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The History of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Switzerland from the Foundation in 1830 to the Expulsion in 1847

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THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SACRED HEART
IN SWITZERLAND
FROM THE FOUNDATION IN 1830
TO THE EXPULSION IN 1847

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfil-
ment of the requirements for the
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CHAPTER I

THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830 IN FRANCE

The July Revolution of 1830 in France was sudden and brief. Actual fighting between insurgents and gendarmes lasted but three days, from the 27th to the 30th of July. But the cause of the July Revolution will be found in a struggle which continued over a period of sixteen years, from 1814 to 1830. This struggle existed between Liberalism and Monarchism. Finally, with the triumph of Liberalism over Monarchism in 1830, came the danger signal to all institutions associated in the public mind with Monarchism, one of which was the Society of the Sacred Heart.

The Liberalism of the Nineteenth Century occasioned the foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Switzerland in 1830, and caused its expulsion from Fribourg in 1847. There is good reason to use the term "occasion" rather than "cause," considering the influence of Liberalism in laying the foundation of the Society in Switzerland. The Religious who became the foundresses of the new convent were not actually expelled from Paris by order of the Liberal government. Their departure was a precautionary measure. Saint Madeleine Sophie Barat,¹ Foundress and Superior General of the Society of the Sacred

1. Madeleine Sophie Barat was canonized by Pope Pius XI on May 24, 1925.

Heart (1801-1865), realized the hostile attitude of the Liberals toward all that was connected with the Monarchy and the Church. When the July Revolution burst suddenly upon Paris, she sought elsewhere for a safe refuge for the novices of the Society, who had been living, until July 1830, at the Paris noviceship, Hotel Biron, rue de Varennes.² Prudence, therefore, caused the foundation in Switzerland; the July Revolution, and ultimately, Liberalism, occasioned it. The case was not identical in 1847. Swiss Liberalism, and the consequent Swiss Revolution of 1847, were the actual causes of the uprooting of the Society of the Sacred Heart from its prosperous foundation in Switzerland. The Liberal Swiss Government of 1847 expelled the Religious from Fribourg by a decree of November 17, 1847.³

Since the Liberalism of the Nineteenth Century is so closely connected with the History of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Switzerland, an idea of what this movement is, and what names are connected with it in the past century are not irrelevant considerations.

Father Liberatore, Jesuit and philosopher of the early Nineteenth Century, without immediately defining Liberalism in his work, L'Eglise et L'Etat, begins by distinguishing two forms, absolute Liberalism and moderate Liberalism.⁴

2. Adèle Cahier, Vie de la Vénérable Mère Barat, E. de Soye, Paris, 1884, Vol. 1, p.548.

3. Documents, Rapport de la Direction de la Justice au Conseil d'Etat. Fribourg, 6 février, 1849.

4. Matteo Liberatore, L'Eglise et L'Etat, Victor Palme, Paris, 1877, p.1.

Ruggiero, an Italian professor and the author of The History of European Liberalism, avoiding the philosophical subtleties of Father Liberatore, traces, in historical form, what he calls French Liberalism.⁵ French Liberalism historically includes both the absolute and the moderate Liberalism distinguished by Father Liberatore, as will be seen shortly by a precis of Ruggiero's chapter on French Liberalism.

According to the theory of absolute liberty, no one need fear the existence of a Divine Authority, nor the moral responsibility of obedience. Each individual becomes his own judge of truth, his own law. The practical consequences of this theory is moral independence to the point of unbridled license; its historical consequence, after having been taught by Voltaire and Rousseau, and discussed by Mme. de Staël and Constant in France, was the French Revolution of 1789.⁶ Absolute liberty, if it does not deny the existence of God, makes Him too remote to guide human affairs by divine law and authority, a situation too abnormal for common sense and experience. Thus the more practical and accepted form of Liberalism is moderate Liberalism.

"Moderate Liberalism, briefly understood, does not consider the supremacy of the State, but full independence of the latter from any relationship with the Church."⁷ As compared

5. Guido Ruggiero, The History of European Liberalism (Oxford University Press, London, 1927) pp.158-210
Translated by R.G. Collingwood

6. Herman Gruber, Liberalism, Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.IX, pp. 212-13.

to absolute Liberalism, the significance of the moderate conception lies in its acknowledgement of the existence of God and its recognition of His authority in a restricted sphere. God's rule, however, does not extend to politics.

This moderate form of Liberalism is that with which French history had to deal after the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814. The restoration of the French monarchy in 1814 did not mean a return of Seventeenth Century Monarchism. That system had been guillotined in 1789, never to revive, despite the dreams of Louis XVIII. The actual political state in which Louis found himself was a government liberal for the Bourgeoisie. The Bourgeoisie was essentially a landed class who had been enriched by the commerce and the machines of the industrial revolution.⁸ Louis XVIII felt that his security rested upon the interests of a powerful, liberal Bourgeoisie, and he was careful not to antagonize this class. As a concession he granted the Charter of 1814 which gave the franchise only to the landed classes, and which set aside the popular sovereignty of the monarch, and placed that sovereignty in the ruler's own hands, as Louis states in the introduction to the Charter: "...whereas all authority in France resides in the person of the king...we

7. (continued from p.3) Liberatore, L'Eglise et L'Etat, p.8.

8. Ruggiero, European Liberalism, p. 158.

have of our own free will and in the exercise of our royal power granted and do hereby grant the Charter of the Constitution.⁹ Of these two legal changes in the Revolutionary Constitution of France, brought about by the Charter of 1814, the first was highly approved by such writers as Constant, De Broglie and Royer-Collard. Constant, especially, upheld restricted franchise in favor of the Bourgeoisie.¹⁰ This same group of writers, sometimes called the Doctrinaires, held various opinions concerning the question of sovereignty.¹¹ They agreed in their condemnation of monarchical sovereignty; but the meaning, the extent and the power of popular sovereignty led the Doctrinaires into such disunion of opinion, that their influence and progress as a liberal party was considerably weakened.

It was not want of union only that hampered the progress of the Moderate Liberals. There was growing up parallel with them another party called the Réactionnaires, led by De Maistre and De Bonald.¹² From a political standpoint they may be called reactionaries to Liberalism, but from the point of view of truth they were simply expounding the true meaning of Liberalism. De Maistre, in his work, du Pape, showed that "the law of religion is not only a means of salvation for

9. Ibid., p. 159.

10. Ibid., p. 169.

11. Ibid., pp. 160-8.

12. Ibid., p. 173.

individuals; it is the necessary, the indispensable condition upon which depends the existence of society."¹³ De Bonald, in his defense of the rights of the Church, published his distinguished work, Theory of Political and Religious Authority. On account of the influence of De Bonald's works, the Directory seized and destroyed the first edition. He then wrote Primitive legislation viewed in later times by the sole light of reason which appeared in 1802.¹⁴ In 1818 De Maistre and De Bonald were aided by a third Reactionnaire, M. l'abbé de Lammenais, whose first volume of Essays on Indifference in Matters of Religion, brought out still more emphatically the reasonableness of religion and authority. Although both Doctrinaires and Reactionnaires were primarily philosophers who treated of the prevalent questions of authority and Liberalism, nevertheless, their philosophy soon extended into practical politics. Ruggiero writes of the influence of the Reactionnaires during the period of Restoration:

These were the men who rejected all compromise between the new and the old, and while apparently desiring to restore the ancien régime were in fact only modifying the application and content of the revolutionary principles, leaving their form intact. De Maistre speaks of the constituent power of the Pope; De Bonald devises a purely rational legislation; Lamennais would overthrow all the traditional relations of Church and State. This revolutionary ferment was not merely a matter of phraseology and literature; it had considerable effect on politics. The 'ultras',

13. L'abbé J.E. Darras, A Universal History of the Catholic Church, O'Shea, New York, 1866, Vol. IV, p, 580.

or reactionary party, were the most active agitators; their attachment to absolute monarchy and divine right led them to oppose the constitutional monarch and become partisans of parliament: their quest for popular support led them to propose an extension of the suffrage far wider than that contemplated by the Liberal programme, because the love of the throne and altar existed in greater purity and simplicity in the humblest people than in the higher bourgeoisie.¹⁵

After consulting other authors¹⁶ about the Reactionnaires, it seems from the foregoing quotation that Ruggiero has included in the class of Reactionnaires too many persons, many of whom held divergent aims and theories. The events following 1815, when Louis XIII favored Bourgeois suffrage but held the sovereignty himself, when he proclaimed the Charter, defying certain liberal privileges of the Revolutionary Constitution, when he restored the Papal archives and permitted the bishops to open free colleges, when he called back to France the Lazarists, the Sulpicians and the Holy Ghost Fathers and offered some of the clergy high governmental positions,¹⁷ prove that the Reactionnaires "had considerable effect on politics," as Ruggiero states. At least these actions do not point to a very effective Liberal opposition between 1814 and 1824.

14. (continued from p.6) Ibid., p. 581.

15. Ruggiero, European Liberalism, pp.173-4.

16. James MacCaffrey, History of the Catholic Church in the XIX Century, B. Herder, St. Louis, 1910, Vol.I, II. Mgr. Baunard, Un Siècle de l'Eglise de France, 1800-1900, Librairie Ch. Poussiebgue, Paris, 1902.

L'Abbé Rohrbacher, Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique, Gaume, Paris, 1859, Vol. XXVIII.

17. MacCaffrey, Vol. I, p.56.

But, when Ruggiero states that the Reactionnaires had an "attachment to absolute monarchy and divine right," one must distinguish two kinds of Reactionnaires. The first are the Ultramontanes under whose banner come De Maistre, De Bonald, Lamennais and Châteaubriand. These writers uphold the doctrines of authority as taught by the Church; that is, that authority comes from God through the Church, and that the authority invested in the state, which is also derived of God, is, in case of conflict, subordinate to the infallible authority of the Church. The second group of Reactionnaires support Gallianism, which, briefly, places the authority of the State above the Pope in many ecclesiastical matters. The most important names of this group are Mgr. de la Luzerne, Mgr. Frayssinous, Mgr. d'aviau, M. Duclaux, Louis XVIII and Charles X.¹⁸ The great Revolution and the wars following it had decidedly crushed Gallicanism. The majority of the French clergy had realized by practical experience that the Four Articles were worldly, unstable, and untenable. The minority, however, who endeavored to revive the Gallican articles and the absolute power of the crown, were favored by the Sovereign.¹⁹ They succeeded, with the approval of fourteen Gallican bishops, in enforcing the teaching of the Four Articles in all French seminaries.²⁰

18. Baunard, pp.40-48.

19. Rohrbacher, Vol. XXVIII, p. 356.

20. Ibid., pp.359-64.

In the eyes of the Liberals the Church was linked inseparably with the Crown. They could detect little or no difference between the two groups of Reactionnaires. To the Liberals Ultra meant the same things as Gallican. Both took their stand beside royalty and feudalism. Mgr. Baunard explains the popular association of the Church with the Restored Monarchy in these words:

Liberalism, however, had provoked over the surface of the whole country a rising motion of defence against the triumphant march of the Church. The Church was supported by the king: the Church and royalty were confused in the same unpopularity. Liberalism had a promising game in face of these bishops reinstated with feudal power, whose preaching was condemned to silence and timidity, resulting from a situation which commanded them to lower the lance for fear of wounding the king in defense of Christ. It was thus that in many undertakings Mgr. Frayssinous, minister of ecclesiastical affairs, was inferior to his duty and his glory.²¹

In the light of after events even the Liberals saw the distinction between Ultra and Gallican. The Ultras, guided by their principles of true authority, outlived the forces of Liberalism. Neither the Revolution of the Liberals, nor the philosophy of the Liberals conquered the Ultras, because the Ultra-Reactionnaires clung to the infallibility and authority of the Pope. The death blow to Gallicanism was the Revolution of 1830.

Summing up the foregoing historical facts: that the Moderate Liberals were Bourgeoisie whose cause was rooted in the

20. Ibid., pp.359-64.

philosophy of the Doctrinaires, Royer-Collard, Constant and De Broglie; that the chief tenet of the Doctrinaires was a constitutional monarchy with the sovereignty vested in the Bourgeoisie; that opposing the Doctrinaires were the Reactionnaires who were of two classes, firstly, the Ultramontanes, led by De Maistre, De Bonald and Lamennais, who defended the authority of the Holy See, and secondly, the Royalists and Gallicans led by the Duc d'Artois and Mgr. Frayssinous, who wished the return of the old order of absolute monarchy - may we not conclude that the Liberalism of France was a danger to the prosperity of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Paris? A positive answer may be obtained from the following argument: Since the principles of the Liberalism of 1830 stood for constitutional monarchism in favor of Bourgeois sovereignty, and the principles and practice of the Sovereign of 1830 stood for absolute monarchism; since the Church of France in 1830 was associated in the popular mind with Gallicanism, and since Gallicanism could not exist without absolute monarchism; since the Society of the Sacred Heart had its very roots in the Church, we have a situation in which the Liberalism of 1830 in France is opposed to the Sovereign, to the Church apparently Gallican, and to the Society of the Sacred Heart.

* * *

It is necessary to trace briefly the historical events of the reign of Charles X in order to see how these events led

to the July Revolution of 1830. The chasm separating the Liberals and Reactionnaires widened during the reign of Charles X. Just before his accession two events had occurred which strengthened the position of the Reactionnaires. The assassination of the Duke of Berri had horrified the country and turned public sentiment towards the Royalists.²² The suspicion fell upon the Liberals and caused the downfall of the Decazes ministry.²³ Under the new ultra-royalist ministry a new electoral law was passed which increased Royalist members in both Chambers.²⁴ A third event favorable to the Reactionnaires was the success of the French army in putting down the Spanish revolt of 1820.²⁵

Defeated in Parliament by the new electoral law, the Bourgeois Liberals took two preparatory steps towards the overthrow of the Monarchy, the formation of secret societies to rouse insurrection in any part of France, and the organization of a national guard. Among the secret societies, the most influential was the French Charbonnerie, and this activity was encouraged by certain Deputies, chief of whom was Lafayette.²⁶ The organization of the French Charbonnerie was energetically undertaken by three young men "in a quarter amongst the poorest of the capital." Hitherto the Bourgeois Liberals had not

22. Louis Blanc, The History of Ten Years 1830-1840, Chapman-Hall, London, 1844, Vol. I, p. 43.

23. M. Villemain, Châteaubriand, Politique sur son Temps, Michel Levy, Paris, 1858, p. 268.

24. Ibid., p. 269.

25. Ibid., pp. 343-47.

26. Blanc, p. 54.

solicited the aid of the poorer classes. The life of the poor went on undisturbed by the feuds that had been taking place between Royalty and Liberalism. Ignorant of the situation they had joined neither side. In their midst, then, was just the place for liberal secret societies to hold their meetings and spread their propaganda. M.M. Bazard, Flotard, and Buchez, who had had connections with the suppressed conspiracy of the Loge des Amis de la Vérité, formed a new plan. So-called "ventes" were established in three degrees, the "haute vente," the "ventes centrales," and the "ventes particulières."²⁷ To escape the law no vente was to consist of more than twenty members. To possess "a gun and fifty cartridges, to be ready to devote oneself, and blindly to obey the orders of unknown leaders" were the duties of a charbonnier. Their membership grew in all parts of Paris in Rochelle, Toulouse, Niort, Bordeaux^X and Poitiers. In the government itself they dared to find secret followers:

There existed at that time a parliamentary committee, of which M. de Lafayette was a member. M. Bazard (the Charbonnerie founder) who was on intimate terms with the general, applied one day to his friends for authority, to admit Lafayette into the secret of their proceedings.... The considerations being represented to Lafayette, he did not hesitate, but entered the "haute vente," and his example was followed by the boldest among his colleagues in the chamber.²⁸

While the insurrections of the Charbonnerie had no great results during the early reign of Charles X, they sowed the

27. Ibid., pp.49-50.

28. Ibid., p.51.

seed for the Liberal conquest in 1830; they expanded the liberal movement; they spread hatred for royalty throughout France.²⁹

Another instrument under the Liberals' control was the national guard. Its perfect organization could do for the Bourgeoisie what the latter had not been able to do in Parliament since 1820. At a review of this militia in 1828, cries of revenge were echoed into the very ears of Charles himself.³⁰ This warning was followed soon after by the downfall of the prosperous Villèle Ministry.

Villèle, chosen Chief Minister of the Cabinet by Louis XVIII in 1822, had been able to hold a conciliatory position between pompous royalty and the seething insurgents for seven years. Appointed by the king in 1824 to act in the office of foreign minister in place of Châteaubriand, Villèle then held three important charges in the Cabinet of Ministers, President of the Council, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Foreign Affairs.³¹ He identified himself with every desire of Charles X. At the same time, however, Villèle saw the necessity of granting many concessions to the Ultra-Royalists who had controlled the Chamber of Deputies since 1820. In carrying out the policy of Charles X, he had passed a bill in 1825 which would restore all confiscated property to the nobles who had owned it previous to the French Revolution. The burden of this

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

31. Villlemain, p. 380.

indemnity fell upon the capitalists, particularly the bankers of Paris. Another political measure that distinctly recalled feudalism was that of re-establishing the right of primogeniture. This proposal attacked one of the most popular and liberal concessions of the French Revolution, that of equal inheritance among all heirs of a benefactor. The whole of France was in consternation at such an attack upon individual liberty. The consequence was that the measure was defeated in the Chamber of Peers, where the more moderate Royalists held sway.³²

A third political measure aimed at the Liberals by Villèle finally brought about his fall. It was an attempt to destroy the freedom of the press.³³ Thwarted again by the moderate policy of the Peers, Villèle crushed their opposition by creating enough new Peers to support the press bill. As the Deputies still opposed the bill, their Chamber was dissolved in the hope of securing more pliable Royalists. A new election was called, but the results were disappointing. The extreme Royalists lost their majority, and a moderate Liberal was elected President of the Cabinet in the person of Martignac.³⁴

Martignac was not a radical, but he was far more a Liberal than a Royalist. His tenure of office from January 1828 to August 1829 gives to history a striking example of the

32. Ibid., pp. 393-96.

33. Ibid., p. 407.

34. Ibid., p. 412.

gulf of opposition between Liberalism and Absolutism.

Martignac was at once opposed by Charles X; nevertheless he acted fearlessly, depending upon the support of Liberal and Moderate Royalist faction in Parliament. When that support failed in August 1829 he resigned his office to the Ultra-Royalists. Liberal measures that paralyzed Martignac's activity in conjunction with Parliament were chiefly three. He passed a law which abolished the censorship of the press. He excluded the Jesuits from their position as educators in the state. Finally, he proposed to dismiss his Colleagues and to choose others more in sympathy with Liberalism. This proposition was staunchly opposed by both king and Parliament.

Martignac refused to change his policy and resigned to the great satisfaction of Charles X who immediately placed Polignac in the first chair of the Ministry.³⁵ Polignac was as unwise as Charles himself. The two radical monarchists precipitated the July Revolution after a few months of sham and superficial dealings at the head of the government during the Spring of 1830.

In leading up to a consideration of the position which the Society of the Sacred Heart held in the storm-clouded Spring of 1830 in Paris, it is necessary to review the position of the Church during the reign of Charles X. If the Church

35. Ibid., pp. 427-29.

politically is in danger, then of course, the Society of the Sacred Heart is in political danger. The Church in France during the Restoration was tinged with Gallicanism, as has been seen. The Church also counted among its clergy those who profited by the law of indemnified nobles. With the Church were associated the death penalty for sacrilege, the coronation of Charles X at Rheims, the Paris processions in honor of the Pope's Jubilee, things which many historians ridicule as the mummerly and tactics of piety which show themselves forth when the Church and State are at one. Such cramped views of the Church exclude her Universality, that mark by which all types and temperaments of souls are included; her doctrine of free will by which each soul may choose freely between good and evil; her doctrine of original sin and its consequences by which inclinations to evil remain in man; her doctrine of mercy by which fallen souls may be re-instated in God's grace. Such Universality of souls and doctrine did the Church possess in the period of the Restoration, as it had ever before and has ever since. But that the Church is responsible for the actions of individuals, even of certain of the clergy, is untenable, is contrary to one of her fundamental doctrines, that of free will. Consequently those historians and contemporaries of the political life of the Restoration take too narrow and untrue a view when in one term, the Church, they associate only those

who upheld the Gallican principles and the consequences of Gallican activity in political affairs, especially in the political affairs of the Restored Monarchy. Bishop Frayssinous fought to the last to preserve the teaching of the Four Gallican Articles in the chief universities and seminaries. "However," writes Baunard, "the gallican Church paid dearly for its mistake of being solidly welded in that political life of which it was soon to become the victim. Our ears still ring," the historian continues, "with the cries of blasphemy and insult, with the noise of the fall of our crosses and churches which echoed to the fall of that throne around which such delusions of virtue had gathered."³⁶

It remains to recall briefly the missionary work of the Church in the midst of growing Liberalism. Religious practice had waned in France during the era of Napoleon. Great was the need of reviving faith and charity. Mission work began, and all bishops were clamoring for the zealous work of the Jesuits.³⁷ The Jesuits, therefore, undertook the work in 1818.³⁸ They were able to reap great results "for Liberalism had not had time to filter through the heart of the provinces its egotistic ignorance and its prevention rights."³⁹ During the decade from 1820-1830, however, these missionaries incurred hostility from the Liberals. At Brest, the stronghold of

36. Baunard, Mgr., Un Siècle de l'Eglise de France, p. 55.

37. J. Crétineau-Joly, Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus, Vol. VI, p.120
Mellier Frères, Paris, 1846.

Liberalism, the Jesuits were forced to give up their missions entirely.⁴⁰ The chief obstacle to the expansion of Liberal propaganda, among the missionary work of the Jesuits, was the Congregation. The Congregation was in its purpose a means to revive religious practice and devotion.⁴¹ It counted among its members representatives of every class of society, in the cities and in the town, who, besides their religious aim, formed literary, educational, social and recreational divisions.⁴² So powerful did the influence of the Congréganistes become, that on its account chiefly, the Jesuits were expelled from their position in the Petits Séminaires in 1828.⁴³ But their work of reviving true Catholic spirit among the people of France continued to reap fruit after the expulsion of the Fathers. The Catholics, united in the Congregations, took up a political work not intended in the primary purpose of the Congregation, and during the July Revolution the Congréganistes were the greatest obstacle to the Liberals.

Between the months of October 1829 and July 1830 very little was accomplished by the Polignac ministry. The very inactivity of Polignac arrested the progress and success of the Royalist party, while the Liberals and the Moderate Royalists

38. (continued from p. 17) Ibid., p. 121.

39. (continued from p. 17) Ibid., p. 122.

40. Ibid., p. 123.

41. Ibid., p. 140.

42. Ibid., p. 141.

43. Ibid., p. 180.

were more and more convinced that the people of France would rise in rebellion at any further check upon their political liberties. Charles X and Polignac tried to divert the attention of the people from internal to foreign affairs by proposing the conquest of Algiers.⁴⁴ The success and glory of this enterprise, however, could not quell the agitation of the three governmental parties, the Extreme Royalists, the Moderate Royalists, and the Liberals. The Moderate Royalists held the middle course between the Extreme Royalists and the Liberals in the Chamber of Deputies. They feared that the former would affect a dictatorship, or that the latter would ignite a revolution.⁴⁵ They wished to avoid both extremes. "Their hope was that Parliament, between a monarchy ready for a coup d'état to establish its rights, and the nation forced to act vigorously in defense of its own, might still be able to prevent the conflict by a firm attitude."⁴⁶ Through the influence, therefore, of the Moderate Royalists, the Chamber of Deputies warned Charles X, on March 30, 1830, that his determination to refuse all Concessions to the Liberals would end in revolution. The March address contained these words: "The Charter consecrates as a right the intervention of the nation in the deliberations regarding its interests. It has made the continuous agreement,

44. Emile Bourgeois, Reactions and Revolution in France, from the Cambridge Modern History, Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, Vol. X, p. 98.

45. Ibid., p. 99.

46. Ibid., p. 100.

of the wishes of your government with the wishes of your people, the indispensable condition of orderly progress in public affairs. This agreement does not now exist."⁴⁷ As a response to this warning the King dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. The new election, ordered in May, was completed by July 19. The result showed the attitude of the people. Not only were the same deputies returned, but fifty more were added to the opposition bringing the number to two hundred and seventy-four. This obstinate action of the electors provoked the final stroke of Charles X, justifying his action by the Fourteenth Article of the Charter, which gave him the right to make "such regulations and ordinances as are necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state." He passed the Ordinances on July 25, 1830.⁴⁸ One ordinance dissolved the newly elected Deputies before they had assembled; another, regarding the elections, gave the right to vote only to land tax payers, thus excluding manufacturers, the majority of whom were Liberals; a third ordinance silenced the Press.⁴⁹

These Ordinances appeared in the Moniteur on the morning of July 26th.⁵⁰ Paris, surprised, greeted the laws with alarming stillness. The newly elected deputies were the first to act. They met and agreed upon legal resistance;⁵¹ but

47. Charles Seignobos, A Political History of Europe since 1814, Henry Holt, New York, 1900, p. 128.

48. Ibid., p. 129.

49. Blanc, Louis, Histoire de Dix Ans, Société Typographique Belge, Bruxelles, 1844, Vol. I, p. 472.

50. Ernest Lavisse, Histoire de France Contemporaine, Librairie Hachette, Paris, 1921, Vol. IV, p. 372.

disagreement over the means to use kept them in discussion and confusion throughout the day. Thiers, popular writer of the Liberals and editor of the National newspaper, suggested refusal to pay taxes. Many suggested speedier means of resistance. Casimir Perier tried to curb the impetuosity of these Deputies, and acted as a mediator between the Royalists and Liberalists.⁵² The Ordinances were aimed immediately at the Deputies and at the Liberal newspaper editors, but these had no means to resist. The Deputies were unorganized and had no army. The Liberal editors took the only means in their power and published a protest on the 26th. It ran as follows: "The government has violated the law; we are under no obligation to obey it, we shall endeavor to publish our papers without asking the permission of the censors. The government has this day lost the character of legality which gives the right to demand obedience. For our part, we shall resist it; it is for France to judge how far her resistance shall extend."⁵³

Acting upon this protest, the three prominent Liberal papers, the National, the Globe and the Temps were published and read with curiosity by the citizens of Paris.⁵⁴ The armed revolt of the July day was not, however, the success of the Deputies or editors. They were the first to protest against absolute sovereignty, but the people carried on the warfare against the King's army.

51. (continued from page 20). Blanc, p. 97, London Edition, 1844

52. Ibid., p. 98.

53. Lavissee, p. 373.

54. Blanc, p. 100, London Edition, 1844

On Tuesday the 27th the Bourgeoisie shops were closed, and workmen were turned out upon the streets as an army against the Royal troops.⁵⁵ Printing houses, the Gazette, Quotidienne, Universal,² Journal des Débats all of whom obeyed the Ordinance, were deserted and their workmen thronged the streets.⁵⁶ These workmen were soon carried by the enthusiasm of "Vive la Charte" into the revolutionary party organized by Godefroy Cavaignac.

This weak and obscure organization it was made the revolution of 1830. They were favored by a combination of exceptional circumstances. 1st, The government was almost as badly armed as the insurgents, having only 14,000 soldiers in Paris (there was no Parisian police force at that date), and with the flintlocks still in use, the soldiers had no advantage over civilians. 2nd, the Paris of that time, especially in the eastern portions, was a labyrinth of narrow and crooked lanes. It was possible, using the large and heavy paving stones of the time, to construct in a few minutes a barricade sufficient to stop the march of troops. Further, the officers had no experience of street fighting. 3rd, The soldiers were reluctant to make war on the populace. 4th, The insurgents hoisted the tricolor flag - which the laborers and even the soldiers still regarded as the national colors.⁵⁷

The Duc de Raguse was given command of the Royal troops. One of their first attacks was made at the building of the Temps press. There the Liberal editions were being printed behind locked doors. Locksmiths were ordered to open the doors, but the insurgents drove away the soldiers and locksmiths, to the cheers of the street crowds.⁵⁸ In other parts of the city, near the Théâtre Français, on the Rue St. Honoré

55. Ibid., p. 99.

56. Ibid., p. 101.

57. Seignobos, pp. 129-30.

58. Blanc, p. 102, London Edition, 1844.

and all through the faubourg St. Antoine, barricades were erected.⁵⁹ As the troops passed through the narrow streets, stones were pelted upon them from the buildings.

The success of the insurgents was decided on the 28th. The Royal troops, retreating from the eastern Faubourgs, were outnumbered by the revolutionists.⁶⁰ They were unable to withstand the offensive near the barracks, and at the Tuilleries where the Swiss army was stationed.⁶¹ Defection, on the part of many, and the evacuation of Paris by the rest of the army finally put an end to the three-day revolution.⁶²

The three parties, the Moderate Royalists, the Liberals, and the Republicans, united in an effort to restore order. The Deputies established a temporary committee in the Hôtel de Ville and placed military control in the hands of Lafayette.

During the three days of revolt the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Paris was in a precarious situation, both on account of its pupils, many of whom were Catholic children of the nobility, and, also, on account of its proximity to the actual fighting and firing. The Convent, called the Hôtel Biron, was situated on the Rue de Varennes near the Boulevard des Invalides. The street south of the Rue de Varennes was the Rue de Babylone whereon a strong detachment of the Swiss guards held their quarters, over which the White flag was flying.

59. Ibid., pp. 103-05.

60. Lavisse, Vol. IV, p. 375.

61. Ibid., p. 376.

62. Ibid., pp. 376-77.

During the attack of the 29th, the Convent and its garden walls gave protection to both sides. Shots struck the house frequently, and the walls were scaled by the insurgents, but the Convent was not once violated by the fighters.⁶³ The Hôtel Biron had been in the possession of the Society of the Sacred Heart since 1820, and it was the only Convent of the Sacred Heart in Paris in 1830. Within the Provinces of France, however, the Society possessed, by 1830, nineteen Convents,⁶⁴ which had been established since the foundation of the Society in 1800.⁶⁵ To understand why the Hôtel Biron was in a dangerous situation on account of its pupils and its reputation, a brief account of the origin and purpose of the Society of the Sacred Heart is necessary.

The idea of the Society was conceived in the mind of Father Joseph de Tournély, Superior of a small band of priests who called themselves the Fathers of the Sacred Heart.⁶⁶ This holy priest, inflamed with love for the Sacred Heart, died before his idea of the new Society could be carried out. He made known his plan to Father Joseph Varin, a member of his own Order, who, convinced of a supernatural design in Father de Tournély's idea, sought every means to found the Society.

Father de Tournély, in founding his own order of priests,
63. Cahier, A., Vie de la Vénérable Mère Barat, Vol. I, p.514.

64. M. L'Abbé Baunard, Life of the Very Reverend Mother Madeleine Louise Sophie Barat, Roehampton, London, 1876. Vol. I. Translated by G. Fullerton, pp. 47, 81, 122, 151, 152, 241, 258, 286, 288, 290, 291, 325, 330, 333, 336, 338, 423.

65. Ibid., p. 41.

"proposed to repair, as far as possible, the losses in the Church caused, (during the French Revolution) by the dissolution of religious orders, where youth could learn, together with the elements of the sciences, a love of religion and the practice of the virtues which it inspires. But he was persuaded at the same time that he could remedy only part of the evil unless he would establish another Society, devoted like the first to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and which, without neglecting the instruction of the poor, would be consecrated above all to the education of the youth whose birth or fortune called them to be leaders in the world."⁶⁷

Father Varin, keeping in mind the ideal and purpose of Father de Tournély, was not long in discovering the Foundress whom Providence seemed to direct to him.⁶⁸ Madeleine Sophie Barat was the sister of Father Louis Barat, also a member of the Society of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart. Father Barat had directed the education of his young sister in the classical languages and in philosophy, besides guiding her in the way of strong virtue. Her vocation to a consecrated life was evident to her, but she thought the call was to the ⁿcontemplative life of the Carmelite. After visiting Father Varin and hearing of the Society proposed by Father de Tournély for the good of

66. (continued from p. 24). Note: The Fathers of the Sacred Heart, sometimes called the Fathers of the Faith, were endeavoring to revive the Society of Jesus in France.

67. Achille Guidée, S.J., Vie du R.P. Joseph Varin, Charles Duonoil, Paris, 1860, p. 130.

68. Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus. Vol. VI, 105

could who would be drawn to the love of the Sacred Heart, she was convinced of the Divine call to begin the work of this new Society. Her talents, her education, her mature virtue, all indicated Madeleine Sophie Barat as the one destined by Providence to found the Society of the Sacred Heart which had as its apostolic end the education of those "young persons whose birth or fortune called them to be leaders in the world." Madeleine Sophie Barat accepted this special vocation. She and three companions consecrated themselves to the Heart of Jesus, December 21, 1800.⁶⁹ The first foundation was made at Amiens in 1801. As vocations increased, houses were opened at Grenoble and Poitiers, Beauvais, Niort and finally in 1816, a Convent of the Sacred Heart was opened at Paris on the Rue des Postes.⁷⁰ Although the Paris foundation was designed principally as the general Noviceship of the Society, they were also to have a school there for the children of Paris. The first two pupils received at the Rue des Postes were daughters "of a high-born Chevalier de St. Louis, who had emigrated to Canada and lost all his property. Mother Barat generously adopted both his daughters, and thus sanctified by charity the establishment of a school which was to educate so many generations of children born and reared in affluence."⁷¹

In 1820 the foundation on the Rue des Postes was transferred to the Hôtel Biron, Rue de Varennes. The increasing

69. Guidée, p. 135.

70. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 261.

71. Baunard, Life of the Very Reverend Mother Barat, Vol. I, 252-3.

numbers in the Noviceship and school necessitated this change to a larger property. The Hôtel Biron with its several out-houses and extensive gardens was located opposite the Hôtel des Invalides on the Boulevard des Invalides. It was purchased through a gift of one hundred thousand francs donated by Louis XVIII, for the purpose of buying the new site.⁷² This gift did not cover the total price of the Hôtel Biron, but the remainder was borrowed, and the property purchased on September 5, 1820. The first royal visitors, after the Society was established in its new abode in October 1820, were the Duchesse of Berry and the Duchesse d'Angoulême.⁷³ Monseigneur Baunard narrates telling passages concerning the relations between the Court and the Hôtel Biron. He writes:

But it was not only the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries, but the Court itself, which piety and the current of public opinion were driving to the Sacred Heart.⁷⁴

The princes of the royal family of France honoured the Sacred Heart at that time with marks of particular favour; they all wished to contribute to the decoration of the school Louis XVIII gave the altar, and his brother the Duc d'Artois the exposition which surmounts the sanctuary.⁷⁵

This Court favour and the popularity which resulted from it, were the means by which Providence brought under Madame Barat's influence, a great number of children of the highest class.⁷⁶

72. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 344.

73. Ibid., p. 346.

74. Baunard, p. 348.

75. Ibid., p. 349.

76. Ibid., p. 350.

Again, in one of Mother Barat's letters, written in 1822 to Mother Duchesne, she mentions the relationship that the Mistress General of the school had with the families of the children: "Mother de Gramont has not a free minute, ..., she is burdened with work: to see ninety families, to respond to them and their needs! Children of nobles, of ministers, etc. ..."⁷⁷ Each year, between 1820 and 1830, the Duchesses d'Angoulême and de Berry returned to pay their respects at the Sacred Heart. Several times, Mademoiselle and the duc de Bordeaux accompanied them. It was about one of these visits that Mother Barat wrote the following: "We had on Sunday a visit from the Duc de Bordeaux and his sister Mademoiselle. They spent two hours with us and our pupils; they are such charming children. I cannot tell you what I felt, in seeing that child of God's mercy, and both of them, indeed, on their knees in the sanctuary, praying for the first time in a Church consecrated to the Sacred Heart. Alas! what a difficult task will be theirs a few years hence."⁷⁸

At the close of the scholastic year 1830, the school of the Hôtel Biron counted one hundred and sixty children. In the Noviceship there were fifty novices and ten postulants. The whole household celebrated the Conquest of Algiers on July 11th by a Te Deum in the Chapel. On the 22nd of July they were again united in a holiday for the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen,

⁷⁷. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 412.

⁷⁸. Baunard, p. 350.

the patroness of Mother Barat. When they were all gathered together to wish their Superior a happy feast, she looked over that beloved assembly with a sad expression. Mother Barat was not unaware of the political situation, the crisis of which was only four days in the future, and when asked afterwards by Mother de Gramont the cause of her sadness in the midst of such a happy family reunion, she replied: "In a few days hence... where will they be?"⁷⁹

On the same day, the Community and pupils were visited by Father Varin. In his usual affable manner, he addressed the children of the school and congratulated them on the occasion of the Superior's feast. From the Community and Novices, however, he did not hide his alarm at the political situation. "Do you know," he said, "that you must prepare yourselves for an uproar which is threatening you?" Then, in a less serious tone, to the Novices: "What would you say if you were sent one of these days to the scaffold?"⁸⁰

The Mistress of Novices, Mother Desmarquest, also had a presentiment of the coming danger. She remarked, in early July 1830, at a time when the Noviceship seemed so prosperous: "Things are going on too well; it will not last."⁸¹

The fulfillment of this fear came more quickly than anyone suspected. At the Hôtel Biron, anxiety over the political

⁷⁹. Cahier, pp. 508-9.

⁸⁰. Baunard, pp. 430-31.

⁸¹. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-69, p. 24.

crisis was not allowed to interrupt the daily life, and the events from July 22nd to the 26th indicate no preparation against immediate danger. Mother Desmarquest, Mistress of Novices, had begun her annual retreat, expecting at least eight days of uninterrupted prayer.⁸² Sometime between July 22nd and 26th Mother de Charbonnel, the Treasurer General of the Society, who had just returned from Avignon,⁸³ Mother Ducis and Mother de Gramont had gone to Conflans for a few days. The two former, returning on the 26th, were surprised to find barricades erected in the Faubourg St. Antoine. Obligated to give up their carriage to the revolutionists they walked for five hours in the midst of revolutionary Paris.⁸⁴ They arrived unharmed at the Rue de Varennes about mid-afternoon on Tuesday, the 27th. There they learned that many of the childrens' parents had already come and had taken their children to safety. Others sent word for the Religious to guard their children, and that they themselves would hasten to St. Cloud where members of the Court were gathering.⁸⁵

Mothers Desmarquest and de Charbonnel, the only councilors of Mother Barat, since Mother de Gramont had been left at Conflans, thought first of the immediate safety of their Foundress and Superior General, who was then in a crippled condition. Mother Barat had ^{fallen} ~~fallen~~ some months previous and

82. Ibid., p. 24.

83. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, (This life is not a publication, but written for the members of the society,) p. 165.

84. Ward, p. 304.

85. Cahier, A., Vol. I, p. 509.

had injured her foot rendering her incapable of walking. She had to be carried about in a basket chair, or proceed very slowly on crutches.⁸⁶ At Conflans, in case of a ^{Siege} seige of Paris, she could keep in communication with the other houses of the Society.⁸⁷ Her nephew, Stanislaus Dusaussoy, and sister Rosalie accompanied her on this dangerous journey. They left Paris early on the morning of Wednesday, the 28th.⁸⁸

Meanwhile at the Hôtel Biron, Rue de Varennes, there was comparative calm. The decisive contests of that day were taking place in eastern Paris in the Faubourgs. Towards nightfall, however, the revolutionists made their way towards western Paris. On the Rue de Babylone, the street south of the Rue de Varennes, the Swiss were posted in barracks adjoining the property of the Hôtel Biron.⁸⁹ It was at this center that the Insurgents aimed one of their attacks. In the house journal of the Hôtel Biron a description of the night of the 28th and the morning of the 29th of July, 1830, is recorded by Mother d'Avenas:

Our Mother General had hardly left us," she writes, "when we heard the alarm. The continuous firing resounded in several directions, interrupted now and then, by the sound of the artillery... A person, who had just seen the ministers, brought us news and some hope; in the evening our pupils made the Way of the Cross; the firing was coming closer to us ... we went down to the Chapel: there....we

86. Cahier, A., Vol. I, pp. 505-6.

87. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-69, p. 24.

88. Cahier, A., Vol. I, p. 110.

89. Documents, Vie de la Révérend Mère de Charbonnel, p. 166.

recited aloud ardent invocations. At eleven o'clock, the tumult seemed very near; nine Memorares were recited, then prayers to Our Lady of Seven Dolours, and the neighborhood became more peaceful...."

She continues, "On the 29th, at four-thirty in the morning, the hurried retreat of a regiment, and the sad state in which we saw them pass, enlightened us as to our misfortune; at six o'clock, they barricaded our street, parents arrived in haste and conducted their children to safety....."

Mother d'Avenas describes further, the events of this morning:

About ten o'clock, during class, we heard the rumble of drums, whilst groups of insurgents marched by to the singing of the Marseillaise and to the noise of continuous firing. Our garden offered a short passage to the barracks of the Swiss, the only building over which the white flag still floated; God watched over us; these sacred words: "Mary conceived without Sin," written over our entrance door turned aside these rough groups. One could see them, as if repulsed by a protecting angel, disperse in various directions; about fifteen of them, scaling our walls, ran through the lower garden, without doing any violence to our Calvary The attack on the Swiss ended towards one o'clock and soon a mournful silence succeeded the noise of arms: Paris no longer had a King⁹⁰

While this attack was going on at the Hôtel Biron, a more imminent danger threatened the little community at Conflans. At noon on the 28th Mother Barat and Sister Rosalie had joined Mother de Gramont and her two companions, Mother de Constantin and a Sister Novice. The refuge offered them was "a poor little abode which had remained for twenty years unused."⁹¹ It was
^{90.} Cahier, A., Vie de la Vénérable Mère Barat, Vol. I, pp. 513-14. (This quotation is taken from Mother d'Avenas' account written in the Journal of the Hôtel Biron.)

situated on the property of the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Quélen, and not far from the Archiepiscopal Palace and the Petite Séminaire.

Mother Barat was not there long, however, when they discovered that they were the only persons at Conflans. "The palace of the Archbishop and the Petite Séminaire had both been evacuated during the hours of darkness." Towards two o'clock in the afternoon the mob was heard gathering around the Petite Séminaire. Shouts of "death to the priests," blasphemies and cries rent the air. Finding the seminary evacuated, they proceeded towards the old dwelling, farther up on the hill, but its state of neglect, its closed shutters and its stillness deceived them, and they dispersed. This critical hour passed leaving Mother Barat and her Religious unharmed, but much shaken by the sights, and sounds, and the narrow escape they had just experienced. Fearing to remain longer in such a well known locality, they thought it best to find a refuge elsewhere. Consequently, Mother de Constantin and Sister Rosalie, in secular dress, went through the villages of Charenton and Les Carrières. After many refusals they were finally received in the home of a Madame Saladin. The two Religious returned to Conflans for Mother Barat, and all spent the 29th and the 30th in the hospitality of this kind woman. This account of

91. (continued from p. 32) Baunard, Vol. I, p. 433.

92. Cahier, A., Vie de la Vénérable Mère Barat, Vol. I, pp. 510-13. (This quotation is taken from an account written by Mother Anna de Constantin who experienced

the events at Conflans are recorded by Mother de Constantin herself.⁹² She relates that they had only been one day at Madame Saladin's when they were sought out by a gardener from the Rue de Varennes who had come to say that Paris was quieter since the Liberals had succeeded, and that the Community at the Hôtel Biron was in great need of the direction of the Superior General. Just how the gardener discovered the Community at Madame Saladin's instead of at Conflans, Mother de Constantin does not explain. Upon this urgent plea from Mothers de Charbonnel and Desmarquest, Mother Barat and her companions made ready for their return to Paris. Secular clothes, garbs of peasants and working girls, were procured for the Religious by Geneviève Feldtrappe, a sister of one of the Religious, and they took their leave very gratefully of their kind hostess the morning of July 31, 1830. The return journey is graphically described by Mother de Constantin:

We set out to find a carriage at Charenton; we were only able to acquire an old two-wheeled cart, and that, at not less than 40 francs for the trip. We had to be resigned; but there was only room for two persons in the elegant vehicle; only with difficulty could a third be put on the driver's seat. We placed our two Mothers and one of the sisters, who was suffering, in this cart, and I walked with Geneviève and the novice...."

It was ten o'clock when we left Madame Saladin's The cart had to go through Charenton and take the road to Orléans, which led to the Petit-Montrouge. This detour took two extra hours. In passing over the road, a peasant who seemed to have fêted the Revolution in a cabaret, called out to the coachman to allow him to ride beside him.

92. (continued from p. 33). the events of which she writes!)

Our Mothers did not pay any attention to him, but without waiting for a response he jumped upon the driver's platform. Then he began to shout with all his strength: "Vive la Chatte! Vive la Chatte! Vive tout ce que vous voudrez!" Our Mothers could not help laughing; turning then to look at them, he saw the crutches of our Mother and said to her: "Good morning, Mother, I see that you are crippled; that is too bad, for this carriage cannot go far. But do not worry, I am strong and I shall carry you where you will not be able to walk." He then continued his shouting: "Vive la Chatte..."

At the city limits, the workmen stopped the carriage saying they could not enter. Fortunately Geneviève had brought to our Mothers a Constitutional, which declared communication re-established. They presented it to the men to prove this fact.

In those days everyone was curious for news, and the workmen cried: "Ah! Mesdames, you have the Constitutionnel?" "Yes, they replied, "and if you wish to read it, here it is." Delighted with their gift they accepted it eagerly and allowed the cart to pass. However, it could only go to the entrance to the boulevard, where tree branches still formed barricades, leaving space only for pedestrians. The cart had to be abandoned, and the jolly companion carried out his promises: he did not leave our Mothers, directing them and clearing the road for them, finding planks to allow them to pass over pools of water. Twice even he carried Mother Barat, who could not cross these improvised bridges on crutches. He did not leave until the servants (from the Hôtel Biron) arrived and then he was rewarded as he deserved.⁹³

It was a little after twelve, noon, when they arrived at the Rue de Varennes and were welcomed with words of joy and relief. It was the Feast of St. Ignatius, Saturday the 31st. Mother Barat found her Community at Paris safe, the Convent and property intact, but the school had decreased, from one hundred and sixty pupils, to fifty. The Revolution had completely

93. Cahier, Vol. I, pp. 515-17.

changed the government of France. Absolute Monarchy had given way to Liberalism. The future seemed uncertain. Just what measures the Liberals would take towards the nobility, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, finally toward those engaged in education and religious teaching was doubtful. During the time of struggle the radical Liberals had shown marked hostility to religion in any form. Now in the hour of triumph, could their action be restrained? The situation was critical, and Mother Barat's keen mind understood its dangers. Her decision ~~was~~ to protect her young Religious from these dangers was made in the first days of August, 1830. The result was a new foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Switzerland.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION IN SWITZERLAND

During the first ten days of August 1830, one could have witnessed many changes at the Hôtel Biron. Decisions were made firmly but hastily. Plans for immediate journeys, preparation for travel, all were carried out quietly and under authority. Hardly two weeks before Mother Barat had warned the novices that their preservation for the future of the Society and for the glory of the Sacred Heart was a wiser and more meritorious thing than a possible martyrdom, the goal which they, in their youthful ardour, had suggested upon hearing of the possible persecution of the Church in France. Now that the crisis had passed, Mother Barat had decided that the dispersion of the Noviceship should take place as soon as prudence allowed.¹ Such precaution may seem to have been unnecessary since, at that time, the Sacred Heart had been unattacked by the Liberals. But the nuns considered that the hostile attitude toward religion which the Liberals had shown previously might now be turned into activity, since their success, during the three July days had placed governmental power into Liberal hands.² Indeed, in

1. Documents, Lettres annuelles de la Société du Sacré Coeur 1868-1869, p. 24.

2. Ibid., p. 24.

glancing over the history of the Society in France during the next decade, the outrages at Niort in 1831,³ the insurrections at Lyons in 1831,⁴ ^{and} ang again in 1834,⁵ ^{novap} The Counter-Revolution at Poitiers in 1831,⁶ prove that Mother Barat's precautions, in facing the newly empowered Liberalism, were not unfounded.

Where the noviceship should again unite, after the dispersion, was a second question to be decided by the Superior General and her Counselors. Providence, it was very evident, had been preparing the place which would answer this question. It was to be Switzerland. In this pastoral country Mother Barat had often been urged to make a foundation by the Marquis de Nicolay, whose appreciation for the good work of the Society had been gained through his two daughters, pupils of the Hôtel Biron.⁷ Theodore de Nicolay, a Peer in the Royalist Government during the reign of Charles X, had ^{for Jean} forseen the July Revolution. When the Jesuits were forbidden, by the Martignac government in 1828, to teach in France, Nicolay took his two sons from the Jesuit school of Saint-Acheul and placed them at the Jesuit Pensionnat in Fribourg, Switzerland.⁸ At a short

3. Mgr. Baunard, Histoire de la Vénérable Mère Madeleine Sophie Barat, Librairie Ch. Poussiélgue, Paris, 1900
Vol. II, p. 13.

4. Ibid., p. 23.

5. Ibid., p. 62.

6. Cahier, Vie de la Vénérable Mère Barat, Vol. I, p. 520.

7. Baunard, Vol. I, p. 436.

distance from Fribourg he rented a château, Giviziers, surrounded by Swiss farms and near a Catholic Church. This little château was in readiness for his family in view of the approaching revolution against the Monarchy and royalists. Nicolay often spoke of Giviziers to Mother Barat, and offered hospitality and aid, should she ever be in need.

Now seemed the acceptable time to Mother Barat. Switzerland, somewhere in the canton of Fribourg, was the place agreed upon to reunite the novices.⁹ Nothing more definite could as yet be known. Mother de Charbonnel was commissioned by Mother Barat to go in advance to Giviziers and, with the willing aid of the Marquis de Nicolay and his daughters, to find a suitable dwelling for a Noviceship.¹⁰ Concerning these decisions made by the Superior General and her Councillors, Mother Barat writes on August 7 to Mother Eugénie Audé:

...You have learned from the public papers of the revolution which has just taken place: our school of 160 pupils is reduced to almost nothing. Many have fled from Paris; we ourselves are about to disperse our Noviceship; we shall leave only a few religious to take care of the house and of those children who remain. We would be able now to send you more subjects, but the money is lacking for the expense of their journey....I leave in three days with the Mothers; we are going, I know not where! Continue to address your letters here to Mother Ducis without further designation---- I shall write you from my exile when I shall have come to one----.¹¹

8. (continued from p. 38). Aymardine de Nicolay, Account of Her Family as recorded in Cahier's Vie de la Vénérable Mère Barat, Vol. 1, p. 525.

9. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 518.

10. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 166.

On the afternoon of the 7th, Bishop Quélen visited the Hôtel Biron.¹² He was very sad at the state of affairs in Paris and especially at the attitude of hostility to the Church. The following day, August 8th, in a conference to the Community and Noviceship, Mother Barat announced to them the dispersion. She told them that they would be sent in small groups of three and four to the various houses of the Society in France, until Mother de Charbonnel could find a house in Switzerland. She encouraged them, too, with words of supernatural hope, adding: "Monarchy has fallen, but not the Church, and it is to her you cling, my dear children." Among the novices who experienced the July days at the Rue de Varennes, seven names have been traced through various sources:

Marguerite de Brive, who was to take charge of the first four pupils at Middel,¹³ Sophie Tournier "whose concern for household cares and perfect devotedness influenced Mothers de Charbonnel and Coppens to choose her for the foundation of Montet,"¹⁴ Adèle Lehon,¹⁵ third Superior General of the Society, Bathilde Sallion, Eliza and Eulalie de Bouchaud,¹⁶ and Mademoiselle de Corbie.

11. (continued from p. 39). Cahier, Vol. I, p. 524.

12. Ibid., p. 519.

13. Documents, Lettres annuelles de la Société du Sacré Coeur, 1859-1862, p. XLVI.

14. Ibid., Part II, pp. 4, 5.

15. Society Publication, Vie de Très Révérende Mère Lehon Roehampton, London, 1895, p. 33.

16. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 165.

There is a brief mention made in the life of Mother Adèle Lehon of her departure from Paris on August 5, 1830.¹⁷ She left with "a little colony" for Autun. Other than this record we know of no departure from le Rue de Varennes before August 10. At seven A.M., on the 10th, all united to bid farewell to their beloved Mother Barat in whose company were the Mothers-Counselor, de Charbonnel and de Gramont, and Mother Constantin.¹⁸ They were dressed in secular clothes, and traveled by carriage to Autun where they were to make their first stop. A few hours after the departure of Mother Barat and her companions, Mother Desmarquest left the Rue de Varennes with a group of Novices for Besançon.¹⁹ The last detachment of novices set out on the sixteenth.²⁰ Nothing more definite is recorded of the final dispersion.

The Convent at Paris now counted a Community of forty Religious of whom six were novices. The children numbered about fifty. Mother Louise de Varax had been named Superior by Mother Barat, and Mother de Marbeuf, Assistant. All seemed to go well at the Rue de Varennes until December 1830. At the beginning of the new school term in October ninety children returned. Mother de Gramont was sent back to Paris from Switzerland in December when the school of the Hôtel Biron was moved temporarily to Versailles.²¹

17. Society Publication, Vie de Très Révérende Mère Lehon, p.33.

18. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 518.

19. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1868-1869.

20. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 519.

21. Baunard, Vol. I, p. 436.

Mother Barat and her companions stopped successively at Autun, Lyons, Ferrandière and Chambéry. They reached Autun on the 12th and made their way to the Convent of the Sacred Heart.²² The Community were surprised at the arrival of the exiles, but received them with a joy that was mingled with sympathetic sadness. After "a few days" of rest which was so necessary on account of the hardship of travelling by carriage, they again set out towards Lyons. Nothing is recorded of her visit at Lyons, but they left La Ferrandière for Chambéry on September 1st.²³ It was at Chambéry that Mother Barat was able to communicate with the Marquis de Nicolay asking him to receive Mother de Charbonnel and her Sister companion at his Château Giviziers until she could find a suitable abode for a Noviceship somewhere in the Canton of Fribourg.²⁴ The Marquis and his family gladly offered to Mother Barat their home and their help. Mother de Charbonnel and her companion (whose name is not given) left Chambéry for Switzerland in early September. Following the advice of Doctor Rey of Chambéry and of her Mothers Councillors, Mother Barat left Chambéry for Aix in Savoy, where medicinal waters were calculated to help her crippled foot. She remained at Aix during September taking the special treatments.²⁵ In early October, after urgent

22. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 166.

23. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 526.

24. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 527.

25. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 526.

requests from Mother de Charbonnel, Mother Barat and Mother de Gramont left Savoy for Switzerland where they rejoined the Treasurer General at Giviziers, and learned of the results of her search for a house during the month of September.²⁶

Since the first days of September, Mother de Charbonnel had been occupied in making excursions over the countryside of western Fribourg, in studying the political situation in Switzerland, the customs, the people, in visiting the bishop of the diocese, Monseigneur Tobie Yenni, and, in general, preparing the way for the new foundation. She had willing help, in all that she proposed to do, from the members of the Giviziers household. Among the refugés nobles of Paris, who were being shielded temporarily at Giviziers by Nicolay, were the Marquis de Pacca and Doctor Récamier.²⁷ Both worked zealously in aiding Mother de Charbonnel to find a house and to negotiate all the civil business necessary in Fribourg for the new foundation in that canton. By September the influence of the July Revolution of Paris had not affected the emigration laws in Fribourg. However, the popular feeling of the Swiss was not favorable to the French exiled nobles. This feeling of resentment had been roused chiefly by the return to Switzerland from Paris of the mutilated bodies of the Swiss soldiers. Amyrdine de Nicolay, in her account of their first days at Giviziers, writes:

"During the first weeks of our sojourn at Giviziers, it was

26. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 169.

difficult to obtain from the peasants milk, butter, etc., they did not wish to sell anything to these monstres of France. Gradually, charity and our manner of living tames them."²⁸

Since these popular motions had not affected the Swiss government Mother de Charbonnel continued her search for a dwelling.²⁹ "Visits to Mgr. Tobie-Yenni, bishop of Fribourg, then to the civil authorities, long journeys about the countryside in the interest of finding a favorable site for the desired foundation occupied the greater part of our afternoons," writes the daughter of Nicolay. "Nothing was more joyous than these little excursions directed by our friend the Marquis Pacca." At last a site was found between the towns of Estavayer and Payerne in the Broie valley. The estate with its large château was called Montet. Mgr. Baurard thus describes it:

It was beautifully situated at the foot of a lower range of the Alps, and at the entrance of so lovely and smiling a plain that it deserved its name of Swiss Italy. Magnificent trees enclôstered, as it were, this little property; a valley, shaded by tall pine woods, seemed made for meditation. They called it La Thébaïde. The Alpine glaciers bordered the horizon, and from the neighboring heights the lakes of Morat, Neufchatel and Geneva could be seen glittering in the sunshine.³⁰

Montet was about ten miles (quatre lieues) west of the city of Fribourg in the canton of Fribourg.³¹ Although this château was the most suitable found, it was evident that it could not

27. (continued from p. 43). Baurard, Vol. I, p. 438.

28. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 529.

29. Documents. Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 168.

be occupied for some time because of repair needed. Therefore, Dr. Récamier suggested that the Society should make use of his home, the château of Middel. He had already negotiated for a purchase of a house at Belfaux,³² and would soon take his family thither. This last conclusion, of the offer of Middel to the Society by Dr. Récamier is drawn from the fact that the only state document we have about Middel is the one in which Middel is rented by Dr. Récamier in August 1830 from the owner of that château, Charles Griset de Forel.³³ Evidently, therefore, in considering three things, the disposition of Récamier to aid the Society, the fact of his lease of Middel from August 1830 to August 1831, the fact that the Noviceship united there on October 26, 1830, the conclusion is that the contract for renting Middel was made between Dr. Récamier and Mother de Charbonnel.

No final decisions were made by Mother de Charbonnel alone. She awaited the arrival of her Superior General to conclude all matters. The repairs and the additions to Montet, the popular motions of the people of Fribourg, the Bishop's caution in forbidding the use of their religious habit, all were difficulties that provoked doubts in the mind of Mother de Charbonnel and that called for the presence of Mother Barat in Switzerland.

30. (continued from p. 44). Baurard, Vol. I, p. 447.

31. (continued from p. 44). *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 437.

32. Documents, Record of Deed of Sale at Fribourg, R.N. - 3504 under file name of Récamier, pp. 269-271.

33. Documents, Record of Lease at Fribourg, R.N. - 3504, pp. 231-233.

Mother Barat with Mother de Gramont arrived in Switzerland about mid-October 1830.³⁴ She was welcomed with open arms at the Château Giviziers where the Nicolay family were eagerly awaiting the presence of one whom they called "the saint." She attracted each member of that family from the youngest little girl, Jeanne, who would bring all her childish troubles and confidences to Mother Barat, even to the parents who deemed it a privilege to help the Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart. Mother Barat attracted others also to Giviziers. Aymardine de Nicolay recounts the visits of those who came to Giviziers while Mother Barat was there:

Her presence attracted many visitors; Cardinal de Rohan (Archbishop of Besançon who had been banished from his diocese) arrived one day in his ecclesiastical color! 'It is not for you, cousin, that I come with ceremony' said he to my father. 'It is to pay homage to the venerable Superior of the Sacred Heart whom you possess.' Insulted in his own diocese, he had to take refuge in face of revolution, and came to confide his trials to our Reverend Mother, for whom he openly professed high veneration. Monseigneur de Janson, bishop of Nancy, shared the same sentiment, and came to see her. ----- M.l'abbé Pereau, l'abbé Pieau, the former curate of the cathedral of d'Evreux, attached to the grand Almonry, were found there daily, often, too, l'abbé of Marsay and others. These visitors conversed of politics or of theology. The projects of the foundation sometimes occasioned conversations on Swiss customs and laws.³⁵

Besides the charitable attention she gave to these visitors, Mother Barat did not delay in establishing the foundation in the canton of Fribourg. Here foremost interest, at the

34. Baunard, Vol. I, p. 437.

35. Cahier, Vol. I, pp. 528-29.

time, was to bring together the young Religious who were separated in the various houses of the Sacred Heart.

Mother de Charbonnel made known to Mother Barat the result of her searches during the months of September and October - the condition of Montet, and the possibility of renting Middel until Montet could be repaired and enlarged. The Treasurer General and Mother de Gramont then inspected Middel and found it a very small château for their needs. However, Mother Barat accepted Dr. Récamier's offer with gratitude.³⁶ The château was leased for one year, October 1830 to 1831,³⁷ and Mother de Charbonnel took charge of making it ready for the first group of Novices who would arrive about October 26th.³⁸

This first foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Switzerland is situated about one mile southeast of Montet; it is also in the Broie valley, but upon a declivity overlooking Lakes Neufchatel and Morat.³⁹ The history of this château is most interesting, "The origin of the feudal domain of Middel, which is found today in the diocese of Lausanne - Geneva - Fribourg, is lost in the obscurity of the Middle Ages," writes Monseigneur Peri-Morosini in his account of the history of Middel. "Legend has it that it was a creation of Charlemagne." However true the legend may be, Monseigneur Peri-

36. Document, Lettres Annuelles 1868-1869, p. 25.

37. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 531.

38. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 170.

39. Mgr. Peri-Morosini, La Sainte Mère Madeleine-Sophie Barat et le Château de Middel en Suisse, Douladoure, Toulouse, 1925, p. 86.

Morosini has traced, through Swiss archives, the history of Middel from 1254 through the successive families of Lays de Lousanne, Villarzel, Sessinger, Reiff, Lauthen-Heid; and finally in 1706, Francois Griset de Forel obtained the title of Middel by his marriage with Marie Lauthen-Heid. The château has remained in the Forel family since 1706, and it was from Charles Griset de Forel, who became the heir of Middel in 1820, that Mother Barat rented it for her Noviceship from 1830 to 1831.⁴⁰

While Mother de Charbonnel and her sister companion were making ready at Middel for the arrival of the novices, Mother Barat and Mother de Gramont remained at Givizier with the Nicolays. During this time they visited Montet and were delighted with the fertile domain of seventy-five acres and an extensive woods.⁴¹ The château itself was not large, and a contract was made for repairs and enlargement. On her return to Giviziers Mother Barat decided on the purchase of Montet. A notary of Fribourg, M. Roth, worked zealously in negotiating the purchase.⁴² The application for the deed was made on November 5, 1830,⁴³ in the name of Catherine de Charbonnel of the Haute-Loire in France. After receiving the legal permission⁴⁴ from the Conseil d'Etat of Fribourg in virtue of the

40. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

41. Documents, Interior Correspondance of the Conseil of State Fribourg, 1830 B. p. 310.

42. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 171.

43. Documents, Petition for deed. Manuel 1830, pp. 617-18.

44. Documents, Conseil d'Etat, 1830. B. p. 310.

law of January 23, 1818" the attorney's procuration was presented to the Conseil d'Etat on November 9th.⁴⁵ On the 11th, the final deed of sale was filed, rendering Montet a possession of the Society of the Sacred Heart.⁴⁶ The sale was made for 42,500 Swiss francs. However, eleven months were to pass before the Noviceship took possession of Montet in September, 1831.

Meanwhile on the 28th of October, 1830,⁴⁷ the first colony of Novices arrived at Middel under the guidance of Mother Desmarquest. She had left the Rue de Varennes, Paris, on August 10, and had remained with her detachment at Besançon^{on}. On the 26th of October, the day appointed by Mother Barat, Mother Desmarquest and four novices left Besançon, in secular attire. The journey, by way of Lausanne, required two days of slow travel. When they arrived on the 28th, Mother de Charbonnel "who had not expected them so soon," had very little prepared to receive them; curtains were wanting, beds for the novices had to be improvised. But by the next morning all was in readiness for the first Mass to be said at the new foundation. M. l'abbé Pieau, exile from France, was appointed the chaplain, and he offered the Holy Sacrifice on the 29th of October at Middel.⁴⁸

45. Documents, Procuration en blanc R.N. 3504, p. 304.

46. Documents, Final deed recorded, R.N. 3504, p. 321.

47. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1868-1864, p. 25.

48. Ibid.

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On the same day, a second group of five novices⁴⁹ arrived with Mother Henriette Coppens. They, too, came from Besauçon and were dressed in secular clothes. An interesting incident during the journey into Switzerland is recorded in the life of Mother Coppens: In examining the passport at the border of Switzerland, the official was surprised to find a woman traveling alone with her five daughters during revolutionary days; he said: "What, Madam, do you travel alone with your five daughters at such a time? Where is their father?" "In Switzerland," was Mother Coppens reply. "He has called us there and is awaiting us." The officer asked no further questions, and the six Religious arrived safely at Middel on the 29th.⁴⁹ With this new group, there were in all ten Novices united at Middel one whom Mother de Charbonnel had with her from the beginning four who came with Mother Desmarquest among whom was Sister Adèle Lehon, and five others who had come with Mother Coppens on the 29th. There is brief mention made in the life of Mother Coppens of six more novices arriving from La Ferrandière soon after the 29th.⁵⁰ With these we can account for sixteen of the young Religious at Middel in 1830. In a record found in the Fribourg documents, telling of an inspection made in June 1831 there is attestation of twenty-two Religious and nine pupils at Middel,⁵¹ showing an increase in the noviceship and at least beginning in the school.

49. Publication of the Society of the Sacred Heart - Religious
du Sacré-Coeur, J. de Gigord, Paris, 1924, Vol. 1
p. 187

On the arrival of Mother Barat from Giviziers,⁵² on November 10th, the regular life of the noviceship began. The solitude of the château was well suited to such a life and from the beginning the blessing of real poverty was placed on the work. The saintly Foundress taught her young Religious to profit of these favorable opportunities and her instructions and example did much to rouse their fervor and zeal. Everything seemed to indicate that the noviceship begun so auspiciously would bear fruit for the glory of the Heart of Jesus.

But in the midst of this joy came ominous warnings. Uprisings were spreading in Switzerland⁵³ and Mgr. Tobie Yenni advised the Mother General to leave the country. She obeyed reluctantly on December 19th,⁵⁴ leaving the new foundation in the care of Mother de Charbonnel and Mother Coppens, Mistress of Novices.⁵⁵

50. (continued from p. 50) Ibid.

51. Documents, Correspondance intérieure du Conseil d'Etat 1831, A. pp. 277-78.

52. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 531.

53. Ibid., p. 532.

54. Baunard, Vol. I, p. 441.

55. Ibid., Ref. 49, Vol. I, p. 187.

Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 171.

CHAPTER III

THE EXISTENCE OF THE NOVITIATE AND SCHOOL 1830-1844

The influence of the July Revolution of France permeated Switzerland. When the accounts of the success of French Liberalism reached certain parties in Switzerland, it was welcomed with enthusiasm, and the news was transmitted into every locality.¹ As a result of this first wave of enthusiasm the people of Thurgau drew up a petition for the revision of the constitution in October, 1830. This request was granted.² Encouraged by the example of Thurgau and Zurich, patriotic gatherings were held in seven other cantons, with the result that, by December 1830, nine Swiss cantons "had revised their constitutions in a liberal sense."³

Fribourg had been able to resist this first influence of the July Revolution. Nevertheless, the success in the neighboring cantons had, for a time, roused popular sentiments even in Fribourg.⁴ It was on account of these Fribourg demonstrations

that Monseigneur Yenni had advised Mother Barat to return to

1. Berthold von Muyden, Histoire de la Nation Suisse, Henri Mignot, Lausanne, 1899, Vol. III, p. 233.

2. William D. McCrackan, The Rise of the Swiss Republic, Arena Publishing Company, Boston, 1892, p. 326.

3. Ibid., pp. 326-27.

4. Barnard, Vol. I, p. 441. 52

France, leaving the new colony at Middel to await further events which might bring peace.⁵ The months following December 1830 did calm the Swiss agitations, after the nine cantons had been satisfied in their respective governments. The Liberals in Switzerland performed their work more slowly than the French. In 1830 and 1831, they were satisfied with local concessions. Their work in the Federal Constitution did not triumph until 1847, after a series of struggles with the Conservatives from 1831 to 1842, and then with the Sonderbund League from 1843 to 1847.⁶ During these latter five years the chief ground of opposition was Religion.⁷ The Liberals demanded the extirpation of Religious orders. Their demand was satisfied only by force of arms, for the Catholic cantons, united by the Sonderbund, upheld their principles as long as any power of resistance remained to them.

Thus it was that, from 1830 to 1847, the Society of the Sacred Heart was founded and flourished; its good seed was sown and the end for which the Society existed in Switzerland was fulfilled. But during this same period of seventeen years, Liberalism also had been gaining ground in the Federal government.

Comparative peace in the cantons, therefore, followed the Liberal concessions of December 1830. Middel, the temporary

5. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 532.

6. MacCaffrey, Vol. I, p. 137.

7. Ibid., pp. 133-35.

dwelling for the Noviceship until September 1831, sheltered about twenty-five persons.⁸ When the repairs were once begun at Montet, Mother de Charbonnel made occasional visits to the new property to see that the work progressed.⁹ She was always warmly greeted by the villagers of Montet. From the very first they welcomed the idea of a Convent of the Sacred Heart in their midst. This attitude was fostered without doubt, by the charity and influence of Mother Barat which had attracted them from her first days at Giviziers and by her visit to Montet, and had won their simple, Catholic hearts to desire a Convent of the Sacred Heart in their village. It is recorded in the Life of Mother de Charbonnel that the people of Montet, after learning that the Society had bought the Château, sent a delegation to Middel to welcome the Religious. M. le Curé, their pastor, whose name is not given, led the delegation and present Mother de Charbonnel with the following address:

Venerable Religious. As soon as the people of Montet learned of your foundation, they made haste to organize a delegation in order to extend to you, by a unanimous voice, the joy, pleasure and satisfaction, that this news has brought to them. We know not how to express our desire of seeing that foundation soon accomplished and realized, which as yet, is only a promise. The people of Montet, Venerable Religious, admit they they are unworthy of possessing so rich a treasure; but they assure you, in return, every protection in the future, and guarantee to you a peaceful and pleasant life in their midst. Furthermore, Venerable Religious, they have the honor of

8. Documents: Délibérations du Conseil d'Etat, Fribourg, 1831, p. 213.

9. Documents . Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 172

offering you their services, either in moving your goods in their wagons, free of charge, or by any other manual help which will be useful or necessary.¹⁰

Such was the simple faith and good disposition shown by the country people of Fribourg during the entire sojourn of the Religious in that Canton. Both promises, the assurance of "every protection in the future," and the offer of "their services," were faithfully and gladly fulfilled. Mother de Charbonnel thanked the Curé for their kindness, saying that it would be some time before they would need their help in moving to Montet.

Meanwhile, during the winter months, the work went on slowly. The deep snows prevented the transportation of materials, so that little progress could be made before March.¹¹ After that, it was necessary for Mother de Charbonnel to remain at Montet, where a closer vigilance could be kept over the progress and success of the work. In the account of her life, it tells how she visited the works but once a week in the beginning, but, finding that the workmen were making mistakes in carrying out the plans, she found it necessary to remain at Montet each week from Monday to Saturday ^{superintending} surveilling the work done there. Her companion was one of the oldest novices, and the two took up their ^favode in the sheltered part of the château destitute for the time of many necessities.¹²

10. Ibid., p. 173.

11. Ibid., p. 174.

12. Ibid., p. 175.

Just what additions were made to the château is not described in the lives connected with that foundation, but several references are made concerning "enlargements."¹³ One record is available of a contract made between Mother de Charbonnel and a stone mason, Benoit Renaud, of Montet. The contract agreed for a façade to be built connecting the two pavilions of the château which should be finished by May, 1831.¹⁴ The result was one long building of three stories with twenty-eight windows on each side.

An interesting incident is recorded in the Life of Mother de Charbonnel which shows how the Swiss peasant retained a traditional deference towards their feudal lords. The Château of Montet, having been a feudal domain, afforded to its owner many of these traditional privileges. For instance, in the parish church of Montet, a special place was reserved for the owner of the Château:

On Holy Thursday (that year) she (Mother de Charbonnel) remained at Montet to prepare a repository; for it was the custom, there, that the Blessed Sacrament should be placed, on that day, in the château; she had, therefore, to go to the parish church with her companion for Holy Mass, and to take her place in the seigneurial bench. That bench was grilled and contained a small window which could be raised or lowered at will....After the gospel, M. le Curé, followed by his acolytes, came to her (Mother de Charbonnel) and solemnly presented her with the blessed host; it was to render homage to "Sa Seigneurie...."

13. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 531.

Baunard, Vol. I (Fullerton's Translation), p. 437.

Religieuses du Sacré-Coeur, Vol. I, p. 187.

The account continues:

At the end of the Mass, there was another honor! Perceiving a long ~~de~~file of armed men, before the principal entrance, she (Mother de Charbonnel) made a sign to her companion to leave by the side door, and followed her; but it was for her that the armed ~~de~~file had been made. Hardly had she passed the threshold, when a new discharge of musketry was sounded in her honor; then the escort accompanied her to the chateau where she graciously recognized the homage which she would more gladly have done without.¹⁵

During the same spring of 1831, the parish church of Montet was being repaired. M. le Curé asked Mother de Charbonnel to allow him to keep the Blessed Sacrament at the Château.¹⁶ She prepared with great joy the most suitable room for this Tabernacle. There, daily, Holy Mass was offered for the people of the village, while their Church could not be used.

Toward the end of March 1831, Mother de Charbonnel was summoned to Chambéry in France by Mother Barat. She was to bring with her three of the oldest novices, Sisters Adèle Lehon, Leonie de Brives and Hélène Lavauden, who were to accompany Mother Barat to Rome where a new noviceship in the Roman province was being founded.¹⁷ The three young Religious had experienced the July days at the Rue de Varennes, and had by their zeal and fervor, given indispensable aid and edification during their five months of sojourn at Middel.¹⁸ Mother

14. (continued from p. 56) Documents, Convention entre Mme. de Charbonnel et le sieur Benoit Renaud, R.N.3505. pp. 44-45.

15. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 175.

16. Ibid., p. 176.

17. Ibid., p. 174.

18. Society Publication, Vie de la très Révérende Mère Adèle Lehon, p. 43.

de Charbonnel remained fifteen days at Chambéry, detained on business with Mother Barat. She left Chambéry with Mother Barat's promise to come to Switzerland as soon as the château at Montet was ready to be occupied.

During Mother de Charbonnel's absence some difficulties had arisen for the foundation at Middel which required the Superior's attention. Some one, whose name the Government did not publish, complained to the Conseil d'Etat at Fribourg that there existed at Middel a Religious Order which was made up of exiles from France, whose members wore the Religious habit, and which had had a ceremony of Pris d'Habit presided over by the Bishop of Fribourg, Monseigneur Tobie-Yenni.¹⁹ The complaint added that all this had taken place without the authorization of the Government of Fribourg.

The Conseil d'Etat, acting on this complaint, on May 30, 1831, commissioned M. Remy, director of the police, to inspect Middel and to verify the statements made.²⁰ To this written commission were prefaced these words: "This Religious corporation, not having made any advance to obtain authorization of, establishing themselves in this canton, and thereby, existing here in an illegal manner, we commission you, Sir, to go to this place and make sure of the facts....etc." Within four days the government inspection had been made, and a report was sent to the Conseil d'Etat whose deliberation upon it was dated

19. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Etat, 1831, p. 199

20. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Etat, 1831, p. 257-58

June 3rd.²¹ The report stated that the Congregation at Middel consisted of twenty-two persons under the direction of Mother de Charbonnel, that there existed also an educational institute wherein were nine pupils, six of whom were children of French exiled families and the other three, children from the city of Fribourg; and thirdly, the report stated that it was the intention of the Religious to move to Montet in September, 1831.

The judgment passed by the Conseil d'Etat on this report was that the Congregation was illegally established.²² They then charged the police, On June 3, 1831, to notify the Religious at Middel that they may no longer live in Community, and that their teaching was prohibited.²³

Mother de Charbonnel then wrote to the ^{Council} Conseil of Education for authorization for the Religious of the Sacred Heart to establish a house of education at Montet.²⁴ She submitted the plan of education, stipulating that the desired authorization was for an institute of education, not for the establishment of a Religious order. It is not necessary to explain the motives why the Society desired to be legalized in Switzerland as an institute for teaching rather than as a Religious order.

21. Documents, Deliberations du Conseil d'Etat, 1831, p. 213.

22. Ibid., p. 213.

23. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Etat, 1831, A. pp. 277-78.

24. Documents, Deliberations du Conseil d'Etat, 1831, p. 306.

Although in the motives of the Foundress, Montet had been primarily founded as a safe refuge for the Noviceship, yet, since every house of the Society had as a secondary end the education of youth, this secondary motive could, in all truth, be the one proffered to the Government of Fribourg as the aim they sought for in legalizing their existence in Switzerland.

However, when the petition for authorization was passed from the ^{Council} Conseil of Education to the ^{Council} Conseil of State, the latter took exception to the nature of the Institute and desired to examine it further before admitting it legally into the Canton.²⁵ This decision of the Conseil was made July 8, 1831. Another examination to determine the nature of this Congregation was ordered. The government documents available on this question of legalizing the foundation of the Sacred Heart show a lapse of four months between the order of examination of July 8, and the final decision of the ^{Council} Conseil of State concerning the question of November 7, 1831.

In the meantime there are records of permits of sojourn granted during the month of August, to novices who were living in the Novitiate at Middel. The names registered, six altogether, certainly were not conclusive of the number in the Noviceship at the time, but these records allow one to conclude that the government, although withholding the legal permission for the foundation, permitted its members to remain in Fribourg.

²⁵. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Etat, 1831, B.
pp. 17-18.

The permits register to Elizabeth and Eulalie de Bouchaud a sojourn from August 1831 to October 1833; to Catherine Delobel, from August 1831 to April 1832; to Marie Dumas, from August 1831 to July 1833; to Marie Theresa Dusaussol, who was the niece of Mother Barat, from August 1831 to April 1833; and finally to Anne Marie Guichon, from August 1831 to April 1833.²⁶

The notary of these registers is ^s M. Roth,²⁷ the devoted aid of the Society who carried out much of the legal business for the Religious at Middel and whose daughters were the other three of the nine children in the Pensionnat at Middel when the first government inspection of the foundation was made.²⁸

The question of legalizing the foundation of the Sacred Heart was reopened, on November 5, 1831. The Conseil d'Etat decided to permit Mother de Charbonnel to establish, in her own name, a school for girls, but not a Religious order.²⁹ The institute, thus allowed, had to subject its plan and each of its Mistresses individually to the authority of the Conseil of Education. This decision was sent on November 7th to three offices in the government, to the Conseil of Education, to the Police and to the Prefect of Estavayer in whose territory Montet was situated.³⁰

26. Documents, Registre permis de séjour No. 12. Fribourg.

27. Ibid.

28. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Etat, 1831. p. 213.

29. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Etat, 1831,
pp. 743-44.

30. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Etat, 1831. B. p.478.

In contrast to the slow action of the Conseil d'Etat was the cordial approval granted by the Conseil d'Education. This approval, given November 17, 1831, contained four important stipulations.³¹ First, that the school could be established according to the Society's plan; secondly, that the tuition of the pensionnat should always exceed that of any other establishment for girls in the canton of Fribourg; thirdly, that they agreed "with pleasure" to the foundation of a free school attached to the pensionnat; and, fourthly, that the Mistresses to teach in either school must take state examinations which would testify to their capabilities of teaching.

Mother de Charbonnel accepted the four conditions, but asked for one exception: that the Mistresses of the free school be exempted from the public state examinations.³² Reasons were offered for this exemption which the state accepted, and by April 23, 1832, all necessary authorization was finally obtained.³³

In the meantime the repairs at Montet had been completed and the Château was ready for occupancy.³⁴ Mother Barat fulfilled her promise to Mother de Charbonnel, and came to Switzerland. She left Aix, Savoy, September 12, and reached Payerne, Fribourg, three days later, bringing with her a postulant from

31. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Education 1822-1833.
p. 291.

32. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Education 1822-1833.
p. 294-95.

33. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Education 1829-1834.
p. 80-81.

34. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1863-1865, p. Xiii.

Grenoble and a child for the Pensionnat.³⁵ Great was the joy at Middel to welcome their Superior General, whom they had not seen for ten months. Mother Barat had already planned that the Novices should have their annual retreat before moving to Middel. Shortly after her arrival she gave them an introductory meditation to their retreat, and left the spiritual exercises to be preached by the Reverend ¹ ~~Father~~ ³ ~~Father~~ ⁴ ~~Father~~ ² Jesuits, Vanentin and Chaignon.³⁶

During this retreat Mother Barat inspected Montet.³⁷ She was accompanied by Doctor Récamier. An incident which occurred on her arrival at Montet gives us light upon the dispositions of the people of that village, dispositions of faith, good will and simplicity. Mother Barat herself described the scene in a letter written, at the time, to Mother de Gramont:

Yesterday, the bell of Montet rang out with unusual pomp; I would have misunderstood the incident, had not Madame de Forel warned me that the bell of Montet has an enormous importance here. One story that amused Doctor Recamier told of an old man who had run from one of the neighboring villages to learn the news. He was met by a canon of Estavayer who told him that "une moine" had arrived at Montet....³⁸

Mother Barat was the "moine." She found Montet satisfactory, prepared to accommodate a community of about thirty

persons,³⁹ besides providing class rooms and dormitories for the

35. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 544.

36. Ibid., p. 545.

37. Ibid., p. 545.

38. Ibid., p. 546.

39. Baurard, Vol. II, p. 16 (Original)

pensionnat. She returned to Middel, and after the retreat, preparations were made for the installation at Montet.⁴⁰

The villagers of Montet kept the promise made in the preceding January. Men and wagons were at the disposal of Mother de Charbonnel.⁴¹ The process of moving lasted three days and was full of interesting incidents. One evening, the assistants were more numerous than expected. The supper prepared for the voyagers was not sufficient, so that an order had to be sent to Estabayer for more food.⁴² However, all inconveniences were accepted with good grace, and by the 25th of September the last load was deposited at Montet.⁴³

Mother Barat remained at Montet until October 7th, 1831;⁴⁴ then, she returned to Paris after an absence of fifteen months, during which time, she had accomplished a great work, the preservation of the Noviceship. She did not know in 1831, how short the existence of that exiled Noviceship would be. It remained in Fribourg fourteen years, from 1830 to 1844, after which Mother Barat ordered her Novices to make from Switzerland a flight similar to the one they had made in August, 1830, from Paris. Liberalism, making its progress in Switzerland, struck its final blow at Religion, and a repetition of the same hatred toward the Church was manifested in Switzerland as had been shown in France.

40. Cahier, Vol. I, pp. 546-47.

41. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 176.

42. Ibid., p. 177.

43. Ibid., p. 178.

44. Baunard, Vol. II, pp. 16-17. (Original)

It was Mother Barat's conviction that a great part of the evils of the time could be remedied by strong, Christian women. She wrote the following in a letter to Mother de Rozeville shortly after her return to Paris:

....how seldom are valiant women to be found. We are obliged to admit it, for the Bible says that they are more precious than pearls and diamonds; and what praise it goes on to bestow upon them! Let us then work with all our might to train such women, at whatever cost to ourselves. They will then train others, and good will be done, for in this century we cannot reckon upon men for the preservation of the faith. It is to the weaker sex that this task is entrusted....⁴⁵

After the departure of Mother de Charbonnel in September 1832,⁴⁶ the history of Montet is uneventful. Until 1839, when a new foundation was made at Keintzheim in Alsace by foundresses from Montet, the life in the Noviceship and in the Pensionnat was peaceful and prosperous. Only scattered references, in the accounts of the Religious who lived at Montet or in the general histories of the Society, can be found concerning the historical events of Montet from 1831 to 1839. However, if these scattered facts are gathered together and woven into a narrative, one may obtain an interesting historical picture of this period.

Mother Henriette Coppens became Superior at Montet after Mother de Charbonnel left.⁴⁷ Her direction of the Novices continued, besides her added responsibility as Superior over the

45. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 18-19.

46. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 72.

47. Cahier, Vol. I, p. 546.

community, the Pensionnat and the poor school. However, extensive as were her duties, she found time to supervise individually even the Novices' employments. There is a passage in her life relating to the occupations of the Novices:

The Noviceship, the Pensionnat and the poor school claimed her solicitude; her zeal could survey all. The novices fulfilled various duties; some were employed in the Pensionnat, one even held, for a time, the office of Mistress General; others worked in the gardens which contained an abundance of products. Mother Henriette watched over these occupations and taught the most inexperienced how to handle garden tools.⁴⁸

For the first two years there were few children in the Pensionnat, and, as the financial existence of the Convent depended chiefly upon the tuition of the boarders, the barest necessities were sometimes wanting. Consequently, the cultivation of the gardens was an asset as well as an occupation for the Novices.

Although their material wants were meager, the wealth of spiritual goods abounded. L'abbé Pieau, an exiled priest from France, was Chaplain at Montet.⁴⁹ Obligated to leave France after the events of 1830, he accepted the modest functions of "AU^{AN}monier" at Montet, having been appointed to that position by the bishop of Fribourg. He was an eminent theologian and scholar, and the novices became the beneficiaries of his sermons and instructions.⁵⁰ Monseigneur Tobie-Yenni, bishop of

48. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1863-1865, p. xiv.

49. Ibid., p. xiii.

50. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1840, p. 63.

Fribourg, also came occasionally to Montet. His zeal for Catholic education in his diocese was great. He had, for many years, protected the educational system of Père Girard of Fribourg; his influence had brought the Redemptorist fathers into the canton in 1817, and had aided the return of the Jesuits in 1818.⁵¹ When Mother de Charbonnel sought his approbation for the Society of the Sacred Heart, the Bishop encouraged the foundation with zeal.⁵² Now that the foundation was made, his occasional visits for ceremonies and feasts were motivated by the same zeal and solicitude. There are several references made concerning Bishop Yenni's journeys to Montet: He officiated at the ceremony of vows of Mother Desoudin in 1835,⁵³ of Mother Goetz in 1837,⁵⁴ and again at a ceremony in 1840.⁵⁵ Besides these particular references, Mgr. Baunard writes "that the Bishop of Fribourg, Monseigneur Tobie Yenni, came frequently to visit, to exhort and to bless 'ses Filles du Sacré-Coeur'." He was a man of remarkable kindness andunction of word; comparable to St. Frances of Sales. His instructions were like fatherly conversations on the different virtues of the religious life."⁵⁶

1. Attinger, V., Godet, M., Turler, H. (Compilers and Publishers) Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse, Administration du dictionnaire historique, Neuchatel, 1933, Tome VII, Yenni, Pierre-Tobie.
2. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 168.
3. Society Publication, Vie de la Révérende Mère Juliette Desoudin, Roehampton, London, 1904, p. 39.
4. Society Publication, Vie de la Très Révérende Mère Marie Josephine Goetz, p. 61.
5. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1840, p. 64.
6. Baunard, Vol. II, p. 73.

Other visitors were eminent Jesuits. At Estavayer, a small village on the east shore of Lake Neufchatel, was situated a retreat house for the Jesuits.⁵⁷ The confessors appointed for Montet came ordinarily from Estavayer. Among the sojourners at Estavayer, from time to time, were Fathers Godinot, Druilhet, Barrelle, de Ravignan and Varin.⁵⁸ All of them gave instructions to the Novices at one time or another. Father Francis de Ravignan finished his tertianship at Estavayer in 1834, and on returning to France stopped at Montet and preached a retreat for the Novices.⁵⁹ In the life of Father Barrelle, who for so long was prefect in the Jesuit College at Fribourg, there are references made concerning his interest in the Society of the Sacred Heart. He came several times to Montet where he gave discourses on the spiritual life,⁶⁰ and after he had left the College at Fribourg, he continued to direct vocations to the Novitiates of the Sacred Heart.⁶¹

Some attention should be given to the apostolic work done at Montet. A free school was founded and attached to the pensionnat for the education of the poor children of Montet and of the neighboring farms.⁶² This school brought the villagers

7. P.A. de Ponlevoy, S.J., Vie du R.P. Xavier de Ravignan, Ch. Douniol, Paris, 1862, Vol. I, p. 150.
8. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1863-1865, p. xiii.
9. Ponlevoy, Vie du R.P.X. de Ravignan, p. 161. Also Life of Goetz, p. 74.
9. Leon de Chazournes, Vie du R.P. Joseph Barrelle, Henri Plon, Paris, 1869, Vol. I, p. 375.
1. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 485.
2. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Etat, 1822-1833, p. 294-95. Baunard, Vol. II, p. 72.

within the influence of the Sacred Heart whose spirit was so attractive to them. A proof of their attachment may be gained from the following incident: About seven months after Mother Catherine Charbonnel left Montet, a report was sent to the authorities at Fribourg that the owner of Montet had gone, and that her successor had not been authorized by the Government.⁶³ This report roused the inspection of the ^{Council} Conseil of State who commissioned the Préfet of Estavayer to investigate.⁶⁴ The investigation was made, and a report returned to headquarters at Fribourg. It is this report that is so naïve: "The townspeople of Montet," it reads, "have agreed to receive, as one of its own members and citizens, the Superior of the Sacred Heart..."⁶⁵ When these independent words reached the ^{Council} Conseil of State, a second order was sent to the Préfet of Estavayer to tell the people of Montet that the Society of the Sacred Heart was recognized only as an Institute of Education under the name of Catherine de Charbonnel, and that a strange person could not be received in the canton, or recognized as head of the Institute at Montet unless she be naturalized.⁶⁶ Records of the affair are lacking after the last report; it is presumed, however, that Mother Coppens was naturalized to comply with the

63. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Etat, 1833, A. p. 734.

64. Ibid., pp. 734.

65. Documents, Délibération du Conseil d'Etat, 1833, p. 581.

66. Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Etat, 1833, B. pp. 188-89.

state, since she continued to be Superior until 1843.⁶⁷

Annual retreats were given to the children of the Pen-
sionnat and of the Poor School. These retreats reaped much
fruit, not only for the children, but also for the parents.
It became traditional from year to year that the Fathers, who
preached the exercises to the children during the day, should
also give a sermon in the evening at the parish church, so that
a kind of parish mission accompanied the childrens' retreat.
A statement is made in the journal of Montet that, after one of
these retreats, given in March 1840, "about two hundred
assisted at the exercises and received Holy Communion at its
close."⁶⁸ This, too, was remarkable in a country where
"Calvinism and Jansenism contaminate Catholics," and where
pious lay people could receive Communion but once in three
months.⁶⁹

A search has been made to find out what members of the
Society made their novitiate at Montet from 1830 to 1844. The
result is far from conclusive, but the names discovered add to
the interest of this narrative. Among the earliest novices are
those who came from the Rue de Varennes where they had already
spent part of their noviceship: Adèle Lehon, third Superior
General of the Society, Léonie de Brives, Hélène Lavauden,

67. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1843, p. 63.

68. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1840, p. 64.

69. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1839, p. 28.

Julalie and Eliza de Bouchaud experienced the foundation days at Middel.⁷⁰ From the years 1831 to 1837 the following made their novitiate at Montet - in 1831 Elizabeth de Fousbelle,⁷¹ Marie Dumas, Catherine Delobel, Marie-Thérèse Dusaussou and Anne Guichon;⁷² in 1832 Sidonie du Barrous⁷³ and Gertrude de Brou;⁷⁴ in 1833 Pauline de Bouchony;⁷⁵ in 1834 Emma de Bouchaud,⁷⁶ Josephine Goetz,⁷⁷ Aymardine de Nicolay⁷⁸ and Arthemine d'Autume⁷⁹ in 1835 Juliette Desoudin,⁸⁰ and Marie Nicolay;⁸¹ in 1836 Pauline St-André;⁸² in 1837 Laure de Bouchaud;⁸³ later in 1840 and 1841 Marie-Laure Livtard⁸⁴ and Angélique Ingold.⁸⁵ All of these novices later rendered great service in the Society for the glory of God and the good of souls. Several of the names are already familiar. Aymardine and Marie de Nicolay aided Mother de Charbonnel in her search for Montet, and their parents had given indispensable hospitality to the foundresses in Switzerland. The next celebrated name is Josephine Goetz. She had

70. Documents, Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, p. 174.
 71. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-1869, p. 2.
 72. Documents, Registre permis de séjour No. 12. Fribourg.
 73. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-1869, p. 90.
 74. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 185.
 75. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-1869, p. 88.
 76. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1859-1862, pp. 155-168.
 77. Society Publication, Vie de la Très Révérende Mère Marie Josephine Goetz, Roehampton, London, 1895, p. 47.
 78. Baunard, Vol. II, p. 77 (Original)
 79. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-1869, Part I.
 80. Society Publication, Vie de la Révérende Mère Juliette Desoudin, p. 38.
 81. Baunard, Vol. II, p. 78 (Original)
 82. Documents, Religieuses du Sacré-Coeur, p. 190.
 83. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1859-1862, pp. 55-56.
 84. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1868-1869, p. 99.
 85. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1869-1871, p. 188.

been a pupil at Besançon, and from there entered the noviceship in 1834, at the age of eighteen.⁸⁶ During her noviceship she was employed in the Pensionnat, as Mistress of the First Class.⁸⁷ She made her first vows February 2, 1837, in a ceremony which was unique in the annals of Montet. Mgr. Yenni, bishop of Fribourg, officiated, and fifteen novices made their vows.⁸⁸ Twenty-eight years later, 1865, Mother Goetz was elected Superior General of the Society, the first successor of Venerable Mother Barat.⁸⁹ Mother Juliette Desoudin is another remarkable apostle who made her noviceship at Montet. She entered in 1832 and made her vows March 25, 1835.⁹⁰ In 1865, she was elected Assistant General and became Mistress of the Probation.⁹¹ A contemporary of Mother Desoudin at Montet was Mother Emma de Bouchaud, the third of the Bouchaud sisters to enter the Society of the Sacred Heart. During her noviceship, she was given the charge of Mistress General in the boarding school at Montet.⁹² Her natural talents were evident early in her religious life, and formed the basis of a strong supernatural life. She was soon capable of mature responsibilities. She made her vows in 1835 and continued her duties in the Pensionnat

86. Society Publication, Vie de la Très Révérende Mère Josephine Goetz, p. 39.

87. Ibid., p. 45.

88. Ibid., p. 49.

89. Ibid., p. 199.

90. Society Publication, Vie de la Révérende Mère Juliette Desoudin, p. 39.

91. Ibid., p. 143.

92. Ibid., p. 37.

until her probation in 1837.⁹³

On August 19, 1836, Mother Barat arrived at Montet.⁹⁴

This date marked her third visit to the Noviceship, since it had been moved from Paris. She was making a tour of the houses of Avignon, Annonay, Ferrandiere, Montet and Chambéry.⁹⁵ Her

visit lasted six weeks, part of which time she gave a retreat to a Community of sixty Religious, professed, aspirants and novices.⁹⁶ There numbered in the Pensionnat, at the time, about forty boarders.⁹⁷ Improvements had also been made in

the property at Montet. Small sections of land near to the château were bought in May 1837, and again in March, 1838.⁹⁸

In 1839, the children moved into a new building, as was recorded briefly in the Annuelles ²Lettres ¹of 1839.⁹⁹ These facts in-

dicade that the school was increasing in numbers and the work prospering. A more important conclusion may also be drawn from these improvements, that the Superiors did not suspect anything but prosperity and success in their Apostolic work in Switzerland. The Sonderbund League had not yet been formed, nor had any of the Religious orders been expelled from their Cantons, as happened just two years later in Aargau, 1841.

On one of Mother Barat's visits to Montet, perhaps that of 1836, she had expressed the desire to found a house of the

93. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1859-1862, p. 154.

94. Baunard, Vol. II, p. 72.

95. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 638.

96. Baunard, Vol. II, p. 77.

97. Society Publication, Vie de la Révérende Mère Desoudin, p. 377.

98. Documents, Délibérations du Conseil d'Etat, 1838, p. 130.

99. Documents, Lettres Anneuelles, 1839, p. 28.

Sacred Heart in Alsace.¹⁰⁰ Mother Coppens, learning the request, replied that M. l'abbé Louis Maimbourg, pastor of Colmar in Alsace, would gladly encourage a foundation of the Sacred Heart in his parish.¹⁰¹ He was a zealous apostle in the province of Alsace where Protestantism was strong and caused great bitterness of feeling. He wished to enlighten the minds of his people, particularly by education and by the light of good example. Two nieces of the priest had been placed in the boarding school at Montet, and through them, he not only became acquainted with the education of the Sacred Heart, but had visited Montet and had asked if it were possible for a foundation of the Sacred Heart to be made in Alsace. Mother Barat's desire and l'abbé Maimbourg's desire met, therefore, at Montet. How far before 1839 these desires were made known cannot be ascertained, but all references point to that foundation as having been begun in the early Spring of 1839.¹⁰²

Mother Coppens was evidently charged by Mother Barat with the responsibility of finding a house and of sacrificing the Religious subjects from Montet for Foundresses of the new Convent. As records show, Mother Coppens journeyed to Alsace to find a house.¹⁰³ Nothing convenient for the needs of a school could be found in the town of Colmar. A short distance outside

100. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 51.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

102. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1839, p. 28. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 51.

103. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1863-1865, p. 19

the town was the little village of Keintzheim¹⁰⁴ where a tract of land was bought, upon which a new building for the Convent and school would be built. Contracts were made before Mother Coppens left Colmar, and the building was begun.¹⁰⁴

Mother Coppens was called to Rome for the General Council in 1839.¹⁰⁵ The responsibility of watching the work at Keintzheim¹⁰⁵, therefore, was given over to three Religious from Montet who established themselves in the little château already on the property. Within a few months the work had progressed so rapidly that a new colony from Montet came to prepare for the opening of the school. Mother Emma de Bouchaud, the young religious who had made her Profession in 1837, was named Superior¹⁰⁶ of the new foundation in Alsace. In January 1840, the school was opened, and forty-five young women, between the ages of fourteen and twenty, began their formal education at the Sacred Heart.

The school, in the beginning, was free to the peasant children of the vicinity. The good disposition of these children of hard working parents was a great consolation to the Foundresses. Mother Cahier describes them: a perfect good will supplied for their immature knowledge. One could perceive the deep religious principles that formed the ground work of these strong Alsatian souls. Catechism was learned from early child-

104. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 52.

105. Society Publication, Religieuses du Sacré-Coeur, Vol. I, p. 194.

106. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1859-1862, p. 158.

hood, and if it was not well understood, it was engraven in their memories; later these children grew to be strong Christians; fidelity to their religious practice was firmly planted in them by the teaching and example of their parents, and this faith was the most precious heritage of the Alsacians to their children. Together with these excellent habits was joined a culture obtained from their beautiful surroundings, for Keintzheim was situated upon one of the most beautiful plains in Alsace. In the distance rose the mountains of the Black Forest veiled always by a thin blue haze. Below the plain, could be seen the verdant hills around which flowed the river Vosges; rich villages, the centers of these fertile plains, could be seen here and there below the site of Keintzheim. When their church bells rang out the tones resounded far over the valley, so that the traditional name of the valley was Vallée des Cloches. Everything about this charming solitude of Keintzheim raised the soul to God. It was here that, within five years, the Novices of Montet were to find their new exile.¹⁰⁷

Thus, the importance of the foundation at Keintzheim, in this account, lies in the fact that it was a preparation for the years of disquiet in Switzerland between 1841 and 1847. Not the least presentiment of danger was felt in 1839 when the foundation was made. Hence the preparation was not conscious in the minds of Mother Barat or Mother Coppens, but by Divine

¹⁰⁷. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 53.

Providence, one could simply say Keintzheim^{le} was a preparation for the Swiss Revolution.

Mother Coppens returned in August 1839 from the Council at Rome, where she had been made Vicar general of the houses of the east.¹⁰⁸ The Vicariate of the east consisted, at that time, of

the Convents Montet, Besançon, Metz and Keintzheim, with the Vicariate residence at Montet. This new employment took Mother Coppens on frequent visits to the houses under her charge. There is brief mention made that Mother Barat and Mother Desmarquest came to Montet at the close of the year 1839, but nothing of importance seems to have passed during their sojourn.¹⁰⁹

Between the visits of the Superior General in 1839 and again in 1843, the latter of which is to prove of great consequence to the noviceship, the historical events are again varied and difficult to connect. It is recounted in the Annuelles^{Annuel} Lettres^{Lettres} of 1840 that the abbé Pieau, who had been chaplain at Montet from the foundation, was miraculously cured by the Blessed Virgin.¹¹⁰ Just what the nature of the cure was no mention is given, but the fact is added that he was able to resume his work of writing and publishing. Then a list of his publications is recorded: "Le Tableau de la Théologie Ascétique,"

"L'Art de Traiter avec Dieu," "Les Vies de Saints": Catherine

108. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1839, p. 28. ^

109. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1839, p. 27.

110. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1840, p. 63.

of Genoa, Madeleine of Pazzi, Angela of Foligno^o, Rose of Lima,
and others.¹¹¹

According to the Lettres of 1841 two interesting events occurred. On the Feast of Corpus Christi the people of Montet honored the Blessed Sacrament by a public procession. One altar of Benediction was erected on the grounds of the Château.¹¹² Later in the same year, a students' retreat was given, and a large number of former pupils returned to make this retreat indicating their devotedness and eagerness for virtue.¹¹³ After this retreat the Sodality of the Children of Mary was organized for former pupils. The Bishop of Fribourg approved of the Sodality and promised the sodalists a reunion hall at the Convent of the Sisters of Charity in Fribourg, where they might meet under the direction of a Jesuit for monthly instructions.¹¹⁴ This association founded in 1841 continued to exist in Fribourg after the expulsion of the Religious. In Monseigneur Peri-Morosini's account we find this passage concerning this Association at Fribourg:

After the political events of 1847 had effected the suppression of the Sacred Heart of Montet, the old pupils of Fribourg desired to continue their relationship with one another. Under the direction of one of their members, Mlle. Stephanie Lalive d'Epinau, they formed an association which happily has flourished to our day. But it was necessary to preserve its spirit of the Sacred Heart. Consequently the associates of Fribourg addressed themselves to the Religious

111. Ibid., p. 63.

112. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1841, p. 66.

113. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1841, p. 67.

114. Ibid., p. 67

of the Sacred Heart at Lyons, rue de Boissac. The latter adopted them and treated them as members of their own local Association..... The Children of Mary of Fribourg became Children of Mary of Lyons: authorization to receive new members, to give metals, salutary advice came from Lyons. Each year also, the association of Fribourg sent a report to the Superior of the Sacred Heart at Lyons.¹¹⁵

Following this account, Monseigneur gives a list of a hundred names, all Children of Mary of Fribourg,¹¹⁶ most whom attended Pensionnats of the Sacred Heart in Italy or France, after the Suppression in 1847.

Finally in 1843 Mother Barat returned to Montet where remained three weeks.¹¹⁷ The great crisis concerning the of the Society had just passed at the General Council in 1842. Mother Barat's words to the Community and Novices centered around this one idea - the unity of the Society through the mutual charity of its members in the Sacred Heart. Her conferences given at this time seemed to radiate with the Divine Spirit, and are considered as embodiments of the true spirit of the Religious of the Sacred Heart.

During this same visit Mother Barat announced to the Community her intention of taking from ^{from} their their beloved Superior, Mother Coppens, who was to fulfill the office of Assistant General.¹¹⁹ This was a sacrifice for Montet, but

115. Mgr. Peri-Morosini, La Sainte Mère Madeleine-Sophie B
et Le Château de Mides en Suisse, pp. 87

116. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

117. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1843, p. 61.

118. Ibid., p. 61-62.

119. Ibid., p. 63.

generosity with which it was made brought visible fruits in a short time. Mother Thérèse Maillucheu replaced Mother Coppet as local Superior. The opening of school in October 1843 brought the greatest number of pupils ever registered at Montet. The noviceship, too, increased in vocations, six of whom were children of the Pensionnat. These splendid results may be called the fruits of sacrifice.

The year 1844 was to record the transfer to the Noviceship to Keintzheim.¹²⁰ Concerning this move Mother Barat wrote to one of her Religious daughters: "I do not know what presentiment made me desire that our novices at Montet should take measures of prudence. They were dispersed in time, as well as the pupils."¹²¹ This last sentence may give the idea that both were dispersed at the same time. This is not so. The novices left Montet in 1844; the Pensionnat continued to exist until the Sonderbund War in 1847.

Very few reasons are given as to why the Noviceship was moved to Keintzheim in 1844. The obvious reason, of course, was the increasing power of the Liberals over the Catholic Cantons. The Religious had been expelled from Aargau, and the Sonderbund had been formed. Nevertheless, Fribourg, the most Catholic of all Swiss Cantons, was still undisturbed in 1844. The prejudice against the Society was spreading in most European governments

120. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1844, p. 87.

121. Baunard, Vol. II, pl. 194.

122. Ibid., p. 195.

so that Mother Barat feared the same from the Liberals of Switzerland, who were slowly gaining ground in the various cantons. Two years later Mother Barat wrote on this subject to Mother du Rousier:

The King of Prussia does not wish us in his states...our position is strange. We share the proscriptions of the famous Society of Jesus, but we cannot share their help, since we are persecuted on their account. Happily we have the Heart of Jesus on our side.¹²²

In Germany and in Italy the members of the Society were sometimes called "Les Jésuitesses." At Turin the Society was severely calumniated by the progressive Liberals. Mother Cahier quotes the following passage written by a member of the Society who had experienced the expulsion of the Sacred Heart from Turin:

At length suspicion fell on us....The radical party spread abroad the most absurd calumnies, at a time when it exalted Pius IX and his liberal reforms; the party presumed we were enemies of that great Pontiff. Later, they propagated that we aided the Austrians; finally that we were retrogressive, enemies of progress, devoted to the nobility and above all, Jesuitesses.¹²³

As these calumnies against the Society spread in Europe it was no wonder that Mother Barat had the "presentiment" in 1844 to remove the noviceship from the dangers threatened by the rising tide of Liberalism in Switzerland. At the close of the annual retreat of 1844, Mother Maillucheu announced to the Community Mother Barat's intention of sending the novices to Keintzheim.¹²⁴ That same evening five novices departed. Within

¹²³. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 169.

¹²⁴. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1844, p. 87.

a few days the entire Noviceship of twenty-seven young Religious had left Montet. The ^{Annual Letters} Annuelles Lettres of Keintzheim describe their installation¹²⁵ in that house which, in the designs of Providence, seems to have been founded for the purpose of welcoming the exiled Noviceship from the disturbed country of Switzerland.

Montet continued in the possession of the Sacred Heart for three years. The Pensionnat, the Poor School, and various apostolic works remained the objects of zeal for Mother Maillucheu, Mother Eleanore Klosen, Mother Junot, Mother Matilde d'Erlach and a Community of sixteen Professed and Aspirants.¹²⁶ The fruit of these three years was great. Never had the children been more devoted, pious and appreciative of their education at the Sacred Heart.¹²⁷ Parallel with these consoling works, however, was the antagonizing work of the enemies of the Church, which ended in a short but decisive struggle in the fall of 1847. A summary of the causes of this struggle, the Sonderbund War, will now be reviewed.

¹²⁶. Documents, Catalogue, 1844.

¹²⁷. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1846, p. 99.

¹²⁵. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1844, p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAUSES LEADING TO THE REVOLUTION IN SWITZERLAND IN 1847

The causes of the Revolution in Switzerland in 1847 can be briefly stated: The Liberal party demanded the revision of the Constitution and the dissolution of the Sonderbund; the Conservative party rejected the revision of the Constitution and maintained the Sonderbund League as a defense of Catholic rights.

After a concise statement, like the above, one is apt to draw distinct lines of division, placing conservatism and Catholicism, as allies, on one side, and liberalism with irreligion on the other. Such cannot be done. Motives, principles, influences, politics, religion, customs, - in general, life, both natural and supernatural is intermingled in the cause of an historical event. When the Sonderbund war occurred in 1847, there existed Catholics with the new liberal principles; there were Calvinistic conservatives. Each group, Catholics, Conservatives, Liberals, had its motive, principle, end, and its numbers. Of the three groups, it was, perhaps, the Conservatives who in the end submerged their motive and principle beneath the other two, for it was the Conservatives and Catholics

who joined forces to preserve the rights of the Church in Switzerland.

The cause of the Revolution (1847) can be traced clearly to the "Act of Mediation" formulated by Napoleon in 1803; from this Act, to the Federal Pact of 1815, to the liberal measures of 1829 in Zurich, Luzern and Ticino, to the revision of the cantonal constitution in 1830-31, to the League of Seven in 1832, to the League of Sarnen 1832, to the proposal of the new constitution 1833, to the Concordat of 1834, to the dismissal of Strauss 1839, to the suppression of the monasteries in Aargau 1841, to the formation of the Sonderbund 1843, to the publication of the demands of the Sonderbund 1846, and finally, to the decree of dissolution of the Sonderbund, July 7, 1847.

Napoleon dictated the "Act of Mediation." He had two intentions: First, to weaken the centralized power of the "Helvetian Republic" (1798) by reestablishing the loose Confederation; secondly, to preserve individual liberty which the Helvetian Republic had obtained by breaking down the old class distinction between burghers and peasants.¹ The immediate result of these changes was the development of two political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals. It is easy to see how these two parties grew out of the Act of Mediation. The Conservatives favored the old order which made each canton supreme in its own political life and free from all interference

1. Stephens, H.M., Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815, Rivingtons, London, 1902, pp. 344-45.

from the central organ, the Diet. The Liberals, formerly called the Unitary party, supported the idea of a strong central government, individual freedom and franchise of the peasant population.

The Conservatives, therefore, were empowered by Napoleon's Act above the Unitary party in the matter of cantonal sovereignty. On the other hand, the Unitary Party gained advantages in the Act of Mediation which kept the Conservatives from a complete return to the old order. All men were regarded equal before the law. The old "Subject Lands" of the original thirteen cantons were not reestablished.² Instead, these lands were created independent cantons with a voice in the Diet similar to the old Cantons, and from which creation resulted the new cantons of St. Gaul, Aargau, Thurgau, Ticino, Vaud and the Grisons. Another clause of the Act, favorable to the Unitaries, was that concerning war and treaties. These questions were deliberated in the Federal Diet alone. Of all these liberal changes, that one which aggravated the conservative "Patricians" most was the creation of the six new cantons. The population of these six cantons was composed chiefly of liberated peasants whose new votes could undoubtedly aid the liberal party. The Patricians realized this possibility; so that, when the Swiss leaders were preparing their plans for the Congress

2. Schevill, Ferdinand, A History of Europe, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1925, p. 617.

Vienna, the question of "thirteen cantons," as of old, or "nineteen cantons" as created by Napoleon, gave rise to heated debates in the Diet. Foreign influence intervened in this angry question between Swiss Conservatives and Liberals, and Alexander of Russia convinced the Powers at Vienna, that, in spite of Metternich's designs of reaction against Napoleonic ideas, the Swiss cantons should remain nineteen independent, federated states. Besides these nineteen, three more were united to the loose Confederation, Neuchâtel, Geneva and Valais.³

Finally, when the Congress of Vienna met in 1815, the Swiss question was, among the many others, discussed and settled. The Powers passed the Act of Neutralization, November 20, 1815, which guaranteed to Switzerland the preservation of her neutrality. Swiss statesmen were careful not to allow any foreign interference - either to sanction or to reconstruct - in their new constitution, the Federal Pact of 1815. This wise policy saved the Diet from any claim the Powers might make in the future internal affairs of Switzerland, one of which was the critical event in 1847, the Sonderbund war.

The Federal Pact of 1851 restored, as far as possible, the old order in Switzerland, and in this restoration can be found the cause of the liberal movement of 1829. The Pact placed still greater power in the individual canton. The Federal Diet, consequently, was weakened. The cantons could now form alli-

3. Muller, Jean de, and Monnard, C., Historie de la Confédération Suisse, Vol. XVIII, Cherbuilliez, Genève, 1851 pp. 355-56.

ances with one another against other cantons, a privilege resulting in many leagues, the most daring of which appeared during the thirties and forties, Siebnerkonkordat, Sarnen and the Sonderbund.⁴ The canton could expell from its boundaries Swiss citizens who were born in other cantons, a right which greatly restricted emigration, commercial enterprise, and national unity. Besides these individual cantonal rights, Bern, Zurich, and Luzern had the added right of holding the Vorort (the Federal Directory) in their Governments, alternately for a term of two years.⁵ The Federal Pact, consequently, was a return to the loose Confederation, comparable to that of the Centuries preceding 1798. It ushered in an era of conservatism, which, on contrast to the troubled days of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, brought a peace highly enjoyed by Conservative and Liber alike, until the day when the peace became monotonous, and the peasant, influenced by liberal ideas, felt that a yoke had been placed about his neck.

There were certain reasons, based on the Pact of 1815, why the peace between 1815 and 1830 was accompanied by great prosperity. The Diet was empowered to organize a Federal army, to establish its training school, to appoint its staff and its

4. Oechsli, Wilhelm, History of Switzerland, Translated by E. and C. Paul, Cambridge University, England, 1922, p. 369.

5. Ibid., p. 370.

colonels, For this purpose capable officers were chosen With William Dufour, a cadet of the Napoleonic army, to oversee the general organization. A military academy was founded at Thun in 1818. Two years later at this Academy, the first great exhibition of military manoeuvres took place. A Federal exchequer was created to supply a war treasury. Besides the military organization, trade and manufacture made rapid progress. Road and lake transportation was facilitated by the construction of the St. Gothard Pass and by the increase of steam navigation on the lakes. With the new cantonal right of forming leagues, twelve of the Cantons passed laws allowing freedom of residence; a league of nineteen adopted a uniform coinage system; another league of seventeen permitted mixed marriages. In education their progress was slow. But the Jesuits were recalled into the canton of Valais in 1814. Fribourg, through the influence of Mgr. Tobie Yenni, was the second canton to welcome this educational order, in 1818.

Although the Federal Pact declared "equal political rights" to all citizens, this declaration remained rather a theory than a practice. For instance, in Bern, where the "Patricians" had regained much power from the Pact in 1815, there were two hundred Bernese patricians in the State Council, with life membership, and only ninety-nine representatives from the peasants. Solothurn and Fribourg had a proportionate aristocratic council. Luzern was more in accordance with the spirit

of the Pact, fifty patricians to fifty rural representatives. The patrician city of Zurich with 10,000 citizens held 130 Council votes, while the rural population of 200,000 was represented by 82 votes a combination lacking all proportion. Again, Basel with 15,000 citizens had 60 in Council, while its peasant population of 30,000 had 60 votes.⁶ With this situation between patrician and peasant, it is no wonder that the latter began to feel the yoke of injustice at a time when democracy and liberty was the cry on all sides.

Consequently, when the Greek struggle for liberty had been crowned with success, and when the zealots of the old Helvetic Constitution began to preach in their ears, the Swiss farmers rallied to the new schemes.⁷ The youth of Switzerland were especially keen in establishing liberal meetings among the peasants.⁸ The first liberal activities were roused in the rural districts of Zurich and Luzern in 1829, when they obtained the abolition of censorship,⁹ and the separation of the legislative and judiciary functions in their government, a separation which had existed in Switzerland only during the Helvetic years from 1798 to 1803.¹⁰ Following the impulse of Zurich and Luzern, the people of Ticino effected a democratic change in their constitution, June 30, 1830.

6. Ibid., p. 371.

7. Muyden, Berthold von, Histoire de la Nation Suisse, Henri Mignot, Lausanne, 1899, Vol. III, p. 224.

8. Ibid., p. 233

9. Oechsli, p. 375.

10. Ibid., p. 376.

In addition to the example of Zurich, Luzern, and Ticino there was the influence of the Paris Revolution of 1830.¹¹ Swiss guards, dead and alive, were returned to Switzerland. The emotion roused by the return of their dead bodies, filled the hearts of many relatives and friends with a detestation for royalty and the patrician class. On the other hand, the returning soldiers, not only from France, but also from Holland, where they had been expelled by the Liberals, filled Switzerland with disbanded men who had to obtain other means of gaining a living.¹² The success of the Liberals in Paris highly encouraged those of Zurich, who, having been successful in the Press measure of 1829, now stirred both city and rural folk to demand a reform of the cantonal Constitution which would effect popular sovereignty.¹³ These demands were made at Uster, Zurich, November 22, 1830. Similar risings broke out in Luzern in securing a democratic reform in the Constitution and equal representation of town and country districts.¹⁴ When the Diet was called in December 1830 by the Bernese Patricians, for the purpose of stopping these Constitutional changes, it was decreed that the Federal Diet could not interfere in the reforms

11. Martin, William, Histoire de la Suisse, Payot, Paris, 1926, pp. 250-51.

12. McCrackan, William D., The Rise of the Swiss Republic Arena Publishing Company, Boston, 1892, p. 325.

13. Ibid., p. 326.

14. Ibid., p. 327.

made in the Cantons. This decision was influenced further^d by popular, but "bloodless," demonstrations in Aargau, Vaud, Fribourg and Schaffhausen. Nine cantons had now manifested their liberal tendencies, and Bern, the stronghold of the Patricians, then became the scene of popular disturbances at Munsingen. The Patricians yielded, January 10, 1831, and the people became sovereign.¹⁵

The constitutional reforms of 1830-1831 made of the Swiss cantons real democracies. However, the people exercised their sovereignty by acceptance or rejection of the Constitution, after it had been reformed and framed anew. The Legislators, representing the city and rural population on an equal legal basis, were directly chosen by the people whom they represented. Once the representatives were chosen, however, the people could not interfere in their political measures. The only exception to this law was the canton of St. Gall where the people had the right of veto over the measures passed by their Legislators. No longer were property qualifications required for franchise. The Legislators, during their brief period of office could make laws, raise taxes and control the vote in the Federal Diet. Other liberal reforms, in the ten cantonal constitutions of 1830-1831, were the complete separation of the executive, judicial and legislative powers, public official sessions, right of petition, freedom of the press and freedom of religion.

The last had not been included in either the Act of Mediation or the Federal Pact.¹⁶

The ten liberal Cantons formed a powerful minority in the loose Confederation. Bern, Zurich and Luzern contained the most prosperous cities and centers of industry in Switzerland. Historians, boastful of the results attributed to liberalism, praise the rapid progress in the "regenerated" Cantons, in an effort to draw a contrast between conservatism and liberalism. As can be seen up to this date, the chief opponents in Swiss political life were still the two Parties, Liberals and Conservatives; the Catholic cause had not yet entered the struggle. Difficulties in Basle, Neuchâtel and Schwyz now occupied the political stage. Although the outcome proved a conservative victory, it was this triumph without doubt, that drew the Liberals together more strongly and increased their antagonism to the Conservatives.

The officials of Basle undertook the reform of their constitution without consulting the people. The new reforms did not satisfy rural Basle, and troops had to be sent against an armed insurrection of the peasants on January 13, 1831. The troops were successful the first time, but seven months later the revolt was repeated to the success, this time, of the peasants. Even the Federal troops had intervened the second time, but to no avail, since the Federal troops themselves were

16. Oechsli, pp. 377-78.

not united in their efforts, some favoring the peasants, others the official government. When the Diet met to settle the question of the new Basle Constitution, it was powerless either to decide or to execute a decision; consequently it recognized two divisions of Basle, "Rural Basle" and the city of Basle, each with a half-vote in the Diet. In 1832, Schwyz was likewise divided into a rural and a city canton. But, the difficulty that finally brought political matters to a decisive turning point concerned Neuchâtel. This canton, situated west of all the others, had been united to the Swiss confederation by the Congress of Vienna. Its ruling aristocrats were closely allied to the King of Prussia, through whose orders and advice, their political life was carried on. Their constitution, too, had been revised, but not in accordance with the wishes of the people who were guided by Republican leaders. When the Republican party refused to abide by the new constitution and seized the Castle of Neuchâtel, the Council of State appealed to the Federal Diet for help. The Diet, fearing trouble from Prussia, sent troops to Neuchâtel who quelled the disorder, and made promises which were not carried out. A second Republican revolt, therefore, took place, but this time the Council of Neuchâtel handled its own difficulty, and the Republicans were defeated.¹⁷ This Republican defeat sent a wave of sympathy over the whole liberal population of Switzerland. There re-

17. Ibid., p. 379.

sulted, from this sympathy, a League of Seven Liberal Cantons, called the Siebnerkonkordat, concluded March 17, 1832.¹⁸ The chief purpose of the league was to secure themselves against conservative oppression, for, they stated, the conservative Cantons had, by their majority of votes, deprived the ten liberal constitutions of a Federal guarantee in the Diet of 1831.¹⁹

To counter-balance the Siebnerkonkordat a conservative alliance was formed, November 14, 1832, eight months after the liberal league.²⁰ Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Basle city and Neuchâtel united in the League of Sarnen. The Conservatives had a more definite and vigorous plan in view when they united at Sarnen, than the Siebnerkonkordat's policy of defense. They declared that the Diet's recognition of rural Basle and rural Schwyz was unconstitutional, and that as long as either canton had any voice in the Diet, the Sarnen League would not recognize that session of the Diet as legal. When, therefore, in 1833, the Diet was called at Zurich to discuss an amendment of the Federal Pact of 1815, the Conservatives of "Sarnen" carried out their threat and remained absent.²¹ Further, the Conservatives called simultaneously a Diet at Schwyz, where they resolved not to recognize the measures discussed at Zurich as lawful. The chief aim at Schwyz was to oppose all suggestion

18. Ibid., p. 380.

19. Muyden, p. 250.

20. Ibid., p. 251.

21. Oechsli, p. 381.

of revising the Federal Pact. The existence of these two Diets, at the same time, proved to all the powerlessness of the Confederate Constitution. It was evident to all that it could not prevent the Cantons from breaking up into fragment states, that it could not cope with foreign influences, that it depended entirely upon cantonal decisions and majority votes. The lack of an energetic Federal Executive accounted, too, for the cumbersome coinage, postal and customssystem which differed in the various cantons.

Such weakness in the Federal Pact gave rise to a movement its revision. Thurgau was the first canton to make the suggestion, at a meeting of the Diet in 1831. The suggestion was carried out by a majority of votes in July 1832. Consequently, a draft was made by Edward Pfyffer, the Mayor of Luzern. It prescribed the centralization of customs, coinage, and postal systems; guaranteed freedom of residence; created an Executive Council of five members and a Supreme Court of Justice. All questions of wars or alliances were to be dictated by each canton vote, but in all other matters the cantonal representatives were to vote according to their individual opinions.²²

When this draft was placed before the Councils of the various Cantons, it was bitterly opposed, especially by the Conservatives. Besides the Conservatives of Sarnen, those of Zug, Ticino, Appenzell and Valais joined in opposition, main-
22. Ibid., p. 382.

taining that, for any revision of the Federal Constitution, a unanimous vote of the twenty-two cantons was necessary. Again the Liberals were defeated. Their defeat was all the more certain since the Foreign Powers had proclaimed their opinions concerning a revision of the Federal Pact of 1815. Metternich encouraged the League of Sarnen. Austria sent messages in 1832 to Russia and Prussia that they must interfere in Swiss affairs if it were a question of changing the Pact of 1815. These voices seemed threatening and silenced the Liberals for several years, but the Congress of Vienne had not guaranteed the Powers any right over the Swiss Constitution, and consequently their policy of interference had no basis. They had only agreed to recognize Swiss neutrality. Since the proposal for revision then, was rejected in 1833 the question gave place to other graver questions within the next ten years.²³

After the triumph of the Conservatives over the Liberals in 1833, the basis of opposition turned upon religious issues.²⁴ One political incidence, particularly, traced its failure to the "influence of the priests of Luzern," claimed the Liberals. The incident recalls again the revision proposal of 1833: When it was likely that a majority of votes would have settled the revision question successfully for the Liberals, Luzern, which would have cast the twelfth vote out of twenty-two, thus topping the majority, was suddenly turned negatively when the people,

23. McCracken, pp. 327-28.

24. Oechsli, p. 386.

"influenced by the priests, rejected the proposal, July 7, 1833 by a majority of 11,000 to 7,000, and thus put an end for a long time to any ideas of amending the Federal Pact."

Whether the fundamental cause of this turn of vote was the "influence of the priests" is undetermined. Only a thorough research could lead one to accept so sweeping a conclusion. But the statement and incident can be quoted as an introduction to another historical fact admitted by several historians, the fact of the Articles of Baden formulated by the Siebnerkonkordat in 1834.

The tone of the Articles of Baden opened the eyes of the Catholics in Switzerland. They were drawn up by a young priest, Fuchs of Rapperswil, who had independently formulated his own ideas on liberalism and began preaching them by stormy sermons in various parts of Switzerland. He taught, briefly, that the "constitution of the Church was purely democratic, that the difference between the powers of the clergy and the laity in spiritual matters was of human origin, that the Church should be governed by synods elected by a popular vote, and that clerical celibacy and monastic vows should be abolished as being opposed to the spirit of the age." Fuch was suspended by the bishops of Chur and St. Gaul.²⁵ The Liberals took him over and gave him charge of preparing the Articles for their session at Baden. In January, 1834, Liberal representatives

from Luzern, St. Gall, Solothurn, Bern, Thurgau and Aargau met

met at Baden, Aargau, and formulated their opinions on the fourteen Articles: These Articles forbade the publishing of Papal or episcopal letters before the civil authorities had given permission; they also gave to the canton complete control over seminaries, synods, the clergy, trial of matrimonial causes, questions of mixed marriage, the appointment to benefices, etc. They declared further "that the exemption of the monastic houses was to be abolished, and the clergy obliged to swear an oath of allegiance to the laws of the canton under pain of removal from their offices." In other words, the State was to have supreme rights over the Church preparing the way for an independent National Church.

These "Articles of Baden" were condemned by Pope Gregory XVI in his Encyclical of May 17, 1835.²⁶ The Catholics of Switzerland obeyed the Holy Father and would not accept the Articles. In some cantons, however, where the Catholics were in the minority the Articles were embodied in the laws. For instance, the Conseil d'Etat of Glaurus tried to force the Catholic clergy to abide by the Articles, though they contained a law obliging them to give any information the government desired concerning knowledge of political crimes gained through confession; here, too, priests were forbidden to communicate with their bishops. The Catholics could not permit such injustice, and their indignant zeal turned, in some cases, to imprudence. In St. Gall, 1835, the power of the people vetoed

26. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the Articles. Bern, likewise, rejected them although it was a strongly liberal canton. In Zurich the Catholic population manifested severe contempt for this abuse of religious rights. The strong principles of the Catholics of Zurich obliged them in 1839 to resist the government when the Council appointed David Sträuss to the chair of theology in the Zurich University. Sträuss had published a Life of Christ which rejected the Divinity of Christ. The work was denounced as heretical, and the heretical tendencies of the German scholar were not tolerated by the Zurich Catholics. The Catholics were joined by thousands of Protestant Christians in an insurrection which resulted in the overthrow of the Liberal government at Zurich, 1839.²⁷ The Conservatives regained power in the Zurich Council.

It is just at this point in the historical events leading up to the War of 1847, that one finds the Conservative motive and the Catholic motive confused in the same issue. Unfortunately, religious zeal gave way to imprudence, and we find the conservatives of Valais, desirous to regain political power, following the example of the religious revolt of Zurich. Luzern, also, followed in the example of Zurich in 1839. Joseph Lew and Seigwart-Mueller headed a Catholic revolt demanding the repeal of the Articles of Baden. The Council rejected their demands, but after repeated revolts the government of Luzern put the question to a popular vote which resulted in the over-

27. Ibid., p. 132.

throw of the Liberals. This victory over Liberalism brought the three most important Swiss cantons under the control of the Catholics in religious matters, and within the power of the Conservatives in political matters.²⁸

The Liberals obtained the upper hand in Aargau in 1841. This fact turned the course of events in bringing about the Sonderbund League.²⁹ Aargau was strongly liberal. However, the Conservatives and Catholics rashly made an attempt to conquer the strong Liberalism there at a time when the Aargau Liberals were heated to a pitch of wild hostility. The Catholics with the Conservatives asked that the new constitution which incorporated the Baden Articles be revised or repealed. Their demand was refused, and the Catholics refused their allegiance to the Aargau constitution. Many were arrested and insurrections broke out again. Augustin Keller, an influential liberal in the Aargau Legislature, had done all he could to put into execution the Articles of Baden. In 1841, he proposed to the Great Council that the two monasteries of Muri and Wettingen, and the four Convents of Baden, Fahr, Guadental and Hermetswil should be suppressed, claiming that these houses were the centers of insurrection. On January 15, 1841, the measure was adopted, and on the 20th, a law was passed proscribing the confiscation of the goods of the relig-

28. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

29. McCrackan, p. 329.

ious houses. The religious were given seven days to depart. Thus, on January 27, in the midst of a rigorous winter, and in spite of their protestations, the monks and nuns were forced to abandon their respective dwellings.³⁰

Immediately, the news spread into all quarters. The nuncio of Luzern, Monseigneur Gizzi, protested. The Emperor of Austria, whose ancestors had founded Muri, did the same. Then the Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug and Neuchâtel claimed an extraordinary convocation of the Diet to examine the unconstitutional suppression in Aargau. The Diet met, March 15, 1841, at Bern with a representative from each canton. Augustin Keller of Aargau defended his own case. The representative of St. Gall, Landamann Baumgartner, who had directed the radical revolution of 1831, had completely changed in the Catholic issue, and now blamed the Aargau government. Henri Druey, the radical deputy of Vaud, also declared the suppression of the religious houses unconstitutional. By a vote, therefore, of 12½ to 9½, the Diet pronounced the re-establishment of the six convents, allowing the government of Aargau six weeks to execute the Federal decree.³¹ Again, the powerlessness of the Diet's orders was manifest. After the official announcement of re-establishing the six monasteries, Aargau, supported by other liberal cantons, opened only three convents.

30. Maxime Reymond, Histoire de la Suisse des origines jusqu'à aujourd'hui, Editions Haeschel-Dufey, Lausanne, 1933, Vol. III, p. 258, 259.

31. Ibid., p. 359.

Debate after debate followed in the frequent Diets during the next two years concerning the Aargau monasteries. Still the Liberals of the various cantons encouraged the government of Aargau in the refusal to open the monasteries. The Catholics of the seven Cantons, realizing that the Federal government was too weak to protect their religious principles constitutionally, proposed in a conference held at Luzern, September, 1843, to defend their issue by separating from the rest.³² In two years this first proposal had borne fruit in the organized Sonderbund League.

32. Oechsli, p. 387.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION IN SWITZERLAND IN 1847

Agreement between Catholics and Liberals seemed impossible in 1843. War was inevitable. Every cause for a conflict prevailed. Each side was motivated by deep principles; the Catholics had their infallible truths to defend; the liberals had vivid, enthusiastic, modern ideas which seemed to promise an earthly paradise. What checked the conflict in 1843 was unpreparedness. Consequently, the four years between 1843 and 1847 gave opportunity for further disagreements which increased the causes for war already existing.

The Diet of April 1841 had ordered the Council of Aargau to open the suppressed monasteries. The Council refused to obey the order in its full extent. The Diet of August 31, 1843, after having done nothing to execute its order of 1841, finally yielded to the Aargau government and gave its sanction to the suppression of Muri, Wittengen and two of the convents.

The evident weakness of the Federal Government gave the Catholic citizens undeniable reason to take measures to defend their cause. The government of Luzern had been directed by the Conservatives and Catholics since 1841, when Joseph Lew and

Siegwart-Muller had headed the religious revolt against the Baden Articles. They remained in power during 1842 and 1843. After the defeat of the Catholic cause in Aargau, it was the Great Council of Luzern which took the lead in the separatist movement of the Catholic Cantons.

The Government of Luzern convoked an official assembly of the Catholic Cantons to meet on September 13, 1843, at Luzern. Three of the cantons upon whom the Catholic cause counted, gave excuses for declining to assist at the convocation. Neuchâtel and Basle City stated that it was not necessary to accentuate the breach of the Federal Pact caused by the Aargau Liberals. Inner Rhoden also refused to send a representative to Luzern. Valais sent, not an official representative, but a delegate from the Conservative party to take his place at the Conference.

Among the arguments submitted at the conference in favor of separation, Siegwart-Muller developed the following thesis: that, considering the progress of unbelief and extreme rationalism, and the outnumbering of Catholic cantons by the Protestant, there existed just reason for the Catholic cantons to break from those who had violated the Federal Pact, and to separate themselves from the Federal union, to form a solid Catholic organization, and finally, in order to carry out these intentions, to accept the aid of foreign governments.¹ The

development of Muller's argument convinced the Catholic repre-

1. Reymond, Maxime, Histoire de la Suisse des origines jusqu'à aujourd'hui, Vol. III, p. 260.

sentatives of the justice of their separation, and at the official meeting in the room of the Conseil d'Etat held on the 14th, they passed the resolution to prepare a Council of War for defense. Lawyer Rutteman of Luzern presided at this session, assisted by Siegwart-Muller and Bernard Meyer.² The cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug and Fribourg were represented, but, it will be noticed, Valais did not take part in this action. Difficulties were brought up at the meeting, particularly by Midwald (the half-canton of Unterwalden) and Zug. Both asked for a new appeal to the Diet. This request was taken into consideration, and it was decided that the plans and the military organization should not be made public until another petition could be made to the Diet to protect the Catholic issues. However, in February 1844, the plan of the cantons was drawn up to be presented at the next convocation of the Federal Diet. The formal plan insisted upon the danger of extreme rationalism to religion, upon the binding power of the Federal Pact, and lastly, upon the consideration due the Catholics in the Liberal cantons. The plan was then accompanied by a collective letter from all the Bishops of Switzerland supporting the Catholic requests.

The next Diet was to meet in July, 1844, and the Catholic cause was ready for presentation. Between January and July comparative peace reigned. However, one event arose during

2. Ibid., p. 261.

these months which had serious consequences. Since the Luzern government had passed into the control of Catholic Conservatives, the Council, desirous of teaching the Catholic youth of Luzern the correct principles about liberalism, wished to place the Luzern College in the hands of the Jesuits. The Jesuits had not been allowed to return to Luzern since their expulsion in pre-revolutionary days. They had been teaching in Valais since 1804, where their zeal was regarded with great respect, and in 1818, they were called to Fribourg through the zealous influence of Monseigneur Yenni. There, the famous Jesuit college was the center of Catholic teaching in Switzerland. But their recall to Luzern, at such a time as 1844, fixed the death blow to the Catholic cause. At first, only rumors of this suggestion were afloat. Finally, the Federal Diet met at Luzern in July. The Catholic petition was laid before it, but the meeting adjourned on August 8th without any satisfactory settlement concerning the question.³ This neglect of their rights provoked another meeting of the Catholic Cantons at Luzern, nine days after the Diet closed. At this conference Upper Valais was officially represented. They agreed to renew their demands at the next Diet.

In the meantime the Jesuit question entered the struggle. The Jesuits were recalled to Luzern in October 1844.⁴ The Liberals of Luzern, silenced since the Conservatives had

3. Oechsli, p. 387.

4. McCrackan, p. 329.

reigned in the Council of State, appealed to the Diet to expel this Order. The Diet refused. At this refusal volunteer Liberals, chiefly from Bern and Aargau, entered Luzern in December, 1844, and attacked the Catholics. Fortunately, the latter were prepared, and defeated the invading Liberals. Following this defeat, Bern demanded that the Diet should drive out the Jesuits, but the majority again refused to expel them, stating that it was unconstitutional to interfere with the internal affairs of a canton. Bands of Liberals then prepared a second attack on Luzern, while, at the same time, the Catholics of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden rallied to defend Luzern. The second contest took place on March 31, 1845, near Malters. More than one hundred were killed, but the victory was again on the Catholic side. Many were seized, among whom was Steiger, one of the Liberal leaders, who, however, managed to save himself from prison by flight from Luzern. The hatred of the two parties became so intense that on July 20, Joseph Lew, the chief supporter of the recall of the Jesuits, was assassinated.⁵

Since the Jesuit question had not been satisfactorily settled for the Liberals in the Federal Diet, their next attempt was made in the individual cantons. If they could succeed in acquiring the majority of votes in the Diet by having Liberal governments in at least twelve cantons their Federal guarantee would be assured. The votes that they could not count on were those of Vaud, Zurich, Neuchâtel, St. Gaul and

5. Oechsli, p. 288.

even Bern. In these cantons the popular will was often declared in favor, sometimes of Conservatives, sometimes of Catholic questions, as against the Liberal issues. Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg and Luzern were consistently Catholic in principle. Consequently, when the Jesuit expulsion became such a heated question for the Liberals, they determined to win over the governments of Vaud, Zurich and Bern. Their first efforts were directed in Vaud where Liberal propaganda roused an insurrection in February, 1845; this was done before they had attempted the volunteer attacks in Luzern. The Vaud enterprise succeeded in overthrowing the Conservative Government, and the new Liberal ministry would give the desired vote in the Diet.⁶ Encouraged by this success the Liberals united to overthrow the Catholic forces in Luzern, but there, they were twice defeated in March, 1845, as we have seen. Another victory awaited them, however, in Zurich. At the new election in the Spring of 1845, a Liberal government was chosen by the majority of the people. In Bern, the Liberals were so popular that in July, 1846, Ochsenbein, the leader of the Radical attack on Luzern, was chosen as the Executive of the cantonal Council, which would within the next year become the Vorort of the Confederacy, thus promoting Ochsenbein to the Federal Executive.

When the political situation became so critical, the Seven Catholic Cantons formally concluded the Sonderbund League,

6. Ibid., p. 288.

December 11, 1845.⁷ By this act they separated themselves from the rest of Switzerland. The separation is compared by many historians to the secession of the Confederate States in North America from the Union of States. But the very terms of the Sonderbund, which were again laid before the Diet in July, 1846, in a third appeal to settle their questions constitutionally, proves that there was no intention on the part of the Catholic League to remain disunited from the entire Swiss Federation. Their desires were again summed up in three petitions: the re-establishment of the Aargau monasteries, the maintenance of the Jesuits in any canton, and the abandonment of all ideas of amending the Federal Pact upon Liberal principles. One can see in these three petitions a mingling of religious principles and Conservative ideals. But no "treason towards the State," as one historian calls the proposals of the Sonderbund, was intended on the part of this League of Cantons. The most daring actions of the Sonderbund were the formation of an army and the petition for foreign help. All this was done as a threat to the other cantons to make them realize the seriousness of the issues at stake, and to give them opportunity once more to consider the questions of religion or of irreligion, Conservatism or Liberalism. As yet all cantons had not had opportunity to decide the question by a formal vote, and there were still two cantons, St. Gaul and Geneva, who were in an uncertain state concerning the three questions of the Sonderbund.

⁷. McCracken, p. 329.

Meanwhile, from December 1845, to June 1846, the Sonderbund cause had called upon the attention of all the Great Powers. France, Prussia, Austria and Russia still maintained monarchical and conservative governments in power. Their concern, therefore, for the success of the Sonderbund in a country where Liberalism held its very citadel, and where Liberal fugitives from their respective countries could always find a welcome, urged the Powers to intervene. Guizot writes the following concerning the Sonderbund:

The Political struggles, envenomed by a religious one, divided the cantons, and threatened to break the federal treaty. In presence of the radical movement, which was daily becoming more defined in Bern, Geneva and the Vaudois country, the cantons which were really Catholic believed that their religious liberty and independent action were threatened, and formed a separate alliance (Sonderbund) binding them to defend each other's independence and rights of sovereignty. Several armed fights had already taken place at various places, and a civil war was in preparation. The French government was somewhat anxious about this disturbance in a neighboring country, whose federal treaty was under protection of the Great Powers, by the very fact of its neutrality. In the interests of liberty, thus threatened, as well as peace, France believed it her duty to stir up on the part of Europe a diplomatic intervention, which might dispense with a material and violent intervention. For that purpose a memorandum from the five great powers was addressed to the Diet; but it had been with great difficulty forced from Lord Palmeston against his inclination, and he secretly informed the Swiss Radicals of it.⁸

The contest between Liberalism or Conservatism was a

Continental one, and the action of the Radicals in Switzerland

S. M. Guizot, The History of France from the Earliest Times to 1848. A.L. Burt, New York, Vol. VIII, pp. 367-68.

was followed, not only with interest, but with all interference that was possibly safe. The advances made by Liberalism and the Sonderbund War of 1847 were a prologue to the general European Revolutions of 1848. It was but natural, then, that the Great Powers would take their stand beside the Sonderbund which was strongly conservative, although its deepest motives were religious. William IV of Prussia was eager to intervene, lest the very heart of Europe should become a center of infection to the surrounding nations. Guizot and Louis Philippe, struggling against the forces of Liberalism in their own realm, did all in their power to crush the Swiss movement.⁹ Of the smaller countries, Sardinia, Piedmont and northeastern Italy sent money and arms to the Sonderbund; while Austria appointed one of its most capable generals, Frederick Schwarzenberg, to cooperate with Luzern in a plan of attack, should the war break out.¹⁰ But, in spite of all this sympathetic aid, the Great Powers were too slow to bring pressure to bear. No European Power wanted to be the first to make an open attack. Louis-Philippe shrank from immediate measures on account of public opinion in France. Guizot, therefore, proposed to Austria to lead in an armed intervention promising that France would follow. Finally Austria took the first step and placed ten thousand troops on the Austrian-Swiss frontier, but it was too late.

9. Oechsli, p. 390.

10. Ibid., p. 391.

The Liberals of Switzerland became aware of the foreign intervention on behalf of the Sonderbund, and this knowledge precipitated the revolution. The first Council to demand the dissolution of the Sonderbund was Zurich, where the Vorort for 1846 was seated. The demand was repeated by all the Liberal cantons, and the question was put to a formal vote of all the cantons when the Diet met in July 1846. Ten votes out of twenty-two cantons were all that could be obtained for the dissolution during that July Diet. Other issues were pressed into consideration, the revision of the Constitution, the expulsion of the Society of Jesus, and the abolition of the liberal Baden articles. All these questions combined to delay final action about the Sonderbund. As it was, the League continued for the remainder of 1846 to represent its cause in the Diet and to take every means to settle the issues peaceably. Three months after this new defeat of the Liberals in the Zurich Diet, a triumph for them was won at Geneva. On October 8th, the Genevese Radicals, led by James Fazy, a liberal propagandist and journalist, gained control on the eve of the new elections. The streets were barricaded, and the Conservative government was forced to resign in favor of the Radicals who maintained the upper hand in the new government. Thus an eleventh vote was won for the radical cause at the next Diet. But a twelfth was needed to conquer the Sonderbund. That "fateful Canton"

secured by a small Liberal majority, was St. Gall, during its cantonal election held in May, 1847.¹¹

So a year had passed since the last session of the Diet when the Liberals had been defeated. In the meantime two cantons had turned Liberal and success was assured. Diet met at Bern in July, 1847, with Ochsenbein as Executive. Decisive resolutions were taken. A majority of $12\frac{1}{2}$ over $9\frac{1}{2}$ voted for the dissolution of the Sonderbund. On July 20th, the Sonderbund was declared dissolved. Ten days later a committee was appointed to plan the execution of this resolution. On August 16th, by a majority of thirteen cantons over nine, the revision of the constitution was decreed. The question of the expulsion of the Jesuits was deferred to September 3rd. On that date, twelve whole cantons and two of the half-cantons voted for the expulsion.¹² The Liberals had at last attained their three-fold desire through the Diet, and now it remained to conquer the Sonderbund by force, for the members of the Sonderbund, although a minority, stood firmly beside their three demands of (a) re-opening of the monasteries, (b) maintaining the Jesuits, (c) and preserving the Federal Pact at a status quo. A state of war existed between the two Leagues of Switzerland.

Henri Dufour was appointed by the Diet as commander-in-chief of the Federal troops.¹³ He was Genevese, and an experienced general trained in the school of the first Napoleon.

11. Ibid., p. 389.

12. McCrackan, p. 330.

13. Oechsli, p. 392.

He was given an army of 100,000 men, trained soldiers, and the use of 260 guns.¹⁴ Most of the cantons responded to the call and were mobilized with a rapidity that astonished the surrounding Powers. Only Appenzell and Neuchâtel refused to mobilize, declaring themselves neutral.

The seven Catholic cantons assembled 37,000 soldiers, all that could possibly take part, out of a population one-fifth the size of the Liberal cantons. Of the 37,000 many were inexperienced, but attempted service for their cause. The Sonderbund placed Salis-Soglio, a general of Grisons, as commander-in-chief of the forces, while Siegwand-Mueller headed the attacks. The geographic position of the seven cantons was another disadvantage to their union. Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Luzern and Zug were clustered together in the center of Switzerland surrounded by their enemies Aargau, Thurgau, St. Gall on one side, and Zurich, Bern, Vaud and Solothurn completing the circle. Fribourg was completely isolated to the west, as was Valais on the south.¹⁵

Formal declaration of war was made on November 4, 1847, when the Diet passed the resolution to carry out its decision. The representatives of the Sonderbund had quitted the Diet, October 29th.

Dufour, taking advantage of the isolation of Fribourg, planned his first campaign, in which he himself took part,

14. McCrackan, p. 331.

15. Ibid., p. 331.

against that western-most canton. Soglio had stationed 20,000 Fribourgeois in defense of their canton. But their number could, in no way, cope with the superior forces of Dufour, and within a few days they were completely surrounded, and forced to surrender on November 14th. Meanwhile Siegward-Mueller had invaded Ticino with a force of Valais. Dufour paid little attention to the Ticino invasion and to that of Aargau. But, leaving Fribourg, he directed a fatal blow at Luzern, the very center of the Sonderbund.¹⁶ Starting from Luzern, he allowed the left wing to pass over Zug, while the center and right wing concentrated its strength upon Luzern. This plan of dividing his left wing from the central army was unexpected and unwise. Dufour had miscalculated the strength of the Sonderbund forces in Aargau, and there the Liberals were driven back. The left wing, however, drove into Zug and was surprised by a capitulation of the Zug army on November 21.

On November 23 took place the decisive attacks. Dufour directed the central body of his army toward the woods between Lake Zug and the Reuss river. In this strong fortification Soglio's army was standing in defense. The right wing, headed by Ochsenbein, marched farther south to open a way through at Entelbuch. He was successful in an engagement at Schuepfheim and made his way eastward to join the left wing of the army which had come from Zug. The two wings joined, after skirmishes at Meyerskappel and Honau, and pushed on to the fortification

^{16.} Ibid., p. 332.

at Gislikon. But before they had reached the spot, the Sonderbund army under Soglio had driven Dufour northward by a most determined battle. Dufour, reinforced by the two wings from the south, drove a heavy blow against the Soglio fortification at Gislikon, and, after a night of struggle, the Sonderbund forces at Luzern surrendered on the morning of the 24th.¹⁷ The battle of Gislikon was the most determined of the Revolution. The Sonderbund soldiers spent their best effort, but without success. After the surrender of Luzern, the other cantons of the League capitulated successively, Unterwalden on the 25th, Schwyz on the 26th, Uri on the 27th and Valais on the 29th. The Revolution lasted about three weeks. Seventy-eight men on the Federal side were killed, and twenty-eight soldiers of the League, while there were two hundred and sixty wounded altogether.

The terms of surrender dictated by the triumphant Liberals completely crushed the Sonderbund Cantons: The governments of Fribourg, Luzern and Valais were taken over by the Liberals. The six cantons had to defray all the expenses of the war on both sides, amounting to an indemnity of six million francs. Many monasteries in Luzern, Fribourg and Thurgau were suppressed and confiscated. The Jesuits were expelled from Switzerland entirely. The cantons of Neuchâtel and Appenzell were punished for their neutrality by paying the government, for the pension of widows and orphans, 300,000 francs and 15,000 francs respectively. Ibid., p. 333

tively. The conquered cantons were garrisoned until order was re-established and guarantees for the payment of the war indemnity were secured. The cantons were finally evacuated by March, 1848.¹⁸

The Liberal governments then took up the task of revising the Constitution. The Diet appointed a committee, presided over by Ochsenbein, to draft a constitution. The draftsmen were Kern of Thurgau and Druey of Vaud.¹⁹ The draft was prepared by April 8th, 1848, and on September 12, 1848 it was declared by the Diet accepted and enforced.²⁰ The principal clauses contained in it, which are of interest here, are the following:

Switzerland was changed from a loose Confederation of Cantons into a Federated State. Central authority was supreme over the cantons. No canton, henceforth, could undertake any intercourse with foreign governments, nor could individual leagues be formed between the cantons. The central government consisted of two chambers: The Standerat or Council of States, and the Nationalrat or National Council, both of which had a purely democratic representative.²¹ Various rights granted to every citizen by the new constitution were: freedom of settlement, trade, petition, press and freedom of religion "for the recognized Christian creeds."²² However, contrary to these

18. Oechsli, p. 393.

19. Ibid., p. 396.

20. McCrackan, p. 335.

21. Oechsli, pl 347.

22. Ibid., p. 398.

stipulated rights, two pointed exceptions were made: (1) No guarantee would be given for the establishment of monasteries, and (2) "settlement anywhere in Switzerland was forbidden to the Jesuits."²³

Articles 51 and 52 of the new constitution, actually quoted, are as follows:

The order of the Jesuits, and the societies affiliated with them shall not be received into any part of Switzerland; and all action in church and school is forbidden to its members. The prohibition may be extended also, by federal ordinance, to other religious orders, whose action is dangerous to the state or disturbs the peace between sets.

The foundation of new convents or religious orders, and the reestablishment of those which have been suppressed are forbidden.²⁴

The execution of these constitutional laws drove out the Religious of the Sacred Heart as they were regarded by the Liberal governments as a "society affiliated" to the order of the Jesuits.

23. Reymond, p. 297.

24. McCrackan, p. 378.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXPULSION OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SACRED HEART FROM SWITZERLAND IN 1847

While heated contests were taking place in the Diet, votes cast, questions debated, petitions formed and presented, whilst armed insurrections were terrifying the citizens, mob scenes rousing their anger and disturbing their minds and judgments; while all these events preoccupied the Catholics, Conservatives and Liberals of Switzerland, the life at Montet, Fribourg, continued its even existence, undisturbed by the other cantons between 1844 and 1847. The monasteries of Aargau, the Jesuit question, the revision of the Pact were subjects of immense interest and importance, and the object of thought and zealous prayers, but they caused no immediate disturbance in the progress of the work done at Montet. Fribourg, as has been seen, was rarely approached by the Liberals. Thoroughly Catholic and Conservative in government the canton had only a few Liberal risings. The attempts of 1830, during the months following the Paris Revolution, were the most daring, but they proved ineffectual. The people of Fribourg, satisfied with their government, with their center of learning directed by the Jesuits, Dominicans and Redemptorists, with their customs, had

little desire for change, when truth and culture and material progress were already their possessions. These are the reasons why Montet was undisturbed before 1847. The historical events that passed there, between 1844 and 1847 are few and relatively unimportant to anyone not particularly interested in the good done by the Religious, for, certainly, it was the supernatural good of teaching the word of God along with the natural sciences that gave value to the life and work of those last three years at Montet. Relations with their pupils, with the pupils' parents and other seculars who came for retreats, congregations or sodalities, visits from the Bishops of Fribourg, finally, the knowledge of the political life of Switzerland, gained through visitors or various recorded accounts, - all this kept the Religious engaged in their Apostolic work, and hence, formed the history of that house, from the time the Noviceship was transferred to ^{le}Keintzheim in 1844, until Montet was seized by the Liberal government in November, 1847.

The three schools of the Sacred Heart at Montet were the Pensionnat, or boarding school, which increased in numbers during 1843, the day school, called "l'Externat," and the free school or "l'Ecole Pauvre."¹ Each school was a separate unit, having its individual curriculum, building and classes. There was a Mistress General for each, but very often the same class Mistresses taught in the different schools. In the free school, attended by peasant children during the winter months,
 1. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1844, p. 87.

the children were taught religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and manual training. These children were very numerous, varying from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pupils, all docile in temperament and gifted in learning those arts which were the heritage of generations of Swiss peasants. The Externat counted one hundred and forty pupils during the scholastic year of 1844. They came daily to Montet, some travelling a great distance from the surrounding towns of Payerne, Estavazer, Font and Chayrac. Almost the entire Externat were children of rich proprietors, syndics or councilors of State, and their curriculum of study included religion, the elements of philosophy, history, rhetoric and some mathematics. They were industrious students and easily disciplined. "More than one hundred of these children," the account of 1844 reads, "could work in the same study-hall without a single useless word spoken during the time of silence." Their efforts for study were recompensed in many ways, but nothing produced better results than the record of their good points which merited for them admission into one or other of the Sodalties. The account of their closing exercise at the end of the year 1844 gives an interesting detail.

The children of the Externat are characterized by their candor and simplicity; these qualities were never better shown than at the last distribution of rewards, presided over by the Curés of the neighboring parishes. Three long tables covered with vestments for Mission Churches were prepared in the Assembly Hall.

After the recitation of a dialogue and an address, the prizes for good conduct and studies were distributed. Finally, the priests were conducted to the exhibition of vestments. The beaming countenances of the children revealed the joy they possessed in giving their work for the benefit of poor and mission Churches.²

During the year 1845, a change was made in the three schools at Montet. The Pensionnat diminished to forty boarders in 1845 while the Externat continued to increase with children from neighboring families. By way of increasing the Pensionnat, and at the same time making an appeal to the neighboring cantons for the Christian education of their children, the tuition of the Pensionnat was lowered so that it might bring within its influence children of the working classes.³ A state authorization had to be procured for the opening of this new Pensionnat, because it had been stipulated in the permit of 1831 that the tuition of the Pensionnat at Montet should exceed that of any other school for girls in the canton. A slight increase of pupils resulted in the Pensionnat at the opening of Montet in 1846, and gave much hope for the future. But that future existence was too short to fulfill all ^wthat was promised. The new boarders, thus acquired, had excellent dispositions; most of them, brought up by parents whose faith had been strengthened by persecution, had a foundation of solid piety.⁴ Their appreciation, therefore, of Catholic education, of culture and above all, their deep devotion to the Sacred Heart were

2. Ibid., p. 86.

3. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1845, p. 95

forces which held these good children at Montet until they were actually compelled to leave with the Religious in October, 1847.

Besides the successful work done in the three schools, other Apostolic activities that centered at Montet after 1844 were the teachers' retreats and the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart. The latter had been established by the Venerable Curé, M. Dufriche-Desguettes, in his own parish, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, at Paris in 1839. The Society, dedicated to the Immaculate Heart, became a ready means of propagating the Archconfraternity. Branches were established in all the Convents of the Sacred Heart in France.⁵ The Religious at Montet finally obtained in 1845 from the Bishop of Fribourg permission to establish a center in his diocese.⁶ The end of the Confraternity was purely supernatural, dedicated to the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the conversion of sinners and the comfort of the afflicted. Its members increased rapidly and by 1846 the congregation numbered two thousand one hundred members.⁷ The retreat for school teachers was a new work taken up in 1844. The lay teachers of the whole canton were invited to Montet for three days during the vacation months. The response at first was not great; only twenty came to the retreat in 1844 which was preached by Father Burgstahler, S.J.⁸ But the success of this beginning brought increasing

4. (continued from p.122). Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1846, 99

5. Baumard, Vie de la Vénérable Mère Madeleine Sophie Barat, Vol. II, p. 106.

numbers in 1845, 1846 and 1847. Graduate pupils and Children of Mary were also called back to Montet for retreats. They usually came for the retreat in the Pensionnat, given during the school year. Altogether, there were three retreats preached yearly at Montet, each for a different category of retreatants, so that one source of religious instruction and of renewal in the spiritual life for the women of Fribourg was found at the Sacred Heart.

Bishop Tobie-Yenni blessed and encouraged the Apostolic works at Montet. Filled with anxiety himself over the Liberal dangers surrounding the Catholics, he knew well how to practice and preach confidence. To encourage his priests, the Bishop himself gave them a retreat in 1845. This mark of zeal sealed his apostolate.⁹ His health broke under the strain of the political conditions in Switzerland, the the venerable Prelate died, December 8, 1845, at the age of seventy-one. He had been Bishop of Lausanne, Vaud, from 1815 to 1819, when the Pope united Fribourg, Lausanne and Geneva into one diocese, placing Bishop Yenni at the diocesan center in Fribourg, 1821. "A devoted and austere man, he had consecrated his long episcopate to the introduction into his diocese of new religious congregations, to the foundation of parishes in the mixed cantons, and to the battle against Liberalism."¹⁰ His death occurred just two years before the final conquest of the Religious

6. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1845, p. 95.

7. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1846, pl. 98.

8. Documents, Lettres Annuelles, 1844, pl. 87.

just two years before the final conquest of the Religious Congregation which he had helped to establish.

Monseigneur Yenni was succeeded by Bishop Etienne Marilley who had been Curé of Geneva. "Having been expelled from that city by the Protestants he had resided with the Bishop of Fribourg and seemed to inherit all the admirable virtues of this great prelate."¹¹ Monseigneur Marilley was consecrated on March 25, 1846, and succeeded to the Bishopric of Fribourg-Lausanne-Geneva, just seven months before the Liberals seized the government of Geneva in the elections of October, 1846. The new Bishop also encouraged the labors at the Sacred Heart of Montet. His first visit to the Convent celebrated the Feast of the Sacred Heart, June, 1846. After the Mass of the Feast the Bishop confirmed the children of the three schools. He returned again to preside at the Distribution of Prizes which closed the scholastic year of 1846. A third occasion which brought the Bishop to Montet was the death of Pope Gregory XVI. There he celebrated the Solemn Requiem Mass and the funeral ceremonial for the repose of the soul of the Holy Father.¹²

The Annual Letters of Montet, recording the events of the years 1844 to 1847, make only brief references to the political situation in Switzerland, but they are sufficiently strong to

9. (continued from p. 124) Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1845, p. 94.

10. (continued from p. 124) Attinger, V., Godet, M., Turler, H., Publishers, Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse, Tome VII, Yenni, Tobie.

11. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1846, p. 97. 12. Ibid., p. 97

prove that the Religious at Montet were well aware of critical dangers. They wrote the following in 1845:

We share the well founded anxiety of Catholic Switzerland, and also the cares of our first Pastor, (Mgr. Tobie Yenni) but we believe that God will fight on our side and if necessary work a miracle to save His Church. The Bishop foresees the danger, but, filled with that confidence which is linked to divine justice, and fortified by that faith which moves mountains, he repeated with assurance those words of Joad: 'I fear God....but I have no other fear.' That divine faith, everywhere, is more brilliant than ever, and communicates a noble intrepidity to these people who have known, in the midst of the ravages of heresy, how to preserve the faith of their Fathers.¹³

A further quotation from the Letters of 1845 undoubtedly refers to the Liberal invasion into Luzern in the spring of that year, an invasion which was occasioned by the recall of the Jesuits to Luzern and which resulted in a Liberal defeat at Malters, March 31st, 1845:

We see the Swiss Catholics, on the one hand, armed as one man; and, on the other, prostrate before the altar of Mary, the Mother of Mercy, who is never invoked in vain. On the 31st of March, the transferred feast of the Annunciation, Mary, hailed as Help of Christians by the Church, drove back, as once before at Lepanto, a host of enemies not less formidable than the Turks themselves. To the chant of the Miserere there succeeded the Te Deum in thanksgiving....During these terrifying days all passed tranquilly at the Sacred Heart. We were exposed to many hostile visits, as we were supposed to possess treasures enough to enrich the whole canton. Our real Treasures, Poverty and the God of Poverty, protected us in the trial.¹⁴

13. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1845, p. 93.

14. Ibid., p. 93.

The critical year of 1847 arrived, and at Montet, as in the whole of Fribourg, affairs passed almost normally until the declaration of war, November 4. In June, the closing of a successful term was crowned by the Distribution of Rewards.¹⁵ During July and August, the political tension grew stronger, since the Diet had officially ordered the dissolution of the Sonderbund and the expulsion of the Jesuits. However, the date set for the re-opening of the new term in the Pensionnat was August 12. Only a few boarders, some of whom had been children of neighboring cantons, returned for the Fall opening. But the day pupils of the neighboring families returned in goodly number at the re-opening of the Externat.¹⁶

During the months of September and October actual preparations for war were made, troops drafted and camps set up in Fribourg. It was then that advice was sought concerning the continuance of the school at Montet. Some advised the Religious to remain; others said they should leave at once. Such contrary advice made the situation very uncertain. The final decision of Mother Barat came on October 24th: that the schools should be closed and the Community dispersed. Within three days of that date, the command had been executed, and on the 27th there remained only those who guarded the property, Mother Klosen, the treasurer of Montet, a sister and several of the devoted servants who lived near the village.¹⁷ Reverend Mother

15. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1847, p. 116.

16. Ibid., p. 117.

17. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 169.

Stanislaus Verhulst, Superior of Montet since 1845, took refuge with the Hospital Sisters of Geneva who had offered her a place in which she could live while watching the turn of events in Fribourg. The Community of twenty-six Religious was divided into two groups and sent to the Convents of the Sacred Heart at Besançon and La Ferrandière.¹⁸ Their departure was none too soon, for after the declaration of war, November 4, Fribourg was the first canton to be attacked and conquered. The Liberals took over the government at once. The new decrees of the government were enforced and Montet proscribed for suppression. The official seals were placed on the property on December 7, and the Religious were formally ordered to evacuate.¹⁹ But when this order reached them only Mother Klosen and a few companions were at Montet, guarding the property in hope of a restoration. Finally, however, in March, 1848, Mother Barat sent word for the Mother Treasurer to return to France. Thus the house was entirely evacuated, but the hope of its restoration was not despaired of. A legal process was yet in store for the new government of Fribourg. This process lasted from December 1847 to September 1849, and ended successfully for the Society of the Sacred Heart. Because of the many problems of organization facing the new government it is not surprising that the action was slow. It might possibly

18. Documents, Lettres Annuelles 1847, p. 117.

19. Cahier, Vol. II, p. 169.

have been much more delayed had not M. Weitzel, the lawyer of Fribourg, employed by Mother de Charbonnel, been supported by a legation from the French government.²⁰ This French influence was undoubtedly a potent factor in forcing the case through the many departments of the government concerned with the new decrees.

To execute its decrees the Provisionary Government of Fribourg had established seven departments. The Administration Office of Suppressed Religious Corporations was charged with executing the work of suppression, while the Office of Public Instruction received the titles of the suppressed property and became the official authority over the state property thus gained, for the decrees ordered that all property of suppressed Orders should be used for public education. The other five offices of Government that acted with these two in the process of Montet were the Departments of Justice, of Finance, of Education, the Procurator General, and finally the Council of State which approved the decision regarding Montet, after all the facts had been gathered and presented by the Department of Justice.

During the month of December, 1847, M. Weitzel presented to the Provisionary Government the fundamental claim which excluded Montet from Article 5 of the Decree of Suppression. This Article stated that "All movable and non-movable property

20. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction de la Justice, 1848-1850, p. 120.

which the above mentioned corporations (Jesuits and Soeurs du Sacré Coeur) possessed is united to the public domain." Since the Article stipulated "corporations," M. Weitzel maintained throughout the process the fact that Mother de Charbonnel held the title in her own name, and that the government had recognized the deed of sale as that of a private party and not of a corporation. This fact was then held as a reason why the house of Montet should not be subject to Article 5 of the Decree of Suppression. The first four Articles which related to the expulsion of certain Religious orders had already been carried into execution.

The Provisional Government, considering the question of Montet as a private property, as presented by Weitzel, decided that the claim was reasonable and ordered the State Treasurer, under whose authority Montet was then held, to lift the sequestration in January, 1848. These orders were obeyed.²¹ But when final restoration was about to be made the Department of Justice obtained some suspicious information to the effect that the owner of Montet, Mother de Charbonnel, was dead, and that fraud had been committed by those who had succeeded her at Montet.²² The fact was that Mother de Charbonnel was living, then, at the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Poitiers, France.²³ This suspicion of fraud caused a delay of more than a year in the process of restoration. Historically, however, the delay

21. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction des Finances, 1848-1849, p. 16

22. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction de la Justice,

called forth investigations that add to our knowledge of Montet and of the nature of the suppressions made by the Liberal Government.²⁴

From March 1st to May 15th, 1848, the Department of Justice busied itself in gathering information as to the whereabouts of Mother de Charbonnel.²⁵ A notice was sent to the Police of Estavayer to warn the dweller at Montet that unless an attestation of the living Madam de Charbonnel could be found no restoration could be made.²⁶ Mother Klosen was still at Montet, and through her, all necessary proofs were procured in writing from Mother de Charbonnel, then at Poitiers. These signatures and letters of legal attestation were compared with other legal papers and signatures of Mother de Charbonnel recorded in the files of the Council of State,²⁷ and of the Council of Education.²⁸ The suspicion of the forgery of names was cleared and found groundless by May 15th.

However, in the information accumulated in attesting the fact that the owner of Montet was still living, other objections and suspicions were brought forward by the Council of Justice. They challenged the justice of the fact that Mother de Char-

bonnel could hold the title of Montet in her private right and

23. (continued from p. 130), Documents, Vie de la Vénérable Mère de Charbonnel, p. 275.

24. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction des Finances, 1848-1849, p. 94.

25. Ibid., p. 105.

26. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction de la Justice, 1845-1848, p. 393.

27. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction des Finances, 1848-1849, p. 56.

at the same time be a member of a Religious Order. In answering this challenge the case passed through several departments of the Government between November 22, 1848, and February 6, 1849. In the meantime the Directory of Public Instruction, which watched over the care of suppressed property in sequestration,²⁹ rented the land of Montet to a neighboring farmer, Lucernois Portman. The revenue thus acquired was to be used to defray any expenses the government might incur during the process of sequestration, should the property afterwards be restored to the owner.³⁰

When the case was again opened in November, it was transferred from the lawyer, M. Landerset, chief Counselor of State, who was overburdened with work, to the Board of Instruction which formulated four questions concerning the rights of Mother de Charbonnel and sent them to the Council of Justice to be considered.³¹ The questions were based on information collected about the Society at Montet and were formulated as follows:

(a) Has the Council of State the necessary power to alienate from the State property which has been incorporated in the domain of the State by a sovereign decree?

28. (continued from p. 131). Documents, Correspondance du Conseil d'Education, 1838-1848, p. 363.

29. Documents, Protocole de l'Instruction Publique, 1849, I, pp. 4-5.

30. Documents, Protocole de l'Instruction Publique, 1848, II, p. 151.

31. Ibid., pp. 231-234.

(b) Is not the State sufficiently authorized to draw into its own hands the title to Montet, in view of the following information gained about the Religious society established there? - That, at first, the establishment existed under the private title of a Pensionnat, which private title was assumed in all public documentary acts, but that, later, sufficient proof showed that at bottom it was the property of a religious corporation.

(c) Could Madam de Charbonnel, acting as Superior at Montet, draw into her own hands a private title? Would this act be allowed by the laws of her Order?

(d) If, in the case, that the State cannot lawfully obtain the title to this property of Montet, would it not be wise to maintain the claim of the State by a law suit? And, finally, if that means should fail, would it not be better to impose on the owner, Madam de Charbonnel, the obligation of alienating the domain by selling it within one year after it may have been restored to her?³²

After the Council of Justice received these questions, they were handed over to the State lawyer, the Procurator General, on December 6th, 1848.³³ The Procurator held them until January 29, 1849. During this time the Council of Justice was besieged by requests, and importunities from the French legation and M. Weitzel, who had already waited more than a year for the settlement of the process.³⁴ The Council of Justice, in turn, made impatient inquiries to the Procurator General during December and January.³⁵ Finally, the Procurator's legal response to the four questions came to the Council of Justice. The whole process was then summarized before the

^{32.} Ibid., II, pp. 231-34.

^{33.} Documents, Correspondance de la Direction de la Justice.

Council of State for a final decision. The introductory words of the Justice' report to the State are:

In decreeing under date of November 19, 1847, that the Jesuits and affiliated Corporations should be expelled from Fribourg territory, the Provisionary Government has included in this measure the Soeurs du Sacré Coeur established at Montet where they had opened a house of education.³⁶

Then, after summarizing the history of the process for the restoration of the property, the Council of Justice states, in full, the four responses to the formulated questions as judged by the State lawyers. Three of the responses are summarized as follows:

(a) The Council of State has not the power to alienate property from the State which has been incorporated in the domain of the State by a sovereign decree, if the property has been really united to the property of the State. Montet, he then judges, is not really incorporated in the State domain.³⁷

(b) Since the Religious at Montet wore the religious habit and lived a conventual life that was evident to all, there was no dissimulation practiced on the part of the Religious; and simply because Mother de Charbonnel lived under religious rules does not necessarily mean that she could not hold private property.³⁸

34. (continued from p. 133) Ibid., p. 105.

35. (" " ") Ibid., p. 104.

36. Documents, Rapport de la Direction de la Justice au Conseil d'Etat. Fribourg le 6 Février, 1849, par Leon Pittet.

37. Ibid., Fribourg le 6 Février, 1849. 38. Ibid.

(c) Passing to the fourth question the Procurator judged that, considering his former judgment by which Montet was not really a property of the State, a law suit would entail diplomatic complication with the French legation, an event which would place the Government in an embarrassing situation.³⁹

The reasons and judgments of the Procurator General were altogether favorable to the restoration of Montet. When the Council of State received the report of the Council of Justice, their decision was to restore the title of Montet to Mother de Charbonnel under certain conditions:⁴⁰ She must defray all the expenses that the Fribourg government had incurred at Montet during the time of sequestration. She must respect the lease of the property to Lucernois Portman until it expired. She must alienate the property, by sale or otherwise, within a year after its restoration.⁴¹

On February 10, 1849, M. Weitzel was notified by the Council of Justice of the decision in favor of his client, Mother de Charbonnel. The notification ran as follows:

Your claims having been submitted to the necessary verifications a second time, the Council of State authorizes me to recognize the domain of Montet as private property, and to declare consequently that, as such, it cannot be held by Article 5 of the Decree of November 19, 1847....⁴²

39. Ibid.

40. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction de la Justice, 1838-1850, p. 183.

41. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction des Finances, 1848-1849, p. 923.

42. Documents, Correspondance de la Direction de la Justice, 1848-1850, pp. 183-34.

Then there followed the three conditions under which the property would be restored by the government. If these conditions were not fulfilled, the State would after a year assume the title of Montet. M. Weitzel accepted the conditions, in the name of Mother de Charbonnel, and the property was returned to her by right. The documents then show that M. Weitzel negotiated the sale of the entire property, August 14, 1849, to Casimir Caille for 130,000 French francs.⁴³

The restoration was then made to Mother de Charbonnel, who had bought the property in her own name in 1830. By the sovereign Decree of November 19, 1847, the Society was expelled from the territory of Switzerland. When the Swiss Constitution of 1848 was slightly modified in 1874 this Decree remained unchanged. The Constitution of 1874 is still in force, consequently the Society of the Sacred Heart has never been able to found another Convent in Switzerland.

Anti-clerical laws may force Religious Orders from a country, but where good seed has been sown, persecution brings abundant fruit. Such has been the case in Switzerland. In the Catholic cantons the faith has been guarded with a jealous love. In Fribourg, especially, tradition has kept alive the spirit of the Sacred Heart. To secure that spirit and that education, succeeding generations of children have been sent abroad to France and Italy to the boarding schools of the

43. Documents, Registre du Notaire Nicholas Bulet, No. 4428, pp. 183 et seq.

Sacred Heart for one hundred years. In this way there has been perpetuated in Switzerland that love and devotion to the Sacred Heart which is the end of the Apostolate of the Society of the Sacred Heart.

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Lettres Annuelles de la Société du Sacré Coeur, 1839; 1840; 1841; 1843; 1844; 1845; 1846; 1847; 1859-1862; 1863-1865; 1868-1869; 1869-1871.

These twelve volumes of documents are records of the important events that take place yearly in each house of the Society. Each Convent is obliged to write the chief events and a short biography of each member who has died during the year. The records are then sent to the center of the Society where they are combined and printed and sent to each house of the Society for its archives. The eight volumes from 1839 to 1847 were printed yearly and form the primary source of the history at Montet. The four volumes from 1859 to 1871 were printed every two years and they give information about the religious who lived at Montet. Particularly important were the biographies, found there, of Mothers Henrietta Coppens, de Charbonnel, Emma de Bouchaud, and Desmarquest.

Archives d'Etat, Fribourg, Suisse, Copies^d by Jeanne Niguitte and sent to Pere Henggeler at the Abbey of Einsiedeln, Schwyz, October 25, 1932.

These documents consist of legal correspondence, reports, deeds, contracts and deliberations recorded in the State

archives of Fribourg concerning the Religious of the Sacred Heart at Middel and Montet. There are transcripts of fifty-seven legal records copied by J. Niguitte and sent to Père Henggeler at Einsiedeln who, in turn, sent these first transcripts to the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Lake Forest. From them the historic conclusions have been drawn which are incorporated in this thesis. All information concerning the purchase of Montet, the state approval of the education of the Sacred Heart, and concerning the expulsion and the restoration of the property of Montet has been obtained from these documents.

Vie de la Révérende Mère de Charbonnel, Compiled by a Religious of the Sacred Heart for the Members of the Society.
This life is not a publication.

As the Treasurer General of the Society from 1825 to 1850, it was the business of Mother de Charbonnel to watch over the material interests of the houses. Many of the foundations in France were supervised by the Treasurer General. She founded Montet and remained as Superior almost two years. Her biography, therefore, is one of the best sources on that foundation during the years 1830 and 1831.

Baunard, Mgr., Histoire de la Vénérable Mère Madeleine Sophie Barat, Librairie Ch. Poussielgue, Paris, 1900, Vols. I, II.

Reverend Mother Goetz, second Superior General, asked Monseigneur Baunard, a noted historian of the Nineteenth Century, to write the life of the Foundress of the Society. He

was given access to the archives of each house of the Society. In consequence the most thorough publication of our history was begun in 1870, and first appeared under the above title in 1875. From the fact that Mgr. Baunard consulted the letters of the Foundress, the letters, journals and records of each house and foundation, his history is a primary source of information about the Society. The original, in French, was translated by Georgiana Fullerton under the title "The Life of the Very Reverend Mother Madeleine Louise Sophie Barat," Roehampton, 1876. Both publications were used in this thesis.

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Mother Adèle Cahier was the Secretary General of the Society from 1843 to 1864. In this position it was her duty to establish the central archives of the Society, and to collect the letters and documents. This work necessarily brought her into the closest connection with the source material of a history. She was given charge of writing a narrative from information at hand. This work, together with her secretarial duties, occupied her fifteen years, at the end of which time it was advised to have a history composed by a historian, not a member of the Society. Thus Mgr. Baunard was commissioned to write the publication that would be preferable to seculars, and particularly so to scholars. The great work of Mother

Cahier, however, was not left unpublished. It contains many memoirs and individual accounts that are summarized briefly by Mgr. Baunard. For instance, the account of the July days, 1830, are detailed by Mother Cahier, whereas Mgr. Baunard omits much interesting information. The two historians, Baunard and Cahier, have afforded the ground work of this entire thesis.

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al research," writes the editor of "A History of Switzerland." This thoroughness of research and originality of presentation are evident from this concise volume, hence it has been classified by the Library of Congress as source material. As to Oechsli's point of view, it is evident that he is strongly biased concerning the Religious and Liberal issues in the 1840 to 1847 period of Swiss history. He favors Liberalism and praises the works done by the Liberals in 1848.

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The thesis, "The History of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Switzerland from the Foundation in 1830 to the Expulsion in 1847," written by Mother Lillian D. Mayer, R.S.C.J. has been accepted by the Graduate School of Loyola University with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Loyola University.

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April 17, 1935