150: the abbot de la Motte and two of his friends "had the custom of meeting at the seminary where they had studied for the retreat of eight days that they did every year."

myself condemned by my own judgement? Will this not be enough of my God, of Mary, of the Saints, of my patrons, of my angel? Would it be that I become myself my judge? And on the last day this blood in which I have traced my name<sup>80</sup> rises against me to demand vengeance? Oh my God, rather that it be like the beginning of that which I desire to shed for the glory of your holy name, and for the salvation of souls: that it be especially a continual admonition of the more particular obligation where I am, devoted to you, mortifying myself, renouncing for you and for the souls everything that I hold dear, to consecrate to you the affections of my heart, to live only for you<sup>81</sup>. Put yourself O my God as the seal to these resolutions, and be my total confidence, my refuge, my consolation, my light, my guide, my support, my salvation; *Ego Dominus et non mutor*

has traced and at the bottom of which the seal of your name has been affixed with your own blood? Is it not enough for you to have as your accuser to hear the reproaches of Mary, of Saint Louis de Gonzaga, of your holy patron, of your guardian angel who are the witnesses of these commitments, would it not be necessary that you become your judge and your executioner, that this blood would rise against you and demand vengeance. Ah! Lord ah! Rather that this blood be the beginning of that which I desire to shed for you, that it be a continual admonition of the more particular obligation where I am called to the service of your altars to renounce all that I have as most dear, to sacrifice all for you, to remain faithful, to carve in indelible characters in my heart these words to be<sup>82</sup> a precious admonition of all that I have just promised *Ego Dominus et non mutior verba mea non praeteribunt*

Brief invocation to Mary.

O Mary you are my mother, I consecrate to you my life and my resolutions, one never invokes you in vain. Watch over me, over the salvation of my soul, amidst so many dangers, over my ministry, over my life, over my death. So be it.

Mary, my good Mother, my tender mother in whom, after God, I put all my confidence, I place these resolutions under your special protection. Remember that no one has ever invoked your help in vain. O Immaculate Virgin, make me faithful to these commitments, show me that you are my mother, and that you do not abandon those who have recourse to you in the sincerity of their heart.

*At Lyons 14<sup>th</sup> June 1812,  
the day when I was ordained a priest."*

*Done at the seminary cf Saint Irénée  
on the 28<sup>th</sup> July 1817  
+ Pierre Louis Pousset priest"*

80 The commitment is thus signed in blood. Mioland's text does not have a signature.

81 This is close in spirit and vocabulary to those of the Marist Formula of 1816.

82 The reading of the word in the manuscript is not sure.

### DOCUMENT 3.

#### List Pousset of the friends of the Cord

The first list could correspond to a first register and a first rule. The second would evoke rather the register corresponding to the new rule.

1 <sup>st</sup> liste pp. 3-4	2 <sup>nd</sup> liste pp. 21-22
<p>+</p> <p><i>Hos in intimo</i></p> <p>MM.</p> <p>Durand J. Baptiste                      St Just en Bas</p> <p>Jacquemin J. Claude                      St Chamond</p> <p>Fontaine J. Marie                      de Beny</p> <p>Paccaud Etienne                      Légnieux</p> <p>Guillot Antoine                      St Just en Bas</p> <p>Drevet Pierre                      Valbenoîte</p> <p>Bourgaud J. Baptiste                      St Etienne</p> <p>Durand Etienne                      St Germain Laval</p> <p>Bernard Jacques                      Marboz</p> <p>Barbier J. Baptiste, Risols ( ?) dioc. Grenoble</p> <p>+ <sup>83</sup> Pichat Louis                      Chavanne sur Furan</p> <p>Perrodin Denis                      Marboz</p> <p>Puittet (ou Puilliet) Jean                      Belmont</p> <p>Grange Martin                      St Georges sur Couzan</p> <p>+ Garel Pierre Marie                      St Martin Lestra</p> <p>Richarme Michel                      Rive de Gier</p> <p>Cattet J. François                      Neuville</p> <p><b>Lefranc J. Philibert</b>                      Cours</p> <p>+ Roche J. Bapt.                      St Just en Bas</p> <p>Bertheas Rambert                      La Fouillouse</p> <p>Coignet Martin                      Tarantaise</p> <p>Siméon J. Baptiste                      Chevières</p> <p>+ Crépet Claude                      Chazelles sur Lyon</p> <p>Charretier Benoît                      Chazelles sur Lyon</p>	<p><b>Pichat Félix</b>                      Chavanne sur Furan</p> <p>Tarpin J. Louis                      Lyon</p> <p>Pelossieux Antoine</p> <p><b>Collin Pierre</b></p> <p>+ Arnaud Jean</p> <p>Morel J. Claude</p> <p>Minot Jean Louis</p> <p>Guillot Guillaume                      Ste Agathe</p> <p>Peronnet J. Marie                      Violay</p> <p>Ducray Louis Ennemond                      Dioc. D' Autun</p> <p>Jambon Charles Guillaume                      Pont de Veyle</p> <p>Darnand François                      Marboz</p> <p>Mayet J. Claude                      St Claude</p> <p>Villecourt Clément                      Lyon</p> <p>Plasse Jean                      Sury ( ?)</p> <p><b>Gilbert J. Ant(oine)</b>                      Farney</p> <p>Magdinier Pierre Marie                      Ste Agathe</p> <p>Petit Louis                      St Domingue</p> <p>+ Berlier Ant. Charl. Aimé                      Lyon</p> <p><b>Charles Maurice</b>                      Amplepuis</p> <p>Simon Georges Gabriel                      St Bonnet le Courau</p> <p>Picon Ant. François                      St Etienne</p> <p>Josserand Jean Marie                      Curciat</p> <p>Poncet Bernard Benoît                      St Didier</p> <p>Loras Mathias                      Lyon</p> <p>Caran J. Bte.                      St Georges</p> <p>Guillermet Philibert                      Ampuis</p> <p>Delupé (de Lupé) Aug. M.F.                      Lyon</p>

83 The cross signifies that the person has died.

## THE "FRIENDS OF THE CORD" IN THE SEMINARY OF SAINT IRÉNÉE

Laffay Jean	St Bonnet	Pater Vincent	Lyon
De St Jean Jean François	St Romain de Popey	Horand Denis	Lyon
Ville Joseph	St Martin en Haut	Chirat Charles	Lyon
Pastre Jean Louis	Fenestrelles	Boutan J. Bap(tis)te	St Etienne
+ Dutour Jean-Baptiste	Bessenay	Blanc Ant(oine)	Sury le Comtal
Vial Michel	Ste Colombe	Loire Pierre	Violey
Combe Jean Marie	St Didier	Crozet Jacques Marie	Néronde
Breuil J. Bapt.	Montbrison	Mangon Claude	St Didier
Nicod J. François	Bourg	Derorry Michel Christophe	D. de Trente
<b>Cholleton Jean</b>	St Marcel de Fél(ines)	Dujart Antoine	Lyon
Denoyel J. Claude	Fleurieux sur A.	Deville Claude	St Etienne
Néel Barthélemy	Meys	Corsain Pierre	Bourg
Mioland J. Marie	Lyon	<b>Pousset Pierre</b>	Cordelle
Greppo J. Gabriel Honoré	Lyon	Privat Pierre	Lyon
Prêher François	Chandon (?)	Brunon J. Bte	Rochetaillée
		Champion Joseph	Poncin
		Froget Pierre	
		<b>Orcel Jacques</b>	
		Blanchard Jean Marie	
		Gabriel Aug. Ambroise	
		Magand (?)	
		Magnard	
		Portier	
		Quiblier etc	



# *Document*

## *Inspector Guillard*

### *When the University Regents Backed the Congregations*

**Br. André LANFREY, fms**

In Chapter 8 of the *Life* of the Founder Brother Jean-Baptiste writes about the founding of the first schools: Lavalla, Marlhès, Saint-Sauveur-en-Rue, Bourg-Argental. In Chapters 11 and 12 he recalls the conflicts which the founding had to undergo in its early years. Besides Brother Jean-Baptiste, who reconstitutes belatedly the history of the first years of the Society of Mary at the Hermitage, we are fortunate to have another separate source: the reports of the Academic Inspector Guillard who visited the first Marist schools in 1820 and 1822. These were discovered by Brother Pierre Zind<sup>1</sup> and they have been transcribed in *Marist Origins* (doc. 65 and 75). While researching in Clermont-Ferrand I came across some letters of this person by chance, which prompted me to look up his dossier in the National Archives.<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, in the following pages, I intend to shed better light on the career of a functionary whose actions seem to have had a real importance on Marist origins.

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1 "Contribution to a resumption of research on the origins of the Little Brothers of Mary," 1st publication in the *Bulletin of the Institute*, 1955, t.XXI and XXII. Texts reprinted in the notebook, *In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat*, Rome 2001, presented by Brother Henri Vignau, c.g., t.1, pp.153-167.

2 My dossier, then, is based on: 1° Archives of the Clermont diocese, JO/1/60 and K4/8/68, 2 letters from Guillard to Bishop Duval de Dampierre, the first on 15 July 1816; the second, much more interesting, on 18 July 1822. 2° National Archives, F17/20903, Guillard's administrative dossier.

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## I. A NEBULOUS CONGREGATION

In 1820 primary education exists under “the era of the local celebrities.”<sup>3</sup> Since the edict of 1816 the State had neither the men nor the money to create and control primary education, so it turned the founding and management of the schools over to the mayors and pastors. Supervising these establishments is assigned to a district committee which proposes appointments and sanctions to the Rector of the Academy. Every teacher, public and private, must have a warrant of good conduct, a certificate of competency, and the Rector’s authorization.

Eager to know the school network which theoretically depends on the University and to hunt down the clandestine public and private schools, Guillard visits the district of Saint-Genest-Malifaux (OM1, doc. 65, pp.253f) in May 1820. About the Marists he notes that in Marllhes the teacher Moyne,<sup>4</sup> deceased, has been replaced by “Sieur Audras,” who is none other than Brother Louis, Headmaster of the first school founded by Father Champagnat; Brother Louis is not yet authorized by the Rector, but is simply accepted by the district committee. Guillard adds that in Lavalla, outside the district, the Assistant Pastor, namely Father Champagnat, is running a school with several teachers which could harm the surrounding schools.<sup>5</sup> But Guillard cannot get there because the roads are too bad.

If Guillard meets Marists in 1820 in Marllhes without naming them, in Spring 1822 (OM1 doc.75) his visit to the districts of Bourg-Argental, Saint-Chamond, Feurs and Charlieu gives him the chance to discover the Marist network. In Bourg-Argental he reports that the lay teacher has no more students for Latin and that the town has given the status of town teachers to three Brothers from Lavalla to whom the Rector has just given authorization. In Saint-Sauveur he also finds two Brothers backed by the town authorities and with authorization of the Rector.<sup>6</sup> He visits Lavalla on April 26 and notices that the Pastor is unhappy with his Assistant who is not teaching Latin pupils but 12 to 15 young peasants whom he is training in the Brothers’ method. He visits their establishment and finds it poor and even dirty but he makes no reference to a school. Warned that he must comply with the University and Church superiors, Father Champagnat declares that he is waiting “for the tree to take root.”

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3 Antoine Prost, *L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967*. Armand Colin, 1970, pp.91f.

4 He is the one who taught Father Champagnat for a while.

5 Complaint of the Headmaster of the school in Saint-Chamond, exaggerated but not without basis: Father Champagnat does have a few Latin students.

6 One is Barthélemy Badard (Brother Barthélemy), born in 1804. See *Life*, p.67. The other is Jean-Marie Granjon.



At Feurs in May Guillard notices that the Pastor, president of the local school board which supervises the schools, gets along very well with the Pastor at Epercieux (Courveille) who pretends that he is the superior general of the two Brothers there, who run a school opened on February 25 and of those in Lavalla whose superior, it seems, is only an agent.

Finally, when he visits Charlieu in the northern part of the Loire department, Guillard discovers that "Sieur Grizard," former DeLaSalle Christian Brother, whom the Rector has just authorized and who receives 300 francs from the town, has an Assistant Principal under him and some 30 to 40 pupils. Furthermore, "he is training novices the way they do in Lavalla."

Guillard, therefore, has discovered a congregation, clandestine in the eyes of the University and Church authorities. If the schools he visited are not in danger because they are backed by the local authorities, the houses in Lavalla and Charlieu are clandestine novitiates which the Rector can close down.

Guillard's report seems to have unleashed Father Bochard's actions in Lavalla and Charlieu and raised the fear of dispersing the infant congregation. (cf. Bourdin's memo *OM* doc. 754 and *Life*, ch.11, p.121). In fact, the Vicar General, like a good administrator, and probably at the suggestion of the Rector's office to put some order in his house, wants to unify this nebulous congregation into a diocesan one under his authority.<sup>7</sup> Besides, Marist sources speak elsewhere of the pressure he put on Father Champagnat to do this. He seems to have pressured Grizard also.

Paradoxically, it is the University that presented the least danger, because circumstances favored teaching congregations: in February 1820, shortly before Guillard's first visit, the assassination of the Duc de Berry filled France with horror. Republican plots and insurrections almost everywhere seem to threaten social order. Since the end of 1821 an Ultra government launches the union of throne and altar. Right after the final version of Guillard's report on June 1, 1822, Bishop Frayssinous, a Sulpician, became Grand Master of the University, accrediting the idea that the clergy, with the government's permission, wants to control the heart of the University.

A zealous but prudent functionary, Guillard in his report weighs the pros and cons: must we suppress or tolerate this congregation? In the final analysis he sends his decision to the Rector and even suggests that the King's Council, controlling head of the University, be consulted. The

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<sup>7</sup> This is the opinion of both Pierre Zind and myself. Cf. *The New Congregations of Teaching Brothers in France from 1800 to 1830*. Le Montet, 1969, pp.213f.

Rector in Lyons, Father D'Regel, seems to have followed the advice to go easy (OM1 doc.77). In a letter to Bishop Frayssinous on 4 October 1822, he says he is working towards authorizing a congregation of Brothers, whom he doesn't name, which could be the Marists and the Brothers of Grizard all confused as one.

Here we have, then, in broad strokes a dossier previously revealed by Brother Pierre Zind, and whose documents are assembled in *OM*. Besides making known a project for an educational society still nebulous (Lavalla, Feurs-Epercieux, Charlieu), he shows that in 1822 the University is basically in favor of establishing congregations, provided these are willing to accept State and especially Church control.

But this long recall, which does not pretend to add anything new, has only one purpose: to allow us to better situate the author of the report which seems to have revealed the Marist project and its diverse interpretations.

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## **2. CLAUDE GUILLARD, A PRECOCIOUS AND EVENTFUL CAREER**

His administrative dossier, essentially constituted by himself, according to the documents he composes at various dates offers some non-negligible variants, easily explainable by his concern to agree as best he can with the doctrine of the authorities—and his correspondent—in charge at the time he is writing.

Born 15 February 1776 in Mâcon (Saône et Loire) 70 km north of Lyons, he studied perhaps at the city school.<sup>8</sup> He pretends, that in 1791, i.e. at age 15, he had been one of the first clerks in the Saône-et-Loire departmental administration. He is then Regent at the school in Marcigny beginning in November 1792, but when he is laid off he will not be able to account for his presence there before 2 Frimaire Year 2, namely, 22 November 1793. He himself declares he was hidden in the Mâconnais countryside from 1794 to 1797, educating the nephews or grand-nephews of the Count of Précý, defender of Lyons in 1793. In his letter dated 28 November 1831 he speaks of the “forced interruption” of his services in 1794,

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<sup>8</sup> One document in his dossier presents him under the name of “Guillard Junior” and when he signs he seems to add to his name the letters “je” [jeune], possible abbreviation for Junior. It would be easy enough to consult the departmental archives of Mâcon to add to the dossier. But is it worth the trouble?

indicating that the Revolution caused him severe losses, but no specifics are given. Probably subject to the draft, in 1798 he is secretary to General Fressinet in the Army in Italy. On 1 November 1799, at age 23, he re-opens the school in Marcigny. The school supposedly thrived, counting from 90 to 120 students, 55 to 60 of them boarders coming from various departments.

Between 1799 and 1809 Guillard becomes owner of the school. He benefits from the law of Floréal Year 10 (1 May 1802) which organizes the public secondary schools but recognizes a private secondary sector run either by the town or by individuals.<sup>9</sup> His establishment is recognized as a secondary school by the decree of the 1<sup>st</sup> Consul on 5 Frimaire Year XI (1803) and in 1809 it receives the title of school. We can believe that during these same years Guillard gets a Doctorate in Letters and marries Jeanne-Marie Françoise Touzet, born 28 November 1775 in Marcigny. They will have three children, the last of whom is not yet settled in 1831.

From this precocious and eventful career the Administration will retain only the proven activities:

from 22 November 1793 (2 Frimaire Year 2) to 1 November 1794: Regency at the school in Marcigny, namely 11 months 8 days.

from 1 November 1794 to 1 November 1799: "voluntary interruption of services, Mr. Guillard having given private lessons." Not counted as years of service.

From 1 November 1799 to 6 September 1809, Headmaster and Director of the secondary school in Marcigny, namely 9 years, 11 months, 6 days.

*The Atlas of the French Revolution*<sup>10</sup> confirms the existence of a school in 1789 in Marcigny, a small locality of some few thousand inhabitants, located 30 km north of the city of Roanne and 25 km south of Paray-le-Monial. It is a secular school and has only one teacher. It seems comparable to the one in St-Sauveur-en-Rue which Marcellin Champagnat attended, probably giving basic education and some notions of Latin. In 1812 there are three teachers, which confirms what Guillard says about the relative prosperity of the school.

As for Louis-François Perrin de Précý (1742-1820), whose nephews Guillard says he educated, he is one of the symbols of the resistance to

<sup>9</sup> This law seems to give an award to the schools that have at least one hundred boarders.

<sup>10</sup> RF Atlas, 2, Teaching, 1760-1815. Editions of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. Paris, 1988, p.101.

the Jacobin tyranny. A career soldier, in 1791 he is lieutenant-colonel in the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI. Consequently, on 10 August 1792 he takes part in the defense of the Tuileries palace attacked by the sans-culottes who put an end to the royalty on that day. Since Précý retires then to Semur-en-Brionnais, right next to Marcigny, it is very understandable that Guillard became his nephews' tutor. That is where the Lyonnais Federalists come to get the Count to have him defend their city which revolted against the Jacobins of Paris. After the two-month siege, he will succeed in getting to Switzerland, then to Germany, where he will serve as a royalist agent. In 1814 Louis XVIII will make him a lieutenant general and commander of the National Guard of Lyons. Guillard, then, had useful connections in royalist circles. Perhaps he himself was kept from the departmental administration of Saône-et-Loire because of his royalist or at least Federalist choices.

Therefore, even if our dossier has nothing precise on the family origins of Guillard and leaves many shadow areas on his early career, we have enough other means to check and validate his career as he gives it.

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### **3. AN ACTIVE AND AMBITIOUS FUNCTIONARY**

It is at the end of 1809 that Guillard's career takes a turn: from 6 September to 14 December 1809, the Administration notes an interruption of 3 months 8 days following his dismissal as school Headmaster. Then, from 14 December 1809 to 10 November 1831, namely for 21 years 10 months and 26 days, Guillard is Inspector for the Academies of Clermont, then Lyons. The total time, then, for his proven services is 32 years 9 months and 10 days, which entitles him to a pension equal to  $\frac{3}{5}$ <sup>th</sup> of the pay he got during the last three years of his career, plus  $\frac{1}{20}$ <sup>th</sup> per year above that. His pension, therefore, is 2170 francs.

There appear to be two reasons why Guillard went from the status of independent teacher to that of mid-level functionary: on the one hand, the creation of an imperial University; on the other hand, Guillard's ambition—not to say arrivisme. Guillard pretends that the law of 10 May 1806 which establishes the University is a threat to him, perhaps because the private schools have to obtain an authorization from the Grand Master, showing adequate financing and contributing a fee per student of equal to  $\frac{1}{20}$ <sup>th</sup> of the total cost of room and board. Besides, the public schools divert part of the private school clientele to themselves.

But there is something else: as early as 1806 Guillard seems to have presented to Fourcroy a legal proposal which would have inspired the fa-

mous law of May 10 creating an imperial University and Fourcroy would have promised him the envied post of Inspector General of the University. Guillard seems likewise to have proposed to the government a plan of education inspiring the decree of 17 March 1808 which organizes the University as a lay corporation with a Grand Master, a Council of 30 members, Rectors at the head of the Academies. That proposal would have gained Guillard the same promise from Fontanes, Grand Master of the new University.

On the faith of these promises Guillard would then have sold his goods somewhat devalued by the creation of the University and handed in his resignation. We can suppose that he then went up to Paris between September and December 1809 to promote his cause at the Ministry. He receives only a reward much below his ambitions: the title of Academy Inspector which makes him a second-level functionary and he will spend the rest of his career craving for the post of Academy Rector without ever obtaining it.

He attributes these failures to the fact that many arrivistes have obtained these higher posts he craved without having his qualities. That is certainly true. Nonetheless, his faux pas at the time of the change in régime seem to count heavily in the sort of administrative stagnation in which he sulks. Thus, a letter from Bishop Duval de Dampierre<sup>11</sup> of Clermont on 18 July 1822 recalls a talk Guillard gave on 27 August 1814 at the beginning of the First Restoration, probably at the distribution of prizes at the Clermont lycée in favor of religion and legitimacy. He adds: "Impiety has labeled that a crime, and that was one of the reasons that prevented me from being named Rector under the disastrous government we had for six years."<sup>12</sup> It is perhaps this talk, subsequently printed, that alienates Guillard from Clermont and attracts the Administration's wrath on him in 1831.

In June 1815 Guillard made another mistake, but the other way: just before Waterloo, which happens on June 18, he presents his *curriculum vitae* to the Grand Master of the University, Mr. de Lacépède, without a doubt to obtain a higher post from the imperial government.<sup>13</sup>

11 Archives of the bishopric of Clermont, K4-8/68.

12 Guillard aims here at the governments of the Restoration administration, too liberal in the eyes of the Ultras.

13 Mr. de Lacépède is a civil servant of the Empire. Since Guillard does not refer to his tutoring of Précý's nephews and showcases his own services to the Empire, we can think that the text dates before June 18, the date of Waterloo. Besides, the first government of the Second Restoration is established only on July 7.

From August 1815 to the end of the year he works as Prefecture secretary, the Prefect being busy demobilizing the French troops and negotiating with the foreign troops pillaging the department. In 1816 the Second Restoration names him Academy Inspector for Lyons. We can interpret this appointment as a modest promotion as well as an exile.

Guillard seems, therefore, typical of those functionaries which served the Republic, the Empire, then the Restoration, showing, like most of them, competence and...successive loyalties. Not high enough in the social hierarchy to use high places advantageously and to have his turnabouts forgiven, Guillard is therefore relegated to a relatively subaltern position: under the Empire because he was close to the royalist milieux and under the Restoration because he served the Empire. A notable lack of appropriateness in the positions he took at critical moments gives the impression of a man more driven and ambitious than profoundly intelligent.

When he reports on his visits to the districts where the Marists begin to show, he is then a zealous, ambitious and competent functionary who seems to be always expecting a position as Rector. Even in 1827 he requests to replace Rector D'Regel, sick and absent, in case he doesn't return.

But there is a new and embarrassing matter: his son-in-law Alexis Montandon has been editor-in-chief of the newspaper *The Precursor* which the Lyons police considered as "devoted to revolutionary doctrines." Guillard justifies himself by recalling that Mr. Rusand, ultra-royalist book dealer and editor, was going to name this Montandon executor of his affairs, but he finally preferred his own son-in-law. In 1828 and 1829 Guillard, sick, has to take two leaves in the middle of the year for water cures in Aix.<sup>14</sup>

When the 1830 Revolution breaks out in July, he is still Academy Inspector. He who served so many régimes does not manage to enter into favor with the Orleanist government: on 10 November 1831, a little more than a year after the July 1830 Revolution, the Minister calls him to prove his right to retirement and pension by invoking two points: his health and the worth of his service. Guillard contests these two reasons but that changes nothing, and he starts receiving his pension on 29 November 1831 without having been appointed Honorary Rector nor member of the Academic Council. He finds his pension of 2170 francs too modest. On 22 July 1836 he says he is retiring to Brassac in Auvergne. On 20 May 1837, not having been

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<sup>14</sup> Aix-les-Bains, in Savoy.

able to take the cold climate of Auvergne he announces he is going to relocate to Lyons. He dies on 4 January 1845. His wife then benefits from part of his pension (732.20 francs). She dies on 4 February 1852.

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### **CONCLUSION: A TIME OF STABILITY BETWEEN TWO WORLDS**

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The career of this second-tier character gives us a better look into the political and religious instability in which our Brothers lived their daily lives, as well as those people placed high enough to get jobs but too low to influence events. The latter show us the obsession to climb, forever thwarted by changing situations. Their supple behavior and idealogical relativism are not always sufficient to win them the good graces of the reigning régimes, for their administrative dossiers go with them and their affiliation with a powerful protector in a certain régime compromises them with the next one.

Jean-Baptiste Champagnat, the Founder's father, lived this harsh law of successive régimes violently opposed during the Revolution and he seems to have lost his luck. Father Champagnat and the first Marists seem to have had better luck in the religious sphere: thus, first encouraged then denied by the diocesan administration during the term of Cardinal Fesch, they have the good luck of seeing themselves suddenly, with the arrival of Bishop De Pins, on the side of the winners. In 1830 it is the opposite: they are drawn into the disgrace of this same prelate whom the new régime watches closely, waiting to be able to replace him by Bishop de Bonald at the death of Cardinal Fesch in 1839. Bishop de Pins will never be archbishop of Lyons, just as Guillard never was able to become Rector. Likewise, Father Champagnat, superior of the Hermitage, will not become superior of the Society of Mary.

We must not forget, in fact, that from the beginning Courveille and Champagnat find themselves more or less consciously in the ultra-royalist current which allows them not to suffer the wrath of the University abetting religious education, and even education by religious congregations. Father Champagnat seems afterwards to have distanced himself somewhat from this ideology in the last years of the Restoration. That is why his congregation will get through the very turbulent phase of the 1830 Revolution without much difficulty. Establishing the *Salve Regina* at that date signifies notably that the congregation does not have to choose between the Bourbon dynasty and the Orleans dynasty because it recognizes only one royalty: that of Mary.



Nevertheless, we should stress the very important fact of this revolution which halts the work of the rechristianization of France by the Throne and the Altar and causes an aggressive return of revolutionary spirit in the first years of the July Monarchy. Especially, this revolution is the occasion for a deep and lasting reworking of administrative cadres, those functionaries compromised with the preceding régime losing their post, by forcing their anticipated retirement like Guillard or blocking their career.

Besides the fact that his own idea of the Society of Mary will not predominate, Father Champagnat will suffer, partially, the consequences of this new political climate by not obtaining the authorization of his congregation, despite persevering efforts. On the other hand, he will benefit from the consequences of the school policy which, by the Guizot law of 1833, requires every township to establish a school for boys as well as the simultaneous method: that of the De LaSalle Christian Brothers and of the Little Brothers of Mary, laicized under the name of simultaneous-mutual method. But that same law, while foreseeing the establishment of a Normal School for Boys in every department, prepares to replace the private societies of education by State teachers, and finally their elimination in 1903.

The years 1820-1830, then, are for the Little Brothers of Mary the Guillard years: years blessed for the congregations, at a time when the University functions like a quasi-congregation strongly tied still to the spirit of the Ancien Régime and thus able to understand the usefulness of those groups which are being born a little everywhere to respond to the need for Christian education without clearly realizing the political implications of their action. After 1830 the congregations will no longer be able to nourish such a feeling of innocence: education will have become a social and political problem and they will have to choose sides.



**DOCUMENT I .**  
**(National Archives F17/20903)**

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*As is said in the above commentary, this document would have compromised Guillard during the Restoration, for it shows Guillard's offer to work for the Empire provisionally restored during the Hundred Days. After 1830 the document is somewhat favorable, the July Monarchy pretending to inherit the spirit of the revolution, notably by reestablishing the tricolor flag, and not nursing any hostility towards the imperial régime. We will note that Guillard does not mention here that he had been the tutor of the nephews or grand-nephews of the Count of Précý. Nor does he recall his support, outstanding though it was, for the First Restoration.*

*In the Second Restoration this document will be held against him.*

**“N°3<sup>15</sup> Inspector Guillard's Resume**

Twenty-three years of work in public education, namely: 18 years as teacher and then Director of a secondary school or Headmaster of a private school, in Marcigny, school which was the biggest in the Saône-et-Loire department and of most of the neighboring departments; then 5 years as Inspector of the Clermont Academy, in charge of the public ministry since its creation, having often filled the functions of Rector, and habitually directed the offices of the Academy.

He is president of the accounting section of the academic Council.

He was especially charged with the close supervision of the Clermont lycée on which he made weekly reports to H(is) Exc(ellency)<sup>16</sup> for the execution of general education n° 110.

He suffered great losses during the revolution; and, most recently, establishing the University has cost him more than 24,000 francs on the sale of a house he had acquired in the hope of obtaining the rewards proposed in the law of 11 Floréal Year ten.

He presented various projects for laws and regulations which have been well received, namely: one to Mr. Fourcroy on 3 October 1807, from which more than 40 articles are found in the constitutional decree of March 17 following; another to Mr. de Fontanes on 21 July 1808, and which is in several points like that of the decree of September 17 of that same year; finally, other works relative to the organization of the University, 9 Octo-

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<sup>15</sup> This is the number given in the supporting documents presented by Guillard.

<sup>16</sup> The Grand Master of the University.

ber 1807, 29 June and 16 August 1808, and 30 March 1809.

Proofs of all these facts must exist in the University offices.

N(ot)a. This document was presented to Mr. de Lacépède, Gr(and) M(aster) of the University, in the month of June 1815.

Identical copy.

Lyons, 28 November 1831

Guillard”

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## **DOCUMENT 2.**

**(Archives of the Bishopric of Clermont, K4/8/68)**

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To Bishop Duval de Dampierre, Bishop of Clermont

*We will note that this letter was written right after the report on the schools in the Loire. It is marvelously adapted to the political conjuncture of the moment marked by the Church's taking control of the University, symbolized by the nomination of the Bishop of Hermopolis (Frayssinous) to the Ministry of Public Education. Guillard, therefore, exploits his Church relations in order to get on the list of capable people following the party line. We note that his rhetoric is typically Ultra, invoking God, religion and Legitimacy, well-thinking people, and good principles.*

“Lyons, 18 July 1822

Your Excellency

Thanks to God, we are now governed by a new Grand Master, to the great joy of all good Frenchmen friends of religion and of Legitimacy.<sup>17</sup> You know, Your Excellency, that I have always professed<sup>18</sup> these sentiments (sic), and you heard me express these in a lecture I gave on 27 August 1814.

In exchange for the circular letter of the Bishop of Hermopolis, I sent H(is) Exc(ellency) a copy of this speech, and I took the liberty of say-

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<sup>17</sup> Namely, the legitimate dynasty: the older branch of the Bourbons.

<sup>18</sup> Guillard puts himself very forward. We have seen that he served the Republic and the Empire.

ing you had approved it; but I did not quote your own words, in the hope that Your Highness would deign to do it yourself. In leaving this distribution of awards, you shook my hand, Your Excellency, and you had the kindness to tell me: "You spoke, dear friend, as I myself would have wanted to."

A few people who heard these words asked for a copy of my speech and it was printed, thinking that it would be useful to the students and acceptable to their right-thinking parents (sic). Impiety called it a crime, and that is one of the reasons that prevented me from being named Rector, under the disastrous administration we have had for the past six years.<sup>19</sup> Should not this same reason today cause an opposite effect, under an administration which wants and must appoint only men professing both sound religious and political principles?

No doubt you think the way I do, Your Excellency; but, for this to happen it is indispensable that these men be known, and I am honored to be so known, thanks to you, by Bishop Frayssinous, our new head. Be kind enough, then, I beg you, to write him a word in my favor, pointing out to him that you saw me, from the month of January 1810 up to 10 June 1816 fulfill the functions of Inspector and often those of Rector, to the satisfaction of all good people, & notably yours, etc.; then, ending with a recommendation to H(is) Exc(ellency) to give me the promotion, insofar as he will be able to have some superior position for a lay person.<sup>20</sup>

If you do me such a big favor, Bishop, I can hope for a similar one from the B(ishop) of Autun<sup>21</sup> and other noteworthy people: but (given<sup>22</sup>) the time I lived in your diocese, it is up to your highness to enlighten Bishop Frayssinous' religious thinking on my score, and I dare flatter myself that you will not refuse this favor to one who is with the most profound respect

Your Highness's  
Very humble and very obedient servant  
Guillard, Inspector for the Academy of Lyons"

19 Namely, a liberal régime, embodied by the Duc Decazes.

20 Significant passage: Guillard accepts Church tutelage.

21 Guillard, then, has kept up his relations in Saône-et-Loire, the department he came from.

22 This word is missing in the original.

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**DOCUMENT 3.**  
**(National Archives, F17/20903)**

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*Evidently Guillard knows why he has been told to retire: he has compromised himself too much with the Restoration, and the new regime has its own men to place. His letter aims especially at asking for a retirement offering him the best pecuniary and honorary compensation. A letter from the Rector of Lyons to the Minister on 5 March 1832 suggests that Guillard be named Honorary Rector. As for giving him a seat on the academic Council, he advises to wait for a vacancy. But he adds: "I judge it proper and perhaps prudent to wait until time has shown what position Mr. Guillard will take vis-à-vis the Academy."*

*The administration's position, then, is clear: leave Guillard some hope on condition that his political attitude be judged satisfactory. Since it seems that he never obtained the titles he requested, we can conclude that, this time, he made no effort to ingratiate himself.*

**"UNIVERSITY OF FRANCE**  
**Academy of Lyons**

N° 3384

With a statement of service & five supporting documents

Lyons, 28 November 1831

Sir Minister,

A letter from my Rector informs me that, by your decision of the tenth of this month, I am permitted to present my rights to retirement.

After forty years of service in public instruction,<sup>23</sup> service in which I have been praised continually by my superiors, without ever having been reproached and knowing that I have never deserved any, I was far from expecting a severe measure which stops me short, in spite of myself, in my career, at an age when, no longer able to enter another, I was still able to serve usefully in the one to which I had given my life.

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<sup>23</sup> Guillard does not hesitate to exaggerate somewhat. At most, he could state 38 years: 1793-1831.

The measure inflicted on me is based 1° On the habitual state of my health; 2° On the best interest of the service.

Should I not have been heard on these reasons before being judged?

If it is true that my health has somewhat changed in 1827 and 1828; this change was due to the overwork imposed on me by the situation at the Academy: at that time, alone for ten and a half months, I fulfilled the functions of Rector, secretary, and two Inspectors (because Mr. Mayeure (?) who was given me as colleague was not able to serve, being more sick than I). When each position was filled, I obtained a leave towards the middle of 1828 and 1829 to take a water cure at Aix<sup>24</sup> where I spent twice the allocation of 750 francs which had been given me. Since then my health has been perfectly restored, and I have fulfilled with as much thoroughness and zeal all the functions assigned to me.

I never thought this circumstance of my life could inspire a mark of discontent!

With regard to the second reason: the best interest of the service, I confess that I don't understand. If I had been told where and how this service could be improved, perhaps I would have done as much as anybody else.

In spite of these justified objections, Sir Minister, in spite of the positive promises of promotion which have been given me several times, and most recently by Minister Duc de Broglie,<sup>25</sup> I am resigned, filled with the duty to obey, to all the severity of the measure which afflicts me, trusting in the guarantee which you have been kind enough to give the Rector that you would consider my lengthy and honorable service, and that you would take into account my years of work before the existence of the University as well as the forced interruption of teaching in 1794 (sic).<sup>26</sup> This disposition, filled with justice and goodness promises me a retirement pension equal to the salary I have received for the past 22 years,<sup>27</sup> and leaves me fear no interruption between the end of this salary and the start of my pension.

Such a hope alone can sustain me in the prospect of the needs which the future threatens: the modest rankings given my functions, far from compensating me for the losses which the Revolution and the University

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<sup>24</sup> Aix-les-Bains, in Savoy, some hundred kilometers from Lyons.

<sup>25</sup> One of the main representatives of Orleanism.

<sup>26</sup> The end of the sentence is hard to understand: Guillard seems to want to say that he expects them to consider, not only his University career, but also the years 1794-99 during which the Revolution forced him to interrupt his teaching activities.

<sup>27</sup> He earns 3000 francs per year. He will receive only part of that amount.

made me suffer (document n° 1) have barely covered my expenses, those of my wife and the education of my three children, one of whom is still not settled. You would not want, Sir Minister, to leave in a state bordering on misery, the oldest of the academic Inspectors of France, a civil servant to whom you show respect, who long ago would no longer be a simple Inspector if he had decided, like so many others, to pester repeatedly those in charge, and to praise his services instead of going about doing them.<sup>28</sup>

I venture to beg you, furthermore, to name me Honorary Rector of the Academy of Lyons, or Honorary Inspector General (as this has been done for several University officials) and to keep me as a Member of the Academic Council so that, as long as I have the strength, I can devote it to this body of which I will always be proud to have been a part.

If I do not obtain what I am asking for, I beg you, by this letter, Sir Minister, to allow me to meet with you personally: I would prove to you conclusively that your awareness has been surprised.

I am with the deepest respect,  
Sir Minister,  
Your very humble and obedient servant

Guillard

N(ot)a. I would have sent these documents earlier if I had not had to have them notarized.”

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<sup>28</sup> Apparently, Guillard does not hesitate to importune those in charge.