

# Ltrs to Brzozowski



**The Correspondence between P.J. de Clorivière  
and T. Brzozowski from 1814 to 1818.**

**- The Reestablishing of the Order in France -**

*Historical Archives of the Society of Jesus  
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## INTRODUCTION

The majority of the correspondence between Thaddée Brzozowski (1749-1820), General of the Order of the Society of Jesus, and Father Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière (1735-1820), a French Jesuit, is conserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu in Rome. It consists of forty letters (17 by Brzozowski and 23 by Clorivière) and it covers the period of 1814-1818).<sup>1</sup>

The first letter of this collection is dated May 7, 1814 and is written by Brzozowski. In it he charges de Clorivière to reestablish the Order in France. The last, written by de Clorivière, is dated May 23, 1818. In it he thanks the General for relieving him of this task. There are, however, gaps in this collection. For instance, the first letter of de Clorivière that was conserved is dated September 16, 1815, more than a year after his appointment. Yet there had already been an exchange of letters, because in his letter of August 30, 1814, Brzozowski mentions several by Clorivière dating from April and July 1814. There are no letters of Brzozowski for the year 1815. However, during the 1816-1817 period, the correspondence that came down to us, is nearly complete.

This correspondence is the one most cited by Terrien<sup>2</sup> in his writings on Clorivière, and it is used by Burnichon in his first volume on the history of the Order<sup>3</sup>. These works reference this correspondence to establish what is essentially a biographical or institutional perspective. As such, these two approaches contribute to the historiography of the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth centuries. These letters deserve to be edited in their totality because of the general interest they represent which surpasses the biographical framework of de Clorivière's life.

First of all they are the privileged witness of the procedures that permitted the Order to be reestablished in France in a particularly troubled time. The years 1814-1818 were the years of the first Restoration, of the "hundred days", and finally the return to power of Louis XVIII. They were years of profound changes. Moreover, they allow us to better understand what the rebuilding of the Church

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<sup>1</sup> Clorivière's 23 letters are kept at ARSI *Francia 1001* I. These letters are not handwritten by de Clorivière, who is blind himself, but by secretaries (Varin, Grivel, Jennesseaux). He has signed them all. They are written in French except for one, dated February 27 1817, which is in Latin.

The 17 letters of Brzozowski are at ARSI *Russia*. The originals of six of his letters are at AFSJ Vanves, *Letters of the Generals 1790-1829*. They are written in French except for the one dated May 7 which is written in Latin. Six of Brzozowski's letters to Clorivière before 1814 are kept at AFSJ, *Letters of the Generals 1790-1829*. These are the ones dated September 8 1809, June 13 1810, June 7 1810 (*Russia 1016 196*), September 24 1810 (*Russia 1017 25*), September 27 1811 (*Russia 1017 56*), as well as one undated (*Russia 1017 20*). There are also two drafts in Clorivière's hand, written in Latin and destined for Brzozowski, without dates (AFSJ *fonds Clorivière GCI 1114* folder).

<sup>2</sup> J. Terrien, *Histoire du R.P. de Clorivière* (Paris 1891)

<sup>3</sup> J. Bumichon, *La Compagnie de Jesus en France. Histoire d'un siecle 1814-1914*, vol. 1 (Paris 1914) 34196.

must have been like after twenty years of aggression, persecutions, and other troubles, as well as the recovery by the State itself.

Above all, these letters show the relationship between two very different people. Different in their origin, their function, as well as their way of life. The first, Thaddeus Brzozowski, was born on October 21, 1749 in Varmise and entered the Order in 1765 in the province of Masovia. He reentered the Order in Belorussia, and became secretary to Father General Gruber's assistant. On September 2, 1805, after Father Gruber's death on August 26, Brzozowski was chosen to be the next Father General. He inherited the assignment to insure the reestablishment of the Order beginning in 1814 wherever possible<sup>4</sup>. The second, Pierre Joseph de Clorivière, born in St. Malo on June 29, 1735, entered the Order on August 14, 1756. Clorivière chose exile when the schools in France were closed by Parliament in 1762. He rejoined the English province and made his final vows there. He filled various functions until the order was suppressed in 1773. He returned to France after being banned from the Netherlands. In the midst of revolutionary turmoil (1791), he founded two new religious Societies; one for women, the Society of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, and the other for men, the Society of the Priests of the Heart of Jesus. He experienced all sorts of tribulations, but throughout his life one sees a unique desire to see the Order reestablished. He does not even hesitate to entrust the societies he has founded to Adelaide de Cicé, who was their cofounder, so that he can consecrate himself to the work of the reestablishment completely<sup>5</sup>.

In order to appreciate this correspondence and therefore the reestablishment itself, it is fitting to analyze the conditions under which these letters were written.

The two men are far apart. Brzozowski seeks to return to Rome, but this proves impossible. Communications are difficult because Europe is far from experiencing peace. Mail is opened. In this context, the correspondence is particularly revealing. Brzozowski presents his principal orientations, while Clorivière reports on his mode of action. The dominant tone is the reciprocal trust between the two men and the true spirit of obedience displayed by de Clorivière, without denying his own creativity. Very much to the contrary! The political situation in France after the demise of the Revolution and the Empire is particularly difficult and Clorivière has to keep this in mind. Instead of embracing the Restoration blindly, he first seeks to obtain the government's recognition and thereby permit the Order to work openly. The pursuit of a judicial statute which will give his Order its place in society is based more on his

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Zalenski, *Les Jésuites de la Russie Blanche*, vol. 2 (Paris 1886) 138-144.

<sup>5</sup> Clorivière fulfills the function of the "Superior General". That means that he has jurisdiction over all individuals who want to belong to the Society in France. He is not named Provincial because only the presence of schools determines the establishment of a province. This explains the great prudence in the use of these terms which is constantly applied by the General.

respect for authority in the Paulinian sense of the word than on his desire to return to the situation during the Old Regime. Clorivière is not a restorer in the political sense that this term implies. He seeks, in every way possible, to create the best conditions that will allow his Order to again have apostolic impact. Brzowski, on the other hand, watches that it is really the integral old Order which will be reestablished in the spirit of St. Ignatius. He will be very demanding as far as the novitiates, study houses, and other establishments are concerned. These two viewpoints will often oppose each other, but the realism of Clorivière will lead the Jesuits on very concrete paths, whereas the fidelity of Brzowski will constitute a kind of a parapet against what could otherwise have resulted in the discarding of all consistency of the work undertaken.

Just as the instability of the political situation, de Clorivière's personal situation is equally delicate. He is alone, over 80 years old, and almost blind. His former colleagues have almost all disappeared. Some rare survivors like Fleury and Simpson, are abroad and physically incapable to return to France. After 1814 Clorivière is surrounded by people who wish to enter the novitiate but who have already experienced religious life just as was the case with the Fathers of the Faith. Regardless of their good intentions it is clear that the spirit of St. Ignatius will have trouble to penetrate in them. This situation will determine the orientation of the order in France during the XIXth century. Clorivière seems to be what he always was, a man of the possible. Always inspired by the Constitutions and the methods they advocate, he nevertheless understood that in order to regain a foothold in France, the Order absolutely had to exist in a form made possible by the circumstances. Brzowski reminds him of this constantly.

The ensuing correspondence documents the steps Clorivière undertakes in order to organize the formation, government, and mission (of the order). His choices are often criticized and deserve such. It is interesting to see what the criteria are that guide him in a context as chaotic as that which exists during the rebirth. Are they strictly political, human, or are they prophetic in the sense that, rooted as he is in obedience, he can discard his own views in order to dare anchor the work of reestablishment in the only place where it can pretend to exist. In fact it can be seen how Clorivière's strategy springs from his fidelity to the Order and his experience as a founder. Because he lived during the Revolution and because of his experiences with the inspiration and establishment of his foundations, he knows that it is possible to live the religious life integrally and in all truth without flaunting it. In a certain way he repeats the experience of Ignatius; starting from nothing, assembling companions, and finally serving. Keeping in mind the Ignatian intention to proclaim the Gospel and realizing that the immense population which France represents in that period is at risk unless the Order can attract new vocations, he permits special privileges for his mission.

Without obvious glory, but not without grandeur, the reestablishment in France became possible thanks to his never absent apostolic ardor, his love for the Order, nourished as it was by the long years of absence [1773-1814], and also by his very realistic approach to events and people.

Clorivière threw himself into this mission with his whole heart. We cannot but credit him with having oriented and fashioned the Order of the XIXth century. He is, simply but firmly put, the mold which let the new Order spring forth from the old, connected to it without being subjected by it.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Abbreviations:

AFSJ = French Archives of the Society of Jesus. Vanves.

ARSI = Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. Rome.

AFSJM = Archives of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary. Paris.

EJPA = Archives of the English Jesuit Province. London.

DELATTRE, P., *Les établissements de Jesuites en France depuis quatre siecles*, 6 vol. (Enghieb 1949-1957).

HC = *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et recentioris Aevi*. Vol. VI, 1730-1799 by R. Ritzler, P. Sefrin, 1958, Vol. VII, 1800-1846.

MENDIZABAL, R., *Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Jesu ab a. 1814 ad a. 1970* (Rome 1972).

SOMMERVOGEL, C., *Bibliothèque des scrivains de la Compagnie de Jesus (Paris 1890-1911)*.

## Letters

### 1. Saint Petersburg, May 7, 1814.<sup>7</sup>

#### **T. Brzowski to Father Abbot Pierre Joseph de Clorivière, priest in Paris (in his absence to Father Abbot Barruel, canon).**

Orig. Autograph: AFSJ Lettres des Generaux, 1790-1829.

*Father P. Brzowski charges Father de Clorivière with the preparation of the reestablishment of the Society in France.*

[Transl. Note: This letter, written in Latin, is not translated. To maintain consistency with the original text, the footnotes pertinent to this letter are included.]<sup>8 9 10 11 12 13 14</sup>

### 2. St. Petersburg, August 30, 1814.

#### **T. Brzowski to Father Abbot Pierre Joseph de Clorivière, Rue Vaugirard, Maison des Carmes no. 72, in Paris.<sup>15</sup>**

Orig. Autograph: AFSJ Lettres des Generaux, 1790-1829.

*He invites P. de Clorivière to appeal to his old dispersed companions to work for the reestablishment. He encourages him to admit a certain number of old members of the congregation of the Fathers of the Faith. He confers on him all the powers necessary to carry out this task.*

My Reverend Father,

I have received your letters dated July 6, 13 and 22, but those which you wrote in April did not reach me<sup>16</sup>. The news you give me is very encouraging. I hope that God will bless the work you have started, after having made sure, as prudence required, that the ecclesiastical and civil authorities gave their

<sup>7</sup> The date, May 7 1814, is the one that is written on the signature. This is the date according to eastern computation. It corresponds to May 19 according to western computation.

<sup>8</sup> The Count of the Province, captured by the Allies, becomes King, using the name for Louis XVIII.

<sup>9</sup> After the interval of the Revolution and the Empire, the Bourbon dynasty is reestablished in the person of Louis XVIII (1755-1824), son of the Dauphin, the son of Louis XV and Marie-Josephe de Saxe.

<sup>10</sup> The Pope, Pius VII (Pope from 1800-1823) had agreed to the possibility of reestablishment before the promulgation of the Papal Bull.

<sup>11</sup> The Society was suppressed in France by order of the Parliament of 1760

<sup>12</sup> The qualification of "Very Pious King" for Louis XVIII would prove quickly to be very inexact. In fact, his religious sentiment is only political opportunism. Cf. P. de la Gorce, *La Restauration - Louis XVIII* (Paris 1926).

<sup>13</sup> Augustin de Barruel (born 2/10/1741 Villeneuve de Berg; SI 15/10/1756. Tolo. 15/10/1816 Fr; died <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub>/1820 Paris). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 272.

<sup>14</sup> Jean-Baptiste Grosier (born <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub>/1741 St. Omer; SI 7/7/1761 Nancy; died 7/12/1829 Paris) enters the Society just as the suppression begins. He receives early training in Lorraine, then later in Palermo. Chased from Sicily, he returns to France. He is canon at St. Louis du Louvre. He edits the *Année Littéraire* from 1771-1776 and again after the Revolution. In 1812 he is librarian at the Arsenal where he becomes administrator under the Restoration. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, III 1857-1860.

<sup>15</sup> At that time Clorivière lives in an annex to the convent of Carmes

<sup>16</sup> Lost letters.

approval<sup>17</sup>. I do understand that the secrecy which, out of necessity, needs to be maintained, does not permit assembling a great number of novices in the same place, but could we not have several small but similar assemblies in some of the major towns of the Kingdom, e.g. Lyon, Bordeaux, etc., to satisfy the desires of the great numbers which present themselves, and in order to be able to provide more services when the occasion of being in the open shall arise?

I sense that the biggest obstacle you will find is to assemble the people to conduct and direct these novices. I do not judge it appropriate to send them from here because, apart from the fact that we cannot easily send you our people, such envoys would be noticed and would subvert the secrecy which we have to keep at present. Try then, for now, to find in all of France, some of our old members who will be empowered by their zeal. Use Father Pralet,<sup>18</sup> write to Father Fleury or Forrester<sup>19</sup> and tell him that if he wants to go to France to undertake this good work and to give the Society the proof of his attachment and devotion, he will do something that will please me greatly. I myself will write to Father Stone<sup>20</sup> on this subject. Next you should choose from the candidates that present themselves those you deem the most likely to acquire the spirit of our saintly Father Ignatius in a short time. After they have completed a year of novitiate, or even just a few months, depending on their dispositions and fervor, you could use them to help you in the formation of others. It is suitable that you would let those who are already priests when you receive them, start by doing the great exercises for a month. That is the practice we follow here, and it is even more necessary to do that in France to form the subjects as fast as possible. We have so many examples of the marvelous effects these holy exercises produce in transforming those who did them into new men, that we have reason to hope that God Himself will deign to shed His blessings thereon, in this time where we have such a pressing need for apostolic workers.

It seems that you have a good number of old members of the Congregation of the Faith<sup>21</sup> at your disposal. I know that for a long time most of them had no

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<sup>17</sup> Clorivière takes action. We will ignore with who and under what conditions. The only allusion is found in the report of Grivel to Fortis. Cf. "Status Provinciae Galliae expositus a MRP. Aloysius Fortis to R.P. Fidelis Grivel electore deputato ad 20 Congr. Gen 17 decembris 1820) ARSI *Francia* 1002 1 7.

<sup>18</sup> Raymond Pralet (born 2/22/1734 Amiens; SI 9/19/1756; died a.s.)

<sup>19</sup> Charles Fleury, alias Forrester (born 4/21/1739 Rouen; SI 9/13/1756 Fr.; 9/7/1804; died 5/2/1825 Newhall). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 465. We know this fellow novice and friend of P.J. de Clorivière mainly through the correspondence exchanged between the two men at the time of the suppression of the Society in France. Cf. C. Reynier, *La correspondance de Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière, S.J. a Charles Fleury S.J.* AHSI 61 (1992) 91-170.

<sup>20</sup> Marmaduke Stone (born 11/18/1748 Draycott; SI 9/7/1767 Engl; died 8/1/1834 St. Helena) Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 820. One of the letters written by Brzozowski dated March 3 1815 is kept at EJPA Serbata.

<sup>21</sup> The Fathers of the Faith were founded in 1797 by Paccanari in the hope of a possible restoration of the Society. Clorivière had tried to ask for admission there. The existence of that society forces him to re-examine the foundations of his own goals. Paccanari will take a direction that has nothing to do with the Society and the Fathers of the Faith will merge with the Sacred Heart Society. A. Rayes, *Clorivière et les Peres de la Foi*, ANSI 21 (1952) 300326 has made an excellent analysis of the relations of Clorivière and the Fathers of the Faith. Cf. Also T. Clements, *Les Peres de la Foi' in France 1800-1814. Spirituality, foundations, biographical notes*, AHSI 57 (1988) 233-262.



other goal than to be Jesuits; that they studied the Institution and tried to conform to it. You should find a certain number of distinguished members among them with whom you do not have to do a whole lot to make them true Jesuits. Those are the ones you should hasten to admit, beginning with their leader M. Varin<sup>22</sup>. According to all the information I have about him, he is a man of merit, capable of governing, and who indeed did govern a fairly numerous body during several years. I have no doubt that you will be able to make use of his talents in a few months; he himself can point out to you those of his companions from which you can expect the most. Please tell him that I have received his letter and was encouraged by it<sup>23</sup>. I cannot sufficiently praise the perseverance with which he has aspired to the Society for so many years and the eagerness with which he has offered himself as soon as the occasion presented itself. To avoid multiple letters, I am not writing to him; but would you, my Reverend Father, please be my interpreter and tell him that I accept his wishes and those of his colleagues; all those who will be found to possess the necessary dispositions will be admitted without difficulties, but they will have to be a little bit patient and wait for the right moment to enter the novitiate. I think that the members of the Congregation of the Faith can be of service to the Society whilst they wait. I believe that it is very useful that those who wish to enter the Society would be together as much as possible whilst waiting for that moment in order to edify themselves and to encourage each other in their good intention. The members of the Congregation of the Faith could re-occupy the schools they were forced to abandon<sup>24</sup> or form new ones if you do not see any inconvenience in this. St. Ignatius' rule should be observed there as much as possible. Meanwhile some individuals could enter the novitiate and, for instance, return after a year to those schools from where they would send others to enter the novitiate in turn. In such a way everyone would have passed through the novitiate after a certain time and become truly Jesuit, without any exterior indications. That seems to me to be a good approach, but one can only decide locally whether it is practical and what the problems would be. I leave it therefore entirely to your judgment and discretion.

You ask me what you should do with the priests who have fruitfully carried out their ministry and might present themselves to enter into the Society. Some have even gained a reputation but many do not possess much education. You tell me that there are several of these priests in the Congregation of the Faith.

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<sup>22</sup> Joseph Varin de Solemont (born 2<sup>7</sup>/1769 Besancon; SI 7/19/1814 Fr; died 4/19/1850 Paris). Cf. MENDIZABAL, n. 1638. He entered the Society of the Sacred Heart founded by Tournely in 1794. That society's goal was to cause the rebirth of the (Jesuit) Society or to join it if it was restored. Varin became Superior in France after the merger of the Fathers of the Faith with the Society of the Sacred Heart (1800). Father de Clorivière had numerous contacts with them. Cf. n. 21 the article of A. Rayes; M. Colpo, *Una lettera del P. Varin al P. Paccanari del 1801*, *AHSI 57 (1988) 315-329*.

<sup>23</sup> The copy of the letter dated June 1814 in which Varin requests to be received into the Society with his confreres is in *ARSI Francia 1001 1 1*.

<sup>24</sup> The Fathers of the Faith had been persecuted by the authorities of the Empire.

This is the rule to follow. It is simple and general. You should propose to them to enter the society after finishing their studies, and to undergo the examination required for their profession by the Constitution.<sup>25</sup> If they accept, you have to give them the time to prepare themselves for it. If they refuse, you have to tell them that they cannot be accepted for the profession of the four vows - unless they are one of the exceptions which the Constitution or the general congregations make - but that there are different levels in the Society that have the same spiritual benefits.

I do not believe that the circumstances would be sufficient reason to give a dispensation on this important point, because it is not at all necessary that the number who make the four vows is large. If it involves young people with a distinguished talent who have not finished their studies, they should be encouraged to finish without fragmenting or shortening them, and they could be send to some seminary we trust, like the one of Saint Sulpice.

You were right in not presenting the note I sent you to his very christian Majesty since you decided that it could be harmful. From this distance I can only have very uncertain ideas about the current situation, and communication is so slow that the circumstances which dictate my taking a certain decision could be changed before you receive my letters. So you have to decide a lot of things by yourself and I rely on you to judge what is best after having sought as much advice as you can. I give you all necessary powers to establish secret novitiates where you deem it convenient; to appoint novice masters there; to shorten the time of the novitiate, without, however, allowing novices to take vows before two years have expired; to permit simultaneous study or teaching during the novitiate, whatever the circumstances may dictate. I only ask that you write me as often as possible to keep me informed.

I ask you to present my humble respects to Monsignor the Nuntius<sup>26</sup>. Act in everything with his agreement and consult him often in order to avoid doing anything that may seem too hasty or could displease the Pope in whatever way. Cultivate also the relationship with our good friends who have influence with the King and especially the relationship with Mr. de Bombelles<sup>27</sup> who I just wrote to recommend the interests of the Society. I have asked him to receive you and help you in every possible way.

You express fear about the validity of your profession. Your Reverence may and should be at peace about this. If your vows had been invalidated in principle, which I don't believe, or if they had been annulled by the Brief of abolition,

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<sup>25</sup> Examen ad gradum. Cf. *Inst. S.J. III 686-688*, Professi, Professio.

<sup>26</sup> It concerns Annibale Sernattei della Genga (1760-1829), to become Pope Leo XII in 1823, who is "extraordinary nuntius" in 1814 in Paris. Cf. G. DeMarchi, *The Apostolic Nuntiate from 1800 to 1956* (Rome 1957) 125.

<sup>27</sup> Marc-Marie de Bombelles (1744-1822), future bishop of Amiens (1817-1822) HC VII 70.

which I believe even less, you have renewed them according to the permission I gave you to that end. I received the authority for this directly from the Pope<sup>28</sup>. What doubt can you then still have? You are, and don't doubt it, a worthy and respectable professed member of the Society. I can only regard you as such and exhort you to consecrate the last years of your life to the service of God and His greatest glory with the same zeal you have shown until now.

I transmit my thoughts to you through the hand of others<sup>29</sup> only to be relieved a bit in the multitude of letters I am constantly obliged to write. Please write me in French. (In that language\*) your writing will be easier to read for me. I will respond to you in the same language. Remember, my Reverend Father, at your age you must name your successor early; a priest you deem the most suited to advance the work of God. As for the rest, I recommend myself to your prayers, my Reverend Father and am, in union with your holy sacrifices, your servant in Our Lord. Wishing you the vigor and many blessings of God, I remain

Thaddee Brzozowski.

### 3. Saint Petersburg, October 13/25, 1814.

**T. Brzozowski to the Very Reverend Father Pierre Joseph de Clorivière, S.J.  
Rue Vaugirard, Maison des Carmes, nr. 72, in Paris.<sup>30</sup>**

Orig. Autograph: AFSJ Lettres des Generaux, 1790-1829.

*He requests celebrations in thanksgiving for the general reestablishment of the Society.  
He announces his plan to go to Rome.*

My Reverend Father Superior<sup>31</sup>, P.C.

Besides replying to a letter from Father Abbot Radurski<sup>32</sup>, I add a short letter for you, my Reverend Father, and I inform you that His Eminence Msgr. Cardinal Pacca<sup>33</sup> has sent me, together with a letter, the Papal Bull of the general reestablishment of our Order<sup>34</sup> by order of His Holiness. After thanking the

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<sup>28</sup> Clorivière is a member of the Province of Russia in 1805, while he is imprisoned in the Temple under suspicion of having participated in the conspiracy of the infernal machine against Napoleon. (Cf. Letter of Lustyg, who assumes the leadership in the interim following the death of Father Gruber, to Clorivière, June 22, 1805. ARSI *Russia* 1016 302). Cf. Letter of Clorivière to Fleury. June 26, 1814 (letter 43).

<sup>29</sup> This final paragraph is in the handwriting of Brzozowski.

\* Transl. Note: Text enclosed in parenthesis is added to clarify the French nuance.

<sup>30</sup> In September 1814 Clorivière had to leave the Rue de Vaugirard for reasons of space. Thanks to the Visitandines, he occupies a part of the Hotel de Juigne, Rue des Postes, where he can receive more people. In 1815 there are already 45 persons who have presented themselves to enter the Society in Paris. (Cf. Vivier, *Catalogus sociorum et officiorum Societatis Jesu in Gallia* 57).

<sup>31</sup> This letter is entirely in the handwriting of Brzozowski.

<sup>32</sup> Radurski: unknown person.

<sup>33</sup> Bartolomeo Pacca (1756-1844), Cardinal. HC V1137.

<sup>34</sup> The Papal Bull, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* promulgated on August 7, 1814 by Pius VII.

Fathers of Mercy here with all my confreres who are in Russia, I find that this gracious act of our Holy Father, the Sovereign Pontiff, deserves all our gratefulness. That is why I charge you to notify all the priests of our Society that they are to say three Holy Masses asking God for a long life for the Holy Father and a pontificate which will make the whole Church bloom again. The non-priests are to say three rosaries for the same intention. I will supplement the rest of the masses and rosaries until there are two thousand. I offer this number in a letter of thanks to the Holy Pontiff.

I presented myself here to H.E.M., the count of Noailles<sup>35</sup>, and the very Christian ambassador of His Majesty near our court. He received me very graciously. He is a man who exhibits all the examples of religion and piety here. He comes to our church not only on Sundays and Feast days, but also very often on weekdays. If H.M. my Emperor<sup>36</sup> will allow it upon his return here, I will come to Rome. I have already taken certain steps to obtain the permission of the government, but taking everything in consideration my trip could not take place before the next month of May. I wrote you on August 30 and I hope you received my letter. Let me have the pleasure of being informed about the state of our affairs with you; how many you are; how you provide for these persons and how God's work is going; if you have tested the plan regarding the Fathers of the Faith and how it is succeeding.

I write this in French, hoping that you will be able to understand me sufficiently. I am, my Reverend Father Superior, your servant in Our Lord, in union with your holy Sacrifices.

Thaddee Brzozowski.

#### **4. Paris, September 14, 1815.**

##### **P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in St. Petersburg.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 14.

*He speaks of Miguel and then takes the advice of the General with regard to the Fathers of the Faith whom he integrated into the Society. He asks that the oldest ones and the most zealous be admitted to the profession. He describes the situation in the different houses in Paris, Soissons, and Amiens as well as the projects of reestablishment in Brittany. He gives the names of the English Fathers whom he has asked for help. The post-script announces the desire of Father Barruel to make his vows in Rome.*

My very Reverend Father, P.C.

Your Reverence may be surprised that in my last letter I did not talk at all about

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<sup>35</sup> Louis Joseph, Count of Noailles (1783-1835) Minister of State of Louis XVIII (in 1814).

<sup>36</sup>The Tsar Alexander 1 (1777-1825) Emperor of Russia from 1801-1825.

Mr. Miguel to whom you wrote as well as to me<sup>37</sup>. I only just received his reply in which he talks about the consolation he has felt seeing the signs of the blessing you gave him. He has also been very satisfied that I was ready to admit him as one of us under the conditions I stated to him. He testifies to be willing to take on any kind of employment I felt I had to require from him; but he is held back by previous engagements. Your letter and mine were very much delayed due to circumstances that did not allow us to send them to him by an ordinary route. He is not sure that he will be free and he asks for time to consult Our Lord.

The following is the principal purpose of my letter. It has now been more than a year that a great number of people, especially those who were Fathers of the Faith<sup>38</sup> until then, joined us and Your Reverence made us foresee that it would not be required for them to have completed the two years of novitiate. Would you please indicate to me in a more specific manner what your intentions are in this regard? It is really important that several people who are ready be permitted to make their vows. Since we are obliged to place several in the colleges, it seems to me very proper that those we place over others, should have made their first commitments. We would only allow those whose merit and virtue are well known to us. It would be desirable that they all have spent considerable time in the exercises of the novitiate but there are a few for whom the circumstances and needs of the Society have made this impossible. Our separation, forced by current events,<sup>39</sup> could be taken as an obstacle for what I feel I have to ask. Nevertheless, I believe that the hardships which they have endured with such constancy should be considered a substitute for what they would have done otherwise.

It would also be desirable that several of the oldest ones, outstanding in their zeal, prudence, and services to the Church or our Society, be admitted to the ranks of the professed ones<sup>40</sup> without further delay. It seems to me that without that the province would not be complete. The number I am talking about would necessarily be small in the beginning, as your Reverence has indicated previously. I feel that I have to share my ideas with you, and that you should give us your orders regarding this matter. We will submit with complete obedience. I do not think that it is necessary to add that this favor would only be given to those who have made the great thirty day retreat, as you have suggested to us. I request the same permission for final vows be given to both

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<sup>37</sup> Letter by de Clorivière to Miguel who is then in Toulouse, dated March 24, 1815 (Maryland Jesuit Province Archives 204 K 14)

<sup>38</sup> According to the Archives, more than thirty Fathers of the Faith will integrate into the Society. (Cf. Vivier, *Catalogus Sociorum et officiorum* 13-13)

<sup>39</sup> Napoleon's second abdication takes place on June 22, 1815 after the hundred days that provoked the Jesuits' dispersion. Louis XVIII returned to France on July 8. The elections of August 14 and 22, 1815 established the "Unfindable Chamber" with had ultra-royalist tendencies

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Inst. S.J.* III 687-688, Professio

the spiritual and temporal coadjutors.<sup>41</sup>

I cannot finish this letter without talking about my present situation to Your Reverence. I am alone with another priest in the house we occupy here. My first concern after the happy changes that occurred here was to recall Mr. Varin as well as some of our other people. But things are not yet stable here and therefore, following the opinion of knowledgeable people, we have not deemed it possible to follow our preferred course. Instead we are following the plan that you, Father, laid out for us. Instead of only one novitiate, we have spread out our novices over various schools and in each of these we have placed an experienced person who will watch over them and will give them the necessary instruction as best as circumstances permit. Besides our house in Paris, only that in Soissons has noticeably suffered from the change of things.<sup>42</sup> We hope things will get back on a better footing. Our other institutes have remained the same. Amiens<sup>43</sup> has received all kinds of blessings, both spiritual and temporal, during this whole year. I am on the verge of going there and from there to Soissons to give spiritual exercises and, according to my habits, three exhortations per day; but before that I felt I had to have a meeting with the Superiors of our different houses to plan what needs to be done to put things in the best possible order in the present circumstances. From all this you can see that my health is good and I no longer feel the effects of my operation,<sup>44</sup> except that I don't see any better than before. However, my sight is good enough to get around and to see things that are a big.

We are ready to get established at Belley<sup>45</sup> and also in Brittany in the diocese of Vannes<sup>46</sup>, and Providence sends us a number of candidates that seem to be suitable. We hope to be able to work usefully for education or, the missions, but not without finding quite a few obstacles that only Providence can help us overcome.

Right now a reunion of secular ordained missionaries is being organized which seems to have found favor with His Majesty, and whose success we also desire.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> On the spiritual and temporal coadjutors, Cf. *Inst. Si.* III 576-577, Coadiutores

<sup>42</sup> The major seminary was staffed by the Jesuits at the request of the bishop of Soissons. An imperial *decree* of May 24, 1815 had ordered the requisition of the house to make it into a surgical hospital. It was to be reopened after the hundred days. Cf. DELATTRE IV 1130-1136.

<sup>43</sup> The house in Amiens was founded by a Father of the Faith, Louis Seiner, who, upon entering the Society, had offered them his establishment. Jenneaux is its superior from October 1814 till June 1816. Cf. DELATTRE I 203-208. It should be noted that this is the only one of the early establishments of the new Society that will survive for some time. (1814-1901).

<sup>44</sup> The cataract operation he talks about in a letter to Fleury (letter 44: July 23, 1814).

<sup>45</sup> Belley where the Fathers of the Faith had a school from which they were expelled by Napoleon in 1808. There was never and would never be an establishment of the Society in that town. Cf. DELATTRE I 592.

<sup>46</sup> The future establishment of St. Anne d'Auray.

<sup>47</sup> Since March 2, 1815 the congregation of foreign missions is authorized. Cf. Father Nourrisson, *Histoire legale des*

I received a letter from Father Stone, Provincial of England, ready to execute your Reverence's orders as far as we are concerned. It is impossible for Father Forrester<sup>48</sup> to make the trip due to his infirmities. He (the provincial)<sup>49</sup> has pointed out to me how much he would be wronged by Father Simpson's<sup>50</sup> sacrifice. I think that, in view of the change in circumstances, this is not such a pressing necessity for us and that therefore I could rescind my request. I will ask again when we need it. We are expecting Father Fontaine,<sup>51</sup> but we have not yet received confirmation of his departure. We plan to have him preside as Superior in some of our seminaries, entrusting him with the task to admit those of his canton that would present themselves. With the same goal in mind, we could even send him as a visitor to certain places where we could not go ourselves.

You will recognize the hand<sup>52</sup> that has written this letter which I dictated. It is all mine. Our most ardent wishes are that the Lord showers your Reverence, the Society, and the province of Russia with His most abundant blessings.

I remain, with the most profound veneration, my very Reverend Father, your most humble and obedient servant and son.

P.J. de Clorivière

PS: Father Barruel sends you his respects and, assuming your consent, plans to come to Rome as soon as it will be possible. If your Reverence agrees, he plans to make his last vows at that time. He fears that if he entered one of our houses here, it might cause a sensation detrimental to us.<sup>53</sup>

## 5. Paris, October 27, 1815.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, St. Petersburg, Russia.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia 1001* 15

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*Congregations religieuses en France depuis 1789*, vol. 1 (Paris 1928) 117-160.

<sup>48</sup> Notwithstanding de Clorivière's insistence, who writes his friend four times begging him to join him. Cf. Letters 43 (June 26, 1814), 44 (July 23, 1814), 45 (October 12, 1814) and 46 (March 8, 1815).

<sup>49</sup> There is a cross under the "He". In the margin the following note is written: "the Father Provincial".

<sup>50</sup> Antoine-Louis Sionest, alias Simpson (born 6/19/1742 Nevers; SI 10/11/1756 Gall.; died 6/25/1820 Saint-Acheul) Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 260. It is a fellow novice of de Clorivière. He wrote to him and Fontaine at the same time on March 8, 1815. Cf. AFSJ, *fonds Clorivière*, GC1116, B.

<sup>51</sup> Jean-Baptiste de La Fontaine (born 5/30/1739 Cany; SI 9/13/1757 Gall.; died 3/27/1821 Paris. Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 295.

<sup>52</sup> It concerns de Varin

<sup>53</sup> In consideration of his polemic works: *les Helviennes ou lettres provinciales philosophiques (1781)*, *Lettre sur le divorce a un depute, our refutation d'un ouvrage ayant pour titre du Divorce (1789)*, *Observations sur l'instruction publique (1791)* and especially *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du jacobinisme (1797-1799)*, a publication which evokes protests in England, Germany, and France. His most criticized work is titled: *On the Pope and his religious rights at the occasion of the Concordat* (Paris, Crapart 1803). Cf. SOMMERVOGEL I 930-945; M. Riquet, *Augustin de Barruel. Un Jesuite face au jacobinisme franc-macon 1741-1820* (Paris 1989) in particular pages 137-144.

*He tells about the explosion of the powder magazine in Soissons. He reports on his visit to the establishments of Amiens and Soissons. He speaks of the opening of a house at St. Anne d'Auray. He presents a political evolution which could be favorable to the reestablishment of the Society. In this context he expresses his wish for the Father General to come to France for the eventual steps which need to be taken with the authorities.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I wrote to your Reverence towards the middle of September at the time of my departure for Amiens. I gave my retreat there and next in Soissons. I can only thank the Lord for the graces he has shed on my efforts, be it in the strength he has given me or the good dispositions I noticed in all our people.

The retreat at Soissons was followed by a terrible event which has filled the city with desolation. Whatever distress it could have been for our house, we cannot help but recognize a visible protection of the Lord for us. The powder magazine which lies only about 500 yards from our house, exploded on the 13<sup>th</sup> of that month, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at the time that the students of the minor and major seminary were having recess in the respective gardens that are only separated from the powder magazine by a wall. The explosion was horrible and showered the area with bullets, shells, stones and debris. As the debris fell back on a part of the town and especially on our area, the results were terrible.

Seven pupils of the minor seminary were crushed under the weight of this horrible rain. Only one of ours was lightly wounded, all the others were miraculously saved. The house received ten big holes and a thousand small ones. It seemed as if we would all perish. We have expressed our thanksgiving to the Lord. A great number of other houses have been swallowed up or just destroyed; almost all buildings have been damaged. The cathedral, which is an old and big monument, has also sustained major damage. Not a single stained glass window stayed whole and the big entrance door was thrown clear into the sanctuary. It is unusable but yet it is the only church remaining in this city since the Revolution. Altogether, between 40 and 50 dead and about 200 wounded were counted.

Speaking of this disaster, I must recognize a touch of Providence with respect to myself. According to my plans, I should have stayed two days longer in Soissons. At the time of the explosion I would have found myself in a room where death would have been unavoidable. However, the Lord created a particular circumstance which made me leave two days earlier. As a result of all this, it was necessary to give the pupils time off to put the house in order again. They will reassemble on the ninth of next month.

During my visit to those two houses,<sup>54</sup> I took the measures needed to settle for

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<sup>54</sup> Clorivière makes the visit. This function is a duty of the Provincial who must at a minimum visit each of the



the care of the novices and I communicated these decisions to the Superiors of the two other houses who had also come to Amiens to make their retreat.

After having spoken to you, my Very Reverend Father, about the houses that already exist, I still have to tell your Reverence about the house of St. Anne, near the town of Auray in Brittany. That very large and beautiful house, along with

considerable extra buildings, was given to us by Msgr. the Bishop of Vannes<sup>55</sup> along with evidence of trust and goodness which touched me deeply. He will do everything in his power to ensure the prosperity of this establishment and he has already given proof thereof. The anxiety of the pupils to occupy this establishment has warned me that it was time for the arrival of the professors I needed to send. Altogether there should be a staff of about sixty. Until now only those who I sent to prepare the place are in the house. I will send the others soon.

Furthermore, all current signs point to a new order of things, all favorable to the Society and the goals it has set. The two Chambers<sup>56</sup> are very well disposed towards us and at present have to occupy themselves with the regulations regarding the education of youth. We already know from several deputies that their intention is to make a religious society responsible for this care. Therefore it seems that we are at a very important and perhaps decisive stage for the establishment of the Society in France. Would that not also be, my very Reverend Father, the appropriate moment to tell you about a most ardent desire in my heart? Your Reverence plans to go to Rome soon. How many advantages and what consolation would your presence procure if you would make a little detour and honor us with a visit! Your Reverence could eliminate quite a few of our difficulties. By personally seeing the current state of affairs as well as our position, you could guide our direction for the greatest glory of God and the success of our establishment in France. I think that by staying *incognito* upon arrival, you might well be able to secure a secret audience with His Majesty which could have very happy results. If your Reverence would deign to do us this favor and let us know the time of your arrival in France, one (of our\*) priests could go to meet you at the border. If you would need financial help in Paris to continue your trip, I am sure that this could be easily arranged. If, however, my Very Reverend Father, it is not possible to grant us this favor, may we then hope that you can send us one of the French Fathers who are

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province' houses once a year. Cf. *Inst. Si* III 85-88.

<sup>55</sup> Pierre-Francois de Bausset-Roquefort (?-1829) named bishop of Vannes by Napoleon in 1808. He remains bishop until 1819, HC VII 391.

<sup>56</sup> The two chambers are the Chamber of Pairs and the Chamber of Deputies. The king opened the session of the second on October 7, 1815. It is made up of ultra-royalists and seems to have given some hope to religious congregations.

\* Translators Note: Text enclosed in parenthesis is added to make the English legible and clarify the nuance present in the French language.

near you and if possible,

Father Rozaven.<sup>57</sup> The experience he has in the practices of the Society would be of great help to us during the reestablishment. With the exception of a few that should arrive at any time, those that the (political) storm had dispersed are now reassembled<sup>58</sup>. Father Fontaine has not yet arrived. I think he has not received my last letter, written in Soissons.

I am, with the deepest veneration and the most total devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière.

## 6. Paris, November 28, 1815

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, at St. Petersburg, Russia.**

Received December 27, 1815.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI 100116.

*He relates that he has given the exercises as the General suggested in his letter. He recognizes that he has misinterpreted what Brzozowski had said about the examination before professing. He explains how from now on he will watch that the philosophy and theology examinations are given by suitable people. He justifies the acceptance of various establishments and the functions given to novices who have not yet finished their formation with a number of arguments. He gives accounts of the organization of the houses of Bordeaux and Montmorillon, then of Amiens and Soissons. He requests to be relieved of his functions.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

The advice and instructions in your last letter of October 13/25<sup>59</sup>, given by your Reverence with a truly fatherly goodness, deserve my most sincere thanks.

I remembered that you had already given these in a previous letter, which I had read to me again. At that occasion I decided to give the exercises of the 30 day retreat to those of our priests who were then in the position to do so, but I humbly admit that I did not clearly understand what you indicated about the examination which should precede profession. However, I remember that I reminded the most outstanding ones which I admitted to the Society of the holy

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<sup>57</sup> Jean-Louis de Leissegues, alias Rozaven (born 3/9/1772, SI 3/28/1804 Fr.; died 4/2/1851 Rome). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.697. Member of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which he leaves in 1804 to enter the Society in Russia. He will be the French assistant until 1851.

<sup>58</sup> The second Restoration is permanently established in October 1815.

<sup>59</sup> Lost letter

indifference they should have concerning the ranks of the members of the Society. Since you now have the goodness to instruct me again about this, I have made it my duty to fulfill your intentions as soon as this shall be possible. It occurred to me that this misunderstanding on my part could be considered a touch of Providence in that this proposition would probably have frightened several people in the beginning. Now they do not find that same difficulty anymore. I have already commissioned someone to extract the most important propositions from theology and philosophy. I then plan to hand these out to the subjects I deem capable of taking the examination, taking advantage of the time interval your Reverence is allowing them to prepare themselves. I even believe that not all will need a full year, even though of course, generally, because of the Revolution, they have not been able to acquire the extent of knowledge which one desires. This is because, since the suppression of the public schools of theology, only a rather superficial course is given in the seminaries, and philosophy hardly receives any time at all, this in consideration of the extreme need the bishops have for priests.<sup>60</sup>

There is one among them, however, who has a doctorate of the Sorbonne,<sup>61</sup> two who teach theology, and others who were pressed by the bishops to teach in these last years, but who have refused to do so because of the oath<sup>62</sup> that was required and the opinions that are not sanctioned by the Society.

I ask your Reverence to please let me know if I can use those of ours who I deem capable of being examiners, even though not one of them has as yet been able to take the proposed examination. It would be inconvenient to ask help from foreign clergy who, at the present time, are not very used to our kind of argumentation. By the same token, we can hardly use the help of the old members of the Society. Their numbers are small and almost all are incapacitated.

According to your wishes we would have liked to keep the novices in the exercises of the novitiate until they were sufficiently formed, and, until the return of the Usurper<sup>63</sup>, we even started to do so as far as that was possible. If we have not done it as perfectly as we would have desired since that time, we give the following reasons. They are also the ones we decided to accept from the minor seminaries on the various points separating them:

1. The great number of people who would like to join the Society.

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<sup>60</sup> On the profound disorganization of education and its consequences. Cf. C., Langlois and T. Tackett, *A l'épreuve de la Révolution (1770-1830)*, in F. Lebrun, *Histoire des catholiques en France du XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle à nos jours* (Toulouse 1980). G. Cholvy, *Au sortir de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, in G. Cholvy, Y.-M. Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine, vol.1; 1800-1880* (Toulouse, 1990) 12-29.

<sup>61</sup> This refers to Thomas.

<sup>62</sup> The oath of fidelity to the Emperor and to the country.

<sup>63</sup> Napoleon (1769-1821) is commonly so designated by his adversaries

2. The impossibility of running a large novitiate, especially in Paris, because of the fermentation of the opposition of the enemies of religion and especially those opposing the Society.
3. The extreme difficulty to provide the cost of an isolated novitiate without the revenue of a boarding school.
4. The refusal, for the most part, by the bishops to permit their students out of their dioceses without seeing an establishment in their domain.
5. The urgent necessity to withdraw at least a small part of youth from the perversity of the public schools. These are, as is known by the whole world, schools of impiety.<sup>64</sup>
6. To give the government the hope that it is possible to lay the foundations of a Christian education earlier so as to negate the fatal influence of the University.<sup>65</sup>
7. The many times that several members of government have suggested that we prepare ourselves to give this help.
8. The eagerness of the remnants of some old corporations to take over education, joining with whoever presents himself, however immoral he may be. This would perpetuate the evil the University has done and still does.

These reasons will remain until such time that we are recognized. Only then can we hope to have novitiates separate from the schools, without whose help they could not survive right now.

It is also for these same reasons that I propose to start yet another new establishment where I believe that it will be most advantageous to the Society and where it will be easiest to receive the students. I will only admit them to the novitiate after they have been employed for some time as auxiliaries and after I have assured myself of their vocation. We will try everything in our power to reconcile the formation of the students in the spirit of the Society with the current needs as circumstances demand.

The two seminaries of Bordeaux and Montmorillon<sup>66</sup> are actually well organized. The auxiliary helpers on loan from the diocese during the first year have returned and have been replaced by our own. Almost all have made the retreat exercises which I conducted. They continue to exercise frequently in the practices of the novitiate. They have a separate refectory from the students

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<sup>64</sup> Clorivière's description on the situation of the educational establishments at that time is in harmony with other descriptions of that time: Cf. M.-M. Comperes, *Du College au lycee (1500-1850) (Paris 1985) 217-141*. This aspect is subsequently discussed in the context of the use of domestics.

<sup>65</sup> A decree had reestablished the University on March 30, 1815. The seminaries continued to keep their prerogatives.

<sup>66</sup> For details concerning the seminaries of Bordeaux, Cf. DELATTRE I 778; for Montmorillon (Poitiers diocese) Cf. DELATTRE III 486-93. Father Bequet is the Superior in 1814. Cf. N. Loriguet, *Souvenirs du petit seminaire de St. Acheul et Montmorillon (1814-1818) (Paris 1836)*

where mortification and the usual penance are practiced constructively. Those who I appointed to lead them conduct frequent spiritual conferences in accordance with the spirit and customs of the Society. I have every reason to believe that, if I were to call them back to the novitiate house, there would be little left to do to give them the formation and spirit desired by the Society. These two establishments prosper day by day and have the public's total trust.

The house of Amiens enjoys the Lord's blessings particularly. In addition to the day students, there are two hundred twenty seven boarding students, and we witness a prevailing atmosphere of piety and work ethics among them. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities are very fond of this house.<sup>67</sup>

The house of Soissons suffered greatly as a result of the disaster about which I wrote to you in my letter of 28 October. I must confess that this, combined with the particular circumstances of that diocese, is why this house has made least progress, in spite of the fact that our people live by the rules of the order.

I would like to add another thing to what I just wrote. I would have liked to write to you about this myself, if my sight permitted me to do so. I have regarded it to be a singular blessing of divine Providence that your Reverence had his eyes on me to work for the reestablishment of the Society in France. I would be even happier to spill the last drop of my blood for such a noble cause which seems so appropriate to procure the Glory of God. But the realization of my limited abilities and virtues which are necessary for this work oblige me to request, my Reverend Father, to be relieved of this charge. If I believed, after knowing about Mr. Fleury's condition, that one of our old Fathers would be suitable to fill his place, I would indicate this to you. It would perhaps be more appropriate that you send us one of the French fathers formed by you. I throw myself at your knees and beg you to do me this favor, in the name of Jesus and his Holy Mother, and declare my perfect submission to all you will ordain.

I am, with the most profound respect and devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and very obedient servant and son.

P.J. de Clorivière.

## **7. Paris, January 8, 1816**

**P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, in St. Petersburg, Russia.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 17.

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<sup>67</sup> On the success of the seminary of Amiens, Cf. A. Guidee, *Vie du R.P. Louis Sellier (Paris 1858) and Souvenirs de Saint Acheul et d'autres établissements dirigés par les Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis le mois d'octobre 1814 jusqu'au mois d'avril 1857* (Paris 1859)

*He thanks Brzozowski for his letters and the news from Italy which the Father General gave him. He relates the political difficulties which are even greater than expected. He reports on the steps taken in regard to the authorities. He declares himself ready to observe the Constitutions and to make the novices study theology.*

My very Reverend Father, P.C.

I have thankfully received the two letters your Reverence sent me on November 28 and December 6. I received them on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December and the 4<sup>th</sup> of January respectively. It will be my pleasure and duty to carefully carry out the advice you were so good to give me in both of them.

I begin by answering the first letter. I understand all the important reasons you state for not giving in to our desire to receive you in our midst, but the hope you give us for a visit of P. Rozaven consoles us.

What you tell us about the state of the Society being reborn in Italy fills us with joy. Our situation in France is not the same. Even though we have received a fairly large number of candidates, the expectations we had in the beginning have not been realized. Consequently it is impossible for us to do what your Reverence, as well as we ourselves, desire for the good of the Society. Specifically, it is very difficult for us to send a professor of rhetoric and philosophy to the United States. We have even been forced to keep M. Vrindtz<sup>68</sup> in Soissons. The continued silence of the Government regarding its attitude towards us and the uncertainty of the time frame when it will recognize us, has cooled the zeal of many people and even of the seminaries on which we counted most. Many cities request our presence but at present it is impossible to satisfy them. We have, however, started a minor seminary in Avignon which divine Providence seems to have presented. The person who will direct it has given himself to the Society with all his resources. We recognized his good dispositions and could therefore not refuse his offers.

Amid the good advice you give us, I will take one particularly to heart: the re-reading of the Constitution as well as the letters I have received from your Reverence since our reestablishment. Until now, I was forced by circumstances to limit reading of the Constitutions to those that dealt most directly with my work, but I will try to give it all the moments my pressing duties leave at my disposal. The loss of my sight is a great obstacle to my desires.

Some time ago Mr. Plantavit<sup>69</sup> presented himself on your behalf and we have written one another occasionally. We have heard from one of ours who lives

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<sup>68</sup> Jean-Pierre Vrindtz (Vrindts, Wrintz) (1781 Antwerp -?). Father of the Faith in 1804, enters the Society in April 1814. Cf. Clements 257.

<sup>69</sup> Plantavit belongs to the Plantavit family of the Pause Margon. Cf. *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* (Paris 1849) vol. 8, 915-916.

near him, that he recently spoke to the Duke D'Angouleme<sup>70</sup> in favor of the Society, and that this was well received. We are considering to ask him for news about the current state of affairs.

I am coming to the second letter: I immediately forwarded the letter you so kindly wrote to Mr. Barruel and it filled him with consolation. I will enclose his answer in which he speaks of his first vows and the resolution to conform to what you will say about his profession.<sup>71</sup> Very important reasons for the public good have made him and myself decide that it is necessary that he stay in France. I do not doubt that he will be in a position to help me greatly.

I have already extracted the most important questions from various theological essays and plan to distribute them at a suitable time. One of our confreres who is well versed in theological matters has helped a lot with this. This confrere is Mr. Roger,<sup>72</sup> who is also in charge of the young people who have recently been admitted to our Society, a task which he performs perfectly. Each week I prepare two general exercises for everyone's instruction. In addition to all the other ways in which Mr. Roger cares for the novices, he insures that they repeat these exercises.

I know how important it is to care for both spiritual and physical needs and I have reason to be satisfied with the attention this receives.

We are ready to make the eight day retreat with those who are not priests and that of four weeks for those priests who have not yet experienced a great retreat.

As soon as we can foresee the moment that your Reverend will set out for Rome, we will address fervent prayers to Heaven so that He grants you a happy trip.

I have carried out the orders you gave about Mr. Morel and Mr. la Coudraye<sup>73</sup>. I only need to again assure you of my profound veneration and perfect devotion. I am, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

P.C

PS: I beg your Reverence to allow that Father Rozaven will find here the assurance of - my respectful attachment as well as the feelings of him who gives

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<sup>70</sup> The Duke of Angouleme (1775-1844), a person without significance, is the oldest son of the Count of Artois, brother of King Louis XVIII.

<sup>71</sup> We have no trace of these letters.

<sup>72</sup> Pierre Roger (born 8/2<sup>4</sup>/1763 Coutances; SI 7/19/1814 Fr.; Died 1/15/1839 Lyon). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 999. He was a priest of the Sacred Heart in 1795 and Father of the Faith at the time of the union. Cf. Clements, 253.

<sup>73</sup> Morel and La Coudraye: unknown.

me the help of his hand.<sup>74</sup>

## 8. Polotsk, February 20, 1816.

**T. Brzowski to Mr. Abbot de Clorivière,  
Rue des Postes 18, Faubourg Saint-Marceau, in Paris.**

Orig. Autograph: AFSJ *Letters of the Fathers General, 1790-1829.*

*He presents the motives which the government invokes to expel the Jesuits from St. Petersburg. He describes the difficult situation in which he finds himself. He plans to send some French Fathers, exiled from Russia, to France. He rejoices in the opening of the establishment in Avignon.*

My Reverend Father, P.C.

Your letter of January 8 has reached me in Polotsk where I have been for the past six weeks. Our situation in this country has changed a lot since the last letter I wrote you. The public newspapers have undoubtedly informed you of our expulsion from St. Petersburg.<sup>75</sup> It happened on January 3<sup>rd</sup> and was effective within 24 hours. It leads one to believe that the government judged us very much guilty. These are the two grievances expressed in the decree of our expulsion: 1. To have attracted the students confided to our cares to the catholic religion; 2. To also have attracted to the catholic religion some women of inconsequent and feeble spirit. Regarding this second charge, it is possible that some imprudence was committed unbeknownst to myself and against my will. According to normal law, this should only compromise those directly involved. As far as the first grievance is concerned, it is totally fictitious and the facts presented to his Imperial Majesty have been totally misrepresented. Not only have our Fathers not sought to attract our students to the catholic religion, but even when some students manifested a desire to become catholic - which must have happened a few times in the space of thirteen years in a mixed boarding school where the teachers were catholic - our Fathers have constantly refused to admit them to participate in the sacraments. That is the truth; however, rarely is the truth known. That is what happens with the best Princes, they know truth even less than the other people. This event is very sad and upsetting for the Society, but it only surprised us mildly. We have seen the storm clouds gather for a long time and knew that they would burst forth sooner or later.

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<sup>74</sup> This concerns Varin.

<sup>75</sup> About these events, Cf. ARSI *Russia 10006* facs. 2. For everything which concerns the history of the Jesuits in Russia, Cf. S. Zalenski, *Les Jesuites de la Russie Blanche*, vol. 2, 221-243.



The solemn reestablishment of the Society has alerted our enemies in the whole universe and you may rest assured that we have a lot of powerful ones in this country, even amongst those who should protect us. It is natural that all these enemies join together and redouble their efforts in view of this unexpected resurrection which truly worries them. They are reacting in the same way as the Jews who came to see Lazarus *cogitaverunt ut interficerent eum*.<sup>76</sup> But we place our trust in God and know that He will not let them go any further than He allows *huc usque venies et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos*.<sup>77</sup> Let us try to deserve His help by our patience, our constancy, and our prayers. I ask you, my Reverend Father, to pray for this intention and especially that I may finally obtain the freedom to go to Rome. My departure has been postponed again because they have taken my archives and want to examine them. It is quite certain that they will find nothing in there that could in any way whatsoever alarm or offend the government. But can we be protected from the pettiness and false interpretations, especially in a time when the untrustworthiness of the mail prevents us from writing with the clarity and openness one would like to use in one's correspondence when postal secrecy is guaranteed? It is therefore very likely that I cannot leave for several months. You can continue to write to me at the address of Mr. Doser and Pierling, who will forward your letters to me.<sup>78</sup>

Several French fathers who were employed at the boarding school in St. Petersburg find that they are no longer needed here after our expulsion. I have decided to send several of them to you. I have already requested and obtained passports for two of them, namely for Father Grivel<sup>79</sup> and Father Follope.<sup>80</sup> I will try to have them leave in a few weeks. They will be very useful to you. Father Grivel has already been in the Society for 13 years and Fr. Follope for ten. That is why I want them to leave as soon as possible. By the end of May, when the waters become navigable again, I will be able to send a second group.

I take much pleasure in your new little establishment in Avignon. I like to think that we are indebted to the worthy Father Nolhac who had the goodness to put his charity into action there and to suffer martyrdom at the beginning of the Revolution.<sup>81</sup> The soil, watered with the blood of this religious saint will, I hope, produce happy fruits for the Society.

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<sup>76</sup> Jn. 12:10

<sup>77</sup> Jb. 38:11

<sup>78</sup> Joseph Pierling, merchant in St. Petersburg. Cf. ARSI *Russia 1006* fast. 2,8.

<sup>79</sup> Fidele de Grivel (born 12/17/1769 Cour Saint Maurice; SI 8/16/1803 Fr; died 6/26/1842 Georgetown). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1,180. Prior to this time he taught the humanities and rhetoric in St. Petersburg.

<sup>80</sup> Marc Follope (born 4/25/1763 Gournay; SI 8/23/1805, Russia; died 5/28/1822 Laval). Cf. Mendizabal n. 347

<sup>81</sup> Antoine de Nolhac (born 1/17/1715 Le Pue en Velay; SI 11/18/1732 Fr; died 10/18/1791 Avignon). Pastor of St. Symphorien in Avignon after the suppression of the Society. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL V 1802.

I was very pleased to get Father Barruel's<sup>82</sup> letter and the feelings he expresses are truly those of a true child of St. Ignatius. I agree with his decision to stay in France and I am sure that God will grant him the grace of being useful towards the end of his life, both to religion and to the Society.

You understand the situation we are in, it has been well documented.<sup>83</sup> The time of the Papal Bull was the trigger for our enemy's attack. Oh well, let us follow the road God shows us *per infamiam et bonam famam, ut seductores et veraces*.<sup>84</sup> I pray God keep you and our Children safe and recommend myself to your holy sacrifices.

My very Reverend Father, Your servant in Our Lord;

Thaddee Brzozowski, S.J.

PS: Father Rozaven appreciates the greetings from Father de Clorivière and Varin and sends his respectful and affectionate greetings.

## 9. Paris, April 2, 1816.

### **Father P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society in Polotsk.**

Received May 29, 1816.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 19.

*He inquires after news from the General who has moved. He relates how difficult it is to be teaching in the current situations. He gives a report on the project of the house in Avignon and thanks for the sending of Fr. Grivel and Folloppe.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I have received your letter dated February 20 and it fills me with feelings of consolation in our Lord. I had no news from your Reverence since January 4 when I received your letter of December 6.<sup>85</sup> I was aware, it is true, through public papers and some private ones, of the changes that took place in Russia regarding the Society. I even knew that your Reverence had withdrawn to Polotsk, but that only increased my hunger for direct news from you. I had no idea when I would get this and that is why I wrote to our Reverend Father Provincial in Rome to ask him to share with me any news he may have had about your Reverence's situation.

Nothing has changed here since my last letter. This means that the situation is still very bothersome and that it will stay this way as long as they will maintain

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<sup>82</sup> Lost letter.

<sup>83</sup> This paragraph, except for the post script, is in the handwriting of Brzozowski.

<sup>84</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Lost letter.

exclusive control over the University and over what is being taught. Still, I cannot but thank and praise our Lord for the protection he gives our minor seminarians, who are becoming more steadfast every day and where obviously much good is happening. In Amiens they enjoy such trust that, notwithstanding the vast housing space, there is no more room to satisfy new demands from parents. The establishment of St. Anne near Auray which was formed in the most perfect poverty, prospers visibly and I receive the congratulations and gracious thanks from Msgr. the Bishop of Vannes.

I already wrote you about our very happy beginning in Avignon, my very Reverend Father. It has not continued that way. We have experienced such opposition from certain individuals that we have had to pull back, much to the chagrin of the inhabitants who have consistently given our staff signs of their support. Our staff has witnessed the fervent desire for their return by the people; but even if this does not happen, we have at least recruited several young students and ecclesiastics from the area and they fill us with hope.<sup>86</sup>

It is time that I thank your Reverence for the precious gift of sending us Father Grivel and Father Folloppe as well as for the next ones which you promised as soon as the navigation routes are open again. It will be a powerful help for us which, with the help of our Lord, will contribute greatly to the spiritual advancement of our people and also to the general good of the work in France.

Some time ago I received a letter from Father Stone<sup>87</sup>, from England, who excuses himself for the delay of Father Fontaine's departure as a result of his infirmities and the rigors of the season. He informs me that Fr. Fontaine will depart for France right after Easter.

I remain, with a profound respect and perfect devotion to you, my Very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

For Father de Clorivière,  
Varin (Priest).

## 10. Paris, June 4, 1816.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Received on June 26, 1816.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 10.

*He rejoices in the arrival of Fathers Grivel and Folloppe. He accounts for the choices he has made for the theological and philosophical proposals and the care he takes to*

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<sup>86</sup> The reopening of a house in Avignon will not occur until 1824. Cf. Delatre I 481.

<sup>87</sup> Stone has written to Clorivière in September 1815 and April 1816.

*transmit the catalogues to the General as soon as possible. In the meantime he gives an impression of the people he has recently admitted. He tells of the difficulties of the house of Soissons, of the plan of Forcalquier and of the acquisition of a country house in Montrouge, near Paris. Lastly he talks about the success of the missions of Laval and Mayenne. He ends by saying that he is conforming to the opinions of the General by giving the Thirty Day Exercises.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

The arrival of Father Grivel and Folloppe has been the source of great consolation for me and for the entire community. I will conform to the ideas of your Reverence concerning the destination for each. I have already announced to Father Folloppe that he will leave in a few days to fill the position of rector and retreat master in the house of Amiens. Father Jenneaux<sup>88</sup> will have the positions of secretary (minister) and procurator<sup>89</sup> under him as the principal of the boarding school. He will have a very capable brother to help him in this last work.

After stopping for some days in Amiens, the two Fathers recently arrived here. They seem to be edified and satisfied about the good shape of the house. I am sure that Father Folloppe, with his experience, virtue, and meekness will contribute a lot to establish the spirit of the Society there more and more.

The help of these two Fathers is pleasant and useful, but it seems that, by giving them such an abundant viaticum, your Reverence was also providing some help with the food for our house in Paris, which was founded on the blessings of Providence. They gave us 95 ducats and I thank your Reverence for that.

I am almost done with the work required for choosing the theology and philosophy proposals, relating to the examination for profession. I thought that the distribution should not be made until after the vows had been made, but since Father Grivel told me that it could be done beforehand, I will act accordingly.

Knowing how much your Reverence desires to know the organization of our houses and the persons that are employed there, I very much want to send you the catalogue of each house.<sup>90</sup> I would have done so earlier if the houses were closer and we did not have to take the precautions mandated in these critical times. It seemed therefore better to wait with sending these catalogues for the

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<sup>88</sup>Nicolas Jenneaux (born 4/9/1769 in Reims; SI 7/19/1814; died 10/9/1842 in Paris) Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.193.

<sup>89</sup> Several offices can be designated by this name. In this case it is undoubtedly economist. Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 684-686, procurator.

<sup>90</sup> At the end of each year the Provincial must submit a personnel report for each of the institutions to Rome. The manuscript catalogues from 1814-1818 are in ARSI *Cat. Prov. Franc.*, only since 1817

arrival of your Reverence in Rome. It can then be done easily and safely by using opportunities (i.e. couriers) which present themselves from time to time.

In the meantime I will limit myself to give you just a simple impression of the members I have received since we sent you the catalogue of 1814; that is 11 priests, 2 deacons, 4 sub-deacons, 13 students, clerks or mostly acolytes. Many have finished the theology course, all have done philosophy with the exception of one. He is an Irish Lord,<sup>91</sup> first baron of Ireland, who is faithful to a vow he made some years ago to present himself to the Society. He has sacrificed his rights as first born and a great fortune, except for an honest pension with which he could help the house. He was well trained in the humanities and maintained his knowledge by reading the best Latin authors. I can truly say that he is more distinguished by his virtue and humility than by his birth. He bears a very generous soul towards God and is capable of big things. He is 33 years old.

I have also accepted 18 coadjutor brothers. Your Reverence may think that that is a lot, but I would like to point out that especially in France we have recognized the fact that it is dangerous to introduce paid domestics to the boarding schools, and that the regularity and good example of the brothers has excellent effects on the students. I add that in these different classes of potential members there are several whom I could not understand and whom, after a shorter or longer trial period, have been sent on.

I have already announced, my very Reverend Father, that the fate of the house of Soissons seems uncertain. Since then I have seen more clearly that we could not do the work of the Society there because the obstacles with which Msgr. the Bishop of Soissons<sup>92</sup> hinders the extension and prosperity of the boarding school. He is opposed to vocations of the young people of his diocese to the Society and also refuses to admit those of our young scholastics who could - have followed the theology course but are not his responsibility in anyway whatsoever. I am not mentioning several other difficulties which do not thwart the development of the Society.<sup>93</sup> It is not that the Bishop of Soissons is not pious, full of zeal and affection for the members of the Society, but he lets himself be influenced by certain members of his Council. He is afraid that the vocations to the Society take away candidates from his diocese. Since I saw that he had his mind already set, I agreed with him that at the end of the scholastic year we will pull out our members who work in his episcopal city. I pray that your Reverence will consent to this.

The falling apart of the plans for establishing a house in Avignon has not

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<sup>91</sup> In the catalogues only one person of Irish origin is found, Mac Carthy. He joined in 1818.

<sup>92</sup> This refers to Jean-Claude Le Blanc de Beaulieu (1753-?) constitutional bishop imposed on Pius VII by Napoleon. HC VII 353. He had summoned the Jesuits as a result of the bias of his confessor, a Father of the Faith, who entered the Society in 1814, Pierre Ronsin. He will be replaced by Rochas Etienne de Vichy in October of 1817.

<sup>93</sup> In the text it says: 'which do nothing but not thwart the development of the Society'.

diminished the desire in the Province to do so. The Bishop of Digne<sup>94</sup> has entreated us to accept a minor seminary in Forcalquier, a small town in his diocese located in a very beautiful area. His conditions are advantageous to us and everything is decided except for one problem which is still to be overcome, but which by itself could stop the entire plan from happening. It concerns the relocation of a police force which occupies part of the house together with their wives and children. The bishop hopes to have this problem resolved soon.

We have recently acquired a house in the country. It was particularly needed to conserve the health of those living in the house in Paris, where people are enclosed without any space at all to get fresh air and exercise. The house has a nice location, three quarter leagues from here, in the village of Montrouge, next to the old country home of the Paris novitiate. We paid 41.000 francs for it with the help of the deposit which the Fathers of the Faith saved after the destruction of their establishments.<sup>95</sup>

Six of our people finished a mission in Laval<sup>96</sup> a few weeks ago. There have been a great number of conversions. It was a big success. The success would have been complete if we had been able to find enough confessors to respond to the eagerness and number of penitents who came from the neighboring countryside. The mission lasted two months.

They have just started another one in Mayenne, a city of 10,000 souls at eight leagues from Laval. I have just learned that ever since the first week, the instructions are having such a great impact that we see people all night long at the church door waiting to surround the confessionals the next morning. Notwithstanding this, they still have to wait till 6 or 7 p.m. for their turn. An ecclesiastical dignitary in Laval<sup>97</sup> has just bought a considerable property with an adjacent church in order to make it the residence of our missionaries. What even greater good will this little group of as yet incompletely formed workers accomplish when they are strengthened and directed by some of those your Reverence plans to send us and which you had the goodness to announce to us. I will receive them with vivid gratitude.

Your Reverence recommended that all the priests who enter the Society take the 30 days of exercises early. In so far as this depended on me I have carried this out. There are however a few for whom, because of their position, I have felt the need to postpone it. I will have them make the exercises as soon as it will be possible for me to arrange.

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<sup>94</sup> Charles-Francois Melchior de Miollis (1753-1843) named by Napoleon to be the bishop of Digne on December 23, 1805. HC VII 176. He will step down in 1839.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. DELATTRE III 612-620

<sup>96</sup> For details about their organization and contents see: E. Servin, *Les missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration (1815-1830)*, t. 1 and 2 (Paris 1948-1959)

<sup>97</sup> This ecclesiastic is probably Morin or d'Avrille. Cf. DELATTRE II 1046.

I am still using the helping hand of P. Varin due to my circumstances. He knows the actual state of our affairs in France. P. Grivel could not have acquired this knowledge.<sup>98</sup>

I am, with the utmost respect and most total devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and very obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière  
Signed for the Reverend Father de Clorivière  
Varin.

PS: I beg Your Reverence to transmit to Father Rozaven the assurance of my and also of my secretary's respectful allegiance. Some months ago we lost the youngest of the novices, but he was one of the most distinguished because of his talents and virtue. His death was very edifying.

## 11. Paris, July 15, 1816.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Received 12/24 August 1816.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 112.

*He has prepared the proposals for the theology and philosophy examinations. Certain candidates will, be permitted to make the first vows. He speaks of the plans to settle in Forcalquier, Aire-en-Artois, Toulouse as well as the missions of Mayenne and Saint-Brieuc. He requests the confirmation of the rectors he temporarily appointed. Next he gives the list of the oldest Jesuits in Paris.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

Through Father Varin's letter which he wrote about fifteen days ago to Father Rozaven,<sup>99</sup> you already know that I received your letter of 10/22 May. I announced the death of the two assistant Fathers<sup>100</sup> to our houses and we will follow your intention regarding voting rights.

I can at last announce to you that I have carried out your directions regarding several of our priests by giving them the proposals for theology and philosophy which should form the contents of their examination. I am awaiting a favorable occasion to have the others who are located in the more distant houses take

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<sup>98</sup> This conviction had to be public because we also find it mentioned in a letter of Grivel to Brzozowski, October 31, 1816. ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 17.

<sup>99</sup> Lost letter.

<sup>100</sup> The two assistants are: Ant. Lustyg (born 9/7/1752 Germany?; SI 10/6/1768 Mazov; died 6/5/1815 Polotsk). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 29 and And. Czyz (born 11/27/1763 Recica; SI 8/29/1805 Russia; died 4/23/1816 Polotsk). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 54.

them also. Father Thomas,<sup>101</sup> one of our missionaries and a really good worker, is here at the moment to regain his health. He is not in a condition to undergo the examination. He has a doctorate from the Sorbonne and in his time defended a thesis, as mandated for the degree, with great distinction. (I believe that he should be excused)\*.

I have made sure of this by reviewing his Diploma. He is over 60 years of age and a Father of the Faith since 1801.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of this month, after two years of novitiate, some will make their first vows and the others will follow each week depending on the time when they were admitted. From now till the first of November there will be 26 priests, three deacons, 2 sub-deacons, 4 clerks or acolytes, and 6 brother-coadjutors who will make their vows.

I already spoke to you, my very Reverend Father, about the project to establish a house in Forcalquier in the diocese of Digne in Provence, and of the advantages that the goodwill of Monsignor the Bishop will make possible for us. There was only one obstacle, the occupation of a part of the buildings by a police post. That difficulty has now been resolved by the zeal of the local authorities who have found a way to place the whole building at our disposition. It is a very convenient location and we will start classes there on All Saint's Day.

We are pressed to open a house in Aire-en-Artois. Father Wamberg,<sup>102</sup> an old member of the Society, lives there and seems to always have maintained strong bonds with it. He has inherited a great fortune and offers to contribute part of the initial settlement costs. Apart from the fact that we can hardly plan for this new house at present because of a lack of students, I have a further concern which I want to mention to your Reverence. Not only was the town of Aire originally a part of the Walloon Province, but when the establishment of the Society in Flanders was dissolved by order of the King of the Netherlands, those who belonged to it withdrew and were dispersed to the borders of France.<sup>103</sup> Is it the intention of your Reverence to reattach the town of Aire to the Flemish Province? In that case, would this establishment more properly concern the Fathers of Flanders? Given their current embarrassing position, would that be convenient for them? Alternatively, if your Reverence judges it to be more appropriate that this town remain under our jurisdiction, we will be obliged to

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<sup>101</sup> Antoine Thomas (born 9/24/1753 Saint-Valery-en-Caux; SI 8/5/1814 Fr.; died 3/23/1833 Laval). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 750. He entered the Fathers of Faith in 1803. Cf. Clements 256.

\* Translators clarification

<sup>102</sup> Augustin Wamberg (born 1734, SI. 1754; died a.s.)

<sup>103</sup> The northern border of France was modified by the first Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814 and the second (October 2, 1815) which ratified the loss of Philippeville, Bouillon, Marienbourg, Landau. Other territories will be occupied by enemy armies for five years.



stall and propose a delay for occupying the house. Even though I would love for this town to be returned to its first province and so be a refuge for the Fathers of Flanders, I believe that I must point out to your Reverence that it is possible that a new establishment of the Flemish Fathers on French territory would further irritate those that are already so annoyed and against the Society. It might cause a furor concerning our own establishments which are only tolerated because of the silence of the government. Your Reverence's reply will direct my actions.

The town of Toulouse is pressing very hard for us to start an establishment there. The Archbishop<sup>104</sup> together with some of the most respectable families have written me about this in a very honest and engaging way. Since it is one of the most important cities in itself and also one of the most noteworthy because of its attachment to the Society, I feel I cannot reply negatively, but I plan to have one of our priests visit. He has to go to Digne sometime next month and it will be easier for me to see what is possible and what the advantages are after he has reported. One thing is certain, an establishment in that part of the country would attract candidates to the Society which we really need, the more so since we see the number of postulants diminish significantly as a result of the fact that the government no longer protects us. I will not dwell on several other similar requests coming from different areas. I have responded to those in a general manner without making any promises.

The mission at Mayenne is almost finished and has been marked by spectacular conversions. In general it can be said that its success has surpassed all our expectations. The missionaries will start another at Saint-Brieuc in mid-September. Oh! How desirable it would be if they had a man like Father Balandret<sup>105</sup> leading them! In my next letter I will discuss the people that are giving the missions in more detail for your Reverence.

Father Folloppe is carrying out his duties in Amiens very well. That house has such a great reputation that requests for places in the boarding school come from all parts of France. Father Grivel is with his family. He should be back here for the feast of Saint Ignatius. His venerable father, who is 82 years old, asked with such insistence that he could stay longer that I felt I should give him fifteen extra days. He will be here by the feast of the Assumption.

The Society will take on a new form as those who were only aspirants until now will be taking their vows and join the Society. That is why I need to ask your Reverence to place your seal of authority on our first efforts and confirm those I have temporarily appointed as rector in various places. These are their names:

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<sup>104</sup> Claude-Francois Primat (1747-1817), appointed by Napoleon as bishop of Toulouse. He stays there until his death in 1817. Francois de Bovet succeeds him. *HC VII 367*; Cf. *DELATTRE IV 1358-1371*.

<sup>105</sup> Charles Balandret (born 12/17/1782 Grand-Fontaine -sur-Creuse; SI 7/25/1808 Fr.; Died 7/7/1861 Lyon). Cf. *MENDIZABAL n. 2.615*.

in Amiens, Father Folloppe; in Bordeaux, Father Debrosse<sup>106</sup> who is approximately 46 years old and a Father of the Faith since 1802; in Montmorillon, Father Bequet<sup>107</sup> of the same age, Father of the Faith since 1801; in St. Anne near Auray, Father Cuenet,<sup>108</sup> 48 years old and since 1794 in the Society of the Sacred Heart.

I need not mention Father Folloppe who you know very well. I can only testify favorably on behalf of those I just listed. They have proven their allegiance to the Society by their zeal and prudence and the Lord has shed his blessings on their houses. I am including the Seminary in Soissons where Father Gloriot<sup>109</sup> is the Superior because, as I have previously mentioned to your Reverence, I have felt it necessary to recall the staff whom I had placed there. The withdrawal will take place peacefully and without trouble to the ecclesiastic superiors of that Diocese.

While I am waiting for a time when I can acquaint you more extensively with the members of the Society, I will give you at least an idea of the oldest priests in Pairs. They are: Father Roger, a very worthy worker of the Society. I have placed him at the head of the novitiate and he has carried out this assignment perfectly. He is a good theologian and well versed in ministry, especially spiritual guidance. He is 53 years old and belonged to the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1795. Father Ronsin<sup>110</sup> is director of a congregation formed originally by Father Delpuits<sup>111</sup> where one finds the elite of the nobility and in general those from the honest classes of society who are most distinguished by merit and virtue. He is appreciated, enjoys general confidence in this job, and is worthy of this. He is a man of great piety, a good homilist, and very dynamic. He has rendered great services to the Church by his exercise of the holy ministry. He is 45 or 46 years old and entered the Society of the Faith in 1802. Father P. Boissard,<sup>112</sup> our general manager, has many good qualities and an aptitude for business. He has been in charge of several negotiations with the Bishops about

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<sup>106</sup> Robert Debrosse (born 3/26/1768 Chatel et Chehery; SI 8/29/1814 Fr., died 2/18/1848 Laval). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1505. He had entered the Fathers of Sacred Heart Order in 1795 and then at the moment of the union with the Fathers of Faith. Cf. Clements 245.

<sup>107</sup> Pierre Bequet (born 1/9/1771 Paris; SI <sup>2</sup>/<sub>20</sub>/1814 Fr.; died 1/25/1824 Paris) Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.566. Father of the Faith in 1801. Cf. Clements 241.

<sup>108</sup> Pierre Cuenet (born <sup>8</sup>/<sub>31</sub>/1767 Chenecy-Buillon; SI 10/19/1814 Fr.; died <sup>4</sup>/<sub>18</sub>/1834 Paris) Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 790. He became a priest of the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1794 after the union a Fathers of the Faith. Cf. Clements 245. He is the author of: *Notes pour faire l'histoire de la naissance de St. Anne-d'Auray, January 5, 1816- May 15, 1824 (AFSJ fonds Paris, ESA)*.

<sup>109</sup> Charles Gloriot (born 9/13/1768 Pontarlier; SI 10/15/1814 Fr.; died 2/18/1844 Avignon); Cf. -MENDIZABAL n. 1.260. He was a priest of the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1794 after the union a Fathers of the Faith. Cf. Clements 249.

<sup>110</sup> Pierre Ronsin (born 1/18/1771 Soissons; SI 7/13/1814 Fr.; died 11/4/1846 Toulouse). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1419.

<sup>111</sup> Jean-Baptiste Bourdier-Delpuits (born 5/25/1734; SI 12/18/1752 Fr.; died 12/15/1811 Paris). After the suppression he joined the secular clergy and founded the congregation of the Holy Virgin. Cf. J. Bumichon, *Histoire d'un siecle*, t. 1, 39, n. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Leopold Boissard (born 11/1/1769 Pontarlier; SI 7/19/1814 Fr.; died 3/1/1819 Dole). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 202. He became a Father of the Faith. Cf. Clements 242.

the formation of new houses. He has exercised the holy ministry fruitfully for a long time. He is 47 years old and entered the Society of Faith in 1803. Father P. Coulon,<sup>113</sup> is the manager of this house and as such, his conduct is very edifying. He has exercised the ministry of the holy tribunal, is 51 years old, and entered the Society of the Sacred

Heart in 1797. Father P. Druilhet,<sup>114</sup> was actively associated with the Fathers of the Faith for several years. While charged with the education of a child of one of the best families in Lyon, he was waiting to join them as soon as his term of commitments was completed. I received him into the novitiate in September 1814. Since then he has made great progress in virtue. He has many talents and is suited to render great services to the Society. He is between 47 and 48 years old. Father P. Varlet,<sup>115</sup> is a pious man and excellent homilist. Like Father Ronsin, he has successfully preached in the Paris' most important churches. For several years he has been occupied with the education of two children of a very distinguished family. His position is such that I did not feel I should ask him to break these ties. This has not kept him from visiting our house regularly and from assisting us with spiritual conferences and always conducting himself with obedience. He is 47 years old and entered the Society of the Faith in 1802. We have three brother-coadjutors who belonged to the Society of the Faith and with whom I am very pleased. I can only give thanks to the Lord for the blessings he has bestowed on the houses and on those that live in them. Father Barruel is doing very well. The same reasons which he described to your Reverence keep him in the same situation, but since his vows, I have more frequent and intimate contact with him. He is looking forward with great pleasure to the time of his final vows. As far as myself is concerned, my very Reverend Father, you know the infirmity which keep me from reading and writing. Other than that my health is still good and permits me to go about my work. I have nothing further to add except that, always ready to retire from a task of which I know I am incapable, I have no other desire than to live and die in the most perfect submission to your will, which for me represents the will of God.

I already informed your Reverence of the decision I felt I had to make regarding M. Miguel. I finally answered him that I would admit him, but after having sought this admission so ardently, he informed me that he had certain commitments and needed time and reflection to carry them out first. That is

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<sup>113</sup> Augustin Coulon (born 10/18/1765 Le Quesnoy; SI 7/30/1814 Fr.; died 10/31/1831 Aix-en-Provence). Cf. MENDIZABAL m. 694. He entered the order of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart in 1792 and became a Father of the Faith after their union. Cf. Clements 244.

<sup>114</sup> Julien Druilhet (born 1/8/1768 Orleans; SI 9/26/1814; died 8/30/1845 Toulouse). Cf. Mendizaval n. 1.344. He was the tutor of the Count of Chambord. He will give the funeral oration of the Duke of Berry in 1820. He will become provincial in 1830.

<sup>115</sup> Jean-Pierre Varlet (born 3/13/1769 Reims; SI 8/1/1814 Fr.; died 4/26/1854 Poitiers). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.897. He joined the Fathers of the Faith in 1801. Cf. Clements 257.

what I reported to R.P. Grassi<sup>116</sup> who wrote me twice on his behalf.

Please convey my and Father Varin's respectful greetings to Fathers Billy<sup>117</sup> and Rozavin.

With the deepest respect and total devotion, I remain, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière.

PS: I just received a letter from Father Fontaine from England who announces that he is finally leaving and will celebrate the feast of St. Ignatius with us here.

### **July 11 till 15, 1816.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI Francia 1001 113.

*He adds a note on Father Varin and the examination ad gradum, calling on another secretary.*

My very Reverend Father,

I thought it was more proper to use another hand to send you a note on Father Varin.<sup>118</sup> He was the first one admitted in this country, into the reborn Society; and most of the others owe their admission in part to him. He is a good religious person. He has a talent for preaching. He, as well as the other two preachers I mentioned in my earlier letter, have proven this, both in the most important Church of Notre Dame during Lent, as well as in several other churches of this city. He is very careful with the government. He experienced many problems in the government of the Society of the Faith. His frequent travels and a heavy schedule in the first years mandate that now he take some care for his health. It is also possible that, due to the multitude of his tasks, he has not been able to give the theological sciences all the time they require; but I am convinced that, in view of his excellent spirit, he will respond perfectly to the propositions in the various theological and philosophical treatises. Each of these questions, or at least most of them, cover almost the entire treatise with which they deal. We have drawn them up after the models of Father Grivel himself.

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<sup>116</sup> Jean-Antoine Grassi (born 9/10/1775 Schilpario; SI 11/21/1799 Camp., died 12/12/1849 Rome). He is an assistant. Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.616.

<sup>117</sup> Jean-Baptiste Billy (born 3/1/8/1738 Mezieres; SI 9/21/1755 Camp., died 11/17/1829 Paris). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 625. He resided in St. Petersburg since 1809. He is the admonisher of Brzozowski in 1813. In addition to having written other papers, he is the author of an article titled: *Idee sommaire de l'etat deplorable de l'Eglise de France apres la Revolution operee en consequence du serment exige des ecclesiastiques fonctionnaires publics*. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL 1 1480-81.

<sup>118</sup> On Varin, Cf. A. Guidee, *Vie du R.P. Varin*.

## 12. Paris, August 20, 1816.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Received between September 12 and 24, 1816.  
Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001/14.

*He describes the precarious situation of the establishments which, in order to have the right to exist, are subordinate to the bishops. He makes special note of the establishment of Forcalquier and the Toulouse project. He mentions the missions briefly. He states that he wishes to conform to the orders of the General concerning the brother-coadjutors. He encloses with his letter the letters of Cardinal Fontana regarding the commentary on the Apocalypse which he had written earlier.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

On August 5/17 I received your letters of 5/17 July.<sup>119</sup> Our boarding schools in France are directly under the bishops who have given them the name of minor seminaries, and sometimes they let us use the buildings which the government has assigned for this use. The rented houses, like the one in Amiens, must be registered as seminaries in order to be legally recognized. Otherwise they would be subordinate to the University, or they would have to be dissolved because the establishment will not recognize them. As a result our colleges are in a precarious situation as a bishop's successor may easily undo his predecessor's commitments and even the bishop may readily change his feelings towards us. That is what happened with Mr. de Soissons. He is a worthy and respectable prelate. In the past he viewed my acceptance of his minor seminary as a sign from heaven. He gave it to us without pre-conditions, knowing that we would receive boarding students in addition to the seminarians. Since then, mostly as a result of bad advice, he has come to believe that mixing young secular students with his seminarians will short change them. Such a constraint would limit our ministry excessively. We would have more latitude elsewhere. The bishop even believes that our mere presence would be too powerful an attraction for his ecclesiastics and that they might wish to join our Society. In spite of the fact that, in a public address in Soissons, I pointed out to the seminarians that they have an obligation to their diocese and their bishop who furnishes their keep, the Monsignor expressed his fears to me. This is to be interpreted as an indication that he does not want us anymore. He accepted our offer to voluntarily withdraw. We did so in the most respectful manner and we are sure that he will continue to be friendly to us. These then are the reasons which led to the dissolution of that establishment.

The preceding event made it easy for me to accept the minor seminary of

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<sup>119</sup> Lost letters. We do not know the contents of Brzozowski's letters concerning the issues surrounding domestic help.

Forcalquier in the diocese of Digne in Provence. It is not the Bishop but the city itself who has put us up in a large house that it owns and where we can set up a boarding school for numerous students. Assuming that we can be legally recognized, the city will even give us an authentic deed. In this way, the Bishops of Digne are prevented from controlling our destiny here. Like everywhere else, the boarding school will take care of its own subsistence. There is of course still the rent which must be paid. The biggest advantage of this establishment, is that it is in the center of France, a center for the reunion of the candidates who God calls into our Society in ever increasing numbers. Until M. Boissard appeared and sent them here, several who did not know of our existence in France went to Rome to look for a novitiate.

Toulouse was also proposed to me. This would be an important location. The entire province enthusiastically invites us and promises us an even greater number of students than we have in the Provence. Nothing has been decided. I sent M. Boissard for a visit. He will evaluate the situation and continue on to Forcalquier to start the new house.

The missionaries of Laval will be in Saint-Brieuc towards September 15. I am sending them two more excellent workers, Mr. Thomas, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Mr. Sellier<sup>120</sup>, a truly apostolic man. Your Reverend Father can review their age and qualifications in the catalogue I sent earlier.

Because the novices make their scholastic vows when they complete their two years and because these will occur at different times, as can be seen in the catalogue where the date of their entry is listed, I felt it was appropriate to put the house on the footing it should have. I named Father Grivel Superior and Mr. Fontaine pastor<sup>121</sup>. Mr. Roger is the novice master and reports directly to me. Mr. Ronsin is the Spiritual director<sup>122</sup>.

I will continue to obey the orders of your Father regarding the brother-coadjutors who will no longer serve as household help in the boarding schools. I will effect this by communicating your intentions to Mr. Folloppe and the other Superiors. In view of the general demoralization of the working class, I will not underestimate the difficulty to find honest and religious replacements. Even though wages are very high and our houses are quite poor, I will not be stopped by the considerable expense this change causes. God, who speaks to me through your mouth, is powerful enough to make us find what seems humanly impossible to provide. In the past we have often tried to use domestics, but we had abandoned this effort after repeated experiences forced us to let them go.

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<sup>120</sup> Louis Sellier (born 7/20/1772 Hangest-sur-Somme; SI 8/12/1814 Fr.; died 3/14/1854 Saint Achel). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.890. He had entered the Fathers of Faith in 1801. Cf. Clements 255.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 135-136.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 254, 287.

All those who we were able to retain have asked to be received into the Society as brothers. I anticipate that if we have the unexpected fortune of finding good people, that they will make the same request and will quit when we refuse. As you can see, I cannot hide the obvious problems which I see in obeying your Father's orders. The brothers would contribute wonderfully to the good conduct of the students through their seriousness, their piety, and their good counsel. We will miss this help and, reduced only to domestics, I fear that disorder will be introduced into our boarding schools and will bring about their eventual dissolution. What then would happen to the youth of France, neglected everywhere; and to religion, which can only be reborn through youth; and to our Society in France? The government could only be expected to look favorably on us for such educational services. Personally, I would most regret losing the school at Amiens. 250 students attend there and many of these belong to distinguished or rich families, for all of whom religion is important. From one end of France to the other parents solicit places for their children. Their reasons are less for the quality of the education, which is nevertheless better than that offered by the lyceums, but more for the moral purity that characterizes the schools. If domestics were to introduce corruption, which I regard as inevitable, given the knowledge we have about current times, our Society would be disgraced and would forever lose parental confidence. Our brothers there are dressed secularly and we will have domestics for the services that are contrary to religious decency; but I feel it is very important to leave our brothers there a little longer, to introduce domestics slowly and to form them well through this interaction. In spite of these misgivings, which I present respectfully to you, my very Reverend Father, my heart only wishes to conform entirely to your will. Please let me know what it is. I have informed you of the circumstances that have caused me to feel the necessity of the present arrangements. If your Father insists, I believe that I will be able to submit to your judgment.

Earlier I spoke to you, my very Reverend Father, both of my treatise on the Apocalypse<sup>123</sup> and the approbation which Father Fontana<sup>124</sup> gave. At that time he was General of the Barnabites. Presently he is a Cardinal. For some time I have felt I should share this approbation with you as it seemed to me to be for the greater glory of God. That is why I am enclosing a copy of some of his letters<sup>125</sup>. They may inspire you, Father, to use your authority to watch out for the conservation of this work after my demise which, in view of my old age, cannot be far off. If current appearances are any indication, this work could not appear while I am alive. I recommend myself to the Holy Sacrifices of You, Father.

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<sup>123</sup> Between 1792 and 1808 Clorivière wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse. He titled it: *Explication litterale du texte de l'Apocalypse* (7 volumes). The manuscript is kept at AFSJ *fonds Clorivière GCI 126*. A handwritten copy is found at ASFCM, series A, 2A.

<sup>124</sup> Francesco Luigi Fontana (1750-1822), Barnabite, made a Cardinal on April 29, 1816. He became prefect of the Ind. Congregation in June of 1816. *HC VII 12*.

<sup>125</sup> The copy of the letters of Fontana enclosed with this letter are found at ARSI *Francia 1001 1 14*.

With deep respect, my very Reverend Father, for you I remain your very humble and very obedient servant, Abbot de Clorivière.

F. Grivel

### 13. 13/25 August, 1816.

#### T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière.

Copy: ARSI *Russia 1018* 154-156.

*He confirms the nominations made by de Clorivière. He reminds him of the exact meaning of the term "college" in the Constitution. He asks him to help the Flemish Fathers who have found refuge in France. He exhorts him to be careful in accepting new establishments. He wishes he could find the means to bring Father Barruel back to views more faithful to those of the Society.*

My Reverend Father,

I received your letter dated July 15 and I thank you for the details it contains. I am very pleased to confirm those you have named Superior and of whom you send me such good references. However, they should not have the title of rector, and the name "college" should also not be used for those establishments that have neither sufficient revenues nor stability<sup>126</sup>. You know well what the Constitution requires for a college and that it is not within the power of the General to dissolve an already accepted college. It is therefore not suitable to give this classification lightly, especially in a country where the Society does not yet have legal existence. For the same reason there cannot yet be question of provinces, nor of their borders. If an establishment is formed in the town of Aire, being in the Kingdom of France, it will have to be under your direction and inspection, at least temporarily.

I would like you to help the Flemish fathers who took refuge in France as much as is in your power, but avoid giving any offense to the government. Consequently it would be better that they are dispersed into various establishments rather than all in the same one. I have written Father Leblanc<sup>127</sup> to send a few of them to Spain as often as he can. You could also do that for the French subjects if you fear government reprisal. Father Zuniga<sup>128</sup>, commissary in Spain, has written me that he will receive all that are sent to him, from whatever nation, and will only have them return when the Society is

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<sup>126</sup> The title 'college' is reserved for a certain type of establishment which determines, amongst other things, the establishment of a province. The title rector is then given to the Superior of a college. Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 578-579, *Collegia*.

<sup>127</sup> Pierre Leblanc (born 10/16/1774 Caen; SI 7/31/1814 Belg.; died 1/12/1851 Tronchiennes). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.686. He had entered the Fathers of the Sacred Heart in 1798 and the Fathers of the Faith at the time of their union. Cf. Clements 251. Several letters addressed to F. Leblanc are at ARSI *Russia 1018*.

<sup>128</sup> Emmanuelle de Zuniga (born 2/2/1743 Alba de Tormes; SI 9/16/1758 Esp.; died 3/14/1820 Madrid). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 250.



reestablished and recognized in France.

As to the various new establishments of which you speak, I can only repeat that you accept them with the greatest reservations and after due deliberation. The most important thing right now is to form candidates (to the order), not in great numbers, but filled with the spirit of their vocation. I leave the details to your prudence.

I am very glad that Father Fontaine finally rejoined you. I ask you to give him, as well as Father Barruel, my greetings. There is one thing that causes me grief for the latter: I have read his writings and amongst these, the treatise on the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff<sup>129</sup>. I have found ideas there that are not exactly those of the Society. Could you, without my involvement to cause him pain, lead him back, with charity, to a more positive way of thinking, more in conformance with the Saints? I would like to have him in that train of thought when he has to appear in the tribunal of Him whose Vicar the Pope is. You can feel with what delicacy this has to be treated. My desire in this comes only from my singular esteem and veneration for a man who has given essential services to religion. I only wish that the glory on earth and the crown in heaven are not diminished nor obscured by a single spot.

I recommend myself to your prayers and to those of all our fathers and brothers in Jesus Christ.

#### **14. September 17-19, 1816.**

##### **T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière.**

Copy: ARSI *Russia* 1018 164-166.

*He reacts to the question of brothers serving as domestics in the boarding schools. He gives long explanations to convince Father de Clorivière to come back on this point, to the tradition of the Society. He also states that the mail has not reached him. He says that he has read the copies of Cardinal Fontana's letters enclosed with P. de Clorivière's letter with great interest. He names two Jesuits who eventually might come to France.*

To Father de Clorivière

I have received your letter of August 20, and I hurry to reply to the very important subject of using brothers as domestics in the boarding schools. It is evident that this is a considerable innovation which essentially changes the state of our brother-coadjutors. It would have been preferable if I had been informed of this decision right from the start, because it is always easier to prevent inconveniences than to remedy them. I perfectly understand the difficulties you state and it seems as if I had anticipated them. I did not require

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<sup>129</sup> Cf. n. 53.

that the brothers suddenly stop all their services in the boarding schools and be replaced by domestics. By saying that we can tolerate the situation as long as our brothers wear secular dress, I have left all the time necessary to make the change without haste or spectacle and with prudence. I therefore approve all the things you propose; but I also hope that in due time, working zealously and industriously, we will succeed in structuring the establishments in conformance with the spirit of the Institute which requires that the number of temporary coadjutors is small, and which does not regard them as domestics<sup>130</sup>

1. I can see that in any country, and maybe especially in France, it may be difficult to find good domestics but I cannot believe that it is impossible, at least not for a small number to do some private work. The good domestics that you employed all have, as you say, asked to enter the order and you expect the same trend in the future. It seems to me that this is a result of current circumstances which will change with the restructuring. As long as the brothers are true domestics, it is natural that the other domestics who only see that these have more privileges and enjoy more confidence from their masters, desire a state which they regard as being an improvement of their situation. When the brothers will no longer be treated as domestics, when they will wear the religious habit, and when only a few selected will be received into the order, even the good and faithful domestics will undoubtedly not ask to be admitted so easily. When they see that admission is difficult, they will not readily think that they have the necessary qualities to be admitted.
2. It seems to me that one should be able to find means to prevent that the domestics introduce corruption into the boarding schools. They need to be watched and should be subject to severe discipline. One could even use brothers for that. I do not intend to give the impression that they be excluded entirely from the boarding schools. They can serve as intermediaries between the children and the domestics. One can, I think, establish an organization where the children have almost no contact with the domestics. After they have made the beds, swept the rooms and served at table, they need never be in contact with the students.

You see, My Reverend Father, examine and weigh these things before God. I think you will find it possible to arrange things in such a way that there are no serious inconveniences and in a manner that conforms to our Institution and customs. We must believe that we have our rule to do good. We must follow it and if particular ideas, even though good in themselves, do not agree with our rule, they are not good for us. Other than that, I repeat that I approve all the arrangements you deem necessary in order to maintain the good you have

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<sup>130</sup> Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 576-577, Coadjutores.

achieved happily until now and which, I hope, will attract God's blessings in the future.

You speak to me about a catalogue I should have received. It did not reach me<sup>131</sup>. We have not received the note from Father Grivel which he spoke about and which deals with certain topics discussed in the newspapers. We are very interested in getting them, to know what Martin is, and what position to take regarding everything that is said about it.

I read the copy of the letters you wrote to S. E. Fontana with much pleasure. They give a very good idea of your work and make me desire that it is carefully kept so that when this can be done conveniently, they can be printed. I have already given you all the authorization needed for that.

I have at last obtained the passports for the Belgian Fathers Van Everbroek<sup>132</sup> and Peeters.<sup>133</sup> They left the 14-26 of this month for Riga, from where they will go by sea to Lubeck and from there to Hildesheim. If they cannot stay in Belgium, they can go to France.

As for me, I am still in the same uncertain situation. I have made a new attempt to obtain the necessary permission which I have requested so often in the past. In three weeks I shall receive an answer, but I have little hope.

## 15. Paris, October 8, 1816.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus at Polotsk.**

Received October 31, November 12 1816.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 I

*He relates his visit to Amiens and his plan to visit Montmorillon, Bordeaux and Sainte-Anne d'Auray. He has accepted a site in Laval. He explains how, after having scrapped the plan for an establishment in Mayenne, he has been compelled to agree to it. He speaks of the missionaries and the priests who are making their retreat. He pleads in favor of Father Barruel. Even though he fully accepts the General's remarks on the use of the term "college" he points out the fragility of the situation.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I just received your letter of 13/15 August. Three days ago I returned from Amiens, where I visited our establishment, as mandated by our Constitutions

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<sup>131</sup> The catalogues received by the General are those of 1817.

<sup>132</sup> Corn. Van Everbroeck (born 2/19/1784 Lierre; S.I. 6/21/1805 Rome; died 5/17/1863 Rome). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 2.820.

<sup>133</sup> Peter Peeters (born 8/14/1778 Herenthals; S.I. 8/14/1809 Neer; died 1/8/1862 Amsterdam). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 2.663.

and rules. Even though I can assure you that regularity and piety reign in that house, some changes were needed without further delay to prevent unpleasant results. The excessive strictness and rigidity on the part of Father Jenneaux has made the yoke of obedience wearisome and could even destroy some vocations. Even though the gentleness and humility of Fr. Folloppe had already tempered the bad effects, Fr. Folloppe lacks the necessary firmness to exercise the authority which his position as Superior gives him. I have felt I needed to recall Father Jenneaux. As a result of his multiple responsibilities as spiritual director, general manager, and principal of the boarding school, he was in a position where he exercised too much authority. I have replaced him by two of our local residents. Father Folloppe has evaluated them and believes that they will assist greatly in the general good of the house. For the rest, I (have to<sup>134</sup>) must attest to the virtue of Father Jenneaux who has demonstrated the most perfect submission and great humility in accepting this change. At the same time I must acknowledge that that establishment owes its prosperity and reputation to his indefatigable zeal and administrative talent.

Among the more than 250 boarders there are many young boys, often from the best families, who are thus removed from the corruption so prevalent in the lycea and these provide great hope for the future. These students emulate the example of piety (they see in their teachers) and their happy dispositions are due largely to the influence of the Congregation formed in honor of the Holy Virgin, similar to those used at the schools of the Society. Each regent shall be promoted to a higher calling, conforming to the practices of the Society just as I have also asked the other houses to do. I have given the house the necessary number of supervisors so that the regents who now no longer need to care for supervising will have more time to devote to spiritual exercises. I recalled one person to the novitiate in Paris who should go from fourth into third\*, because I recognized in him the need to be formed in the spirit of the Society and saw at the same time that he has the proper qualities to serve it usefully. I have appointed a replacement for him.

I have become reconciled, as far as I can, with the intentions of Your Reverence regarding the brother-coadjutors. Those who I thought to have no vocation and who were on trial have been dismissed. Two have agreed to stay as simple domestics. Besides that, I have seen with pleasure that special care was taken to form the brothers with religious exercises. I have reason to believe that that house will continue to improve. My only worry is for Father Folloppe's health. Since his arrival in Amiens he has been ill almost constantly and bedridden several times. It seems that the air of this country does not agree with him and that the doctor, not knowing his condition, treats him without success. His

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<sup>134</sup> This redundancy is even more curious because the verb "Have to" is added between the lines.

\* Translators note: In the French system one starts in 12<sup>th</sup> grade and advances to first.

infirmity along with his excessive timidity make him view his position as Superior of a house as important as this as an overwhelming burden. Father Grivel believes that he would be more comfortable as novice master in Paris. I too believe this, and believe that at some point this change must be made, but not right now. Even though, in view of the great distance which separates us, I am convinced that it would not upset Your Reverence if I made similar changes whenever the general good demands this, I desire to make such changes only when the time is suitable and when they have your consent.

To conclude my report on my first visit to the house at Amiens, I need to let Your Reverence know about an addition that was recently made to the boarding school, an addition which brings joy and consolation to Monsignor the Bishop of Amiens<sup>135</sup> and which meets with the approval of all good Catholics. In a very convenient place and rather close to the house of Saint-Acheul<sup>136</sup>, we have assembled 90 students of less fortunate families, chosen with care from amongst the children or youth of the diocese, who showed signs of a potential vocation. Several are not able to pay any room and board; others give according to their means; divine Providence and the help of the mother house will supplement the rest. This house distinguishes itself by its love for work and piety. It is even more precious because it presents a fertile nursery of aspirants to the priesthood to one of the dioceses most lacking in priests. It is no great burden to us because the young people have the option to follow the study courses at the mother house.

I continue my visit in that house now, my Very Reverend Father, where, thanks to Our Lord, no great difficulties remain because since the arrival of Father Grivel changes have been instituted which would approach those of the Society most closely. I have made it my duty and pleasure to consult him in everything that may affect the good of our Society in France. This visit seems to concentrate itself therefore to rendering accounts and to increasing my awareness as written up in the rules of the visitor<sup>137</sup>.

In 15 days I will set out again to visit the other houses of Montmor[illon], Bordeaux, and Sainte-Anne near Auray. From there I will return to Laval where I have accepted an official offer, written by all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, for a location for our missionaries when they are not busy giving missions in this diocese or any other for that matter. I will only be careful that there will always be at least one or two priests on site so as to not totally interrupt the work of the ministry. The same authorities pressure me also to establish our novitiate there, assuring me that they have already taken

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<sup>135</sup> Since February 1805 the Bishop of Amiens is Jean-Francois Demandolx (7-1817), *HC VII* 70.

<sup>136</sup> On this second establishment in Amiens, Cf. DELATTRE 1203-2-8.

<sup>137</sup> The use of the term 'visitor' gives it another meaning. Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 836. Clorivière alludes here to the provincial visit which he carries out (Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 85-88).

measures to procure annual help. I am drawn to this as I have already mentioned several times to your Reverence, because it is very difficult to maintain it in the limited space we have in Paris. The town of Laval would also offer another advantage which we do not have in Paris, namely it enables the novices to exercise the works of mercy as is appropriate during their novitiate, visiting hospitals, teaching catechism to children etc.

At the same time, the town of Mayenne ...(At the same time the town of Mayenne<sup>138</sup>) after a mission we preached there following one at Laval, has not stopped making the most vivid requests for the establishment of a minor seminary in their city. The mayor has written me one letter after another begging me, by all that I hold holy, not to refuse the ardent wishes of the whole town. He told me that, if necessary, he would come to Paris himself to ask, beg, or even demand our gracious consent. He has done more. In the name of the city he has drawn up the contract to acquire a large building with a beautiful church and vast gardens. Only our agreement prevents his signature of the document. So far I have resisted constantly because I do not want to multiply our houses too fast. But now, as the result of the change of heart of the Monsignor, the Archbishop of Toulouse, that project there has been terminated. After I received a very favorable report from one of our missionaries whom I requested to visit the city, I believe that Providence is pointing us to the offices of Mayenne. The hope and joy which he experienced when they saw his arrival was so great that groups of workmen came to offer to work without charge to do the repairs. Incidentally, the repairs will all be paid by the town. What will make that establishment even less of a burden is that we will delay starting there as long as we judge to be appropriate and that we will be free to open only as many classes as we deem right. I will visit the towns of Laval and Mayenne after my return from Saint-Anne. As you can see, my very Reverend Father, this is a long trip for a person in his eighties. Yet I undertake it with confidence believing that it will fulfill one of the principal duties of my assignment. It seems to me that divine goodness justifies my confidence as witnessed by the blessings it has bestowed on my trip to Amiens as well as by a perceptible increase in my strength and health.

At present, our missionaries are giving a mission in Saint-Brieuc. I have just had the consoling news that one of them, the one most talented to be a professor, but also the one who we could criticize for not being sufficiently natural, simple, and pleasing, has been so changed by the visible effects of grace that one cannot listen to him without being deeply touched.

Those priests who had not yet completed the month long retreat are doing so at present. They will finish at the end of this week. Several from the other houses

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<sup>138</sup> Repetition in the manuscript.

were free during vacations and came here for their retreat. The others have just finished the yearly eight day retreat.

Yesterday Father Barruel started his retreat here in preparation for taking his final vows on the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month, the day Your Reverence set<sup>139</sup>. Others in France have had the same reactions to his work, which deals with the rights and authorities of the Sovereign Pontiff, as you have had, my Very Reverend Father. Given the times and circumstances, we excused him. The work was primarily directed at the non-missionary bishops and attempted to establish the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff which they seemed to have misunderstood. If it had stated the entire truth, as we embrace it, and contrary to the gallic opinions, it would never have been published. Let me assure Your Reverence that his thinking is as you would desire it to be in all children of the Society.

I thank your Reverence for the advice you give me on the inconvenience of the use of the word 'college' for our houses, but I must tell you that that terminology is not being used by us. We know that our houses are only simple small seminaries, under the protection of the bishops, that they lack what would make them 'colleges' and that they are only very precarious establishments which can tumble at any time. The house of St. Acheul, for instance, even though flourishing at the moment, has little permanence, since it is only ours for the duration a few years; it can be taken back by the owner or taken by any buyer. The house in Montmorillon belongs to the Bishop and the administrators of the diocese<sup>140</sup> now refuse to fulfill certain conditions we had agreed on in the beginning. The house in Bordeaux runs an even greater risk. Notwithstanding the goodwill of Msgr. the Archbishop towards us, they strongly threaten to take it in order to enlarge the site of the major seminary. This without assuring us of a different locale. Here we are far from regarding our houses as colleges and especially from assuming that they have lasting significance. It makes me realize the need for the visits I am going to make even more strongly.

In the distribution of the theology and philosophy propositions I have carried out the intentions of Your Reverence to the letter. On my return, approaching Christmas, some will take the examination according to the prescribed forms.

I am, with the most perfect submission and most respectful devotion, my Very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière S.J.  
For the Reverend Father Clorivière, Varin S.J.

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<sup>139</sup> Cf. The profession of Barruel: letter to Brzozowski on October 23, 1826. ARSI *Francia* 1001 116.

<sup>140</sup> Montmorillon belongs to the diocese of Poitiers. The seat of Poitiers is vacant since the nomination of Dominique de Pradt (1759-1837) as bishop of Malines in 1809. *HC* VII 259-306.

P.S. I think I need to have Father Varin accompany me as my travel companion because during the visit and knowing the people, he could help me more. Father Grivel, Superior of this house, seems to be needed here to take care of the business which will present itself during my absence and for which he has my full authority.

## 16. November 12/24, 1816.

### T. Brzowski to Father de Clorivière.

Copy: ARSI *Russia 1018* 174-175

*He advises Father de Clorivière to delegate some of his authority. He exhorts him to govern as much as possible in the spirit of the Society. He wishes in particular that the novitiate is done correctly. He has to cancel his trip to Rome.*

To Father de Clorivière

I have received your letter of October 8, in which you report on the visit you have made to the house of St. Acheul and on your plan to visit all our houses in the same way without being deterred by the length and difficulties of such a big trip, I bless heaven to have given you such zeal and enough strength to support these fatigues and I ask him to shed abundant blessings on your works. However I think that for the good of the Society, it would be proper that you manage your time a little bit more. You could have left a part of this visit to Father Grivel who was sent to you to help you and thereby avoid such great fatigue. It would have had the double advantage of not only relieving you but also of giving Father Grivel the chance to get to know our members and become informed about many things.

I approve of the change you propose for Father Folloppe, necessitated by his health<sup>141</sup>.

In view of the fact that it will be easier for the novices go through the tests prescribed in the Constitution<sup>142</sup>, I see only advantages in moving the novitiate to Laval.

God be praised that the plan to establish a house in Toulouse failed! I wish I did not have such misgivings about new establishments, and I cannot repeat this enough. The less people we have (involved in the schools), the more our ability to form them, and that is the essential (objective)\*.

At a minimum I would want the novitiate to follow the rules entirely before our

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<sup>141</sup> He is replaced in October 1816 by Father Longuet.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. the *experimenta*. Tests taking the form of a stage during the novitiate. See Saint Ignatius, *Constitutions de la Compagnie de Jesus* (translation and notes Francois Courel) (Paris 1967) "Examen General", chapter IV.

\* Translator addition



young people find themselves launched into the schools where they can be in some danger.

I ask you to congratulate Father Barruel from me on making his vows which should have taken place on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October. What you tell me about him has pleased me greatly.

The newspapers announced that France had or was about to stop interfering in church business, but it, seems that this is premature. I hope that once an arrangement is concluded between the Holy See and the Court of France, the government will get around to doing something for our Society<sup>143</sup>.

Things are the same in our country, that is to say, a state of uncertainty exists. I still have not received the permission I requested to make a trip to Rome. My papers are still in the hands of the government. Yet the person who was in charge of checking them has made his report and has declared that he did not find anything which should keep them from being returned immediately. There is no outright refusal, but by not answering at all, the results are about the same. Every day my trip to Rome becomes more important. We have to pray with fervor so that God deigns to take away the obstacles that oppose it.

With the ever increasing number of candidates and the corresponding advances of the Society, albeit slow, I also wish that you reorganize towards the form of government prescribed in the Constitution. I do not know who your advisors are<sup>144</sup>. You should have four of them. Fathers Grivel and Varin should be among them. I leave the choice of the two others to you. You know the people who could be worthy for this assignment. Frequent consultations are useful, not only to illuminate the Superior, but also to help condition and prepare your advisors, who should be persons of merit and judged capable of one day fulfilling the tasks of Superior.

## **17. Nantes, November 25, 1816.**

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 20.

*He reports on the situation in Bordeaux, Montmorillon and Nantes. He indicates that he has received news from Father Grivel and reminds him that he is conforming to the intentions of the General regarding the brother-coadjutors.*

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<sup>143</sup> The beginning of the negotiations concerning the Concordat. Cf. n. 212

<sup>144</sup> From a letter of Grivel to Brzozowski dated October 31, 1816 (ARSI *Francia* 1001 1, 17) we know that the General had asked Clorivière to name his advisory board (his 'consultants') in March 1816 (lost letter of Brzozowski). In exercising the functions of provincial without having that title, Clorivière must have the board appointed by the General. The consultants have no decision power but are charged to advise the provincial (or the one performing this function) on important points of government. Cf. *Inst. S.J.* HI 595-596 Consultationes, Consultores

My Very Reverend Father,

I wrote you when I was leaving Paris on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October. I received your letter of September 17/19 in Bordeaux. Until now the trip has been happy and instead of suffering, it seems that my health is improving.

Your Reverence already knows that the two houses of Bordeaux and Montmorillon found themselves in a rather embarrassing position which required my presence. The only thing we could do was relinquish part of our space to be used for the major seminary. By redistributing and reorganizing the space which was left, we will be able to maintain the same number of pupils. So the general good will not suffer. I have been received most graciously by Msgr. the Archbishop who expressed his deepest gratitude that we made this sacrifice, needed because of the increase of students to his major seminary, with such good grace.

This year the diocese will keep the revenues from the house in Montmorillon. I have consented to this for several reasons. First of all I wanted to avoid hurting one of the Grand Vicars who insisted that we postpone the arrangement until the future bishop is installed. Secondly, conditions would have been burdensome for us anyway because especially this year the commodities are very expensive<sup>145</sup>. But I announced that the way in which we have existed until now in Montmorillon is not in conformance to the practices of our Institution, that we cannot consider to let things stay like this beyond the coming year, and that we would need to make more suitable arrangements for our services now. Because the diocese is very eager to maintain our services, I hope that the difficulties will be smoothed out. In fact there are few dioceses in France whose needs are more pressing. The Grand Vicars who are most concerned would view our departure with great pain, especially since the house has acquired quite a far reaching reputation during this last year.

What consoled me most is the very obvious progress that all those who worked in the two houses of Bordeaux and Montmorillon have made. I can report that those who were still in the novitiate have fulfilled the exercises with all the exactitude their occupations allowed. It seems that God supplemented that which may have lacked in exterior means with His grace. I think that if your Reverence were to see the situation with your own eyes, you would feel as I do.

I stopped for 24 hours in Nantes where Mr. Morel<sup>146</sup> gave us hospitality with all demonstrations of sincere friendship. Tomorrow we shall continue our way to St. Anne. Msgr. the Bishop of Vannes wants to receive us and himself

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<sup>145</sup>We wrote "expensive" but we could also say "rare". The torn paper gives no indication. The remark points to the events at the end of 1816. That is the beginning of an exceptionally serious grain crisis; the causes for which were multiple, (climate, circumstances, invasions...), and which cause famine during 1816-17.

<sup>146</sup> This Morel is the same as in the letter of January 8, 1816?.

accompany us to our destination.

During my trip I have often received letters from Father Grivel<sup>147</sup>. He tells me that he recently wrote you with his and our news.

I should not omit to mention that I conformed to your intentions regarding the brother-coadjutors completely. There are only very few in the houses I just mentioned and those who are in charge of the work which concerns the boarding school are paid domestics.

I ask Father Rozaven to receive the expression of my respectful devotion.

Father Varin is touched by your Reverence' greetings. He sends you the homage of his most respectful devotion.

I remain with profound respect, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and very obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière.  
For Father de Clorivière, Varin.

## **18. December 3/15, 1816.**

### **T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière**

Copy: ARSI *Russia 1018* 171-179.

*He again insists on the quality of the novitiate (time, studies...) and on the necessity to avoid multiplying establishments. He gives a series of criteria on these two points which he considers to be fundamental and which should be respected absolutely.*

To Father de Clorivière.

Even though I have already replied to your letter of October 8 and in my response, as in almost all of my previous letters, insisted on two points, the novitiate and moderation in forming new establishments; which are both extremely dear to my heart, I fear I must write you again on this subject. I received a letter from Father Grivel and the details revealed from the bare facts cause me a lot of worry<sup>148</sup>.

I see that, not counting the brothers, our 84 French members are distributed over six establishments<sup>149</sup>, without including the novitiate in Paris which has only six novices. Thus, everyone who has not yet finished the novitiate is

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<sup>147</sup> The letters of Clorivière to Grivel are conserved, November 14, 1816 (ARSI *Francia 1001* I 18) and November 26, 1816 (ARSI *Francia 1001* I 19).

<sup>148</sup> Letter of Grivel to Brzozowski, October 31, 1816. ARSI *Francia 1001* I 17.

<sup>149</sup> It concerns Amiens, St.-Acheul, Sainte-Anne-d'Auray, Bordeaux, Montmorillon and Forcalquier.

occupied by functions of ministry or education.

In spite of this the establishment at Mayenne is already accepted and I do not see where you can find the necessary staff to satisfy that new obligation.

It is even less obvious to see how you can replace our young people, professors or supervisors, when they will have to do their theology. What especially frightens me, is that I cannot conceive of how these young people, overloaded with work, and distracted by studies, will be formed in the spirit of the Institute into true Jesuits.

You are aware, my Reverend Father, how many warnings our Constitution contains regarding the relations our young people should have with their students<sup>150</sup>. Our holy founder saw quite a few dangers in these relations. Can we believe that he would have approved that the novitiate was held under the surveillance of the boarding schools or in the dwelling itself? The precautions St. Ignatius prescribes concerned the regents who had made their two years of novitiate, and he would undoubtedly have felt that those precautions were equally appropriate for those who have not finished the novitiate. I admit that I can only advocate that the number of youth, who are the hope of the Society in France, are reduced so that they can be formed in the religious life and especially in the Jesuit life in boarding schools.

I have already stated that I do not think it all bad if priests make only one year of novitiate or even less if there is a good reason. St. Ignatius himself authorized this by his example. But I cannot approve that our young people, who have a need to be formed and consolidated in virtue, be deprived of these two years which our holy founder established so wisely. I would be afraid that a building constructed on such weak foundations would crumble before too long. That is an evil which we must immediately correct, and if what has already been done cannot be repaired, we should at least take measures for the future.

I therefore desire that all those who are in the novitiate at this time or who will enter the Society whilst they are not yet priests, make their complete two years of novitiate.

I am not forbidding specific situations where some can undertake some study in their second year, like rhetoric or philosophy. I do mean that they study by themselves, and that they do not teach or have any contact with our boarders. If such studies cannot be undertaken in the novitiate house, they can be done somewhere else, but our young students should be separated, like the "*juvenists*" were in the past in France, or like those here we call *separati*<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 595, *Consuetudines*

<sup>151</sup> Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 710, *Separatio*

Therefore do not start any more establishments until you have the staff to occupy them formed. It might even be desirable to diminish the number of those that already exist. There are some that give few advantages and that do not appear to conform sufficiently to the spirit of the Institution as, for instance, the one in Montmorillon, where we are paid per head. I do not dictate any action in this regard, because, just as we have to be very careful in accepting, we should also have a lot of discretion before abandoning what has been undertaken already. You will know what the good of the Society requires and what prudence dictates.

In the future, as the formation of an establishment is a major undertaking, (the following procedures must be followed):

1. The decision must be taken under advisement by the advisory staff. The consultants must have all the necessary information to form an opinion as well as the time to weigh and consider everything.
2. The conditions as well as the tasks expected but be written down and signed by all parties involved so that we will not be subject to the whims of the contracting parties.
3. The establishment must have some evident purpose for the Society because, even if we must seek the greater glory of God and be of use to the Church in our own way, it is rather clear that the Society must insure its own future. Especially in the beginning we must insure that the Society can maintain its consistency so that it will be capable to achieve the good which is expected from it.
4. We must insure that there is nothing in the conditions or expected tasks which are agreed upon and which may contradict the purity of our Institution. Therefore, we should not permit such conditions as salaries calculated on the basis of per capita students, annual retributions for certain ministry or other functions, obligations to serve parishes, etc. We should simply budget a fund or fixed amount for the establishment; not paid to individuals. The Superior must have the freedom to assign as many or as few staff as he feels are needed to carry out the required tasks. We should not accept any compensation for the care of individuals so that we maintain the liberty to use people as demanded for the greater glory of God. All such items must be discussed by the advisory board as it pertains to a new establishment. In the end, after having listened to all recommendations, the Superior is responsible for the ultimate decision as demanded by our Constitution. It is his task to weigh all arguments before God and to make a decision.

I am convinced that the success of the reestablishment of the Society in France

depends on these two points: a good novitiate, and very great reservation to accept new establishments.

I will recommend one more thing, my Reverend Father. My views on Father Grivel are clearly expressed in the letter which he carried. My intention then, and still now, is that he be your instrument for governing, your right hand. This should be acceptable because he has professed the four vows, he has spent more than twelve years among us, he is familiar with our customs and understands the Institution, and he has my confidence and merits it. I add that all the members of the Society as well as strangers will rejoice in the fact that you prefer to use a Jesuit formed at the mother house itself, one who has lived for many years in houses where the rule was observed. I do not doubt that you will find in him all the docility you may desire and that he will be the first to illustrate how one should respect and obey one's Superiors in the Society.

The Society will owe its reestablishment in France to you, my Reverend Father. Do not neglect to do anything which will give permanence to your work. The future is in the hands of God, but we must anticipate our role and imitate our holy Father Ignatius, who always thought to perpetuate good while working for the needs of the present.

## 19. Paris, December 30, 1816.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Received January 26/February 7, 1816.  
Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 121

*He praises the Bishop of Vannes. He reports on his visit to St. Anne d'Auray, Laval, and Mayenne. He affirms that he accepts the board of advisors.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I am back in Paris since the 22<sup>nd</sup> of this month. The trip passed without accidents and has fortified my health. Some days ago I received your Reverend's letter of 12/24 November. You can rest assured that I have no greater desire than to conform, wherever possible, to the wise council you give for the good of the Society. My last letter was written from Nantes, en route to St. Anne d'Auray, on November 25<sup>152</sup>. I reported to you on the visit I made to the two houses of Montmorillon and Bordeaux. I received the most gracious reception in Vannes from Msgr. the Bishop. It is not possible to be more devoted to our Society than he is, and especially to the establishment in St. Anne. He never tires of admiring the blessings which the Lord has showered on that house in

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<sup>152</sup>Graphical error. It concerns the letter very legibly dated November 26, 1816 (Letter 17).

such short time; where there are now almost 200 boarders, and where piety and work ethics really reign. He praised our conduct and especially that of the Superior, Father Cuenet.

Occasionally he spends some time with them and always leaves them penetrated by the goodness of his heart. He visited during my stay and we ate in the student refectory where he was complimented in prose and poetry, in different languages as well!

Even though I fully understand the importance of the advice you give me on the necessity to employ, as much as possible, only members who have made the novitiate according to the rule, I can assure you that if you saw the atmosphere in our houses for yourself, you would recognize that the Lord has deigned to supplement what could ordinarily be lacking. Besides that, we will follow your advice in everything which our present position makes practical.

From St. Anne I returned via Laval where I stayed several days at the establishment of the missionaries. The whole town is very enamored with them. I received a visit from the Prefect and other authorities who vividly desire to see that the establishment becomes more solid and augments itself. I bless the Lord that your Reverence approves that the novitiate is moved there. We awaited that decision before making the necessary repairs and distributions to the house. The more I thought about it, the more convinced I became that the change will be a great benefit for the novices. It is a fact that we cannot keep them much longer in the house we occupy in Paris, if only for health reasons. It would not have been easy to procure a different location. I have seen only a few of the missionaries in Laval. Three of them were away giving a mission in Gonesse, five leagues from Paris, where Father Gloriot, previously Superior in Soissons and subsequently in Paris, accompanied them. They are experiencing the great difference in disposition that exists between those living in the vicinity of Paris and those living in the country. The mission they gave in the month of October in St. Brieuc had such an astonishing success that we could hardly believe the reports, but here it is not the same thing. Ignorance and moral apathy are terrible obstacles, more so here than anywhere else. Yet we do not get discouraged; the grace of the Lord is almighty.

From Laval I went by Mayenne, which was on my way. I already told your Reverence, that before my departure, I saw myself as it were forced to give in to the authorities as I could not resist the badgering of the city's and authorities' zeal in their constant solicitation for the establishment of a teaching facility. I had hoped that by the time that I passed through Mayenne I would have found an honest excuse to go back on my word, but things had already progressed too far. The zeal of the inhabitants had already levied the contributions needed to pay for the area destined for us. After repairs have

been made the location will be one of the most beautiful and advantageous in the area. But in order to align my views as closely as possible to those of your Reverence, I have mandated that the establishment only start a year from now and that initially we will only have a staff of three professors. This will diminish the difficulties greatly<sup>153</sup>. The impressions left behind by the mission given by our missionaries in that city a year ago are still so great, that when I went to the church well before daybreak to say the Holy Mass, people who had heard that the celebrant was one of the missionaries, came to the church in great numbers. Several hours later they assembled when I passed by.

This, my very Reverend Father, is all I have to report about my trip. I felt obliged to make this trip myself since the Lord deigned to give me the strength for it. Without this visit I would have had too imperfect a knowledge of what is practiced in our houses and of the staff which runs them. At the same time Father Grivel's presence in Paris seemed necessary. He needed to act in my place to take care of the different things that could have presented themselves in my absence, as indeed happened.

I will conform exactly to what Your Reverence desires in forming an advisory board. I see how useful it is. I think I must ask Fathers Fontaine and Roger, as well as Fathers Grivel and Varin which you designated, to join this board. Since you were kind enough to leave the choice to me, I ask you to ratify it.

I will soon write Your Reverence again to inform you of the state of each of our houses.

I remain with the deepest respect and the most total devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and very obedient servant and son

de Clorivière S.J.  
For Father de Clorivière, Varin S.J.

PS: I ask your Reverence to allow me to transmit herewith my fondest greetings to Father Rozaven.

## 20. Paris. January 22, 1817.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Received February 13/25, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 122.

*After reiterating his docility to the views of the General, he gives the reasons for multiplying the establishments. He reports on what he has done with the advisory board. He complains about the attitude of Father Grivel.*

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<sup>153</sup> The establishment in Mayenne will not occur.



My very Reverend Father, P.C.

I received and will always honor the fatherly advice of Your Reverence with all the docility of a child devoted to the best of fathers. I may add that I can understand the wisdom and importance of the advice you gave me in your last letter of December 15, and also that I did not object to any of your opinions. Even though it would have been physically impossible to conform to your wishes until now, I can do so now in spite of the fact that there are still several difficulties.

Except for St. Anne d'Auray and Forcalquier, our establishments have been in existence since our first beginnings and have educated themselves out of necessity as there was no central location to train our candidates. As stated in your letter, it seems that Your Reverence desires that the novices were not to be distributed over various locations. It would have been impossible for us to assemble them in a single place because of the size of our location and because of the sensation it would have caused. Furthermore, they needed to be located in a boarding school because they have no money and could not sustain themselves. Your Reverence must also remember that the establishments are not controlled by us, the more so because they are only minor seminaries and are therefore under the immediate supervision of the bishops. These can readily exclude us as has been demonstrated in Soissons. Thus, our existence is precarious at best. Even so, we must not reject it because it is the way by which the Lord has chosen to permit us to rescue a thousand children from the chaos of impiety and licentiousness and to give them a truly Christian education on which He has shed His greatest blessings.

Previously I stated that these difficulties do not exist anymore. This is partially true because a large number of novices have completed their two year novitiate and can now be employed more easily. Nevertheless, looking back on my recent experiences and having witnessed the situation everywhere, I must add that, in His great mercy, the Lord has seen fit to provide for that which we could not have provided and which comprises the principle topic of your letter; the multiplication of establishments and the two years of novitiate.

During the visits which I made to our houses in the final months of last year, I have corrected those activities which were not in harmony (with the rules) of our Institution, especially those functions connected to the sacred ministry for which I did not want the ministers to be paid at all. I have carefully observed our young candidates and can only bless God for the truly religious disposition which I noticed in many of them.

The establishment of St. Anne d'Auray was so conveniently offered to us by Msgr. the bishop and the propositions were so favorable that I felt that I had to accept by the end of 1815. Since that time I have come to believe that it was

God's work because of the great blessings which He has bestowed on the establishment. It is held in high esteem. Even more urgent reasons forced us to Forcalquier because the Bishop of Soissons, in spite of his own desires, forced us to part company. Nothing definitive has been decided for the house in Mayenne. It is true that I have made some promises, but these were, according to me, conditional. As far as I am concerned, your refusal would be tantamount to making (this establishment) impossible.

In spite of all this I believe that we can probably fulfill our commitments without violating any of the conditions which you made. For the time being we will not make any further commitments without your approval.

I have established the advisory board which you wrote about and we met soon after the receipt of your letter. We have agreed to meet every two weeks or more frequently if the situation warrants. Since all who were with me were still in the two year novitiate until recently I was unable to create a proper board. Rest assured that I will not make any decisions without the advice of those who are in a position to council me.

The regard which your Reverence has for Father Grivel, a regard which you wrote about, as well as his advancing age, are sufficient reasons for me to temper my actions (towards him). Besides, I recognize many qualities which make me love and esteem him. Since his arrival, I do not believe that I have failed to inform him of anything which I have undertaken. Immediately after his arrival I appointed him Superior of this house. Except for the novices, who I entrusted to the care of one of our fathers<sup>154</sup> whom I considered to have more experience in spiritual direction, I gave him complete charge. Before setting out for my trip, I gave him full power to act in my behalf during my absence and I have reported everything of significance which I noticed in our houses. Assuming that it is permitted, I would like to tell you simply that I am aware that his governing during my absence was considered reprehensible for several reasons: religious discipline was poorly maintained as illustrated by the fact that on more than one occasion the refectory was only occupied by novices; one of our oldest fathers, one who I hold in great esteem, was contradicted in everything he said. I have been independently informed of these facts by two people whose judgment I respect and who felt that they had to inform me. I did not find it necessary to observe things further and no one else has said anything good or bad. My own observations seem to lead me to believe that he is quick to act on first impressions and that more than once he has given rather strange advice. In view of his goodness of character, I believe that he can easily correct his faults if he reflects on them a bit. I must add that, since my return, he has overwhelmed me with his friendship and reacted well to some criticism which I felt I had to give. In telling you this, my Reverend Father, I feel that I am only

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<sup>154</sup> It concerns Father Roger.

fulfilling my obligation towards you.

I have hurried to reply to your last letter. I am now getting ready to send you the exact state of our houses and the staff that occupies them; I am charging Father Grivel with this work for he is responsible for all the rosters.

Please receive, my very Reverend Father, the renewed assurance of my respectful attachment and perfect obedience which I, your very humble and obedient servant and son, send you.

P.J. de Clorivière.

PS: Father Fontaine received what you sent him with sentiments of respect and gratitude.

## **21. Paris, February 27, 1817.**

**P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 / 25.

*He reports on the examinations taken by some of the Fathers.*  
[This letter is written in Latin and has not been translated.]

## **22. March 30, 1817.**

**T. Brzozowski to P. de Clorivière.**

Copy: ARSI *Russia* 1018 199-201

*He expresses all his confidence in Father de Clorivière. He mentions a letter of Father Grivel. He relays a request by Count Ilinski. He is concerned about two works against the Society which supposedly circulate in Paris. He asks for details on the mission of Gonesse and mentions the sermons of Father Beauregard.*

My Reverend Father,

Some time ago I received your letter of January 22. I see with the greatest satisfaction that the good Lord has deigned to disperse his abundant blessings on your works. Do not believe, my Reverend Father, that you need to justify the way in which you have handled things until now. On the contrary, the Society owes you thanks for the zeal, prudence, and activity which you have shown at a time when your age could have seemed to be a legitimate excuse to withdraw from so many cares and fatigues.

If, at first, everything did not conform completely to the practices of our Institution, it should be blamed on circumstances and it is beyond the capability of man to change these. Your eagerness, in spite of the very real difficulties which still exist, to implement my suggestions as soon as possible, confirm the

belief which I have always had, that it is a particular arrangement of Divine Providence which has preserved you to bring about the reestablishment of the Society in France. May the Lord grant you many more years to accomplish His work! I hope that the remaining difficulties will disappear gradually so that, when the two critical points which we agreed upon are implemented, our remaining wishes can be more easily achieved.

I received Father Grivel's letter of February 10<sup>155</sup>. Since it does not require a reply and since it promised another letter containing the lists, I will not respond to him in this sending, especially since this package is already quite large as a result of the enclosures which I ask you to have delivered to Father Leblanc<sup>156</sup>. I am writing him through your address because he did not dare use the ordinary mail. I am afraid something unfortunate may have happened to them in Gand. If this is true and they turn to you, I ask you to help them with all your might. They have some excellent members and I very much wish that they can continue their studies.

I have been asked by Count Ilinski<sup>157</sup>, a benefactor of our order and founder of a school, to provide him with a priest trained in teaching the deaf and dumb. If at all possible, I would like to honor his request. Therefore I request that you, my Reverend Father, assign a priest who is capable of being trained by Mr. Abbot Sicard<sup>158</sup> who, I imagine will not refuse to do this. When he is sufficiently trained I request that he be sent via Krakow and Lemberg to Wolhynie, (seat of the government of Zytonmir, which is part of the holdings of Count Ilinski. I will send you the necessary travel money at that time.

One of our friends in St. Petersburg has written that two works, published in Paris and anti-Jesuit, have arrived in that capital. One is titled "*On the Pope and the Jesuits*" and the other "*On the reestablishment of the Jesuits in France*". I am surprised that you have never mentioned these writings, nor the public sensation they may have caused. Would it not have been appropriate to have our friends publish a reply? Undoubtedly we have someone capable of doing so. Do you have any contact with Mr. De Bonald<sup>159</sup>? He writes well and is a religious man. Generally, I am not in favor of publicity. There are times when one should

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<sup>155</sup> Letter of Grivel to Brzozowski, ARSI *Francia* 1001 / 23.

<sup>156</sup> Letter of Brzozowski to Father Leblanc, March 30, 1817. ARSI *Russia* 1018 198-199. Father Leblanc is in Belgium where the mail is opened by the administration. Cf. witness of Grivel, ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 23.

<sup>157</sup> Count Ilinski is one of the principal protectors of the Jesuits in Russia. He is the founder of the college of Romanow which he entrusted to the Society. Cf. S. Zalenski, *Les Jesuites de la Russie Blanche*, v. 2, 161; 192-194. Cf. the correspondence of Brzozowski with Ilinski, ARSI *Russia* 1018 fast. 3, Epistolae polonica a RP. Brzozowski ad senatorem Ilinski.

<sup>158</sup> Roch-Ambroise Cucurron, Named Sicard (1742-1822). Priest, Director of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Bordeaux and later Paris, where he succeeds the Abbot of Epee, Member of the Institute, Teacher at the Elementary school. Author of numerous works on the education for the deaf and dumb.

<sup>159</sup> Louis de Bonald (1754-1840), political writer, collaborator to *Mercure de France*, *au Journal des Debars* and later of *Conservateur* and *Defendeur*; from 1815 till 1822 Deputy of Aveyron.

be silent, but sometimes it is better to speak out. You should consider this and consult with friends. In the future, keep me at least informed of all that happens because I felt a bit ashamed of the fact that I was not aware of these anti-Jesuit publications which appeared in Paris two years ago.

I would also like to know some further details about the start of the mission in Gonesse and the problems about which you spoke. I know the mission is finished, because Father Grivel lists it under those which have been completed, but he does not say anything else about it.

Father Grivel also should have received the sermons of Father Beauregard<sup>160</sup> which I sent so that he could keep them for future reference. Since he never mentions them, I hope that they were not lost in transit. What to do with them? My intention is that they be printed when this becomes possible.

Our affairs here are still "*in statu quo*". However, I again have some hope that I will obtain permission for my trip. I have taken further steps. After God, my hope is mostly based on a powerful friend who already has done a lot for us and who hopes to succeed in the resolution of this issue, which is the main thing.

### **23. Paris, April 26, 1817.**

#### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Received June 13, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia 1001 130*.

*He is surprised not to have received any letters from the General for some time. He reports on his undertakings (the establishments and missions). He rejoices about the entry into the novitiate of Fr. Lambert, a Father of the Faith. The project to move the novitiate in Laval proceeds. He asks permission to open an establishment in Marseille. He indulges in an apocalyptic description of the situation. In that context, he asks permission to have his commentary on the Apocalypse printed.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

It is almost four months ago that I had the honor of writing you after my return from visiting our houses. Since that time I have received only one letter but no reply to mine. That causes me to worry. Like myself, Father Grivel is also uneasy because he too has not received any mail. If it was your health, Father Rozaven would not have omitted to reassure us about that, but it is possible that your letters or mine have accidentally been intercepted. That fear does not keep me

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<sup>160</sup> Jean Nicolas de Beauregard (born 12/4/1733 Mets; S.I. September 1749 Nancy; died 7/27/1804 Groningen). His sermons were conserved by the Princess Sophie de Hohenlohe to whose residence he had withdrawn. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL I 1078-79.

from taking a chance to send this letter.

I have punctually observed everything you recommended regarding the two years of the novitiate as well as the multiplication of houses. I also have not acted on anything significant without consulting with my advisory board. Nothing much has changed at our houses except for the fact that they will always be an object of jealousy for those who wish us ill. The only change has been in Bordeaux where we had to move from the seminary to occupy another, more favorable<sup>161</sup> location. We are also having some conflicts with the Great Vicar about Montmorillon. It concerns issues regarding conformance to the customs of the Society and we anticipate success (in convincing the Vicar of our position).

The state of our missions need particular mention. They have accomplished a lot of good everywhere. Especially the last one which was completed a short time ago in Bourges, capital of Berry, was very successful. At present a mission is being started in Nevers, capital of Nivernais, which is only eighteen leagues from Bourges. The authorities of Bourges were so pleased with the work we did in their town that they insisted on giving us written testimonies of their satisfaction. Since we are convinced that these will please you<sup>162</sup>, I have handed them to Father Grivel along with a summary of what happened in other missions. He will send them to you in due course.

Mr. Lambere<sup>163</sup>, one of the oldest Fathers of the Faith, and since their dissolution Chancellor, Grand Vicar and theologian of Poitiers, joined our missionaries for the duration of the mission in Bourges. Everybody agreed with him and he made a most noticeable contribution to the good that was done. He has been meditating for a long time whether to enter the Society and came from Bourges to Paris to try to make a decision. I found that he has such a happy and saintly disposition that I received him happily. He will enter the novitiate. Father Rozaven will be able to speak to you about him. I can say that all the friends of the Society in France will rejoice in his joining.

The town of Laval, one of the earliest missions, is still feeling its effects and shows us meaningful signs of their good will. It has asked several times to locate our novitiate there. To accommodate us, it is restoring the buildings in accordance with the terms we agreed upon after we received your approval. I know that the move can be made this summer.

Recently a proposal has been made for us to staff a minor seminary in Marseille, a city with many inhabitants. As you know, it is located in the Midi and capable

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<sup>161</sup> Cf. DELATTRE 1 778-783.

<sup>162</sup> On the mission of Nevers, Cf. *Francia 1001 VI 3* and those of Bourges *Francia 1001 VI 1-2*.

<sup>163</sup> Louis Lambert (1764 Coutances-?). Entered the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1798 and later joined the Fathers of the Faith when they were joined. Cf. Clements 251.

of providing many vocations in the future. In the beginning we would only need to provide a few of our people. Later on we can provide for full staffing. Please tell me, my Reverend Father, that you agree that we accept<sup>164</sup>. We can use some of our old people. I have recalled a Deacon of Amiens to the novitiate to prepare himself for the priesthood and also a priest of Forcalquier so that he can get ready for his vows. The reason for this (recall) is so that they can better absorb the spirit of the Society, not because I have anything serious to reproach them.

From what I write, you can see that we continue to do what seems right and conforms to the spirit of our Society. I will tell you that we live not only in a critical time, but that religion itself is only a hair away from being lost. What we see happening in the world outside makes us fear for this, but I also believe that I can assure you, from the little I can glean from Holy Scriptures, and specifically from the prophetic history of the Church, that the apostasy of the Christian gentility is the first evil with which we are presently threatened. Is this not how

we must understand the words '*et sol factus est niger tanquam saccus cilicinus*'<sup>165</sup> which are found in the same verse and immediately following the prediction which can only refer to the Revolution which we have experienced. After all that was written about previous ages had been accomplished<sup>166</sup> the first sign is given with the opening of the 6<sup>th</sup> seal which corresponds to the start of the 6<sup>th</sup> age.

The prophetic advice the Lord gives to the angel of Philadelphia, which is the 6<sup>th</sup>, and what is spoken at the sound of the 6<sup>th</sup> trumpet concerning this same age, correspond and signify the same thing. The advice given to the bishop expresses primarily these two great events: the door of the Church is closed to the Gentiles who have become anti-Christian, and it is opened to the Jews who will convert. The sound of the trumpet expresses the terrible power given to the

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<sup>164</sup> Letter of Grivel to Rozaven, May 3, 1817 (ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 34) in which Grivel complains that he has not been consulted for this establishment.

<sup>165</sup> Apoc. 6, 12. This verse has already drawn his attention. On the one hand he comments in his *Explication* (sixth Century vol. 1, p.3). On the other hand the reference to this text is found in 1798 ("Memoire aux eveques de France" in: *Documents historiques. Les trente premieres annes 1790-1820* (ed. Societe des Filles du Coeur de Marie, Paris 1981) Document 6, 115-171) in which Clorivière declares that the end of the fifth age will arrive in 1817. It is precisely in the year 1817 that Clorivière wishes to publish his work.

<sup>166</sup> Clorivière presumes the succession of the ages as they are described by the book of the Apocalypse and tries to reread the different periods of the Church' history in this light. At no time does he seek to explain the events through Scripture. To the contrary, he seeks the strength and hope to withstand the large upheaval he anticipates, and of which the Revolution and its consequences are the symbol, and which constitute the connection between the fifth and sixth age. On this subject, Cf. the excellent studies of J. Sequy, *Des Societes pour les temps de la fin: le P. de Clorivière et l'Apocalypse*, *Christus HS* 131 (1985) 111-133; *Rationalite, modernite, apocalyptique. Le Pere de Clorivière et ses Societes*, in: Thomas More Center, *Christianisme et modernite* (Paris 1990) 97-128 and *De la primitive eglise aux temps de la fin: les Societes comme utopie*, in *Recherches autour de Pierre de Clorivière, Actes du colloques des 18 et 19 octobre 1991* (Paris 1993) 137-159; C. Langlois, *Clorivière et la Revolution; apocalypse ou apologetique*, in: *Recherches autour de Pierre de Clorivière* 109-130.

spirit of evil which enables it to put to death one third of the population. That death is not a physical death, but a total spiritual death through the extinction of faith, which can already be seen to be true.

I felt I had to open my soul about this to your Reverence by assuring him of the profound veneration with which I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant and son.

P.J. De Clorivière S.J.

PS: My health, thanks be to God, stays excellent. I request that your Reverence permits to find here the assurance of my and Father Varin's respect for Fathers Billy and Rozaven.

Your Reverence may remember that you had given me the permission to have the third part of my Apocalypse concerning the Holy Virgin and the Holy Church printed. I have not made use of this approval because our Society first has to be recognized and this has not yet happened<sup>167</sup>. We have some hope that in the future we will be able to print the entire work, which was reviewed by His Eminence Cardinal Fontana and whose comments I sent you. Would your Reverence have the goodness to permit me to make use of this opportunity, if it occurs? In this work the explanations are simple and do not make specific applications. This work is very extended<sup>168</sup>.

## 24. April 27, 1817.

### T. Brzowski to Father de Clorivière.

Copy: ARSI: *Russia 1018* 210

*He invites Father de Clorivière to reconcile himself with Father Grivel with kindness.*

My Reverend Father,

I was very sorry to hear what you wrote about F.G.<sup>169</sup> and especially about the pain that has caused you. I have not received any other letter, written in your name, since the one of February 27, which was signed by you. I am very convinced that he is sincerely attached to his vocation but I can easily believe that some things do not occur to him. Since he has little experience with the holy ministry in big cities, it is also very possible that he cannot always manage

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<sup>167</sup> It is interesting to note that Clorivière tied the publication of his work to the legal recognition of the Society.

<sup>168</sup> "Very extended" in every way since the commentary includes the events in God's plan. "Very extended" also because of the number of pages (handwritten copy has about 2000). Moreover, he alludes to political and spiritual aspects. It can be remarked that the reestablishment of the Society, and not its suppression, leads to an apocalyptic interpretation of the events. On this subject, Cf. Father Vallin, *Clorivière et sons temps, in Un fondateur dans la tourmente révolutionnaire. Pierre de Clorivière (1735-1820)*, Christus HS 131 (1985) 39.

<sup>169</sup> This refers to Father Grivel.



to steer the middle road between excessive indulgence and uncontrolled severity. The remedy for all this, my Reverend Father, is that you have the charity to take this up with him and to let him know his faults. I have always known him to be very docile towards his Superiors and I do not doubt that he will act in the same way towards you, about whom he always speaks to me in terms that convey love and veneration. I recommend that you act as a charitable and indulgent father towards him, and I hope that you will find him to be a submissive and respectful son. *Omnia vostra in caritate fiant*<sup>170</sup>.

I recommend myself to your prayers and holy Sacrifices, and am forever.

## 25. May 18, 1817.

### T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière.

Copy: ARSI: *Russia 1018 21 6-21 7*

*He explains why he has sent Father Grivel to visit England.*

My Reverend Father,

I have not had the time to write you in time for the previous mail, and the package addressed to Father Grivel was too large to make even larger. I therefore hurry today to let you know the reasons which made me determine to send Father Grivel to England as a *visitor*<sup>171</sup>.

I have felt for a long time that it was necessary to send someone. Father Stone, who has been provincial for 14 years, hardly maintains any correspondence and does not inform me of anything. His age, or rather his infirmities, are the reason for this. For a long time, and more than once, he has asked to be relieved and I would have done so if I had had someone to put in his place<sup>172</sup>. Recently I have received several letters that convince me of the necessity to replace him immediately and thereby correct quite a few inconveniences. In order to avoid acting blindly, I must send someone who can observe the local situation and give me accurate information. Currently I cannot send anyone from here. Consequently I felt that only Father Grivel could fulfill this mission<sup>173</sup> (at the present time). I hope that his absence for 2 to 3 months will not be harmful for the affairs of the Society in France, and that you will be glad to make this little

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<sup>170</sup> Co. 16, 14

<sup>171</sup> The term 'visitor' designates an extraordinary officer sent by the General where situations are delicate with powers defined for this mission. Cf. *Inst. S.I.* III 836. On this subject Cf. the letters of Brzozowski to Stone, May 14, 1817 (*Russia 1018 215-216*). To Grivel May 18, 1817, July 23, 1817 (227-8) and September 3, 1817 (231).

<sup>172</sup> Stone, 70 years old. He is provincial of England since the restoration of the Society in 1803

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Letter of Brzozowski to Grivel, May 18, 1817 (ARSI *Russia 1018 212-215*).

sacrifice for the general good of the Society. It is certainly not my intention to remove Father Grivel (from France). He has been ordered to return to you as soon as the affairs in England permit, and I do not doubt that he will use diligence to complete what I have asked him to do.

## 26. Paris, May 20, 1817.

### **P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father Brzozowski, General of the Society of Jesus, s.a.**

Received June 28, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 131.

*He gives news about Father Grivel who is away. He restates the precariousness of certain establishments. He pleads for the opening of an establishment in Toulouse.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I thank you for the kind things you had the goodness to tell me in the last letter you wrote to Father Barruel and which he gratefully received with much joy<sup>174</sup>.

Father Varin is now absent for health reasons and I have asked Father Jennesseaux to replace him. Father Grivel, Superior of this house is also absent. I thought that, in a previous letter, I had informed you about the reason for his absence. It concerns a legacy of several thousand francs which the Abbot Beck, who I think is not unknown to you, is considering to leave us. He has expressed a desire to discuss this affair with Father Grivel with whom he has special ties. In view of the shortness of this trip, which will only last about two weeks, I felt that I could presume your concurrence and allow him to go.

Thanks to Our Lord, and notwithstanding the defamation of our enemies, our establishments are doing fairly well. Currently, only Montmorillon is experiencing some problems. One of the Grand Vicars, who supervises this establishment, is imposing almost unacceptable conditions. He is not satisfied with the most advantageous propositions made by us. The other Grand Vicars view our position more favorably but do not want to contradict him. We are still free from any bonds. Since the school is still doing very well, it would be with great regret that we would decide to abandon it. We have proposed to present the conditions which would permit the Institution (to be run by) the Society to the Grand Vicar of Poitiers, on who everything depends, during the vacancy of the see<sup>175</sup>. If they will not agree to these conditions, we will make it clear that, even though we desire to work for the good of their diocese, we will have to give in to the pressures of some larger cities who desire to profit from our

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<sup>174</sup> Letter of Brzozowski to Barruel, March 30, 1817 (ARSI *Russia* 1018 205-206).

<sup>175</sup> The vacancy lasts until the first of October 1817, the date on which Jean-Baptiste de Bouille (1759-1842) is named, HC VII 306.

services.

The city which is actually asking most insistently is Toulouse, capital of Languedoc, which has always looked favorably on us. One of the principal houses of the French province used to be located here and produced St. Francois-Regis as well as several other important people of our time. The establishment would house many students and I must tell you that almost all our young Jesuits have come from our schools. We will not do anything without your approval. That is the reason that I inform you well in advance so that I may know your wishes. If we stay in Montmorillon, I do not think this move can happen so soon.

I am writing this letter with the thought that it will still find you in Polotsk although I hope your trip to Italy is not postponed. I ask the Lord to grant you perfect health; mine continues to be good.

I have the honor to remain, my very Reverend Father, with profound veneration, your very humble and obedient servant in Jesus Christ.

De Clorivière.

PS: Please allow, my very Reverend Father, the person who is writing this letter according to the dictation of the Reverend Father de Clorivière the honor to offer you his very humble respects.

Could I also dare ask you to remember me to the good Father Rozaven, for whom I have always had feelings of tender and respectful friendship<sup>176</sup>? Father the Clorivière likewise offers him his respects.

Jennesseaux

## **27. June 20, 1817.**

### **T. Brzowski to Father de Clorivière.**

Copy: ARSI *Russia 1018 218-219.*

*He explains his silence. He rejoices about the information he received on the missions of Bourges. He reminds him of the terms in his letter of December 15, regarding the opening of establishments. He again invites Father de Clorivière to be very demanding regarding formation and to replace Father Roger.*

My Reverend Father,

I have received your letter of April 26, and I hope that mine of March 30, April 13 and 27, and May 14 and 18<sup>177</sup>, addressed to you or Father Grivel reached you

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<sup>176</sup> Jennesseaux was a former member of the Fathers of the Faith.

<sup>177</sup> The letters of April 13 and May 14 are missing.

in due time.

I did not write you during February or March because I did not receive any letters during that time except for one from Father Grivel which did not require a response and in which he announced that he would write again, and yours of January 22 to which I replied on March 30.

I read the report on the mission of Bourges with pleasure and I impatiently await news of the other missions you talked about. I praise God that he deigns to shower His blessings on the works of our missionaries. May it please heaven to augment their number and to give them the zeal of Francois-Regis and so many holy evangelical workers who preceded them in the Society!

A new establishment in Marseille is certainly very desirable and could become very advantageous to the Society, but all circumstances should be taken into account. I am not able to know them well enough to give an absolute decision, but I desire that you follow the directions given in my letter of December 15. I ask you to please reread the paragraph which concerns new establishments. Other than that those items be followed in every detail, I have no other concerns.

However, I must make one observation based on the data that I have. Instead of outright refusing the request from Marseille, could we not postpone our decision to a later time? Would this not be more advantageous to the Society? If you have available teaching staff, it seems to me essential that you use these to free up some of the younger members who can then devote time to their studies. From the list that has been sent to me I see that you have a considerable number of deacons and sub-deacons some of whom have not finished their theology courses, and others who have finished theology but not philosophy. Some of those who have not received the holy orders are already 26 or 27 years old and for them it is time that they finish their theology studies. Finally, all those who have finished their studies should take the examination. (In summary) it seems very important that you find a way to have these people complete their studies and, to me, that seems impossible if you distribute them all between the various minor seminaries.

We should not lose sight of the fact that we want to train Jesuits and that a knowledge of science is absolutely necessary for a Jesuit, almost as necessary as piety. Before thinking of new establishments (schools), I would prefer that we start a study house where we can train our young candidates successfully as required by our Constitution<sup>178</sup>. We have to work hard and think of the future. The future is in the hands of God, and we cannot be led by our personal insights or interpretations of Holy Scripture, however well founded they may seem to

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<sup>178</sup> On the *Ratio studiorum*, Cf. *Inst. SI*. III 158-234; 716-717.

us, because they are not infallible and should not rule our behavior. Moreover, the closer we come to the terrible times announced in the divine Scriptures, the more essential it is to be able to oppose errors and to have people who are able to fight them, and thereby preserve the faithful who God has reserved from being contaminated in the midst of general corruption. Simply put, our Holy Father felt it necessary to reestablish the Society, and this, we must presume from such a holy Pontiff, was undoubtedly at the direction of the Holy Spirit. It behooves us to cooperate with his plans and to do everything in our power to effectively reestablish the Society of Jesus, that is, a Society of Saints and wise evangelical workers. But in order to combine science and saintliness, it is necessary that our, your, students have the time and the means for a good and solid education. Therefore, I recommend this important and fundamental point urgently for your approval. Establishments will not lack if we have well trained staff, and if the times you foresee arrive, those same members will be capable to serve us the best.

Among all the evils which threaten the Church, the ignorance of the clergy is probably not the least. We hurry to train priests because we see the need for them and we possibly ignore the fact that a few zealous and well-instructed priests have more value than a large number who lack sufficient education. After a novitiate house, a house of study is most important for the Society<sup>179</sup>.

As to the novitiate, I have heard that Father Roger<sup>180</sup>, apart from having many good qualities, lacks one which is necessary for a novice master, namely the ability to encourage and strengthen the novices in their vocation. I am being told that he rather repels the novices because he is preoccupied with ideas of future misfortunes and leads them to believe that the Society will not exist much longer<sup>181</sup>. He effectively stated this directly to Father Lambert by expressing his surprise that he was entering into a Society which would be dissolved. If this is true, and I am told that you would know, I would not like to see the novitiate entrusted to a man who has such ideas and cannot keep them to himself, especially because the novices will depart. I desire therefore that you entrust the direction of the novitiate to Father Folloppe, in conformance with my first instruction and that you appoint Father Gury<sup>182</sup>, who according to the report of one of our fathers in Polotsk, has successfully fulfilled the function of novice master in Saint-Sylvester for 4 years, to be his assistant.

I believe that I already gave you, and if needed, I hereby again give you my

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<sup>179</sup> A letter of Father Grivel to Rozaven, March 13, 1817 (ARSI *Francia 1001 127*) stressed the necessity to have a house of studies and gave no validity to the arguments of de Clorivière.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Letters of Grivel to Brzozowski: February 27, 1817; March 6, 1817; May 3 1817 (ARSI *Francia 1001 124 26 34*).

<sup>181</sup> In his letter to Brzozowski dated May 16, 1817 (*Francia 1001 135*) Grivel informs him of the apocalyptic interpretations of Roger. That letter was only received on June 28, 1817. Grivel had already alluded to the personality of Roger in his previous letters.

<sup>182</sup> Jean Baptiste Gury (born 9/20/1773 Mailleroncourt St. Pancras; SI 10/8/1814 Fr; Died 5/6/1854 Dole) . Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1900.

approval to print your text, which is certainly edifying and informative, and will not endanger anyone.

## **28. Paris, June 29, 1817.**

### **P.J. De Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, s.a.**

Received September 3, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 / 37.

*He speaks of the mission of Father Grivel. He discusses the situation of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at length. He reports on political events. He states that he is reaching the end of his mandate.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I reply to your letter dated May 18. I also need to talk to you about the Ladies of the Sacred Heart about whom you let Father Grivel know your intentions. I will add something on the mission of Nevers which we gave immediately following the one at Bourges. These are the three principal points of this letter which I am honored to write you.

Reverend Father Grivel has received the important commission with which you charge him with all the feelings of respect and submission you can expect from him. He realizes how much you are entrusting to him and at the same time how much this exceeds his abilities; but he accepts everything obediently. He shared similar feelings with me which I encouraged and these lead me to believe that your choice for this important assignment was guided by divine Providence. (This mission) can have a large influence on him in helping him to eliminate the tendency of being too superficial which he recognizes in himself. We could also fear that this (assignment) may leave him with the impression that we in a large city are prejudiced and find him less suited to maintain discipline in our religious houses. Your advice to him is so wise and detailed that, if God gives him the grace to follow it, it will give him the strength to produce the good results which we hope for. To assure the success (of this assignment) as much as possible, we have ordered all our Fathers to say a mass for this intention and ordered the others to recite a rosary. We are considering to extend this order to our other houses.

The mission of the Reverend Father Grivel is even more difficult to fulfill because we know from Father Fontaine, who arrived from England about a year ago, that the Episcopal body, with the exception of a single bishop, does not want to recognize the Papal Bull from the Sovereign Pontiff concerning the reestablishment of our Society. In this the bishops are supported by the responses of the Propaganda (committee or organization)\* which they have

consulted on this subject. Moreover, the prelate of whom I was just speaking and who is favorably disposed towards us, is totally in agreement with the Fathers of the English Province who you rightfully blame. Consequently we have felt that we had to advise Father Grivel to act only after having consulted Father Tristam<sup>183</sup> and some others whose opinions we trust.

As far as the Ladies of the Sacred Heart are concerned<sup>184</sup>, we will follow exactly what you suggested in your letter to Father Grivel<sup>185</sup>, assuming that the time needed to execute them is available. The Ladies have completely agreed, even though it will give them some difficulties. The latter especially because we told them clearly that any appeals to us, regardless of their needs, would be in vain. Before getting to the indictments against Fathers Varin and Ronsin, I think I should give you an idea about the role played by the Father Abbot of Sambucy of St. Esteve in this business<sup>186</sup>.

At the end of 1802 he (the Abbot of Sambucy) had been charged with the direction of the house of the Ladies at Amiens. He first gained their confidence and then abused it by changing the rules and instituting new ones in all the houses. This resulted in dividing the small Society because the other houses rejected these innovations. Yet, since he appeared the most likely candidate to become Superior of the entire congregation, he succeeded through scheming to establish factions in each house and thereby almost undermined the authority of the Superior General. This brought about the most deadly division and ruined the religious regularity. After he accompanied the Ambassador to Rome, he took advantage of the rank he pretended to have with his Excellency and of his stay in Rome to intimidate those Ladies he believed to be opposed to him by vain threats and false pretenses. In his letters he constantly threatened them with the dangers resulting from incurring the indignation of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Ambassador of France, and the cardinals. In the meantime, relying on your trust, he obtained permission to form an establishment in the convent of St. Denis for religious of different orders using the name of the reunited Ursulines. To further impose (his will) on the Ladies he sent them newspaper articles from Rome. Next he went even further. He dared to write M. Soyer, Grand Vicar of the diocese of Poitiers, to offer him the position of Superior of the Ladies in France as his delegate. He proudly informed the Ladies that they would be excommunicated unless they submitted to the Superior whom he had established in his convent in St. Denis (See NR. 1, 2, and 3).

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\* Translator addition. It is not clear to which group the reference refers.

<sup>183</sup> Joseph Cross (alias Tristam) (born 6/2/1766 Ince Blundell; SI 10/10/1803 Engl; died 4/14/1843 Newhall). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.217.

<sup>184</sup> The Congregation of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart was founded in 1801 by Sophie Barat, helped by Father Varin. Several Fathers of the Faith had been involved in this foundation. Cf. ARSI *Monalium 1001* facs. 4.

<sup>185</sup> Refer to the letter by Grivel to Brzozowski dated June 19 (29), 1817. (ARSI *Francia 1001 136*)

<sup>186</sup> Jean-Baptiste Sambucy de Saint-Esteve (1771-1848), confessor of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in Amiens. Cf. Clements 254-255.

These, as well as other letters about which I was told, opened the eyes of the administrators of the diocese of Poitiers, who thought they needed to get an explanation from the Ambassador (See NR. 4 for his response), and to ask the Sovereign Pontiff for a code of behavior (NR 5). As soon as the answer from the Sovereign Pontiff was received, (NR 6) the indignation of the administrators of the diocese of Poitiers against Mr. De Sambucy who had abused their confidence was immediately awakened, and the peace and unity in all the houses of these Ladies was quickly reestablished. Madame de Montjoie, aunt of Father Grivel, and Superior at the Visitation convent, wrote to his Eminence Cardinal Fontana. She received an answer, a fragment of which you will find under NR 7. The extent to which the claims of Mr. De Sambucy are loudly refuted can be seen from these excerpts. It seems that subsequently this gentleman, seeing that his plans were foiled and that he had no hope in France anymore, directed his persecution against the Ladies by turning his attention to Russia. Hence (he wrote) a letter which you noted to be harsh and whose only goal, since he is now unable to persuade the Ladies to his views, seems to be directed towards depriving them from the spiritual resources which they could find, just like other communities, in the services which charity drove us to provide. Ever since his correspondence ceased, the Ladies enjoyed perfect peace and, until the storm caused by this latest step from Mr. De Sambucy, were able to advance themselves in the spirit of their institution.

As far as the rules which Father Varin gave them are concerned, it should be noted that he only followed the plan which was drawn up by his old Superior, Mr. de Tournely. Those rules are wise, simple, and all directed towards devotion to the Sacred Heart and the duties to be accomplished in the attainment of a state of sanctity. They have been approved by the bishops of the diocese in which the Ladies have establishments. Mr. de Sambucy reproaches Father Varin for having rented a house for these Ladies in our neighborhood. That accusation is false. As a matter of fact, he opposed this move as much as possible. After repeated attempts it turned out to be impossible for the Ladies to find another place. Furthermore, for some time they have been inquiring again because their current house is much too crowded.

All the other things which Mr. de Sambucy points out are just as untrue, especially that which he writes about Father Ronsin. The following is what Father Ronsin told me personally. The young lady concerned came to worship God as a result of his ministering. This happened several years before the reunion of the Society. She was only baptized at 23 and, the Lord showered her with all sorts of graces to which she responded flawlessly. In a moment of extraordinary fervor and without consultation, she suddenly decided to make a series of ill-advised vows to God because she believed them to exemplify perfection. Father Ronsin faulted her for this and took it upon himself to consult with the Grand Vicar as well as other ecclesiastical authorities. Contrary to what



Mr. de Sambucy pretends, you may rest assured that the letter which he wrote after these consultations to his penitent did not contain anything extravagant. This is the same Father Ronsin who, since our reunion, has been in charge of the Congregation of Father Delpuits which has a large number of very distinguished members who greatly respect him.

I flatter myself into believing that, after you have seen all the evidence concerning the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, you will permit me to have a little more contact with them concerning those subjects permitted by our Holy Institution, and always exercising proper discretion. I make this request with confidence since I have always insisted, for as far as it was in my power, that communication be held to a minimum. Moreover, I must insist that there are few priests, even in this capital, willing to be involved in this good work, and even less who can pursue it fruitfully.

I will not give details on the mission of Nevers; I think that you will enjoy the enclosed short report more. It was written by one of our missionaries.

A young priest received into the Society by the Reverend Father Provincial of Flanders arrived here to do his novitiate. His name is Van Altena<sup>187</sup>.

The earlier propositions regarding the establishment of a minor seminary have been renewed. Because of the enormous expenses involved, we had turned them down. Someone has offered to advance the money, but we felt that we should not accept such an obligation in the current circumstances. This is especially true because of the political uncertainties regarding ourselves as well as all things concerning our holy religion. Even though we are proceeding as though these are ordinary times, we cannot assume that we will be able to complete anything. It is possible that our next Assembly will decide our fate, either pro or contra<sup>188</sup>. You refer to two unfavorable brochures which appeared in Paris against our Society. I can assure you that they made no more of a sensation than that created by other disparaging articles to which no attention was paid. That is why we did not feel it to be relevant to inform you.

Regarding the desires of Count Ilinski, I must observe that it takes considerable (training) time and requires extraordinary qualities to be able to instruct the deaf and dumb in the way of Mr. Sicard. These qualities are rarely found in one person. If, however, I find someone capable of meeting your desires, I will let you know.

Father Fontaine told me that he wrote you about what he thought of the

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<sup>187</sup> Van Altena: unknown.

<sup>188</sup> The elections of September 1817 saw the rise of a third independent party which profited from the divisions between the extremist and moderate royalists.

sermons of Father Bourdaloue<sup>189</sup>. Your reply to this Father will serve as my guide line. He also held the sermons of Father Lenfant<sup>190</sup>, but since the family is speculating about their (publishing) value, he did not feel he should get mixed up any further.

Thanks to God my health is good, but my three years are up<sup>191</sup>. I believe that my failing eyesight hinders me from fulfilling the duties, which you had the goodness to entrust to me, properly. I have asked to be relieved on several occasions. If I have not insisted more frequently, it is because, in those that surround me, I did not see the dispositions which I believe are necessary for the job. I will see God's will in your will and I will submit completely.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and submitted son in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

P.J. de Clorivière.

PS: Father Jennesseaux asks the very Reverend Father to accept the assurance of his profound respect and to give him his blessing. He also sends Reverend Father Rozaven his sincere and respectful greetings. If there are messages to give him for his country, he can write him at St. Anne d'Auray. He has to go (...).

## 29. Polotsk, July 6, 1817

### T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière, s.a.

Orig. Autograph: AFSJ Letters of the Generals, 1790-1829<sup>192</sup>.

Copy: ARSI Russia 1018 225-226.

*He reproaches Father de Clorivière for having ignored the principal subject of his letter of March 30. He re-states certain points on which he had already given his opinion (request for a priest, opening of establishments). He refers to the Pope to restate his own demands regarding the novitiate and studies. He asks him to be careful in the use of the commentary on the Apocalypse. He insists that the novice master is changed. He recommends strong and tender leadership as well as observation of the decree of Clement VIII on confessors.*

My Reverend Father,

I have received your letter of May 20. I was anxiously waiting for it, hoping it would hold a reply to the request I made in my letter of March 30, and I was

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<sup>189</sup> Typing error. It concerns Father Beauregard.

<sup>190</sup> Alexander Lenfant (1726-1792), preacher, executed during the Revolution, author of *Memoires ou correspondances secretes du P. Lenfant, confesseur du Roi, pendant trois ans de la Revolution 1790-1792*, 3 vol. (Bruxelles 1834).

<sup>191</sup> Appointments are generally for three years.

<sup>192</sup> The letter is written by a secretary.

quite surprised that, even though you mentioned that you received my letter, you did not comment on the principal purpose of my letter. I can only attribute this omission to you having forgotten it.

I must therefore remind you that I asked for a priest for a particular destination. It is useless that I repeat the whole request here. If you reread my letter of March 30, you will see what it is all about. I expect at least an answer.

You speak to me of the request that has been made to you about an establishment in Toulouse. I can only repeat what I said in my last letter of June 20 on a similar request from the city of Marseille. I refer to my letter of December 15 of last year and wish that you follow my directions exactly.

A person who has spoken to the Sovereign Pontiff on my behalf has just written me that the Holy Father told him, amongst other things, that he recommended urgently that we take great care to insure that our young people are solidly formed *in piety and sciences*, so that they will be *true Jesuits*.

In speaking about some of them, the Holy Father said: "they are persons of merit, I agree, but *they are not Jesuits*." You see, my Reverend Father, why I insist so strongly on this point. The Holy Father and the Church want *real Jesuits*, that is, holy and erudite men. Establish therefore good study facilities for our young people and consider this to be much more important than to have one or two more schools. *Let us have a good novitiate and good study facilities, and we will have all the rest*. Without that we will have nothing, or what we will have will soon be lost.

I respect your opinions on the divine Scriptures and in particular those on the Apocalypse. They may be very true, but however well founded they may seem to you, I would not want you to use them as a guide for governing the Society. We have a trusted rule in the will of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Let us stick to that. I also desire that a novice master does not discuss his particular ideas or conjectures on the future, whether they be well or ill founded, with the young religious confided to his cares. On the contrary, I wish that he applies himself to give them a positive idea of their vocation, to inspire in them a love for it and the desire to persevere in it. I therefore recommend again that you change the novice master about whom I spoke to you in my last letter because I believe it to be necessary.

I have to recommend two more things to you, based on information which I received from the different houses.

First; I want to exhort all Superiors to govern firmly, truthfully, and at the same time, fatherly. Kindness and gentleness in government have always been characteristics of our Society. A Superior has to apply himself to gain the

confidence and love of his subordinates. He can only flatter himself with succeeding in this through gentleness, amiability, and a compassionate and fatherly understanding for their corporal or spiritual infirmities. Showing a lack of interest, showing extreme liveliness, and rude manners repulse subordinates, distances them, closes their hearts, and hinders the openness they should have towards those who represent God for them. If, within the organization, our Superiors behave towards subordinates in the manner prescribed by our Constitution, the relationship with those with whom they interact outside the organization will benefit from the fact that it is easier for them to act calmly, moderately, and modestly and thereby edify people who are often shocked when they observe these qualities lacking in the clergy.

Secondly, I recommend that you observe the decree of Clement VIII<sup>193</sup> which orders that, for regular clergy, the Superior may not act as the regular confessor to his subordinates. The Society obtained a dispensation for our novice masters who have always been the regular confessors for the novices from this Pope himself and it was later confirmed in writing by Urbanus VIII<sup>194</sup>. This dispensation does not apply to Superiors other than novice masters. Therefore we need to have a spiritual director in all our houses, one who is not the Superior. Twice a year, at the time when vows are renewed, the Superior should appoint one or two extraordinary confessors so that each member of the Society has the liberty which the Constitution grants him and which the laws of the Church prescribe. If someone freely chooses his Superior as confessor it is not against the decree of Clement VII, but this is not our custom and should not be done habitually. Our Constitution indicates that it is best that a spiritual director (confessor) is not a member of the Superior's advisory board if that is not necessary, or that, at a minimum, he abstains from stating his opinion when it concerns persons for whom he acts as confessor.

I have received a letter from Father Fontaine, for which I thank him<sup>195</sup>. I await the letter from the other advisors. I ask you to remit the enclosure to Father Sellier in Amiens<sup>196</sup>.

I affectionately greet Fathers Fontaine, Varin, and Jennessaux, and I recommend myself to your good prayers as well as those of all our Fathers. I remain, my Reverend Father, your servant in J.C.

T. Brzozowski, S.J.

PS: Father Rozaven greets you, as well as Fathers Varin and Jennessaux with all his heart. He thanks Father Jennessaux for his kind remembrance of him.

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<sup>193</sup> Clement VIII, Cf. *Fondo Gesuitico 483 89 rv.*

<sup>194</sup> Urbanus VIII, Cf. *Inst. S.I.* 1172.

<sup>195</sup> Letter of Fontaine to Brzozowski as consultant, May 1817 (ARSI *Francia 1001 132*).

<sup>196</sup> Not conserved.

### 30. Paris, July 30, 1817.

#### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, s.a.**

Received September 2, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 138.

*He explains why he cannot lengthen the time of study. He affirms that he will not multiply the establishments. He gives information on Fathers Roger, Folloppe and Gury. He sends the story of the mission of Nevers. He lets him know that Father Lambert has not persevered in his intention (of joining the Jesuits).*

My Very Reverend Father,

I am going to respond in sequence to all the things of which you spoke in the letter which

I was happy to receive on the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month and which was dated June 18<sup>197</sup>. Multiple problems did not allow me to respond sooner. We have kept all your letters carefully. We can only locate those of March 30 and May 18. We assume that those of April 13, April 27, and May 14 have been received by the Reverend Father Grivel<sup>198</sup>.

First you speak to me about the dedicated studies which we should mandate from our members. We understand the importance and correctness of your reasons and had hoped to implement such a program from the beginning. So far this has been, and still is, impossible. Without the boarding schools or minor seminaries we have absolutely no properties or means of subsisting. Furthermore, we would need capable teachers to preside over these studies and we have none, unless we remove them from their current positions which are indispensable for our reestablishment. Would it be better if some were still being formed while they taught others? The immediate past has been rather bad for our unfortunate fatherland and the study program has more or less suffered as a result. We still do not have theology chairs anywhere. These exist only in the major seminaries and the bishops do not dare to appoint our people to those positions because they fear that they would lose students who take a liking to our Society. We had this chair in Soissons and it was taken from us because of this reason. This will not keep me from attempting to take all possible measures (to achieve this goal) in spite of our distressing circumstances. I have given it a lot of thought, but so far, without results.

We are very determined to do nothing regarding new establishments unless it conforms to the guidelines you have written in the letters to which you refer. As

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<sup>197</sup> Either this letter is lost, or it refers to the one dated May 18 or June 20.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. n. 177.

far as Marseille goes, the great hopes that we had been given for an establishment in that town, have evaporated<sup>199</sup>.

What you tell me, my very Reverend Father, concerning the change of the novice master, must undoubtedly not be implemented immediately if I interpret your intentions properly since that would undoubtedly cause great turmoil. I am presuming that you agree that I represent things as they truly are, regarding both Father Folloppe and Father Roger.

Concerning the latter, I agree that he has given reason for your reproaches for which I also rebuked him. He has not always given the novices the encouragement which would have been proper to give them. He was disheartened by the lack of aptitude which he found in most of them. I told him that he lacked in not putting his trust in God; that he should trust more on His help than on relying on his own efforts. I must add that this (his opinions) did not keep him from giving all his attention to the formation of his novices and, in the long run, his cares have not been without result. (After talking) he agreed with me and now is praising those about whom he almost despaired. All of this students, or at least most of them, are truly attached to their master. If some have left the novitiate, it was because we ourselves did not find them capable to continue, because of ill health, or because, regardless of what they were told or what Father Roger told them, they did not want to respond to their vocation. I cannot begin to tell you how much attention he pays to doing his job well. It would be difficult to find someone more experienced in spiritual direction. In Lyon they still remember the manner in which he carried out his apostolate. The fruits are still evident.

Concerning Mr. Lambert, this is what I believe I can report: at first he loudly proclaimed that he desired joining us and that he would like nothing better than to attend the novitiate and become a member of the Society. The next morning, using all possible tact, I made some remarks about this which I felt needed to be made. They were ill received. I was surprised about his reaction and perhaps showed my feelings, which were so spontaneous, that I did not pay any attention to it. He bitterly reproached me and, on the spur of the moment, told me that he would not enter a Society where they had such little regard for him. I retracted what I had said and told him that I respected him greatly. He went in search of Father Roger whom he consulted for spiritual direction. Undoubtedly he told him what had happened. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Father Roger replied in the terms he is accused of<sup>200</sup>.

I esteem and venerate Father Folloppe very much and I consider him to be a

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<sup>199</sup> The Society will only establish itself in Marseille in 1839. Cf. DELATTRE, III 105-115.

<sup>200</sup> For details, Cf. the letter of Grivel to Rozaven, May 3, 1817. ARSI *Francia* 1001 / 34; Grivel to Brzozowski, May 16, 1817, ARSI *Francia* 1001 135.

very proper replacement as far as his ability to direct novices. However, I do not believe that the state of his health permits him to take on this responsibility. Every time I have visited his institution, ever since he has been there, he did not participate in the community exercises and I have heard that since then it has been about the same. His health forces him to take frequent baths and remedies. This is hardly fitting for the leader of a novitiate. Moreover, he is so timid that he does not dare to give lectures unless they are written down, and he can read them. This is contrary to the good of the novices and the customs of the novitiate.

As far as Father Gury is concerned, I think no further comments are needed beyond the praises you have had about him. Since he is only the *socius* of the novice master<sup>201</sup>, it would not be appropriate for him to fulfill its functions. Here then, my Reverend Father, you read my opinions on this subject, but you will find me perfectly submissive to all your orders. As soon as you inform me, I will hasten to take the measures to execute them to the extent permitted by circumstances.

The political horizon seems very nebulous right now and we have everything to fear, not just for our Society, but for the preservation of religion itself<sup>202</sup>. However, let us hope in the Lord and do the good which is in our power, for as long as we can.

We have had some news from Father Grivel after he arrived at his destination. He knows how careful he has to be, but he is full of hope and wishes that we pray often for the happy success of his assignment. We do this without fail. He does not expect to return before the end of September.

We are sending you the report on the mission of Nevers which was printed without our knowledge in that town and which we have just received<sup>203</sup>. I like to think that you will read it with pleasure. I also enclose a letter in which I inform you of the examination of four of our Fathers.

I renew my gratefulness to you for the permission you have given me to have my work printed. The circumstances have changed and do not allow me to think that I will use it soon.

I have forgotten, my very Reverend Father, to reply to what you say about those who have received sacred orders and about the priests who have only partially completed studies. The number is not too large and it is good for them that it

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<sup>201</sup> The *socius* is the assistant of the novice master in day to day business.

<sup>202</sup> Notwithstanding an apparent "religious peace" during the first years of the Restoration, numerous hostile currents (party of independents, bonapartistes, liberals) are developing. Cf. G. Cholvy, Y.M. Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine t. 1*.

<sup>203</sup> This printed report is lost.

will be absolutely necessary to complete these studies (at some time), but as I have had the honor to point out, until now that has been, and still is, impossible. First, we would have had to abandon the small number of seminaries which we have and without which we have no means of subsistence. Further, we would not have accomplished anything good and as a result the large number of students which we saved from impiety and havoc would still be subject to those conditions. I beg you to take these things into consideration. I submit totally to your wisdom and am determined to abide by your decision. The last thing to ask for is your blessing for myself and our Fathers who are in France. If, during the time I have been their Superior, I did something which did not completely conform to your intentions, I do not doubt that you will have the goodness to forgive me for this and to blame it on my ignorance rather than lack of good will.

I am, in these feelings, with the most profound respect, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient son in Jesus Christ,

P.J. de Clorivière.

PS: Father Jennesseaux requests the very Reverend Father General to accept his respectful greetings and to remember him affectionately to Father Rozaven.

### **31. Paris, August 4, 1817.**

#### **P.J. de Clorivière to the very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus in Polotsk.**

Received September, 19, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 139.

*He explains his viewpoint regarding the request of Count Ilinski. He speaks again of the study houses and the change of the novice master. He takes the side of the Superiors. He reports various news about Abbot Nicole, Fathers Grivel and Simpson.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

We are very sorry to hear how dissatisfied you were not to find in my reply to your letter of March 30, anything concerning Count Ilinski. I am sure that I dictated my reply to your request to Father Jennesseaux<sup>204</sup> in the absence of Father Varin. I wrote you that, in order to follow the method of Abbot Sicard for teaching deaf-Mutes, one needed both knowledge and a suitable disposition which would seldom be found in one person; that there is no one of our members capable of doing this; that it would require training; and that, as soon as possible, I would do my utmost to find someone who can help me in this matter, contacting either M. Sicard himself or someone else capable to give me some advice. Father Jennesseaux is equally sure about our reply. We cannot

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<sup>204</sup> This paragraph is in the letter of June 29.



explain the silence of which you complain other than to assume that Father Jenneaux inadvertently forgot this point when transcribing the letter. For this he takes total responsibility.

Generally I do not think that we would have had other feelings in the Society than those which the Sovereign Pontiff has expressed in his reply of which we informed you. I myself have not stopped to recommend the words of the Apostle to Timothy: *attende tibi et doctrinae..insta in illis, hoc enim facies, et te ipsum salvum facies et nos qui te audiunt*<sup>205</sup>. In my last visit I made this the subject of my teaching in each of the minor seminaries and only developed that theme. In my previous letters I have explained that it has been impossible to have a proper house dedicated to studies because either we do not have the students or we are not be able to provide for our subsistence. I also stated that we are firmly resolved to comply with the wisdom of your views regarding this as soon as this is possible for us.

As far as the change of novice master, you will see in the letters which you received or which you will soon receive, that we are resolved to do as you ask, but that we think that we had to make some observations - time gave us the means - since we could not have implemented that change immediately without causing great turmoil, which certainly, my Reverend Father, would not have been your intention.

I have mentally considered our different institutions and believe that I cannot complain that any of our Superiors lacks gentleness in governing. I have not received any complaints about this. As for myself, I could have some shortcomings to reproach myself for but I can honestly say that I am not aware of this. But if this were the case, it was always against my sincere desire, did not last long, and caught me by surprise. I beg you to forgive me for these shortcomings.

Since my visit we have had spiritual directors in all our houses except one which we have now taken care of. Kindly remember that it has been just a year since the majority of the staff made their vows, and that the Superiors doubled as novice master and shouldered those responsibilities as far as they could fulfill them.

Father Pralet, an old Jesuit who lived in Amiens and who served our house in St. Acheul recently died peacefully after he received all the sacraments of the Holy Church. He left his chapel to our house as well as his library and physics instruments, some of which are precious. We recommend him to the prayers of our members.

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<sup>205</sup> Tm. 4, 16.

Abbot Nicolle<sup>206</sup> arrived recently from Saint Petersburg. He confirmed the sad news on the bad state of your health. This was already rumored in Paris. I immediately ordered prayers for your complete convalescence and the same will be done in the other houses. Everybody will do this with all the feelings which tender affection can inspire.

Yesterday we received a letter from Father Grivel. This is what he writes regarding our members in England: "the reply which Father Welsh brings from Rome, and of which I have seen a copy, is not as satisfactory as I had been told. It is true that it establishes our rightful existence, that is, *Societas restituta est a Sancto Patre ubique terrarum, etiam in iis locis ubi ad auctoritate civili non agnoscitur, ibique legitime existit*. But Cardinal Litta<sup>207</sup>, who responds in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, requests Mr. Stone to *persuade* the N.N.A.A. to classify our Society *titulo paupertatis*. If they do not want to do this, he requests to ask them to classify us as *titulo missionis*, that is, in accordance with the decree by which Pius VI granted (this status) to the English Catholic Academy of Liège and of which Stonyhurst is the continuation. So there we are again at the mercy of the N.N.A.A. and do not know what they will do next. Note that, if they consent to give us *titulo missionis*, they will probably insist that our priests are attached and incorporated to a certain specific district and *non mitantur alio sine licentia Vic. Ap.*<sup>208</sup>.

He announces that he will leave Stonyhurst between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of September and will bring Father Simpson with him to which we agree with all our heart.

Father Fontaine told me that he gave you his opinion about the sermons of Father Beauregard in the letter which he wrote to you in his capacity as a member of the advisory board, and that he hopes you will let him know yours. I will advise the other board members.

I am, with deep respect and perfect devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

P.J. de Clorivière.

PS: I add that we should seriously fear if the bishops of England do not want to recognize us as a religious order and want us to be subjected to their jurisdiction. I send my cordial greetings to Father Rozaven.

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<sup>206</sup> Nicolle, vicar of the archbishop at Sebastopol. Cf. Zalenski, *Les Jesuites de la Russie Blanche* t. 2. 178.

<sup>207</sup> Lorenzo Litta (1756-1829), made cardinal in 1801. Prefect of the Propagation (organization or committee). Cf. *HC* VII 39.

<sup>208</sup> Brzozowski will let it be known in Plowden on December 19 1817 (*ARSI Russia 1018* 264-265) that he has asked the Pope, using Mgr. Ferrara as intermediary, that there is no longer any difficulty to classify *titulo paupertatis*. On these two possibilities, Cf. *Scholastici ad ordines sacros promovendi possunt. Inst. S.I. I*, 54 and 122.

### 32. Paris, August 29, 1817.

**P.J. de Clorivière to Rev. Admodum Patri, Father Thadee Brzozowski,  
General of the Society of Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 141.

*He informs about the steps he has taken regarding the deaf-mutes. He gives information regarding the transfer of the novitiate and news about some Fathers. He describes the political situation and speaks of a book which has just appeared, a kind of apology of the Society.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I believe I answered all the points in the last letter you had the honor of writing me and which I received on the second of August. I immediately informed the two advisory board members that they had not yet acquitted themselves of their duty to write you, and that it was your will that they do so. Not knowing whether they have done so as yet, I think I have to write you so that I will not be blamed if they delay further. That is also why I am forced to use another hand (for this writing).

As far as the deaf-mutes are concerned, one of priests went to see Abbot Sicard, who informed him that, as of now, he does not have any pupils at his disposition. He also informed us that he would write a certain cleric to find out if he was interested. That cleric is a zealous man but, since he heads up an establishment, I strongly doubt that he will be available. If that turns out to be true, I have no alternative to satisfy your request.

I should no longer delay, my Reverend Father, to send you the note from Father Grivel which I include herewith. He told us that he planned to leave England and return here between September 15 and 20. But in a later letter, which he wrote to his sister, he says that he may well be forced to stay until October. Other than that, he is in good health. He also stated that there were some difficulties which arose concerning his mission.

We received word from *Laval* that everything would be ready in October to receive the novices, that the location is one of the healthiest, and that the inhabitants have the best dispositions for us since we gave a retreat there. I would feel much at ease if, before the beginning of the novitiate, you could let me know your decision about Father Roger, the novice master, after the considerations I thought I had to put before you in my previous letters. I will follow your orders precisely in this matter.

Father Grassi arrived in Bordeaux from Rome, from where he wrote us. The reason for his trip was the death of Father Neale<sup>209</sup>, primate of Baltimore, and

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<sup>209</sup> Leonard Neale, bishop of Baltimore from 1795 till his death in 1817, HC VI 114.

the election of Mr. Marechal<sup>210</sup>, Sulpician, who had been appointed by Mr. Neale himself. A French priest, recently returned from America, brought us a letter for Father Grassi who will get it en route since he did not come through Paris. That priest has assured us that our boarding school, near Georgetown, prospers and has about one hundred boarders. The school in Baltimore has less.

Father Pravaz<sup>211</sup>, aged 87, asks to join us. We hope that you will accord him this grace, assuming that he fulfills the conditions which you set for us.

You do not ignore what is happening in France regarding the Church. The old concordat of Leo X with Francis I is in effect again<sup>212</sup>. We have an increase in bishops and their choice was one of the best. Three among them were made cardinals. The first one is the grand Chaplain. Yet we are not without fear. We are fearful of the return of the Assembly; the ill-intentioned ones are making waves in whatever way they can. We will continue to do our duty under the protection of heaven. Consequently we think that we will have to give homage to those bishops under whose government we will find ourselves. We are congratulating ourselves that Amiens will be allotted to Mr. de Bombelles<sup>213</sup>. We have already had the opportunity to present him our respects, and he received us with all the signs of true friendship.

Most of the people that are heading our various houses will take advantage of the vacation time to meet here, either to take their examination, or to make the thirty day retreat, which several were not able to do earlier because of their work. I will take this occasion to interview each of them to get the information I should have obtained during an annual visit.

A book titled: "*The New Conspiracy against the Jesuits discovered*", has just appeared and is favorable towards us. It is the translation of a publication which appeared about a year ago in England and was written by a Protestant without our solicitation. It is a defense written along the lines we ourselves would want. The author of the translation is one of our old pupils of the school of Louis the Great, who, because of his attachment and gratefulness to us, dedicated himself to this good work. His name is *Des Vaulx*, Baron, Knight of St. Louis, field marshal, one of the hostages of Louis XVI<sup>214</sup>. The name of the English author is

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<sup>210</sup> Ambroise Marechal (1764-1828) bishop of Baltimore on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1817, HC VII 104.

<sup>211</sup> Andre Pravaz (born 7/7/1731 Pont de Beauvoisin; SI 9/7/1751 Lyon; died 2/26/1821 Pont de Beauvoisin). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 291.

<sup>212</sup> In June 1817 a treaty was signed which again put into effect the concordat of 1516, revoking the articles of organization, granting the augmentation of bishops, and assuring them an endowment fund financed from public taxes. For the act to be valid, it had to be approved by the Chamber. Cf. P. de la Gorce, *La Restauration - Louis XVIII* 308-309.

<sup>213</sup> He is named bishop of Amiens on October 1, 1817.

<sup>214</sup> Nicolas-Jacques des Vaulx (1745-1817), baron of Oinville, field marshal. In March of 1778, still a captain, he commanded the artillery at the siege of Pondichery and was taken prisoner. He was made a Knight of St. Louis in 1781 and, after his liberation, as Major continued to campaign in India. Sent to the Netherlands when it was threatened by Prussia, he emigrated during the Revolution. He was a member of the army of Conde. He published a

*Dallas*, Esquire. A copy has been presented to the King and each of the members of the royal family. The plan is to also present a copy to the assembled Chambers. This is what our friends are planning, but we fear that it may be more harmful than useful because it seems to us more appropriate to stay quiet at the present time and, as it were, unknown. We wish to have your advice about this. The Chambers will not assemble until October.

Father Fontaine, who sends his most profound respects, and joins us all in humbly asking for your blessing, has not received an answer on the topic of the sermons of Father Beauregard. He still believes that, regardless of their worth, the circumstances are quite unfavorable. If the Church of France established itself with its seminaries, and if the clergy flourishes again, they could be published to some advantage.

That is all I felt I had to communicate to Your Reverence, always with feelings of true veneration, I am, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant.

P.J. de Clorivière.

PS: A little word on the state of your health and those of Fathers Billy and Rozaven would be a great satisfaction. We send them our respects.

### **33. Polotsk, September 7, 1817.**

#### **T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière, s.a.**

Orig. Autograph: AFSJ *Letters of the Generals, 1790-1829*.

Copy: ARSI *Russia 1018 232-235*.

*He replies systematically to the objections of Father Clorivière on the formation of a study house. He reproaches him for multiplying establishments, not looking for the funds for a study house, and for assigning his people poorly, in particular the novice master.*

My Reverend Father,

I received your letter of July 30, and at the same time the witness from the examiners of four of our Fathers. As far as the printed report on the mission of Nevers of which you spoke, I did not find it, and I think that it was forgotten to be put into the package.

therefore not see any real impossibility which prevents you from acting on the recommendations contained in my last two letters. The more I think about it, the more I find myself convinced that it is necessary not to postpone further. In

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treatise on the life of General Monck (1815) and translations from the English. Cf. R. D'Amat and R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *Dictionnaire de Biographie française (Paris 1965) t. 11, 129*.

fact, what does the current situation of the Society in France look like in perspective? We have priests, deacons, and sub deacons who have only partially completed their studies. Occupied as they are in boarding schools, they do not have the time to acquire the knowledge which they need. Still, the priests are obliged to exercise the holy ministry without this knowledge. Deacons and sub deacons will soon be ordained and then similarly be employed. Without elaborating, this will result in mediocre professors, preachers, and missionaries. We have young people, 26, 27, or 28 years old, who are not yet professed. The claim is that it is impossible to have them complete their studies. Yet they are not destined to remain lay people. Should they be ordained without proper knowledge of theology? When will they study? Will not the difficulties which currently exist, exist two or three years from now, or even later? First of all, the problem concerning the lack of funds will not disappear in the near future. Secondly, the problem concerning the lack of qualified teaching staff will only get bigger with time. Eventually there will be no one capable of forming young men.

This leaves only the third problem: how to replace those that would be put to study. It could be argued that this problem will diminish as novices complete the novitiate. This argument would hold if we are determined to absolutely refuse any proposed establishment for several years. But consider the following:

1. We have agreed that the novitiate (time) should not be reduced in the future. Because the current novitiate consists of people who entered in 1815 and 1817, no one will become available next year except for one or two priests who themselves may not have finished their studies.
2. The number of people in the current novitiate is very small.
3. Most of those finishing the novitiate still need to complete their rhetorics or philosophy.

Given the above, how much time do we need before all who need to complete their studies can be replaced? Furthermore, I do not know if this source will not soon dry up. Looking over the list I received, I see with chagrin that the number of candidates who present themselves for admission to the Society diminishes every year<sup>215</sup>.

We cannot, my Reverend Father, hide the fact that we live from the reputation of the old Society. We are the children of heroes. They expect to see these men, whose passing is mourned, revived in us. Their glory can maintain us for some

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. Vivier, *Catalogus*: 95 entries in 1814, 66 in 1815, 25 in 1816.

time, but if we ourselves do not regain that reputation in turn, then we shall soon fall, and it will be difficult for us to stand up again. All eyes are directed towards us. If they see that we do not have any men like our predecessors, and moreover, that we do not insure their training; that those who join us have to somehow renounce studying, or at least wait to complete their studies later instead of being provided with the adequate facilities to acquire knowledge, then the public will never view us as the same Society which they so vividly desired and which they so dearly regretted having lost in the suppression. We will then have the grief of not seeing any new candidates. The Society cannot continue to exist without professed members, but how can we have professions without the studies demanded by our rule?

Until now only six people have been able to take their examinations and not all succeeded. The longer the others wait, the more difficult it will be for them. What embarrassment for the examiners? They will have to make risky and doubtful judgments which, according to the Constitution, count as a negative judgment. To be professed, one needs at least three votes *clara et minime dubia*. How would a vote such as 'this one *could teach theology if it were taught in French*' be counted? The example is of course ridiculous and can only be conjecture since the candidate had to be examined in Latin but could not express himself in Latin. I know very well that this problem has no solution for several of our current members. That is precisely why we must take the most effective measures now to insure the future. I exhort you, my Reverend Father, for the love you have for the Society, to take this matter to heart and to give all your efforts to establishing a study program using the best teachers you can gather. Believe that this is absolutely necessary to provide the Society with the considerations which it cannot do without and that the present good sacrificed will be returned one hundred fold by the future good which will result.

Remember also that it is on this foundation that St. Ignatius himself established his Society and that he felt he could not dispense with it for any considerations of *present good*. I hope, my Reverend Father, that in all that I just told you, you will not find anything causing you pain. I only went to this level of detail because of the importance of the issue, and not at all to contradict your opinion which, I hope, will give in to the reasons I have given. I know that you desire the glory of God and the good of the Society with complete sincerity, and that you will pursue this goal with a zeal and courage which I cannot praise sufficiently, and which God will reward<sup>216</sup>.

Now I come to the second point of your letter regarding the novice master. Let me repeat what I said before. I am fearful to see our young religious in the hands of someone who, in spite of the fact that he has a lot of good attributes,

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<sup>216</sup> By naming Simpson Provincial, he asks him to organize a house of study. Letters of Brzozowski to Simpson, December 19, 1817 (*Russia* 24 7-9), March 24 1818 (*Francis* 1001 1 53).

had peculiar ideas and is not sufficiently in control of himself to avoid saying things to his novices other than that which can edify and encourage them in their vocation and which can make them learn to love their vocation.

*Every form of spirituality* does not suit a Jesuit. There are *very spiritual* authors whose works we are advised not to read. I do not know if the spirituality of Father R.<sup>217</sup> is not a little peculiar. My fears are even greater when (I consider the fact) that you cannot keep your eye on the novitiate. On the other hand, I do know that the infirmities of Father Folloppe do not permit him to fulfill the position of novice master. That is why I suggested to appoint someone whom I do not know but whom, I am told, has fulfilled this job satisfactorily. If you have a better qualified candidate, I will not object.

As you know, I have not yet received the personnel information necessary for me to evaluate who is suitable for which positions. Since you are able to consider these facts, I leave this decision to your wisdom and prudence, convinced that you will only have the good of the Society in mind and will not let yourself be influenced by prejudicial feelings, favorable or not.

Without saying so specifically, you lead me to believe that M. Lambert has left the novitiate. I am really upset about this because he could have been very useful to the Society.

Before I finished this long letter, I received yours dated June 29 in which you respond to my letter of March 30 and respond to items previously omitted. The documents you send regarding the Ladies of the Sacred Heart clarify the situation abundantly, but such detail was not necessary. The letter of Mr. Sambucy did not leave a great impression on me. Its tone was not very convincing. If I had any doubts, they were totally dissipated by the clarifications given earlier by Father Grivel<sup>218</sup>. I heartily agree that you act toward the Ladies as you act towards all other religious communities, doing for them what is demanded by charity, as long as it is compatible with our Institution and is agreeable to the bishops or other local dignitaries. (Remember) to act with great circumspection so that no one can obtain a hold over us.

Even though the pamphlets you tell me about did not make a great sensation in France, it would have been appropriate to tell me about them to give me some idea. Sometimes these kind of things may cause a sensation elsewhere and it is therefore good to be informed so that we can be prepared to take appropriate remedial action.

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<sup>217</sup> Father Roger.

<sup>218</sup> Immediately in April of 1817 Brzozowski writes Father Grivel (*ARSI Russia 1018* 209-210) that he does not believe any of the insinuations made against Varin and Ronsin regarding the Ladies of Christian Instruction, and recommends prudence to the Jesuits.



You speak to me about the sermons of Father *Bourdaloue*, I think it should read *Beauregard*. It was and still is my intention that they be printed if you can find an editor who is capable to direct the printing and to make the necessary corrections. I doubt that this will be easy.

I thank God, my Reverend Father, that he keeps you healthy and strong and I desire that you keep acting as you have until now. It would be right to give you rest in your old age, but I think that the good of the Society requires that you keep your job a little longer and I hope that Divine Providence will give you the necessary strength to perfect and consolidate your work. Yet again will you acquire the gratefulness of the Society and earn new merits for heaven.

I received a letter from Paris from Mr. Dosseur, lawyer, *Rue du Bac no. 43*, in which he asks me information on the count of Bearn<sup>219</sup> who died in this country. This is precisely the matter Father Grivel had asked from Father Richardot<sup>220</sup>, whose reply was sent directly to Father Varin by Father Rozaven. I beg Father Varin to inform Mr. Dosseur of what Father Richardot wrote concerning this topic.

Father Rozaven greets you respectfully and will do his best to satisfy Father Barruel's requests. I recommend myself to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices and am, for life, my Reverend Father, your servant in Jesus Christ.

T. Brzozowski

PS: If Father Grivel has not yet returned, I ask you to forward this letter. Do not forget the matter with Count Ilinski and do your best to satisfy this notable benefactor of our Society and founder of a school.

Father Rozaven thanks Father Jenneseaux for his friendly greeting. He has no other commission to give for the country where he is going to try, out of friendship for his uncle, to be useful to his nephew. If Father Jenneseaux went to Quimperle, it would please Father Rozaven to visit the sisters who are known as the *Ladies of the Retreat*. Many greetings from Father Rozaven to the good Father Varin. I hope his health is better.

#### **34. Paris, September 29, 1817.**

##### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of**

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<sup>219</sup> It concerns undoubtedly Alexander Guillaume de Galard de Beam(1741-..) count of Beam, colonel of the Regiment of Bresse for whom the cause of death seems to be unknown - which would explain the request of Dosseur. The only one who, at this time, can carry the title Count of Beam would be his son Andre Hector de Galard, born in 1778, but he died in 1842 in Clermont Ferrand. Cf. A. Reverend, *Titres, anoblissement et pairies de la Restauration, 1814-1830* (Paris 1903) t. 3, 112-113.

<sup>220</sup> Desire Richardot (born 1/29/1769 Langres; S.I. 8/24/1792 Fr.: died 5/5/1849 Metz). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.584.

### **Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Received October 31, 1817.

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001142.

*He gives quick news of some establishments. He is afraid of the political situation and hesitates, for that reason, to transfer the novitiate.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

Five of our priests, Fathers Debrosses, Barat<sup>221</sup>, Loriquet<sup>222</sup>, Dumouchel<sup>223</sup>, and Bequet have taken their examination. I am sending the report of the examiners to you. It would be useless for me to add my particular judgment.

I am enclosing the reply of Abbot Sicard which includes his account of his proposed candidate. It has been impossible for me to find someone and meet your desires.

During the vacation we had a reunion here of all the Superiors of our minor seminaries. Some made the one month retreat, others took their examination. All seemed to be satisfied with the state of their respective houses. Only Montmorillon has problems caused by one of the Grand Vicars, but we have discussed it here with Mr. de Bouille<sup>224</sup>, who was named bishop of Poitiers, and an arrangement seems to be near.

The actual state of the Church in France appears quite frightening to us, and we do not know if the agreement made with the Holy See will be executed. Until now we have been delayed by the Concordat<sup>225</sup>. The fate of the Church will decide our fate; what we know for certain is that many minor seminaries are threatened, and that, at a minimum, it is proposed that conditions will be imposed which will not allow us to keep them.

We have received a very small number of novices in the course of this year, which stems from the need of the bishops to retain their candidates and from the fact that we are not recognized by the government. We currently have eleven novices of which two are Flemish priests, sent by the Superior of the house in Flanders, to do their novitiate here. Two of these, who are sufficiently trained as described by you, will be employed in the institutes. We have not yet decided about the transfer of the novitiate to Laval because of circumstances.

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<sup>221</sup> Louis Barat (born 3/30/1768 Joigny; SI 8/20/1814 Fr.; died 6/21/1845 Paris). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.331.

<sup>222</sup> Jean Nicolas Loriquet (born 8/15/1767 Epernay; SI 7/30/1814 Fr.; died 4/9/1845 Paris). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1320. He entered the Fathers of the Faith in 1801. Cf. Clements 252.

<sup>223</sup> Etienne Dumouchel (born 7/10/1773 Montfort-l'Amaury; SI 7/21/1814 Fr. died 1/15/1840 Rome). Cf. MENDIZABAL n. 1.033.

<sup>224</sup> Jean-Baptiste Baptiste de Bouille (1759-1842), bishop of Poitiers.

<sup>225</sup> On the long negotiations on the concordat and their failure, Cf. J. Leflon, *La crise revolutionnaire* 328-336; Father de La Gorce, *The Restoration - Louis XVIII* 308-309. The treaty of June 1817 remains void since no one wants to put the Concordat of 1801 in effect again, especially the articles of organization.

Our little body of missionaries, on whose work it has pleased the Lord to shower many blessings, has started their missions again. Yesterday they should have started in Vannes, to be followed by St. Malo, Saint Servan, and Mans. This last one is scheduled to take place during Lent.

Father Grivel wrote from Dublin and asks me to let you know that he arrived on September 14 and that he has no further news for you.

Thanks to God, my health is very good and my sight is not so extinguished that I cannot take care of myself and say the Holy Mass daily.

I am, with the most profound respect and the most perfect devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and very obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière.

PS: I send my greetings to Fathers Billy and Rozaven. I wrote you on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of July, and the 28<sup>th</sup> of August. I received your letter of July 6 on August 2; Father Varin received Father Rozaven's letter of August 17 on September 14. He has taken the appropriate steps to discover the widow of the officer of whom Father Richardot speaks in his letter to Father de Grivel. He will answer Father Rozaven as soon as he has results. I ask you to receive the honor of his profound respect.

### **35. October 14, 1817.**

#### **T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière.**

Copy: ARSI *Russia* 1018 246-247.

*Father Brzozowski insists on the service of someone for Count Ilinski and on the necessity to replace the novice master. As far as the work of Father Beauregard is concerned, he refers back to his previous letters. He recommends prudence regarding communication with the Chambers. He reminds him that the Constitution stipulates that the Superior is assisted by an adviser and recommends the observance of the 5<sup>th</sup> rule. After having given news on his health, he inquires about the situation of Father Pravaz.*

My Reverend Father,

The wishes of Count Ilinski will not be completely fulfilled if you do not at least assign him (the services of) a priest of the Society. Since it is so difficult (to find a qualified person) he will have to be content with whomever you can provide. I have written to inform him of the efforts you have made to satisfy his request and also promised that you will continue to do so. If possible, try to find a good clergy willing to undertake this task, or, if it has to be a lay person, assure yourself of his principals and morals. To further be informed of the employment

terms, the person who is willing to come to Poland should address himself directly to the Count. His address is: *A. H. E. Count Ilinski, Senator of the Empire of Russia, in Romanov near Zytomir and Wolhynie.*

I received the advisor report from Father Varin, for which I thank him, and I hope that Father Roger will finally also send his.

I have already replied sufficiently in my previous letters on the subject of novice master and that Father. To me he does not seem to be suitable, but since I do not know the candidates who could replace him, I do not dare to decide anything myself and leave the matter to your prudence and your love for the Society.

I have also replied about the sermons of Father Beauregard which I would like to see printed if that can be done properly. At least we should not ignore this so that we can take advantage of favorable circumstances when they present themselves.

I am quite glad that the writings of Mr. Dallas, which I know, have been translated. But is it proper that a copy is presented to the (members of the) assembled Chambers? Is it not possible to decide locally, and with knowledge that I do, not have, on the spirit which will reign in the new assembly? It seems to me we should wait to see how the concordat will be received and what the principles will be regarding this. A wrong move could lose everything, and we should know the terrain well before venturing a chance.

Whilst we wait for divine Providence to appoint the moment for the legal reestablishment of our Society in France, we must try to adapt as much as possible to our actual situation and still remain within the bounds of our Constitution. As you know, my Reverend Father, that all Superiors, starting with the General, have an appointed *admonisher*<sup>226</sup>. It seems that, until now, you have not had anyone acting in that capacity. The associate (*socius*) of the Provincial is, according to our Constitution, also the *admonisher*. Even though, strictly speaking, there is no Province in France, I feel that I have to name Father Fontaine to this function while you both reside in Paris<sup>227</sup>. If Father Fontaine has to be absent for a long time, you will have to substitute another of your advisers. During your travels, your *admonisher* will obviously have to be the one to accompany you.

I recommend also that the 57<sup>th</sup> rule of the novice master be observed regarding those who make their vows, and that a book be kept where everyone records that he has clearly understood the meaning of the words "*promitto me*

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<sup>226</sup> The admonisher is charged with communicating to the superior the observations received from persons under his leadership.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Letter of Fontaine to the General, in the function of admonisher (November 18, 1817) ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 44.

*Societatem ingressurum*<sup>228</sup> and signs this in accordance with the prescribed formula.

You asked about my health. In the beginning of the beautiful season of summer it was very changeable, then it got better and stayed that way all through summer. The bad weather season which approaches will undoubtedly not be so favorable for me, but I hope that Divine Providence will sustain me and will let me have enough strength to go to Rome when it sees fit to iron out the difficulties that are still opposed to such a trip.

I am pleased to consent that Father Pravaz join the Society, but I would like some information about him; what kind of work did he do in the secular world after the destruction of the Society? What reasons does he have that prevented him from requesting admission sooner? Has he made his last vows; and what rank was he? If his last vows were made in the Society, I would only require that he make an eight-day retreat to renew them. If not, he must follow the path walked by Father Barruel.

### **36. Paris, October 17, 1817.**

#### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 143.

*He explains his refusal to open a study house. He gives some news about the establishments and the political situation.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I received your letter of September 7 on the third of this month. I thank you for the views of wisdom you set before our eyes. Like you, I believe that the good of the Society demands that we conform to its rules, but the situation here clearly shows me that that cannot be done as yet; it is too soon to mandate changing the long-standing local practices. In fact, it has not yet been eighteen months since those who joined me were novices. It has always been customary that after the novitiate, those who completed the philosophy course devote themselves for the next five years to teaching rhetoric. During this time they are expected to solidify their Liberal Arts skills which is absolutely necessary for us. This order of study is very important since our young candidates, and even several of the new priests, have a great need to improve themselves (in this knowledge) because during the Revolution it was very difficult to get a good education. As a result, those who were older and were already ordained were placed to head up the schools and fulfilled those tasks required by their

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<sup>228</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> rule of the novice master.

ministry. I hope that this simple exposition convinces you that there are currently no people who can be assigned to study their theology excepting one who currently is doing this under the able direction of one of our Fathers.

The objections you raise against the requests we made for Marseille and Toulouse were only requests for the distant future. This would have enabled us to answer the proposals made to us, but which we would not have been able to accept unless they were for the distant future. In that case we would have sent a small number of old members who would have been assigned young clerical assistants by the bishops as is done in Spain. We are not considering augmenting the number of our establishments. All we can point out, as we have done before, is that we can obtain excellent potential members from these schools. The reputation of our schools is well established and grows daily. All are flourishing, not even excepting the last one (established) in Forcalquier. People flock to them from all parts of France.

The missions we have preached have had a success far surpassing our hopes. I could say the same thing about our ordinary preaching; in particular in that town where we are sought by everyone.

It is not that we have a large number of experienced men, but thanks to the Lord, He deigns to shed great blessings on our work.

This is our current situation but religion is in the most deplorable state here. The bishops are threatened from all sides to close the minor seminaries. If that happens we can say that we will go down in glory and that we have real cause to fear because religion will perish with us in this kingdom. However, we continue to act as we have until now and leave the future to the Lord in whom alone we put our trust.

In my last letter of September 29, I informed you, my very Reverend Father, of the steps we have undertaken regarding the business of Count Ilinski and the success they have had.

I enclose the votes of the examiners for the examination of one of our Fathers. The last letter from Father Grivel is from Stonyhurst and is dated October 6, following his return to Ireland. He should arrive in Amiens on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of this month and should be here on the 28<sup>th</sup>. He asked me to tell you that he had written you from Stonyhurst on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of August<sup>229</sup> and again on the 9<sup>th</sup> of September. I cannot thank you enough for the kind things you write me. They can only encourage me to do my utmost to satisfy you and to procure the best for the Society which has been entrusted to me.

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<sup>229</sup> Letters received by Bzozowski. Cf. Letter to Grivel of October 24, 2827. *ARSI Russia 1018 247*.

I am, with the most profound respect and most total devotion, my Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

P.J. de Clorivière

**37. November 4, 1817.**

**T. Brzozowski to Father de Clorivière,**

Copy: ARSI *Russia* 1018 254-255.

*He speaks of the political situation in France and the choice of the new bishops. He speaks again about Count Ilinski. He asks that attention be paid to the formula of the examination. He speaks of the missions.*

My Reverend Father,

I received your letter of September 29 on October 31. Some time ago I also received the letters of July 30 and August 28. I hope that mine, dated September 7 and October 14, have also reached you.

It seems that the fate of France, at least the religious part, depends on the Assembly that is going to take place. It is to be believed that the business of the concordat will be brought up and will doubtlessly encounter difficulties. Let us pray that He who has the hearts and wills in His hand will bend them in favor of His holy religion.

It seems that the choice of the new bishops is generally very good and proves the excellent intentions of the King. May it please heaven to give him the strength and firmness necessary to do and maintain the good! He is undoubtedly convinced that his still faltering throne can only be strengthened by religion and I hope that he will use all his efforts to make this his solid base.

I am forwarding the note you send me regarding the student of M. Sicard who is willing to undertake a contract to Count Ilinski. He will write you himself about this and will propose the conditions which you will then communicate to the young man. This, so that he can directly discuss his own interests.

I have received the testimonies of the examination of five of our fathers. There are some testimonies which are not in the correct format and which are ambiguous. I ask you to notify the examiners that, in general, they should follow the formula without changing anything and say formally: "*censeo ilium habere*" or "*non habere*" Their deviations are obviously to favor the candidate; but they have to know that there are no other favorable judgments than "*clara et minime dubia*". In fact, all others are equivalent to "*censeo ilium non habere*". That does not prevent them from adding, after having given the judgment according to the formula, anything which they feel appropriate information for the Superior.

I congratulate your missionaries with the useful work they have started again and I pray that God will shed his blessings upon them. We have also had a fairly large number of missions in this country and I am sending you the report of one of the principal ones. You will enjoy reading it.

I ask God to keep you healthy and to preserve the little sight that remains you so that you can continue to work for His glory.

I believe that Father Grivel has now returned. I will write him as soon as I have received a letter from him from Paris. I have received his letter of September 9 and have several comments which could only have reached him in Paris<sup>230</sup>. There is nothing that is urgent. In the meantime I greet him and Father Varin affectionately and recommend myself to their and your prayers.

### **38. Paris, December 5, 1817.**

**P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 145

*In his response to the General he declares he is observing the 57<sup>th</sup> rule. He tells about the conduct of Father Pravaz. He brings up questions of (his) succession. He tells about an extraordinary event that took place in Montmorillon.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I have received your two letters of October 14 and September 4, which you had the honor to send me. I immediately forwarded the enclosed letters to their final address. I have notified Father Fontaine about your choice to appoint him as my admonisher and I thank you for this.

The 57<sup>th</sup> rule which you recommend to me, is already being observed. I was determined to follow your directions with regard to the novice master. I have delayed the implementation to await your reply to Father Roger's letter. His silence makes me believe that you are not in a hurry to see your decision implemented, which seems to me the more sensible course of action since we are in the greatest crisis and have everything to fear for the religious future of France. Implementation would require that we recall a Superior from one of our schools and circumstances do not favor this.

Mr. Dallas' book has not made any great sensation here. We could not have

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<sup>230</sup> The last letter of Brzozowski to Grivel dates October 14, 1817. ARSI *Russia* 1018 241-242. A detailed account of his visit in England and the situation in France will be given in a letter to Rozaven, January 3, 1818, ARSI *Francia* 1001 1 46.



presented it to the Chambers in any case. Several of our Fathers believe that the sermons of Father Beauegard would lose a lot in printed form and that circumstances would not favor the results. Maybe the future will bring us happier times?

We have informed Father Pravaz of what you wrote to us about him. His reply follows: "I have professed four vows and had already done so when parliament suppressed the Society in France. I secluded myself at my parents' house in Pont de Beauvoisin in the area of Dauphine where they have lived for more than 60 years. From there I went to Chambéry to the house of our Society. If, sometime later, I left that house to live with my parents, that was only after permission was obtained for me by Father Garnier from our Reverend Father General. At that time he (Father Garnier) was one of his assistants in Rome and asked this for reasons which I had explained to him." He adds that at all times he remained obedient and submitted to the very Reverend Father General with whom he communicated via Reverend Father Garnier. In conclusion, he adds that he has always sought to act in everything as a true child of the Society. Therefore, according to your guidelines, Father Pravaz only need do the eight day retreat to renew his professed vows.

Mr. de Chavignac<sup>231</sup>, who was 84 years old, spent 11 years in the Society until its suppression, and who has always had a great affection for the Society, made his will in our favor when he was close to death. He died in a very edifying manner, having received all the sacraments of the Holy Church, and after he had spent several weeks with us. His inheritance is not very substantial and we will not be able to dispose of it for a year.

One of our missionaries in Laval has received an inheritance, but it was not awarded because the establishment was not approved by the government<sup>232</sup>. Notwithstanding the wishes of the inhabitants of that city, prudence has prevented us from relocating the novitiate there in the present circumstances.

You have heard that Father Grivel returned with Mr. Simpson.

Whilst we await the letter which you told us Count Ilinski would be sending, no progress has been made in this matter.

Even though we are threatened from all directions, peace remains in all our schools. The Superior of the school in Montmorillon has recently told me about an event which he witnessed and which is somewhat of a miracle. On the eve of the opening of the Chambers, a statue of the Blessed Virgin was found to be

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<sup>231</sup> Marie-Joseph de Chavignac (born 3/10/1734 Caudebed; SI 9/16/175IFr.; died ?). Cf. SOMMERVOGEL II 1106

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Letter of Grivel, January 3, 1818, ARSI *Francia 1001* 146. The law of January 17, 1817 only allowed recognized congregations to receive legacies and bequests. Therefore the Society was excluded. Cf. Father Nourrisson, *Histoire legale* 123-124.

covered with such abundant perspiration even though the weather was very dry, that two hours were needed to dry it. He has not given us any particulars. We will ask him for these<sup>233</sup>.

We hope that your health has restored itself and will remain good in spite of the bad season. We ask the Lord for this insistently, for His glory, and the good of the Society. I offer my humble respects and those of all ours to Reverend Fathers Billy and Rozaven.

I am, with the most profound respect and the most perfect devotion, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and obedient servant and son.

De Clorivière

PS: I must add that I congratulated Father Grivel with all my heart on the happy success of his mission. To me he seems to have accomplished it with great prudence. As an aside, I observed with pleasure that he succeeded in hosting a family of high distinction. (I am sure that) you take great interest in this.

Even though my health and my strength sustain themselves and leave me the freedom to act so that I can fulfill, as much as possible, the duties associated with my appointment, I thought it wise to force myself to withhold from the happiness of offering Holy Mass. The extreme weakness of my vision, which is barely sufficient to care for myself, could cause some inconveniences.

### **39. December 19, 1817.**

#### **T. Brzowski to Father De Clorivière.**

Copy: ARSI *Russia 1018* 266-267.

*He relieves Father de Clorivière from his functions.*

My Reverend Father, P.C.

Some weeks ago I received your letter of October 17, and I have only waited to answer because I expected a letter from Father Grivel which I have finally received. I bless God that his mission was a complete success. All the letters I receive from England about this fill me with consolation. I am also very reassured that he brought Father Simpson or Sionnet back with him to France. This gives me the occasion to satisfy the desire which you have indicated: to be able, after so many troubles and so much work, to take some rest<sup>234</sup>. Earlier, I only refused because I desire, as much as possible, to see old\* members of the

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<sup>233</sup> Cf. The story of this fact in "Extract of a letter of Father Gloriot to the Provincial Father", December 31, 1817, ARSI *Francia 1001 V14*.

<sup>234</sup> He waited to replace de Clorivière, who had asked for this in July, because he could not nominate Grivel (Letter to Grivel, December 19, 1817, 26 8-9).

\* Transl. Note: "old" refers to members who were professed before the revolution.

Society head up our new establishments, and I did not yet know if Father Sionnet would come to France. That Father, according to all the information I have about him, is a man of merit. He was among those that Father Stone and his consultants had indicated to me as being able to be Provincial. I think therefore, that, without fear, I can entrust the continuation of the work that you have started so well to him<sup>235</sup>. I do not doubt that he shares all our viewpoints. I relieve you, therefore, my Reverend Father, from the burden you have carried with so much courage, while I express all my gratitude, and that of the Society, for the zeal and the efforts you have spent to fulfill such painful functions. I hope that you will be willing to help the new Superior with your insights, to inform him of all things, especially those dealing with the local and particular circumstances he may not know about since he was absent from France for so many years<sup>236</sup>. That way, you will not stop being useful to the Society and you will again earn the rights to its gratitude.

#### 40. Paris, January 23, 1818.

##### **P.J. de Clorivière to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, in Polotsk.**

Orig. Autograph: ARSI *Francia* 1001 /48.

*He thanks the Father General for having relieved him from his functions. He rejoices in the nomination of Simpson as head of the Province. He gives some news about the last missions.*

My Very Reverend Father, P.C.

I thank you for the favor you have done me by discharging me from a burden which has always been above my powers, but even more so because the loss of my sight has made me incapable of fulfilling several essential duties<sup>237</sup>. The choice of Father Simpson will meet with everyone's approval, I am sure. Certainly mine. We, together with Father Fontaine, were in the same novitiate, but he entered very young, being only 13 years old. I had not seen him for 60 years. Since the short time I renewed my acquaintance with him, I have only seen worthy qualities in him, a lot of prudence and religious spirit.

Since the mission in Vannes of which I already spoke to you and which met with great success, we have given two more, one at Saint Malo, the other at Saint

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<sup>235</sup> Letter of Brzozowski to Simpson, December 19, 1817, ARSI *Russia* 1018 267-268 appointing Simpson successor of Father de Clorivière.

<sup>236</sup> Simpson writes: "Hardly back from England, where I lived 28 years, having almost forgotten the French language, not knowing anyone in France, unknown by everyone, not knowing how to conduct myself, how could I dare to undertake to lead and direct those who surpass me in everything?" Letter to Brzozowski, January 19, 1818 (*Francia* 1001 / 47).

<sup>237</sup> On the edifying attitude of Clorivière after his retirement, Cf. Varin to Brzozowski, February 26 1818 (ARSI *Francia* 1001152)

Servan<sup>238</sup>. Because these two cities are very near each other, separated only by a sea arm which is dry twice a day, we were able to preach then at the same time. They were very successful. We are sending you a detailed ledger in either the letter from Father Gloriot or in the one from the pastor of Saint Servan. The letter from the pastor of Saint Malo is just as satisfactory. It is a consolation for me to terminate the execution of my charge with the return of this office of charity to my fatherland. We are beginning the mission in Mans. I have only good things to tell you on the state of all our schools.

I am very flattered by the gracious things you write me. I would wish to have earned them. I ask you forgiveness for the faults I may have been guilty of and ask you to receive the expression of my respect and perfect devotion. I am, my very Reverend Father, your very humble and very obedient servant and son.

P.J. de Clorivière.

PS: I am also sending you a story of something which one of our Fathers, Mr. Philipon in Montmorillon, witnessed and which I briefly mentioned in my last letter<sup>239</sup>. I have just relayed the message of Father Rozaven to Father Barruel. I offer him, as well as Father Billy, my respects.

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<sup>238</sup> Cf. "Extract of a letter of Father Gloriot to the Reverend Father Provincial on the mission of Saint Malo, Saint Servan", *Francia 1001 VI 4*).

<sup>239</sup> Cf. n. 234.