

# MARIST notebooks



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**Marist Notebooks:**

The Marist Notebooks aim to disseminate documents and research on the origins, spirituality, development and expansion of the Marist Institute in the world. It addresses studies on the Society of Mary, historical personalities and themes that characterize the apostolic mission of the Marist Brothers. The production of the content is a collaborative work made by several authors. It is printed in four languages: Spanish, French, English and Portuguese.

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**Cover photos:** Br. Paul Sester and the covers of the first issue of Marist Notebooks

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Cover photos: Br. Paul Sester and the covers of the first issue of Marist Notebooks

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## EDITORIAL

This issue of Marist Notebooks is marked by its treatment of two quite different events: one event related to our history and the other of international significance. This year we Marists celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of Marist Notebooks, the first edition of which appeared in June 1990. It is, then, a noteworthy year for those with a particular interest in our Marist tradition and who are engaged in keeping it alive and making it better known. The year 2020 also saw the passing of the founder and first editor of Marist Notebooks, Br Paul Sester. Our sadness is somewhat lightened by the knowledge that his legacy lives on.

Obviously, the second major event is the pandemic which has disrupted our normal preparation method for Marist Notebooks: the usual meeting of the Patrimony Commission in June in Rome was replaced by a videoconference in September, chaired by Br Antonio Ramalho and organised by Brs An-

gel Medina and Oscar. At that meeting we took the decision to continue publishing Marist Notebooks in four languages. The pandemic context prompted two articles (by Brs Patricio Pino and André Lanfrey) that touch on health issues and epidemic dangers that the Institute has had to confront in the course of its history.

But the inclusion of these articles concerning health, which explore some important things, is only the first focus of this issue. We also wanted to commemorate the thirty years of the journal in a diverse and creative way. First of all, there is a feature article by Francisco J. Flores Sanchez (Chile) in which he critiques the concept of Marist spiritual patrimony and proposes an alternative; then a note on Br Paul Sester (by Br André Lanfrey) that recalls his long career in the service of the Institute and more particularly his role as a pioneer in Marist scholarship. Also, we have included a note on Fr Bernard Bourtot SM (1940-2020),

the author of two works on the history of relations between the Marist Fathers and Marist Brothers. Finally, an index to Marist Notebooks Nos. 1-38 offers researchers an overview of the authors, themes and articles treated in this journal between 1990 and 2020.

A third focus of this issue comprises two complementary contributions related to the history of the Institute: first, the second part of the 'History of the Constitutions of the Marist Brothers until 1903', by Br Antonio Martínez Estaún; then a contribution by Br André Lanfrey concerning an article on the Marist Brothers published in 1858 by the Catholic newspaper *L'Univers*, at the time when Br François was in Rome trying to obtain canonical recognition for the Institute. It was

undoubtedly the first document to present the Institute to the general public but one which, in the short term, had the effect of disrupting the negotiations that Br François had in hand.

Finally, two unrelated texts. Angelo Ricordi's article can be placed in the field of spirituality. In his focus on Br Nestor, he sheds light on a Superior who has been overlooked too often and to an important element in Marist spirituality: devotion to the Sacred Heart. Br Emilien Twagirayesu, in a more academic style, addresses a new subject for our journal: Marist higher education.

In short, we are not offering a set of readings for a time of crisis, but rather Marist research from fresh authors and subjects

# IS THERE A CONCEPTUAL CRISIS FOR MARIST SPIRITUAL PATRIMONY?

**Approaching the concept of Marist charismatic cultural patrimony as it is revealed through a new dialogue between the religious and the secular<sup>1</sup>**



**Francisco J. Flores Sánchez<sup>2</sup>**

*Our lives comprise various experiences, some new and unique, others routine and unsurprising. To be able to integrate these experiences into our life, we need a conceptual framework for examining, retaining, and understanding all that has happened and how it happened, including long-ago events<sup>3</sup>.*

Our lives comprise various experiences, some new and unique, others routine and unsurprising. To be able to integrate these experiences into our life, we need a conceptual framework for examining, retaining, and understanding all that has happened and how it happened, including long-ago events.

This article opens a dialogue between two concepts, those of “cultural patrimony” and “Marist charism”. The first concept is from the secular domain, the other from

the religious. Their approaches are complementary, above all when addressing questions related to identity and sense of belonging. This relationship, which actually creates a new concept, adds depth to what we understand as “Marist spiritual patrimony”. It encompasses both the tangible and intangible dimensions of culture and charism for we twenty-first century Marists, as we identify with the mission of evangelisation through education inspired by what was begun by St Marcellin Champagnat and the first Brothers.

<sup>1</sup> In writing this, I am grateful for the conversations, comments, corrections and valuable life lessons of **Br. Patricio Pino and Amelia Trejo**, both of whom are members of the Archive and Patrimony Department of the Chilean section of the Santa Maria de los Andes Province.

<sup>2</sup> Licenciante in History at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile; Diploma in the Management and Investigation of Cultural Patrimony at the Alberto Hurtado University of Chile; Diploma in the Marist Patrimony from the Marcellin Champagnat University of Peru; Master of Archivist Studies from the Carlos III University of Spain. Coordinator of the Department of Marist Archives and Patrimony – in charge of the Historical Marist Patrimony Archive of the Chilean sector of the Santa Maria de los Andes Province. Member of the Reference Group and Management Committee of the Network of Centres of Marist Patrimony in the Region of South America.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. KOSELLECK, R., “Historia de los conceptos y conceptos de la historia”, *Ayer* 53/2004 (1), Madrid, Spain: Asociación de Historia Contemporánea (AHC) – Marcel Pons – Ediciones de Historia, p. 28.

To approach our topic, we have divided the analysis into three sections. The first is a synthesis of what is known as “cultural patrimony”. The second is an analysis of what the Institute of the Marist Brothers of the Schools understand by “Marist spiritual patrimony”. Finally, there is a dialogue between the religious and the secular, centred on those material and immaterial aspects which make up the “Marist charismatic and cultural patrimony”.

## 1. “CULTURAL PATRIMONY”, DEVELOPMENTS OF A CONCEPT

The word “patrimony” [more commonly rendered as “heritage” or “inheritance” in English. Trans.] comes etymologically from the Latin *patrimonium*, meaning “a group of goods pertaining to a natural or juridical person, or other effects which can be given an economic value”.<sup>4</sup> Its lexical components are *pater* (father, head of the family) and *-monium* (a suffix to designate

a set of actions or ritual or juridical situations).<sup>5</sup>

This legal meaning holds good in our own day but over time the concept has taken on additional senses, ones that are more symbolic or intangible. By the nineteenth century it came to be associated with that which has been passed on over time. This “historical patrimony” means the collective inheritance, the legacy of people and events, and of concrete objects, which have lasted through time and peoples to form part and essence of the history of a place. It is an accumulation which links the generations of a particular territory.<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, for the first time in history, agreements were established across the world for the identification. Preservation and protection of “historical patrimony”, specifically with regard to monuments. This aimed at preventing their disappearance due the passing of time, the lack of concern from successive governments,<sup>7</sup> or their destruction in wars and conflicts.<sup>8</sup> Through the Universal

<sup>4</sup> REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Diccionario de la lengua española, 23.a ed., (Online edition 23.2). Found at: <https://dle.rae.es/srv/fetch?id=SBOXisN>

<sup>5</sup> ANDERS, V. et al (2001-2019). “Radicación de la palabra Patrimonio”. *Etimologías de Chile*. Found at: <http://etimologias.dechile.net/?patrimonio>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. DÍAZ CABEZA, María del Carmen (August 2009). “Reflexiones: Tiempos líquidos sobre el Patrimonio Cultural y sus Valores”. *Revista Digital de Estudios Históricos*, No 2, pp. 2-3. Found at: [http://www.estudioshistoricos.org/edicion\\_2/maria\\_diaz.pdf](http://www.estudioshistoricos.org/edicion_2/maria_diaz.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> “Carta de Atenas. Conservación de Monumentos de Arte e Historia. (Conferencia Internacional de Atenas, Grecia, 1931)”. INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE LA CULTURA (2007). *Documentos Fundamentales para el Patrimonio Cultural. Textos internacionales para su recuperación, repatriación, conservación, protección y difusión*. Lima, Perú: Instituto Nacional de Cultura de Perú, pp. 133-135.

<sup>8</sup> UNESCO (1954). “Convención para la Protección de los Bienes Culturales en Caso de Conflicto Armado y su Reglamento (Unesco, La Haya, 1954)”. INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE LA CULTURA (2007), op. cit., pp 19-37.

Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the concept of “historical patrimony” began to be expanded, as the ethnic minorities in multi-ethnic countries began to be recognised, and, as a consequence, there was a democratising of how society understood itself. That is to say, what we understood as “historical patrimony” in the nineteenth century has changed due to advances and development of our global society. It is in this context that, at the end of the twentieth century, UNESCO established that:

“... culture can be considered now as the interconnection of distinctive elements, spiritual and material, intellectual and affective, that characterise a society or a social group. It also encompasses arts and literature, ways of living, the fundamental rights of a human being, systems of values, traditions and beliefs. Culture gives human beings the capacity to be reflective about themselves. It is culture which makes us human: rational, analytical, and ethically involved. It is through culture that we discern values and choose options ...”<sup>9</sup>

This definition places the person at the centre of every event, behaviour, action and expression, in all the aspects of that person’s life: spiritual, social, intellectual, affective, a centre of values, anthropological, historical and material. It promotes the rights and responsibilities of the person, to be embraced freely and individually, but also alert to their so-

cial and communal essence. All people are in the ambit of the world that surrounds them but, at the same time, each has a plan of personal transcendence, a hope for a meaningful and symbolic legacy. Within this concept of overall development of the human being, the concept of “historic patrimony” remains decontextualised and anachronistic. “Patrimony” needs to do more than draw from the “historical” realm; it must also be able to include, socialise, symbolise, and build on the spiritual, material, intellectual and affective dimensions of a society or a social group. In this way it fosters identity helps the group to recognise and own what is “ours”, and to differentiate and distinguish what is “theirs”. This permits us to have a dialogue with the “otherness”. This expands the concept of patrimony: “historical patrimony” becomes more global, inclusive, and complex. This is “cultural patrimony”.

## 2. THE “MARIST SPIRITUAL PATRIMONY” IN A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this section we will apply a hermeneutic exercise to “Marist spiritual patrimony” in three periods: the first is centred on the origins (1817-1840); the second on the rest of the nineteenth century after the

<sup>9</sup> UNESCO (1982). “Declaración de México sobre las Políticas Culturales”. Conferencia Mundial sobre las Políticas Culturales. Found at [https://culturalrights.net/descargas/drets\\_culturals400.pdf](https://culturalrights.net/descargas/drets_culturals400.pdf)

death of the Founder; the third in the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup>

At the time of the origins of the Institute, Marcellin Champagnat was focused on making sure that his Brothers felt that they were in the home of Mary, and that they formed a family of brothers at the service of an urgent evangelical mission. To sustain this style of life, the Founder used concrete means – especially documents (letters and circulars, notebooks, internal regulations and conferences, among other things), objects<sup>11</sup> and constructions that have taken on a monumental significance<sup>12</sup> – as practical and symbolic elements that created a spiritual identity, in order to carry out a specific mission in the Church. All these materials that have been left behind have a spiritual element, which is both textual and intertextual. Given that they are part of identity formation and are to be conserved, “they will serve for the recognition of future generations which will collect their fruits”.<sup>13</sup> The vi-

sion of the future which Marcellin had for the Institute and for his Brothers is codified in an affective style in his “Spiritual Testament”<sup>14</sup>. Obviously this document lacks legal validity, but it does form part of his patrimonial legacy, as it makes explicit how the Institute continues to be a spiritual family. It allows that, even after his death, this would continue to among us, differentiating us from other groups. In this way, he reaffirmed as founder and first superior (an independent sociocultural entity) what must be the “Marist culture” which the Little Brothers of Mary would have to cultivate, now that the charism resides fully in them.

In the sixty years following the death of the Founder, what would later become known as “Marist spiritual patrimony” became established. This sustained the identity of the Brothers both their oral tradition as well as through the compilation of primary written sources. These formed a body of doctrine for them as they passed through moments of

<sup>10</sup> We ask pardon from the reader if something of ours remains “outside” this analysis. The synthesis is dependent on the space available, using only those elements that are most relevant and pertinent to “cultural patrimony”, in order to converge on a definition of “Marist spiritual patrimony” which is currently in use within the Institute.

<sup>11</sup> The case of the image of the Good Mother. Cf. MESONERO, M (F.M.S.) (2019). San Marcelino Champagnat. Biografía del fundador de los Hermanos Maristas. Santiago, Chile: Provincia Santa María de los Andes, pp. 233-245.

<sup>12</sup> In this sense, we have the foundational house of La Valla, and later, L’Hermitage. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S) (March 2013). “From Lavalla to Hermitage: early crisis and gradual material change”. Marist Notebooks, N. 31, Rome, Italy: Congregation of the Marist Brothers, pp. 109-134.

<sup>13</sup> Circular a los fundadores de escuelas. 1836-37. Copy of the minute, Register of Copies of Administrative Letters (RCLA), I, p. 8 in AFM. Edited in: PS 078. Taken from: ch110078.doc.

<sup>14</sup> Spiritual Testament of Joseph Benedict Marcellin Champagnat. 1840-05-18. From the original which can be found in the Champagnat dossier in the General Archives of the Marist Fathers. Edited in *Orígenes Maristes*, 417. Taken from: Cepam Vinculo, ch170100.doc.

transition and disruption. As they did so, they created and ordered additional elements of Marist patrimony, both tangible and intangible. The first Brothers reflected on their “imitation” of the figure of the Founder, trying to form the charism by drawing from the past while being marked by the contemporary stamps of the successive Superiors General. In this period, we witness the beginning of the traditions, the development of a distinctive language,<sup>15</sup> as well as the mission and internationality of the Institute becoming clearer. The bases of interculturality were established, encouraging connection with the “other” and getting “them” to feel part of “us”. In this way the Brothers nurtured their family spirit and their sense of community, developing a shared identity, reflected in the re-

spect and keeping of the Rule by the Brothers in all parts of the world.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile the more tangible patrimony, concrete examples of the Marist charism, became fixed in the religious habit, buildings, properties, and houses,<sup>17</sup> together with instruments designed and/or acquired to move the project forward.<sup>18</sup> Eventually the doctrinal corpus became settled in two phases: 1840-1856<sup>19</sup> and 1863-1875<sup>20</sup>. These were centred on Marist spirituality, the way of being a Brother and administration of the Institute.<sup>21</sup> Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the synthesis of Marist spirituality was made more accessible<sup>22</sup> and Marist identity was strengthened with the opening of the diocesan process for the canonisation of Fr Champagnat in 1888.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> To go deeper into the theme of language: LANFREY, A (F.M.S.) (May, 2017). “Research into the origins of most important Marist mottos (1815-1852)”. *Marist Notebooks*, N. 35, Rome, Italy: Congregation of the Marist Brothers, pp. 75-89.

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A (F.M.S.). (2015). *History of the Institute of the Marist Brothers (1789-1907)*. Volume 1. FMS STUDIA N. 3. Rome, Italy: General House of the Congregation of Marist Brothers, pp. 312-314.

<sup>17</sup> The purchase and construction of a new mother house in Saint-Genis-Laval (1854-1858), broke the total focus on L'Hermitage and placed it in an area that was more strategic for a growing congregation (Cf. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.)). (2015). *Op. cit.*, pp. 185-186).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. PINO, P. (F.M.S.). (May, 2018). “Transmission of the Marist Charism of Marcellin Champagnat and the First Brothers”. *Marist Notebooks*, N. 36, Rome, Italy: Congregation of the Marist Brothers, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Circulars* of Br. François (1839-1860), *Common Rules* (1852), *Guide des Ecoles* (1853), *Rules of Government* (1854), *Manual of Piety* (1855), and *Life of the Founder* (1856).

<sup>20</sup> *Circulars* of Br. Louis Marie (1860-1879), *The Principles of Christian Perfection* (1863), *Directory of Solid Piety* (1863), *Avis, Leçons, Sentences* (1867), *Biographies de Quelques Frères* (1868), *Le Bon Supérieur* (1869), *Méditations sur La Passion* (1870) and *Méditations sur l'Incarnation* (1875). (A scheme of doctrinal sources from both periods can be consulted in: LANFREY, A (F.M.S.). (2015), *op. cit.*, pp. 364-365.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. LANFREY, A (F.M.S.). (2015), *op. cit.* pp. 176-178, 189-211 and 247-253.

<sup>22</sup> Two volumes were created (1885 and 1900) of the *Circulars* of Br. François. *Le Guide des Écoles* was updated (1891) and the biographical reviews were renewed. These appeared in an annual volume concerning brothers who had recently died, which continued the tradition of the *Biographies* (1868) of Br Jean-Baptiste.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. LANFREY, A (F.M.S.). (2015), *op. cit.*, pp. 328-330.

The twentieth century was to be a time of revision and reinterpretation of Marist spiritual patrimony, especially through the application of scientific historical methods. For a better analysis we will divide this century into two periods: the first from 1903<sup>24</sup> to 1955<sup>25</sup>, and the second from 1955 to 1999<sup>26</sup>.

The first period (1903-1955) was a time of transition from memory of the origins to adaptation to a new world context for the Institute. It began with the upsurge of the politics of secularisation, which brought with it an internal revolution of Marist identity. This happened principally in two ways: a spiritual-utopian one sourced in the expulsion of the Institute from France in 1903 which led the Institute back to its original global mission. The second way was a religious-secular dialogue, where the secularised

Brothers demonstrated a practical adaptation of religious life within a secular ambience, while maintaining the essence of the Marist way of life.<sup>27</sup> As dialogue had already started, the Institute then began an internal process of adaptation culturally, spiritually, educationally, and administratively. This was a type of tug-of-war between unity and diversity, in a new international context.<sup>28</sup> This phase was an opportunity for inculturation and expansion of Marist spirituality, coming to terms with the particularities of each country, and revealing through this that many lay people who worked in Marist communities and colleges could feel that “their own educational mission could be lived and developed with and in the same way as the Brothers.”<sup>29</sup> In order to maintain this worldwide unity, it was necessary for the sources of the spirituality, the Circulars<sup>30</sup> and the Bulletin of the Institute,<sup>31</sup> follow

<sup>24</sup> The new Rules were canonically approved by the Holy See, having been in effect *ad experimentum* since 1863 and renewed every five years. In 1922, they were completely renewed. (Cf. PINO, P. (F.M.S.). (May, 2018), p. 14).

<sup>25</sup> On May 29, 1955, the beatification of Marcellin Champagnat was held. Br André Lanfrey established that “until 1955 the Institute functioned essentially following a model based on memory; given that everything had been said at the origins, it was necessary to remember and illustrate always “the spirit of the Institute””. (LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.). (March, 2009). “Historical reserach in the Marist Brothers. Essay on the work of patrimony in the Institute”. Marist Notebooks, N. 26, Rome, Italy: Institute of the Marist Brothers, p. 22).

<sup>26</sup> On 18th April 1999, the canonisation of St. Marcellin Champagnat, took place on St. Peter’s Square. This marked the end of the 20th century.

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A (F.M.S.). (2015), *op. cit.* p. 348.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A (F.M.S.). (2015), *History of the Institute of the Marist Brothers (1907-1985)*. Volume 2, *FMS STUDIA* N. 3, Rome, Italy. General House of the Marist Brothers, pp. 104-105.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr., PINO, P. (FMS). (May, 2018), *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Published to celebrate the centenary of the Institute in 1917. (Cf. PINO, P. (F.M.S.), (May, 2018), p.14).

<sup>31</sup> Published from January 1, 1909 to December 1984. This publication was created to facilitate news of the work carried on throughout the world, works of spirituality and education. (LANFREY, A, (F.M.S.), (March, 2009), *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

this trend. The influence of publications produced for the centenary of the Institute (1917) also played a part. They helped to foster unity and renewal of the commitment of the Brothers (and of the lay people) throughout the world, by means of the various material supports in which Marist spiritual patrimony was expressed.<sup>32</sup> In this period, which was convulsed by two world wars, persecutions, and national conflicts, the Institute generated a literature based on its spirituality with the intention of giving fresh impulse to the religious-secular dialogue, where it was necessary to take into account past failings and serious problems, and look anew at the issues of the time.

In the second period (1955-1999), this new way of looking at things was found in a dialogue among three actors: Church, culture, and laity. This generation of Brothers was shaped by the celebrations, research and publications sparked by the beatification of Marcellin Champagnat (1955). This stage was interrupted by the vocations crisis, the difficulty of recruitment in traditionally Catholic areas and the departures of those already professed.<sup>33</sup> It was also the time of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) and the renewal of

the Church, which would have consequences for the revision of the make-up the Institute. The principal aspects to undergo revision were in formation, in a new openness to the world and dialogue with cultures where the Marists were present. During this time of change and updating, the commitment of lay people became clear, since it was lay people who assumed the direction and organisation of the educational works, given the paucity of vocations (new and old). This new group of people was formed by Brothers and older lay people, with whom they shared the mission. This took place through using the sources and accumulated wisdom, which was now synthesised and transmitted from a critical perspective.<sup>34</sup> These Brothers and lay people, who remained far removed from the crises of the Institute, are “the Marists”. They have benefited from the increase in historical research, included in the Bulletin of the Institute, which bit by bit developed a more scientific approach to the patrimony. Primary sources (from work begun by Br Pierre Zind) complemented and illumined their spiritual life. This change in large part was due to its coming at the same time as the beatification of Marcellin Champagnat, an event which focused a new attention on the origins.<sup>35</sup> For this

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (2015), *op. cit.* Volume 2, pp. 345-355.

<sup>33</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (2015), *op. cit.* Volume 2, pp. 370-376

<sup>34</sup> Cfr. PINO, P (F.M.S.), (May, 2018), *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (2015), *op. cit.* Volume 2, pp. 187-188.

reason, from the 1960s<sup>36</sup> to the end of the century, there was a systematic and critical approach to the sources of Marist spiritual patrimony. This work was focused on formation (seminars, courses, workshops and CEPAM<sup>37</sup>), the General Archives (investigation, publication of sources and the first digitalisation of the Archives), and publications (Bulletin of the Institute, *Origines des Frères Maristes*, and *Marist Notebooks*, among others).<sup>38</sup>

What we have called “Marist spiritual patrimony”, in almost two centuries of history, has seen crises of identity, of mission and of resources but, at the same time, it has been the guarantee that the Institute has been able to continue its work of evangelisation through education. The Marist “spiritual family”, formed of Brothers and lay people and united in mission, was a participant in another historic moment – with which we close this part – the canonisation of St. Marcellin Champagnat (1999). This event increased even more the “innumerable statues, pictures, songs, po-

ems, prayers, liturgies, audiovisual presentations and web pages which bear witness to the enduring vitality and fecundity of Marist spirituality”<sup>39</sup>.

### 3. “MARIST CHARISMATIC CULTURAL PATRIMONY” IN AN OPEN DIALOGUE FOR THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

At the beginning of the new century, Marist spiritual patrimony continued to make progress through a stream of studies and at centres of gathering, as well as through the lived experiences of Brothers and Laypeople who together, have directed their lives to reveal the Marian face of the Church in fraternity.<sup>40</sup> There are three factors that continue to foster the development and vitality of this patrimony in the twenty-first century:

- a) an Institute-level strategy of research, formation and animation which led to the establishment of the International Commission for Marist Spiritual Patrimony,<sup>41</sup> and initiatives across individual Administrative Units;<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The critical change for the Marists came with the publication by the Marist Fathers of the 4 volume work on the Marist Origins, which was complemented by the *Extraits* of Br. Paul Sester. (Cr. GREEN, M. (F.M.S.) (2017), *History of the Marist Brothers* (1985-2016), Volume 3, FMS STUDIA N. 3, Rome, Italy: General House of the Marist Brothers, pp. 219-220.

<sup>37</sup> BRAMBILA, A. (F.M.S.), (June, 1990). “Centro de Estudios del Patrimonio Espiritual Marista” CEPAM, Provincia de México Occidental”, *Cuadernos Maristas*, N. 1, Rome, Italy, Congregation of the Marist Brothers, pp. 19-22.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (March, 2009), *op. cit.* pp. 10-13.

<sup>39</sup> GREEN, M. (F.M.S.), (2017), *op. cit.* p. 230.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. PINO, P. (F.M.S.), (May, 2018), *op. cit.*, p. 19

<sup>41</sup> GREEN, N., (F.M.S.), (2017), *op. cit.*, pp. 230-232.

<sup>42</sup> Historical archives, libraries on the patrimony and local Marist museums. Standing out among these is the Network of Centres of Patrimony of the South American Region. (<https://memorias.umbrasil.org.br/es>) .

- b) the renovation of significant Marist places<sup>43</sup> as “*topoi*”<sup>44</sup> and
- c) a critical reflection on the concept.

From this perspective, it seems that the way that “Marist spiritual patrimony” is currently conceptualised does not capture the reality it intends to describe. That is to say, there is a growing distance between what is happening in practice and how it is defined. Br André Lanfrey comments that “the word ‘patrimony’ is used to include research on our identity. However, the adjective ‘spiritual’ can be confusing, if we are referring to everything that concerns things of the spirit: pedagogy, psychology, theology, and even economy”.<sup>45</sup> We could think of the adjective “spiritual” as a type of wildcard that aims to cover all the disciplines that are not history, in order to fill the vacuum and be an imprecise term for everything else

that needs explaining. However, if we replaced this adjective with another that is more adequate for the international and multicultural reality of the Institute, would this provide us with a solution to the conceptual problem? We believe not, for two principal reasons: the obsolescence of the concept of ‘patrimony’ as Institute currently employs it, and the restricted way work on it takes place.

In the Institute, the concept of “patrimony” has been applied imprecisely to the study of the learned tradition, which is seen as indispensable for us to understand ourselves.<sup>46</sup> If this definition is referring to the identity of the community, the key words are “study”<sup>47</sup> and “tradition”<sup>48</sup>. Both of these words, according to their definitions, express something of the transmission of the knowledge which is researched and diffused in forms that are typi-

<sup>43</sup> Words of Br Emili Turú, Superior General, on 22 September 2010, during the opening of the refurbished Hermitage: “This is an invitation to rediscover all that Mary means for us as Marists, and the place that she occupies in our lives, our communities, our charism, our identity, our spirituality and our mission”. (TURÚ, E (F.M.S.), (23 September 2010). “The renovated Hermitage, and icon and challenge”, *Marist News*, N. 119, Rome, Italy: The General House of the Congregation of Marist Brothers, p. 2)

<sup>44</sup> “Our Marist tradition is nourished by certain “*topoi*” which have great symbolic, emotional and inspirational meaning. These are the places of Marist origin: Le Rosey, La Valla, L’Hermitage”. (SOTERAS, J (F.M.S.), “At the conclusion of the Symposium on the Structures of support for Marist spirituality”, celebrated in Les Avellanés, on the centenary of the Marist presence in the house. Les Avellanés, May 21, 2010.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (March, 2009), op. cit. pp. 18-19.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. BRAMBILA, A. (F.M.S.), (May, 2014): “Marist spirituality and patrimony”, *Marist Notebooks*, N.32, Rome, Italy: Congregation of the Marist Brothers, p. 123.

<sup>47</sup> “Study: The effort which the understanding makes to apply itself to know something” (REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA. Diccionario de la lengua española, 23 ed., (version 23.3 online). Taken from: <https://dle.rae.es/estudio>

<sup>48</sup> “Tradition: the transmission of news, literary compositions, doctrines, rites, customs, etc., made from generation to generation.” (REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA. Diccionario de la lengua española, 23 ed., (version 23.3 online). Taken from: <https://dle.rae.es/tradici%C3%B3n?m=form>).

cal in the discipline of history. Between 1955 and 2008, the Institute engaged itself in a cultural revolution so that it might not simply keep repeating what it had inherited but reinterpret it.<sup>49</sup> This reinterpretation was somewhat deficient, given that it was not capable of including other academic disciplines which bear on the study and content of “cultural patrimony”<sup>50</sup>. So, a second conceptual problem presents itself: even if we replace the adjective “spiritual” with one that is more adequate and refined, we cannot cover the “cultural patrimony” of the Institute in all its interdisciplinary senses. This is because we remain locked into to a nineteenth century mindset where a large number of things – such as documentary heritage (primary sources and bibliographies)<sup>51</sup> – are still regarded as “the laboratory of history”.<sup>52</sup> The International Commission for Marist Spiritual Patrimony has seen its responsibilities and tasks in terms of the coordination of research, translation, publication and sharing of information throughout the entire Institute in regard to Marist spiritual patrimony, as well as organising courses and seminars, and so on.<sup>53</sup>

Our new conceptual proposition consciously links us with what underpins of the mission of the Institute: “as Marists of Champagnat, we are a global charismatic family. We live an integrated spirituality, and we are passionately engaged in an innovative mission in the service of children and young people, especially among those most vulnerable and excluded”<sup>54</sup>. In light of this, “Marist charismatic cultural patrimony” is a concept composed of two key points in dialogue with each other: the secular and the religious. On one side and from the secular perspective, it is “cultural patrimony” where Institute’s tangible and intangible cultural legacy is in a state of permanent innovation, creation, revision, recreation and adaptation, as time and circumstances change. There are new approaches to conservation, animation, diffusion, and meaning-making. These changes play out in an interdisciplinary way so that the distinctive identity of the Marists of Champagnat continues, nourished from various professional and technical sources.<sup>55</sup> On the other side of the coin, the religious, we have the “Marist charism”, which what binds this “global family” to-

<sup>49</sup> Cf. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (March, 2009), op. cit. p. 23.

<sup>50</sup> Among these, we can name architecture, cultural management, curatorship, patrimonial education, cultural mediation, conservation, care of museums, care of archives and library science, among other things.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. LANFREY, A. (F.M.S.) (March, 2009), op. cit. p. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. VIVAS, MORENO, A (September – December, 2004). “El tiempo de la archivística: un estudio de sus espacios de racionalidad histórica”. *Ciência da Informação*, Vol 33, n. 3. Brasília-DF, Brasil: Brazilian Institute of Information in Science and Technology, p. 85.

<sup>53</sup> GREEN, M (F.M.S.), (2017), op. cit., p. 231.

<sup>54</sup> Marist Institute. “Vision 2025”. Taken from <https://champagnat.org> – Marist Institute.

gether. It includes the three fundamental dimensions of the Christian life, which are inseparable and intimately connected. The spirituality is lived in and for the mission; the mission creates and animates to shared life; shared life is, in its turn, a source of spirituality and mission.<sup>56</sup> Spirituality in this context refers to the way in which we relate to God, something the Spirit enlivens within us,<sup>57</sup> and which is centred in Jesus<sup>58</sup> and Mary<sup>59</sup>. Similarly, with community is marked by our family spirit, providing space and time to share faith and life, which in its turn allows the community to grow.<sup>60</sup> Finally, however, at our core is the mission of living and working in the midst of children and young people. We evangelise principally by means of education, showing a particular concern for those who live on the margins of society.<sup>61</sup>

These constitute our foundational charisms, and our charismatic traditions that follow on from them. They are the ways we evangelise in particular social, cultural, temporal and geographical contexts. So, the charisms have the capacity to be dynamic, to adapt and renew themselves as circumstances permit.<sup>62</sup> It was in an historical context that the Marist charism came into being; its transmission became essential for sustaining this particular way of relating to God the lived realities of the different cultures and contexts where evangelising mission of the Church is carried out. This close connection is mediated with religious symbolism through patrimonial elements that are replete with ideological meaning and potency.<sup>63</sup>

For this to happen, there is a need for a social, cultural and religious group within the Catholic

<sup>55</sup> Cf. PRATS, L. (2004). *Antropología y Patrimonio*. Barcelona, Spain: Ariel Antropología, pp. 20-22. Cfr. BENGÓA, J. (2004). "Identidad, Memoria y Patrimonio", in VI Seminario sobre *Patrimonio Cultural. Instantáneas Locales*. Santiago, Chile: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, p. 89. Cfr. BONFIL BATALLA, G (1999-2000), "*Nuestro Patrimonio Cultural: un Laberinto de Significados*". Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos, vols. XLV-XLVI, pp. 26-28.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. ESTAÚN, A.M. (F.M.S.) (Ed.) (2009). *Gathered Around the Same Table. The Vocation of Champagnat's Marist Laity*. Rome, Italy: General house – Institute of the Marist Brothers, p. 34.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. PINO, P. (F.M.S.), (May, 2018), op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. VARONA, M. (F.M.S.) (1987-1988). "Jesucristo en el Espiritualidad de Marcellin J.B. Champagnat (1789-1840) a partir de las fuentes directas". *Tesina para Licencia en Teología con especialización en Espiritualidad*. Rome, Italy, Pontifical Gregorian University, Faculty of Theology, Institute of Spirituality, pp. 97-98.

<sup>59</sup> MARIST BROTHERS OF THE SCHOOLS (2011), *Constitutions and Statutes*, (Article 4).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. ESTAÚN, A.M. (F.M.S.) (2009), op. cit. p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>62</sup> Cfr. MARIST BROTHERS OF THE SCHOOLS (F.M.S.) Charism – Reading Project, Rome, Italy: General House – Institute of the Marist Brothers. Found at [www.champagnat.com](http://www.champagnat.com)

<sup>63</sup> Cfr. PRATS, L., (2004), op. cit., p. 34

Church, which possesses the particular charism which is known as “Marist”. Through the transmission and adaptation of the charism for each generation that seeks to live it, the Institute can be a living reality, evolving and adapting over time in the various cultures in which it is present.<sup>64</sup> In each culture where the Institute of the Marist Brothers is established and allowed to develop, we see a distinctive set of characteristics, spiritual and material, intellectual and affective, that characterise this particular social group. Also, Brothers, laymen, and laywomen are able together to create, transmit, modify and adapt the tangible and intangible elements of the Marist charism so that they might be transformed into a distinctive group which has built a shared and clear identity.

Nevertheless, we cannot forget that we live in a moment of history where the desacralisation and dechristianisation of cultures proliferates,<sup>65</sup> and so the process of construction and transference of symbolic elements favouring a renewal of the charism has become fertile ground

for evangelisation. The synthesis which we are proposing, between culture and faith, is not only demanded by culture, but also by faith. “Faith which is not embedded in culture is a faith which is not fully accepted, not completely pondered and faithfully lived”.<sup>66</sup> For this reason, “Marist charismatic cultural patrimony” calls for an ongoing dialogue between “cultural patrimony” as a concept coming from the disciplines of secular study, and “Marist charism”, as a particular gift in the salvific and evangelising mission of the Catholic Church.

This dialogue is embodied in our daily interaction and pondering of creation, understood as a personal gesture of God-who-is-love. It is sourced in the very nature of the Divine, and also in the world’s surrender to be transformed in human endeavour.<sup>67</sup> This gives each person the possibility of generating the diverse elements which create their own identity, and also of serving to immerse themselves physically and spiritually in the culture which is theirs through both the intangible<sup>68</sup> and tangible<sup>69</sup> aspects of the patrimony.

<sup>64</sup> Cfr. LANFREY, A (F.M.S.), (March, 2009), op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> Cfr. CARRIER, H., (S.J.), 1994), op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>66</sup> POPE JOHN PAUL II, (May 20, 1982). *Letter for the institution of the Pontifical Council for Culture*, Rome, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. Found at [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va)

<sup>67</sup> Cfr. PACOMIO, L – Fr. ARDUSO (et al) (1985), *Diccionario Teológico Interdisciplinar*. I-II. Salamanca, Spain: Sígueme, pp. 726-727.

<sup>68</sup> Memories, customs, displays of our spirituality, our own terminology, celebrations, prayers, etc.

<sup>69</sup> The tangible patrimony can be divided in moveable (three dimensional objects, photographs, periodical publications and archive documents, among other things) and immoveable (geographical sites and monuments, the “topoi”, together with the Communities, Works and Houses of Formation, Archives, Libraries, Museums, as well as Records and Centres of Memory)

We can synthesise our proposal regarding a Marist charismatic cultural patrimony to be: all the tangible and intangible elements which are the different social, charismatic and cultural expressions of the Institute of the Marist Brothers. These come from the present, the past and the future, and contribute to the construction of identity and the strengthening community, and are transmitted from one generation to the next through education – in all its forms – in a continuous and dynamic process of interdisciplinary evaluation by and for the Marists of Marcellin Champagnat.

By way of open conclusion, in this proposal for renewal and updating a concept that provides us with the bases of our identity as Marists of Marcellin Champagnat, we need to continue to question ourselves about the path we have already travelled and the one that we will follow in the future. History must be perpetually rewritten, even though it may have been established and recorded. In this sense, this new concept of “Marist charismatic cultural patrimony” is and must be continually challenged by our changing experience, so that the past can be always retrospectively reinterpreted and rewritten.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Cfr. KOSELLECK, R (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 40.



# MISSION STATEMENTS OF MARIST INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

## A content analysis



Emilien  
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This article reports on a study that analyzed mission statements of Marist institutions that offer higher education. Mission statements have been an organizational tool of communication used to describe publicly what an organization is about. According to Drucker (1974), the mission statement is the foundation for priorities, strategies, plans, and work assignment. Higher education institutions, like other organizations, use mission statements among their management practices. According to various researchers, the mission statement of such an institution describes its main purpose, the reason why it exists within a society (Paina and Bacila, 2004; Bonewits Feldner, 2006; Woodrow, 2006). A university's mission statement benefits all its stakeholders by communicating direction, purposes and principles, guiding and motivating them (Kurtulu, 2012). Mission statements help universities to communicate their identities, beliefs, values and philosophies.

### 1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Using mission statements posted on the websites of ten Marist higher institutions, this study investigated these research questions:

- Do mission statements of Marist higher education institutions include three traditional purposes of universities?
- Do mission statements of Marist higher education institutions include accepted Marist educational principles?

### 2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study brings a deeper understanding of the identities of selected Marist higher institutions, their emphases in education, and their role in serving society. The study also sheds light on the contribution of the Marist Brothers' Institute to the education field more broadly. It is hoped that the research will contrib-

ute to strategic planning practices in these institutions, since mission statements are strategic management tools. This could be of benefit to people in leadership, especially those involved in strategic planning and implementation.

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

#### a) Mission statements of higher education

Higher education refers to all types of education or professional training at post-secondary level, offered by universities or other educational establishments approved by a competent state authority as institutions for higher education (Trends in Higher Education in the 21st Century, UNESCO, 1998). According to the Network of Marist Institutions of Higher Education<sup>1</sup> (NMIHE, 2010), these institutions are dedicated to teaching, research and furthering of knowledge and they are established as centers of study and educational formation as well as providing professional programs at post-secondary level. According to Martin (1992) the mission statement allows a higher education institution to name its priorities and its *raison d'être* to both its external and its

internal stakeholders. The mission statement is the foundation upon which the institution builds its vision and its strategic planning (Velcoff and Ferrari, 2006). This is because it helps to shape strategic planning, defines the organization's scope of business operations/activities, provides a common purpose/direction, promotes a sense of shared expectations, and guides leadership styles (Baetz & Bart, 1996).

The mission statement also serves as a guideline for further processes of strategic management (Behm, Berthold and Daghestani, 2011; Zechlin, 2007). The mission statement is expected to provide brief information about the university profile and its tasks, as well as its long goals. Kosmützky and Krücken (2015) note that the mission statement reflects institutional and organizational specificities. In developing this idea, the same authors state that the mission statement expresses institutional and organizational identities of higher education institutions. The engagement of the higher institutions in the implementation of mission statements started in the early 1980s (Davies and Glaister, 1997; Kotler and Murphy, 1981). Since that time, various scholars of mission statements have empha-

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<sup>1</sup> Network of Marist Institutions of Higher Education is an international network of Marist brothers and Marist lay people who have direction of Marist works in tertiary education. The first meeting of this network was held in 2004 in CURITIBA (Brazil). One of the most important issues of this meeting was to define the mission, vision, and values of Marist higher education, as well as the identity of higher education with Christian, Catholic and Marist characteristics. It is in this context that the document *Marist Mission in Higher Education* (2010) was written.

sized the relationships between mission statement content (Morphew & Hartley, 2006) and external factors (Seeber et al., 2017).

Scholars and historians of education have written extensively on the purpose, goals idea, or mission of the university, for instance Flexner (1930), Jaspers (1946), Kerr (1963), Newman (1873), Ortega and Gasset (1930) and more recently Scott (2006). According to Scott (2006), universities have changed over the years. While in medieval times European universities emphasized teaching, he argues that now service of society is more emphasized, although the triad of teaching, research and service of society is held in esteem. The three components – teaching, research and service of society – together should define the institution's structure, expected outcomes, and criteria for judging effectiveness, while also contributing to organizational identity (Fugazotto, 2009).

This threefold mission of higher education was also emphasized by the committee of the International Network of Marist Institutions of Higher Education (NMIHE, 2010), when it stated that by definition higher education fulfils a triple function: conserving and passing on the legacy of humanity's knowledge

(teaching); producing new knowledge (research); and putting them at the disposal of humanity (extension). In the same line, higher education plays a decisive role in societal development: to educate for citizenship and to prepare for full participation in society, with quality of opportunity; to promote continuous learning; to generate and spread knowledge by means of research (UNESCO, 1999). Br Clemente Juliatto (2005a) has put great emphasis on the role of university in producing and disseminating knowledge and research. Therefore, Marist institutions of higher learning would be expected to have mission statements exhibiting three main components which encompass the traditional mission of universities.

## **b) Marist higher education**

Marist education was begun by St Marcellin Champagnat<sup>2</sup> in 1817. Today, Marist schools, universities and youth projects are found in many countries around the world, leading hundreds of thousands of young people to be what Marcellin believed each of them could be – good Christians and good citizens (Institute of Marist Brothers, 2011; Furet, 1856; 1998). Marist institutions of higher education usually belong, wholly or partially, to admin-

<sup>2</sup> Marcellin Champagnat (1789-1840). His first definitive biography was written in 1856 by Brother-Baptiste Furet, one of the first disciples of Marcellin Champagnat.

istrative units of the Marist Institute in one way or another. Some work in collaboration with other religious institutes or dioceses, and respecting the academic, educational and pastoral purposes of the various congregational charisms (NMIHE, 2010).

Marist higher education is sourced in Marcellin Champagnat, as founder of the Marist Brothers. It is inspired by his charism and spirituality, proving to be adaptable to different contexts or taking different forms of expression and service to children and young people (Charles Howard, 1992; NMIHE, 2010). The dedication of the Institute<sup>3</sup> to higher education represents the continuation of the Founder's original dream. The Marist approach to education is based on a vision that is holistic, and that consciously seeks to transmit values (Water from the Rock, 2007). Marist higher education is characterized by eight features according to the NMIHE paper on the Marist mission in higher education:

- **Marian pedagogy:** Mary is the inspiration of Marist pedagogy, as mother and educator. (Furet, 1989; Constitutions of the Marist Brothers, 1986). There is extensive literature on why and how Mary is important in Marist education style. Exploring this literature is beyond this study. However, mention can be made of

some publications such as 'He gave us the name of Mary' by Br Emili Túru (2012), and The History of the Institute, Volumes 1-3' by Brs André Lanfrey and Michael Green (2015).

- **Pedagogy of love:** Education is a work of love. The school should be a community of love where education takes place (Furet, 1989).
- **Pedagogy of integral formation:** Integral or holistic formation is one of the distinctive hallmarks of the Marist educational style. This includes intellectual formation, technical-professional preparation, and personal formation (NMIHE, 2010). This integral formation also has been recognized by other researchers. For instance, Majawa (2014) cited Gravissimum Educationis (1965) to see that true education aims at the holistic formation of the human person as its principal goal, and the good of the society in which the person belongs and has responsibility to develop.
- **Pedagogy of family spirit:** Marist education guarantees and inspires relationships of fraternity in the academic community (Furet, 1989; XIX General Chapter of the Marist Brothers, 1993). This family spirit also may

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<sup>3</sup> This paper uses interchangeably the terms 'Marist Institute', 'Marist Brothers', 'Marist Brothers of the Schools' and 'Little Brothers of Mary'.

be expressed in terms of cooperation among institutions. The Network of Marist Institutions of higher Education (NMIHE, 2010) suggests that cooperation contributes to the correction of possible social imbalances, by the transfer of scientific knowledge and technology, as well as the widening of intercultural understanding.

- **Pedagogy of presence:** The value of presence among the students of higher education is an important element according to Marist education tradition. (Teacher's Guide, 1931; Furet, 1989; Juliatto, 2005a)
- **Pedagogy of simplicity:** The Marist way of educating, like that of Marcellin, is individual, practical and based in real life (Water from the Rock, 2007). The Strategic Plan of the Institute's General Administration has also mentioned the need for simplicity to achieve good results: some new structures of government based on transparency, simplicity, effectiveness and flexibility should be encouraged (FMS Message, 2019)
- **Pedagogy of love of work:** In the Marist environment, love of work implies the careful preparation of the lessons and other educational activities, the planning and evaluation of activities, programs, and the accompaniment of those who experience any type of difficulty (Constitu-

tions of the Marist Brothers, 1986, Art.6; Furet, 1989).

- **Pedagogy of practical and innovative spirit:** Through the example of Marcellin, a practical, creative, innovative and resolute man, with an enterprising spirit and with a great capacity to look ahead and use his imagination, there is a need to develop an attitude of openness, innovation and adherence to new technologies, methods and pedagogical resources (In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat, 1998). Innovation and creativity have been part of the call of the XXII General Chapter of the Marist Brothers.

Various studies have assessed the organizational identity of the university. Mission statements are instruments or tools through which universities use to make known their identities and therefore there are specific elements or components mentioned to achieve this purpose (Drucker, 1976, David, 1989; Davies and Glaister, 1997). Marist institutions of higher education pursue the three traditional purposes (teaching, research and service of society) as other universities (Kerr, 1976; Etzkowitz and Leydesdor, 1995; Scott, 2006). At the same time, as Catholic institutions, Marist universities must also advance the mission of the Church which is a service to humanity. Thus, there is alignment between the mission of any Catholic university and that of a Marist one. The mission statements of Marist higher institu-

tions would be expected to express the three traditional missions of the university as well as Marist educational principles.

#### 4. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The study drew on two main concepts for its theoretical frame-

work: first, the mission of the university (Newman, 1931; Kerr, 1976; Scott, 2006); second, Marist educational principles or the Marist educational approach (Teacher's Guide, 1931; Furet, 1989; Sammon, 2003; Water from the Rock, 2007; In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat, 1998; NMIHE, 2010; Juliatto, 2005a).

#### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF MISSION STATEMENTS OF MARIST HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION

Mission statements of Marist Higher Education	Marist Educational Principles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Marial pedagogy</i></li> <li>- <i>Pedagogy of love</i></li> <li>- <i>Integral formation</i></li> <li>- <i>Family spirit</i></li> <li>- <i>Presence</i></li> <li>- <i>Simplicity</i></li> <li>- <i>Love of work</i></li> <li>- <i>Practical and innovation</i></li> </ul>
	Mission of University <sup>1</sup> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Teaching</i></li> <li>- <i>Research</i></li> <li>- <i>Society</i></li> </ul>

#### 5. METHODOLOGY

The study used a methodology of content analysis, which is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative study of information and communication (Berelson, 1952). According to Bry-

man (2012), content analysis is an approach to documents and texts (which may consist of words and /or images and may be printed or on-line or spoken) that seeks to quantify the content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner. In this

study, content analysis was used to analyze the mission statements of Marist Higher Education Institutions displayed on their websites.

The sample in this study comprised ten Marist higher education institutions, sourced from the Institute's website ([www.champagnat.org](http://www.champagnat.org)). The unit of analysis was the text from their mission statements. Words, phrases and sentences were used to detect codes and themes in the research questions (Saldaña, 2016). Data analysis consisted of identifying the pre-

termined features or attributes from the mission statements. A binary coding procedure was used to rate each university's use of a mission attribute. The attribute or component received a rating of 0 if it was not mentioned, whereas it received a rating of 1 if the attribute was identified.

## 6. RESULTS

Data were collected from the websites of this purposeful sample of ten institutions. .

### THE LIST OF MARIST HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

N.º	Name of the university	Country	Website	Date of data collection
1	Marist University of Mérida (MARISTA)	Mexico	<a href="http://www.marista.edu.mx/quienes-somos">www.marista.edu.mx/quienes-somos</a>	12/01/2019
2	Marist International University College (MIUC)	Kenya	<a href="http://www.miuc.ac.ke/miuc/school-info/our-values/">www.miuc.ac.ke/miuc/school-info/our-values/</a>	11/11/2019
3	Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (PUCPR)	Brazil	<a href="http://www.pucpr.br/international/about-pucpr/">www.pucpr.br/international/about-pucpr/</a>	11/10/2019
4	Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS)	Brazil	<a href="http://www.pucrs.br/institucional/a-universidade/">www.pucrs.br/institucional/a-universidade/</a>	11/10/2019
5	Notre Dame of Marbel University (NDMU)	Philippines	<a href="http://www.ndmu.edu.ph/index.php/vision-mision/">www.ndmu.edu.ph/index.php/vision-mision/</a>	12/01/2019
6	Marist University of Congo (UMC)	DRC	<a href="http://www.fmsumc.org/apropos-est-verrouille-apropos/">www.fmsumc.org/apropos-est-verrouille-apropos/</a>	12/01/2019
7	Marcelino Champagnat University (UMCH)	Peru	<a href="https://umch.edu.pe/inicio/mision-vision/">https://umch.edu.pe/inicio/mision-vision/</a>	12/01/2019
8	Marist University of Guadalajara (UMG)	Mexico	<a href="https://umg.edu.mx/portal/filosofia-umg/">https://umg.edu.mx/portal/filosofia-umg/</a>	12/01/2019
9	Marist University of Querétaro (UMQ)	Mexico	<a href="http://www.umq.edu.mx/nosotros">www.umq.edu.mx/nosotros</a>	12/01/2019
10	Marist College (MARIST)	USA	<a href="http://www.marist.edu/about/marist-at-a-glance">www.marist.edu/about/marist-at-a-glance</a>	12/01/2019

The results indicate that there were differences among the institutions regarding the two research foci. Table 2 shows the results of the first research question, dealing with the

trifold purpose of universities. It reveals that teaching and service/society were mentioned by all 10 (100%) universities, while research was mentioned by 7 (70%) universities.

**MISSION OF MARIST HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (TABLE 2)**

Nº	Name of the University	Teaching	Research	Service/Society	Total	%
1	Catholic Pontifical University of Parana (PUCPR)	1	1	1	3	100%
2	Catholic Pontifical University of Rio Grande de Sul (PUCRS)	1	1	1	3	100%
3	Marcellino Champagnat University	1	1	1	3	100%
4	Marist College (MARISTE)	1	0	1	2	67%
5	Marist International University College (MIUC)	1	1	1	3	100%
6	Marist University of Congo (UMC)	1	0	1	2	67%
7	Marist University of Juadalajara (UMG)	1	1	1	3	100%
8	Marist University of Merida (MARISTA)	1	0	1	2	67%
9	Marist University of Querétaro	1	1	1	2	100%
10	Notre Dame of Marbel University (NDMU)	1	1	1	2	100%
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>90%</b>
<b>%</b>		<b>100%</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>100%</b>		

All mission statements were analyzed using Atlas.ti 8. The study found that teaching is one of the three stated purposes of the institutions. Examples of such expressions include ‘a world-class higher education institution, with excellence in teaching’ (PUCPR<sup>4</sup>), ‘a Catholic Marist institution of learning’ (UMCH). The table shows also the results for service of society, or society as a component of their mission. Examples of expressions generated by Atlas.ti 8 include ‘ex-

tension’ (MARISTA), ‘committed to society’ (UMCH). The table affirms research as a component of the mission of the institutions. Examples of expressions include ‘produce and disseminate knowledge’ (PUCRS), ‘excellence in teaching, research, innovation and social relevance’ (PUCPR).

Table 3 shows the results of the second research question which focused on Marist educational principles. It shows that Marian peda-

<sup>4</sup> The abbreviations of the universities indicated in table 1 and 2 will be used in this article, for example PUCPR stands for the Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná

gogy and a pedagogy of love of work were both mentioned at highest level, scoring 100%. Examples of language reflecting Marian pedagogy included ‘a Catholic institution founded on Marist tradition’ (NDMU) and ‘love of persevering work based on trusting Mary’ (MARISTA). Love of work as a Marist educational principle was reflected by expressions such as ‘we must love our work in our various areas of responsibilities’ (MIUC), and ‘love of job well done’ (UMC). A pedagogy of love and integral formation were mentioned at the same rate (80%). An example of an expression associated with pedagogy of love was ‘love of God and neighbor’ (MARISTA). Statements such as ‘seeking balance between scientific, technological and human

knowledge’ (UMQ) and ‘providing holistic quality training’ (MIUC) reflected integral formation. Family spirit was quoted by seven universities (70%). Statements such as ‘family spirit’ (UMC); ‘a sense of community’ were identified. A pedagogy of presence was mentioned by 6 (60%) universities. An example of pedagogy of presence was ‘prolonged presence with students’ (MARISTA). The lowest scoring Marist educational principles were pedagogy of simplicity (40%) and pedagogy of practical and innovative spirit (30%). Examples of this principle were ‘excellence in teaching, research, innovation, and social relevance’ (PUCPR), and ‘endowed with the capacity of judgement and innovation’ (UMQ).

**MARIST EDUCATION PRINCIPLES AMONG MARIST HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (TABLE 3)**

N°	Name of the university	Marial	Péd. of love	Form.	Famiy	Presence	Simplicity	Work	Innovation	Total	%
1	Catholic Pontificat University of Parana (PUCPR)	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	4	40%
2	Catholic Pontificat University of Rio Grande de Sul (PUCRS)	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	6	60%
3	Marcellino Champagnat University	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	5	50%
4	Marist College (MARISTE)	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	6	60%
5	Marist International University College (MIUC)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	6	60%
6	Marist University of Congo (UMC)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	6	60%
7	Marist University of Juadalajara (UMG)	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	5	50%
8	Marist University of Merida (MARISTA)	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	5	50%
9	Marist University of Querétaro	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	80%
10	Notre Dame of Marbel University (NDMU)	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	5	50%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56%</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>56%</b>	

## 7. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The aim of the research was to analyze the mission statements of Marist higher educational institutions worldwide, the first such study as far as is known. The results indicate that Marist higher education institutions recognize the three traditional purposes of a university: teaching, research and service of society. The results also indicate that the institutions include Marist educational principles in their stated missions: Marian pedagogy, pedagogy of love, integral formation, family spirit, pedagogy of presence, simplicity, love of work, and innovation.

Data on the first research question show that teaching was mentioned by all 10 (100%) universities. This result agrees with what previous authors found that teaching is a main component of the mission of universities (Scott, 2006). To support the same argument, NMIHE (2010) states that Marist higher education is called to follow Christ the Teacher in the style of Mary the Educator. There were several statements which are associated to teaching. These include 'excellence in teaching' (PUCPR) and 'training professionals in the service of society' (UMQ).

On the same research question, the results clearly reveal that Marist higher education institutions recognize research as a part of their mission. Some evidences of the re-

search themes include 'generating learning, research and extension experiences (UMG), 'contribute to disseminate scientific, technological and humanistic knowledge' (UMQ). These results concur with other scholars (Kerr, 1964; Bihn, 2000; Scott, 2006) who have emphasized the research as the important mission of universities. Importance of research in Marist higher educational institutions was also emphasized by NMIHE (2010) in its citing of Gravissimum Educationis (Vatican Council II, 1965) to propose that the faculty of Marist higher education institutions should make an effort to improve more and more their own competence and frame the content, objectives, methods and results of research of each academic disciplines in the context of a coherent vision for the world.

The study also reveals that all Marist higher education institutions include in their missions the third purpose of universities: service to society. Examples include such expressions as 'training professionals at the service to society' (UMQ), 'professionals committed to the life and to the progress of society' (PUCPR). These results are also consistent with the Marist mission to educate young people to become good Christians and good citizens (*Constitutions of the Marist Brothers*, 1986).

The second question addressed Marist educational principles. All Marist education principles were

detected, although to different degrees. Marian pedagogy and pedagogy of work were the highest cited principles, while simplicity and innovation were the lowest cited principles.

The results reveal that Marian pedagogy was mentioned by all 10 (100%). These results were expected because these institutions are called 'Marist' hence they need to claim who they are through their mission statements. The XIX General Chapter of the Institute (1993) stated that 'our Good Mother is the inspiration in how to live and act, and so, therefore, of how to educate'. The statements that were coded as Marian pedagogy include such as 'humanist-Christian vision, inspired by the Marist charism' (UMCH), and 'we are a Marist educational community' (UMG). These findings are in line with the proposition of NMIHE (2010) that Mary's attitude of setting out for Elizabeth's house to serve her is an invitation of the institutions of Marist higher education to go out themselves to meet those who most need them. This Marian pedagogical approach relates to service of society which has been discussed above.

The data show that the pedagogy of love of work was identified in all 10 (100%) institutions. According to David (2015) there is an explicit value placed on hard work in a Marist school. He additionally argues that the key to developing a culture of hard work is found in the modelling provided by the

teachers. Expressions coded as a pedagogy of love of work include, for example, 'a commitment to service' (US-MARIST), and 'we must love our work in our various areas of responsibilities' (MIUC). Such expressions echo the NMIHE (2010) document which suggested that in a Marist institution of higher education a love of work has to inspire innovation, minimize talk of competitiveness, and maximize collaboration, commitment, determination and perseverance.

Pedagogy of love is another characteristic of Marist higher education. In our results, it was mentioned by 8 (80%) Marist institutions. A pedagogy of love was identified in expressions such 'love of God and neighbor' (MIUC), and 'development of a just and fraternal society' (PUCRS). These results are in line with what St Marcellin Champagnat recommended to his Brothers: that 'to educate the young people it is necessary to love them, and to love them all equally' (Furet, 1989; Teacher's Guide, 1931).

The study found that integral formation was frequent in the institutions' mission statements. It was coded in 8 universities out of 10, that is 80%. This is holistic education where students should not only be formed academically but also spiritually. This kind of formation has been also referred to a balanced education. The UMQ mission statement provides a good example of seeking a balanced education: 'Develop an educational model

that integrates faith, culture and life; Seeking balance between scientific, technological and humanistic knowledge and skills that prepare for life formation and the exercise of the profession, with those support their realization as a human being'. These findings concur with NMIHE (2010), that integrated formation is one of the distinctive hallmarks of the Marist educational approach.

The data reveal that family spirit is one of the Marist educational principles found in the institutions. This code was traced 7 (70%) of the universities. An example of an expression associated with this code is 'simplicity, family atmosphere, prolonged presence with students' (MARISTA). These results align with what *Water from the Rock* (2007) states that 'like our early communities, 'we are inspired by the home of Nazareth (Jesus, Joseph and Mary) to develop those attitudes that make family spirit a reality: love and forgiveness, support and help, forgetfulness of self, openness to others, and joy'. This family spirit is rooted in the Saint Marcellin's great desire and legacy that we relate to each other and to the young people in our care as the members of a loving family would intuitively do (*In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat*, 1998).

The study revealed that pedagogy of presence is a Marist educational principle. It was cited by 6 (60%). Examples of pedagogy of presence expressions include such as 'prolonged presence with

students' (MARISTA), 'favour adequate social coexistence' (UMG). These findings concur with what a number of Marist documents suggest. For instance, *In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat* (1998) states that 'we educate above all through being present to young people in ways that show that we care for them personally'. The Constitutions of the Marist Brothers (1986) also state: 'we are close to young people in their actual life-situations'.

The results show that simplicity was mentioned by a minority of the institutions, only 4 (40%). An example is 'simplicity, family atmosphere, prolonged presence with students' (MARISTA). This is contrary to what was expected. According to Marist tradition, simplicity is among more documented Marist educational principles. For instance, *In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat* (1998), it is stated that 'simplicity of expression, avoiding any ostentation, guides our way of responding to the possibilities and the demands our contemporary educational settings.' Hence, Marist institutions would be expected to include this as an element of their mission statements.

Finally, the data indicate that practical and innovation spirit was the least cited in the mission statements of the institutions, only referred to by 3 (30%) of them. An example is 'endowed with the capacity of judgement and innovation' (UMQ). Due to the importance of

innovation in today's higher education, these results were not expected. According to NMIHE (2010), *Teachers' Guide* (1931) and *In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat* (1998), Marcellin was open to innovative pedagogical approaches such as the introduction of the new literacy method or the use of choral singing and the sport in education.

## 8. MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

The study indicates that, while Marist higher education institutions identify all three of the accepted functions of the university in their mission statements, they include Marist educational principles to a more moderate degree. There are implications from this for higher education researchers and managers who work in these institutions. Consideration of both the threefold function of the university and the implementation of Marist principles allow the institutions to evaluate themselves based on identifiable criteria. This can lead to improvements in their functioning as institutions of higher learning, as well as enhancement of their Marist identity and purpose.

This study seems to be the first to examine Marist educational principles using mission statements. The evidence of distinctive Marist educational approaches in higher education has been discussed. This may be useful to authorities

in the Marist institutions and Marist administrative units for their planning of workshops and other types of training in Marist education or Marist pedagogy for their faculty members. This could boost these people's understanding of Marist education and in turn improve their effectiveness as Marist educators.

This research has shown that some Marist educational principles are poorly reflected in the mission statements of Marist institutions. These include simplicity (30%) and practical innovation (40%). This could be due to the lower importance attributed to these elements or unfamiliarity with them. Marist literature suggests, however, that these characteristics should have a more defining role in Marist institutions (NMIHE, 2010; *Teacher's Guide*, 1931; *In the Footsteps of Marcellin Champagnat*, 1998). This may suggest that there is a need for better formation in these elements, and also their inclusion in mission statements.

Since Marist institutions of higher learning do periodic strategic planning, there is opportunity for them to rethink and redraft their mission statements to put more emphasis on the eight characteristics named by the NMIHE as educational principles for Marist institutions of higher learning. There is a need for active engagement and collaboration between the governing bodies of these institutions and Marist authorities when mission statements are being written. This would al-

low for better integration between the mission of the university and distinctive Marist educational approaches and priorities.

## 9. DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This content analysis study should be seen as a first step in wider research initiatives to assess strategic management practices in Marist higher education. This could use either qualitative methods or quantitative methods through different data collection approaches such as questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. A number of studies on mission statements of the universities would be helpful in shaping such research, such as Arias-Coello et al. (2018), Davies and Glaister (1996), Kosmutzky (2006), and Özdem (2011). Specific attention could be given to investigation of the role that

various stakeholders play in the development of mission statements, or in strategic planning practices more generally. The study has found that the three traditional aspects of the mission of the university are well embedded in the mission statements of Marist higher institutions. There is, however, a need to research the extent to which the rhetoric of these institutions is matched by what happens in practice. Research could be conducted, for example, into the institutions' performance using international or regional ranking systems to identify the differences between Marist higher education institutions and other higher education institutions. Future studies could investigate the role of the Institute of the Marist Brothers in strategic planning practices in Marist higher institutions. Last but not the least, research could be undertaken into the influence of the Marist charism on the kind of leadership exercised in Marist higher institutions.

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All references cited in this article can be obtained from the author (twagiraemilien@gmail.com).

# BROTHER NESTOR: PROPHET OF A SPIRITUALITY OF THE HEART?



Angelo Ricordi

The General Administration's Strategic Plan for its Animation, Leadership and Government of the Marist Institute 2017-2025 invites the Marists of Champagnat to live their mission and their fraternity with a spirituality of the heart. The Plan speaks of a renewed spirituality, which is integrated, Marian, and adapted to our times. It is to be a spirituality which allows us to deepen our experience of God through personal encounter with him in daily life. It is a spirituality inspired by the call of the XXII General Chapter: "To be the face and the hands of your tender mercy".

From our Marist tradition we are aware that living out of this kind of spirituality was part of the personal experience of Marcellin Champagnat and of the founding community of the Marist Brothers. However, the times were different. Marcellin and the first Brothers lived in a time when mysticism was suspect; the ideal of sanctity was seen, rather, to be attained through an ascetical living out of the virtues. Even so, we

can be sure that Marcellin and the first Brothers were no strangers to mystical experience. There are indications, despite the ascendancy of a more ascetical approach to Christian living, that men such as Brs Louis, Dorothée and François had a profoundly affective experience of God in their lives.

From the doctrinal point of view, the *Circular on the Spirit of Faith*, written by Brother François, clearly synthesises an apostolic ideal that gives birth to and is the foundation of an experience of God that is centred in the human heart: "We must seek him, *above all within ourselves, in the depths of our heart; because it is there that he lives, as in his sanctuary to receive our adoration and homage*" (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.2, p. 82). We might affirm, without any fear of its being anachronistic, that the Brother François' purpose in writing on spirituality was to instil in the Brothers the necessity of cultivating from within themselves a profound experience of the revelation of the God's love for us.

After the death of Brother Louis-Marie (1879), the Brothers came together in Chapter (1880) where they elected Brother Nestor as the third successor of Fr Champagnat. Lanfrey writes about this (2015, p.293): “In 1880, the Institute was a little tired of the authoritarian leadership of Br Louis-Marie, and it is not surprising that the General Chapter wanted a new man who was capable of facing the internal and external difficulties” in the Institute. In Marist tradition, the contribution of Brother Nestor is seen mainly in his ability to outline a broad programme of reform in the Institute, faced with those states that had strong secularisation laws. This programme saw the need for a higher level of intellectual formation of the Brothers (*CIRCULAIRES*, Vol.6, p. 362-553). However, with the exception of Brother André Lanfrey (*Marist Notebooks*, 2006), no one has written about the doctrinal-spiritual contribution of Brother Nestor in his Circulars.

The objective of this brief essay is to analyse the original contribution of the theological and spiritual thought of Brother Nestor and to demonstrate how this was ahead of his time. It remains relevant even today as a valuable way to describe how Marists can live their spirituality from an experience of the heart. Let us turn to the Circular of July 1881 on Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

## 1. BRIEF HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE CIRCULAR ON THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS (12/07/1881)

In a Circular in 1872, Brother Louis-Marie, commenting on the death of Brother Jean-Baptiste, had complained that the spiritual literature of the Institute was of a type that led the young Brothers to neglect it: “One day, these treasures of religious teaching, these principles of perfection and of salvation, these secrets of zeal and holiness, will be utilised by our Brothers, for the greater glory God and the greater good of souls. (Circular, n.104). According to Lanfrey (2015, p.253), the biography of Brother Jean-Baptiste, written by Brother Louis-Marie, had as its objective “to remember the greatness of a man who was still known by just a few and considered to be overshadowed by the younger generations.”

From an ecclesiological point of view, the end of the nineteenth century was marked by an intensity in the interplay between church and state. The First Vatican Council, especially through its declaration of the dogma of Papal infallibility, pondered the Church’s loss of temporal power, and in some way sought to compensate this with the dogmatic declaration: “At the time it lost temporal power, the Papacy saw its spiritual authority fortified by the Council” (BRESSOLETTE, 2004, p.1824). This was a time of mutual distrust between the church and the state, which in some way strengthened a conservative posture within the religious world. Part of

the leadership of Brother Louis Marie could be read from this perspective.

With the death of Brother-Louis Marie, the political context in which Brother Nestor took up the governance of the Marist Institute was not promising for the Church or for the Catholic schools in France. After almost twenty years of the conservative government of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (the Second Empire), the Republicans returned to power in 1879. The Church would pay dearly for its affinity and support for the previous government: its anticlerical policy would lead to the suppression of religious congregations in 1903 and culminate in the law separating church and state in 1905.

These were difficult times for religious congregations. They were difficult also for the Holy See. It was in this context of great instability, that

the Brothers gathered together on the occasion of the Seventh General Chapter of the Institute and there decided to elect the young Brother Nestor as the third successor of Fr Champagnat. If his election in a way was a surprise, his Circulars and his actions at the head of the Institute demonstrate that the choice of the Brothers in Chapter was correct.

Brother Nestor wrote only nine Circulars. The majority of these show a constant concern with the rapid changes in the legal scene regarding primary school teaching in France. Six of his Circulars deal directly with this topic. Among his Circulars, that of 12 July 1881, on the Sacred Heart of Jesus, is of fundamental importance, not only for its content, but more for showing us the Brother Nestor's profound knowledge of Christian spirituality and his desire to encourage others to put this spirituality into practice.

**BELOW WE CAN SEE A SMALL TABLE WITH THE CIRCULARS AND THEIR THEMES:**

N°	Date	Theme
138	12/03/1880	Communication of the election of Brother Nestor
139	02/07/1880	The struggle of the Catholic school in France*/ Letter to Pope Leo XIII
140	19/03/1881	The teaching of children*/brief biography of Br François
141	05/06/1881	On the Certificates/Diplomas for teachers *
142	12/07/1881	On the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus
143	18/11/1881	Information on the Brisson tax(1880)*
144	01/03/1882	Plan for the Study and Reform of Elementary School Teaching of the Little Brothers of Mary *
145	08/06/1882	Instruction on the education laws in municipal schools. Strategy: to gain time and passive resistance*.
146	26/12/1882	Information on the death of Br. Felicité. Convocation of the General Chapter and notice regarding travel to Rome.

<sup>1</sup> From 1852 to 1860 in France there was an authoritarian regime which progressively was evolving towards a liberal government. The Republicans, for their part, blamed Napoleon III for his coup in 1851 and at the same time his clericalism until 1860.

## 2. BRIEF THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT IN FRANCE AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introducing his Circular on the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Brother Nestor wrote: "With the objective of strengthening in ourselves this precious devotion, I am undertaking for you today, my very dear Brothers, an analysis of an excellent talk which I heard last year ... by an eminent preacher..." (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.6, p.334). We can guess that this might have been Fr Georges Longhayé, a Jesuit and a prolific writer on religious topics, who is cited in the body of the Circular. The sermon which Brother Nestor heard is reflective of a significant change in theology which was passing through France.

In his book, *Une histoire du sentiment religieux au XIXe siècle* [A History of Religious Sentiment in the 19th Century], Guillaume Cuchet argues that there was a theological revolution at the end of the nineteenth century in France, now largely forgotten. It involved a move in Catholic thinking from there being a small number of the elect (to be saved) to a large number. This new understanding, according to the theologian Jean Delumeau, helped to replace a pastoral approach that had been governed by fear to a style of preaching that was more optimistic for Christian salvation (CUCHET, 2020, p.187).

Another element which needs to be identified is the influence of St Alphonsus Liguori on the development of a moral theology. This was to influence the first Marists and, most obviously, Fr Colin who slowly began to distance himself from the more rigorous moral theology which had been taught in the Major Seminary in Lyon by Fr Choleton. Fr Bernard Bourtot dates this move from the year 1841, when Fr Colin entrusted to Fr Barthélemy Epalle the preaching of retreats to the young Brothers. Fr Barthélemy had a theological and moral understanding which was much more founded in the notion of the mercy of God (BOURTOT, 1999).

This change in the moral theology and preaching of younger priests in France helped to foster a range of private devotions that nurtured an understanding and experience of the goodness of God, devotions such as the Rosary, the Stations of the Cross, frequent Communion, and the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (CUCHET, 2020, p.203). All this contributed to a change in the image of God which for a long time had oscillated between application of God's justice and understanding of God's goodness. With Thérèse of Lisieux, we definitively witness the triumph of a swing to the understanding of the God's goodness.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gerard Cholvy: 'Du dieu terrible au dieu d'amour : une évolution dans la sensibilité religieuse au XIX'. In *Transmettre la foi: XVI -XX siècle*, Vol.I: Pastorale et prédication en France. Paris, CTHS, 1984.

Finally, I would like to underline another element of great historical importance in the religious context of France at the end of the nineteenth century, which was the return of Sulpician literature on piety. This literature hit the peak of its production after 1850, coinciding with the Second Empire. In the year 1861, religious books represented 17.7% of all books published in France. By way of comparison, a report from 2003 on the U.N. Programme for Development reports a similar number of around 18% of books published for the Arab market to have been religious in nature (CUCHET, 2020, p.297). This data helps us to understand the propitious times, and to reflect on the production of Marist literature during the leadership of Brother François and Louis Marie.

This jump in published religious material, allied to the conservative government of Napoleon III, was prompted by the development of a type of literature that supported a return to devotionalism. This movement was powered above all by the faithful who desired to go beyond the simple fulfilling of religious obligations. An analysis from the religious perspective reveals a significant change towards a growing interiorisation of the faith, moving from the public arena to more private religious devotion. Sulpician spirituality was an important influence in this movement, which saw the return of a spirituality that was less severe, one that was more affective and mystical rather than the

rigorism which had been dominant until then in French theology. The return of the word 'mysticism' was significant since it seemed to shed its older pejorative connotations (CUCHET, 2020, p.306-307).

All these elements, taken together, point to a decline in the image of a God of justice to an emphasis on the person of Jesus and the exaltation of Our Lady (Dogma of the Immaculate Conception). The magnitude of change is witnessed by the fact that it influenced the majority of Catholics. It would also filter into Marist teaching and have its influence there, evident in the writing of this unique Circular of Brother Nestor on the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

### **3. THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS IN FRANCE AND IN THE CHURCH**

The theological context within which the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus developed was directly related to the crisis which France passed through during the seventeenth century. The Brazilian theologian João Batista Libânio SJ contextualises this development as a profound crisis of religious sentiment.

The Jansenists contrasted the greatness of God and divine justice with the misery and weakness

of the human person. Wounded by original sin, a person was unworthy of approaching the Sacrament of the Eucharist and of receiving Communion (SCHNEIDER, 2000, p. 17). Curiously, it was just when Jansenism proclaimed the rigours of divine justice that the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus arose as an antidote, resonating in the faithful a call to the mercy of God (FALCADE, 2010, p.10). Susin reminds us:

“Confronted by the extremes of Jansenism, the one who is devoted to the Heart of Jesus is invited to moderate their ascetical practice in order to focus on the love and infinite mercy of the Heart of Christ. Suffering and ascetical practices become integrated in love, and the response of love is preceded by an awareness of the abundance of love in the heart of God. Frequent Communion broke with the Jansenist obsessions; the nine first Fridays revealed that salvation is to be found more in union with Christ than in the human effort involved in ascetism. This led people to trust more in the initiative of God as the source of salvation. The centrality of the love of Christ for humanity allowed people to be much more positive with respect to the human condition, the object of such love. It is a type of humanism.” (SUSIN, 1996, p.11-12).

The decision of the Holy See in 1765 to authorise the celebration of the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus can be seen as the first signal of official recognition of an affective spirituality. This was also strongly linked to the missionary movement of the eighteenth century. The love of Christ was transformed into a message of hope (CHÂTELLIER, 1993, p.251-252).

According to Libânio (1989), modern devotion to the Sacred Heart can be linked directly to the influences of Berullian spirituality with its devotion to the Incarnate Word, and to the devout humanism of St Francis de Sales in which the themes of goodness and the wonder of creation which are reflective to some degree of St Francis of Assisi. Its language was more accessible to the people.

We find the theological bases of the modern devotion to the Heart of Jesus most especially in Jean Eudes (1601-1680) and Margeurite-Marie Alacoque (1648-1690).

### 3.1. Jean Eudes

Jean [John] Eudes was born in Normandy in 1601, and lived for some years in Paris. He entered the Oratory in 1623 and was ordained priest in 1625. He left the Oratory in 1643 in order to found a seminary in Caen and the Congregation of Jesus and Mary (Eudists). He was responsible first for giving a foundation to devotion to the Heart of Mary (1648) and, later, to the Heart of Jesus (1672). He died in 1680. He was considered, according to Pope Pius XI, to be the father of a number of congregations, doctor, and apostle of the liturgical cult of the Hearts of Jesus and Mary (DEVILLE, 2003, p. 392).

We can find the bases of the devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary in the theology of St Jean Eudes, a follower of the Ber-

ullian school of spirituality. Eudes' theology is marked by the mystical Christocentrism of Bérulle and Condren and, at the same time, by the spirituality of St Francis de Sales. A characteristic which differentiates it from the spirituality of St Margeurite-Marie Alacoque (1648-1690) is the twin sense – Heart of Jesus/Heart of Mary – which is characteristic of the Berullian school:

“Oh, Heart of Jesus living in Mary and for Mary!  
Oh, Heart of Mary living in Jesus and for Jesus!”  
Jean-Jacques Olier (another in the Berullian school) used to exclaim “the interior of Mary and the interior of Jesus”.  
Eudes employed the word “heart” to capture this (DEVILLE, 1987, p. 94).

Jean Eudes emphasised the unity of the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, just as Olier asked his disciples to invoke “*Jesus living in Mary*”. The great originality of Eudes was to focus both personal prayer and communal prayer on the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, using “heart” as a word and symbol to awaken the love of Christians and their contemplation of the love of Jesus and Mary (DEVILLE, 1987, p.96). We can perceive this same unity in expressions used by Marcellin Champagnat, especially those at the end of his letters to the Brothers. Lanfrey (2001) does not exclude the possibility of the influence of Eudes in the way Marcellin refers to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, but he prefers to link

Marcellin's usage more directly with Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière (1735-1820) who, during the French Revolution, founded the Societies of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

I am of the opinion that the influence of the Sacred Heats of Jesus and Mary in Marcellin is sourced more in the school of Bérullian spirituality and that this came to Marcellin and the first Marists via the Sulpicians. However, this hypothesis lacks definitive evidence. Curiously, the Rule of 1837 carried in an appendix of Marcellin's prayers, and sermon which shows the clear influence of the Oratory:

“Oh Jesus, living in the womb of Mary, come and live in your servants. Give us your spirit of holiness. Give us your strength. Lead us in the ways of perfection and in the practice of your virtues...”<sup>3</sup> (RULE 1837).

The inclusion of this prayer of Marcellin is a strong indication that the theme was not unknown to the Founder and to the first Brothers. The question is whether it can be limited to Olier, or whether it can be seen as a development of the influence of St Jean Eudes.

### 3.2. Margeurite-Marie Alacoque (1648-1690)

The Circular on devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus by Brother

<sup>3</sup> Prayer recited by the Brothers each day up to the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council, when the “Liturgy of the Hours” was adopted.

Nestor makes a clear reference to St Margeurite-Marie Alacoque and the revelation received by her in the convent at Paray-le-Monial. Therefore, we will briefly present some biographical background regarding her in order to situate properly the devotion which she began.

Margeurite-Marie [Margaret Mary] was born in 1647 in Verosvres, located in Burgundy (France). In 1671, when she was twenty-four years old, she took the habit of the Sisters of the Visitation. The origin of the modern devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus is to be found in the mystical revelations which she experienced in Paray-le-Monial. Her confessor, the Jesuit, Claude de la Colombière, contributed to the propagation of this devotion.

For Margeurite-Marie Alacoque, meditation on the Trinity unfolded into the love of Jesus for people, the extent of which was so unknown and so undervalued that it calls for an act of reparation from those who approach him. The manifestation of Jesus is an essential element of this spirituality:

“This is the heart which so loved people that it kept nothing back until it was exhausted and consumed for them in order to bear witness to his love, and in return he received from the greater part of them nothing but ingratitude”.

Supported by her confessor, Margeurite-Marie disseminated the picture of the Heart of Jesus and she asked the faithful to make holy hours of reparation and for the consecration of people to the heart of Jesus (CARRAUD, 2004, p.460).

After a short time, her feast, which had been celebrated in French dioceses, was in 1856 extended to the whole Catholic world by decree of Pope Pius IX. In the Marist Institute this devotion was well received by the Superiors General. Five years previously, in 1851, Br François consecrated the Institute to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, in thanksgiving for its legal recognition. On 1 July 1859, he wrote a Circular on devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. On three further occasions, the Institute was consecrated to the Sacred Heart: 15 August 1873, on the occasion of the closure of the Sixth General Chapter; 29 June 1883 and 29 June 1889.

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF THE CIRCULAR ON DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS<sup>4</sup>

The Circular on Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus by Br Nestor is found within the tradition of the

<sup>4</sup> For a better understanding of the context of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the origins of the Marist Institute, we recommend reading the article of Br. André Lanfrey: The confraternity of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, in La Vallée (1822-1858), published on the website of the Institute, in the Marist History section: <http://old.champagnat.org/510.php?a=6a&id=4717>

Circulars of the Marist Institute. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, these were rather pragmatic, as they were utilised to inform all the Brothers of official communications of the Institute. They were hybrid in their composition, since they included notices and reports, as well as some spiritual teaching that the Superiors General offered the whole Institute. This approach began with the Founder, Marcellin Champagnat, who used the Circulars for both practical notices and also for sharing some important syntheses regarding Marist spirituality and mission. The Circular was also the official way to communicate the deaths of the Brothers, and for some, to provide an initial biography.

#### 4.1. Prologue

The text of this Circular begins with an appreciation of the relevance of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. We must not forget the high regard that this devotion enjoyed across France, and later in other countries. In his prologue, Br Nestor makes an important distinction:

“Of all the devotions which the Church offers us, the one referred to as the Sacred Heart of Our Lord is surely the most excellent, the most efficacious, and the most consoling. It is the most excellent because it has Our Lord Jesus Christ as the object” (CIRCULAIRES, Vol. 6, p.333).

The Christocentrism of this Circular is notable. The sublime object of the devotion is the person of Jesus Christ. Further on, Br Nestor

reflects on the nature of the devotion. As he introduces the principal promises of Christ to St Margeurite-Marie Alacoque, Br Nestor centres his reflection directly on the salvific message of this revelation:

I give you, he says, all the graces necessary for your state in life; I will give peace to your families; I will console you in all your prayers; I will be your security during your life and especially at the time of your death; I will pour out abundant blessings on all your undertakings; sinners will encounter the source and infinite ocean of mercy in my heart; lukewarm souls will become fervent; fervent souls will soon reach great perfection; I will bless the houses in which the image of my Sacred Heart is displayed and honoured; I will give to priests the gift of touching the most hardened hearts; I will write on my heart the names of those who spread this devotion and they will never be removed (Idem. p.333-334).

The objective is clear, to strengthen this important devotion in the Brothers which, in the opinion of Br Nestor, is a clear necessity for the times that the Institute was passing through. He wanted to fortify in the Brothers piety and zeal for their mission. However, he is not content just to offer them some devotional practices, but he wanted to reflect profoundly on the practice of this devotion as a form of spiritual growth. He stressed, therefore, the difference of this devotion from others, highlighting its centrality, having as it does Christ himself as its object and goal:

To be devoted to the Sacred Heart of Jesus does not mean to be in the habit of going to seek God on God's own, but of seeking God's reflection in

people. And where is a person most striking and most loving but in the human heart?

Is it not to meet God in a heart similar to ours, a brother of ours, who, except for sin, experienced all that we experience?

The knowledge we have of our own hearts allows us to meet God like reading an open book. (Idem. p.335).

There is a deep humanism in recognising the centrality of the Incarnation as the efficacious and privileged means of access to the heart of Christ. There is a profound relationship of interiority in developing our own hearts as the privileged place of access to the Heart of Christ. Don't we find here the basis of a spirituality of the heart?

The Circular addresses one of the most important Jansenist criticisms in regard to this devotion, that it is not a matter of separating the heart of Christ from the totality of Our Lord:

Fixing our thoughts, our desire, and our homage on the Sacred Heart does not separate us from the indivisible humanity of Jesus Christ ...

So, when I adore the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, it is the whole Jesus Christ that I am adoring, the whole humanity which was sacrificed, and became immortal, that Word which possesses, sustains and literally divinises that humanity in its entirety and in all its parts (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.6, p.335).

#### 4.2. On the nature of the devotion

There is an important distinction between the specific object of the devotion (the Heart of Jesus)

and the total object of this devotion which is the Incarnate Word. We see Br Nestor's clear linking of this devotion with the Berullian school of spirituality, which is the basis of its theology. It consciously focuses on the affective and this carries a powerful attraction for people's imagination: their relationship with a heart pierced with thorns, a symbol of the love offered to everyone, and which desires the intimacy of such a personal relationship:

"...it is that God, the God of all knowledge, when he decided to speak and act as a human person, speaks and acts in a way that is understandable, and is fully human" (Idem. p.336).

He concludes in clear and accessible language:

"When we make any act of devotion to the Sacred Heart, we are adoring the Man-God who loves us: this is what it is all about." (Idem. p.337).

#### 4.3. A creative interpretation in relation to Marist spirituality

What is the relationship of this devotion to Marist spirituality? The synthesis offered by Br Nestor says it clearly: humility. Lanfrey (2020) points out in two recent articles on the 'spirit of the Institute', the equivalent of what we call Marist spirituality, that the distinctiveness of the Institute was already described very well in the Circular on the Spirit of Faith by Br François:

Indeed, the spirit of the Brothers of Mary, their distinctive character, must be a **spirit of humility and simplicity**, that of the Most Holy Virgin, their Mother and model, who has a particular preference for the hidden life, for the humblest tasks, for the poorest places and schools. This leads them to do good everywhere and always without fuss or ostentation, drawing them to modest and limited teaching, but teaching that is solid and religious (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.2, p.21).

The synthesis and the explanation offered by Br Nestor regarding the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the spirit of the Institute (spirituality) is centred in humility. Br Nestor puts it this way:

“But what should be our humility?  
It is the very humility of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.  
Let us then look to the divine Master  
to understand its essence.”

His great novelty in approaching the topic of humility is moving beyond an understanding of it as a practised virtue to see it mystically and spiritually:

“A higher love, which surpasses and absorbs everything which might be akin to a love of self. Jesus loves by giving himself. This is humility in its true profundity.” (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.6, p.337).

#### 4.4. Love as a source of apostolic action

The originality of Br Nestor is in presenting the exercise of asceticism, or the purgative way in spirituality, as a real exercise of love:

Love oneself and give of oneself; love oneself and sacrifice oneself: this is true humility, the entire teaching of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Does it not match our vocation, which consists of dedication? Are we not right to tell ourselves that humility, understood and practised in accord with the teachings of Jesus Christ, is the virtue which is proper to a religious, and in a particular way, to the religious who is an educator? (Idem. p.338)

It seems that Br Nestor’s objective is to integrate this affective spirituality with the often dry tasks of the religious who is both educator and apostle:

“Wherever he goes, he does good.  
His heart is consumed, is poured out  
drop by drop in an inexhaustible generosity.”

He uses Scriptural texts as a basis for his reflection:

“I am among you as one who serves”,  
says Jesus to his apostles (Lk 22:27).  
“My food is to do the will of my Father” (Jn 4:34).  
“I do not seek my own glory, but the glory  
of the Father who sent me” (Jn 8:50).

Using rich psychology, he says that the Christian life, and especially the religious life, is not based upon a stoic detachment, but sees a greater love so that every sacrifice, every act of asceticism, suffering, or self-giving, has for its ultimate object the love of Christ. Br Nestor is a teacher who is clear in how he presents this. He invites the Brothers to study the heart of Christ, and he links this with what it means to be a true apostle:

It is his Father whom [Jesus] loves in his apostles;  
it is his Father whom he loves in his ungrateful  
country; it is his Father whom he loves in souls;  
it is his Father whom he loves in us.

This is the reason why he sacrifices himself, and  
denies himself even to the shedding of his blood.  
It is also the way that we must act.

Let us love God in our Family and in our  
Congregation as well as in our country;

**let us love God in each of our Brothers,  
in each of our pupils;  
let us love God in the poor  
and the uneducated;  
let us love God in everything  
that comes from him.**

Only in this way, will we love all of these  
more than we love ourselves; in this way  
we will be dedicated and humble; we will know  
how to sacrifice ourselves, but we will only  
surrender ourselves to the one person  
who is worthy of this self surrender.

This is true humility. We will only learn it  
in the school of the Sacred Heart of Jesus  
(Idem. p. 339-340).

We do not have a study of the influence of Francis de Sales in the formation of Br Nestor, though we know that books on Salesian spirituality had been recommended for the Brothers' reading from the time of the Founder. It is easy to imagine that Br Nestor had made his own synthesis of this spirituality where one's relationship with God begins in the heart. For Francis de Sales, the pivot of the spiritual life is in the human heart and in the human capacity to respond to this love, making the person a participant in the love of God. Perfection is found in everything that we do out of love (LONGCHAMP, 2004, p.1588).

## 4.5. The originality of the spiritual thinking of Br Nestor

All the arguments of the Circular concerning devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus point to engagement with and experience of Christian spirituality. At a time when the practising of virtues was synonymous with spirituality, Br Nestor takes his readers deeper by showing two other ways of living a Christian life. The first addresses the topic of the search for salvation:

There are, in fact, two ways of understanding Christianity. There are souls who, in all their habitual practices, consider God above all as a Master, and they focus their attention on Divine directives. They walk the way of justice, but they pay a lot of attention to their fears.

**These souls do not go beyond a rigid idea of duty even in their most intimate decisions.**

All their preoccupations, all their supernatural ambitions, can be summed up in one word: Salvation. What must I do to save myself?

It is this, in a narrow and fearful sense, is the question of the young man in the Gospel: "What good work must I do to obtain eternal life? (Mt 19:16)" (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.6, p.340)

In his reflection, Br Nestor is in the vanguard of a Christianity lived out in mercy and compassion. A religion which goes beyond the idea of duty to experience the goodness of God. This is the great challenge in the Gospel, found in the story of the young man who asks what he must do to obtain eternal life, and it is also found in the parable of the Merciful

ful Father (Lk 15:11-32). In the opinion of the theologian Pagola, this is the real tragedy in this the parable. There are some Christians who never abandon the Church or religion; they know how to keep all the Commandments, but they do not know how to love (PAGOLA, 2012, p.261). Br Nestor says this about such an approach:

“This is a religion without enthusiasm or ardour. It is a supernatural life which is forced and anxious, a very difficult kind of journey, always on the brink of the abyss, in a situation without the sunshine of joy.” (Idem. p.341).

The second way of living Christianity is based on grace, in the acceptance of the gratuitous gift of God. It is to live the centrality of encounter with Christ, who is understood as the sun of justice illuminating our lives and giving us joy:

“Here is the Heart that loved people so much” and what happens next? Everything stays the same and at the same time everything changes. Primal Wisdom remains wholly intact. God is no less Sovereign, nor divine justice less exacting, nor divine anger less redoubtable. One’s obligations remain; salvation continues to be the principal thing, indeed the only thing. However, everything takes a different orientation, everything smiles and lights up, everything warms up under the ark of the sky. Why might this be? Ah! It is because love makes an appearance in the world; the love of God appears in the heart of people, the friendship, the fraternal friendship of a God who is not a persecutor. I would even say he seeking to win us with his initiatives and imploring us to return. Yes, God implores us at the same time that this friendship demands that God’s rights remain in place and the demands

of divine justice remain just as rigorous.

The Master always speaks from the heights of Sinai and in the midst of thunder and lightening:

“You will adore and serve me alone” (Lk 4:8). As the friend he is, God also speaks to my heart and gives me great confidence:

“My son, give me your heart (Prov. 23:26)”  
(CIRCULAIRES, Vol.6, p.341-342).

The climax of the whole narrative and of the whole Circular is in the profound interpretation which Br Nestor makes of the doctrine revealed by Jesus to St Marguerite-Marie Alacoque: the primacy of the manifestation of God’s merciful love to people. This is a love which becomes clear in the devotion of a Divine heart which beats in unison with a human heart. This has the consequence of living Christianity no longer as a duty, but from a new understanding of the God’s mercy. Br Nestor prophetically proposes a spirituality of the heart, not one based exclusively on duty, but one animated by the discovery of the love of God in the world. This spirituality would reach its pinnacle in France in the “little way” of St Thérèse of the Child Jesus:

“Jesus does not ask us for great actions, but only abandonment and gratitude ... he does not need our works, but only our love”  
(THÉRÈSE OF LISIEUX, 2011, p.305).

Another important aspect of the teaching of Br Nestor is the primacy of grace over works. His intuitions are echoed in *Gaudete et Exultate*, the Apostolic Exhortation of Pope Francis who writes that we are not justifi-

fied by our works or by our efforts to become holy, but by the grace of the Lord who is always the one to take the initiative. Friendship with Jesus is not to be measured by the number of our deeds. Before these comes a gift, the initiative of God's love. In the thicket of precepts and prescriptions, there exists a spirituality which allows us to see two faces: that of the Father and that of our brother. It is not a matter of following precepts but of contemplating the face of the Father in every brother or sister, above all in the most fragile (Cf. *Gaudete et Exultate*, n.61).

When a person discovers this new perspective for how to live the Christian life, a profound transformation takes place in the individual's life. Br Nestor puts it this way at the end of his Circular:

From this moment, my religion is purified, my supernatural life is adorned and reawakens; my Christian life arises and expands.

It is no longer only a relationship of servility and dependence between me and God.

No. There is a noble exchange, a reciprocity, a competition of sacrifice, an interchange of delicate friendship, abnegation

with abnegation, dedication with dedication, love with love (CIRCULAIRES, Vol.6, p.342).

This same perspective is offered to us by Pope Francis:

"Do you let his fire inflame your heart? Unless you let him warm you more and more with his love and tenderness, you will not catch fire. How will you then be able to set the hearts of others on fire by your words and witness?" (*Gaudete*, n.151).

The relevance of this Circular, unfortunately unknown to most Marists, becomes clear for us. We can see in it the originality and, at the same time, the simplicity of a profound spirituality revealed to us through Br Nestor's interpretation of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. We have a text that was quite *avante-garde* in spiritual writing in his time, so we can see him as a prophet of a spirituality of the heart. The core of a spirituality of the heart, in Br Nestor's view, comes down to a life of intimacy and friendship with Christ.:

"Let us cling to Jesus in life and in death. Let us surrender ourselves to this faithful friend, the only one who can take care of us when all others fail" (*Idem*, p.343).

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# GOOD HEALTH, A FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN FOR MARCELLIN CHAMPAGNAT



**Patricio Pino Medina, fms and the Network of Marist Memorial Centres in the Region**

*The main, and I can say, the only condition required to enter our house, along with health, is good will and a sincere desire to please God.*

Letter of Marcellin Champagnat to Pierre Alexis Labrosse; Ranchal, Rhône; 28.08.31; PS 23

In the Network of Marist Memorial Centres in the South American region of the Institute we have organised ourselves into different work groups to be able to pursue our respective goals collaboratively and with synergy. One of these work groups is Marist Patrimony Research.<sup>1</sup> Given the current pandemic, we met virtually six times in 2020, designing lines for research into areas that, from our experience and training, we think need a charismatic illumination and foundation. One of these topics, that of health and sickness in the founding period of the Institute, is addressed in this article. Through it we hope to contribute our own reading of the situation, and to encourage debate and fraternal dialogue in the global health context affecting us all today.

In the middle of the current pandemic that has overwhelmed, paralysed and saddened us, we asked ourselves, as Matrists, if Marcellin and the founding community experienced any similar situation or process that which we could examine and from which we could learn. Are there learnings that we can apply from their charismatic journey to our situation today? Searching Marcellin's and other contemporary writings, we have found similar important experiences. While they are not exactly the same as the global pandemic that we face, they do show us the weight that the founding community gave to health and illness; it was something of major concern for in the founding of the Marist project. This theme can be approached from different directions. We will do it here from the

<sup>1</sup> This group is currently made up of Mr Paulo Quermes, from the Union of Marist Provinces of Brazil (UMBRASIL), and its current Coordinator; Mr Angelo Ricordi, from the Marist Province of Brasil Centro-Sul, Mr Francisco Flores, and Brother Patricio Pino, both from the Province of Santa María de los Andes.

perspective of the life of the Brothers and of early communities, with reference to the broader situation in France at that time.

Worthy of highlight initially is that fact that, of the approximately 473 candidates who became Brothers in Marcellin's time,<sup>2</sup> 53 of them died before the Founder,<sup>3</sup> and with an average age at death of 22.1. This alone, interesting but also shocking, has led us to delve deeper into the subject, seeking more precise data in the various writings available to us from the time.

The first data we wish to present come from an extract from the Death Register,<sup>4</sup> associated with the Hermitage Cemetery but which records deaths from a wider area, with entries from 1825 to 1875. This document provides us with information on each deceased person in the Register, albeit that there differences among the entries. While the basic data is mostly included in each entry, they do not follow the same format. In this analysis, we will cover the period from the first registered death to the last one before Marcellin Champagnat's, in June 1840. It is noteworthy that this register was begun by Marcellin in 1827, ten years after the foundation and after

the serious crises of 1825-1826. This was critical moment which helped the founding group to become more clearly aware of the action of God and Mary in their project, and the role it played in church and society. On the gender condition, state of life, and age of those registered. There are 69 people named in the register prior to 6 June 1840. Two are women, 67 are men, of whom 53 are Brothers. We will give a more detailed description below.

## **1. LAYMEN, LAYWOMEN AND PRIESTS WHO APPEAR IN THE DEATH REGISTER**

There are 16 entries for people who were not professed members of the nascent Institute. Of these, there is one novice, one postulant and one entry in remembrance of a Marist priest, Father Bret, who died on the high seas while sailing to the missions of Oceania; the other 13 are various other lay men and women.

Of this last group of people, two are children of five and six years of age, one a girl of 14, and one a man of 46, all of whom seem, by their surnames and places of birth, to be relatives of Marcellin. There

<sup>2</sup> BRAMBILA, Aureliano. "Places of Encounter with Marcellin Champagnat. Personnel entered in the time of the Founder". CE-PAM 2005. Loma Bonita, Guadalajara, Mexico. In733001.doc and in910001.doc, pp. 44 and following.

<sup>3</sup> SESTER, Paul, *Origines des Freres Maristes. Recueil des Écrits de St Marcellin Champagnat. 1789-1840. Vol. 3*, pp. 301-315. Original in AFM 135.6.

<sup>4</sup> This article is edited in OFM III, pp. 301-314, Doc. 600, and the original in AFM, RM 135.6.

are also seven people in this group who were already very old for the time (58 to 80 years). Some of them could be from the group housed at the Hermitage by the Brothers with the help of Mlle Fournas<sup>5</sup>. Finally, there are also two males, aged 20 and 40, of whom the register gives no further information.

The following is a record of these 16 people, arranged in a table by the fields provided in their entries in the register; we have not included either their parents' names, which appear only in some records, or the names of the witnesses. We will not delve into this data, as it is not relevant to our purposes:

**The cross (+) means death.**

**The three dts (...) indicate an absence of data in the record.**

**R° is the number they have in the OFM III register. DOC 600**

N°	R°	Date+...	Name	Native of	Place +	Age	Interred at
1.	11	1829-08-23	Pierre Bonnevie	Evian, Savoie	Hermitage	20	Hermitage
2.	22	1833-12-16	Jean-Pierre Champagnat	Marlhes	...	46	Hermitage
3.	23	1834-03-29	Jean Champagnat	Marlhes	...	5	Hermitage
4.	25	1833-10-15	Joseph Ducoin	Izieux	...	40	Hermitage
5.	26	1833-12-03	Jean Marnat	Marlhes	...	80	Hermitage
6.	28	1834-07-09	Claude Clapéron	Izieux	...	80	Hermitage
7.	33	1836-01-21	Jean Ronchard	St. Chamond	...	58	Hermitage
8.	34	1837-01-01	Pierre Robert	Izieux	...	60	Hermitage
9.	35	1835-07-10	Théodore Bernard Arnaud	...	...	60	Hermitage
10.	42	1837-12-09	Marcelin Champagnat	Marlhes	...	6	Hermitage
11.	52	1839-03-18	Antoine Perret	Brezins, Isère	...	71	Hermitage
12.	41	1837-11-27	Solemn Mass for Fr. Bret	Died 27-03-1837	Atlantic		Hermitage

<sup>5</sup> In 1833 Mlle Fournas, before her death, donated her property at La Grange Payre to Fr Champagnat. In addition, she offered financial assistance to help to accommodate the old men and orphans who were accommodated at the Hermitage. (Letter 27). She died in Saint-Chamond on 3 June 1833 in her house in Rue Garat. (P.SESTER and R. BOURNE, Letters Vol.2, References. 1987. Rome, p. 223.)

N°	R°	Date+...	Name	Native of	Place+	Age	Interred at
13.	29	1834-07-02	Marie Champagnat	Marlhes	...	14	
14.	51	1839-03-05	Marie Chevalier	St. Pierre-de-Bressieux, Isère	...	68	Hermitage
15.	8	1829-05-25	Gabriel Thomassot (novice)	...	Hermitage	19	Hermitage
16	32	1836-	Louis Champallier	St. Just-en-Doizieu	Hermitage	15	Hermitage

## 2. LIVING CONDITIONS IN SCHOOLS; EVIDENCE FROM THE REGISTRATION OF DEATH

Looking now at the record of the 53 Brothers who died in the range of dates indicated, we can see the following:

YEARS	DECEASED	ADMISSIONS <sup>6</sup>
1825 - 1828	6	40
1829 - 1832	12	66
1833 - 1836	5	122
1837 – June 1840	30	206
<b>Total Bros. deceased</b>	<b>53</b>	

If we look at the candidates who, according to various records, were admitted during the same periods, there seems to be a correlation between the proportion of deaths in each four-year period and number entering the Institute. However, when we look at the average

age of death of these Brothers, we are surprised that it is 22.1 years. What factors would influence such an early death during this period of early expansion of the Institute? Are there comparable statistics for similar groups in France and Europe of that period?

If we separate them by age-ranges of six years, we find the following:

AGE RANGE	DECEASED
14 – 19	23
20 – 25	16
26 – 31	9
34 – 39	1
40 – 45	1

The largest proportion is clearly among the youngest in the group.

As to the places of death of these Brothers, it is notable that 35 of them died at the Hermitage which, in ad-

<sup>6</sup> BRAMBILA, (2005), op. cit. pp. 44 ff.

dition to its being the central house and the house of formation, was also the Institute's infirmary,<sup>7</sup> built initially in a separate and suitable wing. Four other places correspond to the location of a Marist school; eight are different locations, including a hospital in Lyon, some clearly indicated as the location of the family of the deceased, and six other entries have no information about the location of death. In the same way, the Hermitage also appears 35 times as the place of burial, indicating that they were not always buried where

they died. Only one entry in the register does not have the details of the burial place of the Brother.

The majority of records also indicate the Brothers' places of birth, and here we find a wide dispersion of 40 different places, without any of them occurring frequently; the place with the maximum frequency is three, Saint Genest Malifaux. There are eight records without this information.

Below is a table of the 53 entries, with their respective data.

N°	R°	DATE +...	BROTHER	CIVIL NAME	NATIVE OF	PLACE +	Age	Interred
1.	43	1838-04-17	Adjuteur	Pierre Tournassud	Charentay, Rhône	Hermitage	17	Hermitage
2.	47	1838-07-09	Agathon	Pierre Fayasson	St. Nizier, Loira	Hermitage	18	Hermitage
3.	18	1831-05-12	Ambroise	Jean Pessonnel	Pélussin	Hermitage	24	Hermitage
4.	20	1832-04-18	Anselme	Etienne Poujard	St. Jean la Bussière	Hermitage	30	Hermitage
5.	31	1835-07-05	Anselme	Jean Pierre Tonnerieux	Sorbier	Annonay Ardèche	29	Annonay
6.	55	1839-00-00	Antonin	Alexis Boucher	Thiranges, Haute-Loire	...	23	Thiranges
7.	64	1840-08-06	Aphraate	Morgues Claude	St. Alban-du-Rhône, Isère	Hermitage	20	Hermitage
8.	19	1831-11-19	Augustin	Benoit Berthinier	St. Vicent de Rhin	St. Vicent	19	St. Vicent

<sup>7</sup> "When the house of the Hermitage was built, he could not find a suitable spot in it for the infirmary, so he had a wing added in order to be able to accommodate the sick. 'I could not be at ease,' he remarked at the time, 'as long as there were no suitable rooms for the use of those good Brothers who have used up their health and strength working for the sanctification of the children. Surely it is right for us to give those Brothers special consideration and secure them every means to restore that health which they have so generously sacrificed for the glory of God and the good of the Society.'" (FURET, Jean-Baptiste LIFE OF JOSEPH BENEDICT MARCELLIN CHAMPAGNAT. 1856. Marist Institute. Bicentenary Edition. 1989. Chapter XV, Part 2, p. 314 in ch33010.doc, CEPAM).

N°	R°	DATE +...	BROTHER	CIVIL NAME	NATIVE OF	PLACE +	Age	Interred
9.	30	1834-09-11	Barthélemi	Barthélemi Champagnat	Marlhes	Hermitage	18	Hermitage
10.	66	1840-00-00	Bellin	Servizet Alexis	Cordéac, Isère	Cordéac	17	Cordéac
11.	68	1840-05-22	Bérard	Joseph Mas	Rauret, Haute-Loire	Hermitage	25	Hermitage
12.	4	1827-07-08	Bernardin	Louis Stanislas Perronnet	...	...	...	St. Paul en Jarret
13.	16	1830-05-05	Bernardin	Claude Defour	St. Jullien Mollesabat sic	St. Jullien	24	St. Jullien
14.	6	1828-02-19	Bruno	Jean-Francois Boule	...	Ampuis	16	Ampuis
15.	3	1827-02-07	Côme	Pierre Sabot	St. Sauveur en Rue	Hermitage	17	Hermitage
16.	67	1840-00-00	Condé	Gatel Joseph	Coublevie, Isère	Coublevie	19	Coublevie
17.	63	1840-05-10	Constant	Joseph Rigolet	Coublevie, Isère	Hermitage	18	Hermitage
18.	38	1837-09-04	Dorothé	Jean Villelonge	St. Genest Malifaux	Hermitage	27	Hermitage
19.	14	1830-03-22	Dosithée	Jean Chomel	...	Hermitage	18	Hermitage
20.	45	1838-06-08	Fabien	Pierre Bouvard	La Frette, Isère	Hermitage	19	Hermitage
21.	49	1838-11-06	Félix	Antoine Barralon	Rochetaillée, Loire	Hermitage	...	Hermitage
22.	53	1839-03-20	Félix	Francois Berger	Croix-Rousse, Lyon, Rhône	Hermitage	15	Hermitage
23.	69	1840-00-00	Fulgence	Jean Baptiste Attendu	Montbrison, Loire	Montbrison	18	Montbrison
24.	7	1829-05-07	Gébuin	Jean Baptiste Dervieux	Ampuis	Hermitage	17	Hermitage
25.	9	1829-06-19	Gébuin	Etienne Barthélemy	St. Pierre Enac	Hermitage	17	Hermitage
26.	58	1839-08-31	Germain	Richard Gavard	St. Just-en- Chevalet, Loire	...	29	St. Martin-la- Plaine Loire
27.	59	1839-09-20	Grégoire	Jean Baptiste Vincent	Chambon, Loire	Hermitage	25	Hermitage
28.	36	1837-03-19	Hilaire	Joseph Thomas	Longe Chenal	Hermitage	18	Hermitage
29.	10	1829-07-30	Jean	Jean Cholleton	Clermont Ferrand	Hermitage	17	Hermitage
30.	65	1840-01-26	Jean Chrysostome	Doche Jean Louis	Desingy, Savoie	Hermitage	31	Hermitage

N°	R°	DATE +...	BROTHER	CIVIL NAME	NATIVE OF	PLACE +	Age	Interred
31.	39	1837-09-18	Jean Louis	Joseph Bonin	Belmont Isère	Hermitage	22	Hermitage
32.	1	1825-03-29	Jean Pierre	Jean Pierre Martinol	Burdigne	Boulieu	28	Boulieu
33.	61	1840-03-08	Jean Pierre	Jean Deville	St. Juliet-en-Jarret, Loire	Firminy, Loire	34	Firminy
34.	46	1838-06-25	Justin	Pierre Champallier	Lavalla, Loira	Hermitage	23	Hermitage
35.	56	1839-05-06	Lazare	André Rembert	Viriville, Isère	...	17	Viriville
36.	48	1838-11-03	Louis Gonzague	George Guette	La Chapelle, Loire	Hermitage	24	Hermitage
37.	21	1833-07-26	Macaire	Augustin Belin	...	Hermitage	22	Hermitage
38.	62	1840-04-30	Marc	Bernadacy Joseph	Frascau Sonogno, Suisse	Hermitage	24	Hermitage
39.	40	1837-10-17	Mèlece	Thomas Vidon	Commelle, Isère	Hermitage	23	Hermitage
40.	17	1830-10-12	Nilamon	Jean-Baptiste Berne	...	Hermitage	19	Hermitage
41.	50	1839-01-11	Pacôme	Jean Marie Reou	La Valla, Loire	Hermitage	42	Hermitage
42.	60	1840-01-31	Pascal	Jean Louis Chapelon	St. Genest Malifaux, Loire	Hermitage	20	Hermitage
43.	54	1839-03-30	Pemen	Pierre Ardin	Marnant Roybon, Isère	Hermitage	26	Hermitage
44.	2	1825-00-00	Pierre	Pierre Robert	St. Sauveur	Hospital de Lyon	16	...
45.	5	1826-09-00	Placide	Jean Fara	...	Lavalla	14	Lavalla
46.	37	1837-04-03	Rupert	Francois Tardy	St. Paul en Jarret	...	16	St Paul
47.	13	1829-12-25	Sylvestre	Jacques Desmont	St. Clair, Ardèche, canton d'Annonay	St. Clair at home	...	St. Clair Annonay
48.	15	1830-05-14	Sylvestre	Alexandre Vêbres	...	Hermitage	16	Hermitage
49.	57	1839-05-25	Théodore	Benoit Brossier	Estivareille, Loire	...	23	

N°	R°	DATE +...	BROTHER	CIVIL NAME	NATIVE OF	PLACE +	Age	Interred
50.	27	1834-04-30	Théodoret	Thomas Fayasson	Montarcher	Hermitage	25	
51.	44	1838-04-26	Thomas	Genest Bouche	St. Genest, Loire	Hermitage	25	
52.	12	1829-10-23	Timothée	Jean Bouchet	...	Hermitage	31	
53.	24	1834-04-10	Vincent	Claude Barnait	Mars	Hermitage	30	

In those years (1789-1840), the average life expectancy in France was 37,<sup>8</sup> and the average death rate of our Brothers at the time was 22.1 years. It would seem that the environments of country schools run by Brothers were not very healthy; it was a risky job. Br Gabriel Michel, scholar and writer of our origins for many years, provides some more background: in 1820 there were 32 million inhabitants in France.<sup>9</sup> He informs us that the winter of 1816-1817 was terrible;<sup>10</sup> because of

the war, in 1815 they had not planted enough, and since they had also to feed the army of occupation, there was little left by the Spring of 1817. Average height was small: one third of conscripts were deemed of no use because they were less than 1.57m tall. In 1824, just 4% were 1.64m in height. In 1826, life expectancy was 36 years. In 1831, an average of 18 kilos of meat were consumed per person each year. In country areas it was 345 grams per week, and 500 grams of bread per day.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Since the beginning of the 20th century... Life expectancy at birth increased prodigiously, between 1900 and 2006 from 43.4 for men to 77.2, and from 47 to 84 years for women. The gain was therefore about 33.8 years for the former and about 37 years for the latter, or the equivalent of life expectancy at the end of the 18th century. Among women born in the 1830s, only one in four celebrated her 70th birthday in 1900 (P. BOUDELAIS, V. GOURDON, J.-L. VIRET. *Old age in France, XVII-XX centuries*. In SEMATA, *Social Sciences and Humanities*, ISSN 1137-9669, 2006, Vol. 18:31-60. p. 51.)

<sup>9</sup> In the decade of 1825-1834, France's total national income was 10,606 million francs and the per capita income was 325.6 francs per year. This figure shows us a country with a great deal of poverty and probably a lot of inequality, if we consider that Marcellin asked the parish priests and communes for 400 francs a year for a Brother, making the costs of this service much cheaper (Cf. PRICE, Roger, *History of France*. Ed. AKAL. 2016. Madrid, Spain, p. 167). France, on the whole, was getting richer; both the value of agricultural production and, above all, that of industrial production was rising. And yet the majority of the population was becoming poorer: wages were falling and at certain times literally col-lapsing [...] even in 1848, 75 % of the population was engaged in agriculture [...] (ESQUIVEL CORELLA, Freddy. *Introduction to the emergence of social work: socio-historical transformations in France (18th and 19th centuries)*. *Reflections* [on line]. 2014, 93(1), 85-101 [date of reference 15 September 2020]. ISSN: 1021-1209. Available at: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=72930086006> p.90).

<sup>10</sup> The events of the Revolution had little effect on the pre-industrial, low-productivity economy, with a system that remained vulnerable to frequent shocks from poor harvests, high food prices and falling demand for manufactures (PRICE, Roger (2016). *History of France*, p. 166).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. MICHEL, Gabriel. *Champagnat in his historical, religious and spiritual context*. 1994. Asunción, Paraguay.

It is true that Marcellin and the first Brothers began their educational-evangelising project with very few resources and a way of life marked by considerable austerity and work. They sought to lower the costs of the schooling they offered, so that they could be affordable and viable in small towns and parishes.<sup>12</sup> We can see this in several of the Marist documents from that time. For example, in October 1837 Brother Cassien wrote on this subject, in some annoyance, to the Mayor of Sorbiers:

*'t would seem that, over the last few years, you have completely ignored the discomfort in our situation, which have now become unbearable. It seems that you have never been told about our rooms which are too low and moreover too small, where the teachers and the children were constantly breathing in unhealthy and impure air, and where the health of both was increasingly compromised. It is also true that this year I myself have not been able to sit down, and that, in order to leave some space for my children, I have been obliged to run the class leaning against a small chest of drawers.'*<sup>13</sup>

The oldest extant letter of Marcellin describes a similar situation in Bourg-Argental,

the Brothers are very badly housed; they have even been forbidden to use the garden which would have been extremely useful to them. I'm not angry about it. I spoke to M. De Pleyne and M. De Sablon; I made it clear to them that the present building could not be suitable for a school, and they we were counting on something better for the future. They have given promises; I do not know what they will do. They are not in a hurry to settle the matter.<sup>14</sup>

Many other letters from Marcellin address these harsh realities, such as this letter to a mayor, with which we close these examples:

*When we were asked for Brothers for St Martin-la-Plaine we saw how unsuitable the premises were for us. We were given to understand that they would not occupy them for more than a year and then they would have a new building ad hoc. We gave in to the requests that were made to us. But our complacency cost us dearly, one of our Brothers lost his life and another his health. We are therefore forced to suspend that school until the new premises are completed. However, we did not want to do so without alerting you.'*<sup>15</sup>

Thus, we noted that there were difficulties with the school environments in which the Brothers worked, difficulties that made these

<sup>12</sup> In France, according to the Committee on Mendicity of the Constituent Assembly in 1790, the poverty threshold was 435 livres for a family of five persons, the 'livre' ('pound') in question being slightly higher than the franc which would soon be introduced. Here again, we must consider what Marcellin asked of the communes and parishes for each Brother per year: 400 francs (Cf. PETIT, Jaques-Guy. *Poverty, Charity and Social Policies in France (18th century to the beginning of the 20th century)*, p. 182).

<sup>13</sup> AFM. RCLA. October 1837.

<sup>14</sup> Champagnat, M. J. B. (1823-12-01). Letter to Jean-Marie Granjon. SESTER, Paul (1985). *Letters of Marcellin J. B. Champagnat (1789-1840) Founder of the Institute of the Marist Brothers*. Rome, Italy: Marist Brothers of the Schools. (Letter 001)

<sup>15</sup> Fr Champagnat's letter to M. DELON, ALEJANDRO, SESTER, Paul Sester (1985) Letter 191, May 1838.

places unhealthy. From the beginning, the subject of the health of the Brothers and the children who attended the schools became more and more pressing, as diseases appeared among them, especially ones of a respiratory nature. These were associated with the quality of the food, inadequate heating and ventilation, dampness in the buildings, and the small size of classrooms, all of which exposed them to frequent contagion from colds, flu and the other illnesses that the children brought with them and which, at that time, were not yet treatable by medical science.

### 3. TAKING CARE OF FRAGILE HEALTH, IN A FRAGILE CONTEXT, IN ORDER TO DO GOOD

In researching this theme in Marcellin's writings, we followed in them through two key words: health and illness.

For the first term, there are nineteen letters in which the Founder mentions the health of the Brothers. In seven of them he refers to good health, either as a wish for his con-

feres, as a reason to rejoice that they have it, as a requirement for entering the Institute, or as a medical proposal. He also describes it as a necessary condition for doing good in school. A few examples:

I am still in good health. I hope that you and the whole house will be the same in every respect.<sup>16</sup>

I am very pleased to know that you are in good health.<sup>17</sup>

I think ... that the other Brothers are in good health, as you are<sup>18</sup>

I willingly approve of all the trips that good Brother Cassien makes; may God give him courage and health for such good work.<sup>19</sup>

In other letters, the focus of his concern is to ask the Brothers to take care of their health:

Tell him to take good care of his health in his little journeys.<sup>20</sup>

If they had recovered, he counsels that they should take care of the health of those who have not, and he is grateful to those who were already doing this service:

Give many greetings to dear Brother Louis; now that he has recovered his health, let him take care of the health of those who have not.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> To Br François. AFM 111.39.

<sup>17</sup> To Br Barthélemy. AFM 111.2

<sup>18</sup> To Br Dominique. AFM 111.11

<sup>19</sup> To Br François. AFM 111.33

<sup>20</sup> To Br François, about Br Cassien. AFM 111.32

<sup>21</sup> To Br Dominique. AFM 111.11

It is a constant concern that he has. In two letters he speaks of the a Brother who has recovered his health by seeing it through the eyes of faith:

I do not lose sight of good Brother Pascal. May God preserve his health, which he has seen fit to restore in his infinite mercy.<sup>22</sup>

In five letters, addressed to local authorities or to a Brother, Marcellin adopts an accusatory tone, where an inadequate or even exploitative situation has put health at risk with serious consequences for the Brothers, even to the death of one of them, as we have seen above.

You have already saved two hundred francs in the premises of our Brothers, I should say at the expense of their health.<sup>23</sup> But it pains me to see them burdened with so many children in such small premises. Their health is affected by it and they cannot last long. Please do not burden them in this way.<sup>24</sup>

When Marcellin writes of the illnesses that affect the Brothers, he shows how fulsomely he bears a sense of responsibility for them. A total of 31 of his letters reflect this concern for the wellbeing of the Brothers.

On fifteen occasions he describes briefly, but precisely, some

concrete cases of Brothers suffering or having suffered from illnesses. This is put to the Brothers as well as to the local authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical, which were in charge of the Brothers. By way of example:

The second, whom we have not been able to make available because of a nervous illness that has kept him constantly in bed for more than six months without being able to use his limbs in any way and who today can hardly see anything out of one eye because of a tumour in the pupil.<sup>25</sup>

And another:

...he has been bedridden for six months, unable to use all his limbs because of rheumatism caught in Chavanay while teaching in a recently erected building<sup>26</sup>.

On four occasions, Marcellin refers to Brothers who have just died, describing the terminal illness of each of them and his faith-filled view of the event. Generally, these communications are through Circulars to all the Brothers, encouraging dedication, family spirit, and the key role of faith in their situations:

The Lord has just called to himself our dear Brother Pascal, whom a serious and painful illness confined to bed several months ago. Full of hope in divine mercy and in the protection of the Blessed Virgin, provided with all the help of religion and burning with the desire to leave, he completed his mission in this world on Thursday 30 January by invoking

<sup>22</sup> To Br Denis. AFM 111.29.

<sup>23</sup> To Fr Claude Terrel. AFM 132.2. pp. 190 and 192

<sup>24</sup> To a departmental bureaucrat. AFM 113.20.

<sup>25</sup> To Fr François Moines. RCLA 1. pp. 74 and 75.

<sup>26</sup> To the Archbishop AFM 113.11

the holy names of Jesus and Mary, after having constantly built us up by his patience and resignation to the will of God.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4. SOME OTHER NUANCES

In dealing so often with the subject of illness and health, Marcellin expresses in his writings some additional nuances that we would like to draw out.

First, on several occasions, the illness of the Brothers or their state of health, in general, is an important argument for postponing foundations of schools that are requested of them:

These very days I have been obliged to replace several of our Brothers who have fallen ill, so I do not see that it is possible this year to satisfy your wishes, but you can count on us by the next All Saints' Day.<sup>28</sup>

This is also a reason for asking for financial help from civil authorities that had already favoured him on other occasions. With both simplicity and strength of argument, he makes clear the very human chal-

lenges he faced in pursuing his hopes for the Marist project:

We still pay a thousand francs a year in interest. However, we have paid off some of our old debts during the year where you have had the goodness to extend your hand to us. But last year we fell short. I fear for this year, because in addition to the fact that we have had many sick people, we have many to look after.<sup>29</sup>

A second notable aspect is the detail he gives when describing the symptoms or the names of the illnesses that he or the Brothers and priests had suffered from; it seems that this is a subject that had become familiar and ongoing for him. He had probably been told about it by the doctors who came to the Hermitage to provide their services. He is sensitive to the sufferings of his Brothers. And, in fact, from other sources, we know that he set up an infirmary at the Hermitage, and some of the Brothers were trained to provide care to others:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Circular to the Brothers. AFM 111.58.

<sup>28</sup> To Barthélemy Goiran, Mayor AFM RCLA 1, p. 76. [All Saints was the beginning of the school year.]

<sup>29</sup> To Raoul Descrautours, Prefect. ADL 1, Vol.69

<sup>30</sup> Afterwards, he became slightly dissatisfied with that infirmary because it was too close to the river, so he built a second, roomier and more suitable. He set up a dispensary in it, containing all the medicines needed by the sick. He placed one of the senior Brothers in charge, and saw that he got the lessons needed to equip him to fulfil his task perfectly. Several other intelligent, devoted and very kind Brothers were given him as assistants, to serve the sick under his direction. Marcellin insisted on receiving a report each day on the condition of the patients." Furet, op.cit. p.314

The Lord has just called our dear Brother Dorothée to Himself. For a long time, a chest ailment had exercised his patience and added to his merits when one of the most violent haemoptysis forced him to stay in bed. He bore the deterioration of his body without worrying and displayed a burning desire to go to celebrate the Assumption of the Virgin with the angels and saints in heaven.<sup>31</sup>

A third nuance is the legal perspective. Marcellin mentions several times the need for a medical certificate for the sick Brother, or a certificate from the local mayor, to justify the absence of a Brother or his withdrawal from an establishment for a period:

If Brother Apollinaire is still ill, perhaps it would be advisable to have a medical certificate made out to the mayor and have him return to recuperate;<sup>32</sup>

He also refers to the need for these official documents to be used when the question of Brothers' military service arose:

I have just learned that the barracks are collecting data on health. I don't want the police to come here and get hold of him. What should I do and with whom? The Saint Chamond doctor will give all the necessary certificates about the health of the Brother.<sup>33</sup>

A fourth related aspect is the tenderness and delicacy, and some-

times irony, with which he writes about illness to the Brothers who are sick. He shows great concern for the good health of his Brothers, being aware of the need for this gift so as to be able to do good among children:

What afflicts me most of all is that I have been told that you are ill. It is necessary, my dear friend, not to get sick to the point of not being able to recover. Even if you were in the army, you would be given time to recover. Ask Fr Mazelier's permission and come here to recuperate.<sup>34</sup>

But he also left the responsibility for their good health in the hands of the Brothers themselves, urging them to take care of themselves if they really wanted to carry out their mission:

Dear Br Antoine, you cannot continue to sing at Mass or to act as a subdeacon, without compromising your health. Arrange things so that the parish priest does not require this anymore.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, in a letter in 1835, addressed to his Superior, Fr Jean-Claude Colin, Fr Champagnat reveals his concern for the good health of candidates before admitting them to the Institute. At a time when there were still no vaccinations, especially for diseases related to the respira-

<sup>31</sup> Circular to the Brothers. AFM RCLA 1, pp. 56-57.

<sup>32</sup> To Fr Mazelier. AFM 112.7

<sup>33</sup> To Fr Mazelier. AFM 112.13.

<sup>34</sup> Postscript in Circular to Brothers. AFM 111.52

<sup>35</sup> To Fr Jean-Claude Colin. AFM 113.6.

tory system, the Founder was quite attentive to health criteria when selecting applicants. He needed healthy people, with no symptoms of chronic disease, especially respiratory ones. By the time he wrote this letter, he had had considerable experience in this matter, having buried 22 brothers mainly for respiratory illness.

Do you have a healthy body?  
Do you suffer from scrofula? Weak chest?  
Is your nose sickening?  
Is there anyone in your family affected  
by consumption?<sup>36</sup>

## 5. A CHARISMATIC CALL TO US TODAY

At the beginning of this article, we asked ourselves if Marcellin and the founding community had experienced something like we are suffering globally today through the COVID-19 pandemic with all its complexity and ambivalence. We also sought in our research to see if in Marcellin's writings and those of his time we could find charismatic keys to help us live in the present time.

We can certainly confirm that the founding charismatic experience of Marcellin and his Brothers was lived out in a context of considerable fragility of health. This hit them strongly and constantly as they founded their project for building of a new way of

being Church. But it did not stop its development. Like every charisma of the Spirit, ours sprouted and flourished through crisis and the limitations of human life. Marcellin Champagnat was a son of the common people and, as one them, he founded a Marian educational work for the common people. Moreover, he lived as ordinary folk lived, and he formed his Brothers, who came from the same circumstances, to be with and serve this people whom he loved. In our origins, there is much evidence, both of the fragility of life and of the giftedness of the Spirit. It was a gift evangelical life to share, in this context, with the neglected children in rural France of that time. Yet it also was directed to much wider horizon: to all the dioceses of the world and even to today.

Key insights emerge from Marcellin's letters that can help us move through the inevitable fragility of illness and death. The first is simply to talk about the subject, to recognise it, to define it, to face it, and to be helped by those who know best. For Marcellin, it was not something to conceal, but to make an explicit aspect of leadership. He left that mark on his successors: to create the conditions and to allocate as far as possible all necessary resources to care for the sick and to accompany them. A second insight is the role of a pedagogy of presence: in prevention, care and attentiveness,

<sup>36</sup> To Fr Jean-Claude Colin. AFM 113.6.

continually enhancing preventative capacities in order to promote good health and so to be able to develop the mission and do good. Here again, the Founder learned a way to follow: while growing up in his family and more especially in the seminary, his experience was austere and even penitent. But he came to appreciate life's fragility in himself and in his Brothers who spent their health and youth in the classroom with the children. This led him to put a significant emphasis on preventative health care. And a third was to

interpret things from the perspective of faith, from a confident trust in the action and the will of a God moving among us within our very human situations. Our God, who is in our midst, is a God who heals and invites us not to fear. God suffers in us and in our brothers and sisters. In this, too, Marcellin was a disciple: health, sickness and death were places to meet the God who was calling him, and this he passed onto to his Brothers through his writings, his words, and the witness of his life.

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# HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF MARY

from the origins to the approval  
in 1903 as it is reflected  
in the Circulars of the Superiors  
General (2<sup>nd</sup> part: 1863-1903)



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In Issue 38 of Marist Notebooks, which appeared in May 2020, we offered some lines for following how the first text of Constitutions of the Little Brothers of Mary evolved, up until the Second Session of the Fourth General Chapter. Now we would like to follow the development of this text through to the issuing of the decree of approval in 1903.

## 1. THE WRITING OF THE CONSTITUTIONS: A TASK OF GENERAL CHAPTERS

Following the Decree that gave provisional approval of 1863, it was then fell to General Chapters to interpret the Decree and to take initiatives to experiment with new forms of government and formation. They adopted a two-pronged strategy.

First, they took initiatives in animation and experimentation, and then enacted what they had done. When initiatives had been tested and had proven satisfactory, they were authorised for inclusion in the Constitutions. In this way, legal formalisation of elements of the document grew out of concrete experience. Second, they petitioned the Holy See for extension after extension of the *ad experimentum* period. However, in order that their initiatives proceed on a legal basis, the authorities needed to make known the basis on their legal authority. The General Chapters did this by assuming responsibility for publishing the Constitutions. It was not to be an easy task to synthesise in a single document the *Constitutions that had been taken to the Holy See in 1858 and the revised text that had been provisionally approved in 1863*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the second Annex, there is a comparison of the text of the Constitutions of 1853 and 1863.

The strategy of those in government and those whose responsibility was to form the Brothers had to reconcile two tendencies to be able to operate legally. They needed adopt the revisions that had come from Rome, which were certainly innovative and different while, at the same, they had to be faithful to the original traditions of in the Institute with its particular ways of doing things.

Br Louis-Marie announced in his Circular of 2 February 1869 that the first session of the fourth General Chapter authorised the printing of the Constitutions with the inclusion of the changes requested by the Holy See.<sup>2</sup> However, the Fourth General Chapter in its second session, decided to delay this printing for the time being and not to amend the text of the Constitutions as they had been revised by Chaillot. It seems their reason for not publishing the revised text was that the revisions would be out of alignment with the civil statutes approved by the French Government in 1851. They feared negative consequences for the existence of the Congregation in France if they published the changes. Br Louis-Marie affirmed that “the Institute will be ruled by the Constitutions given by the Founder, collected together by the Regime and accepted by the General Chapter, with the approval of the Ordinary, until the point that it

is possible to obtain approval from the Holy See, or at least a new provisional confirmation or even the final approval”.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. THE CONSTITUTIONS IN THE FIFTH GENERAL CHAPTER

Br Louis-Marie convoked the Fifth General Chapter in his Circular of 19 July 1867. It should be noted that the election of the Chapter delegates was done by the Provinces. This took place even though four sections of the Institute at the time, though known as Provinces, did not constitute separate structures or demarcations for elections. That is to say, the Provinces did not have representation at the Chapter.

In its First Session “the General Chapter focused on the state of the Congregation. The increase in numbers led to the initiative of dividing the Provinces into Sectors. The Province of the Centre was divided into the Sector of Notre-Dame de Saint-Genis-Laval and Notre-Dame de l’Hermitage. The Province of Midi, comprised the Sector of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux and Aubenas. At the same time there began an expansion outside of France: “We must support or prepare for significant establishments in Oceania, Africa and in Syria”.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Louis-Marie, *Circulaires*, Vol. 3, pp. 493-494. Circular of 2 February 1869.

<sup>3</sup> Idem. [Note the French word ‘Regime’ here simply refers to the SG and his Council, and does not have the pejorative sense of the equivalent word in English [Trans.]

<sup>4</sup> Louis-Marie, *Circulaires*, Vol.3, p. 492. Circular of 2 February 1869.

In the second session of the Fifth General Chapter, the members attended to practical issues while they awaited the reprint of the Constitutions and the conferral of powers on the Regime so that they might request that the Constitutions *ad experimentum* be continued. It was considered inopportune, for the time being, to focus on the revision of the Constitutions”<sup>5</sup>

The position of Br Louis-Marie, Superior General, and very probably that of his Council, regarding the publication of the book of the Constitutions, was expressed in his Circular of 2 February 1869:

“The Fifth General Chapter, as well as we ourselves, recognised that looking forward to the next meeting of the General Council (Vatican I), it would be helpful to delay a little longer the reprinting of the book of Constitutions”.<sup>6</sup>

We can see that there were good reasons to delay the the printing of the revision of the Constitutions, but in the thinking of the Superiors, some ideas were taking shape. For the first time, Br Louis-Marie sent out in printed format, six years after the official publication by the Holy See, the text of the decree that confirmed the validity of the Constitutions on an *ad experimentum* basis.

Br Louis-Marie offered a gesture of transparency by publishing, in his Circular of 2 February 1869, the original decree in French and Latin.<sup>7</sup>

However, the more important gesture was the publication of the text of the “Constitutions written below, just as they have been given”, following what he was required to do by the Decree. This was the challenge raised in the Chapter. Even though the printing of the text had been delayed, the Superior General made significant gestures which gave credibility to his fidelity to Rome. This was also evident in his direct relationship with the Supreme Pontiff, as we can observe from the analysis of what occurred on the journey which Br Louis personally undertook to Rome in order to have a meeting with Pope Pius IX. The reason for this journey was the request from the Holy See to be informed periodically on how the Institute was progressing.

### 3. SIXTH GENERAL CHAPTER

The death of Br Jean Baptiste forced the convocation of the Sixth General Chapter<sup>8</sup> in order to elect new Brother Assistants.<sup>9</sup> Meeting in Saint-Genis-Laval, it had two ses-

<sup>5</sup> *Chronologie mariste*, Rome, 2010, p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> Louis-Marie, *Circulaires*, Vol.3, p. 493-494. Circular of 2 February 1869.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>8</sup> *Nos Supérieurs*, Économat General des Frères Maristes, Saint-Genis-Laval 1954, p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> *Circulaires*, Vol.4, p. 448. Circular of 13 March 1874.

sions. The election of Brs Nestor and Procope in the first session, raised the number of Assistants from 4 to 6. The increase in the number of Assistants to six had been provided for in the Constitutions which had been presented by the Brothers to Rome for approval, and so the Chapter acted according to the authority given them in that document. We can see that the priority for the Chapters was the election of superiors. In second place, attention was given to the Institute's oversight of formation of the Brothers and the creation of a centre for higher education based in each Provincial House and a special one at the Mother House.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. DIVISION OF THE PROVINCES INTO DISTRICTS (1875)

Between the conclusion of the First Session and the beginning of the Second Session, the Regime initiated some major changes in the governance of the Institute, involving substantial changes in the Constitutions, through the sub-division of the Provinces into Districts. This was done to lessen the work of the Visitors, the superior of each District being envisaged as a help or delegate for the Brother Visitor. However, at

the Chapter, they were given their own defined powers. The concept of "District" was used already in Fr Champagnat's last years. These administrative structures had been envisaged in the Rule of 1837. At the beginning, the term "Districts" was given to administrative divisions, the purpose of which was to facilitate the professional education and skilling of the Brothers. It was a first attempt to demarcate territories within which were established networks to support the ongoing formation of the Brothers.

The novelty here was not the creation of Districts as such, but the sub-division of the Provinces into Districts. The Regime created 78 Districts: in the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval, there were 19 Districts; in la Province of L'Hermitage 17; in the Province of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux 15; in the Province of Aubenas 9; in the Province of the North 10; in the Province of the West 3; and in the Province of the Isles, 5. The District was conceived as a structure for inspection and direct control to regulate the competencies of the Superior of the community, who at the same time was the Director of the school and Provincial of the Province or the Sector. It was made up of a grouping of 3 to 10 works.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See the preparatory consultation by Br. Louis-Marie: "Special School in the Provincial Houses. – Superior School in the Mother House". Louis-Marie, *Circulaires*, Vol.5, p. 326. Circular of 29 June 1876.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Louis-Marie, *Circulaires*, Vol.5, p. 266-267. Circular of 21 November 1875.

## 5. THE AUTHORITY OF THE DISTRICTS

The Constitutions created two distinct roles: that of the Visitor, and the that of leader of the District [Responsable de District, in French. Trans.] who had to be “a Brother with four vows”. The major difficulty in implementing this article of the Constitutions came from the fact that there were not enough Brothers who had made the vow of stability to put one in charge of each District. The District leaders were envisaged to be a help or locum for the Brother Visitor but they ended up with their own authority in relation to the spiritual and religious life of the community.

One can see in the preceding paragraphs that the language to describe the new structures lacked precision. This was certainly reflected the terminology used in the debates which the Brothers had while they discerned the best solutions for organising the Districts. From this comes different ways of referring to the same job: the Premier Directeur was a role created by the Rule of 1837; Responsable de District was new terminology. Further on, during the Second Chapter Session, they spoke of the Directeur Provincial, Vicair de Province, and Provincial. This tentativeness in settling on exact names can possibly be explained

by an observation that Br Stratonique made. He noted that when the General Chapter in the month of August of this same year (Second Session 1876) studied the Constitutions, “Br Louis-Marie tended each time to introduce little by little the same terms.”<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the external situation was deteriorating, and the progressive secularisation of the schools in France threatened the very existence of the Institute.

In any case, the position of Assistant remained anchored in the tradition and resisted all attempts for its removal, even to the point of the Assistants taking on roles in administration and education across the Institute.

With this decision, the structures of government became more and more complex. In practice, though authority tended to become centred in the Brothers who had the four vows.

In a time in which the school played such a central role in the Brothers’ lives, it is not easy to distinguish between roles of authority related to religious life or those to professional life. In practice, they were strongly integrated. In the work of formation, however, the structures of government seemed to ensure that the authority of District Superiors as custodians and guardians.

<sup>12</sup> AFM – R. No 18 – It is important to add that by the indult of 28 January 1876, Rome had authorised, on a temporary basis, that a Brother Assistant would be in a leadership role for each Province.

The Second Session of the Sixth General Chapter was shaped by the numerous administrative tasks that had to be completed. Br Louis-Marie made a journey to Rome in July 1875 in an attempt to progress matters, but the final response did not arrive until the end of May 1876. This lengthy wait indicated the scale of the changes taken on by the Superiors from the First Session.

In the Second Session, the Constitutions of 1876 were completed. In this Session, the faculties and functions of some specific positions were finalised: the Procurator General; the Secretary General; the District Superiors; the Vice Provincial, (those brothers who in future would become Provincials); the Provincial Director or Vicar Provincial; the Master of Novices; the Visitor. The work of Peter's Pence was introduced in our schools. Also, it was decided to create three Juniorates: one in the Centre, one in the South and one in the North.

"Once the authority and roles of the Brother Assistants were declared clearly by the indult of 28 February 1876, there was unanimous acceptance regarding the division of the Institute into Provinces, as well as the roles of the Director or Vicar Provincial, the Master of Novices and the other Functionaries requested by the Holy See".<sup>13</sup>

The journey of Br Nestor to Rome was to petition the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars to grant an extension of the validity of the Constitutions for a further five years on an *ad experimentum* basis. This was given by means of an indult published on 22 January 1883. This was the third extension granted by Rome of the Constitutions *ad experimentum* and covered the years 1883-1888.<sup>14</sup> This same decision authorised the Superior General to suppress or modify some articles in the first draft of the Constitutions.

The indult specified that the Constitutions proposed by the Holy See in 1863 "must be edited in writing and made sufficiently known among the Brothers except, for the moment, only the articles which could cause difficulties for the Institute with the civil authorities".<sup>15</sup>

This requirement presented a rather delicate problem: the Brothers had not had prior knowledge of certain points of these Constitutions, especially the articles on government; only the participants in the General Chapters had been informed about it. The publication could cause a big problem that was not desired at that time. Therefore, it was decided to suppress in the

<sup>13</sup> Louis-Marie, *Circulaires* Vol. 5. p. 388-389, Circular of 23 October 1876.

<sup>14</sup> Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, *Indult of prorogation and order to publish the Constitutions*, 22 January 1883. AFM 353.400-13.

<sup>15</sup> The edition that we find in FMS, *Constitutions de l'Institut des Petits Frères de Marie*, in Brambila, 160-172. It is abbreviated to C1883.

publication the articles that were still under discussion.

On 1 January 1883, Brother Nestor, accompanied by Brs John and Euthyme, set out for Rome. He was in poor health, though he did not suspect that during his visit to Rome he was about to receive a psychological shock which perhaps contributed to make his state worse.<sup>16</sup> Br Nestor presented to the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Regulars a report on the Institute with the intention of requesting a delay for the Constitutions *ad experimentum* for a further five years. However, this request was not well received. After having presented his report, there followed a dialogue with the members of the Sacred Congregation during which Br Nestor responded orally to questions put to him about the report. But they challenged his responses: *We have proof that the reality is very different from what you are telling us.*<sup>17</sup> Then they showed him a memorandum signed by four Brothers complaining about his administration. In this document he was accused of having hidden from the Brothers a part of the Constitutions which had been granted *ad experimentum* in 1863, of having published an incomplete text, and of having administered the Institute so poorly

that between 15 and 20 of the senior Brothers were on the point of leaving the Institute.

In the archives of the General House in Rome, we have the written response of Br Nestor to the accusations contained in this memorandum, which he sent to the Sacred Congregation on 8 January 1883. In this he states that the Constitutions had been printed and sent out to the Communities with the exception of some articles which were in conflict with *the Civil Statutes* that had been approved by the French Government, and on which the Institute's formal recognition in France depended:

"It is correct that all the articles were not printed. Following the opinion of His Eminence Cardinal de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyon, and of the late Mgr Parisi, Bishop of Arras, the articles relating to the nomination of the Superior General for a mandate of twelve years and the vow of obedience to the Holy See, had not been officially promulgated in the Society. However, all our religious were aware of these, especially those Brothers who had attended the General Chapters."<sup>18</sup>

The *Accusatory Memorandum*, presented in Rome, came from Br Jules who at that time was a Director in Paris, and who had won over a few others to his ideas.<sup>19</sup> The superiors considered him to be an ambi-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Chronologie de l'Institut* 1976, p.161.

<sup>17</sup> *Notas sobre el hermano Nestor* by Br María Sosipáter, p. 144.

<sup>18</sup> AFM R. No 82, Letter n. 60.

<sup>19</sup> In the *Circulaires*, Vol.10. p. 351, there is a notice of the death of Br Jules. The text says: BR. JULES, with the vow of stability, died in Lyon (Rhône), on 25 April 1903. Based on the information from the Secretary General in the Register 31134, his secular name was "Henri Jn Pierre Marroc".

tious man with a rebellious spirit. Right through to his death he continued to send reports to Rome and tried the patience even of Br Théophile.

The signatories of this document exposed the continuance of a long-standing problem of understanding between the base and the Regime. Those who had been complaining for twenty years were principally Brs Jules, Placide and Marie-Jubin.

On 22 January, Br Nestor felt unwell and he needed to return from Rome to the Mother House.<sup>20</sup> He died there on 9 April 1883. The communication of the death of Br Nestor came from Br Théophile and was very brief.

“From his arrival in Rome, the Very Reverend Brother had a slight illness and lost his appetite. The illness worsened as each day went by so that, after having seen the Holy Father who gave him an excellent reception and encouraged him greatly, he hastened to return to France.”<sup>21</sup>

This brief announcement leads us to wonder if he omitted commenting on certain matters that may have caused problems had they been made public. At a distance of more than a hundred years, we are better placed to be able to see what happened. Br Nestor had kept his silence on this topic, but after his death various commentaries ap-

peared. Some dramatised what had happened to the point where they attributed the cause of Br Nestor’s death to these complaints. For this reason, Br Théophile had to explain in the General Chapter of 1883 what had transpired.

The members of the Chapter were indignant, and they wrote a letter to Rome in defence of Br Nestor. All the Chapter members signed the letter with the exception of the four who had written the accusations. However, these explained verbally that they were in agreement with the the majority of the Chapter. After this letter from the Chapter members, the missives that Br Jules continued to send to the Sacred Congregation received no response.

## **6. CONVOCATION OF THE EIGHTH GENERAL CHAPTER AND WHAT TOOK PLACE**

Br Nestor had convoked the Eighth General Chapter in his Circular of 26 December 1882,<sup>22</sup> however his death delayed the start of the General Chapter from January to April.<sup>23</sup> Br Théophile succeeded Br Nestor. “The vote of the Brothers in Chapter was almost unanimous. Br Théophile received thirty-nine

<sup>20</sup> Avit, *Annales*, 781-782.

<sup>21</sup> *Circulaires* Vol. 7, p. 115. Circular of 11 April 1883.

<sup>22</sup> Théophile, *Circulaires*, Vol.7, p. 71-75. Circular of 26 December 1882.

<sup>23</sup> Théophile, *Circulaires* Vol.7, p. 114-124. Circular of 11 April 1883.

votes from the forty-five electors.”<sup>24</sup> The five remaining votes would have been those of the opponents, and Br Théophile, assuming that he did not vote for himself. The Brothers were pleased with this election.

Br Théophile assumed responsibility for implementing the decisions included in the indult which had been requested from Rome by Br Nestor, but which his death had stalled. Br Théophile announced in his Circular of 29 June 1883 the publication of the Constitutions. At the same time, he reminded his readers of the decisions taken in previous Chapters, and included the articles that had been called the “fundamentals” but which still had not been published. However, he still did not take the final step to share the complete work. The indult specified that the Constitutions proposed by the Holy See in 1863

“must be edited in writing and made known sufficiently among the Brothers, omitting only the articles which could cause problems for the Institute with the civil authorities”.<sup>25</sup>

This is the report made by Br Théophile in his Circular of 29 June 1883:

“After some years, the stock the Common Rules as well as the Constitutions was exhausted. Many of

our houses, above all those founded more recently, do not have copies. The Common Rules were reprinted in 1881, as announced (by Br. Nestor) in the Circular of 12 July 1881. The General Chapters, especially that of 1876, authorised us to reprint the Constitutions and to insert the modifications which had been judged necessary. In this way, we can coordinate them with the fundamental articles which had been presented for the approval of the Holy See. Until we are able to put this complete work in your hands, we are sending you ... the essence ... of the Constitutions, that it is to say the articles that are organic and constitutive, ... confirmed ... on a trial basis, for a limited time. You can see that these fundamental articles, taken together and compared with the book of our Rules and that of our Constitutions, are the same as those given at the beginning by our venerable Father Founder, which General Chapter in 1852 and 1854 put together. The Holy See, confirmed the full set of Constitutions, contained in the version which I sent to you. The Holy See granted us, however, a time of testing and analysis, to see what difficulties that time and circumstances may reveal. It is for this reason that later General Chapters have been able to submit to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars some humble observations regarding certain modified articles. We have always done so in a spirit of perfect submission and complete disposition to whatever the Holy See directs. By a Rescript, given in Rome on 22 January 1883, the Brother Superior General was authorised to leave out some articles relating to the observations made by the Chapter. The same Rescript renewed the extension of the ad experimentum Constitutions for a period of five years”.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Nos Supérieurs*, Economat Général des Frères Maristes, Saint-Genis-Laval, 1954, p. 244.

<sup>25</sup> The edition is to be found in FMS, *Constitutions de l'Institut des Petits Frères de Marie*, in CEPAM, Brambila, 160-172.

<sup>26</sup> Théophile, *Circulaires*, Vol. 7, p. 138-139. Circular of 29 June 1883.

This historical synthesis which Br. Théphane presented in his Circular of 29 June 1883, summarises the various attempts to thwart and resist, and the subterfuges and the duplicity which had accumulated in the Institute discourse since 1863. On the one hand, he was impelled by the need to do a reprint, as there were no more copies of the original version. On the other hand, the decisions at the Chapter highlighted that the obligations on the Superior were serious and that they had not been carried out. The ecclesiastical authorities and the Brothers themselves requested that the wishes of the Chapter members' be realised. In saying that he "hope[d] that we will be ready" he was wanting to have it both ways. The result was a partially censored publication. The complete document, with all the articles included by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, was not forthcoming, but rather

"Until we are able to put this complete work in your hands, we are sending you ... the essence of the Constitutions, that it is to say the articles that are organic and constitutive, ... confirmed ... on a trial basis, for a limited time."

## **7. COMMISSION TO REDACT THE CONSTITUTIONS OF 1903**

The development of the text of the *Constitutions* of 1903 unfolded

as the Institute found itself embroiled in an unstable and unsettled ambience. The laws which prohibited religious congregations remaining in France after 1903 help to speed up of the official approval of our *Constitutions*. The work to prepare this text of the Constitutions, with all articles, was shaped by circumstances prevailing in not only in the politics of France but to also in Rome. Two documents came from Rome which affected the Constitutions of 1903. The first was the *Apostolic Constitution of Pope Leo XIII*, concerning relations between the bishops and those Institutes with simple vows, published in Rome on December 6, 1900.<sup>27</sup> The second was the document entitled Norms for the Approval of New Institutes which came from the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Regulars in 1901.

The General Council created a commission whose task was to prepare a final text. The new document was quite extensive: it comprised thirty chapters in place of the ten in the 1863 text, faithfully following the scheme proposed in the *Normae*. As to the points of discrepancy that had marked the forty ad experimentum years, these disappeared in the new text in favour of the principles proposed by Rome in the text of 1863. "In the edition of 1905 the Common Rules and the Rules of Government constitute one single volume".<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Théophane, *Circulaires*, Vol.10, p. 8-18. Circular of 18 May 1901.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Raphaël, *Circulaires*, Vol.22. p. 495. Circular of 8 December 1960,

## 8. NINTH GENERAL CHAPTER (1893)

The Ninth General Chapter, which seemed to make no allusions to the troubled history of the text of the Constitutions, instead sought to fill the document with substance. Br Théophile announced that a General Chapter would be held in Saint-Genis-Laval, to elect Brothers as Assistants, in accord with the current prescriptions of the *Constitutions*.<sup>29</sup>

A Circular published the list of the names of the Brothers in each Province with the vow of stability who could be elected as delegates to the Chapter.<sup>30</sup> In this list, the age of each Brother was specified, along with the date on which he had made his vow of stability and the role he had at that time. It is an excellent document for the information it offers. The General Chapter would be composed of the Very Reverend Br Superior General and his Assistants, the Procurator General, the Secretary General, and thirty-three members of the Provinces of France and Belgium. “The number of delegates of the Provinces of France will be proportional to the number of professed Brothers.”<sup>31</sup> “The Brothers of Canada and the United States, the sector of the Province of l’Hermitage,

find themselves in the same situation and must be represented by a delegate. Furthermore, in the West (a Sector of the Province of the North), will have a special delegate, which makes thirty-three in all.”<sup>32</sup>

## 9. PROCEDURE TO ELECT DELEGATES TO THE CHAPTER

In the rules governing the procedure for the election of the Brothers as Chapter delegates,<sup>33</sup> two things were made clear. First, there was a detailed description of the process which the Brothers had to follow to vote for delegates to the Chapter. Within this description, there was something unusual, and more, it revealed the reason for such precautions in the process. The paper that each Brother used to vote, with the names of the Brothers he chose, had to be handed over “signed with each one’s religious name”<sup>34</sup>. That is to say, the vote was secret within the community, but not to those who would count the votes. The elections were being held in an atmosphere of distrust and control by the Superiors. Second, the Superiors drew the Brothers’ attention to “the duties that the Institute and one’s conscience impose on this solemn occasion”. By emphasising

<sup>29</sup> *Constitutions*, Chapter IV, Section 1

<sup>30</sup> Théophile, *Circulaires*, Vol. 8, p. 290-293. Circular of 19 February 1893.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 289.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* p. 287.

that the vote must be given “solely to the one who merits it and not because of any solicitation and friendship” was an indication that there was an atmosphere of unease and that there were attempts to win favour. This also explains the decision by the Superior General to check to whom the vote was given.

From another perspective, there were signs of openness to promoting participation:

“The Directors and the professed Brothers who believe it to be useful to communicate at the General Chapter regarding information and observations which might help to give the Institute fresh impulse . . . In the same way, I ask you to warn me if there has been any moves to introduce novelties in any place as a consequence of the development of the Institute. These notes will be studied and evaluated, and they will serve, as necessary, to guarantee everything that is necessary to maintain our traditions and the spirit of the Congregation, as we received it from our Venerable Founder.”<sup>35</sup>

The final gesture in this letter is one of openness, an invitation to participation, but still a controlled participation. The “communications” directed to the Chapter were not given to a commission or to a delegate, but “I ask you to warn me” and “you can send them to me”.

The Ninth General Chapter in 1893 was convoked for the election of Assistants where those whose

terms of appointment, as defined in the Constitutions, had expired. The Chapter, begun with great solemnity, soon found itself in crisis because of the resignation of the Superior General. Br Théophile, who had been nominated for life in 1883, took the opportunity at this General Chapter to submit his resignation from a position for which he considered he no longer had the strength. The biographer of Br Théophile, when he wrote that the Chapter members agreed to the resignation “with unanimous voice” did not mention an important fact that is not well known. This related to the precautions that the Superior General took for the process of elections at the Chapter. He had required that the Brothers sign the voting papers with their religious name, in order to manage the hostile and oppositional atmosphere that was evident.

“In the Chapter of 1893 there was a large group of discontented Brothers. Their feelings were directed particularly against Br Bérillus, the Assistant for St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux about whom they had written a protest which they communicated to the Superior General on 15 April 1893, three days before the opening of the Chapter. The authors were Brs Xénophon, the Visitor of St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, who had been elected to the Chapter, Br Anacletus, the Provincial Director, Brs Landolphe and Marcellin, the latter being the Director in Le Péage, Br Zoël, the Director of the important boarding school in Luc, and finally, Br Jules, an old member of the Province of St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux and

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 289.

oppositional for a long time. At the same time, there was a kind of revolt of well-known Brothers who questioned the central authority.”<sup>36</sup>

The opposition came from members of the Province of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux who maintained a latent competitiveness for leadership of the Institute against those of the Province of Saint-Genis-Laval. It seems that the origin of this opposition went back to the times of Br Louis-Marie and culminated in the nomination of Br Nestor as Superior General, the first Superior General to come from the Province of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux. The premature death of Br Nestor did not, however, result in diminishing the discontent. Rather it festered because some blamed the death of the Superior General on those who had sent their complaints to Rome.

Once this issue had been overcome, the Chapter proceeded to follow the programme for which it had been convoked, including the defining of the role and responsibilities of the Vicars Provincial, which they exercised principally in areas relating to regularity, the formation of the Brothers, the oversight of studies, the schools, and some practical matters.

## 10. TENTH GENERAL CHAPTER (1903)

The Tenth General Chapter (1903) met in Saint-Genis-Laval and held its sessions between 20 and 25 April 1903

“at a critical moment for the Institute, when the Superiors had already received word that the Chamber of Deputies had rejected our petition for authorisation, and as a consequence they had given a period of three months to vacate the Mother House.”<sup>37</sup>.

In the Circular convoking this Chapter, some interesting details can be seen. In the first place the procedure for elections was improved so as to guarantee a secret ballot. It was no longer required that the Brothers individually sign their voting papers as had been required for the elections at the preceding Chapter, and all the papers were placed in an urn before the count began. Second, there was an interesting list of those Brothers who were eligible for election at the Chapter. All of them had taken the vow of stability and there was it was clearly document when they had done this, the roles they now had, etc<sup>38</sup>. Finally, there was an invitation to the professed Brothers to par-

<sup>36</sup> Lanfrey, A., *History of the Institute* Vol. 1, p. 278, in manuscript.

<sup>37</sup> Luis di Giusto, *Historia del Instituto de los Hermanos Maristas*, Marist Province of Cruz del Sur, 2004, p. 128.

<sup>38</sup> Théophane, *Circulaires*, Vol.10, p. 228-234. Circular of 20 October 1902. In this list there is a total of 229 Brothers with the vow of stability, but up to 242 who had signed the report to the Chapter there is one that is missing, because they had not been sent to the Brothers of the Regime who were members by right of the Chapter.

ticipate in the Chapter reflection by sending their own observations to the Chapter.

Br Théophile, because of his advanced age of eighty, again expressed the desire to be dispensed from the role of Superior General which he had exercised for twenty years. He had been elected for life, but because of the new Constitutions that had just been written, he thought that someone else should be elected to the role. Given the circumstances which the Institute was going through, the Chapter members thought that it was not the moment to change the one who guided the ship. Rather, they decided to have an election of a Superior General for a mandate of twelve years. When they proceeded to the election, the majority were for Br Théophile who was re-elected with an overwhelming majority despite the desire which he had expressed to retire for reasons of health and because of the intrigues mounted against him by a minority of malcontents.

## 11. OTHER ELECTIONS

Following the wish of the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, it was decided that the Assistants General of the Institute would

be elected for twelve years, in accordance with the provisions of the new Constitutions. That same day, 22 April, in a second session, the Chapter proceeded with the election of the Assistants, whose number was fixed at eight.

The status of the Assistants changed. They were no longer to be Major Superiors for the Provinces as that task was to be taken on by the Provincials. However, they did maintain a position of control which they exercised by means of visits that had been delegated to them. The Brother Superior General assigned to each Assistant certain administrative units for which they had to care. This arrangement changed later when the Assistants were elected by the Chapter in order to look after specific Provinces or Regions of the Institute. "As a matter of fact, the Assistants will still exercise for a while control of the Provinces"<sup>40</sup>.

The role of Provincial was created so that a Brother in each Province could be in leadership of it. This Brother would govern the Province as its Major Superior. For this reason, they had to create eleven new canonical Provinces and nominate for the first time a Provincial for each one.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Chronologie mariste*, Rome, 2010, 1903, p. 288.

<sup>40</sup> Théophile, *Circulaires*, Vol.10, p. 322. Circular of 6 April 1903

"With this end in view, a new set of Constitutions was presented to the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, which is a development of those of 1863 with some modifications"<sup>41</sup>.

Br Théophile wrote that "the changes introduced are those that are well known from the Normae to which the Sacred Congregation has invited us to refer."<sup>42</sup> In fact, the changes were more substantial. It seems that the Marist superiors did not welcome these changes because they obliged them to accept the kind of government on which Rome had been insisting for past forty years. Rome had shown it was more open to the future and had broader vision than the Institute's superiors. In the new Constitutions, it was necessary for the Institute to operate in a more decentralised way since, with the events in France, it had spread throughout the world.

"Obviously, in order to obtain the approval from Rome, the Superiors gave in on key points: they accepted provincial governance, as well as the time-limited mandate of the Superior General rather than one for life."<sup>43</sup>

The new Constitutions limited the period of the mandate of the Superior General and of the Assistants who would be elected for a period of twelve years. The Provincials and the Vice Provincials from now on

would be chosen and named by the Superior General and his Council for a period of three years and could be re-appointed for the same period in the same Province once only. Directors also would be appointed for three years and they could be re-appointed for another three years in the same house. Once their six year mandate was up, they could be appointed as Director of another house. Directors of houses with fewer than twelve Brothers were advised not to impose directives involving the vow of obedience.

Also, modifications were introduced in relation to the vows. The vow of stability was treated with great care and remained within the Constitutions just as it had been practised; it did not enter into the orientations given by the Normae. The vow of obedience (which had been taken up to perpetual profession) was replaced by the three annual, temporary vows.

Until the approval of the Constitutions of 1903, everything that had to do with finances within the Institute was dealt with by the so-called *Procure and the Procurator General*. With the new Constitutions, this whole area was put into the hands of a Brother called the Econome General. The title of Procurator General

<sup>41</sup> Idem.

<sup>42</sup> Letter of Br. Théophile to the Br. Procurator. Saint-Genis-Laval; 1903-03-05; AFM 353, 1-8.

<sup>43</sup> Lanfrey, A., *History of the Institute of the Marist Brothers*, Vol. 1, Ch. XX, in manuscript.

was given to the Brother who handled issues with the Holy See.

The Chapter was, as usual, not well informed.<sup>44</sup> The Chapter was voting to approve the Constitutions just as Br Théophile wanted, at the same the time as the decree of dissolution that was to affect the Congregation in France was being finalised. The Superiors were chosen according to the new Constitutions despite the strong protests of one of the Brothers. Immediately, after the conclusion of the Chapter, the file was sent to Rome with the Brother Procurator. "It is urgent that the Sacred Congregation give us the final approval that we are seeking as soon as possible,"<sup>45</sup> wrote Br

Théophile to the Procurator General, the delegate to the Holy See.

## 12. DECREE AND PROMULGATION

The approval from Rome was not long in coming. It was granted on 27 May 1903 by a decree of Pope Leo XIII, giving great encouragement from the Church at a time of dispersion. During the century which had just ended, the Institute had grown, especially in France. With the final approval of the Constitutions in 1903, it opened itself to a decentralised style of governance, obliged by the force of events.

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<sup>44</sup> A.F.M., Dossier 353-1-13, Letter of May 14, 1903.

<sup>45</sup> Letter of Br. Théophile, 14 May 1903.

# THE 1854 CHOLERA EPIDEMIC IN PROVENCE FROM THE ANNALS OF BR AVIT

## The Institute and health problems in the 19th century



André Lanfrey, fms

The 2020 pandemic, which at the time of writing (early November 2020) shows little sign of easing, prompted me begin some research into an aspect of the Institute's history which was quite prominent in our old documents, but little mentioned now: the Institute's approach to healthcare during the 19th century. We know how concerned Fr Champagnat was from the beginning for the care of sick Brothers, creating an infirmary at the Hermitage as soon as possible and inviting Br François to study medicine. Even after Br François became a superior, he continued to provide medical care to the Brothers. He also left us several notebooks (especially 316 and 318) full of recipes for medical remedies, lists of medicinal plants and notations drawn from the medical treatises of his time, which would merit further study.

There is no doubt that illness was a near-constant companion to our early communities. As in the population more generally, there were frequent deaths of younger members of the Institute often from tuberculosis, which was not yet considered a contagious disease.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is no coincidence that Br Emmanuel, developer of the liqueur Arquebuse, was a nurse at the Hermitage, while Br Amable, a nurse at St Paul-Trois-Châteaux, created lime biphosphate there.<sup>2</sup> Originally intended to treat the Brothers, both these products only became commercial products afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

In the 19th century there was less fear of epidemics than in previous centuries, for two quite differing reasons: on the one hand, the great epidemics had ceased (the last one in France had been in Marseilles in

<sup>1</sup> See in *Biographies de quelques frères*, Lyon, 1868, p. 54, Fr Champagnat's interview with Br Dorothea on the different stages of phtisia and its causes: overwork, undernourishment, lack of hygienic care, poorly treated cold.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales de l'institut*, Vol.2, 1865, p61-66.

<sup>3</sup> They were panaceas, that is, remedies to cure all kinds of external and internal ailments.

1720); but also, in France, the Paris medical elite, imbued with a liberal ideology, considered that contagion was a medieval concept no longer applicable in medical science that had been emancipated from the old religious ideas and despotism of the Ancien Régime. It was therefore unnecessary to impose quarantines, which were considered contrary to freedom, ineffective, and an impediment to trade. This attitude was to have serious consequences in France during the cholera outbreak of 1832-1854,<sup>4</sup> about which I will write. It triggered a bitter struggle between the liberal 'anti-contagionist' doctors and the 'contagionist' doctors who were seen as backward and reactionary, but who were still numerous outside the capital.

## 1. CHOLERA EPIDEMICS IN 1832-1854

In the 19th century, cholera spread from India, where it was somewhat endemic, to Moscow and Russia in 1830, and then to Poland and Finland. It reached Berlin in 1831, the British Isles in February 1832, and France in March of the same year. The epidemic raged in Paris and northern France, but the

south of the country was barely affected.<sup>5</sup> Irish immigrants introduced it to Quebec, again in 1832, and then to Ontario and Nova Scotia. It entered the United States through Detroit and New York. The pandemic reached South America in 1833.<sup>6</sup>

After 1832, France experienced sporadic and localised recurrences of cholera before a second epidemic broke out in 1854. In the north of France, it impacted to about the same extent as in 1832; but this time it also affected the entire French Mediterranean coast and extended inland through Provence and along the Rhone Valley. This took in the Province of St Paul-Trois-Châteaux, home to dozens of Marist schools. Br Avit, the Visitor [i.e. regional superior] to these recently founded establishments, had to manage with this traumatic phenomenon. When he wrote the annals of these places between 1880 and 1890, he left us accounts about the scourge.<sup>7</sup>

He did not know the causes of cholera and apparently did not believe it was contagious. The cholera bacterium was not identified by Koch until 1884. Very sensitive to heat, it multiplies in summer. It is the disease of dirty hands, transmitted through contact with excrement,

<sup>4</sup> Jean-Pierre Luauté, "Epidémies, contagiosité et idéologie au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle...et au-delà" in *Annales médicopsychologiques*, 178 (2020) 672-678., available online at ScienceDirect.

<sup>5</sup> *The Annales de l'institut* made no mention of it in 1832.

<sup>6</sup> Information derived partly from Wikipedia.

<sup>7</sup> It is based on its previous reports of visits. But many of them have not been kept in the archives. This is why its annals contain relatively little information about the cholera outbreak.

spoiled food products, and contaminated water. It is also an urban disease, the contagion being exacerbated by overcrowding. But, because Provençal villages were clustered together, the epidemic even took a toll in rural areas.<sup>8</sup> Caring for the sick therefore proved dangerous and, in many cases, despite the theories of the anti-contagionists, the sick were left to fend for themselves.

## 2. BR FRANÇOIS' NOTES ON CHOLERA

In his Notebooks 316 and 318, Br François clearly recorded several medical opinions on the causes of cholera morbus. It was thought to be caused «by travelling hordes of small hydrophilic insects looking for moist surroundings or streams.» As water sources were often polluted, this was a widely-held view. But Br François also wrote that for «cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, etc. ... the cause is airborne, but they only attack those who are predisposed to it.» Another passage further defined cholera as «miasmatic blood poisoning.» In addition, in Notebook 318, Br François

extensively copied from a 22-page pamphlet by Camille Leroy, a doctor in Grenoble, «*From the instruction on cholera-morbus and the use of means of disinfecting it*» printed in 1832, during the first wave of the cholera epidemic. This provides an interesting window into Br François' medical studies at a relatively early date and is an indication that, even if the epidemic did not seem to have reached the Hermitage in 1832, it must have caused considerable concern.

In a booklet printed by order of the municipality of Grenoble to inform the public about cholera and how to treat it, a professor stated at the outset that he did not believe in the contagious nature of cholera. But this view was more a concession to the ideological prejudices of official medicine because, in the rest of his presentation, he advocated strict hygiene measures and, as much as possible, the isolation of the patient. In particular, he recommended the use of chlorinated water:<sup>10</sup>

This mixture will be placed in a large vessel at the entrance of the house or in the central room of the apartment. Family members will need sometimes

<sup>8</sup> Novelist Jean Giono (1895-1970) devoted a historical novel to this epidemic in the Provençal hinterland, entitled *Le hussard sur le toit* (Gallimard, 1951). This is the story of a young Piedmontese officer returning to his homeland through villages hit by the epidemic. A movie of the same name has been based on the book.

<sup>9</sup> Françoise Huguet and Boris Noguès, "Les professeurs des facultés des lettres et des sciences en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1808-1880)," June 2011 (online) <http://facultes19.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr> (consulted on 30-10-2020).

<sup>10</sup> It is probably water in which bleach, a chlorine-based product, has been poured for common use.

to soak their hands, with the rest to be scattered on the floor at night, especially in front of doors or cross-doors (windows), and near the comfort rooms (toilets).<sup>11</sup>

Cholera manifested itself in “abatement, alteration of features, dull appearance, with headache, dizziness, intense thirst, stomach and abdominal pain accompanied by diarrhea and vomiting...” It was necessary to warm the patient by means of blankets, massages and poultices. As to remedies, “a certain agreement seems to prevail among the capital’s doctors on [...] laudanum, ether and various stimulants.” The patient was to be isolated in a hygienically kept room; his clothes would either be discarded or thoroughly washed. As for the caregivers, they “must avoid unnecessary contact, and follow more rigorously than others the hygienic measures that have been described.”

### 3. EPIDEMIC, TRADE AND WAR

Br Avit does not talk about the economic and political causes of the epidemic, all too obvious to him perhaps. Marseilles, a major international trading port, lies at the mouth of the Rhône Valley, a major north-south trading route since antiquity, the importance of which was greatly enhanced by the completion of the

Lyon-Marseilles railway in 1852. In 1848 French troops took this route on their way to reconquer Rome, with the Pope having been expelled by the revolution. And we are well aware how much armies are the traditional vector for epidemics. Another major event: on 2 December 1851, the Prince-President of the Republic, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, mounted a coup d’état with the aim of restoring the Empire. Resistance was very strong in Provence where many armed rallies were held. In addition, the years 1853-55 were those of the Crimean War fought against Russia by England and France, ending in the capture of Sevastopol. It caused large troop movements, with the activity of the battle fleet based in Toulon especially seeding outbreaks of cholera on its return from Crimea, with infections both in the city and its hinterland.

Curiously, the spread of the epidemic, strong in the north and south, hardly affected the Lyon region, despite its being on a major transportation axis between those outbreaks. But concern was great. In the *Annals of the Providence in Caille, Lyon*, Br Avit made brief mention of this fact:

Cholera wreaked terrible havoc in France and throughout Europe in 1832, 1835, 1849, 1854 and 1865.<sup>12</sup> The Lyon population redoubled their pilgrimages, processions and devotions to the

<sup>11</sup> An orphanage founded by two priests, the Quail brothers. The establishment was very close to the Basilica of Fourvière.

<sup>12</sup> The annals of the La Seyne school allude to this epidemic.

Mother of God and were preserved from the scourge. Foreigners and soldiers were the only ones affected in the city.

In the Loire, a more industrial region with a less stable population, the annals of the school in Lorette, an industrial centre just a stone's throw from the Hermitage, reported:

Cholera appeared here in 1846. The Brothers lived up to their vocation. Br Cécilien notably distinguished himself by his care of cholera sufferers. [...] In 1854, cholera caused many casualties here. However, classes were not interrupted.

#### 4- CHOLERA IN NORTHERN FRANCE<sup>13</sup>

Around 1850 the Institute still only had a minor presence in the northern part of France. However, cholera broke out in the small Province of Beaucamps. In his letter to the Brothers of Oceania, (Circulaires II, p. 417, and Annales 1849-22) on June 26, 1849, Br François, always alert to health problems, and in charge of this Province, wrote that:

Cholera morbus is rampant in Paris and the North. In Paris, the scourge has recently claimed up

to 600 victims a day. In the Pas-de-Calais, there were up to 800 cases of this disease, in a parish of 1,200 souls. Our dear Br Didyme, director of Lens,<sup>14</sup> has been infected, but we hope he will pull through.

The Annals of the Brothers in Lens, an industrial city of 14,000 inhabitants, give some additional details:

In June 1849, a cholera epidemic was raging in and around Lens. Br Constance, the cook, was affected, bedridden and sleep-deprived<sup>15</sup> for two months. Br Didyme was also confined to bed. Three classes of pupils, the kitchen duties and the care of two sick Brothers relied on the dedication of Brothers Nizier and Firmin. The former asked Br Sulpice, then Director at Beaucamps, and Br Louis-Marie for help.<sup>16</sup>

#### 5. THE EPIDEMIC IN MARSEILLES AND PROVENCE

Let us now move to the south of France, where Br Avit, an eyewitness, described the atmosphere of panic in the Marseilles region, the lower Rhône valley, and the inland of Provence north of Toulon when he visited the school in the small commune of La Verdière (pop.

<sup>13</sup> The background map opposite, to which I have added the places mentioned by the documents, is taken from Patrice Bourdelais, Michel Demonet, Jean-Yves Raulot, "La marche du choléra en France : 1832-1854" in Annales E.S.C., 1978, No. 33-1, pp. 125-142.

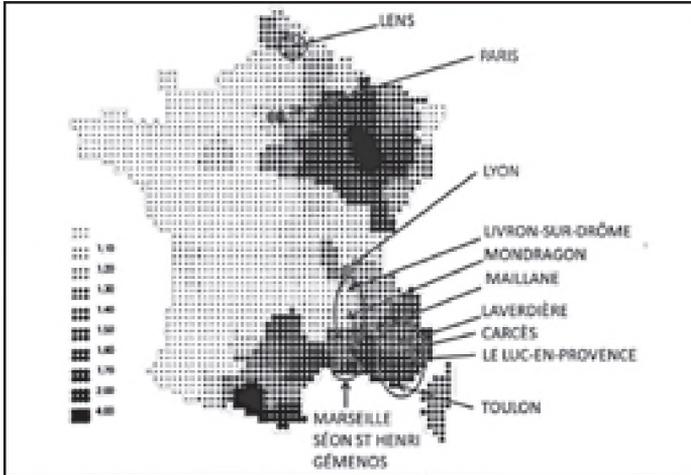
<sup>14</sup> A working-class town.

<sup>15</sup> Not because he couldn't sleep but because he was weakened by illness

<sup>16</sup> The Province du Nord was overseen by Br François. The reference to Br Louis-Marie is probably a mistake.

1071)<sup>17</sup> where the Brothers had been operating since 1851. Coming from Marseilles, he offers us two parallel

accounts about the city he has just left and the school where he finds a case of cholera.



Increased mortality from April to November 1854

<b>Annals of La Verdière (Provence)</b>	<b>Annals of the Institute, 1854, 69-70</b>
<p>Our reports of 1853 and 1854 are missing. During this last visit, cholera was rampant in Provence especially in Marseilles, whose population was fleeing in all directions.</p>	<p>[69] While on our tour of the South, we encountered cholera in Provence and witnessed the panic produced by the disease in the city of Marseilles. The trains were full of people fleeing. All manner of carts, vehicles, horses and donkeys in the city were insufficient to transport the panicked people to the safety of the countryside. The roads were clogged with pedestrians fleeing the contagion. Many could no longer continue, and lay down on piles of gravel intended for roadwork and died there.</p>

<sup>17</sup> Br Avit probably gives the figures for the 1880s-90s. In 1854 they were a bit different.

<p>When we arrived here, we found two young Brothers who appeared to us quite disconcerted. They told us that the Br Director was in bed. We went to him and found that he was not being cared for. Not knowing how to do better, the young Brothers had boiled a pinch of violets in a full pot of water and they had served him this unique soup;</p>	<p>[70] Arriving at (the school of) La Verdière, founded by the Count of Forbin d'Opède and his beneficent daughter, we found Br Eold, the Director, in bed suffering from cholera. His two assistants, two children, were very frightened and determined to abandon their leader that evening. At our request, they confessed to us that they had given the patient no other remedies than a full pot of water in which they had boiled a pinch of violets.</p>
<p>called by us, the doctor declared that it was the beginning of cholera. We had to wait until all danger had disappeared, which the young Brothers were very satisfied with. They had formed the plan to flee and we would have found the Br Director abandoned and alone, if we had arrived 24 hours later.</p>	<p>The doctor was called, the château and the parish priest were notified, care was given to the Br Director and our fear left us. We wrote what we had witnessed to the Rev Brother who had it read in the refectory of the Hermitage and committed the Brothers to pray for the unfortunate Provençals ...</p>

In the same area of the Provence inland, Br Avit mentions two other establishments that had been affected. First Le Luc-en-Provence, 56 kilometres north of Toulon, which he visited on 24 July 1854. The school, which later became a thriving boarding school, had four Brothers.

Both classes had 122 children, including 10 boarders and 75 free (students) ... Due to the danger to the students and the Brothers of being classrooms that are real furnaces, I allowed to them go outside at 11.00am, come back at

2.00pm and leave again at 5.00pm. We will say our Office and do our reading at 1.00pm; it is a precaution against cholera of which we have had symptoms here. Yet classes go on (functioning) without making miracles.

In Carcès, a small town of 2,700 inhabitants about 20 kilometres west of Le Luc, the school was founded in 1853.

Everything was going fairly well when, in 1854, cholera broke out. As the scourge grew large, many people left the country to go to the

countryside with their children. When the town clerk thought that he would find his salvation unless he fled, one of his sons took office. The Brothers, however, continued their classes with the few children left. Br Julien, by nature cold and taciturn, became discouraged, melancholic, and acerbic ... Complaints were made to the Br Director, who reproached him, but he did not correct himself. Some similar complaints were also made against Br Viventio ... At the beginning of the cholera outbreak, the parish priest fell ill, at the end of August he died not from the epidemic, but from a complication from strange diseases.<sup>18</sup> The Brothers took on responsibility to spend the nights with him in turn. Their example was imitated by a few people devoted to the parish priest. Throughout the epidemic, the burden of the parish fell on the curate Fr Blancard who surpassed himself in activity and commitment.

These are some stand-out examples of the range of consequences of the epidemic. It aroused panic in some, including the authorities. Communal life continued in a particularly heavy atmosphere, affecting the morale of people, including the Brothers, but it also revealed remarkable dedication among them.

## **7. CHOLERA IN THE SUBURBS OF MARSEILLES**

Across inland Provence, cholera was present mainly the towns and small towns. There were also two

municipalities in the suburbs of Marseilles that suffered cholera's full effects due to their proximity to the city centre, and where the Brothers were affected.

In his report of his visit to École Saint Henri in Séon (pop. 6,000), in the suburbs of Marseilles where the school of the Brothers was founded in 1840, Br Avit offers us an overview, passing on the news of the newspapers that report the agents and the main victims of the scourge.

Say a little prayer for the South, which is in great need of it, made desolate by cholera. Marseilles, Arles, Montpellier, Nîmes, Avignon, Orange, etc., are affected. In Marseilles, where it had only been raging for a few days, 75 died yesterday, and the number is growing; people are fleeing everywhere. Arles, where the epidemic appears to be decreasing, had about 2000 victims in June alone; out of 200 workers in a railway workshop, 80 were taken. I don't know anything about the other places. The authorities in Marseilles had all the vendors' fruit thrown into the sea, including the oranges.<sup>19</sup> Cholera especially affects soldiers and children, and it seems that it is soon done.

In the annals of Gemenos (pop. 1600), 22 kilometres east of Marseilles, he describes with more precision than in the annals of La Verdière the sad situation in Marseilles:

<sup>18</sup> In fact, cholera manifests itself in a variety of ways, which contributes to the alarming of populations.

<sup>19</sup> Uncooked fruits and vegetables were considered to be the transmission agents of the epidemic.

We returned to this school on July 14, 1854. It had 110 students, all free ... You can read what's in our report: "As I have already told you, cholera alone took 75 people in Marseilles last Monday, 120 on Tuesday, 108 on Wednesday, and 106 on Thursday. The numbers may suggest a decrease: error! With 60 to 70,000 people fleeing into the countryside, the epidemic is finding fewer to hit. If it were not so sad, it would be amusing to watch these poor people of Marseillaise fleeing; some on foot, both with and without loads; another in a coal dump truck; some on carts piled with mattresses, furniture, etc. Public busses are collapsing under the weight of their passengers; seats are auctioned off and hard to find anywhere. Cholera has reached two fugitives on the road to St Marcel. They say it's also in Toulon."<sup>20</sup>

The mayor of Marseilles, while trying to downplay the gravity of the situation, announces that he is taking measures which unquestionably prove that the position is worse than he says. All the educational institutions have let their students go. Say some prayers.

Nevertheless, despite this distressing picture, the town of Gemeinos is little affected and Br Avit gives a meteorological explanation: "Cholera is moderated by a fairly strong mistral."<sup>21</sup>

## 8. CHOLERA IN THE RHÔNE VALLEY

Of the towns along the Rhône, let Br Avit evoke a reaction to the epidemic very different from what

he suggested earlier. In Maillane (pop. 1,350) a town a little south of Avignon, he offers us a complete scenario of the crisis. It is marked by two opposed phases: first a moment of panic and flight; then one of recovery.

The parish church seems to date back to the 12th or 13th century ...

A wooden statue was once venerated there, under the name N.D. de Grace.

Badly worm-eaten, it had been relegated to the nuns around 1830. During the cholera outbreak in 1854, almost the entire population abandoned the town and fled in all directions. There were only 110 people remaining, about 30 of whom were affected by the scourge. The ancient statue was remembered.

Measures were taken by those who were not affected. They went to the nuns' chapel, in procession and keeping a sombre silence. They solemnly brought back the statue to the church chanting the Miserere.

During the journey, a person dying cholera suddenly found herself much better and soon recovered her health, as well as all the other affected people. Since that time, the same statue has been solemnly carried on August 28 of each year in procession.

A sermon is given in the open air, near the of nuns' convent and a Provençal hymn is sung with enthusiasm.

And Br Avit adds: "Since 1854, neighbouring localities have been affected to various degrees by the scourge, but no cases have occurred in Maillane. Here are some

<sup>20</sup> A military port east of Marseilles which was one of the hotbeds of the epidemic.

<sup>21</sup> This is the name of the prevailing wind that is supposed to limit temperature and prevent contagion.

verses from the hymn in question:<sup>22</sup>

<b>Original text in Provençal</b>	<b>Translation (approximate) in English</b>
Sias lous soulas d'aquéu que plouro, Sias lou remédi di malaut; E de la mortpiéi, quand ven l'ouro D'ou Paraduis tenès li clau.	You are the relief of those who cry You are the cure for the sick And if then comes the hour of death From heaven you hold the key.
Refrain Nosto-Dama de Graci, Que nos avès sauva Vous venèn rèndre gràce coume avèn toujour	Refrain Our Lady of Grace Who has saved us We've come to give you thanks As we have done always
II Rapelèn-nous d'espèctacle Que dins Maiano se veguè Rapelèn-nous dou grand miracle."	II Let's remember the spectacle That in Maillane we have seen Let's remember that great miracle."

Thus, in the middle of the 19th century, we find the old medieval custom of the penitentiary procession and imploration through which townspeople renew their communal bonds.<sup>23</sup>

North of Maillane, Mondragon (pop. 2643) about 20 kilometres St Paul-Trois-Châteaux did the same: "The Mondragonese had recourse to N.D. des Plans, triumphantly bringing her statue into the parish church and

the plague ceased.» In Livron (pop. 3275) halfway between Montélimar to the south and the city of Valence, it seems the epidemic reached its northern limit. Differences of religious affiliation can certainly impede the public communal manifestations mentioned above, but urgency trumps such differences.

During the cholera outbreak of 1854, which claimed 400 lives here, Father Bernard distinguished him-

<sup>22</sup> It appears in its entirety with a few variations in the *Mistral's wreath* (Frédéric Mistral is a Provençal poet) *at the altar of Mary. Poems - forgotten hymns collected and published by Fr.A. David, Libraire Bloud et Gay, 1930, Paris, p. 4.* It is stated at the end of the text that this hymn was sung "l'an dou colera" (the year of the cholera outbreak).

<sup>23</sup> In fact, the Marist Brothers did not come to Maillane until 1881. It is by drawing up a quick history of this place that Br Avit evokes the cholera epidemic.

self by his energetic charity, which extended to Protestants and Catholics alike. The Brothers did their best to assist him.

## CONCLUSION

This account of Br Avit about an epidemic that claimed 143,000 lives in France in 1853-54,<sup>24</sup> and caused, especially in Provence, a high level of mortality (a doubling in some places) is relatively brief. Nevertheless, it says enough to allow us to identify the main features of a phenomenon that not only killed many people but, moreover, caused widespread panic and anguish among people. Despite this milieu of social dislocation, we find displays of courage in the care of the sick despite the risks involved, sometimes inspired by the civil and religious authorities. The organisation of processions, mentioned in some places, is particularly interesting because they allow a fractured community to re-establish itself, regain courage, and face present danger. Even though a causal link between such a procession and the cessation of an epidemic needs be read with caution, Br Avit's words are not as naïve as one may think today.

In contrast to today, a major epidemic such as that of 1854 is only likely to

arise when there is a very weak health context due to a prevailing lack of general hygiene and the practice of pre-scientific medicine. At least we would have thought so before 2019. In the current crisis, however, both political leadership and the scientific world have found themselves as powerless in the face of COVID19 as the doctors and governments of the 19th century did as they dealt with cholera.

This helps us to understand better the mindset of Br François and the reasons behind the actions of Br Emmanuel and Br Amable. They had both an alertness to ongoing fragility in community health, and the desire to address any issue promptly and without needing to wait for the political and medical authorities to act.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, they had a holistic view of the epidemic, understanding it not only as a problem of infection, but one that brought with it broader societal impacts. For them, courage, charity, and religious faith contributed as much to solving the problem as medical competence. By contrast, today's health services, though much better equipped scientifically than those of the 19th century, are unable to provide communities with framework of meaning for dealing with their misfortune nor able to maintain social bonds to assist them in their resilience.

<sup>24</sup> Patrice Bourdelais, Michel Demonet, Jean-Yves Raulot, 'La marche du choléra en France : 1832-1854' in *Annales E.S.C.*, 1978, No. 33-1, 125-142.

<sup>25</sup> In the *Annales d'Institut* Br Avit refers to an epidemic of lead poisoning in St Genis-Laval in 1879-80 (Vol. 3, 1879, 26-31 p. 255-257; 1880, 53-54 p. 278-279).

<sup>26</sup> A further step was taken in 1870 with the publication of the *Domestic manual*, composed by BR Philogone, an assistant, a veritable treatise designed to teach communities a true lifestyle and to heal themselves.



# THE MARIST BROTHERS AS REPORTED IN THE NEWSPAPER L'UNIVERS, 15 MARCH 1858



Presentation by  
André Lanfrey, fms

## AN ARTICLE THAT JEOPARDISED THE SUCCESS OF BR FRANÇOIS' EFFORTS IN ROME IN 1858

In *Marist Notebooks* Nos. 38 and 39, Br Antonio Martínez Estaún has written a history of our Constitutions from the beginnings up to 1903. The newspaper article that I intend to present and comment on here (and which, to my knowledge, is not well known) is part of this complex story. As far as I know, it is the first coverage of the Marist Brother by a media outlet with an international circulation. *L'Univers* was in fact the main French Catholic daily. Its editor-in-chief, Louis Veuillot, enjoyed international prominence and had the support of Pius IX. But his Catholicism, while rather populist, was also very intransigent and ultramontane. While it resonated with a broad section of Catholic opinion, it aroused the distrust of a large part of the ecclesiastical and lay elite. In short, to be honoured by such a journal could prove to be quite prejudicial, even though an initial reading of the article on the Marist Brothers gives little hint of the politico-religious conflicts at work in the background. I will attempt to untangle the ins and outs of these conflicts by way of this commentary.

L'UNIVERS  
UNIVERS CATHOLIQUE

**News from Rome ...  
Rome, 6 March 1858<sup>1</sup>**

[...] ... Now let us tell you about an institution that your readers will no doubt know; it is never superfluous to repeat good things. On 1817 in a small village in the Diocese of Lyon, called La-valla, and located at the foot of the Vivarais mountains, a poor curate, a Marist religious, brought together a few pious and devoted young men. He dedicated all his assets, 1,600 Francs, to buying a house next to the presbytery. There, for eight years, in holy poverty, absolute destitution, prayer, study and manual work, these modest and unknown Christians sought the gaze of God, won the love of the Virgin Mary, whom they had taken for protector, and prepared a new apostolate for the Catholic world. This poor curate, whose name was Fr Champagnat, thus founded, with the approval of

the *diocesan* authority, a society which he called *Little Brothers of Mary*. A sublime invention of humility, a thrice blessed appellation, which recalls the attachment that Saint Francis of Assisi had for this epithet of *Little* or *Minor*! A French historian relates the words of this blessed lover of poverty to his brothers on this subject: *'The Friars Minor are granted to this world, at this extreme hour, as a blessed people, and the Son of God has said in the Gospel: Whatever you would do to the least among my brothers, it is as if you have done to me. And while My Lord God intended this to mean all who are poor in spirit, he especially foretold the order of the Friars Minor.'*<sup>2</sup>

Protected from 1824 by Archbishop de Pins, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Lyon, and later by His Emi-

nence Cardinal-Archbishop de Bonald, the Little Brothers of Mary spread from their retreat to the Diocese, from the Diocese to all of France, and from France to the world. They established themselves in Belgium, in England, crossed the seas and went to sow fertile seeds of truth in Oceania.

The aim of the Little Brothers of Mary is to provide primary education for children, especially in the countryside. On the one hand, through their founder, they are attached to the pious congregation of Marists; on the other hand, they humbly complement the humble institution of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; because, while these carry out their mission in cities and important locales, the Little Brothers search out the young population of the countryside and the villages.

<sup>1</sup> This newspaper can be accessed on the website of La Bibliothèque Nationale de France. It is thanks to the assistance of Br Adrien Mercier, Secretary of the Province of L'Hermitage that was able to find it.

<sup>2</sup> The author uses, probably deliberately, an old life of St Francis of Assisi, in which this was expressed in archaic French.

They may live in communities of two to run a school, and they live only from the small remuneration levied on the well-off children. This is unlike the Brothers of the Christian Schools, who must have at least three in an establishment and who, maintained at the expense of private foundations or municipalities, generally provide free education.

The dress of the two congregations is the same, except that for the Little Brothers the cloak is shorter, they put a cord around their waist, and they wear a cross on their chest.<sup>3</sup> Really, the Little Brothers are to the Brothers of the Christian Schools what the Capuchins are to the Cordeliers, which means that they complement each other and are called together to regenerate the poorer class through dedication, example and education. The legal existence of the Congregation of the Little Brothers of Mary was recognised and authorised for all of France as an establishment of public utility by a decree of 20 June

1851, signed by HM Napoleon III, then President of the Republic, and at this hour it has 1,665 subjects, 336 establishments, and gives primary instruction to 50,000 children. A huge result! The Congregation is a prodigy of the Apostles, one which must be perpetuated until the end in the Church of God.

Now it needs to obtain final approval from the Holy See, in order to afford society the great strength that comes from unity, to set on it this seal of continuity and sanctity that God put in the hands of the Papacy. Br François, Superior General, has therefore arrived in Rome accompanied by one of his Assistants and supported by the approbation of a large number of bishops and his principal patron, H. E. Cardinal de Bonald.

He can count, we hope, on a favourable reception to his request. H.H. Pius IX has already deigned to receive him with the greatest kindness. Those who like to say that the Holy See exercises extreme

severity and drawn-out procrastination when approvals are requested from its supreme authority, do not often concern themselves with the dangers or the uselessness of proposals whose promotion seems to be their only object; they do not reflect that it is by an express design of his Providence that Our Lord Jesus Christ transmitted sovereign power to the Bishop of Rome.

Roman genius has always distanced itself from theories and has been more pragmatic; its usual mindset is more robust, solid rather than delicate. Its mission to sustain and conquer the world by faith does not allow it to get lost in abstractions of the imagination. The Holy See shows circumspection, prudence; it examines with slow wisdom the make-up of a work, and when it recognises that this work, like that of the Little Brothers of Mary, is really good, useful to God, and that it contributes to the glory of Church, the Holy See approves it clearly, and showers it with favours and blessings.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is probably informed by the original statutes.

## PUTTING THE DOCUMENT IN CONTEXT

In 1851, the Institute was recognised by the French government as a charitable association of public utility. Finally, it had a secure civil status with the official name of «Little Brothers of Mary». However, at the canonical level, its situation was not clear: it was considered by the clergy and in general Catholic thinking to be an annex of the Marist Fathers who had been recognised provisionally by Rome under the name of Society of Mary since 1836. But in 1845, under the influence of Fr Colin, the Marist Fathers' General Chapter had decided on a separation between the Fathers and the Brothers. This could not be given effect, however, as long as the Brothers had no civil or canonical status. The civil barrier was removed in 1851, allowing the Brothers to move forward to seek from Rome recognition as a religious congregation.

The first step in such a project entailed holding a General Chapter to establish a Rule. Obviously, this Chapter was held with the permission of Cardinal de Bonald. Br François affirmed this during the opening session on 31 May: "My very dear Brothers, elected and chosen by the Congregation and with the approval of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyon, here we are gathered for a very important task". In a letter of 28 May (C.II p. 168) he had written to Bonald: "The Brother Capitulants arrived yesterday to ex-

amine the Rule which you were kind enough to authorise us to submit to you." The General Chapter took place in three sessions between 1852 and 1854, successively approving the *Common Rules* (1852), the *Teacher's Guide* (1853), and the *Rules of Government* (1854).

Apparently, no priest was delegated to oversee the work of the Chapter. Fr Colin, who until then had been the unofficial Superior General of the Brothers, was pleased to announce at the beginning of the first session of the Chapter on 4 June 1852 that he renounced all authority over them and invited them to govern themselves. This absence of a representative of ecclesiastical authority would have short and long term consequences. Lacking experience and authority, the superiors struggled to control a large assembly dealing with subjects that were beyond the competence of many capitulants and, for others, provoke protests or untimely proposals. The Chapter unfolded therefore in an atmosphere that was far from serene, as Br Avit reminds us in his *Annals of the Institute*. Some of the older Brothers considered that there were decisions taken not in sympathy with the tradition or the spirit of the Institute. This rebellion would persist and it helped to Br François and his Assistants to move quickly to prepare the documents necessary for requesting canonical recognition. But a letter from Br Marie-Jubin, Secretary General, and one of the malcontents, would arrive in Rome in April 1858 and cause them considerable problem.

The separation between Fathers and Brothers was not easy to achieve either.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, during the Fathers' Chapter of 1854, Fr Colin resigned and Fr Julien Favre (1812-1885) was elected as second Superior General. A native of Ain, ordained priest in 1836, he joined the Marist Fathers the same year. He therefore did not live through the Marist origins, and hardly knew Fr Champagnat. He had little association with Br François. In his recently published correspondence,<sup>5</sup> a rather mixed attitude towards the Brothers is evident. On 17 September 1856 he protested somewhat harshly to Br François about the publication of the *Life of Father Champagnat* (in Letter 83), in particular concerning Courveille. Furthermore, the separation was done without reference to any episcopal authority, something which embarrassed the Marist Fathers who were still widely thought to be the superiors of the Brothers. He also considered that the Brothers who were superiors were exercising an intrusive kind of spiritual direction that competed with that of the Brothers' priestly confessors in formation houses and boarding schools. This is why, when Brs François and Louis-Marie arrived in Rome in 1858,

Br François asked Fr Nicolet, the Procurator, to question the Penitentiary about non-ordained superiors (Brothers and Sisters) who were abusing spiritual direction by questioning their subordinates "in materia luxuria". He recommended that his correspondent be kept from the Brothers who were very sensitive on this point. (Letter 134, 21 Feb 1858). Fr Favre did show a genuine benevolence towards the Brothers but it came from the priestly mindset of the time: a somewhat superior attitude that was then quite common and was exhibited by many Marist Fathers.<sup>6</sup> In addition, concerned about the some mistakes in governance by the Brothers, he seems to have considered that the separation of the two Marist branches was too radical, or at least premature.

Fr Favre served, however, as a model for the Brothers for how to manage the Papal Court. Because Fr Colin, who was supposed to have finished writing the Rule of the Society of Mary, had completed nothing, the new SM Superior General with his Council drew up the *Regulae fundamentales* and presented them in Rome in February-April 1856. He would return there from the end of November 1856 to February 1857 to

<sup>4</sup> Father Colin, because the Fathers' Rule required them to live in community, became reluctant to appoint Marist chaplains to the houses of Brothers. When in 1853 he asked for a Brother to teach with the Fathers at their College in La Seyne, Br François refused for the same reason. "This was the first of a series of complications between the two now independent congregations."

<sup>5</sup> Bernard Bourtot SM, Julien Favre. Documents pour l'étude du généralat Favre. Rome, 2012, Vol. 1.

<sup>6</sup> This attitude is reflected in several of his letters to Fr Nicolet

establish a permanent Procure to the Papal Court. The Father Procurator from the end of 1856 until July 1859 would be Fr Nicolet. At the request of Fr Favre, it was he who accommodated Brs François and Louis-Marie at Palazzo Valentini. We learn from his correspondence that on 4 April 1856, Favre makes contact with Mgr Bizzarri (Letter 61 p. 108), Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and especially with Mgr Ludovic Chaillot, a French canonist “whom he makes his correspondent to follow the rule.”

## THE ULTRAMONTANE OFFENSIVE

Now, this Mgr Chaillot, a French canonist, was one of the fiercest ultramontanes in Rome. Later he would be consultant for the Constitutions of the Marist Brothers and would cause them all kinds of difficulties. His influence was due to the French-language magazine *La Correspondence de Rome*, a bimonthly publication that he founded in 1848. Starting from 1850, he used his connections in the papal administration to access curial files. “Bishops are horrified to find exposed in the press their supposedly secret negotiations and their requests for decisions in matters of canon law, liturgy

and ecclesiastical discipline.”<sup>7</sup> And these documents are accompanied by “learned and murderous comments which could only be dictated by high-ranking officials in the curial bureaucracy.”<sup>8</sup> There is a strong probability that article published on the Marist Brothers in *L’Univers* was sourced in the same way. *L’Univers*, a firecely ultramontane newspaper, reprinted articles from *La Correspondence de Rome*.

But this ultramontanism on the part of the press is simply a show of support for the firm ultramontanism of the Pope and the Papal Court. Between 1848 and 1853, they reined in local episcopal independence, especially suggestions of Gallican or liberal resistance from the French episcopate and theologians. Apostolic Nuncios tightly controlled national episcopates; the Roman liturgy was imposed almost everywhere. And Rome willingly listened to the grievances of priests or religious in conflict with their bishops or superiors.<sup>9</sup>

Outraged by these ultramontane attacks which undermined their authority, and constantly accused of Gallicanism, in 1852 the French bishops influenced Mgr Dupanoup to write an open letter entitled *Le journalisme dans l’Eglise [Journalism in the Church]*, denouncing

<sup>7</sup> Austin Gough, *Paris et Rome. Les catholiques français et le pape au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Les éditions de l’atelier, 1996, p.172

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> This is why Br Marie’Jubin’s letter prompted an enquiry.

the dictatorship of *L'Univers* and *La Correspondence de Rome*. The Pope rejected this complaint from the bishops, but the French government, military protector of the Pope, was concerned about this wave of ultramontanism and in 1852 suppressed *La Correspondence de Rome*. However, *L'Univers* continued to maintain an atmosphere of suspicion towards anyone who did not appear, in its eyes, sufficiently attached to Rome. In addition, considering himself the centre of the Church and seeing the bishops as his delegates, Pius IX regarded any resistance to Roman centralisation as a threat of schism. Finally, the encyclical *Inter multiplices* of 1 April 1853, by condemning Gallicanism, targeted the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr Sibour. It attributed the curtailing of episcopal autonomy and the triumph of ultramontane Catholic populism to La Veillot, the editor of *L'Univers*.<sup>10</sup> The proclamation by Pius IX of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 was also seen as a solemn manifestation of papal supremacy.

## THE ROMAN QUESTION

Yet there was a stark contrast for the Papacy between this centralising intransigence of its spiritual power on the one hand, and its po-

litical weakness on the other. In 1848 Pius IX had to flee to Gaeta, driven out by the Roman Republic. From then on, his political power depended on the goodwill of Austria and of France, whose government, under pressure from French ultramontanism, maintained an army in Rome. By obstinately refusing to give in to the Risorgimento movement, Pius IX left the field open to Cavour, a minister of the King of Piedmont-Sardinia who was manoeuvring to drag a hesitant Napoleon III into war against Austria. The Orsini attack on 14 January 1858, a few weeks before the departure of Brs François and Louis-Marie for Rome, reminded the Emperor, a former Carbonaro,<sup>11</sup> of his duties towards the Risorgimento. On 21 July, while Br François is still in Rome, Cavour met with Napoleon III in Plombières<sup>12</sup> to prepare for a war against Austria which would take place in May-June 1859 and would lead to the establishment of a Kingdom of Italy with Rome as its capital.

This atmosphere of posturing for war and then of open conflict was not favourable for advancing the Marist Brothers' request for authorisation during 1858-60. And, since Pius IX stubbornly refused to accept the *fait accompli*, the Roman question would continue to poison European politics. In France, the imperial government, judging ultramontanism

<sup>10</sup> On the rise and triumph of ultramontanism, see the classic work by R. Aubert: *Le pontificat de Pie IX*, Ch.10, *Les progrès de l'ultramontanisme*.

<sup>11</sup> A member of a secret revolutionary society plotting the unification of Italy.

<sup>12</sup> A thermal spa resort in the east of France, in the Vosges mountains.

to be a danger to national unity, suppressed *L'Univers* on 30 January 1860 and aligned itself more closely with the liberals. It let the anticlerical press attack religious congregations considered to be spearheading ultramontanism.

## THE ULTRAMONTANISM OF THE MARISTS

An in-depth study of Marists and ultramontanism would be very useful. Br François was obviously ultramontane. His notebooks bear abundant testimony to his veneration of the persecuted Pope and his awe of the city of Rome, overflowing with piety. His was an ultramontanism more mystical than political – far, it seems to me, from the thought of Joseph de Maistre, theorist of the Papacy as the keystone of European order, who was influential especially with the clergy. In short, Br François's ultramontanism was closer to that of the first Marists whose 1816 pledge bore that imprint. Unlike the radical ultramontanes of the middle of the century, they did not question the legitimacy of episcopal authority and remained politically discreet.<sup>13</sup>

Fr Favre seems to me to have a more radical ultramontanism, as suggested by the close relations with Mgr Chaillot revealed in his correspondence. Moreover, his concern to write a Rule and have it

quickly approved by Rome without the consent of Fr Colin reveals a difference in the ultramontane sympathies of the founder and his successor. It could be one of the causes for the dispute surrounding the Rule – Fr Colin and certain Marist Fathers challenging Fr Favre in the years 1860-70 about the legitimacy of the Rule which he developed and had approved by Rome.

Be that as it may, Fr Favre understood the depth of Roman suspicion towards elements of the French hierarchy which were constantly tending to schism, and which needed to be watched so that things didn't boil over. He was astute enough to establish a permanent representative in Rome to maintain close links with the papal administration. Br François had a lot to learn in a short time. This is why Cardinal de Bonald, a moderate ultramontane, which is the same as saying a moderate Gallican, thought that the year 1858 was not the right time to seek authorisation from Rome. He doubted the ability of Br François to succeed in a climate of politico-religious confusion and readiness for war.

## A CONGREGATION OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE

The centrepiece of Br François' formal application was *Mémoire sur la congrégation des Petits Frères de*

<sup>13</sup> In the introduction to his biography of Marcellin, *Achievement from the Depths*, Br Stephen Farrell addresses well the tension between Gallicanism and Ultramontanism.

*Marie* (C. II, p. 506-511) which gave a brief overview of its origins, its purpose, its spirit, its current state: 336 establishments, 1665 members (including a thousand perpetual and temporary professed) spread across 26 dioceses, the bishops of which had provided a letter of support. In its size, and the number and quality of its supporters, the congregation that was seeking Roman recognition was one of major significance. And that's why *L'Univers* devoted a rather long article to it.

The *Memoir* unfortunately, however, almost completely erased the connection of the Institute with the Society of Mary, which it had had during most of its existence. Instead, it cited the Prospectus of 1824 to explain that Fr Champagnat wanted to "give children of the countryside and small towns the good education that the Brothers of the Christian Schools give [...] to those of towns and important localities." These words greatly influenced the *L'Univers* article as we shall see below, and also how the Roman authorities came to view the Marist Brothers. Obviously, the *Memoir* did not hold back on its ultramontane sentiments, undoubtedly sincere: as "devoted children of the holy Roman Church" the Marist Brothers sought the blessings of the Apostolic See and hoped that "the supreme sanction of the Holy See come to strengthen the heart of their congregation and the supreme authority of superiors."

## THE JOURNEY AND STAY IN ROME UP TO THE PAPAL AUDIENCE

In his Circular of 2 February 1858 (C. II, p.314-322), Br François announced his departure and that of Br Louis-Marie to the Brothers, situating their task in an idealised history of the Institute that had always been aided by Mary in the most difficult situations. He estimated the time of their absence at two or three months. In fact, Br Louis-Marie would return in April, but François not until the end of August, delayed by unanticipated difficulties of which the article in *L'Univers* was only the first.

Since Br François has left us a detailed account of his trip and of his stay in Rome (Notebook 305), we can easily follow the course of events. The two superiors left from L'Hermitage on Saturday 6 February. They probably spent the night at St Genis-Laval where the construction of the new motherhouse was under way. The next day they visited Cardinal de Bonald who gave them his letter of support. Letters from Fr Favre indicate that they also went to the Marist Fathers, but in great haste, to receive the petition to the Roman authorities on their behalf (Letter 129 p. 216). Unlike the *Memoir* of Br François, this letter emphasised the foundation of the Society of Mary, the relationship of the Brothers vis-à-vis the SM Superior General, and the decision of

Fr Colin to separate them from the Fathers who nevertheless continued to be supportive of them and to render them services.

That same evening, Brs François and Louis-Marie took the train to Marseille where they arrived the next morning.<sup>14</sup> After a sea trip to Civitavecchia they reached Rome on the 11th at 2 a.m. They were expected and welcomed by Fr Nicolet at Palazzo Valentini, Piazza dei Santi Apostoli. The following days they mainly visited French priests and prelates: Fr de Villefort, a Jesuit; Mgr de Falloux brother of the Minister; Cardinal de Villecourt, a native of the diocese of Lyon and former bishop of La Rochelle who reminisced with them about La Vallée, St. Martin-en-Coailleux, and St Chamond “where he had exercised the Holy Ministry”. On the 13th they presented their *Memoir* and the *Fundamental Statutes of the Institute* to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of Propaganda Fide. On his advice, they requested, through the French Ambassador, a Papal Audience. This would take place on Monday 1 March.

That day, they presented their dossier to the Pope and “at the request of His Holiness, we gave him the book of Constitutions and

Common Rules which he attached to the file.” But Br François added what later might be prove a blunder:

Most Holy Father, our work, being as a branch of the Marist Fathers, if it pleased your Holiness to send our request to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda where the Marist Fathers are more well known, we would be very grateful, but we comply absolutely with what may best please Your Holiness.<sup>15</sup>

Such a request did not align with what was written in the Memoir, which barely mentioned any link with the Marist Fathers. Additionally, it would have not impressed a Pope who was instinctively resistant to being told what to do.<sup>16</sup>

## THE UNSETTLING L'UNIVERS ARTICLE

In a visit to Cardinal Barnabo on Friday 5 March, the two superiors learned that the case had been entrusted to him and that he was required to make a report. Everything seemed to be going well until Monday 15 March when Br François noted in his diary, in telegraphic style: “To Mgr Talbot, chamberlain of His Holiness, the Vatican; article in L'Univers about the Society; we had nothing to do with it; we are sorry.”

<sup>14</sup> The Lyon-Marseilles line had opened in 1852.

<sup>15</sup> Propaganda also had a reputation for dealing with dossiers more rapidly than Bishops and Canons Regular.

<sup>16</sup> In the second audience which preceded Br Louis-Marie's return home, Br François would rescind this request.

He and Br Louis-Marie had therefore become aware of this article which presented the Marist Brothers in a light that was not exactly the one they would have preferred. While uninitiated reader might read it without seeing in it anything other than banal information, it was a typical example of the connivance between the Roman and French ultramontane networks, and an attempt to take the Institute unwittingly down a particular path.

As I said before, *L'Univers* was at that time not only the main French Catholic daily, but a kind of unofficial mouthpiece for the Roman administration. It was a favoured media outlet for Pius IX and much of the Papal Court. The article on the Marist Brothers clearly emanated from the dossier that had been lodged in Barnabo's department, either drawing inspiration from the Cardinal's report or seeking to influence the drafting of it. A letter from Fr Nicolet, the Marist Procurator, dated 8 March 1858, seemed to point the finger at Mgr Chaillot; he was a French prelate to whom the Memoir was passed on and who could have forwarded it to a correspondent at *L'Univers*.

## **A REMINDER OF ROMAN PRINCIPLES REGARDING THE RECOGNITION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES**

The newspaper article was in three parts. The first, and the least important, was a presentation on the Marist Brothers. Since it was a little-known congregation nationally, the author introduced it by reference to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The difference between the Friars Minor and the Capuchins provided an historical example for how groups that share the same apostolic inspiration (Franciscan or educational) can generate complementary works.<sup>17</sup> But this description of the Marist Brothers was really a pretext for justifying Rome's decisions in the highly political context of numerous congregations, especially French ones, struggling to gain pontifical recognition. The author defended the Roman position with two arguments: one theological ("Our Lord Jesus Christ transmitted sovereign power to the Bishop of Rome"); and one more cultural ("the Roman genius", "more robust than delicate" refuses to "get lost in the abstractions of the imagination"<sup>18</sup>). This is quite debatable, even theologically, but typical of the ultramontanism evident in *L'Univers*. In fact, most of those

<sup>17</sup> Since this was being written at the time of the Falloux Law of 1850, which favoured religious congregations, the author was suggesting perhaps a better coordination in the service of general Catholic education.

<sup>18</sup> This theory would be repeated by Fr Nicolet addressing himself to Br François.

who submitted requests for recognition to Rome knew that the Holy See was endemically suspicious of people's devotion to Rome; that the Papal administration is a labyrinth; and that Roman slowness was a result more of inattention than of lack of judiciousness.<sup>19</sup>

In any case, the Marist Brothers were warned: the Papal administration which "examines the conditions of a work with slow wisdom" viewed them to be closer to the Brothers of the Christian Schools than the Marist Fathers. And Cardinal Barbaró would employ a delaying tactic, to the bafflement of Br François, multiplying pretexts for keeping the file in his department. In addition, at each meeting he reiterated to Br François that the Pope saw the Marist Brothers as the educational complement of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. It was during one of these conversations that the phrase «Marist Brothers of the Schools» seems to have emerged. Br François notes as much on 15 April 1858:

H.E. [Cardinal Barbaró] tells us that there was talk about us on the 12th in St Agnes during lunch.  
Cardinal Patrizzi to the Holy Father: It was some

Brothers of the Christian Schools to whom Your Holiness gave Communion. No, replies the Pope, they are two Little Brothers of Mary, for the schools; I know them ...  
They are Brothers to fill the gaps left by the Brothers of the Christian Schools.<sup>20</sup>

## A HEAVY DEFEAT FOR BR FRANÇOIS

When Br François returned to France at the end of August 1858, the threat of a recognition that would make the Marist Brothers some sort of annex of the Brothers of the Christian Schools had not lifted. And he could boast only of a minor success: his dossier was, not without difficulty, eventually deposited with the Congregation of Bishops and Canons Regular. But neither Fr Favre nor Cardinal de Bonald wished to see themselves dispossessed of their historical and spiritual ties to the Marist Brothers. Considering themselves jointly as the Brothers' guardians, they responded in Br François' stead. A letter from Fr Favre to the Bishop of Belley, Mgr de Langalerie, on 7 February 1859 revealed something of this defensive ploy:<sup>21</sup> "I had the honour of dining yesterday with His Eminence Cardinal de Bonald."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cardinal Barnabó is considered as a happy exception in a curia that governments of the time, and later historians, have judged to be quite mediocre.

<sup>20</sup> This was a sign that Pius IX saw the Marist Brothers in the orbit of the FSC: during the last audience of Brother François on 9 August he asked him: "Where are you staying in Rome? With the Brothers of the Christian Schools?" He never seemed to have understood the links between Marist Fathers and Marist Brothers

<sup>21</sup> Bernard Bourtot, *Julien Favre, Documents pour l'étude du généralat Favre*, Vol.1 (1854-1866). Rome 2012, Doc.173, p.289

<sup>22</sup> He was in Rome at the same time as Fr Favre

His Eminence Cardinal de Villecourt was there,<sup>23</sup> as well as Louis Veuil- lot etc.”

It was during this dinner that a battle strategy was explored, as revealed by a letter from Cardinal de Bonald on 16 February 1859 asking Rome that since the Marist Brothers were badly led, they be put back under the control of the Marist Fathers.

This intervention would result in stalling the dossier submitted by Br François, and ruining project of rapprochement between the Marist Brothers and the Brothers of the Christian Schools which was yet to be developed. It was also an act of defiance towards Br François who, disowned by his superiors, would have no choice but to resign in 1860.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE CANONICAL NAME OF THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF MARY

The article in *L'Univers* was therefore the first stumbling block the Institute encountered on the long road to its recognition by Rome. A decisive step forward came in 1863 with provisional recognition. This rendered obsolete the two competing projects of links with the Brothers of the Christian Schools and guardianship by the Marist Fathers, which had forced Br François to resign.<sup>24</sup> But final recognition would not take place until 1903. The official canonical name “Marist Brothers of the Schools” had vestiges of the 1858 process,<sup>25</sup> when *L'Univers*, Pius IX and the Roman administration wanted to place the Institute within the orbit of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The name, which had no history in the Institute, would be poorly received by the Brothers.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Highly placed in the Papal Court.

<sup>24</sup> In his notebook 305, Br François, who wrote extensively of his stay in Rome, gives the impression that he didn't fully understand the way that the Papal administration functioned and that he had allowed himself to be manipulated. Nevertheless, through both his patience and obstinance he did achieve some modest results.

<sup>25</sup> Further research is required for when this expression appears in the documents.

<sup>26</sup> For example, the Constitutions of 1922 bears the title “Constitutions of the Marist Brothers of the Schools or the Little Brothers of Mary.”



# THIRTY YEARS OF MARIST RESEARCH (1990-2020)



André Lanfrey, fms

## 1. Index of issues, authors and topics of the *Marist Notebooks* (1 - 22)

In No 1 of the *Marist Notebooks* (p. II), on 6 June 1990, the General Council defined the objective of the review as: “To communicate the state of research into our origins and into what characterises us as Marist Brothers”. It was to be published in the four official languages of the Institute. No frequency was set, but each issue was to have three sections: news on writings relating to our patrimony, studies reporting on research, and unpublished documents concerning the Founder. This initiative was part of an overhaul in regard to publications of the congregation. In fact, the *Bulletin of the Institute*, which had acted as a news review and publishing research work, ceased to exist in December 1984 (No. 22).

From 1987 on, the magazine *FMS-Message* had been providing news. In its first issue on February 1987, Br. Charles Howard mentioned that the General Council had appointed a commission chaired by Brother Yves Thénoz, Secretary General, which had recommended that a regular news review be re-established in the spirit of the *Bulletin* and that a brother be appointed to be responsible for publications. It was logical to also begin a second review specialising in our foundations as the *Bulletin of the Institute* used to do, especially from the 1950s onwards. Led by Br. Paul Sester, former Assistant and Secretary General turned archivist, the magazine *Marist Notebooks* was therefore closely connected to a relatively recent tradition of research on Marist patrimony based on the General Archives. In issue number 22 (December 2005) Br. Paul Sester gave an alphabetical listing of the authors indicating the titles of their articles and the number of the review in which they could be found. This catalogue remains of interest to researchers who can quickly familiarise themselves with work carried out from 1990 to 2005.

Issues published during the first 15 years did not appear with any regularity: on average three issues every two years. Champagnat, his

person and the documents he left behind were the main focus prior to his canonisation. Afterwards, the subjects were more extended to include the Society of Mary, Brother François and the history of the Institute in general.

## 2. Index of the Marist Notebooks (1 – 38)

In 2020 the Marist Notebooks marks 30 years of existence; it is up to number 38. The rate of distribution has slowed down to one issue per year, but copies are often thicker than before and the authors a little more diverse. In any case, the thirty years of the review are to be celebrated as a sign of vitality in spite of a context not very favourable to this kind of work. The elaboration of a complete catalogue seemed to me to be one way of saluting this small event in a way that is both symbolic and useful.

I have therefore created three indexes: the first corresponds to the order of the issues of the Marist Notebooks. It was composed in two stages (No 1-22, then 23-31), hence some minor variations. The second gives an alphabetical list of authors. After some hesitation, I decided to produce a thematic index which is a bit rough, but which may be of some use.

### I. Chronological Index of the Marist Notebooks No 1 - 38

No, date, pages	Author	Title	Topic
No 1 - June 1990			
Pages 1-16	Sester Paul	Nos archives : essai historique	Institute
Pages 17-18	Silveira Luis	Le “ Centre d’Études Maristes “ de la Province de Rio de Janeiro	Institute
Pages 19-22	Brambila Aureliano	Centre d’Études du Patrimoine spirituel mariste, CEPAM	Institute
Pages 23-28	Michel Gabriel	Le confesseur du Père Champagnat (M. Duplay)	CH
Pages 29-46	Balko Alexandre	Marcellin Champagnat, Éducateur	CH
Pages 47-66	Sester Paul	Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographe de M. Champagnat	CH
Pages 69-125	Sester Paul	Les résolutions de Champagnat	CH

No 2 - June 1991			
Pages 1-24	Sester Paul	Nos archives aujourd'hui, contenu.	Institute
Pages 25-28	Brambila Aureliano	Centre d'Études du Patrimoine spirituel mariste	Institute
Pages 29-32	Bibliography	Publications maristes	Institute
Pages 33-52	Sester Paul	Frère Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographe de M. Champagnat (suite)	CH
Pages 53-60	Roche Jean	Marie notre Bonne Mère d'après les Lettres de M. Champagnat	CH
Pages 61-71	Stirn Roger	Première tête de pont des Frères Maristes à Paris (paroisse St Augustin)	Institute
Pages 73-76	Document	Instructions sur le rosaire	CH/ Sources
Pages 77-82	Document	Sermon sur la dévotion au rosaire	CH/ Sources
No 3 - May 1992			
Pages 1-18	Sester Paul	Nos archives aujourd'hui (suite)	Institute
Pages 19-24	Brambila Aureliano	Marie dans nos Constitutions	Institute
Pages 25-74	Balko Alexandre	Le Père Champagnat et la formation des Frères	CH
Pages 75-79	Stirn Roger	Le recrutement des vocations	Institute
Pages 81-90	Document	Plusieurs sermons sur les fins dernières	CH/ Sources
Pages 91-93	Document	Réflexions sur la fin de l'homme	CH/ Sources
No 4 - March 1993			
Pages 1-18	Bibliography	Ouvrages sur M. Champagnat	CH/ biblio.
Pages 19-20	Sester Paul	Publications maristes	Institute
Pages 21-25	Sester Paul	Colloque sur l'histoire et la spiritualité maristes : Marie dans l'Eglise naissante et à la fin des temps	S.M.
Pages 27-47	Sester Paul	Les discours sur l'enfer de M. Champagnat	CH/ Sources
Pages 49-62	Michel Gabriel	Antoine Linossier	CH
Pages 63-81	Bergeret Maurice	Pédagogie éducative des FMS	Institute

Pages 83-104	Document	Trois discours sur l'enfer	CH/ Sources
Pages 105-113	Document	Deux sermons sur la mort du pécheur	CH/ Sources
<b>No 5 - May 1994</b>			
Pages 1-15	Bibliography	Ouvrages sur M. Champagnat	CH/biblio.
Pages 16-21	H.J.M./ H.G. T.	Publications maristes	Institute
Pages 22-38	Balko Alexandre	Le Père Champagnat et la confiance	CH
Pages 39-48	Lanfrey André	Pour une méthode de relecture de la spiritualité des Ordres religieux	Institute
Pages 49-60	Farneda Danilo	" Guide des Écoles " (1817 - 1853) ; étude historico-critique.	Institute
Pages 61-65	Document	Le pardon des injures	CH/ Sources
Pages 66-81	Document	Sermon sur le délai de la conversion	CH/ Sources
Pages 82-86	Document	La conversion	CH/ Sources
Pages 87-93	Document	Prières des 40 heures	CH/ Sources
Page 94	Sester Paul	Annnonce de l'édition des Annales des maisons des Provinces de St Paul et Aubenas	Institute
<b>No 6 - December 1994</b>			
Pages 1-13	Hinojal Fernando	Iconographie Champagnat	CH
Pages 15-34	Sester Paul	Archives Champagnat	CH/ Sources
Pages 35-61	Lanfrey André	Esquisse d'une introduction critique à la Vie du Pages Champagnat	CH
Pages 63-72	Balko Alexandre	Le Testament spirituel de M. Champagnat	CH
Pages 73-80	Bayo Jesús	La vie affective de M. Champagnat : célibat, amour et amitié	CH
Pages 81-96	Document	La pénitence ; la confession	CH/ Sources
Pages 97-98	Document	Sur la communion	CH/ Sources

Pages 99-102	Document	La sanctification du dimanche	CH/ Sources
Pages 103-106	Document	La récompense céleste	CH/ Sources
<b>No 7 - June 1995</b>			
Pages 2-5	Sester Paul	Curriculum vitae de J.C. Courveille	CH/ Courv.
Pages 6-9	Document	Lettre de M. Courveille le 4 juin 1826	Institute
Pages 10-53	Lanfrey André	La lettre d'Aiguebelle ou l'échec d'une première Société de Marie (1817-1826)	S.M.
Pages 55-56	Document	Conférence sur la gourmandise et l'ivrognerie	CH/ Sources
Pages 57-58	Document	Sermon sur l'impureté	CH/ Sources
Pages 59-60	Document	Exhortation à la reconnaissance	CH/ Sources
Pages 61-63	Document	Conférence sur l'amour filial	CH/ Sources
Pages 64-66	Document	Notes de retraite	CH/ Sources
Pages 67-70	Document	Instruction sur la Purification de Marie	CH/ Sources
<b>No 8 - January 1996</b>			
Pages 3-5	Archives	Marie dans les lettres de Champagnat	CH/Mary
Pages 6-11	Bibliography	Marie dans les constitutions et statuts	Institute
Pages 13-16	Brosse Lucien	Portrait du P. Champagnat. Le troisième tableau.	CH/ Sources
Pages 17-27	Document	Affaire Bordel. Annales de Chaumont et Grandrif	Institute
Pages 29-38	Sester Paul	Marie dans la vie de M. Champagnat	CH/ Mary
Pages 39-47	Roche Jean	M. Champagnat, lumière pour les laïcs	CH/Laity
Pages 49-59	Mulago Jean-Pierre, sm	M. Champagnat, Cofondateur de la S.M.	CH/S.M.
Pages 61-68	Document	Cahiers Champagnat. Table des matières	CH/ Sources
Pages 69-143	Documents	Cahiers Champagnat (textes) : de 3.01 à 3.04.	CH/ Sources

No 9 - July 1996			
Pages 1-3	Sester Paul	Publication des travaux de P. Zind, lettres du F. François	Institute
Pages 5-82	Lanfrey André	La Société de Marie comme congrégation secrète	S.M.
Pages 83-151	Documents	Cahiers Champagnat (textes : de 3.05 à 3.09)	CH/ Sources
No 10 - March 1997			
Pages 1-16	Lanfrey André	La légende du Jésuite du Puy	S.M.
Pages 17-29	Delorme Alain	Lettres du Père Champagnat à Frère François	CH/ Sources
Pages 31-41	Sester Paul	“ Biographies de quelques Frères “, par Frère Jean-Baptiste	Institute
Pages 43-96	Document	Livre de comptes pour les dépenses (1)	CH/ Sources
Pages 97-146	Document	Livre de comptes pour les dépenses (2)	CH/ Sources
No 11 - July 1997			
Pages 1-4	Sester Paul	« A nos lecteurs » (Bilan du travail réalisé dans les CM. Et projet de présenter les écrits du F. François)	Institute
Pages 5-33	Lanfrey André	Complément à “ Origines Maristes “. Lettre de Pierre. Colin à Mgr. Bigex	S.M./ Sources
Pages 34-48	Chute Kostka, fms	Marcellin Champagnat et la spiritualité sulpicienne	CH.
Pages 49-72	Lanfrey André	Courveille disciple de Rancé et de Jean Climaque	S.M.
Pages 75-100	Documents	Instructions de Champagnat sur la retraite, rapportées par les F. Jean-Baptiste et François	CH/ Sources
Pages 101-111	Documents	Instructions de Champagnat sur la grâce rapportées par les Frères François et Jean-Baptiste	CH/ Sources
No 12 - December 1997			
Pages 1-91	Documents	Carnet de notes Pages° 1 du F. François : « Mélanges divers ».	CH/ Sources
No 13 - July 1998			
Pages 1-3	Vignau Henri, fms	Compte-rendu du séminaire sur le patrimoine mariste : 20-27 novembre 1997.	Institute

Pages 5-39	Brambila Aureliano	La pensée du Père Champagnat sur l'éducation des enfants	CH
Pages 41-60	Farneda Danilo	Les Petits Frères de Marie et les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes	Institute
Pages 61-80	Clisby Edward	L'éducateur mariste en Océanie de 1836 à 1870	S.M.
Pages 81-84	Clisby Edward	Le statut des Frères Maristes missionnaires en Océanie	S.M.
Pages 85-122	Lanfrey André	« But des Frères, d'après deux instructions contenues dans les manuscrits des FF. François et Jean- Baptiste	Institute
Pages 123-130	Michel Gabriel	Marcellin Champagnat et la reconnaissance légale des Frères Maristes	CH/ Sources
Pages 131-145	Moral Juan	Approches pour découvrir les éléments de base de la pédagogie éducative mariste en Espagne	Institute
Pages 147-180	Perez José	Le contexte scolaire de nos écoles en France d'après le F. Avit : 1818 - 1891	Institute
Pages 181-189	Sester Paul	L'éducation selon Marcellin Champagnat d'après Avis leçons sentences.	CH/ Sources
<b>No 14 - November 1998</b>			
Pages 3-6	Brambila Aureliano	Quelqu'un qui s'est laissé guider par l'Esprit	CH
Pages 7-34	Lanfrey André	Les instructions cachées du Père Champagnat. Introduction à la Vie du Fondateur	CH
Pages 35-83	Michel Gabriel	Marcellin et son chemin d'obéissance	CH
Pages 85-103	Sester Paul	Marcellin Champagnat, un saint	CH
Pages 105-127	Documents	Témoignages de Frères et d'ecclésiastiques sur le P. Champagnat	CH
<b>No 15 - May 1999</b>			
Pages 5-13	Bourtot Bernard s.m.	Marcellin Champagnat, Père Mariste	CH
Pages 15-28	Sester Paul	Spiritualité apostolique mariste du Père Champagnat	CH

Pages 29-96	Lanfrey André	Des instructions du Père Champagnat aux " Avis, Leçons, Sentences "	Institute
Pages 97-117	Sester Paul	Frère François, notes de retraite	FF/Sources
Pages 119-170	Lefebvre Alexandre	Des Anciens Élèves au Mouvement Champagnat de la Famille Mariste	Institute
Pages 171-198	Document	F. François. Passages concernant la fonction de supérieur	Br. François (FF)
<b>No 16 - November 2000</b>			
Pages 5-20	Sester Paul	Marcellin Champagnat, Educateur	CH
Pages 21-52	Lanfrey André	La circulaire sur l'Esprit de Foi	FF/Sources
Pages 53-86	Lanfrey André	Un ouvrage fondamental oublié : Le Manuel de Piété (1855)	Institute
Pages 87-114	Sester Paul	F. François : retraite de 1826	FF/Sources
Pages 115-188	Documents	F. François, « carnet de notes 1 » : faits de vie concernant des frères	FF/Sources
<b>No 17 - May 2001</b>			
Pages 5-22	Green Michael	Charismatic culture. Encountering the gospel in Marist schools	Institute
Pages 23-54	Sester Paul	M. Champagnat et ses Frères	CH
Pages 55-81	Lanfrey André	Sur la Société de Marie comme congrégation secrète	S.M.
Pages 83-103	Sester Paul	Frère François, Retraite de 1840	FF/Sources
Pages 105-125	Bibliography	Les auteurs les plus cités par le F.François	FF
Pages 127-163	Document	F. François. Anecdotes maristes dans le carnet 10	FF/Sources
<b>No 18 - March 2002</b>			
Pages 3-33	Koller Johannes, fms	Essai d'une herméneutique de la " Vie de Marcellin Champagnat "	CH
Pages 35-68	Alvès Manoel	Quelques convictions éducatives de M. Champagnat	CH
Pages 69-93	Lanfrey André	Une lettre sur M. Bochard et les Pères de la Croix de Jésus	S.M.
Pages 95-105	Sester Paul	La perfection selon Frère François	FF

Pages 107-150	Documents	F. François : résolutions, aspirations. Extraits des recueils 302-305	FF/Sources
<b>No 19 - June 2003</b>			
Pages 3-18	Delorme Alain	M. Vernet et son échec dans la fondation des Frères	Institute
Pages 19-51	Lanfrey André	Essai sur les origines de la spiritualité mariste	Institute
Pages 53-72	Sester Paul	M. Champagnat, son esprit, sa personnalité	CH
Pages 73-91	Sester Paul	F. François évoque le P. Champagnat, d'après « Projets d'instructions ».	FF
<b>No 20 - June 2004</b>			
Pages 3-7	Sester Paul	Informatisation de nos archives	CH/ Sources
Pages 9-48	Sester Paul	Amenés par Marie : présentation du " Registre des Entrées "	CH/ Sources
Pages 49-94	Document	Registre des entrées Pages° 1	CH/ Sources
<b>No 21 - April 2005</b>			
Pages 3-8	Lanfrey André	Composition et tâches de la commission du patrimoine	Institute
Pages 9-71	Mac Mahon Frederick	Histoire et personnalité de M. Champagnat dans les écrits de ses contemporains	S.M.
Pages 73-93	Lanfrey André	Statuts de la Société de Marie de L'Hermitage. Un document nouveau	S.M.
<b>No 22 - December 2005</b>			
Pages 3-7	Index	Articles parus dans les Cahiers Maristes du début à nos jours	Institute
Pages 9-23	Clisby Edward	Frères Maristes et Maoris en Océanie	Institute
Pages 25-47	Brambila Aureliano	F. Basilio Rueda et l'obéissance	Institute
Pages 49-68	Sester Paul	M. Champagnat et les finances	CH
Pages 69-88	Bergeret Maurice	Document méthode de lecture (sur les « Nouveaux Principes de lecture » (1838) et méthodes de lecture au temps de Champagnat)	CH/ Sources

End of volume (37 Pages)	Document	« Nouveaux Principes de lecture à l'usage des Frères Maristes », Lyon, Guyot 1838	CH/ Sources
<b>No 23 - June 2006</b>			
Pages 3-6	Lanfrey André	Centenaire de la suppression et de l'exil de France des congrégations	Institute
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## II. Alphabetical index of the authors of the Marist Notebooks Pages 1 - 38

### *Preliminary note*

There are relatively few authors published in the Marist Notebooks. Among them there are the regular ones who have produced numerous texts and others who have made more occasional contributions. In recent issues a significant number of laypeople have appeared. On the other hand, before the publication of *Origins of the Marist Brothers* (2011) Brother Paul Sester was concerned to publish documents in our archives that are difficult to access. Hence the importance of the category “Document” in many issues of M.N., especially before 2005. As in the previous index, there is a column listing the topics covered.

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Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	Le leader disparu (2 <sup>o</sup> partie). M. Courveille de 1826 à sa mort (1866)	No 26, March 2009/101-134	S.M.
Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	F. Jean- Baptiste portraitiste du P. Courveille, et la lettre d'Aiguebelle.	No 26, March 2009/ 135-141	Institute
Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	Dans une cause commune (1 <sup>o</sup> partie). Pompallier, évêque d'Océanie occidentale et Champagnat...	No 28, May 2010/55-86	S.M.
Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	Le prêtre et le pasteur diocésain. Les relations du P. Champagnat avec Mgr. Devie	No 30, February 2012/45-62	CH
Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	Champagnat et Colin (1 <sup>o</sup> partie). Histoire des Maristes	No 32, May 2014/43-84	S.M.
Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	Champagnat et Colin (2 <sup>o</sup> partie). Maristes en formation	No 33, May 2015/47-83	S.M.
Maney Christopher, fms	« Une tendre affection » (circulaire de janvier 1836). Une question d'interprétation, d'inspiration et de motivation	No 27, October 2009/127-172	CH
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	La Famille Mariste selon le F. Virgilio León	No 30, February 2012/7-44	Institute
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Réflexion sur les fondements de la présence mariste (auprès des jeunes)	No 32, May 2014/85-113	Institute
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Cours sur le charisme et les principes éducatifs maristes. Le patrimoine mariste dans l'enseignement supérieur	No 32, May 2014/163-165; 168-169	Institute
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Essai du Dr. Pedro Monlau sur l'éducation en France en 1838-39. Premier ouvrage en espagnol parlant des Frères Maristes	No 33, May 2015/146-147	Institute

Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Itinéraire spirituel de Champagnat. Une étude de sa vie mystique. (Sur l'ouvrage du F. Mesonero Sanchez)	No 36, May 2018 / 99	CH
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Un demi-siècle de communications maristes. Notes sur l'histoire des communications Institutionnelles de la deuxième moitié du XX <sup>e</sup> siècle	No 37, May 2019/69-83	Institute
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Quelques pistes pour découvrir les « lieux maristes » de Rome significatifs pour le F. François	No 37, May 2019/101-108	FF
Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Histoire des constitutions des Petits Frères de Marie depuis la fondation jusqu'à l'approbation de 1903 d'après les circulaires des supérieurs généraux (1 <sup>o</sup> partie 1852-1863).	No 38, May 2020/47-60	Institute
Mary Emerentiana Cooney, smsm	Un arbre à plusieurs branches. Perspectives SMSM sur les Origines Maristes et les traditions	No 28, May 2010/139-145	S.M.
Mary Emerentiana, (sor) smsm	Un aperçu sur l'état de la recherche chez les SMS.M. (Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 juin 2006)	No 24, December 2007/9-16	S.M.
Mc Mahon Frederick, fms	Colin et Champagnat. Maristes en devenir (3 <sup>e</sup> partie)	No 34, May 2016/97-141	S.M.
Mesonero Manuel, fms	F. Balko : génial et controversé	No 28, May 2010/173-184	Institute/ Biography
Mesonero Manuel, fms	De l'ascétique à la mystique chez M. Champagnat	No 32, May 2014/7-21	CH
Mesonero Manuel, fms	Une icône de la mission mariste. Le jeune Montagne	No 33, May 2015/101-115	CH
Mesonero Manuel, fms	Comment se forge un fondateur ? La formation de Marcellin au petit séminaire.	No 36, May 2018/33-45	CH
Mesonero Manuel, fms	Comment se forge un fondateur ? (2 <sup>e</sup> partie). La formation de Marcellin au grand séminaire.	No 37, May 2019/25-38	CH

Michel Gabriel	Le confesseur du Père Champagnat (M. Duplay)	No 1, June 1990 / 23-28	CH
Michel Gabriel	Antoine Linossier	No 4 March 1993/49-62	CH
Michel Gabriel	Marcellin Champagnat et la reconnaissance légale des Frères Maristes	No 13, July 1998 / 123-130	CH
Michel Gabriel	Marcellin et son chemin d'obéissance	No 14, November 1998 / 35-83	CH/Sp.
Michel Gabriel, fms	Grandeur et décadence des Champagnat. Les révélations des actes notariés	No 25, April 2008/89-107	CH
Moral Barrio Juan, fms	Projet d'histoire de l'Institut : bibliographie d'après les Archives des Frères Maristes	No 30, February 2012/157-168	Institute
Moral Juan	Approches pour découvrir les éléments de base de la pédagogie éducative mariste en Espagne	No 13, July 1998 / 131-145	Institute/ Education
Moral Juan, fms	Un document Champagnat de 200 ans (1812-2012). Ses premières résolutions	No 32, May 2014/23-42	CH
Morel Michel, fms	Restauration de La pietà ou statue de « N.D. de pitié » de La Valla-en-Gier	No 34, May 2016/ 179-180	Various
Morel Michel, fms	« Le cinquième évangile ». Correspondance de F. Henri Vergès (pièce de théâtre évoquant sa vie)	No 36, May 2018/107-108	Institute
Morel Michel, fms	Fête du bicentenaire le 6 juin 2017 à Rome.	No 36, May 2018/ 112-114	Institute
Morel Michel, fms	Le cimetière rénové de L'Hermitage (inauguration et histoire)	No 37, May 2019/109-123	Institute
Mowbray Kevin, s.m.	Le patrimoine chez les Pères Maristes. (Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 juin 2006)	No 24, December 2007/7-9	S.M.
Mulago Jean-Pierre, sm	M. Champagnat, Cofondateur de la S.M.	No 8, January 1996 / 49-59	CH/S.M.
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Niland Myra, sm	Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn au cœur de la SM	No 28, May 2010/147-160	S.M.

<b>O</b>			
Oliveira Benê, fms	Mémorial mariste. Brésil (Sur l'inauguration de ce Mémorial à Curitiba).	No 36, May 2018/ 115-119	Institute
<b>P</b>			
Pérez José	Le contexte scolaire de nos écoles en France d'après le F. Avit : 1818 - 1891	No 13, July 1998 / 147-180	Institute/ Education
Perrin Eric	Naissance de L'Hermitage de Champagnat aux Gaux, d'après les minutes de Me. Finaz (1824-1841)	No 32, May 2014/133-159	CH
Perrin Eric	Jean-Claude Berne (F. Claude-Casimir), soldat de 1914-1918.	No 33, May 2015/37-45	Institute/ War
Perrin Eric	Une nouvelle lettre de Marcellin Champagnat (à propos de la succession de Clément Berlier)	No 38, May 2020/85-93	CH/doc.
Pino Medina Patricio, fms	La transmission du charisme mariste hérité de Marcellin Champagnat et des premiers Frères	No 36, May 2018/5-19	Institute
Pino Medina Patricio, fms	Cent ans de présence mariste au Chili	No 32, May 2014/162	Institute/ Province
Pino Medina Patricio, fms	Regard sur la vie intérieure de Marcellin. (livre du F. Manuel Mesonero)	No 33, May 2015/145	CH/
<b>R</b>			
Ramalho Antonio, fms	Le patrimoine dans la formation chez les FMS. Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 juin 2006)	No 24, December 2007/ 43-47	Institute
Richard Louis, fms	Le F. François dans ses lettres personnelles. Gouvernement de l'Institut et direction spirituelle	No 33, May 2015/85-99	FF
Richard Louis, fms	Florilège du F. François dans ses carnets	No 33, May 2015/135-139	FF
Ricordi Angelo	« Visage marial » de l'Eglise : son histoire et sa réception dans l'Institut des Frères Maristes	No 36, May 2018/21-31	Institute
Roche Jean	Marie notre Bonne Mère d'après les Lettres de M. Champagnat	No 2, June 1991 / 53-60	CH/Letters

Roche Jean	M. Champagnat, lumière pour les laïcs	No 8, January 1996 / 39-47	CH/Laity
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Schutte Alarcón Lourdes Yvonne	Marcellin Champagnat et sa gestion des resSources humaines	No 38, May 2020/33-46	CH
Sester Paul	Nos archives : essai historique	No 1, June 1990 / 1-16	Institute
Sester Paul	Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographe de M. Champagnat	No 1, June 1990 / 47-66	CH
Sester Paul	Les résolutions de Champagnat	No 1, June 1990 / 69-125	CH / doc.
Sester Paul	Nos archives aujourd'hui, contenu.	No 2, June 1991 / 1-24	Institute
Sester Paul	Frère Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographe de M. Champagnat (suite)	No 2, June 1991 / 33-52	CH / Biography
Sester Paul	Nos archives aujourd'hui (suite)	No 3, May 1992 / 1-18	Institute
Sester Paul	Ouvrages sur M. Champagnat	No 4, March 1993 / 1-18	CH /
Sester Paul	Publications maristes	No 4, March 1993/19-20	Institute/
Sester Paul	Colloque sur l'histoire et la spiritualité maristes : Marie dans l'Eglise naissante et à la fin des temps	No 4, March 1993/21-25	S.M.
Sester Paul	Les discours sur l'enfer de M. Champagnat	No 4, March 1993/27-47	CH / doc.
Sester Paul	Annonce de l'édition des Annales des maisons des Provinces de St Paul et Aubenas	No 5, May 1994 / 94	Institute/ doc.
Sester Paul	Archives Champagnat	No 6, December 1994 / 15-34	CH / doc.
Sester Paul	Curriculum vitae de J.C. Courveille	No 7, June 1995 / 2-5	S.M.
Sester Paul	Marie dans la vie de M. Champagnat	No 8, January 1996 / 29-38	CH / Mary
Sester Paul	Publication des travaux de P. Zind, lettres du F. François...	No 9, July 1996/ 1-3	FF
Sester Paul	" Biographies de quelques Frères ", par Frère Jean-Baptiste	No 10, March 1997 / 31-41	Institute/ doc.

Sester Paul	« A nos lecteurs » (Bilan du travail réalisé dans les CM. Et projet de présenter les écrits du F. François)	No 11, July 1997 / 1-4	Institute
Sester Paul	L'éducation selon Marcellin Champagnat d'après Avis leçons sentences.	No 13, July 1998/181-189	CH / Education
Sester Paul	Marcellin Champagnat, un saint	No 14, November 1998/ 85-103	CH
Sester Paul	Spiritualité apostolique mariste du Père Champagnat	No 15, May 1999 / 15-28	CH/Sp.
Sester Paul	Frère François, notes de retraite	No 15, May 1999 / 97-117	FF
Sester Paul	Marcellin Champagnat, Educateur	No 16, November 2000 / 5-20	CH/ Education
Sester Paul	F. François : retraite de 1826	No 16, November 2000 / 87-114	FF / doc.
Sester Paul	M. Champagnat et ses Frères	No 17, May 2001 / 23-54	CH
Sester Paul	Frère François, Retraite de 1840	No 17, May 2001 / 83-103	FF / doc.
Sester Paul	M. Champagnat, son esprit, sa personnalité	No 19, June 2003 / 53-72	CH
Sester Paul	F. François évoque le P. Champagnat, d'après « Projets d'instructions ».	No 19, June 2003 / 73-91	FF
Sester Paul	Informatisation de nos archives	No 20, June 2004 / 3-7	Institute
Sester Paul	Amenés par Marie : présentation du " Registre des Entrées "	No 20, June 2004 / 9-48	CH / doc.
Sester Paul	M. Champagnat et les finances	No 22, December 2005 / 49-68	CH
Sester Paul	La perfection selon Frère François	No 18, March 2002 / 95-105	FF
Sester Paul	Lettre de M. Champagnat à M. Fond, maire de Valbenoîte	No 26, March 2009/147-148	CH / doc.
Sester Paul	L'informatisation de nos archives	No 35, May 2017/139-142	Institute
Silveira Luis	Le " Centre d'Études Maristes " de la Province de Rio de Janeiro	No 1, June 1990/. 17-18	Institute
Spes Stanley Ku	Brève histoire des Frères Maristes en Chine	No 38, May 2020/61-83	Institute/ Provinces

Stirn Roger	Première tête de pont des Frères Maristes à Paris (paroisse St Augustin)	No 2, June 1991/61-71	Institute
Stirn Roger	Le recrutement des vocations	No 3, May 1992 /75-79	Institute
Strobino Ivo Antonio, fms	Hermitage mariste. Cours de formation pour le laïcat mariste	No 35, May 2017/145-146	Laity
Strobino Ivo, fms	Photo Arnaud, portrait Ravery et crâne de Champagnat. Résultats d'une analyse scientifique	No 29, May 2011/35-45	CH/
<b>T</b>			
Taylor Justin, s.m.	Fourvière, le 23 juillet 1816	No 34, May 2016/5-14.	S.M.
Teoh Robert, fms	Tentative de fusion des Frères de la Mère de Dieu avec les Frères Maristes en Chine, entre 1909 et 1912	No 27, October 2009/89-113	Institute/ Province
<b>U</b>			
Umoh Benjamin	Option pour les pauvres dans la Province mariste du Nigeria	No 27, October 2009/173-194	Institute/ Province
<b>V</b>			
Vibert Louis, fms	La Valla et les Frères Maristes de 1825 à nos jours	No 31, March 2013/135-167	Institute
Vignau Henri, fms	Compte-rendu du séminaire sur le patrimoine mariste : 20-27 novembre 1997.	No 13, July 1998/1-3	Institute
Vivienne (Sor) s.m.	Formation au patrimoine mariste. La contribution des Sœurs Maristes. Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 juin 2006)	No 24, December 2007/35-40	S.M.
Vivienne (Sor), s.m.	La contribution des Sœurs Maristes sur les recherches en cours. (Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 juin 2006)	No 24, December 2007/ 16-20	S.M.
<b>W</b>			
Walsh Peter, fms	Les relations entre M. Champagnat et le F. François d'après les lettres écrites de Paris...	No 27, October 2009/47-62	CH / FF

### III. Thematic Index of the Marist Notebooks No 1-38

After much hesitation, I have drawn up a thematic index of the articles contained in the Marist Notebooks because it is always difficult to choose the key words that can guide, but also sometimes mislead, the researcher. I have therefore chosen to present a limited number of themes, usually specifying them by a second term and avoiding abbreviations as much as possible, except for the following:

CH = Champagnat	H.= History
doc. = Document	P.= Historical Patrimony (archives...)
Educ. = Education	S.M.= Society of Mary
FF = Br. François	Sp. = Spirituality

In principle, other terms written in full or in shortened form should not pose any problems of interpretation, especially as the title of the article makes the topic clear. The index is therefore divided into six sets of very unequal size. The headings “CH” and “Institute” in particular, which are sizeable, have been divided into subsets.

- I/ Champagnat: a) Documents ; b) Education ; c) History ; d) Iconography ; e) Family, childhood, Marlies ; f) Bibliography ; g) Society of Mary ; h) Sources ; i) Spirituality ; j) Life
- II/ Br. François
- III/ Institute: a) Education ; b) War ; c) History ; d) Iconography ; e) Oceania ; g) Origins ; h) Patrimony ; i) Provinces ; j) Solidarity k) Sources ; l) Spirituality
- IV/ Laity
- V/ Biographies and obituaries
- VI Society of Mary

Topic	Number, date, pages	Author	Title
<b>I/CHAMPAGNAT</b>			
a) Documents concerning father Champagnat			
CH / doc.	No 1, June 1990 / 69-125	Sester Paul	Les résolutions de Champagnat
CH / doc.	No 14, November 1998 / 105-127	Documents	Témoignages de Frères et d'ecclésiastiques sur le P. Champagnat

CH / doc.	No 26, March 2009 / 143-146	Lanfrey André, fms	Le bon M. Champagnat et la « famille » de Pins. Lettre de M. Allibert
CH / doc.	No 27, October 2009 / 47-62	Walsh Peter, fms	Les relations entre M. Champagnat et le F. François d'après les Lettres écrites de Paris...
CH / doc.	No 26, March 2009 / 147-148	Sester Paul, fms	Lettre de M. Champagnat à M. Fond, maire de Valbenoîte
CH / doc.	No 33, May 2015 / 141-143	Lanfrey André, fms	Deux Documents inédits relatifs à Champagnat
CH / doc.	No 37, May 2019 / 85-99	Lanfrey André, fms	Une lettre inédite du P. Champagnat (1837) dans le contexte de la fondation de l'école de La Voulte.
CH / doc.	No 38, May 2020/85-93	Perrin Eric	Une nouvelle lettre de Marcellin Champagnat (à propos de la succession de Clément Berlier)
<b>b) Education according to father Champagnat</b>			
CH / Educ.	No 3 May 1992 / 25-74	Balko Alexandre	Le Père Champagnat et la formation des Frères
CH / Educ.	No 13, July 1998 / 5-39	Brambila Aureliano	La pensée du Père Champagnat sur l'Education des enfants
CH / Educ.	No 18, March 2002 / 35-68	Alvès Manoel	Quelques convictions éducatives de M. Champagnat
CH / Educ.	No 1, June 1990 / 29-46	Balko Alexandre	Marcellin Champagnat, Educateur
CH / Educ.	No 16, November 2000 / 5-20	Sester Paul	Marcellin Champagnat, Educateur
<b>c) History of father Champagnat as founder</b>			
CH / H.	No 13, July 1998/123-130	Michel Gabriel	Marcellin Champagnat et la reconnaissance légale des Frères Maristes
CH / H.	No 35, May 2017 / 5-25	Green Michaël, fms	Le mythe Montagne. Un archétype du ministère mariste
CH / H.	No 30, February 2012 / 45-62	Mac Mahon Frederick, fms	Le prêtre et le pasteur diocésain. Les relations du P. Champagnat avec Mgr. Devie

CH / H.	No 27, October 2009/127-172	Maney Christopher, fms	« Une tendre affection » (circulaire de janvier 1836). Une question d'interprétation, d'inspiration et de motivation
CH / H.	No 34, May 2016/15-21	Brambila Aureliano, fms	Refondation. Intuition de Champagnat à l'origine et défis dans notre monde en changement
CH / H.	No 35, May 2017/27-53	Lanfrey André, fms	Rencontre avec un « enfant malade au pied du Pilat ». Réexamen historique de l'hypothèse Montagne
CH / H.	No 17, May 2001/ 23-54	Sester Paul	M. Champagnat et ses Frères
CH / H.	No 31, March 2013/31-40	Lanfrey André, fms	M. Rebod, curé de La Valla
d) Iconography concerning father Champagnat			
CH. / H.	No 29, May 2011 / 61-78	Lanfrey André, fms	Des bienfaiteurs du P. Champagnat et de l'Institute
CH / Iconography	No 29, May 2011 / 47-60	Lanfrey André, fms	Aperçus sur l'œuvre de Joseph Ravery
CH / iconography	No 6, December 1994 / 1-13	Hinojal Fernando	Iconography Champagnat
CH / Iconography	No 36, May 2018 / 109-110	Lanfrey André, fms	St Marcellin Champagnat présenté au grand public français (dans le livret « Prions en Eglise »)
CH / Iconography	No 29, May 2011/ 5-34	Lanfrey André, fms	Les portraits du P. Champagnat au XIX <sup>e</sup> siècle. Une tradition iconographique complexe
CH / Iconography	No 29, May 2011 / 35-45	Strobino Ivo, fms	Photo Arnaud, portrait Ravery et crâne de Champagnat. Résultats d'une analyse scientifique
e) The Champagnat family and Marcellin's childhood at Marlhes			
CH / Marlhes	No 25, April 2008 / 13-36	Lanfrey André, fms	Diocèse du Puy et Haute-Loire. Terres maristes et réfractaires
CH / Marlhes	No 25, April 2008 / 37-66	Lanfrey André, fms	Réforme catholique et révolution politique. J.B. Champagnat et les pénitents de Marlhes.

CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 67-73	Lanfrey André, fms	Extraits du livre de compte des pénitents blancs de Marlies (20 June 1779-29 June 1788)
CH / Marlies	No 35, May 2017 / 133-138	Brosse Lucien, fms	Les dettes de Barthélemy Champagnat
CH / Marlies	No 35, May 2017 / 137-138	Brosse Lucien, fms	Le parrain de Marcellin Champagnat
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 5-6	Lanfrey André, fms	Marlies au long des siècles. Recueil d'histoire locale
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 7-11	Lanfrey André, fms	Les paysans de Marlies. Développement économique et organisation familiale. (Sur le livre de James R. Lehring, 1974)
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 75-88	Lanfrey André, fms	L'enquête du curé Alirot à Marlies (1790)
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 89-107	Michel Gabriel, fms	Grandeur et décadence des Champagnat. Les révélations des actes notariés
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 109-119	Lanfrey André, fms	Inventaire des meubles, effets et papiers du défunt J.B. Champagnat
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 120-127	Lanfrey André, fms	Inventaire des meubles, effets et papiers du défunt J.B. Champagnat. 1804
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 129-136	Lanfrey André, fms	J.B. Champagnat et J.P. Ducros. Deux destins emmêlés
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 137-149	Lanfrey André, fms	La succession Champagnat en 1810. Le déclin programmé du domaine Champagnat
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 151-152	Lanfrey André, fms	Testament de Marie-Thérèse Chirat, 20 December 1807 (Document)
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 153-158	Lanfrey André, fms	Succession Champagnat en 1810 (Document)
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 159-165	Lanfrey André, fms	Marlies, les Champagnat et le service militaire
CH / Marlies	No 25, April 2008 / 167-171	Lanfrey André, fms	Les deuils de 1803-1804 et la vocation de Marcellin

CH / Marlies	No 35, May 2017/97-103	Lanfrey André, fms	Benoît-Joseph Champagnat mort à 13 ans en 1803. Un point d'ancrage pour une réinterprétation de l'enfance de M. Champagnat
f) Bibliography on father Champagnat			
CH / P.	No 4, March 1993/ 1-18	Bibliography	Ouvrages sur M. Champagnat
CH / P.	No 5, May 1994 / 1-15	Bibliography	Ouvrages sur M. Champagnat
g) Father Champagnat's role in the Society of Mary			
CH / S.M.	No 34, May 2016/ 143-159	Lanfrey André, fms	De « L'Hermitage de Notre-Dame » à « N.D. de L'Hermitage ». La S.M. dans l'itinéraire spirituel de Champagnat (1824-1836)
CH / S.M.	No 8, January1996/ 49-59	Mulago Jean-Pierre, sm	M. Champagnat, Cofondateur de la S.M.
CH / S.M.	No 15, May 1999/ 5-13	Bourtot Bernard s.m.	Marcellin Champagnat, Père Mariste
h) Sources: The writings left by father Champagnat			
CH / Sources	No 4, March 1993 / 83-104	Document	Trois discours sur l'enfer
CH / Sources	No 4, March 1993 /105-113	Document	Deux sermons sur la mort du pécheur
CH / Sources	No 5, May 1994 / 61-65	Document	Le pardon des injures
CH / Sources	No 5, May 1994 / 66-81	Document	Sermon sur le délai de la conversion
CH / Sources	No 5, May 1994 / 82-86	Document	La conversion
CH / Sources	No 5, May 1994 / 87-93	Document	Prières des 40 heures
CH / Sources	No 6, December 1994 / 15-34	Sester Paul	Archives Champagnat
CH / Sources	No 8, January1996 / 13-16	Brosse Lucien	Portrait du P. Champagnat. Le troisième tableau.
CH / Sources	No 8, January1996 / 61-68	Document	Cahiers Champagnat. Table des matières
CH / Sources	No 9, July 1996 / 83-151	Documents	Cahiers Champagnat (textes : de 3.05 à 3.09)

CH / Sources	No 10, March 1997 / 17-29	Delorme Alain	Letters du Père Champagnat à Frère François
CH / Sources	No 10, March 1997 / 43-96	Document	Livre de comptes pour les dépenses (1)
CH / Sources	No 10, March 1997 / 97-146	Document	Livre de comptes pour les dépenses (2)
CH / Sources	No 11, July 1997 / 75-100	Documents	Instructions de Champagnat sur la retraite, rapportées par les F. Jean-Baptiste et François
CH / Sources	No 11, July 1997 / 101-111	Documents	Instructions de Champagnat sur la grâce rapportées par les Frères François et Jean-Baptiste
CH / Sources	No 12, December 1997 / 1-91	Document	Carnet de notes No° 1 du F. François : « Mélanges Various ».
CH / Sources	No 13, July 1998 / 181-189	Sester Paul	L'Education selon Marcellin Champagnat d'après Avis leçons sentences.
CH / Sources	No 8, January 1996 / 69-143	Documents	Cahiers Champagnat (textes) : de 3.01 à 3.04.
CH / Sources	No 4, March 1993 / 27-47	Sester Paul	Les discours sur l'enfer de M. Champagnat
CH / Sources	No 3 May 1992 / 91-93	Document	Réflexions sur la fin de l'homme
CH / Sources	No 2, June 1991 / 73-76	Document	Instructions sur le rosaire
CH / Sources	No 2, June 1991 / 77-82	Document	Sermon sur la dévotion au rosaire
CH / Sources	No 3 May 1992 / 81-90	Document	Plusieurs sermons sur les fins dernières
CH / Sources	No 6, December 1994/ 81-96	Document	La pénitence ; la confession
CH / Sources	No 6, December 1994 / 97-98	Document	Sur la communion
CH / Sources	No 6, December 1994/ 99-102	Document	La sanctification du dimanche
CH / Sources	No 6, December 1994 / 103-106	Document	La récompense céleste
CH / Sources	No 7, June 1995 / 55-56	Document	Conférence sur la gourmandise et l'ivrognerie

CH / Sources	No 7, June 1995 / 57-58	Document	Sermon sur l'impureté
CH / Sources	No 7, June 1995 / 59-60	Document	Exhortation à la reconnaissance
CH / Sources	No 7, June 1995/ 61-63	Document	Conférence sur l'amour filial
CH / Sources	No 7, June 1995 / 64-66	Document	Notes de retraite
CH / Sources	No 7, June 1995	Document	Instruction sur la Purification de Marie
CH / Sources	No 20, June 2004 / 9-48	Sester Paul	Amenés par Marie : présentation du " Registre des Entrées "
CH / Sources	No 20, June 2004 / 49-94	Document	Registre des entrées No° 1
CH / Sources	No 22, December 2005 End of volume (37 pages)	Document	« Nouveaux Principes de lecture à l'usage des Frères Maristes », Lyon, Guyot 1838
i) The spirituality of M. Champagnat			
CH / Sp.	No 8, January 1996 / 3-5	Archives	Marie dans les Letters de Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 36, May 2018 / 33-45	Mesonero Sánchez Manuel, fms	Comment se forge un fondateur ? La formation de Marcellin au petit séminaire.
CH / Sp.	No 36, May 2018 / 99	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Itinéraire spirituel de Champagnat. Une étude de sa vie mystique. (Sur l'ouvrage du F. Mesonero Sánchez)
CH / Sp.	No 37, May 2019 / 5-23	Creevy Paul, fms	Forgé dans la fournaise de l'amour de Dieu. L'influence de François de Sales sur la spiritualité de St. Marcellin Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 37, May 2019 / 25-38	Mesonero Sánchez Manuel, fms	Comment se forge un fondateur ? (2° partie). La formation de Marcellin au grand séminaire.
CH / Sp.	No 33, May 2015 / 101-115	Mesonero Manuel, fms	Une icône de la mission mariste. Le jeune Montagne
CH / Sp.	No 2, June 1991/ 53-60	Roche Jean	Marie notre Bonne Mère d'après les Letters de M. Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 5, May 1994 / 22-38	Balko Alexandre	Le Père Champagnat et la confiance

CH / Sp.	No 6, December 1994 / 63-72	Balko Alexandre	Le Testament spirituel de M. Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 6, December 1994 / 73-80	Bayo Jesús	La vie affective de M. Champagnat : célibat, amour et amitié
CH / Sp.	No 11, July 1997 / 34-48	Chute Kostka, fms	Marcellin Champagnat et la spiritualité sulpicienne
CH / Sp.	No 14, November 1998 / 35-83	Michel Gabriel	Marcellin et son chemin d'obéissance
CH / Sp.	No 14, November 1998 / 85-103	Sester Paul	Marcellin Champagnat, un saint
CH / Sp.	No 15, May 1999 / 15-28	Sester Paul	Spiritualité apostolique mariste du Père Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 32, May 2014 / 7-21	Mesonero Manuel, fms	De l'ascétique à la mystique chez M. Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 33, May 2015 / 145	Pino Patricio, fms	Regard sur la vie intérieure de Marcellin. (livre du F. Manuel Mesonero)
CH / Sp.	No 14, November 1998 / 3-6	Brambila Aureliano	Quelqu'un qui s'est laissé guider par l'Esprit
CH / Sp.	No 32, May 2014 / 23-42	Moral Juan, fms	Un Document Champagnat de 200 ans (1812-2012). Ses premières résolutions
CH / Sp.	No 8, January 1996 / 29-38	Sester Paul	Marie dans la vie de M. Champagnat
CH / Sp.	No 26, March 2009/ 47-100	Brambila Aureliano, fms	M. Champagnat membre de la S.M. et la mission <i>ad gentes</i>
j) Research work on the life of father Champagnat and his milieu			
CH / Life	No 34, May 2016 / 69-85	Florzac Rosangela	Héritage communicationnel. Héritiers de la capacité communicative de M. Champagnat
CH / Life	No 38, May 2020 / 33-46	Schutte Alarcón Lourdes Yvonne	Marcellin Champagnat et sa gestion des ressources humaines
CH / Life	No 1, June 1990 / 47-66	Sester Paul	Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographe de M. Champagnat
CH / Life	No 4, March 1993/ 49-62	Michel Gabriel	Antoine Linossier
CH / Life	No 19, June 2003 / 53-72	Sester Paul	M. Champagnat, son esprit, sa personnalité

CH / Life	No 21, April 2005 / 9-71	Mac Mahon Frederick	Histoire et personnalité de M. Champagnat dans les écrits de ses contemporains
CH / Life	No 34, May 2016 / 161-165	Lanfrey André, fms	Rapport sur Verrières (1808)
CH / Life	No 32, May 2014 / 133-159	Perrin Eric	Naissance de L'Hermitage de Champagnat aux Gaux, d'après les minutes de Me. Finaz (1824-1841)
CH / Life	No 1, June 1990 / 23-28	Michel Gabriel	Le confesseur du Père Champagnat (M. Duplay)
CH / Life	No 6, December 1994 / 35-61	Lanfrey André, fms	Esquisse d'une introduction critique à la Vie du P. Champagnat
CH / Life	No 14, November 1998 / 7-34	Lanfrey André, fms	Les instructions cachées du Père Champagnat. Introduction à la Vie du Fondateur
CH / Life	No 18, March 2002 pp. 3-33	Koller Johannes, fms	Essai d'une herméneutique de la " Vie de Marcellin Champagnat "
CH / Life	No 22, December 2005 / 49-68	Sester Paul	M. Champagnat et les finances
CH / Life	No 27, October 2009/15-46	Consigli Ben, fms	L'intelligence socio-émotionnelle de Saint M. Champagnat
CH / Life	No 2, June 1991 / 33-52	Sester Paul	Frère Jean-Baptiste Furet, biographe de M. Champagnat (suite)
<b>II/Br. FRANÇOIS</b>			
FF / H.	No 17, May 2001 / 105-125	Bibliography	Les auteurs les plus cités par le F.François
FF / H.	No 36, May 2018 / 103-106	Incerti Fabiano & Gonçalves Joao Luis Fedel	Publication du livre <i>Mysticisme, sagesse et autorité au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> . Etudes sur le F. François (Curitiba, Brésil)
FF / Letters	No 33, May 2015 / 85-99	Richard Louis, fms	Le F. François dans ses Letters personnelles. Gouvernement de l'Institute et direction spirituelle
FF / Sources	No 19, June 2003 / 73-91	Sester Paul	F. François évoque le P. Champagnat, d'après « Projets d'instructions ».

FF / Sources	No 15, May 1999 / 97-117	Sester Paul	Frère François, notes de retraite
FF / Sources	No 16, November 2000 / 21-52	Lanfrey André, fms	La circulaire sur l'Esprit de Foi
FF / Sources	No 17, May 2001 / 83-103	Sester Paul	Frère François, Retraite de 1840
FF / Sources	No 17, May 2001 / 127-163	Document	F. François. Anecdotes maristes dans le carnet 10
FF / Sources	No 18, March 2002 / 107-150	Documents	F. François : résolutions, aspirations. Extraits des recueils 302-305
FF / Sources	No 16, November 2000 / 87-114	Sester Paul	F. François : retraite de 1826
FF / Sources	No 16, November 2000 / 115-188	Documents	F. François, « carnet de notes 1 » : faits de vie concernant des frères
FF / Sources	No 15, May 1999 / 171-198	Document	F. François. Passages concernant la fonction de supérieur
FF / Sp.	No 18, March 2002 / 95-105	Sester Paul	La perfection selon Frère François
FF / Sp.	No 24, December 2007 / 97-111	Gatti Eduardo, fms	Commentaire sur la lettre 1042 des Letters personnelles du F. François, à un maître des novices.
FF / Sp.	No 33, May 2015 / 135-139	Richard Louis, fms	Florilège du F. François dans ses carnets
FF / Sp.	No 37, May 2019 / 101-108	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Quelques pistes pour découvrir les « lieux maristes » de Rome significatifs pour le F. François

### III/INSTITUTE

#### b) Education

Institute / Educ.	No 3 May 1992 / 75-79	Stirn Roger	Le recrutement des vocations
Institute / Educ.	No 4, March 1993 / 63-81	Bergeret Maurice	Pédagogie éducative des FMS
Institute / Educ.	No 5, May 1994 / 49-60	Farneda Danilo	" Guide des Écoles " (1817 - 1853) ; étude historico-critique.
Institute / Educ.	No 13, July 1998 / 41-60	Farneda Danilo	Les Petits Frères de Marie et les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes

Institute / Educ.	No 13 July 1998 / 131-145	Moral Juan	Approches pour découvrir les éléments de base de la pédagogie éducative mariste en Espagne
Institute / Educ.	No 13, July 1998 / 147-180	Pérez José	Le contexte scolaire de nos écoles en France d'après le F. Avit : 1818 - 1891
Institute / Educ.	No 17, May 2001 / 5-22	Green Michael	Charismatic culture. Encountering the gospel in Marist schools
Institute / Educ.	No 22, December 2005 / 69-88	Bergeret Maurice	Méthode de lecture (sur les « Nouveaux Principes de lecture » (1838) et méthodes de lecture au temps de Champagnat)
Institute / Educ.	No 24, December 2007 / 5-6	Hemeryck Richard, fms	Les écoles congréganistes dans le département du Nord... (1852-1870)
Institute / Educ.	No 32, May 2014 / 85-113	Martinez Estaún Antonio, fms	Réflexion sur les fondements de la présence mariste (auprès des jeunes)
Institute / Educ.	No 32, May 2014 / 163-165 ; 168-169	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Cours sur le charisme et les principes éducatifs maristes. Le patrimoine mariste dans l'enseignement supérieur
Institute / Educ.	No 33, May 2015 / 146-147	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Essai du Dr. Pedro Monlau sur l'Education en France en 1838-39. Premier ouvrage en espagnol parlant des Frères Maristes
Institute / Educ.	No 36, May 2018 / 75-84	Lanfrey André, fms	« Caméristes », « besaciers », « forains » dans les écoles des Frères Maristes au XIX <sup>e</sup> siècle.
c) War			
Institute / War	No 33, May 2015 / 125-133	Lanfrey André, fms	Les frères morts à la guerre
Institute / War	No 33, May 2015 / 5-23	Lanfrey andré, fms	L'Institute dans la première guerre mondiale
Institute / War	No 33, May 2015 / 25-29	Hendlemeier Augustin, fms	Les Frères Maristes de Belgique pendant la 1 <sup>o</sup> War mondiale
Institute / War	No 33, May 2015 / 31-35	Hendlemeier Augustin, fms	Frères allemands dans la 1 <sup>o</sup> guerre mondiale

Institute / War	No 33, May 2015 / 37-45	Perrin Eric	Jean-Claude Berne (F. Claude-Casimir), soldat de 1914-1918.
Institute / War	No 34, May 2016 / 177-178	Lanfrey André, fms	Atlantide 14. La correspondance d'un Frère Mariste mise en scène.
d) History			
Institute / H.	No 15, May 1999 / 29-96	Lanfrey André	Des instructions du Père Champagnat aux " Avis, Leçons, Sentences "
Institute / H.	No 23, June 2006 / 3-6	Lanfrey André	Centenaire de la suppression et de l'exil de France des congrégations
Institute / H.	No 31, March 2013 / 135-167	Vibert Louis, fms	La Valla et les Frères Maristes de 1825 à nos jours
Institute / H.	No 37, May 2019 / 69-83	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Un demi-siècle de communications maristes. Notes sur l'histoire des communications institutionnelles de la deuxième moitié du XX <sup>e</sup> siècle
Institute / H.	No 2, June 1991 / 61-71	Stirn Roger	Première tête de pont des Frères Maristes à Paris (paroisse St Augustin)
Institute / H.	No 5, May 1994 / 39-48	Lanfrey André	Pour une méthode de relecture de la spiritualité des Ordres religieux
Institute / H.	No 8, January 1996 / 17-27	Document	Affaire Bordel. Annales de Chaumont et Grandrif
Institute / H.	No 19, June 2003 / 3-18	Delorme Alain	M. Vernet et son échec dans la fondation des Frères
Institute / H.	No 28, May 2010 / 5-29	Anaya Juan Miguel, fms	Nous avons du vin nouveau, nous faut-il des outres neuves ? (sur l'évolution du statut canonique des Frères Maristes).
Institute / H.	No 29, May 2011 / 101-128	Delorme Alain, fms	Les circulaires du F. Basilio Rueda. Circonstances de leur composition, par le F. Gabriel Michel
Institute / H.	No 30, February 2012 / 133-155	Lanfrey André, fms	Esquisse d'histoire de l'Institut

Institute / H.	No 30, February 2012/157-168	Moral Barrio Juan, fms	Projet d'histoire de l'Institute : Bibliographie d'après les Archives des Frères Maristes
Institute / H.	No 33, May 2015 / 117-124	Lanfrey André, fms	Mathieu Patouillard, voisin de L'Hermitage
Institute / H.	No 34, May 2016 / 173-176	Lanfrey André, fms	Le cadran solaire de L'Hermitage
Institute / H.	No 36, May 2018 / 47-73	Anaya Torres Juan Miguel, fms	Quelques clarifications sur l'unité de direction des F. François, Louis-Marie et Jean-Baptiste (Le mythe des « Les trois-un »)
Institute / H.	No 36, May 2018/112-114	Morel Michel, fms	Fête du bicentenaire le 6 June 2017 à Rome.
Institute / H.	No 38, May 2020 / 47-60	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	Histoire des constitutions des Petits Frères de Marie depuis la fondation jusqu'à l'approbation de 1903 d'après les circulaires des supérieurs généraux (1 <sup>o</sup> partie 1852-1863).
e) Iconography			
Institute / Iconography	No 30, February 2012 / 63-81	Lanfrey andré, fms	La Bonne Mère et la Vierge du vœu. Réflexions sur une tradition iconographique
Institute / Iconography	No 34, May 2016 / 179-180	Morel Michel, fms	Restauration de La pietà ou statue de « N.D. de pitié » de La Valla-en-Gier
Institute / Iconography	No 36, May 2018 /111	Brosse Lucien, fms	Un buste de M. Champagnat transféré de Varennes-sur-Allier à Marlihes
f) Oceania			
Institute / Oceania	No 22, December 2005 / 9-23	Clisby Edward	Frères Maristes et Maoris en Océanie
Institute / Oceania	No 24, December 2007 / 48-49	Green Michaël, fms	Programmes pour la spiritualité et la mission maristes dans le Pacifique. Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 June 2006).
g) Origins			
Institute / Origins	No 23, June 2006 / 7-9	Lanfrey André	Sur M. Querbes et les clerks de Saint-Viateur

Institute / Origins	No 35, May 2017 / 105-115	Lanfrey André, fms	La « promesse » des Frères de 1826. En fait, les statuts primitifs de la branche des Frères.
Institute / Origins	No 37, May 2019 / 53-68	Lanfrey André, fms	Le F. Louis et sa propre conception de la Société de Marie. Essai d'histoire des origines à partir des compagnons et disciples de M. Champagnat
Institute / Origins	No 38, May 2020 / 5-17	Lanfrey André, fms	Un signe fort du rayonnement de l'œuvre de M. Champagnat. Plus de 450 vêtements de 1817 à 1840
Institute / Origins	No 38, May 2020 / 19-32	Lanfrey André, fms	Prises d'habit et constitutions primitives des Frères Maristes à La Valla et L'Hermitage (1817-1826)
Institute / Origins	No 28, May 2010 / 31-53	Lanfrey André, fms	De l'association à la congrégation. Des statuts de la société des frères aux constitutions de l'ordre (1817-1837)
Institute / Origins	No 31, March 2013 / 5-30	Lanfrey André, fms	Les troubles de la Révolution et de l'Empire à St Chamond et La Valla
Institute / Origins	No 31, March 2013 / 41-54	Lanfrey André, fms	Aperçu socio-économique sur La Valla vers 1815
Institute / Origins	No 31, March 2013 / 55-89	Lanfrey André, fms	La vie matérielle des Frères à Lavalla et L'Hermitage
Institute / Origins	No 31, March 2013 / 100-108	Lanfrey André, fms	Les postulants de la Haute-Loire
Institute / Origins	No 31, March 2013 / 109-134	Lanfrey André, fms	De La Valla à L'Hermitage : crise initiale et lente maturation matérielle
Institute / Origins	No 31, March 2013 / 90-99	Lanfrey André, fms	La gestion des écoles de 1818 à 1827
Institute / Origins	No 23, June 2006 / 93-108	Lanfrey André	L'inspecteur Guillard. Quand l'université soutenait les congrégations
Institute / Origins	No 34, May 2016 / 167-172	Lanfrey André, fms	Les sentences de La chambre du P. Champagnat

Institute / Origins	No 32, May 2014 / 166	Lanfrey André, fms	Un livre sur La Vaila
h) Historical Patrimony			
Institute / P.	No 2, June 1991 / 25-28	Brambila Aureliano	Centre d'Études du Patrimoine spirituel mariste
Institute / P.	No 24, December 2007 / 20-25	Lanfrey André, fms	Etat de la recherche chez les Frères Maristes. (Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 June 2006)
Institute / P.	No 1, June 1990 / 1-16	Sester Paul	Nos archives : essai historique
Institute / P.	No 1, June 1990 / 19-22	Brambila Aureliano	Centre d'Études du Patrimoine spirituel mariste, CEPAM
Institute / P.	No 2, June 1991 / 1-24	Sester Paul	Nos archives aujourd'hui, contenu.
Institute / P.	No 3 May 1992 / 1-18	Sester Paul	Nos archives aujourd'hui (suite)
Institute / P.	No 4, March 1993 / 19-20	Sester Paul	Publications maristes
Institute / P.	No 5, May 1994 / 94	Sester Paul	Annnonce de l'édition des Annales des maisons des provincias de St Paul et Aubenas
Institute / P.	No 8, January 1996 / 6-11	Bibliography	Marie dans les constitutions et statuts
Institute / P.	No 9, July 1996 / 1-3	Sester Paul	Publication des travaux de P. Zind, Letters du .F. François...
Institute / P.	No 13, July 1998 / 1-3	Vignau Henri, fms	Compte-rendu du séminaire sur le patrimoine mariste : 20-27 novembre 1997.
Institute / P.	No 20, June 2004 / 3-7	Sester Paul	Informatisation de nos archives
Institute / P.	No 21, April 2005 / 3-8	Lanfrey André	Composition et tâches de la commission du patrimoine
Institute / P.	No 22, December 2005 / 3-7	Índice	Articles parus dans les Cahiers Maristes du début à nos jours
Institute / P.	No 24, December 2007 / 43-47	Ramalho Antonio, fms	Le patrimoine dans la formation chez les FMS. Actes du colloque interbranches mariste du 24 June 2006)

Institute / P.	No 26, March 2009 / 3-7	Green Michaël, fms	Cours du patrimoine (February-June 2008). Compte-rendu.
Institute / P.	No 26, March 2009 / 9-23	Lanfrey André, fms	Historique de la recherche sur le patrimoine spirituel chez les Frères Maristes.
Institute / P.	No 27, October 2009 / 3-13	Green Michaël, fms	Session du patrimoine de 2008 : Présentation des travaux des participants.
Institute / P.	No 30, February 2012 / 83-92	Green Michaël, fms	Le projet historique du bicentenaire
Institute / P.	No 34, May 201 / 181	Chalmers Colin, fms	De nouvelles ressources aux archives générales
Institute / P.	No 35, May 2017 / 139-142	Sester Paul	L'informatisation de nos archives
Institute / P.	No 36, May 2018 / 115-119	Oliveira Benê, fms	Mémorial mariste. Brésil (Sur l'inauguration de ce Mémorial à Curitiba).
Institute / P.	No 11, July 1997 / 1-4	Sester Paul	« A nos lecteurs » (Bilan du travail réalisé dans les CM. Et projet de présenter les écrits du F. François)
Institute / P.	No 2, June 1991 / 29-32	Bibliography	Publications maristes
Institute / P.	No 26, March 2009 / 25-45	Green Michaël, fms	Et aussi de nouvelles tentes (Réflexion sur l'identité des Frères Maristes)
Institute / P.	No 1, June 1990 / 17-18	Silveira Luis	Le " Centre d'Études Maristes " de la Province de Rio de Janeiro
Institute / P.	No 5, May 1994 / 16-21	H.J.M./ H.G. T.	Publications maristes
i) Provinces and countries where the Institute is present.			
Institute / Province	No 27, October 2009 / 63-77	Hendlemeier Augustin, fms	Les débuts de la Province d'Allemagne
Institute / Province	No 38, May 2020 / 61-83	Spes Stanley Ku	Brève histoire des Frères Maristes en Chine
Institute / Province	No 27, October 2009 / 173-194	Umoh Benjamin	Option pour les pauvres dans la Province mariste du Nigeria
Institute / Province	No 27, October 2009 / 195-214	Kouassi Vincent, fms	Le charisme et la mission des Frères Maristes en Côte d'Ivoire. Une réflexion personnelle.

Institute / Province	No 30, February 2012 / 93-131	Brambila Aureliano	Le charisme mariste en terre mexicaine
Institute / Province	No 27, October 2009 / 89-113	Teoh Robert, fms	Tentative de fusion des Frères de la Mère de Dieu avec les Frères Maristes en Chine, entre 1909 et 1912
Institute / Province	No 32, May 2014 / 162	Pino Patricio, fms	Cent ans de présence mariste au Chili
Institute / Province	No 35, May 2017 / 55-74	Gajardo Vasquez Julio	L'Education catholique secondaire dans la « Province » du Chili. L'arrivée de la congrégation des Frères Maristes au début du 20 <sup>e</sup> siècle
Institute / Province	No 36, May 2018 / 100-102	Lanfrey André, fms	Histoire de la Province d'Allemagne (Sur les ouvrages publiés par la Province)
Institute / Province	No 35, May 2017 / 117-131	Delorme Alain, fms	Grandeur et décadence de la Province d'Aubenas
j) Solidarity			
Institute / Solidaridad	No 35, May 2017 / 143-144	Lanfrey André, fms	« Les roues du cœur de Dieu » (L'action caritative du F. Michel Rampelberg dans l'Europe de l'est)
Institute / Solidaridad	No 36, May 2018 / 85-98	De Vicente José Luis, fms	Les communautés d'insertion maristes en Bétique après le concile et le XVI <sup>e</sup> chapitre général.
k) Historical sources			
Institute / Sources	No 32, May 2014 / 167	Lanfrey André, fms	« La regla del fundador sus fuentes y evolución » (du F. Pedro Herreros)
Institute / Sources	No 10, March 1997 / 31-41	Sester Paul	“ Biographies de quelques Frères “, par Frère Jean-Baptiste
Institute / Sources	No 16, November 2000 / 53-86	Lanfrey André, fms	Un ouvrage fondamental oublié : Le Manuel de Piété (1855)
Institute / Sources	No 13, July 1998 pp. 85-122	Lanfrey André, fms	« But des Frères, d'après deux instructions contenues dans les manuscrits des FF. François et Jean- Baptiste

Institute / Sources	No 23, June 2006 / 11-38	Lanfrey André, fms	Les circulaires : témoins de la tradition spirituelle mariste
<b>I) Spirituality</b>			
Institute / Sp.	No 3 May 1992 / 19-24	Brambila Aureliano	Marie dans nos Constitutions
Institute / Sp.	No 19, June 2003 / 19-51	Lanfrey André, fms	Essai sur les Origins de la spiritualité mariste
Institute / Sp.	No 22, December 2005 / 25-47	Brambila Aureliano	F. Basilio Rueda et l'obéissance
Institute / Sp.	No 27, October 2009 / 115-125	Chalmers Colin, fms	L'Écriture Sainte et l'identité. A la recherche de l'histoire cachée de l'Institute dans un récit biblique
Institute / Sp.	No 32, May 2014 / 115-131	Brambila Aureliano, fms	Spiritualité mariste de la présence
Institute / Sp.	No 36, May 2018 / 5-19	Pino Medina Patricio, fms	La transmission du charisme mariste hérité de Marcellin Champagnat et des premiers Frères
Institute / Sp.	No 36, May 2018 / 21-31	Ricordi Angelo	« Visage marial » de l'Église : son histoire et sa réception dans l'Institute des Frères Maristes
Institute / H.	No 37, May 2019 / 109-123	Morel Michel, fms	Le cimetière rénové de L'Hermitage (inauguration et histoire)
<b>IV/LAITY</b>			
Laity	No 34, May 2016 / 23-47	Espinosa Javier, fms	Laïcs Maristes. Le futur aura nos yeux (Vue d'ensemble sur le laïcat mariste)
Laity	No 34, May 2016 / 49-51	Afonso de Almeida Sousa Heloisa	Spiritualité mariste. Une proposition pour laïques et laïcs.
Laity	No 35, May 2017 / 145-146	Strobino Ivo Antonio, fms	Hermitage mariste. Cours de formation pour le Laity mariste
Laity / Sp.	No 34, May 2016 / 51-57	Balbinot Gustavo	Fondements de la spiritualité apostolique mariste
Laity / Sp.	No 34, May 2016 / 57-59	Da Silva Laurinda Esmeraldina	Spiritualité mariste dans le quotidien du travail

Laity / Sp.	No 34, May 2016 / 59-63	Gomes Fonseca de Oliveira Layza Maria	Spiritualité de laïque
Laity / Sp.	No 34, May 2016 / 63-68	Gonçalves João Luis Fedel	Repenser la spiritualité mariste aujourd'hui
Laity	No 30, February 2012 / 7-44	Martínez Estaún Antonio, fms	La Famille Mariste selon le F. Virgilio León
Laity	No 15, May 1999 / 119-170	Lefebvre Alexandre	Des Anciens Élèves au Mouvement Champagnat de la Famille Mariste
Laity / CH	No 28, May 2010/87-93	Brambila Aureliano	Incidences de la canonisation de Saint Marcellin chez un nouvel élève mariste
Laity / CH	No 8, January 1996 / 39-47	Roche Jean	M. Champagnat, lumière pour les laïcs
<b>V/BIOGRAPHIES AND OBITUARIES</b>			
Biography	No 34, May 2016 / 87-96	Brambila Aureliano, fms	Basilio Rueda Guzmán Frère Mariste des Ecoles
Biography	No 36, May 2018 / 107-108	Morel Michel, fms	« Le cinquième évangile ». Correspondance de F. Henri Vergès (pièce de théâtre évoquant sa vie)
Biography	No 27, October 2009 / 79-88	Eilas Iwu, fms	La vie d'un simple frère : John Samuel Metuh, fms, (1926-2007)
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Biography	No 28, May 2010 / 173-184	Mesonero Manuel, fms	F. Balko : génial et controversé
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Biography	No 33, May 2015 / 149	Lanfrey André, fms	F. Henri Réocreux
Biography	No 37, May 2019 / 125-127	Lanfrey André, fms	F. Louis Richard (1931-2018). Esquisse biographique d'un grand serviteur du patrimoine mariste)
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S.M. / P.	No 28, May 2010 / 95-98	Greiler Alois. sm	Synthèse de la journée inter-mariste du 24 June 2009
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S.M./ P.	No 28, May 2010 / 99-100	Lanfrey André, fms	Introduction à la journée inter-mariste du 24 June 2009
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# BERNARD BOURTOT, MARIST FATHER, SCHOLAR AND HISTORIAN (1940-2020)



Bernard Bourtot, a member of the Marist Fathers Toulon community, passed away at the beginning of May 2020. In saying that his passing does not concern only the Marist Fathers but the whole Marist Family, I am not simply employing the classic rhetoric of funeral eulogies. He had extensive contact with many members of the different Marist branches, in particular when part of an inter-Marist community in suburban Lyon. But perhaps more important it is his role in the promotion of Marist spiritual and intellectual patrimony that deserves our recognition.

I will not go through a CV for Bernard, whom I came to know relatively late. As I recall, our relationship began with the “Colinian Workshops” in the 1990s. Bernard was one of the instigators of these gatherings on Fr Colin’s spirituality, open to members and associates of the Marist family. I participated as a historian of the Marist Brothers. Little by little – and not without a few disagreements – a lasting relationship between fellow historians was established between Bernard and

me, based on mutual esteem. I was particularly impressed by his ability, trained as he was as a mathematician, to use historical method and produce high quality work quickly.

In the end, the “Colin workshops” evolved into “Marist workshops”, fewer in number but more focused on research, organised through annual meetings under the direction of a triumvirate (so to speak) – Bernard, Odile (Marist Sister) and myself. Bernard took on the task of producing a report of the work done and this was published by the Marist Fathers’ Centre de documentation, based in Paris. The first report was of the 1994–95 sessions; and by 2009, 13 reports had been published. Because of age and dispersion, the workshops ceased after 2010, if my memory serves me well.

Bernard expressed very well the spirit in which this workshop functioned, first “Colinian” then “Marist” (a significant change of adjective): “We cannot study the history of one branch in the 19th century without knowing the history of other branches.” And he put this convic-

tion into effect by publishing two large notebooks under the title “Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Mary” which take into account a rather complicated and even conflicted history. The first volume (of 194 pages), published in 1999 by the *Centre de documentation mariste*, concerns the Generalate of Brother François (1840-1860); the second (of 254 pages) in 2001 describes the years 1860-1903 and appends a large number of documents on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to this remarkable work, Bernard became one of the leading authorities on relations between the different branches of the Society of Mary.

But Bernard’s prodigious activity does not end there. In addition to his many apostolic and administrative tasks, he actively assisted Fr Gaston Lessard in the publication of documents on Fr Colin’s Generalate between 1836-1854. It was he who saw to the fourth and final volume of this series entitled “Colin Sup”. Reference to this collection is very important for the Marist Brothers who in that period lived under the oversight of Father Colin. In 2013, Bernard also produced two large volumes of “Conferences and Speeches of J.C. Colin” for the years 1816-1830. These would be interesting to compare with the collection of Fr

Champagnat’s talks. But that is not the end of it: Bernard prepared for publication, in three volumes, documents concerning the Generalate of Fr Julien Favre, successor to Fr Colin (1854-1885). The years 1854-1863 of this Generalate shed light on especially on the first years of the Marist Brothers’ autonomy from the Society of Mary, when Br François and then Br Louis-Marie took the first steps to achieve canonical recognition of the Institute. It was a time when the relations between Fathers and Brothers were particularly delicate. I should also mention the many volumes of letters from Fr Poupinel, directing the Oceania mission from Sydney. But it seems to me that this last collection concerns us less.

How can we not agree with this assessment by Fr Justin Taylor sm, himself an exegete and historian? “The Society owes Bernard enormously for his tireless work in research and writing”. Personally, I would say that the whole Society of Mary in its various branches has received a great deal from Fr Bernard Bourtot, not only as an historian and scholar but also as a Marist companion, both testing and inspiring

**Br. André Lanfrey**

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<sup>1</sup> It is a pity that a work of this quality was not published other than in a A4 photocopied booklets. It would be desirable to have a new edition in a more permanent format. I have, however, a digital version of the first volume. [AL]

# BROTHER PAUL SESTER (1926-2020)



Paul left us on 5 April 2020, not long before completing his 94th year. His long life was so full that it is difficult to give a brief account of it. In celebrating his 50 years of religious life in Rome in 1992, the Brother entrusted with the address in Paul's honour depicted him as a thinker, a researcher, a man with a fertile pen and a kind heart. Those who knew him well will, I think, would concur with this description, while knowing that it does not exhaust the richness of his unique personality.

Paul was born in 1926 into a farming family from Schweighouse in the Alsace region. We do not know who recruited him, but he entered the Juniorate at Franois near Besançon in April 1939. Because of the War, this Juniorate would be transferred to St Quentin-Fallavier, near Lyon. Paul would complete his Novitiate and Scholasticate at St Genis-Laval between 1942 and 1945 at a time when living conditions were difficult, especially in terms of food. His formation years were thus marked by a world conflict, which particularly affected Alsace claimed once again as German territory. Its young men – notably one of Paul's brothers –

were obliged to fight for the Reich. Then in 1946-47, Paul himself had to do his military service in the French army of occupation in Austria. As a reserve non-commissioned officer, he would be recalled to the army in 1956 during the Algerian war. War and military life: two little-known aspects of Br Paul's life.

His career in the classroom began in 1947 but would prove to be brief. After replacing another Brother at the primary school in Mâcon (Saône-et-Loire region, north of Lyon) and a further year at the boarding school in St Didier-sur-Chalaronne, he became a teacher-educator at the St Genis Scholasticate. Having obtained his Baccalaureate in 1945, Paul needed to juggle teaching (in particular of philosophy), organisation of extra-curricular activities (sport, theatre, military training) and, insofar as he had time left, further university studies which would earn him a Licentiate in Philosophy (1956). The next two years (1957-59) he spent as master of discipline in the boarding school at Neuville-sur-Saône; but there was need for him again at St Genis, this time as Director of the Scholasticate (1959-

61). It was a difficult responsibility at a time of transition for the Church, after Pius XII's pontificate and before John XXIII's announcement of the Council in 1959. Finally, in 1961, Paul returned to his home region as Director of the boarding school at Issenheim, near Mulhouse. The school needed a new lease of life. Paul organised the construction of a new building and the school was ready for new period of growth.

He was 40 years old in 1966 when the superiors looked to him to take on new responsibilities. In preparation, he was called to Rome to pursue for a time of formation at the Jesu Magister Institute. However, the prevailing mood of these post-Council years had a deleterious impact on his Province, so much so that, quite abruptly, Br Paul found himself appointed as Provincial of St Genis-Laval in June 1967. He had to manage, as well as he could, a situation which required of him a good deal of composure and mettle.

During the 1967-68 General Chapter, he played an important role in the commission dealing with the question of priesthood. His second term as Provincial was cut short when, in May 1971, he replaced Br Louis-Martin Eslinger as a General Councillor. Here again, but on a larger scale under the leadership of Br Basilio, it would be necessary to deal with the chaotic post-Conciliar situation. The French Provinces remember Br Paul's role in organising and managing the momentous meeting of all the French Brothers in Quimper (Brittany) in 1974.

After more than fifteen years of leadership through this period of crisis, Br Paul was offered a relative respite, being elected Secretary General at the 1976 General Chapter. The administrative work allowed him to take a closer interest in the Institute's archives and, when he concluded this appointment, he continued at the General House as Archivist General. He would use the skills acquired there to play a groundbreaking role in Marist scholarship.

He was alert to this calling very early on. He told me that, during his Novitiate and Scholasticate at St Genis-Laval in 1942-45, he felt great regret that the Founder's letters, despite residing in the same house, were inaccessible. During his renewal at Jesu Magister in 1966-67, Br Paul was finally able to read these letters and started copying them. Only with his appointment as Secretary General in 1976 did he again have time to devote to the letters. With the help of a dedicated team, he reorganised the General Archives and began the transcription of the Institute's primary source material.

The first tangible result of this long-term project was the publication in two volumes of the Letters of Father Champagnat: in 1985, a critical edition of the 339 extant letters; and in 1987, with the collaboration of Br Jean Borne, a complementary volume of "References" concerning Fr Champagnat's correspondents and the places and historical circumstances relevant to the letters. Thanks to this scholarly work,

the Institute no longer needs to rely only on texts and traditions about the Founder, but has access to his own writings. In a sense, the Founder takes centre stage again. Other researchers, in particular Br Aureliano Brambila, creator of CEPAM in Mexico, are still working to study, publish and interpret this correspondence, now a resource for all the Brothers.

To disseminate the work being done on Fr Champagnat and the Institute, there was need for a specialised journal. This was why, in 1991, the first issue of *Marist Notebooks* appeared in four languages. Br Paul would serve as editor-in-chief until he left Rome in 1998. He himself wrote at least ten articles and introduced us to significant documents. In Issue 35 (May 2017), he described in detail the digitalisation of the Archives and introduced his team of collaborators.

Making the most of new technology, the output of that team was impressive: publication of the *Mémoires du F. Sylvestre* in 1992 and of the three volumes of *Annales de l'Institut* in 1993. Many other documents, more complex or considered less important, were duplicated in-house in A4-sized books – in particular the 12 volumes of *Annales des Maisons*, which constitute a mine of information on school life in France before 1880-90; or the many manuscripts of Br François and Jean-Baptiste. By the year 2000, it was not so much primary source material which was lacking but researchers capable of appreciating its importance, edit-

ing critical editions, and exploring it with academic rigour.

Returning to France in 1998 and initially based in Oullins near St Genis, it was natural that Br Paul should become the archivist of his former Province. He was also a member of the international Marist Patrimony Commission created in 2004 by the General Administration. Meeting annually in Rome, one of this group's tasks was to help him bring to publication in 2011 the three-volume work *Origines des Frères Maristes*. In this, Br Paul assembled all the documents originating from Fr Champagnat and the Institute up till 1840, and sometimes beyond.

In retirement at St Genis, Br Paul was increasingly hampered by a deafness which limited his ability to communicate. Despite this he undertook to organise the archives from the former French Provinces which were progressively relocated together to St Genis. This was until a new archive was established and a professional archivist-librarian employed in 2017.

His death brings to an end an era of noted personalities such as Brs Pierre Zind, Gabriel Michel, Alexandre Balko, and Stephen Farrell who, through their historical and scholarly work and their ability to enthuse helpers and disciples, have laid firm foundations for a serious understanding of our Marist identity.

**Br. André Lanfrey**

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