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Donald Sammers
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# CHARLES-FRANÇOIS CHEVÉ AND FRENCH CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

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By

Catherine Mary Jones

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ABSTRACT

CHARLES-FRANÇOIS CHEVÉ AND FRENCH CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM
IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

By

Catherine Mary Jones

This political biography of Charles-François Chevé depicts the life and ideas of a "stormy petrel" of the French Left against the turbulent political, socio-economic and intellectual developments of his time: 1813-1875. Using public records of the Chevé family's births, marriages, deaths, and notary transactions, studies of Paris, histories of social class, of education, and general social, intellectual, and political histories, as well as of psychological development, the study initially probes why and how a youth like Chevé became a republican who "leaped into the ring" rather than merely applauded from the sidelines like the literary heroes painted by Stendhal and Balzac.

After action at the barricades in the July Revolution, assisting Belgian and Polish nationalism, and being arrested as part of a secret society under the July Monarchy, Chevé drifted toward the "Catholic jacobinism" of former Saint-Simonian, Philippe Buchez. As a consequence Chevé converted

to Catholicism in the late 1830s and dedicated his life to a Saint-Simonian "priesthood" of activism and education through the written word. Here, the lives, writings, and disciples of Saint-Simon, Buchez, and Lammenais are examined to illustrate the diversity, fluidity and interaction of elements on the French Left during these formative years of socialism. Emphasis is on the content and attraction of the Christian-Socialist program to young republicans, and of a progressive Christianity to the romantic Left.

From the 1840s Chevé's own writings, as seen against the background of developments within and outside of France upon which he commented, dominate this study. The focus, successively, is on his collaboration with Montalembert on the freedom of education issue as editor of a Catholic journal in Dijon and then Nantes during the 1840s, his return to Paris and his work to defend the Second Republic in conjunction with Proudhon and at the radical journal Le Peuple and others from 1849 to 1851, his work with J.-P. Migne at Ateliers Catholiques when repression under the Second Empire forced him from journalism, and his subsequent co-editing of Catholic journals with François Beslay in the late 1860s. At the same time, the development of Chevé's ideas, as evidenced mainly in his books, from romantic republican to jacobin socialist, social Catholic, then communist and mystic is followed and accounted for.

He died in 1875, at the age of sixty-two, happy to have seen the realization of many of his goals under the Third

Republic. Although he left no immediate following or organization, the legacy of his writing was known to a new generation of Christian democrats, members of Le Sillon in the 1890s, further proving that Christian Socialism was an influential part of the Leftist opposition throughout the nineteenth century. In addition, the study concludes that Christian Socialist ideas, among others, have strongly influenced movements for social reform and international unity in post-World War II Europe.

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# PREFACE

My original interest in Christian Socialism grew, at least in part, out of my deeply-held Catholic-Christian faith; my commitment to the religious life, a form of Christian-socialist community, in the Dominican Order; a growing ecumenical interest; and a conviction that mature religious faith should overflow into acts of and movements for social justice upon which love is based, into programs aimed at "making all things new, in Christ."

Further, in the course of my study of European history I had thrilled to the spirit of liberty embodied in the "enlightened" break with a repressive past and yet experienced a dissillusionment akin to that of the early socialists in witnessing the illiberalism of the liberals, especially evident in the economic sphere. As a child of the working class, I had long sympathized with the plight of labor and the oppressed, especially in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, a sentiment that my Christian faith had only confirmed and strengthened into what is currently termed a "preferential option for the poor." Moreover, on the university campuses of the late 'sixties and 'seventies the evils of racism, classism, and sexism

present in American "liberal" society were revealed, magnified in their ugliness. As I chafed under the bureaucratic restrictions which governed my life, I was also stung by the anti-Catholic bias evident in the "liberal" university which served to deepen my sense of dehumanization and alienation from past and present.

In this situation, I found much to admire in early socialism and even later socialist programs which advocated the principles to which my Christian faith and my study of society had brought me, namely that all persons are equal, that all are worthy of and entitled to equal opportunities to grow and develop fully as human beings, that all are brothers and sisters, and that in international unity, rather than competitive nationalism or chauvinism, lay the key to human progress. My previous study of modern Europe had served to whet my curiosity concerning Christian Socialism, often referred to fleetingly and dismissed along with other early socialist programs as "utopian," using Marx's disdainful label. It was in a course studying the Habsburg Empire that I first pursued my interest in a movement by that name, that led by Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna from the late 1890s. As I did so, I recoiled from the demagoguery which Adolph Hitler would come to admire, from a negative "Christianity" which was anti-Semitic, and a "Socialism" which was really petty-bourgeois reaction against liberalism and capitalism. In the course of my

research, however, I encountered a glimmer of hope in that Francesco Nitti's work on Catholic Socialism assured me that one might find a movement truer to the Christian Socialist title in France earlier in the century.

When I committed myself to the study of French history and began to search for a dissertation topic, I once again was led to pursue this elusive Christian Socialism. I found Jean-Baptiste Duroselle's work Les débuts du catholicisme sociale en France invaluable in delineating various movements and leaders active in social Catholic causes from the early nineteenth century until 1945. In it I read of Albert de Mun, Frédéric Ozanam, Marc Sagnier and others who had each applied their Catholic principles to improve and to challenge the conscience of their times in progressive ways. It was only, however, in the "school" of Philippe Buchez that I found the elaboration of a consistent theory which I judged to be truly Christian and at the same time truly Socialist, and indeed, one that had been tried in the fire of experience. My first thought was to conduct further research on Buchez, however, I soon realized that French writers and scholars, especially Armand Cuvillier and sociologist François-André Isambert, had thoroughly researched and analyzed Buchez's life and work. As I saw it, my problem then became how to uncover new material which would throw further light on Buchez's thought and influence and allow me to make some knowledge of Buchez and Christian

Socialism available to an English-reading public.

Duroselle had indicated that among Buchez's disciples was one, Charles-François Chevé, who had remained in the world when some of his colleagues left to pursue religious life in the newly refounded Dominican Order, and who became a prolific writer and journalist, although something of a maverick, becoming a "communist" and even a "mystic" in the course of his lifetime. This was the lead I set out to follow as I began research in France in the Fall of 1970.

There, I interviewed Armand Cuvillier, then in his eighties, who as a youthful "Sillonist" had discovered Buchez and attempted to publicize his life and work, and Père Grégoire O.P. who had written on the relation between Buchez and Lacordaire and on Chevé's brief experience as a Dominican. Through extensive library and archival research in Paris, chiefly at the Bibliothèque Nationale, I tracked down Chevé's books and journal articles as well as studies of his associates and of general French and European developments. At the Archives du Département de la Seine, and in records kept at relevant churches, I uncovered most of the vital records of the Chevé family prior to 1870, preserved in a variety of separate archives, of birth, death, marriage, and real estate transactions. I also used the facilities of the map and book collection at the Royal Archives in Brussels. Gradually, I began to uncover this Chevé, and to view his life, ideas, and associations more

clearly.

Upon return to the States and further study, especially at the Michigan State University library, using sources here as well as slowly reading Chevé's writings from microfilm copies made in France, I found the focus of my study shifting from Buchez, whom I still found fascinating, to Chevé, this young idealist whose own life was incredibly diverse. He had been involved in the revolution of 1830 in Paris, Belgium, and Poland, in republican movements under the July Monarchy, and who had even been arrested and tried for conspiracy before he ever met Buchez. Converted to Catholicism while a member of Buchez's school, he would go on to associate with some of the most prominent men and movements of the Left, Catholic and Socialist alike. As a journalist and writer he fought with all the power of his convictions, his intellect, and his pen for the republic, for democracy, for economic and social justice in relation to many specific issues; in short, as he expressed it, for the "realization of the kingdom of God," and later the "republic of God," on earth.

Here was a "stormy petrel," a bellwether of the French Left in the turbulent early and middle years of the nineteenth century. Through him it would be possible to trace the complex and intricate interrelations between leftist movements and leaders which would later appear disparate and even opposed. For this was the "seed time" of

modern thought when, as Isaiah Berlin proposes, nineteenth century thinkers, especially in France, attempted to create truth and meaning, as well as new social forms and programs, like artists, out of their own souls.[1] Theories and thinkers met and collided, movements coalesced and separated, searching for elements of truth, individuals moving on when inwardly impelled to do so.

Absorbed in my own process of creating truth and meaning, after my personal "revolution" in the early 'seventies, I identified with Chevé, feeling his anguish akin to my own as I struggled to "give birth" to us both. In his case, a portrait began to emerge of a man I came to respect and admire. Here, also, was one whose life seemed a microcosm in which to study the Romantic revolution, and the nascent period of early socialist schools and programs, as well as to trace the complex history of the French Left against the changing political systems and events of the nineteenth century. I was interested in the choices Chevé made in the midst of this flux and the effects they had on his thoughts and vision of the future. I found that the facts of Chevé's life and his involvements, moreover, coincided with much of the emerging profile of participants in revolutions and on the Left as presented in the social histories or "human science" of the past few decades. These in turn, however, challenged the earlier view of French youth presented by the literary "historians" Stendhal,

Balzac, Flaubert, Hugo, and these latter have provided interesting foils against which to measure and assess the early Chevé.

Further, as the project progressed, I became aware of the larger implications of such a study in providing insights into our own intellectual and spiritual journeys as individuals and as a society since the beginning of the nineteenth century. If, as Berlin suggested in a recent article on De Maistre, Europe pursued the path of fascist dictatorship into destruction, a path whose dimensions and horror De Maistre had foreseen in his Les Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg, then it appears that only after that collapse could statesmen and politicians pursue alternate systems, such as Christian Socialism, now free of their anachronistic contradictions, in remaking Europe in the post World War II era.[2] Thus, despite the fact that there seem to have been no direct descendents of Chevé, no school or movement that he founded, I propose that we, in the West, and particularly in Europe since 1945, are his heirs and the heirs of all who argued in the previous century that a religious faith, freed of its dead past through the crucible of revolution or war, can indeed serve as the source for a society which tries to balance the claims of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," the battle cry of the modern world.

I want to acknowledge the assistance I have received from many sources as I pursued this project. Among my

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mentors I especially wish to acknowledge Donald N. Lammers, a man whom I admire and respect enormously, without whose continued belief in me this work might never have come to completion. He stepped into the breach created by my loss of a dissertation advisor, read this slowly-emerging manuscript, and has been friend and supporter through this long process. I also want to thank William O. McCagg, Jr., a brilliant and inspiring teacher whose persistent questions and insights have helped train my mind and broaden my understanding of historical argument. His suggestions contributed greatly to the first chapter of this work. Donald N. Baker first guided my studies into the intricacies of the French Left in the nineteenth century, David LoRomer and Peter Dunckley read rough drafts of the first chapters, and Peter Vinten-Johansen helped clarify some points with me in conversation; I am grateful for their assistance. I accept full responsiblity, however, for this manuscript and for any errors of thought or execution it may contain.

I also want to acknowledge the support and love of my extended family, to each member of which I am proud to be related. The Dominican Sisters of Saint Mary of the Springs initiated my graduate education but did not reap its benefits; they remain another "family" of mine to whom I am deeply grateful. I also want to acknowledge my Kripalu family in whose association my life has come to wholeness and fruition. To my colleagues, past and present, who have

encouraged me in the completion of this work, and secretaries and librarians who have advanced it, I offer acknowledgement of your efforts. Special thanks are due here to Carolyn Moore who typed a chapter of this manuscript and who has assisted me immeasureably with printing, and to Dave Kelly who has helped me with the reformatting of the text on the computer. And lastly, to all my friends who have loved, supported and assisted me in material and spiritual ways through the years of this personal and scholarly odyssey, even when their own journeyings were painful and demanding, I offer a share in the joy of completion, and my special love and gratitude.

## NOTES

[1]Taken from a lecture entitled "Romanticism, Politics, and Ethics" given at the University of Hartford as part of the Keller Lecture Series, 1962-1963.

[2]Sir Isaiah Berlin, "Joseph De Maistre and the Origins of Fascism: I," The New York Review of Books 37 (September 26, 1990): pp. 57-64.

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# INTRODUCTION

For well over a century, accounts of the realities of power within Restoration France, whether written by historians *per se* or by their literary counterparts, echoed the judgment of one of the most outstanding of the latter group, Balzac, who asserted: "There were then only two parties: Royalists and Liberals, Romanticists and Classicists."[1] Stendhal, another contemporary, seemed to confirm this bifurcated image of the power structure during the Bourbon Restoration by entitling his fictional 'Chronicle of the XIXth Century,' *The Red and the Black*. Political historians, concerned essentially with the actions and interests of governments and those who wield political power, rightly concentrated on the struggle for control between the conservative monarchy with its aristocratic and clerical allies, on the one hand, and the liberal constitutionalists from the industrial and commercial elites and the secular professions, on the other. Many political historians, with the notable exception of royalists such as Carlyle and Taine in the nineteenth century, even exhibited their sympathies for the Liberal cause by caricaturing the conflict as one between the benighted, reactionary adherents

of the Past, and the rational and progressive forces of the Future.

Yet certainly such an oversimplified assessment of political polarities did not succeed in describing adequately the spectrum of political opinion during the Restoration. Even the most traditional studies of the three-day revolt in Paris in July 1830, which toppled Bourbon King Charles X and ushered in Liberal leadership in government, contained references to other constituents with divergent political goals who were present and exerting considerable influence on the scene. Liberal bankers and newspapermen indeed controlled the ideology of the first day's activities when printers and associated workers demonstrated, built barricades, and fought the police and army with weapons furnished by the bourgeois National Guard. Their slogans at first called for the restoration of the rights legally theirs under the Charter; later their demands escalated to call for the downfall of the Ministry, of Jesuit influence, and of the House of Bourbon itself. By the third and last day, a broader range of Parisians dominated the scene--children hurled paving stones and housewives reloaded guns--while a large group of youth, among them uniformed students from the École polytechnique, exerted notable leadership in routing the royal garrison. The tricolor was seen flying from the heights of Notre Dame, and cries hailed Bonaparte, while others, more numerous,

called for the establishment of a republic. It was fear of the power of this Paris mob and of its radical demands that caused the Liberals to meet in secret and to reassert their leadership to restore 'order'. These men chose the Orleanist Louis Philippe to lead a constitutional monarchy, which Lafayette introduced to the crowd as "the best of republics!"

Since political historians were not immediately concerned with the unruly crowd which heard these words with varying degrees of disbelief or scorn, that crowd was largely ignored for a century. Georges Weill's history of the republican movement in France, a study which highlighted the role of revolutionary youth, particularly students, in the republican ranks, was published only in 1928.[2] It has been mainly in the post-World-War-II era, however, that Marxist and economic historians have focussed on the class origins and interests of those active in the revolts of nineteenth-century France. Further, in the last several decades the study of social history has been revolutionized by the application of quantitative methods to the analysis of public and private records, and the use of techniques and insights garnered from associated disciplines such as economics, sociology, and psychology in the creation of "human science." The knowledge of class affiliation and group motivations thus derived has, in some cases, confirmed, in others, reversed or altered previous

assumptions. In addition, it has provided information previously unsought or not analyzed, which, when applied, can enrich more traditional historic accounts or interpretations. Much still needs to be done in this area. One approach, to be followed in this study of Charles-François Chevé, is to examine the lives of individuals in order to confirm the generalized data concerning adherents to revolutionary movements or components of revolutionary crowds.

While readers of the literary "historians" of the Restoration, Stendhal and Balzac, may search their novels almost in vain for a fictional model for the youthful rebel of 1830, they do find there the Julien Sorels and Lucien Chardons, whom Stendhal assures us were also republicans.[3] Yet these characters were notably absent from the barricades on the July Days. In fact, Sorel even cooperated with those who would preserve aristocratic and clerical domination, while Balzac's young men, like Lucien Chardon, who people the Restoration segments of his Human Comedy, seem more opportunists than activists committed to a great cause. Only in the half-drawn portrait of Michel Chrétien does Balzac depict a youth of principle and ideals, aware of society's ills and dedicated to the achievement of a just society. Too little is said of him, however, to explain his existence, to describe those elements of his background and development which distinguished him from the Sorels and

Chardons and which enabled him to stand free of either major political faction and be committed to social and economic, as well as political reform.

The question still stands: why, if they were equally convinced republicans, did the Sorels and Chardons, and the majority of French youth, not join in this conflict of ideologies in 1830? Was it that, like Lucien, they "admired intrigue and . . . knavery more than the courage and honorable conduct of those who advised him to accept combat instead of filching success, to leap into the ring instead of taking a job as . . . trumpeter in the band?"[4] And if that adequately describes their role, it does not yet explain its origin. What elements of family, place, and education interacted with their assessment of the political and socio-economic realities to produce a system of thought and a program of action which made them "trumpeters in the band," rather than leapers into the ring? Perhaps by examining these same elements with reference to Chevé, a real participant in the revolutionary crowd of July 1830, we can see more clearly the contrast in character and motivation between those those who would "leap into the ring" and those who remained "trumpeters in the band."

Charles-François Chevé, a self-proclaimed "child of the century,"[5] was seventeen years old in July 1830. In Paris, he fought alongside the students of the École polytechnique at various sites in the Latin Quarter and along the Left

Bank. Disappointed in the hope of achieving a republic in France, he soon joined the motley group of thousands of republicans, patriots, youthful adventurers, and aged veterans who volunteered to go and fight in the Belgian war for independence. A year later, he participated in a radical scheme to run guns to the Poles in their abortive struggle for freedom. And in 1833 he was arrested as a "section leader" of the Society for the Rights of Man, and accused of plotting to overthrow the July Monarchy. His written "Testament" reveals him as an idealist and a romantic, deeply committed to the vision of economic and social justice. This same commitment was to make him something of a bellwether of reform movements in France throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Converted to Catholicism by association with Philippe Buchez's group, he espoused the Christian Socialism of his mentor's school, rubbing shoulders there with the Liberal Catholic, Père Lacordaire, who found the first members of his restored Dominican Order, Chevé included, among Buchez's young disciples. Chevé left the Order within months only to become a married man and a lifelong member of another 'priesthood,' according to Saint-Simon, that of the press.

During his lifetime he would write fourteen books and edit and contribute to as many journals. His work on behalf of the Catholic Party in the 1840s protested against the Liberal government's policy of monopoly on education by the

secular University. During the revolution of 1848 he returned to Paris, edited his own Christian-Socialist newspapers, wrote a definitive statement of that ideology, and collaborated with other democratic-republicans on several journals of the noted P.-J.-B. Proudhon, whose influence became evident in Chevé's work at this time.

When press censorship under Napoleon III closed down the Leftist opposition press, Chevé migrated to an ecclesiastical publishing house where he managed to edit encyclopedias which reflected his 'social Catholic' convictions. With the advent of a moderate liberalization in the Second Empire in the mid-1860s, Chevé returned to the liberal Catholic press and authored several books. For his criticism of Louis Napoleon's foreign policy in the press he was exiled by the Emperor from Paris to Cherbourg in 1869. There he remained during the Franco-Prussian War. Shocked by the violence associated with the Commune, he supported Thier's efforts to restore order. Back in Paris, he continued as a journalist during the early days of the Third Republic, faithful always to a program of republicanism, economic reform, and social justice, and to the Christianity in which, for him, they were rooted. In 1875, this courageous spokesman for social Catholicism died at the age of sixty-two, having witnessed the fulfillment of many goals for which he had long worked, among them the republic, universal suffrage, and the right of workers to organize.

Thus, the portrait of a man who leaped into the ring, not once, but daily, over a period of many years, in the interest of progress, of social justice, of, in the words of a succession of his early heroes: "the republic of virtue," "the amelioration of the condition of the poorest and most unfortunate," "the reign of Christ on earth."[6] By examining the facts gleaned about Chevé's life from public records, and using information and insights contributed by the recent social histories concerning the cultural, educational, and psychological factors operative in young men of Chevé's generation, we hope to understand more completely the background and motivation of such a man. General studies will thus enlighten our portait of this individual, Chevé, and the study of this individual will provide life, substance, and reality to the group profile.

Further, in highlighting the programs and activities of the various groups and individuals with whom he collaborated, republicans, Liberal Catholics, Saint-Simonians, Atelier writers, Christian Socialists, the Catholic Party, democrats, Raspail, Buchez, Lacordaire, Proudhon, to name some, we get a clearer picture of each of these components of the Left, as well as of the complex patterns of interaction between them which is missing in most studies of the period.

Isaiah Berlin is correct in arguing that the Romantic movement ushered into Europe in the nineteenth century a

radical change in the character of Western thought such as had not ever before been experienced, one in which truth and meaning were to be created by each individual or group, on an artistic model, rather than their being discovered, "scientifically" as it were, as objective and universally true. In the creative chaos of modernity which this heralded, all subsequent history has been the unveiling of that canvass, whereupon such radically different systems as Socialism and Fascism, Liberty and Tyranny, International Brotherhood and Social Darwinism lie with all their unresolved contradiction painted in flaming color.[7] This was the seed time of socialist programs, of religious and humanitarian sentiment, and groups mixed and mingled, exchanging members and ideas with great fluidity, ideas which would later be judged as inflexibly held by one group in distinction from another. Study of this amorphous political scene, as well as the rich social and intellectual life of France in the nineteenth century can, therefore, enrich our knowledge of the past and inform our understanding of twentieth-century versions of Romanticism's continuing legacy.

In an article discussing the background of Europe's economic unity to be achieved by 1992, and the possibility of eventual European Federation, Harvard scholar Stanley Hoffmann recently argued that the major personalities active in creating the successive phases of European unity in the

post World-War-II era have been statesmen, particularly among the French, who have been strongly influenced by nineteenth-century Christian Socialist thought.[8] Thus, although Chevé founded no lasting school or political movement, the legacy of his thought and that of other Christian Socialists of the previous century remains to be developed in our own times and utilized in the creation of a cooperative, just, and prosperous future for Europe, such as they dreamed of, in principle, more than a century ago.

## NOTES

[1]Honoré de Balzac, Lost Illusions (New York, 1971).

[2]Georges Weill, Histoire du parti républicain en France: 1814-1870 (Paris, 1928).

[3]Fernand Rudé, Stendhal et la pensée sociale de son temps (Paris, 1967), p. 191.

[4]Balzac, Lost Illusions, p. 511.

[5]Phrase used by Alfred de Musset in his Confessions of a Child of the Century, as quoted in Georges Praedalié, Balzac Historien: La Société de la Restauration (Paris, 1955), p. 12. See Chapter Three, note 2, for a variation used by Chevé.

[6]Phrases used by Robespierre and Saint-Just, Saint-Simon, Buchez and the Christian Socialists, as well as by the Liberal Catholics.

[7]Taken from an unpublished speech, entitled "Romanticism: Politics and Ethics," given as part of the Keller Lectures series at the University of Hartford in 1962-3.

[8]Stanley Hoffmann, "The European Community and 1992," Foreign Affairs 68, 4 (Fall 1989): 31.

# CHAPTER ONE

## PARISIAN REPUBLICAN YOUTH, 1813-1833

Charles-François Chevé was born in Paris on April 30, 1813, into a family of wine merchants whose roots in that trade and place can be easily traced back to a least the middle of the previous century.[1] Wine merchants in Paris in the eighteenth century were among the most powerful and well-organized of the merchant groups. At first an independent communauté, they had organized as a confraternité in 1691 under the patronage of Saint Nicholas, and in 1776, were incorporated by royal decree into the prestigious Six Corps of Merchants, the so-called "commercial aristocracy of Paris."[2] A tightly-knit group, as studies show to be typical of the various craft and commercial trades in Paris in that period, they tended to cluster in the quartier near the Left Bank, Quai Saint Bernard, where the Halle aux Vins, or wine warehouse, had been situated since the mid-seventeenth century.[3] Chevé's paternal grandparents, Louis-Antoine and Jeanne-Louise des Abbayes, made their home on the outskirts of that crowded district, near the Observatory, at #1, rue des Bourguignons; they worshipped at the nearby historic church of Saint

Hippolyte, near the Gobelins factory; and their confraternity's social and religious activities were centered in the quartier Saint Marcel, at the Church of Saint Jacques-de-l'Hôpital.[4] Interactions between members of the merchant confraternity were not limited to commercial transactions. Whole families were included in the sense of community. As Daumard shows in her study of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, families of confraternity members worked, socialized, and worshipped together, or with those of equal stature in other merchant groups.[5] Vital records from the Chevé family confirm this fact. Charles-François' aunt, Louise-Jeanne, married wine merchant Sébastien Harand, and the godparents at family baptisms, witnesses at weddings, and consolers at funerals, were invariably fellow confraternity members or merchants from associated guilds.[6]

Such a heritage clearly furnished its beneficiaries a strong personal sense of rootedness in place: the city of Paris, the neighborhood or quartier; and in a social structure: the pre-industrial grouping of merchants and artisans, and a communal society, or confraternité of extended family and close associates which embraced all aspects of life and death. The confraternity, like a large extended family, supported its poorer members in times of economic hardship, sharing the joys and sorrows encompassed by birth and death. Besides providing strong interpersonal

security, the tradition of the merchant guilds as corporate realities was one with a proud history of independence and freedom from autocratic power. For centuries, the merchants and craftsmen had successfully regulated their own economic affairs and exerted considerable political and social pressure as well. Often this ran counter to the vested interests of the nobility and the Church hierarchy. Strong anti-aristocratic and anti-clerical attitudes resulted from this struggle. Research shows that by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the striking contrast evident between the official Church teaching against usury and in favor of poverty and humility on the one hand, and the reality of the vast wealth of the Church and its hierarchy on the other, had served to alienate many Christians of every class. This was particularly true of merchants and craftsmen, industrial entrepreneurs and bankers who were driven by a desire for profit, and gave rise to cries of hypocrisy against the Church.[7] Those guild members who remained devout churchgoers, like Chevé's grandparents, tried to compensate for their pursuit of profit and their increased affluence by following the clergy's admonitions to social concern, particularly in the form of almsgiving.[8] Others, Deists, those indifferent to religion, or those bitterly atheistic, adopted the ideas of the philosophes, often blaming Christianity for the evils committed throughout history in its name, and especially,

progress of science and the pursuit of truth. Chevé's parents, Charles-Antoine and Marie-Catherine Billard, were evidently affected by this "dechristianized" climate, since their son later said that he was raised "apart from all religious belief," having "never heard the voice of a priest or a Catholic until manhood."[9]

It must not be thought that this increasingly sharp hostility toward the institutions of aristocratic and clerical privilege, which was part of the "dechristianization" process, was accompanied by a rejection of the moral code. Rather, the virtues of thrift, sobriety, prudence, and diligence whether based on Church teaching, the Scriptures, natural law, or simply expedience, became almost legendary characteristics of the middle and lower bourgeoisie. These virtues related to a preference for simplicity, directness, and concern with essentials which affected styles in literature, dress, and manners of the French bourgeoisie prior to the Great Revolution. More deeply, this spirit corresponded to the aspirations for reform and rational efficiency which permeated the writings of the philosophes and the attitude of the urban public prior to 1789. Once the revolution was underway, it was these same urban elements which took action in Paris in 1789, and again in 1793, and 1795, to defend the government of the People from coercion by royalty, the mob, or any other oppressor, foreign or domestic. The populous Quartier

Saint-Marcel was a notable hotbed of revolution. This is not to imply, however, that most of the artisans and merchants of Paris were republicans; not at all. Rather, the point is that historically these groups had developed much of their corporate identity in opposition to conservative forces. For them, the revolutionary spirit was not a recent development, a conversion of the mind, but rather the product of the experience and tradition of generations. And it was in the representatives of this group, the most numerous portion of the crowd in the Revolution of 1830, that the core of the French revolutionary tradition lay.[10] These were the type of men who had before, and would again, exhibit the "courage and honorable conduct" to "leap into the ring" when conservative repression threatened, in France or outside. This was the tradition of family, of place, and of class which stood behind Charles-François Chevé as he fought the police and armed garrisons in his own neighborhood on the 28th and 29th of July 1830.

The contrast between this legacy and the actions of Chevé, and what is known of the corresponding heritage of the Sorels and Chardons is striking. Both of these latter, and indeed their creators, Stendhal and Balzac, were born in the provinces. Sorel's father was a peasant who used the freedom from feudal obligations won by the Great Revolution to become an <u>entrepreneur</u> known for his hard-hearted avarice

and cunning. Chardon's impoverished widow-mother, though of noble background, supported her children by midwifery, and perpetuated her husband's impracticality by encouraging Lucien's vain and romantic nature. Both Sorel and Chardon were inspired by reading Rousseau to believe themselves too intelligent and sensitive for the life of drudgery and discomfort which were the lot of their provincial forebears. Rather, they believed it possible, after the model of their hero, Napoleon, to leap, by dint of will and wit, not into the ring of controversy, but into the association with the rich and powerful, where, they believed, lay access to wealth and fame. It was a quest born of the spirit of the time, but motivated by a desire for their personal gain, not for the good of society. It demanded that they turn their backs upon their families, their place of birth, even on the institutions and beliefs which had previously defined them, but which now seemed to restrict their freedom. Virtually déclassés and déracinés, cut adrift from their psychological and social roots, they tried to adapt to an new culture, to the manners and opinions of their patrons. It was a tremendous task, egotistical, elitist, individualistic, and demanding. Survival was the sole mandate, conquest the goal; few made it, as the authors of these novels indicate. Only rare ties of love or loyalty to the past could remain since the very souls of these youths were for hire. No room for thought about or commitment to an ideal, or for working

toward the realization of an improved societal order was possible. The only real concern of a Sorel or Chardon was to assess his environment correctly so that when a shift came, he would be prepared to jump once more to the winning side. While Stendhal might well have been correct in implying that the Julien Sorels had read romantic works and even admired republican goals, there was no possibility that they would act to achieve them, since powerful patrons were to be found, not among the republicans, but among the wealthy in either the Conservative or the Liberal camps.

By contrast, it is clear that Chevé did not reject his past, but accepted his inherited sense of class and place, with its tradition of social awareness and community concern. Given such a firm grounding, and provided with proper education and stimulation, a person might also prove flexible enough to think new thoughts, and to devise new programs for the betterment of society. And if defending such ideals required standing up to the power structure, even if one had to stand virtually alone, that too would be possible for one who inherited the self reliance typical of one of Chevé's background.

It is important, of course, in addition to a study of Chevé's heritage in family, class, and place, to examine equally closely conditions surrounding his upbringing, in search of other influences upon the development of his character and ideas. Two considerations about his home and

family life come to our attention. One of these concerns the relative comfort and prosperity of his family, as against those of Chardon and Sorel. The second is the fact that he, like Chardon and many of his generation, grew up in a predominantly female household. Both of these are closely related to the question of his education and socialization, and it is principally in that light that they will be considered here.

When Charles' grandfather, Louis-Antoine Chevé, died in 1781, he was a respected and prosperous wholesale wine merchant. While no accurate record of his wealth remains, he and his wife owned their own home, and he was a prominent deacon, or distributor of alms, in his parish. In 1814, at the death of the grandmother, Louise-Jeanne des Abbayes, ownership of the family home was divided between Chevé's father, Charles-Antoine, on the one hand, and the six Harand children left by his deceased aunt Jeanne-Louise, on the other.[11] Charles-Antoine seemed as prosperously engaged in the wholesale wine business as his father had been, from wholesale warehouses then operating out of the Right Bank Quai de Bercy. In fact, the family seemed well enough established that it would be possible to realize the dream of most merchants of the time. That dream, reported by Balzac and Flaubert, and confirmed by modern scholars, included accumulating wealth, educating one's sons in the professions, and investing in property in the hope of one

day retiring from business and living off investments and non-earned income.[12] By the time young Charles-François was seven years old, the program for his education in a profession was probably set. It is not clear whether his father's death in December 1820 caused any alteration in this plan.

The untimely death of Chevé's father at the age of fifty-two, however, left young Charles to grow up in a household dominated by his mother. That woman, Marie-Catherine Billard before marriage, was forty-eight at the time of her husband's death.[13] Born at Orleans, we may surmise that she was equally of bourgeois origins, though that has not been documented. Studies of trends in religious affiliation show that there was a large number of unbelievers in the Loire valley at the time of her birth, and this fact, perhaps explains why young Charles, by his own previously quoted account, was brought up without any exposure to religious doctrine or practice.[14] On the other hand, those characteristics traditionally considered feminine--sensitivity, tenderness, concern for the afflicted, idealism, and even spiritual and mystical tendencies--which were evident in his character throughout Chevé's lifetime, might be considered to be the fruit of her feminine influence. Fatherless, Chevé would, perhaps, in the future, feel freer to pursue a career different from that pursued, or designed, by his father and grandfather.

Like others of his generation, many of whose fathers had been killed in the Napoleonic wars, and who had consequently also grown up in female-dominated homes, Chevé then moved into the very masculine atmosphere of the school, which undoubtedly also exerted a strong influence on his character and thought. Although a national system of secondary and higher education had been created by Napoleon, primary education was still the responsibility of the communes. If Chevé entered the Parisian public school system at the customary age of four, he encountered there a program adopted from the English, in which children progressed at their own speed, the brighter ones aiding the slower learners. The program was designed to foster independence and self-discipline in pupils while encouraging cooperation and mutual support.[15] It seems rather far-fetched to assert, as some critics do, that this system of mutuelles "favored the republican political spirit by the democracy of its method."[16] Neither can it be asserted with certainty that the mutuelles' cooperative character would have any influence on Chevé's sense of social responsibility, or the support he later gave to the idea of worker associations, both as a republican and as a socialist, although it may, indeed, have been the case, especially since the values taught in school reinforced those, already presented, typical of his family and class.

A factor which was also extremely important to the development of young scholars of this period was that the conduct of their education became a kind of political football kicked about by Royalists and Liberals in the Chambers of the legislature. Newspapers also reported street battles between the mutuellistes, who received no moral or religious formation at school, and the pupils of Church schools.[17] By 1824, all primary education was placed under Church control, but by that time Chevé had progressed beyond the elementary level, and would soon transfer into the more exclusive training grounds for the sons of the bourgeoisie from all over France. These were the prestigious collèges and lycées, mainly clustered in the Quartier Saint-Jacques near Chevé's home, the secondary schools where boys prepared for entrance into the grandes écoles of medicine and law, the École Polytechnique for science, mathematics, engineering, and the École Normale for education in the liberal arts. Here again, political factionalism affected the course of studies which the students pursued. Conservatives dictated that the study of science, mathematics, and modern languages be neglected in favor of the traditional curriculum of classical languages, philosophy, and letters, despite the students' aspirations to become doctors and scientists, bankers, economists, and engineers. A knowledge of modern history was deemed by conservatives to be conducive to rebellion, so this, too,

was suppressed. Government censorship of lectures, and the supervision and periodic suspension of faculty and administrators made folk-heroes and martyrs of popular teachers. All of these government measures to suppress the revolutionary spirit backfired, serving only to confirm in young Chevé and his generation the image of aristocrats and Churchmen as stupid, venal, and repressive.

Even the classical curriculum, however, could lend itself to liberal interpretation by "enlightened" professors. In their hands, ancient Greece and Rome provided models of intellectual freedom and of political and social justice, just as they had for the generations of the "enlightened" in the previous century. The Roman Republic could illustrate the wisdom of a natural morality, in contrast to the coercive character of organized religion supported, as they saw it, by superstition and ignorance. Perhaps this was why Chevé later recalled that he and his classmates "left college with the smile of incredulity on our lips," convinced that ". . . ignorance alone was the sustenance of Catholicism."[18] In addition, elimination of the study of modern history also backfired, since these young students were left to infer that the First French Republic had, in practice as well as in theory, faithfully mirrored the virtues of its Roman prototype.

The impact of this teaching in deepening a bourgeois student's antipathy for the Royalist cause, and further, in

opening him to view the republic as an ideal, differed according to the student's receptivity to that influence. For those who were heirs of the merchant and artisanal traditions, like Chevé, this outlook formed part of their psychological and political heritage. Many had families touched by various phases of the Great Revolution, enough to constitute a sort of family revolutionary tradition. All, moreover, were adolescents at the "crossroads" in their own lives, moving out from their families to find and relate to significant others, teachers, or peers, whose values they often adopted, even in conscious rebellion against those of their parents, or the power structure. Many also represented an upward mobility in their family's status, and an openness in society as a whole which would enable them to move away from business and commercial activities and into the professions. As such, they were looking for models and values more appropriate to their new status than those found within their immediate families or class. As aspiring intellectuals, they could find such models among their professors at their secondary schools, and among the students and associates of the schools of higher education which shared proximity to them in the Latin Quarter.

And indeed, political education especially in the early 1820s was not limited to the schools, but took place also in the streets, cafes, and halls of the entire Latin Quarter. That was where, according to one contemporary observer, "the

fever of the country is measured; where all the forces of the time converge."[19] In the repressive atmosphere of the Bourbon Restoration from 1824 on, however, these political discussions had to be held in secret. Previously, groups and study clubs, disguised by names like "Medicine and Philosophy," "The Friends of Truth," and the "Devilishly Philosophical Society," to name a few, had advertised and held their meetings openly. In 1821, these activities had culminated in the founding by Philippe Buchez, medical student, and Saint-Armand Bazard, employé and republican agitator, of the French Carbonari, or Charbonnerie, judged the only significant organized republican opposition during the Restoration. In one year some 8,000 members were inscribed, among them such later notables as François-Vincent Raspail, itinerant scholar, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Dupont de l'Eure, who made up the honorary ruling body, or Vente suprême of the organization. The ranks had swelled with non-commissioned officers, many of them Bonapartists. In 1822, the Vente centrale, the real authority under the control of Buchez and Bazard, had called for a coup, which was aborted when the government was forewarned. As a result, Buchez had been imprisoned for months, and the Left opposition was subjected to repression. A Declaration of Rights issued by the Lodge of the Friends of Truth before its dissolution illustrates the deep moral commitment to the cause of political and social justice made

by these early republican groups.[20]

With republican clubs and activities suppressed by the mid-twenties, their members resumed their lives, going in a variety of political and intellectual directions. By 1826, Bazard and Buchez, the latter now a physician, while still republicans, had associated themselves with the only other tightly-knit, progressive-reform group distinguishable in Parisian intellectual circles at the time--the followers of Saint-Simon. Disciples of the recently-deceased writer and original thinker, Comte Henri de Saint-Simon, they met to discuss and disseminate his ideas for social harmony and progress through advances in science and industry. At first his ideas were of interest mainly to scientists, such as Buchez, and to engineers. Industrialists and merchants, proponents of liberal economics, however, bridled at his notion that public regulation of the economy was necessary to reorient politics and to insure a just and harmonious social order. His social focus conflicted with their concentration on individual rights, guaranteed by a constitution, and on their program of laissez-faire economics, espoused by the Liberals. In 1825, on his deathbed as in his last book, The New Christianity, this "Father of Socialism" had left his followers a challenge: to work to ameliorate, as quickly as possible, the lot of the poorest and most numerous in society.

His disciples' efforts to understand the broad scope of his ideas and to respond to that challenge will be discussed further in the following chapter. The very existence of this group in Paris in 1826, however, began the process of transformation which would turn the republicans of 1830 into the socialists of the 1840s. Even in the 1820s the critique of Liberal individualism, and the call for the social justice explicit in Saint-Simon's writings exerted an influence on the young men of the schools, young men of Chevé's age and older. By capitalizing on a feeling for the People, it focussed their attention on political and social goals more inclusive than those advocated by the Liberals. Further, it discredited as crass the quest for business expansion and material gain for the powerful entrepreneurs, who exploited and disregarded labor in their pursuit of profits. Since those, like Chevé, whose fathers were dead, experienced no close tie of loyalty to this ethic, they could call for an economic program radically different from that of the Liberals. These young men could dream of a more noble role as an intellectual or artist, leading the People to the realization of justice and virtue. While probably few schoolboys of Chevé's age read the Saint-Simonian journal, Le Producteur, or attended their weekly courses of instruction, many were sensitive to the shift in the zeitgeist, a turning away from bourgeois-Liberal goals, and toward the jacobin or egalitarian ideals which Saint-Simon's

later writing heralded.

What is more, the very streets through which the students passed on their way to classes furnished living proof of the poverty and misery of the lower classes, for Paris was not socially segregated then as it is today. On the same narrow, dirty streets, and, often in the same houses, lived nobles and bourgeois, shopkeepers and manual laborers. The city was growing as a result of a prosperous economy, but it was clear that such prosperity did not benefit all. Everywhere riches and poverty, culture and degradation, idle leisure and back-breaking toil coexisted. The need for economic reform was equally evident everywhere. Writers inspired by romantic ideals encouraged action to achieve this reform, for they wrote of affirming one's being in action. But political change to end autocracy seemed the more immediate issue; the questions "what?" and "how?" were asked first; later came the question, "when?"

Liberal victory in the elections of 1827 caused joyous demonstrations in Paris by all partisans of reform. Republican groups and other dissidents moved into the open, gaining members and spreading their ideas. Government censorship eased, and by 1828, books defending the First French Republic and the leaders of the Convention began to appear. Their authors probed the motives and details of Jacobin programs, and presented the Thermidorians as detestable.[21] Songs celebrating the victories of the

Republic's armies were sung, and in 1829 some democratic newspapers and pamphlets began to circulate. While not openly subversive of the elitist government, they wrote of the Republic in the most idealistic and glowing terms. One, of these, the Tribune des départements wrote of the need to develop an aware citizenry, educated in the disciplines of classicism, before France would be ripe for a republic. Another, a student sheet called, Jeune France, carried an editorial in June 1829, defending republicanism as

> "that thirst for equality and justice, . . . that disdain universally proven for the distinctions which do not come from personal merit, . . . that need for control of all the acts of power, finally . . . that consciousness of the dignity of man and of the citizen which makes it resist the arbitrary and to be indignant at the idea of despotism."[22]

The Liberals had for a long time planned legal action against possible autocratic repression of these views. On July 27, 1830, in response to Charles X's July Ordinances shutting down opposition newspapers, journalists and printers demonstrated near their workplaces on the Right Bank. Armed forces were assembled to break up the demonstrations, shots were fired, and the revolution of the "Three Glorious Days" had begun. Students and workers rushed to the scenes of the fighting, barricades were erected blocking the advance of the army, cries that demanded the rights guaranteed in the Charter of 1814 grew more radical, demanding the fall of the ministry, and, then, of the dynasty itself.

It was at this moment that Chevé, aged seventeen, fought alongside the uniformed students of the École Polytechnique at various sites along the Left Bank. At his trial in 1833, his defense attorney recalled Chevé's actions during those days, at sites which include the major battles in that area. On the 28th, he was at the rue Oursine, at the gunpowder factory near the Austerlitz Bridge, at the Armory (Caserne) of Sainte Geneviève, and on the following day at the desperate and vain struggle at the Armory of rue Babylone.[23] His involvement with students from the École Polytechnique is of interest, both in relation to the events of 1830-33, and in his later Saint-Simonian association. There is no documentary proof that Chevé ever attended the Polytechnique or received any degree beyond the baccalauréat, yet the first occupation mentioned in Chevé's records was that of accountant or bookkeeper, and the second mentioned was banker.[24] From this it might be assumed that he had some mathematical ability and training, and the best school in France for mathematical studies was the École Polytechnique. Even if Chevé was not himself a student there at the time of the July revolt, it is plausible to assume that he at least knew some of those who were, which explains his participation in every battle site where students of the École Polytechnique were involved. It is known that many students of the Polytechnique were convinced republicans. Accounts tell that some sixty of them, in

uniform, mingled with other combatants after the school was dismissed by order of the King, on July 28th. They acted as if by plan, organizing columns and leading them on raids to capture arms at various police stations and army barracks in or near the Latin Quarter. This, then, was the purpose of the raids in which Chevé participated that day. The following day they regrouped, and assisted by Raspail's Fourth Battery of the National Guard, advanced to the Armory on rue Babylone. Many were injured, and one student was killed in this battle, which immortalized the polytechniciens as brave fighters for the republic. In recognition, the cadets of the American West Point Academy sent their official commendation to the École Polytechnique for this bravery in the cause of the republic.[25] Chevé was to be associated with other polytechniciens, and graduates of the École in various republican causes of the early 1830s. Again, quite a number of the school's graduates were attracted to the Saint-Simonians, where Chevé would also encounter them once more.

Meanwhile, on July 30th, immediately after Lafayette's announcement of the choice of Louis-Philippe as constitutional monarch upon the abdication of Charles X, the young Left-wing republicans who had contributed so much to the downfall of the Bourbons reacted to this as to a stab in the back, seeing it as further proof of the self-interested, devious practices of the Liberal politicians. As early as

the 31st, proclamations against the new Orleanist monarchy, established without the consent of the people, lined walls and billboards in Paris. They were signed by groups who revived the names, the "Lodge of the Friends of Truth" and the "Society of the Friends of the People" from the previous decade. These groups and another called "God Helps Those Who Help Themselves" were led by such ardent republicans as Raspail, Godfrey Cavaignac, Ulysse Trélat, Louis Blanqui, and Philippe Buchez. Most members of these groups were younger than the leaders, students or recent graduates of Left-Bank schools, disgusted with the proclamation of the Liberal Monarchy and ready to take action against it.

Even if Charles-François Chevé had not belonged to any republican societies prior to the July Days, his action in the revolution, the attraction of the personalities and the ideas he encountered there, and his reaction against the betrayal of the republican masses by the Liberal politicians, all would have spurred his continued commitment to the republican cause after July. With him in the republican ranks were undoubtedly young men who loved violence, and others who saw in it a means of rebelling against their liberal fathers, or the stern discipline of the schools. But, for the most part, observers and participants considered the youths of 1830 to be motivated by love of liberty, the nation, and of justice. Even the world-weary Balzac saw them as "young persons of pure

manners, like those raised in some bourgeois families."[26] One of the participants later described himself and his fellows as: "Young, a little ascetic, enthusiasts of the men of Marathon and of Argonne, in whom the Poverty of Aristophanes had struck an immortal medal . . . It seemed to us that the temporal was not everything, that it meant more to be free than happy, that sensual pleasure is not the sovereign law of our kind."[27] These idealists were moved by romantic zeal, such as Chevé's 1833 "Testament" later evidenced, to lead mankind to a just society. For them, the realization of a republic of virtue became a crusade, a sacred cause, a heavenly mission. The task of reconstructing society, they felt, had been entrusted to them; they believed in the republic as the form of government whereby justice would triumph and permeate society. They idolized its heroes and martyrs; they worshipped it in song and revolutionary ritual. They were the "saved" and the "saviours" of France, leading it out of the bondage of superstitution and error of the past, into the glorious new day of justice and equality. As one young participant, whose case was similar to Chevé's, expressed it, "It is necessary for us who do not have any religious faith, that our tenderness of soul be expended to the profit of humanity; that must be our religion."[28]

In the weeks which followed the accession of Louis-Philippe to the throne, these republicans began to debate

within their various groups and to formulate specific goals and concrete programs for the immediate future. Attention was soon diverted, however, from the Parisian scene to Brussels where a revolt broke out in August against the Netherlands' King, William I, whose rule had been imposed on the Belgians by the conservatives at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Sympathy for the Belgians was strong in France, due to ties of language, religion, culture, and even shared government as recently as Napoleon's Empire little more than fifteen years before. Among republicans these sentiments were even stronger. As admirers of the men of the Convention, most young republicans saw the recent overthrow of the Bourbons as a signal for revolutionary armies to sweep once again through Europe and topple the oppressive aristocratic regimes which had been restored by the conservatives at Vienna to suppress liberalism and nationalism. Stimulated by Belgian students and exiles in Paris, some four or five thousand French youth volunteered for service in Wallonia within a few weeks. Some set off dreaming of reannexing those provinces to France, a dream they found not shared by Belgian nationalists.[29] Chevé was probably among these first recruits who straggled into Brussels in late September, early October. It is not clear whether he went by himself, or was sponsored by an expatriate group, such as the Comité belge de Paris or the republican Society of the Friends of the People, a more

likely possibility.[30] The record cites that he participated in the siege of Antwerp in the Fall of 1830, and was decorated on the field for bravery.[31]

Shortly after the battle of Antwerp a cease-fire was proclaimed. In the lull which ensued it is estimated that the volunteers contributed more to the general confusion and disorder than to the aid of the Belgian cause, then under negotiation in London. Many of the volunteers returned to France in early Spring, 1831, bored with their idleness, wary of the Belgian effort to regularize them, and anxious to be off to new battlegrounds. Chevé remained at least a month or two longer, though no major battles were fought in that period.[32] Meanwhile, the French and Belgian revolts had sparked others, elsewhere in Europe, among them an uprising in Warsaw, which captured the imagination of many. The cause of Polish national liberation drew Chevé's involvement next, creating an interest which was to last his entire life.

An insurrection in Poland, led by Polish army cadets, broke out against the Tsar in November, 1830. By January, 1831, the Poles, in full revolt, were in desperate need of outside assistance against the far-superior Russian forces. Official delegates were sent to the governments in Paris, London, Vienna, and Berlin, urging diplomatic and material aid for the Polish cause. Meanwhile, Polish exiles and expatriates were approaching sympathetic groups within these

countries for assistance. Some volunteers and arms came directly from those assembled and idle in Belgium. But governments refrained from official action; Prussia and Austria opposed the liberalization, and England was too preoccupied with internal unrest and the Belgian situation to offer aid. As for France, Louis-Philippe quickly made known his sympathy for the Polish cause but realized that any unilateral French action would prove suicidal in the face of the hostility of the three Eastern absolute monarchs.

More expatriate Poles were converging on Paris in the meantime to stir up the support and involvement of French radicals in their cause. Lafayette, President of the Vente suprême, the honorary board of control of the Charbonnerie, and known to have secret connections among Polish Army officers, made public speeches urging official aid to the "France of the North."[33] By late Spring when the London Conference proposed a solution to the Belgian situation, the Poles urged the Belgian government to accept the conditions so that England and France would be free to devote themselves to the Polish cause. This was the expectant atmosphere which prevailed at the time when Chevé returned to Paris from Belgium. It heightened after the accession of the new Belgian king, Leopold I, to the throne in July. The French public now demanded that their government provide money, arms, and diplomatic action to defend Warsaw from the

Russian siege.[34] Rioting in the streets and the threat of revolt in the Chamber frightened Louis-Philippe and his ministers.

In late July, rumors in the press and in diplomatic and government circles of a joint British-French naval expedition to be sent to the Baltic with arms and ammunition aroused speculation that the French government had conceded to the "party of movement."[35] Fighting broke out again in Belgium in August, however, and the prospect of any British involvement in a joint venture quickly faded. Nevertheless, later that month word of an unofficial expedition to the Baltic, then preparing to depart from Le Havre, circulated among Polish exiles and French radicals.[36] It was this voyage, financed by various republican groups with the support of Lafayette, and led by Joachim de Kersausie, Breton nobleman, Army officer, member of the Charbonnerie, and combatant of July 1830, which Charles-François Chevé joined. The record of the trip is a sketchy one, indicating only that the Russians, informed about it by spies in Paris, forced the vessel into a Baltic port. The cargo, however, had been totally destroyed and dumped prior to capture to prevent the Russians from benefitting from it. The record stated that it was Chevé who volunteered to put fire to the powder while the rest of the crew manned the sails.[37] With all the zeal and energy of his eighteen years, Chevé responded to the challenge of the moment with courage, and

dramatic flair.

The impact of Chevé's involvement in these two national causes was to influence his entire life, as previously stated. For the third time in two years, and twice on the side of Catholic nationals, he had fought among French republicans in the interest of liberty. His involvement in Belgium acquainted him with a liberal Catholicism which opened his eyes to the possiblity of a religious tradition compatible with the revolutionary desires of his time. The Baltic expedition put him into contact with Raspail who, after 1832, was one of the principal leaders of the Society of the Friends of the People and, with Kersausie, a flamboyant radical. It inflamed him with zeal for the cause of Polish liberty held captive by a regressive and absolutist Tsar. This interest would be reflected in many of his writings, most notably in his two-volume study of the Polish nation, undertaken in the 1860s, when the possibliity of realizing freedom for Poland again appeared.[38] More immediately, it also linked him with the Polish émigrés in Paris, and, through them, with a movement particularly associated with the cause of Polish liberty, namely that group of Saint-Simonians surrounding Philippe Buchez and his so-called neo-Catholic school. Moreover, Chevé's journeys to Belgium and Poland enlarged his vision to include all of Europe in his plan to extend French revolutionary principles of equality and fraternity to all. This breadth would be

evident later in his writing on foreign affairs, and in his program for European unity. In the short run, however, his focus narrowed to concentrate on the French political and social scene upon his return to Paris in late 1831.

Something akin to a state of war existed between the government and republican groups in France on his return. The truce which had followed the July Days was shattered in Spring 1831, when the government accused the republicans of responsibility for a variety of disorders in Paris. In response, twelve hundred republicans, veterans of the barricades of 1830, refused in May to accept medals commemorating their action, because the medals were inscribed: "Given by the King." Périer's ministry responded by attacking republican groups and newspapers, and the latter retaliated with threats of violence against the King and his ministers. The Society of the Friends of the People, the most radically jacobin of the republican groups, came under special fire from Périer.[39] Meanwhile, the Society's newly-elected President, Raspail, disavowed violence and purged the organization to remove police spies. He also mingled moderates with extremists, and urged all members to devote their attention to doctrine, and to propagate it especially among the workers and menu peuple. Under his direction, adult courses were set up in the 'popular quarters' of Paris, and each member 'adopted' five or six poor families in order to oversee their welfare. In

this way a great many workers were attracted to the republican cause, and the Society gained power vis-à-vis the government without resorting to conspiracy.[40] Its leaders, Raspail, Trélat, Blanqui, and others, were, nevertheless, arrested on that charge many times. Their political trials were used by the defendants as arenas for proclaiming the justice of the republican cause and condemning government policies. Juries repeatedly acquitted the accused, as in the celebrated Trial of the Fifteen in January 1832. Despite the acquittal, however, Raspail remained in jail after that date for contempt of court. The Society's internal organization suffered from lack of discipline in the absence of its leaders.

This was one of the reasons that violence flared up in the summer of 1832, following a cholera epidemic which swept through Paris. Republicans were not the only ones involved in the violent actions; Bonapartists and legitimists, along with Saint-Simonians, criticized the Liberal Government's policies which failed to provide housing, food, or health care for the poor who were hardest hit by the disaster. While the government could have capitalized on the aversion which the majority felt at the violence of these 'radicals,' it chose instead to respond with an even greater violence which alienated those previously neutral. This was especially the case in the Fall of 1832, when an attempt was made on the life of Louis-Philippe by an unknown assailant.

The press and republican groups were again harassed, and their leaders indicted for violating Article 291 of the Penal Code which forbade associations of more than twenty persons. Though they repeatedly won their courtroom battles, the Society of the Friends of the People was clearly losing the war.

By the end of 1832 in fact, the Society of the Friends of the People dissolved and its members merged into the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen which had existed in its shadow since 1830. A basic difference between the two organizations was that the Society of the Rights of Man had branches all over the country, while the Friends had been concentrated in Paris. To avoid violating Article 291, the Rights of Man was organized into sections of ten to twenty members who knew and lived near each other. Each section had a chief, a sub-head, and three quinturions, and met in two-hour sessions with a prescribed agenda dictated by the central leadership. In 1833, in response to government oppression, the Society of the Rights of Man flourished, attracting not only some six hundred former Friends of the People but also other outstanding men of letters and of science not previously committed to a republican organization. As early as February, 1833, its membership numbered four thousand. While its leaders were men of stature like Cavaignac and d'Argenson, and the noble idealist Kersausie, the majority of its members were

students and young professionals. Chevé was among these, and by July he had become a section chief. Some workers had also been recruited, and a number of foreign exiles in Paris were also closely linked with the Society, although the "notables" among them remained closer to Lafayette, and with him deplored the Société's increased jacobin tendencies.[41]

Raspail's earlier admonition to the Friends of the People to concentrate on doctrine had been greatly aided by the publication, in the early 1830s, of the writings of Robespierre and those of Saint-Just, his theoretician and associate.[42] These works were widely read in republican circles, as Chevé's later writing will show. They served to clarify and detail the extent to which the leaders of the Convention of 1793 had been pressured by the Parisian menu peuple to extend their program of political and social liberty and equality to include questions of economic justice. Their development over time showed the Jacobins' evolving view that the achievement of political democracy should serve only as a first step in the realization of social and economic equality, i.e., the total renovation of society along the lines of natural justice. These later jacobin developments seemed to contradict some earlier-stated principles of individual rights and opened their program to the possibility of a People's dictatorship and state socialism. These developments also radically distinguished later Jacobins from their liberal opponents

who wanted only limited constitutional government, which would destroy the privileges of the old ruling classes, but essentially allow the economic and social realms to regulate themselves free of government interference.

The jacobin-socialism of the First Republic had resurfaced in 1830, when republicans and sans-culottes met on the barricades during the July Revolution. Together they had opposed the conservatives, and together they scorned the liberals' bourgeois elitism and fear of the People. In the months which had followed, continued collaboration between intellectuals and workers under the auspices of the Société des Amis du Peuple and especially the Société des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen led to further evolution of the republican programs to meet the real needs of the Parisian worker under the July Monarchy.

This alliance of jacobin and sans-culottes traditions within the republican movement was given further theoretical momentum by the publication of Buonarroti's work on Babeuf's Conspiracy of the Equals, which came out in the late 1820s. Undoubtedly, republican theory was also to be modified in other directions in the 1830s by adherents from such movements as Lamennais' Liberal Catholicism and Buchez's Saint-Simonian school. While these influences will be discussed at length in the next chapter, it is important to note here that republican theory as it evolved from 1830 to 1833 was a kind of republican socialism, which defies the

classic view of republicanism as a middle-class movement, advocating only political goals and dedicated to the protection of property interests. Indeed, by the end of 1832, the leaders of the Amis du Peuple were advocating worker association as a solution to capitalist exploitation, and quoting Saint-Simon, Philippe Buchez, and Charles Fourier in so doing.[43] While they insisted that social and economic justice could only be achieved under a republic, division did exist, as in 1793, over the use of violence to achieve that goal. Raspail, the leading 'Girondist,' or moderate, had always spoken to his followers in both republican organizations of the necessity for moderation and legal action, urging them to be examples of republican virtue. The bulletins which issued from the central organization during his frequent imprisonments, however, often demonstrated a more extreme, 'Montagnard,' line.

During the summer of 1833, nonetheless, all factions in the Société contributed to the plan for celebrating the third anniversary of the July Days. It was agreed to focus on the National Guard's irritation with the Government's policy to fortify Paris. At an official Guard review, Société members would shout slogans like, "Down with the barricades!" No other action was planned or anticipated, but members were warned to be on guard and in constant communication with the others in their sections on those days. On the second day the police closed in, arresting all

known members of the Société on charges of conspiracy against the Government. Charles Chevé, armed only with a "Testament" written the previous night, was arrested that day along with five others at the home of a sectionnaire. Twenty-two in all, Raspail, Kersausie, and some polytechniciens included, were similarly charged and placed in the political section of the prison of Sainte-Pélagie in Paris. For five months Chevé and his idealistic companions were confined behind the forbidding gray walls of that prison before their case came to trial. Five months of poor air, bad food, and limited exercise weakened them physically, and, no doubt, depressed them psychologically. Yet they were not wasted months, for the political and social education they received there probably equalled years of study outside. The prison itself reflected the class system existing in society; those from the upper classes, even among the republicans, had private or semi-private rooms, while "the People" were lodged in large cells which served as common dormitories for those of all ideological persuasions, from Swiss Guards to communists. Surely the young idealists were shocked by this social segregation. Raspail, a physician, defied the invisible barrier and spent much of his time in prison teaching the workers hygiene and science.[44] No doubt his inspiring example added weight to his insistence both to his imprisoned comrades and to government officials in open court that non-violence and the

education of the workers were absolutely essential for the success of the republican movement. While there is no direct evidence of the effect this experience had on Chevé, it is highly probable that Raspail's example and words were deeply embedded in his thinking and that of his impressionable associates during this period.

Their dramatic Trial of the Twenty-Seven began on December 11, 1833. At first, with the galleries filled with sympathizers and menu peuple, the famous republican lawyer, Dupont, brilliantly defended the Société's leaders. On December 20, his associate Counsellor Boussi, in the defense of the young republicans and particularly of section-chief Chevé, presented the document entitled "Testament" which had been found on Chevé at his arrest, written and dated the previous night.[45] It was a statement addressed to his unborn child, with whom Clarisse Vincent, his cousin and common-law wife, was then pregnant.[46] In it, simply and eloquently, Chevé expressed the beliefs which animated and gave meaning to his life. As he faced possible death at the age of twenty, he was prepared to pass on these beliefs as his most important legacy to his child. The document, read in court, revealed the idealism and nobility of spirit of its author, and no doubt moved the audience, as it is still capable of doing a century and a half after its writing. "The soul is everything," the young romantic asserted, "the rest is nothing . . . , to live is to feel; sensations are

the pasture of thought . . . ." He believed in a system of eternal retribution for one's actions in this life, he continued, asserting that a life spent in ascetic struggle for the "holy cause of liberty" would have its recompense. As for his aspirations for a republic, he declared them most serious and firm, requiring that "a republican must be ready to die every day when a king reigns in his country." At the close of the "Testament," Chevé quoted Saint-Just in a citation which reveals Chevé's own consuming zeal in the same cause espoused by this jacobin hero: "One who wishes to make revolutions in this world, one who wishes to do good, must sleep only in the tomb."[47] The silence which greeted these words may be imagined, the audience being probably deeply touched by their power and purity. Councellor Boussi followed the reading of the document by citing Chevé's actions in the "holy cause" during the 1830 revolution against absolutism in France, and in the struggles for Belgian and Polish independence shortly thereafter. After brief deliberation, Chevé and his companions were acquitted of all charges of subversion, and released.

That Chevé quoted Saint-Just, friend and associate of Robespierre whose name is forever linked with the Reign of Terror, raises the question of Chevé's attitude toward violence and whether it was linked for him with the idea of "making revolution." It would seem that Raspail's influence on him asserting non-violence as a concommittant of

republican virtue even prior to the months of their imprisonment had surely impressed him deeply. The very fact that his "Testament" was the only weapon he possessed at the time of his arrest can also be taken as a sign of his preference for moral suasion above physical force, a preference which was to characterize the rest of his life and to be reflected in his writing.

Other influences equally contrary to violent revolution were at work in Chevé's life and in society at the time of his release in 1834. One of them was that he was now in his twenties, with the responsibilities of a wife and child. After the three preceding years of intense involvement with revolutionary struggles, it would not have been unusual for him to wish some respite. Further, as French society in general was beginning to become more openly sympathetic to the plight of the workers, and, therefore, more open to republican criticism of the July Monarchy, the government initiate a policy of armed suppression, which turned the general public against all violence from whatever source.

An example of this is the reaction caused by the repression of worker demonstrations in Lyon in the spring of 1834. Many men of conscience, like conservative Chateaubriand, and Liberal-Catholic Lamennais, joined in republican and socialist protest after witnessing the Liberal government's violence there. Continued reaction against the Association Law which forbade worker

organization led the government to closely censor the opposition press after September 1835. These restrictive press laws silenced voices like Raspail's in Le Reformateur, financed by Kersausie since 1834, and Étienne Cabet's communist Populaire. Suppression of a free press resulted in further kinds of terrorism and violence in the succeeding months--assassination attempts, random explosions, and a variety of underground activities, including the appearance of vituperative sheets like the Moniteur républicain and L'homme libre, emanating from an extremist segment of the republican movement.

The majority of republicans and socialists, however, as well as the general public, had grown more moderate, or at least more realistic. In the face of government suppression, most republicans desired a constructive, non-violent program of action which could be purposefully undertaken in the present. Such a program had been formulated by the Central Committee of the Société des Droits de l'Homme in November 1833. Along with political demands for a National Assembly elected by universal manhood suffrage, and strong municipal rule, the program also called for freedom of association, the establishment of social capital to be entrusted to the State and granted by it to individuals, and the organization of industry so that the social power could intervene to assure just distribution of goods and services. It also called for a foreign policy

favoring European federation.[48] It was a program strongly influenced by Saint-Simonian thought. While moderate jacobins, workers, Saint-Simonians and some Liberal Catholics in alliance with the republicans all subscribed to such a program, its realization assumed the eventual achievement of a republic to coordinate progress in these other areas. In the repressive atmosphere of 1835, such a republic seemed remote, but young republican dissidents, such as Chevé, could join with older, and perhaps more far-sighted, leaders to undertake some of these other constructive projects cited in the immediate interest of social reform and renewal.

NOTES

[1]Archives de la Seine et de la ville de Paris (henceforth referred to as AS) Actes de naissance of Charles-François Chevé, 30 avril 1813, as reconstituted in 1888. AS, Acte de décès of Louis-Antoine Chevé, 10 juin 1781.

[2]P. De Crousaz-Crétêt, Paris sous Louis XIV (Paris, 1927), p. 233. René de Lespinasse, Les Métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris, XIV-XVIIIe siècles, Ordonnances Générales, Métiers de l'alimentation, Histoire Générale de Paris 1 (Paris, 1886): 669. Georges Mongrédien, La Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV (Paris, 1948), pp. 145-46. H. Monin. L'État de Paris en 1789 (Paris, 1889), p. 443.

[3]Adeline Daumard, "Les Relations sociales à Paris à l'époque de la monarchie constitutionelle d'après les registres paroissiaux des mariages," Population 12, 3 (juillet-septembre, 1957): 458-466.

[4]AS, Acte de décès of Louis-Antoine Chevé, 10 juin 1781. Crousaz-Crétêt, Paris sous Louis XIV, p. 233.

[5]Daumard, Les bourgeois de Paris du XIXe siècle (Paris, 1970), p. 205.

[6]AS, Acte de décès of Louise-Jeanne Chevé, 31 octobre 1805. Her marriage to Sébastien Harand, wine merchant, is noted here. Acte de naissance of Charles-Antoine Chevé, 4 septembre 1768. Acte de décès of Louis-Antoine Chevé, 10 juin 1781.

[7]Bernard Groethuysen, The Bourgeois: Catholicism vs. Capitalism in Eighteenth Century France (New York, 1968).

[8]Ibid. AS, Acte de décès of Louis-Antoine Chevé, 10 juin 1781.

[9]"Élevé en dehors de toute croyance religieuse, et n'ayant jamais depuis mon enfance entendu la voix d'un catholique ou d'un prêtre jusqu'à l'âge d'homme." Charles-François Chevé, Simples notes sur la base historique et le principe constitutif du catholicisme (Paris, 1851), p. vi.

[10]David Pinckney discusses this in his work on the crowd in the 1830 Revolution, The French Revolution of 1830 (Princeton, 1972).

[11]AS, Sommier foncier, 1, rue des Bourguignons. Lists heirs as Charles-Antoine Chevé, 1/2, and the six Harand children, 1/12 each.

[12]Praedalié, Balzac Historien: La Société de la Restauration (Paris, 1955).

[13]AS, Acte de décès of Marie-Catherine Billard, 23 juin 1844.

[14]Georges Weill, Histoire du parti républicain en France, 1814-1870 (Paris, 1928), p. 37.

[15]P. Chevallier, B. Grosperrin, J. Meiller, L'enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours 1 (Paris, 1968): 65-66.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]"Nous aussi, nous sommes sortis du collège le sourire de l'incrédulité sur les lèvres, et persuadés, comme tant d'autres, que l'ignorance seule était le soutien du catholicisme." Charles-François Chevé, "Le Parti-Prêtre," Le Spectateur de Dijon 73 (11 juin 1844): 1.

[19]As quoted in Praedalié, Balzac Historien, p. 9.

[20]Weill, Histoire du parti républicain, p. 13.

[21]Ibid., p. 16.

[22]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[23]We know of Chevé's involvement from the testimony offered by the lawyer M. Boussi in Chevé's defense at the Trial of the Twenty-Seven, 20 décembre 1833. Procès des vingt-sept, ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique (Paris, 1834), p. 100.

[24]L'Atelier: Organe des intérêts moraux et materials des ouvriers. Chevé is listed as a teneur des livres in Volume 1 (juin 1841), and again in Volume II (septembre 1841), as a member of the Editorial Committee. AS, Acte de mariage de Chevé-Vincent, 4 août 1838. Archives de l'église de Saint-Médard, Actes de Mariage, 1838.

[25]Weill, Histoire du parti républicain, p. 36.

[26]Praedalié, Balzac Historien, pp. 114-115.

[27]Weill, Histoire du parti républicain, p. 36.

[28]Ibid., p. 37.

[29]Robert Demoulin, Les Journées de septembre 1830 à Bruxelles et en province (Liège, 1934), pp. 262-270. Paul Harsin, "La Révolution belge de 1830 et l'influence française," Revue de sciences politiques 53 (avril-mai 1930): 272. Harsin quotes newspapers from Liège and Brussels in 1829 to prove his point. Louis Leconte, Les Légions belges-parisiennes et autres formations de volontaires venues de France en 1830 (Brussels, 1949), p. 4.

[30]Demoulin, La Révolution de 1830 (Brussels, 1950), pp. 135, 137-140. Louis Leconte, Le Général A.-F. Mellinet et sa brigade: "La Victorieuse" 1 (Brussels, s.d.): 132. Leconte, Les Légions belges-parisiennes, pp. 20-21.

[31]Procès de vingt-sept, ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique, p. 101.

[32]Marian Kukiel, "La Révolution de 1830 et la Pologne," Revue Internationale d'Histoire politique et constitutionelle (1953), pp. 243-248. Kukiel, Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861 (Princeton, 1955), pp. 165, 180-182. Félix Ponteil, L'Éveil des nationalités et le mouvement libéral, 1818-1848 2nd edition (Paris, 1969), pp. 283-285.

[33]J.-A. Betley, Belgium and Poland in International Relations (The Hague, 1960), p. 163.

[34]Kukiel, Czartoryski and European Unity, p. 184.

[35]René Martel, La France et la Pologne (Paris, 1931), pp. 32-33. Betley, Belgium and Poland in International Relations, pp. 165-166, 170, 176, 231, 253.

[36]Betley, ibid., p. 224.

[37]Procès des vingt-sept, ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique.

[38]Chevé, La Pologne, sa constitution, son histoire, et ses démembrements (Paris, 1861) and Histoire complète de la Pologne depuis ses premières origines jusqu'à nos jours

2 vols. (Paris, 1863).

[39]That name was taken from the title of revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat's journal, Ami du Peuple (1793).

[40]Weill, Histoire du parti républicain, p. 39.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Saint-Just. Fragments sur les institutions républicaines (Paris, 1831).

[43]Weill, Histoire du parti républicain, p. 39.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Chevé, "Testament," Procès des vingt-sept ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique, p. 100. See Appendix A.

[46]No record of this child's birth remains, nor evidence that it lived for any period of time, however, many vital statistics and records were burned in the fires of the Commune in 1871. This could account for a missing record of a child who lived but a short time.

[47]Chevé, "Testament," Procès de vingt-sept, ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique, p. 100. See Appendix A.

[48]Procès de vingt-sept ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.

## CHAPTER TWO

## DISCIPLE OF BUCHEZ AND LACORDAIRE, 1834-1842

Sometime between July 1833, when 'conspirator' Chevé had described himself as a follower of Saint-Just, and August 1838, when he and his cousin, Clarisse Vincent, mother of his child, celebrated their marriage in the Church, Charles-François Chevé became an associate of Saint-Simonian Philippe Buchez, a Christian Socialist and a Roman Catholic. Not long after his marriage, Chevé published his first serious work and embarked, at least on a part-time basis, on what would prove to be, after 1842, his lifelong career as a writer and journalist. These were years of profound changes for him and for his generation in France, changes which would revolutionize their vision of the future and of the role they would play in its creation.

General historical studies of this period indicate that broad changes occurred in the Left during the July Monarchy. Jacobin republicans, calling for the downfall of Jesuit power in the Revolution of 1830, turned into socialists and democrats, seen accompanying priests in blessing "liberty trees" in the aftermath of the February Days of 1848. Little explanation is offered for this drastic about face,

except to note that Louis-Philippe had managed to aggravate all but a few loyal Orleanists in the course of his eighteen-year reign. Again, little or nothing has been done to investigate the factors, social, psychological, or philosophical which caused a widespread metamorphosis in individual and group consciousness with regard to the political, religious, and socio-economic questions of the day.

Flaubert draws the most apt portrait in literature of the young men of the 1840s, and once again, as in the work of Stendhal and Balzac, it is hard to find a character who might have been modelled on Chevé.[1] Like Sorel and Chardon, the youth of Flaubert's romantic generation are depicted as much less idealistic and socially committed than he. Rather, sated by the emotional excesses of their "Sentimental Education," they attempted to avoid the ennui of a conventional life and lose themselves in a variety of pleasures and dilettantish pursuits. Even Dussardier, the ardent socialist activist, is presented as a character without a past, his evolution unexamined. Only Hugo, in Les Misérables, refers to a change of consciousness and attitude occurring in the 1830s, in reference to "the Friends of the A.B.C."[2] Yet he too does not probe the dimensions or causes of that change nor seek to trace its dynamic.

Once again, Chevé's life furnishes a case in point against which to view an entire generation, or at least some

within it, whose idealism and dedication to social reform distinguish them as worthy of further study. Indeed, an examination of this kind enriches our understanding of these agents of change in a country and era noted for rapid ideological shifts. In addition, such a study throws deserved light on some little known, but influential, schools of thought such as Philippe Buchez's branch of Saint-Simonianism, and further elucidates the equally unrealized close association which existed between the republican, Saint-Simonian, Liberal Catholic, and socialist components of the "party of movement" in Paris during the July Monarchy.

As we saw above with Chevé, in the early days of Louis-Philippe's reign, republicans entered into tentative contact with others on the Left--Liberal Catholics, Saint-Simonians, and Parisian workers. Among the leaders of these groups were some from the generation before Chevé's, who, even during the Restoration, attempted to create a link between the romantic and religious sentiment of the period and the needs of the laboring classes. Such a link had, indeed, been part of the program of earlier jacobin socialism. These leaders now sought, in the atmosphere of the 1830s, to articulate that connection even further, and succeeded in developing, in the heat of official government repression, programs and ideologies which would gain in influence as the July Monarchy progressed. Perhaps the earliest and most

successful in doing this were the Saint-Simonians.

Henri-Claude de Saint-Simon had himself been a synthetic thinker. Scion of a noble family, supposed descendant of Charlemagne, he had fought in the American Revolution and after his return home, had engaged in various entrepreneurial concerns until he was imprisoned under the Terror. The destructive force unleashed in that regime's excesses convinced him that while the Revolution had served a useful purpose in purging past errors and anachronisms from society, it could furnish no constructive principles on which to build the future. Rather, he assumed the monumental task of constructing such principles out of the knowledge provided by the natural sciences. With Science and Industry as keys, a new civilization, insuring Progress and social harmony, could be constructed.[3]

Upon release from Sainte-Pélagie prison, Saint-Simon threw himself into the study of the physical and mathematical sciences, associating with outstanding thinkers in all fields of human endeavor, in order to find the universal law basic to all the sciences on which a new society could be built. Frustrated in this pursuit and pressed for time, he then turned to the human sciences.[4] His successive secretaries, Augustine Thierry and Auguste Comte, became his chief mentors here. Under the influence of Thierry, Saint-Simon arrived at a science of history wherein he saw progress in history achieved by an

evolutionary process of alternating constructive, or "organic," and destructive, or "critical," periods.[5]

In the 1820s, his fortune lost, Saint-Simon reflected on the breach between the have's and have-not's in society, becoming worse as a result of industrialization, and was touched by the suffering of laborers exploited under laissez-faire economic policies. At the same time, he turned to the writings of such Catholic philosophers and theologians as Bonald and de Maistre, who extolled the beauties of the Christian ideal. His own last work, Le Nouveau Christianisme, drew these elements together in arguing that as Christianity had informed, unified, and vivified the last constructive period in history, the Middle Ages, so it was necessary to develop a new Christianity to provide the cohesive and communal force for the new constructive period which he hailed, the industrial age.[6] From his deathbed, in 1825, he insisted to the handful of disciples gathered there that the element of religion was the most important of all in the evolution of this new age.[7] He begged them to discuss and disseminate his ideas, and to establish a journal for that purpose as soon as possible. The purpose of their work, he insisted, would be to eliminate as quickly as possible the misery of those who suffered most in society.

From one of the most outstanding noble families of the ancien régime, Saint-Simon, in his life and thought, had

bridged the most recent constructive and destructive periods of history. His ideas attempted to reconcile religion and science, social and economic progress with justice, industrial growth with communal harmony. This was his legacy to his followers, one which they would struggle to understand and propagate.

To this end, Olinde Rodriguez, banker and one of Saint-Simon's disciples, invited some of his associates to participate in founding a journal, to be called Le Producteur, to discuss and disseminate the Master's ideas.[8] Most of those early represented in its pages were attracted to Saint-Simon's ideas by an interest in economics, mathematics, and technology.[9] In contrast, a smaller number, of whom Armand Bazard and Philippe-Joseph Buchez were the leaders, were proven political activists, republicans, and social reformers. Buchez and Bazard, who had co-founded the "Devilishly Philosophical Society," the Lodge of the Friends of Truth, and the French branch of the Carbonari, had endured imprisonment and exile on more than one occasion for conspiring against the Bourbons.[10] While Bazard, the older of the two, was a clerk in 1825, Buchez had just completed his studies as a medical doctor. The interests of the bankers and technocrats in the Le Producteur group dominated from October 1825 through May 1826, when the weekly periodical experienced financial difficulties; the aftermath of this crisis brought

widespread changes. For one, the journal came to be published monthly and, more importantly, its emphasis now reflected the concerns of the republicans and moralists in the group.[11] Articles criticizing social ills caused by liberal economic policies and the individualistic principles on which these policies rested now appeared. The new editor, Buchez, along with Bazard and others, called for the development of a new social philosophy based on science, as Saint-Simon had mandated.[12]

The monthy Producteur went bankrupt in December 1826, but the search for a new doctrine continued to preoccupy the expanding group of members who gathered for weekly discussions from mid-1827. The focus of their attention now progressed to Saint-Simon's later works dealing with a philosophy of history, and with religion. The works of Bonald, de Maistre, and other orthodox and neo-Christian writers who had informed Saint-Simon's thinking were scrutinized, as were the German idealist and romantic philosophers, Lessing, and Leibnitz, along with the work of Spinoza. The neo-Christians and republicans, Buchez prominent among them, contended that the tenets of Christian morality and its traditional philosophy could serve as a solid basis for their doctrine of social justice.[13] But the "economists and philosophers" as Buchez called them, many of whom were non-Christian, and even anti-Christian, rejected Christianity and its dualistic basis, arguing that

Saint-Simon had called for the formulation of a new religion for the new age.[14] This group, under the spiritual and intellectual guidance of Eugène Rodriguez, extolled sentiment over reason, and religion over science.[15] Gradually they moved toward pantheism, and its concomitant philosophy, monism.

Meanwhile the realities of the worsening political and economic situation tugged at the awareness and conscience of the group.[16] Buchez, a physician involved with public hygiene concerns, who served in clinics for the poor, was probably most in touch with poverty and worker exploitation. Yet the writings of Sismondi, Joseph Rey, and Buonnaroti, which appeared in the late 1820s, heightened the awareness by even the most abstracted reader of the sufferings of the working classes and of the possibility of their revolt.[17] The Saint-Simonian study group rejected both Babeuf's agrarian outlook and the violence by which he attempted to achieve equality.[18] Instead, they strove to develop a program based on non-violence and cooperation in an industrial context. The theory arrived at was one of "association," a term borrowed from Charles Fourier, but one not unknown to Saint-Simon himself.[19]

By 1828, one of the group, Enfantin, former polytechnicien and mathematician, emerged as charismatic leader of the romantic young men, who, caught in a philosophical transition threatening their identity, were

increasingly attracted to the Saint-Simonian discussions. An hierarchic structure began to emerge within the "school." In December, the older disciples, or "fathers" in the "College of Six," were persuaded by their young followers to present a series of public conferences, an Exposition of the "new" doctrine of Saint-Simon.[20] Bazard became the spokesman for the group. Uneasy about the growing sacralization of doctrine, and the hierarchical structures which were evolving, some early members drifted away at this time. Buchez, although equally wary of these tendencies, remained, and even cooperated in preparing the conferences.[21] A special series was also directed by Abel Transon to the students of the École polytechnique, through whom, Enfantin contended, the doctrine of Saint-Simon would be diffused in society.[22]

The First Series of conferences began on a rational, logical plane.[23] Increasingly, however, the romantic and mystical vision of universal association and of a religion of sentiment took priority over the rational critique of society and of Liberalism.[24] In June 1829, Bazard announced his decision to form a new religion of humanity.[25] Soon after, Enfantin developed his notion of the Priestly Couple as an outward manifestation of the monistic union of flesh and spirit.[26] Buchez led the opposition to this philosophical notion and all its consequences, directing his arguments principally to the members of the "second degree"

rather than to the neophytes.[27] But Buchez's influence within the "College" was diminished by Enfantin's promotion of his own supporters and theoreticians of the new religion to that leadership core.[28] Finally, on December 31, 1829, Enfantin prevailed on Olinde Rodriguez to announce the founding of the Saint-Simonian Church under the leadership of pères suprêmes, Bazard and Enfantin. Buchez, forewarned, was not present for the announcement.[29] In early January he publicly denounced the move, and he and several associates set up a counter-school of Saint-Simonian thought which proclaimed that Christianity now purified by the Revolution of its anachronisms could serve as the unifying force of the new era.[30]

In April 1830, when a second series of conferences was begun by the new Church, Buchez's group launched their own public lectures.[31] Enfantin, accusing Buchez of raising "altar against altar," worked through mutual friends to win him back.[32] But each was convinced of his purity and fidelity to Saint-Simon's ideas, so that reconciliation proved impossible.

Thus, on the brink of the July Revolution, the intellectuals and idealists in Paris, those usually attracted to such groups, were confronted by two opposing schools of Saint-Simonian thought, each with its own spirit, doctrine, and leaders. The Enfantin Church, "that unheard of spectacle of a Church founded by polytechniciens and

bankers," attracted the young men of the grands écoles, educated for careers in business and finance, which they could no longer morally justify.[33] Disaffected from their Liberal elders, and from the philosophy of materialism and of individualism they had earlier embraced, they now searched for loving authority figures to lead them in a new way, and for association in community.[34] For them, such association seemed the means by which Utopia would be realized, as well as itself constituting Utopia. Buchez's School, on the other hand, referred to as the "Cénacle" by Balzac in Les illusions perdues, was composed of more mature men and women, physicians, and those in the biological sciences, political reformers, republicans, figures in the arts, and Christians.[35] Among them, there existed no formal hierarchy, only that recognized by Saint-Simon, the hierarchy of talent. Despite these differences, all Saint-Simonians might be said to have been "inheritors of Catholicism and continuers of the Revolution," as Bazard proclaimed when opening the first series of conferences.[36] Precisely at the period when Romantic ideas at large became dissociated from their Conservative past and extended to the service of social progress and the industrial worker, a similar transformation occurred within the Saint-Simonians. As Rainer Marie Rilke has noted of other youth: "The future enter[ed] into [them] to be transformed . . . "[37] That mingling of past and future in Saint-Simonian ideology

created a synthesis of religion and science, of continuity and progress, of spirit and matter, necessary for social harmony. Both Enfantin's and Buchez's groups attempted to provide a transition in philosophy, religion, and social ethics which would serve as a bridge into the future of industrial progress and social responsibility for the generations of the nineteenth century.

Yet when the demonstrations of the July Revolution erupted in Paris, no official Saint-Simonian presence was discernible in the action. Enfantin urged his followers to abstain from involvement, arguing that it was not their struggle, but a continuation of the Liberal destruction of the old regime. Convinced of Saint-Simon's theory that industrial and economic progress could be achieved under any political form, Bazard and Enfantin even visited Lafayette to urge the former carbonaro and republican leader to establish a dictatorship in the name of justice.[38]

Not all Saint-Simonians were so far removed from the mood of the crowd, however. Some ardent republicans, even among Enfantin's group, could not resist being drawn, as individuals, into the action.[39] For his part, republican activist Buchez offered his skill as a doctor to those injured on the barricades.[40] There he renewed contact with old friends and met students and workers.[41] He brought an appeal to Lafayette, quite different from Enfantin's, to establish a republic in the name of those who, "having done

their duty as soldiers . . . acquired in this way some influence on the workers."[42]

In the aftermath of July, the Enfantin Church took advantage of the Liberal freedoms they had publicly scorned to organize conferences, publish a journal, and practice their ideal of loving association in a semi-monastic suburban setting. Buchez, on the other hand, joined in the republican protests against the re-establishment of monarchy. In August, with several republican and Saint-Simonian associates, he founded the Société des Amis du Peuple.[43] Using its platform as his forum he presented the vision of Saint-Simon to these committed republicans, and then to the general public.[44] In this way he forged an early and important link between jacobin republicans and Saint-Simonians by stressing concern for society, and for the poor, in particular.

Was Chevé among those who heard Buchez speak from that platform in early August? We do not know. Perhaps it was even as part of the Société's volunteer battalion that Chevé journeyed to Belgium later that month and fought at Antwerp and elsewhere, receiving decoration on the field.[45] If so, it would have been mid-1831 before Chevé's contact with Buchez could be renewed, and then Chevé departed again to aid the Poles. In the meantime, Buchez's "school" was formed and developed a broad program.

In early 1831, an associate's apartment in the rue de Choiseul became the center for meetings of Buchez's "school," for formal lectures, and for the salons which drew writers, artists, and public figures as initiates.[46] In February, Buchez began a series of special conferences for workers, called the Athénée des ouvriers. From discussions arising there he would develop the first French project for worker or producer cooperatives, devised originally for menuisiers en bâtiment, and later modified to serve other artisanal groups.[47] With other physicians, organized in the Athénée de Médecine, Buchez planned a course in hygiene to be given in the poorer districts of Paris.[48] He and his followers also participated, later that year, in an educational program for the poor, l'Association pour l'instruction du peuple.[49]

By the Fall of 1831, the flexibility of the new regime diminished, and with it the merely curious in Saint-Simonian audiences drifted away, leaving the serious disciples to pursue the program further. Buchez's conferences moved to rue de Chabanis, where he, Ernest Bois-le-Comte, and Hippolyte Auger shared a common life.[50] While Buchez's school narrowed and tightened, Enfantin's church experienced a sundering at its highest levels when Père suprême, Bazard, and then other notable intellectual and moral leaders of the movement separated themselves from Enfantin over his teachings on sexual morality, and what they considered other

aberrations.[51] Some of those who left, like Pierre Leroux, established groups of their own termed Christian Socialist, or Saint-Simonian, which exerted influence during the July Monarchy. Enfantin's Church never recovered from this schism, however, and by its increasingly bizarre practices lost the respect of the general population.[52]

It was at this moment that Buchez was finally able to launch the new publication which he had sought for some time, the Journal des sciences morales et politiques, shortly renamed l'Européen.[53] The journal ran monthly through 1832. With its focus on political and international affairs and movements current in Europe, l'Européen drew the attention of intellectuals and activists alike. Buchez had forged many ties with various nationalist movements in his Carbonari days, and maintained particularly strong associations with Belgian and Polish expatriates living in Paris. His adherence to a traditional Christian morality and doctrinal base especially appealed to these two national groups, for whom Catholicism was a strong unifying and progressive force. In the Journal, and then L'Européen, Buchez and other contributors extolled the principles of popular sovereignty and national self-determination, expanding the understanding of the the first, and yet criticizing the Liberal philosophy from which these principles apparently sprang. Linking the notion of "the People" with that of "the poor," Buchez argued that the

interests of the poor, the laborers, must be uppermost in the minds of those in government, for popular sovereignty to be achieved.[54] He regarded Liberalism as impotent to achieve popular sovereignty, since he considered its fundamental individualist orientation and adherence to "liberty of conscience" to be incomplete and destructive tenets, predictable consequences of the critical period of the Revolution from which they sprang. Rather, Buchez argued that republicanism was not necessarily linked with the philosophy of Liberalism. With fellow republican and Saint-Simonian, Laurent, before him, he distinguished "democrats with purely revolutionary ideas from republicans of organic views."[55] The latter were the Jacobins, led by Robespierre, and Saint-Just.

It is impossible to say whether Charles-François Chevé read these words in the pages of l'Européen, or if his associations with the causes of Belgian and Polish liberation served to link him, through the expatriates in Paris, to Buchez's so-called "Jacobin-Catholic" school at the time. The conspiratorial Société des Droits de l'Homme, of which Chevé was section leader, was decidedly jacobin, with that identity only confirmed by the influx, in late 1832, of members from the disbanded Amis du Peuple. Chevé may, alternately, have encountered Buchez and his disciples in their work among the Parisian poor. And surely, as jacobins all, they relished, in the collected writings of

Robespierre and Saint-Just, published in 1831 and 1832, respectively, confirmation of their belief that political democracy should serve only as a prelude to social and economic equality.[56]

In 1833, Buchez's first major work, l'Introduction à la science de l'Histoire, ou science du développement de l'humanité, was published in Paris. In it, Buchez incorporated his knowledge of biological evolution, gleaned from his medical education, and from his earlier study of geology and comparative anatomy under Cuvier, Lamarck, Saint-Hilaire, Jussieu and Lacépède at the Museum, to broaden the Saint-Simonian understanding of Progress and its mode of realization in society.[57] Implicit in his arguments were refutations of Liberal, as well as other Saint-Simonian schools of thought. He posited a belief in Creation, in a definition of Progress as both the universal law of history, and as a "continuous creation," in the need for a balanced interaction between matter and spirit, reason and sentiment, a priori and a posteriori thinking, and of science and religion.[58] Regarding the alternation of organic and critical periods in history, Buchez's jacobin and Catholic tendencies caused him to modify the Saint-Simonian position to argue that the seeds of a new organic era pre-exist in the earlier one, yet require the dissolution achieved by the critical period to separate them from the laws and institutions of the past which choke their growth.[59] During

a critical period, these seeds develop and even are transformed to enable them to take an important place in the new organic society which would follow. What was essentially destructive about a critical period, Buchez contended, was its lack of a synthetic or unifying force, i.e. religion.[60] When religion and science could be reconciled, and religion restored to its prior position, a new unified society could be constituted from the same constants as before, now purified of their past form and advanced to a new stage of Progress.[61] The task of men concerned with perfecting society, he postulated, was to be attuned to the Logos, or spirit which permeates all of creation, to avoid regressive choices, and foster progressive elements.[62]

Perhaps these ideas of Buchez raised some discussion in jacobin circles in Paris by mid-summer of 1833, i.e. before Chevé was arrested for conspiracy against the regime, although it is unlikely that the older leaders of the movement, hardcore anticlericals that they were, would entertain them. Raspail, himself, who presided both in and out of prison over the young republicans, publicly scorned Buchez's ideal.[63] Yet, even without Buchez's program to furnish him additional food for thought, that time in prison, for Chevé, as for Saint-Simon, Buchez, and countless others before and since, undoubtedly constituted a time for deep, hard thought. It was a retreat, during which he

questioned values, assessed past efforts, took stock of the new situation, and searched for means to achieve his ends.

The year 1834 presented Chevé with a new set of harsh realities and responsibilities to consider. Freed from prison, he was immediately concerned for his wife and child, for the mysteries of birth and fatherhood were his to experience early in that year. In April, he attained the age of majority, in the legal sense a man, with a man's burdens. His responsibility to society also weighed heavily on him, as his "Testament" had proclaimed. Yet republican organizations in which he had been active were increasingly locked in conflict with the power of a repressive regime, conflict whose violence repulsed and threatened to destroy the very society both aimed to serve. With other moderates, Chevé surely questioned the perversion of an ideal end by the use of violent means. Later, the repressive September Laws limited even constructive programs engaged in by republican groups. It was then, perhaps, that Buchez's newly reprinted, two-volume Introduction fell into Chevé's hands, its arguments concerning the destructive nature of Liberalism, and the need for religion to provide a unifying social ethic welcome to his ears. Besides offering a philosophy of cooperation as an alternative to individualism and egotism, Buchez, as we have seen, was involved in positive, practical programs to assist the poor and to organize workers through producer cooperatives to avoid

industrial exploitation.

It seems likely, then, that Chevé approached Buchez's circle sometime in late 1834 or 1835, about the same time as did fellow member of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, August Ott.[64] Ott was to become an intimate friend of Buchez, and his first biographer. What sort of man did they encounter in Buchez, who would become such a formative influence on their lives? One of their peers described his first impression of Buchez thus:

> From the first I liked everything about him, because I understood him to be as benevolent of heart as he was elevated in intelligence and capability. His superiority had a kindliness, his spirit a colorfulness, he remained faithful to his good nature. Due to a great rectitude of judgement, to a tender soul, to a lively imagination, he felt like an artist just as he thought like a savant. . . . One could differ with him but still love him for the esteem he inspired.[65]

One listener said of his oratory:

> He speaks with facility, vehemence, imagination. His phrases have a certain striking force . . . He is a preacher and I am persuaded that he believes himself an apostle.[66]

And another described him as having "the sacred fire and [succeeding] in communicating it. He was delivered to a kind of enthusiasm."[67] It may be assumed that Chevé and Ott and other young republicans who joined Buchez's school were impressed by these same qualities.

It has been argued with effect of those who flocked to Enfantin's Church in 1830 that they were physical or psychological orphans searching for a father, for authority

and community. Was this true of Chevé? If, as Thomas Wolfe has written, "man's search to find a father" is "the deepest search in life . . ."[68] then the question cannot be dismissed without consideration. Had Chevé been engaged in that search, a not unlikely assumption, there were in Buchez, as witnessed by these contemporaries, such qualities as to satisfy a longing for: "the image of strength and wisdom external to his own need and superior to his hunger, to which the beliefs and power of his own life could be united."[69] While Buchez's personality was undoubtedly an attractive force, even more attraction lay in the freshness and creativity of his ideas which synthesized many positive tendencies and schools of thought current on the French intellectual scene.

It was clear on hearing him, that Buchez's admiration for Christianity was principally for the Christian ethic, or morality, and his concern was directed, not at questions of dogma, which he considered passé, but at the realization of this ethic in society. He heralded that human history was on the brink of the Sixth Epoch, which he described as the "reign of Christ on earth."[70] By this he meant that the merits of Jesus' redemption would be applied to enable all to live on this earth as children of God in peace, equality, and brotherhood.[71] In l'Introduction, Buchez had argued that while the Catholic Church had been the instrument of the Gospel message during the Fifth Epoch, the dogmatic

phase of the Christian revelation, it had failed to provide leadership in the egalitarian phase of application of Christian ideals to society. That role, he contended in L'Européen, had passed to the social and economic reformers, specifically Rousseau, Robespierre, and the Convention of 1793.[72] If that last point served as introduction for republicans like Chevé into Buchez's mystical vision for the future, it may have sounded slightly more familiar to another segment of Buchez's audience. These were the Liberal Catholics, disciples of Lamennais, who also moved into Buchez's orbit in significant numbers in 1834-35.

Félicité de Lamennais, Catholic priest and theologian, had first attracted notice during the Restoration with his Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion, noted for its ultramontane and romantic cast, inherently critical of Scholastic theology, and of the Gallican sentiments of the majority of the French hierarchy.[73] This work had, understandably, aroused opposition in high places, and his later work, Progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'Église, was published after submitting to Church censorship.[74] His ideas of a reformed Catholic Church, free from political and social coercion and able to act as a spiritual force, the divine instrument, for creating a just and harmonious reorganization of society, attracted idealistic young priests and laymen like theologian Gerbet, Henri Lacordaire, and the Comte de Montalembert.

In the freer atmosphere of the early July Monarchy, the group organized conferences and published a journal, l'Avenir, whose motto, "Dieu et Liberté," epitomized its basic message. Published from October 1830 to November 1831, l'Avenir aimed at reaching progressive Catholic youth, children of the century like their republican brothers, in France and throughout Europe. As critical of the Catholic Church of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries as the Jacobins, they remained loyal to Catholicism's basic tenets and beliefs, while adhering equally to the Revolution's goals of "liberty, equality, fraternity." With other organs on the Left, l'Avenir rejoiced at the separation of Church and State, for reason of the spiritual freedom it afforded the former. They called for freedom of the press, of education, of national groups, and for a united Christendom presided over by the Pope, as spiritual leader. Like the Saint-Simonians, they criticized the anti-religious bias of the Liberal program, hoping to free it of its prejudices, or to 'Catholicize liberty.'[75] While opposition within the Church hierarchy mounted, the Avenir staff relied upon the understanding of the Pope as their support.

In late 1831, L'Avenir closed because of hierarchical opposition, and the movement's three leaders--Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert--journeyed to Rome to seek aid from the Vicar of Christ. But Pope Gregory XVI in Peter's Chair was himself an absolute monarch under pressure from

conservative political and religious forces, and he ignored and then admonished them. On their return home in July 1832, the three pilgrims were overtaken by the Papal encyclical Mirari vos, condemning certain positions taken in l'Avenir. The three sent letters of submission in August, and Lamennais wrote again in December 1833, but it had become increasingly evident that he could not agree to the silencing of his opinions. Meanwhile Lacordaire, anxious to remain obedient to Church discipline, separated himself from Lamennais. Then, in 1834, Lamennais circumvented Church censorship and brought out Paroles d'un croyant.[76] For this defiance, as well as for its contents, the work was condemned in the encyclical, Singulari nos, in July 1834.

The book was extremely influential, especially among young republicans and rationalists, who might never have read it had it appeared under Church auspices. Its publication coincided with a time of questioning within reform circles and excited the hope that orthodox Christianity might serve as a vehicle of social justice and reform. On the other hand, the circumstances of its publication and its condemnation struck confusion into the already troubled Liberal-Catholic youth. Finding themselves virtually leaderless, these young Catholics drew closer to the Christian-Socialist school of Philippe Buchez with which there had been links since 1831.

Just as Lamennais' Paroles inspired former atheists to turn toward Catholicism, so Buchez's Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française,[77] a forty-volume study published from 1834 to 1838, led republicans, atheists and Catholics alike, to embrace socialism. The work undertook to re-establish republican principles on an organic foundation, and to argue that the principles of the Revolution were basically Christian, and deeply imbedded in French tradition.

Buchez undertook the work with the aid of his disciple, Roux-Lavergne. In it, they compiled documents related to the various stages of the Revolution, with lengthy accompanying introductions by Buchez. It was the first study of the Revolution to propose a theory of class struggle to explain the split in the Third Estate after 1789.[78] Buchez hailed Robespierre for incarnating the interest of the poor against the Girondins, calling him the successor to Rousseau and the antecedent of Saint-Simon in his concern for social justice and harmony.[79] This concern, according to Buchez, was a "catholic work," an organic action leading to unity and constructive reorganization of society. Thus, he saw the Revolution as the product, not only of the critical Enlightenment era, but of the fourteen previous centuries of Christianity in France. According to him, the Revolution, a work of the entire French nation, erupted because the ideals extolled in the Gospels and

taught throughout the Christian era were so at odds with the realities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Robespierre, Saint-Just, and the men of the Convention carried on this national work, motivated, Buchez contended, by belief in God and devotion to the cause of virtue, and to the People.[80] It was because they lacked the guidance of Christianity, he concluded, that they moved from virtue to vice, and fell into excess, which necessitated their removal from power.[81]

For republican Chevé and others of Buchez's readers who had just experienced the failure to realize their republican hopes due to the connivance of the Liberals and violent supression by the liberal state, who had come to reject rationalism as "the wine poisoned by error" as Chevé later expressed it, which left his ". . . lips parched and . . . soul withered, bereft of hope,"[82] this argument was a clue to their conversion from atheism. Through the writings of Lamennais and Buchez they were attracted to a socially aware Christianity, at the same time that such a movement, Liberal Catholicism, moved closer to socialism in the program of Buchez. Thus, in 1834-35, Buchez's school, characterized by observers as "Catholic Conventionells," or "jacobin-Catholics," experienced an influx of new recruits from the various components represented in Buchez's ideology, namely, republicans, socialists, and Liberal Catholics. An exchange of ideas naturally resulted, and new personalities came to

prominence within the movement.

At the same time as this convergence, and for some of the same reasons, Buchez's program entered into a new, more conservative "second phase." The mood in society, as we have already seen, favored a retreat from confrontation and violence. Radicals reassessed their values and programs, seeking more constructive modes of changing society. The Liberal-Catholic group within Buchez's school was considerably less revolution-minded than their republican confreres. And Buchez, seeking to refute the materialist and pantheistic tendencies in other social schools, especially that of Saint-Simonian Pierre Leroux, and those at the new Revue encyclopédique, relied increasingly on the theological arguments of traditional Catholic theologians Bonald, de Maistre, and Lamennais to support his positions on dualism and spiritualism, arguments which he, nevertheless, adapted for his own purpose. At this time, too, he modified the notion of association to mean small, voluntary groupings of artisans, like the bijoutiers en doré, or goldsmiths, who put his plan for worker or producer cooperatives into practice in 1834. This meant that he abandoned the idea, at least for the present, of a collectivized national order. In politics and philosophy he emphasized stability and authority over revolution, and spoke of morality and social duty more frequently than of freedom and equality.[83] His switch from plotting immediate

action to planning long-range goals was evident in the articles which appeared in the second series of l'Européen, Journal de Morale et de Philosophie, which began to appear in 1835.[84] The later volumes of Histoire parlementaire contain strong indictments of revolutionary violence, and Ott's work, Des Associations d'ouvriers, which appeared in 1838, spoke against competition, not as an element of liberal economics, but as practiced by workers in the marketplace.[85] Thus, the emphasis of Buchez's school turned to the need for moral education before any changes could be effected in the larger society.[86]

This change in Buchez's ideas was undoubtedly a reflection of those closest to him at this time, i.e. Roux-Lavergne and others, adherents of the Liberal-Catholic philosophy. Their idealized image of the Catholic Church, divinely commissioned to infuse all societies to the end of time with Christ's message of spiritual and temporal liberation, complemented and went beyond Buchez's earlier doctrine of Christian morality and philosophy as guides for the new social order. In a series of lectures Buchez gave in 1836 called Cours de politique chrétienne et progressive, later published in a three-volume Essai d'un traité complet de philosophie, du point de vue du catholicisme et du progrès, it was evident he had reversed traditional theology by accepting the divine origin of the Catholic Church because of his appreciation of the excellence of its moral

teaching. He extolled the wisdom and beauty of Catholicism, painting a picture far different from that of the philosophers and rationalists of the previous century and a half. The image was of the Church as it had once been, he argued, and might again be: the instrument of justice, truth, and progress in the world. For those who, as Chevé expressed it, had "left college with the smile of incredulity on our lips," convinced that ". . . ignorance alone was the sustenance of Catholicism," this new view of Catholicism was a powerfully attractive one.[87] And, the message continued, reform in society could follow only upon individual conversion and inner reform. This last message caused a number of those in Buchez's school to draw closer to orthodox Catholicism in the period which followed.

The year 1837 was one of spiritual intensity in Buchez's circle. That year a special edition of the Gospels, Les Saints Évangiles de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Édition populaire dédiée à la nation française par les ouvriers imprimeurs, edited by Buchez and Roux-Lavergne, was published by a cooperative of printers associated with the Athénée des ouvriers.[88] Also that year Roux-Lavergne, the closest of Buchez's associates at this time, was converted to Catholicism through the understanding instruction of Abbé Dufriche-Desgenettes, Liberal-Catholic pastor of the nearby church of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Paris, who accepted his adherence to democracy and the

republic.[89] Roux-Lavergne's former student, the artist Besson, was also baptized in May with him. Another of Buchez's followers, architect Hippolyte Piel, long an admirer of the Avenir school but a lapsed Catholic, drew closer to the Church during the winter of 1837-38 while planning the rebuilding of a Gothic-style church in Nantes.[90] On his return to Paris in early 1838, he and his companion, Réquédat, sought out Abbé Desgenettes and, through his instruction, returned to the practice of their faith.

While the picture of a renewed Catholicism, as painted by Buchez, exerted a powerful influence on the members of his school and audience in this "second phase," the example set by these intensely spiritual young converts to Catholicism from the ranks of the republican "children of the century" was even more inspiring. Chevé later wrote that he came to accept Catholicism through his associations in Buchez's school.[91] This was no mere sentimental attachment to the semi-mystical trappings of religions typical of so many of the romantics. Rather he asserted that his faith

> "came from a profound examination [of religion and philosophy]." "I had no prejudice to remove," he stated, "no fear of the unknown which held back the audacity of my thought, and I had steeped my spirit too much before in all the philosophical and social systems not to be an impartial and disinterested judge."[92]

His conversion probably occurred in mid-1838, though no record of his baptism has been located. Church records do show, however, that on August 4, 1838 (the feast of Saint Dominic, who would soon figure so centrally in the thinking of the group) Charles-François Chevé and Clarisse Vincent, his cousin, common-law wife, and the mother of his child, born in 1833-34, solemnized their marriage in the neigborhood church of Saint Médard.[93]

Under Roux Lavergne's influence a circle for Thomistic studies had formed among the enthusiasts of the arts and culture of the Middle Ages, to which their interest in Catholicism and in the ideas of the romantics and of Saint-Simon had led them. They discussed modernizing Thomism to incorporate recent scientific findings and methods, especially the theory of vitalism, which proposed that the interaction between matter and spirit was essential to a scientific understanding of life. Buchez adopted this disputed and later discarded theory from the biological sciences and adapted it to support his own philosophy of dualism. Niccolo Tammaseo, Italian expatriate and familiar of Buchez's school for some time, became the "Thomists'" mentor, and links were established between this group and Liberal-Catholic priests and theologians.[94] Thus, the "Thomists" within Buchez's school were becoming a separate and almost independent entity.

It is not surprising that this group made contact with the renowned Abbé Lacordaire, former companion and associate of Lamennais. It was the precise moment when he was planning to re-establish the Dominican Order in France. Lacordaire had recovered from any ecclesiatical onus attached to his connection with Lamennais, and had risen to celebrity for his inspired preaching, most notably, from the pulpit of Notre Dame during Lent, 1835. His unique ability to incorporate the concerns of the day, an exalted appreciation of the social action of the Church in the past, and an inspiring vision of its eternal and holy work in the future was acclaimed by all who heard him. He was hailed, in Church circles and beyond, as a prophet, and a new Chrysostom. After a lengthy stay in Rome while he attempted to gain approval for his plan to revive the Dominican Order, banned in France during the Revolution, Lacordaire returned home in 1838. In September, he announced in the pages of L'Univers, the Liberal-Catholic review, his intention of refounding this Order of Preachers, noted during the Middle Ages for its scholars, Thomas Aquinas among them.[95] Upon his return to Paris in November 1838, Réquédat, Buchezian and zealous Catholic, sought out Lacordaire in the name of the circle of Thomistic studies. In ensuing discussions, the young man expressed a desire to join the priest in his new venture.[96]

That winter Lacordaire and Réquédat drew up a Mémoire pour le rétablissement of the Dominican Order,[97] emphasizing its tradition of free and intelligent obedience, election of superiors, and dedication to the social application of Christianity in an urban environment. Their plan was the talk of the "Thomists" and of all of Buchez's school. When the two left Paris in March 1839 headed for Rome, Piel promised to join them as soon as the Nantes church was completed.[98] Shortly after their departure a bitter and divisive debate over Buchez's marginal Catholicism broke out within his school led by the fiery Roux-Lavergne.

From the start Buchez had argued against his disciples' interest in updating Thomism, a philosophy which he judged opposed to progress, and with which he disagreed on a number of points.[99] During the winter of 1838-39, however, he came to meet Abbé Lacordaire through this group, and the association which resulted seems marked by mutual respect and admiration. Although Buchez had some misgivings about Lacordaire's choice of the Dominican Order, urging him instead to found a new order, unmarked by an oppressive past, he nonetheless gave his blessing to Réquédat on his new life.[100] In the lull which followed Lacordaire's departure in Spring 1839, however, a lull for the "Thomists" as well as for Buchez's school as a whole, internal tensions surfaced. Roux-Lavergne, so recently involved in the publication of the multi-volumed Histoire parlementaire,

chose that moment to attack Buchez for remaining outside the Church he praised, for his less-than-orthodox use of traditional theological arguments, and for his Christianity which was all morality and no dogma. The critique was begun for the avowed purpose of putting pressure on Buchez in an effort to draw him into the Church or, if unsuccessful, face him with the possibility of losing his Catholic disciples.[101]

It is clear that Piel and others were drawn into this criticism for a time. But letters which passed between Piel and Lacordaire on the subject found the latter counselling the young architect to pray for and respect Buchez and to abstain from involvement in a plan to have some of Buchez's works, including the newly published Essai d'un traité complet de philosophie, du point de vue du catholicisme et du progrès, placed on the Index.[102] Roux-Lavergne found his leadership and initiative thwarted by Lacordaire's moderating influence on the group and he left Buchez's circle in mid- 1839. Piel remained with Buchez until Spring 1840, and Besson until 1841, when each left to join Lacordaire and the Dominicans.[103]

It is not clear what position Chevé took in this dispute. He seems not to have been a member of the "Thomist" group, or if so, not centrally involved in this dissention. He remained with Buchez during and after the crisis, and his writings shed no light on its importance to him. Indeed, in an article on Buchez written some thirteen

years later, he asserted incorrectly that Buchez had been converted to Catholicism around 1828, which indicates that he was ignorant of any issue concerning Buchez's Catholicism, or at least that it interested him so little that he had forgotten it in the intervening years.[104] If he felt with Réquédat that "one should love the poor because one loves Jesus Christ, not love Jesus Christ because one loves the poor," there is no evidence that this reversal of order implied for him, as it did for others, the necessity of breaking with Buchez.[105]

Rather, while some of his associates among Buchez's disciples were embarking on a religious priesthood, Chevé turned to that priesthood to which all savants were called, according to Saint-Simon, and on which Buchez's school had come to concentrate--namely, that of educating the public through the press and books, for the purpose of renovating society. It was as a republican, and a Christian Socialist, that Chevé made his writer's debut in 1840.

Actually, it was political and economic crises in France in 1839-40 which called forth this written response from Chevé. Following a period of governmental instability, in March 1840, Adolphe Thiers, petty-bourgeois, self-made man of the "parti de résistance," was called by the King to create a government. His words and actions in criticizing the limited electorate and recalling Napoleon's ashes from Saint Helena, for example, roused popular hopes for

egalitarian reform. Indeed, while the Peers debated passage of a child labor law, Deputy François Arago spoke in the Chamber of the need for "organization of work" in response to the increased unemployment.[106] But external events soon reversed this reform mood within the government to one of defensiveness on all fronts. Their hopes dashed, artisans who objected to being dealt with as factory hands engaged in an accelerating series of strikes from June through September, when they reached almost to the level of a general strike.[107] A disciple of Buchez in Lyon wrote to Ott: "I see the revolution so close to us that it is our duty to collaborate in it by all possible means."[108]

Chevé chose the pen as his means, and his first written work, entitled Programme démocratique, ou Résumé d'une Organisation complète de la Démocratie radicale, resulted.[109] Its preface or "Exposé" spoke of Chevé's "profound conviction of an imminent and definitive crisis." Preparation for this crisis, he continued, required creation and discussion of plans for a democratic society. So, he said, it was his purpose in this work to gather ideas from the programs of the First Republic and beyond, and to "reunite them, to complete them, to found them, to form a homogeneous and compact whole, an indivisible unity." He expressed his hope that the republic, an idea whose time had come, could finally be achieved, and lead to the the "moral, intellectual, and physical liberation of the people."[110]

The body of Programme démocratique was short, comprising only sixty pages, and highly organized, giving evidence of a logical, mathematical mind. Four main divisions, dealing with political, moral, scientific, and industrial organization of a democratic society, comprise the work. Chevé had the most to say about political organization, revealing him in this to be more republican than Saint-Simonian, as, indeed, Buchez also was. Most elements--Primary and Electoral Assemblies, the Legislative Corps, and Departmental and Municipal organization--were taken directly from the Constitution of Year III. A proposed Committee of Research and Improvement, a body of savants to serve the Legislative Corps, however, was a Saint-Simonian idea. Other suggestions for a Ministry, a Council of State, and a one-man Executive were derived from various sources.[111]

The very notions of moral, scientific, and industrial organization of society were based on Saint-Simonian thought, and in these sections Chevé quoted liberally from ideas Buchez had earlier expressed in his writings and conferences. Moral organization, in this view, was concerned with four important areas: social education, the fine arts, matters of justice, and cult or religion. Regarding the last named, Chevé advocated the liberal principle of "freedom of conscience" with which Buchez strongly disagreed, and the separation of Church and State.

He also wrote of his admiration for Catholicism, indicating, in a Liberal-Catholic and, equally, a Buchezian note that it was "moving to an immense renovation which, purging it of its profane alliances, should render it at its primitive destination."[112] He also endorsed the Liberal-Catholic notion of a European federation of free peoples under the Pope. And he concluded this section with a conviction he shared with Buchez, that ". . . the democrats are the true Christians of modern times, and the code of democracy is the Gospel."[113]

Under the heading of Scientific Organization, Chevé considered Institutions of Development or Research, Institutions of Teaching, and Institutions of Application, where he incorporated Buchez's ideas on public health. An interesting notion included in this section, which Chevé attributed to Leibnitz and Descartes, was the development of an international language, which, he predicted, would cause an intellectual revolution, as well as bringing mankind more closely together.[114]

The last section, on industrial organization, Chevé declared to be the most important part of all, since, he said, the evils of the present system were the cause of such unrest in society. Under this heading Chevé proposed a revision of the tax system such as other Saint-Simonians advocated, from taxing food and clothing, taxes which hurt the poor, to a graduated tax on property, real and

personal.[115] Secondly, he advocated a plan, first proposed by Buchez in the pages of l'Européen, for the establishment of institutions of public credit, independent of the State, with two-thirds of their funds allocated to aiding worker associations.[116] The third, and most important, aspect of his economic program called for establishing a completely collectivized economy, nation and industry-wide, the word "industry" including in its Saint-Simonian sense commerce, agriculture, etc. An Industrial Congress composed of representatives of all workers in a given industry would, he stated, set up associations whose specific rules and form would arise within the situation itself, and not be decided beforehand by some ideological dictum.[117] Members of these primary associations would elect members to a General Committee for each profession, or line of work, to supervise and equalize those associations, and to serve as a liaison with the Central Committee which would research, coordinate, and direct national industry in the international community.[118] An Industrial Jury would complete this organization, presiding over questions of pricing and salaries, and sensitive to moral issues in the economy.[119]

Chevé's first work showed the many influences and characteristics of his life and thought: his mathematical and logical education, his republican ties, his concern for national sovereignty, his integrity and spiritual nature, his association with Saint-Simonian ideas through Buchez's

school, and his affiliation with the Liberal-Catholic ideals. As we have seen, Chevé accumulated these ideas, much as these various groups encountered and mutually influenced each other. His work reveals him as an eclectic and synthetic thinker, in that way following the model of Buchez and all the Saint-Simonians, though the particular elements each synthesized differed from one individual or school to another. Further, Chevé shows that he was a synthesizer of theories, and in that sense, a theoretician in his own right, quoting Raspail and Buchez in the same work, as republican as these two leaders, yet more socialist than both in advocating an entirely collectivized economy, and more liberal and Catholic than either.

It was in another work which he published that year, actually a pamphlet entitled "Lettre sur la reform de la propriété, par un futur propriétaire,"[120] that Chevé exhibited in particular that character of Saint-Simonian thought which won it so many adherents of his generation, class, and professional status. Not only did Saint-Simonian socialism unite elements of Past and Present into the makeup for the Future, thereby reconciling constancy and change, matter and spirit, but in the broadest terms it imbued the notion of Progress with that of Humanity, to form the new spiritual and material religion of the nineteenth century, what Chevé referred to as "the holy cause of progress, object of the cult of our life."[121] In the work in question,

Chevé, future propriétaire, proposed a way to right some of the injustices in the existing system of ownership without requiring either governmental action, or the abolition of inheritance, the latter a favorite idea of the Producteur and Globe writers.[122] He began by asserting the "sacred right of ownership," quoting Saint-Simon that ownership should correspond to labor.[123] Then he put forth his system, which he called "equal exchange," an idea which he would elaborate into a book in 1848 when the crisis, which he now predicted, finally broke.[124]

The essence of "Equal Exchange" he stated thus: "All value given must receive an equal value," and its corollary: "Give ownership for ownership, use for use."[125] Under the existing system, Chevé explained, if one buys an item, he gives the owner the amount of money or goods agreed upon as equal in value, i.e., ownership for ownership. But, if one owns a field or house and rents it out for ten years, one remains owner, and in addition owns also the rent paid over ten years. One gave use and retained ownership, while the renter received use and forfeited ownership. Such a system was unjust, Chevé contended, and exaggerated the differences between rich and poor. Further, since it was the labor of the tenant farmer which made the rented land productive, the rich gained wealth from the labor of others.[126] Instead, under the system of "Equal Exchange," which Chevé proposed, rent would be considered as partial payment of ownership,

which would be fully transferred when the cumulative rent paid equalled the value of the goods.[127] Thus, he argued, laborers could become owners, and owners would be urged to become productive, each receiving recompense according to his talent and activity.[128] At the conclusion of his "Letter," Chevé referred to the economic unrest in society, calling upon owners to avoid revolution by immediately reforming some of the injustices in the existing system of ownership, which constituted, Chevé said, "a gangrenous sore on the societal body."[129]

Perhaps it was his zeal, logic, and writing skill exhibited in these first works which merited Cheve's elevation to the Editorial Committee of l'Atelier in June 1841. L'Atelier was a journal produced for and by workers, the first of its kind which had been organized at the height of the strike activity in the Fall of 1840.[130] The scheme was initiated by workers peripherally associated with Buchez and inspired by his plan for worker cooperatives which called for inalienable and indivisible capital, insuring perpetuation and expansion of the association beyond its founders. They drew up a Prospectus which declared their aim to unite "workers of all professions,"[131] i.e., workers in the Saint-Simonian sense--agricultural, professional, commercial, industrial, etc.--behind programs of popular sovereignty through electoral reform, and the formation of worker associations as a means to the just distribution of

wealth.[132] The Editorial Committee was elected by the founders, those two hundred some workers who first subscribed to and sold the newspaper.[133] When Chevé was elected to it he was one of two teneurs des livres," or bookkeepers, among nineteen. The others were printers, sculptors, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, cabinet makers, shippers, and surveyors.[134]

Chevé contributed two articles during that quarter which were printed in the July and August 1841 issues. Though they were unsigned, Chevé later acknowledged their authorship.[135] Actually one long article entitled "Reforme Industrielle: Organisation du Travail," laid out his central thesis and discussed it in relation to Production and Distribution, and the second continued this application to the topics of Association and Competition. As Chevé saw it, most reform systems were, at base, variations of Communism or Liberalism. While the first denied the individual and individual ownership, he said, the second favored exclusive individual ownership in a system of exploitive competition. Rather than reject one of these systems for the other, as all the sects had done, Chevé argued for a system of worker association which, he asserted, would capitalize on the good points of each of the others and apply them where he foresaw they would be most useful.[136]

Applying this theory to questions of production and distribution, Chevé, in a second article in L'Atelier,

called for common or collective ownership of the means of production through producer associations, while each worker would receive consumable goods equal to the value of his labor.[137] Chevé defended such private ownership as "indispensable and holy," as against the theories of equal distribution of goods by Babeuf and Louis Blanc, since, Chevé argued, needs and abilities of individuals are never equal. In a parallel set of arguments, Chevé held that workers should act cooperatively within associations where decisions would be made democratically. Yet, he continued, differences between individuals within associations and between associations should be dealt with through a process he termed concurrence, whereby prices, wages, and standards of excellence would be settled by all the workers in a specific industry. Workers would, by his definition, concur, or run together, toward a common goal, thus eliminating the rivalry and opposition found in the existing totally competitive economy. Chevé rejected any State direction or monopoly over the economic system, contending that it would destroy the independence and vitality of the workers and the economy, and lead to inevitable and monstrous despotism. Rather, the State's role, as he saw it, was to facilitate worker ownership by mobilizing public funds to help create the inalienable social capital necessary for associations to operate.

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On the pages of l'Atelier, therefore, Chevé again showed himself to be a Saint-Simonian and adherent to Buchez's plan for worker association and public credit. Nowhere did he call his "middle way" socialism, perhaps for fear of alienating non-initiates like the Communist workers, adherents of Cabet, or the liberal businessmen and politicians, that larger audience to whom this work seems to have been addressed. As he would many times in the future, Chevé accentuated here the synthetic nature of Saint-Simonian thought, endeavoring to use it as a bridge to unite more doctrinaire, rival ideologies. Avoiding the deeper, even somewhat murky aspects of Buchez's philosophical system, he attempted to popularize and propagate the more socially applicable aspects of his thought. If the section on Association and Competition seems to evoke an idealized guild system, it nonetheless corresponds to the overwhelmingly artisanal character of the French labor force, and particularly of l'Atelier's readers in Paris.

By the time this article was published in its entirety, Chevé's private life seems to have suffered a tragedy which altered its course. His marriage to Clarisse-Agathe Vincent, his cousin, in 1838, had been followed eighteen months later by the birth of their second child, Athanase-Désiré, on February 7, 1840, the only one to live to maturity.[138] Then, on July 15, 1841, Chevé's thirty-two year

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old wife died, probably in childbirth.[139] Only two months later, shortly after his re-election to Atelier's Editorial Committee, Chevé wrote to resign.[140] He was going, he told the Committee members, to join Lacordaire and his companions in the newly refounded Dominican Order. The decision, he assured them, was not really sudden, but was the result of a ten-year search. Chevé must have departed immediately for the Novitiate at Bosco in Piedmont. Lacordaire, by now a professed Dominican priest, visited the novitiate there from September 25 through October 15, and it was from his hands that Chevé received the white Dominican habit and the name, Brother Ceslaus on October 2, 1841.[141]

The search of the previous ten years had brought Chevé to foreign parts, new ideologies, and association with idealistic social reformers from a number of persuasions, but it had not, by his own confession, brought him peace or fulfillment. The preaching of Lacordaire, and the example he and his companions set, had evidently touched something in Chevé's emptiness. His wife's untimely death undoubtedly brought it all--his career, his family obligations, his sense of meaning and purpose--into question once again. In his grief, he saw the past years as full of "unfruitful effort and abortive attempts to achieve social change."[142] Now, he professed to being "fully convinced that the great social regeneration can be definitely accomplished only by religious and moral renovation." His letter continued that

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his decision to enter the Dominican Order was "the only one which could coincide with the situation of my soul." Yet he persuaded his colleagues at l'Atelier not to abandon their efforts toward social regeneration since "it is holy also." "On the day after the social struggles," he continued, "you will find me beside you at the breach, and by what I will carry there, the Gospels and the cross, our cause will not be less strong, believe it."

Not much is known of Chevé's time at Bosco except that on December 18, 1841, he assisted at the death and funeral rites for his former associate, Piel, just fifteen months after Piel had attended those of his dear friend Réquédat. In 1843, Chevé recounted his impressions on the sad and solemn occasion in an article published in Le Correspondant.[143] During the trial period of the novitiate Chevé evidently was convinced of his unsuitability for religious life and of his desire to return to the world and his career there. Since he had never abandoned his social concerns, they remained constant. So, too, did his decision to devote his whole life to the cause of social reorganization. In effect, Chevé would exchange one priesthood for another, picking up again his earlier vocation of teaching minds and consciences as prelude to democratic social change, and to the achievement of social justice through the "priesthood" of journalism. As Christensen wrote of the English Christian Socialist, J. M.

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Ludlow, "He was convinced that the great teacher of mankind in modern times is not the pulpit, but the press . . . if that teaching be not thoroughly Christian, mankind will never be Christianized."[144] In the months which followed Cheve's return to the world, he tried to put together his interrupted life to pursue these goals.

NOTES

[1]Gustave Flaubert, L'Éducation sentimentale (Paris, 1870).

[2]Victor Hugo, Les Misérables (Paris, 1862).

[3]Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin 47 vols. (Paris, 1865-1879). This work will be cited, henceforth, as OSSE.

[4]Saint-Simon, "Organisateur," OSSE 4, "Mémoire sur la science de l'homme," OSSE 11.

[5]Saint-Simon, "Organisateur," OSSE 2, "Catéchisme des industriels," OSSE 10.

[6]Saint-Simon, "Industrie," OSSE 3, 4, "Système industriel," OSSE 6, "Mémoire sur la science de l'Homme," OSSE 11.

[7]As quoted by Barrie M. Ratcliffe, "Saint-Simonism and Messianism: The Case of Gustave d'Eichthal," French Historical Studies 9, 3 (Spring 1976): 494.

[8]Le Producteur: Journal philosophique de l'industrie, des sciences, et des beaux-arts 1 (octobre 1825-mai 1826), 5 vols, weekly, 2, (mai-décembre 1826) monthly.

[9]As quoted from Le Globe: Journal de la doctrine saint-simonienne (30 décembre 1831) by Sébastien Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme: 1825-1864 (Paris, 1931), p. 23.

[10]François-André Isambert, De la Charbonnerie au saint-simonisme: Étude sur la jeunesse de Buchez (Paris, 1966), p. 159.

[11]Philippe-J.-B. Buchez, Essai d'un traité de philosophie du point de vue du catholicisme et du progrès (Paris, 1838-1840), p. 27, as quoted in Isambert, ibid., p. 151. Buchez had been restive under the earlier orientation.

[12]As quoted from Le Producteur, 2, pp. 628-629, 3, pp. 122-133, 526-560, by Isambert, ibid., pp 146-152. François-Andre Isambert, "Physiologie sociale et système des

sciences chez Buchez," Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie 36 (1964): 101-116.

[13]Hippolyte Carnot, Sur le saint-simonisme (Paris, 1887), p. 15, as quoted by François-Andre Isambert, Politiques, religion, et science de l'homme chez Philippe Buchez: 1796-1865 (Paris, 1967), p. 41.

[14]The Pereire brothers, the Rodrigues brothers, d'Eichthal, and Sarchi were Jewish. See Georges Weill, "Les juifs et le saint-simonisme," Revue des études juives 21 (1895): 261-280. Also see Z. Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Anti-Semites in France," Jewish Social Studies 9: 33-60, and P. Guiral, "Notes sur anticléricalisme des saint-simonians," Archives de sociologie des religions 5 (juillet-août 1960): 31-40.

[15]Letter of Enfantin to Dr. Bailly, 6 juillet 1827, OSSE 23, as quoted by Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme, p. 63.

[16]Evidence of the continuing nature of this dedication in Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme: Saint-Simon et son oeuvre (Paris, 1894), p. 161.

[17]Sismondi, Nouveau principes d'Économie politique (Paris, 1826-1827), 2 vols. Joseph Rey, Articles in Le Producteur, and book, Des institutions judiciaires de l'Angleterre comparées avec celles de la France et de quelques autres états anciens et modernes 2 vols. (Paris, 1826). J. Buonaratti, Conspiration des Égaux (Paris, 1828).

[18]Isambert, De la Charbonnerie, p. 182., Isambert, Politiques, religion et science de l'homme, p. 96. A letter of Buchez to Dr. Curie, dated 1833, establishes his uncertainty even at that date about the use of violence, as quoted by Isambert, ibid., p. 183.

[19]For use in "Organisateur" see Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, p. 8. Isambert in De la Charbonnerie, pp. 170, and 185-186 discusses the new usage.

[20]For titles conferred at that time see OSSE 2, pp. 23-24.

[21]Carnot indicated that others, Bazard, Laurent, Rouen, etc. were also displeased, Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme, p. 65. Also see Isambert, De la Charbonnerie, pp. 160-162.

[22]H. d'Allemagne, Les Saint-Simoniens, p. 34, as quoted by Jean-Pierre Callot, Enfantin: le prophète aux sept visages (Paris, 1963), p. 30, and Charléty, Histoire du

Saint-Simonisme, pp. 47-48.

[23]The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition. First Year, 1828-1829. Translated with notes and introduction by George G. Iggers (Boston, 1958), second and third sessions.

[24]Exposition, First Session, pp. 11-18, Thirteenth Session, pp. 189-203.

[25]Ibid., Thirteenth Session, 17 juin 1829. Isambert cites 6 mai as the date of the announcement.

[26]Note of octobre 1829, Buchez to Enfantin, see Roux-Lavergne, "Lettres d'un disciple de la Science Nouvelle aux doctrinaires prétendus saint-simoniens" (Paris, 1831), p. 48, as quoted by Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 34.

[27]Hippolyte Auger, Mémoires, p. 359, as quoted by Isambert, Politiques, religion, et science de l'homme, p. 29.

[28]Letter of Eugène Rodrigues to Enfantin, OSSE, 2, pp. 69-70. Isambert, ibid., pp. 29, 32. Also see Edith Thomas, Pauline Roland: Socialisme et Féminisme au XIXe siècle (Paris, 1956), pp. 24-25.

[29]Note of Buchez to Enfantin, décembre 1829, as quoted in Isambert, ibid., p. 34. Later, Buchez to Bazard called Enfantin ambitious, Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme, p. 67. See also Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, p. 39, and Juste Olivier, Paris en 1830: Journal (Paris, 1831), p. 294.

[30]Olivier, ibid., Charléty, ibid., p. 66, and Isambert, ibid., p. 35.

[31]Held at rue Ferme des Mathurins, according to Olivier, ibid., p. 62. They then moved to rue de Chabanais, according to Armand Cuvillier, P.-J.-B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien (Paris, 1894), p. 19.

[32]The phrase was Enfantin's, from March 1830, as quoted by Cuvillier, ibid., p. 19, 18, and Ollivier, Paris en 1830, p. 29.

[33]Quote from Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, p. 33. Fernand Rudé, in Stendhal et la pensée sociale de son temps (Paris, 1967), p. 191 describes them as "the mystics, and the tender," while Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme, p. 350, saw them as attracted by "all the scientific rigor, all the intellectual sincerity" of the Saint-Simonians as "men of great heart, beautiful intelligence, of brilliant genius, who had heard the cries

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[34]As for the negative forces which drove youth to Saint-Simonian ideas, see Anthony Esler, "Youth in Revolt: The French Generation of 1830," Modern European Social History, Robert J. Bezucha, ed. (New York, 1972), pp.301-334. Also Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme, p. 47, G. Praedalié, Balzac Historien: La Société de la Restauration (Paris, 1955), p. 180, 242. Albert Soboul, Paysans, Sans-culottes et Jacobins (Paris, 1966), p. 184, quotes Michelet on the insufficiency of republican religion to the youth of 1830.

[35]B. Tolley, "The Cenacle of Balzac's Illusions perdues," French Studies (1961), pp. 324-327. Balzac is quoted by Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 72. Roux-Lavergne, Un sentier, pp. 141-143, as cited by Isambert, ibid., p 56.

[36]Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, p. 26 quotes from La Revue (1855), p. 270.

[37]Rainer Maria Rilke, Sämtliche Werke 2 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1959): 42.

[38]Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, p. 42, Charléty, Histoire du saint-simonisme, p. 82.

[39]Weill, ibid., Charléty, ibid., p. 81.

[40]Auguste Ott, in his foreward to Buchez's Traité de politique et de science sociale (Paris, 1866), pp. xxvii, notes that Buchez cared for wounded. Cuvillier, P.-J.-B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien, pp. 19-20, cites honors he received for this service. Also Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 42.

[41]Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 42-43 quotes Le National (2 août 1830), saying that Joubert, Bastide, Guinard, and Cavaignac were among them.

[42]Cuvillier, P.-J.-B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien, p. 19.

[43]Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 43, quotes from Les sociétés populaires de 1830, pp. 68-70.

[44]Cuvillier, P.-J.-B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien, p. 20.

[45]Procès de vingt-sept, ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique (Paris, 1834), p.101.

[46]Olivier, Paris en 1830: Journal, p. 62. Also Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 29, quotes Auger's Mémoires, pp. 381-383.

[47]F.-A. Isambert, "Aux origines de l'associationisme buchezien," Archives internationales de sociologie de la coopération (1959), pp. 59-60. Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 82, cites Européen 1 (17 décembre 1831): 37, and 14 (21 juillet 1832).

[48]Earlier articles of Buchez in Producteur 3: 173-192, 56-564; 5, pp. 48-62, 103-106. 1831 proposal found in Bulletin de Paris (7 février 1831), as quoted in Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 46.

[49]Isambert, ibid.

[50]Isambert, ibid., p. 47, quotes Auger's Mémoires, pp. 413-415.

[51]Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, pp. 95-105 discusses the months of crisis preceding the break. David-Albert Griffiths, Jean Reynaud encyclopédiste de l'époque romantique (Paris, 1965), p. 66, quotes an interview with Reynaud years later which centered on personal, rather than doctrinal issues. Barrie Ratcliffe, "Saint-Simonism and Messianism: The Case of Gustave d'Eichthal," French Historical Studies 9, 3 (Spring 1976), also notes d'Eichthals's remembrance of that time.

[52]Weill, ibid., pp. 106-165.

[53]Journal des Sciences morales et politiques, then l'Européen, 1st series, will henceforth be cited as JSMP, was published from 3 décembre 1831 through 27 octobre 1832, 2 vol. monthly. Buchez had been interested in launching a journal earlier but could not finance it.

[54]JSMP (10 décembre 1831), as cited by Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 93.

[55]JSMP (17 décembre 1831), as quoted in Isambert, ibid. Also Paul-Mathieu Laurent, Réfutation de l'histoire de France de l'abbé de Montgaillard (Paris, 1828).

[56]Olivier, Paris en 1830: Journal, p. 295.

[57]P.-J.-B. Buchez, Introduction à la science de l'histoire, ou science du développement de l'humanité (Paris, 1833), 1 vol. Same text published in two vols. (Brussels, 1834).

[58]Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 165-167, quotes from Buchez's work.

[59]Saint-Simon, "Système industriel," OSSE 21.

[60]For a discussion of the development of this doctrine through Saint-Simon and the Exposition, and of Buchez's role, see Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 248-259.

[61]Isambert, ibid., also Olivier, Paris en 1830: Journal, p. 62.

[62]Isambert, ibid., quotes from Buchez's Introduction à la science de l'histoire, pp. 379-391.

[63]François-Vincent Raspail, Réforme pénitentiaire, Lettres sur les prisons de Paris 1 (Paris, 1839): 40, as cited in Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 44, note 28.

[64]Isambert, ibid., p. 60.

[65]Isambert, ibid., p. 47 quotes Auger's Mémoires, p. 349.

[66]Olivier, Paris en 1830: Journal, p. 65.

[67]Roux-Lavergne, Un sentier, p. 71, as quoted in Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 47.

[68]As quoted in Eric H. Erickson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (New York, 1962), p. 123.

[69]Jesse R. Pitts, "Continuity and Change in Bourgeois France," In Search of France (New York, 1963).

[70]Buchez in Introduction à la science de l'histoire, p. 377, and l'Européen 1: 43, as quoted in Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 147, 153, 163. Buchez later added another epoch, and transformed the order of the revelations, ibid. (2) II: 303-312, as quoted in Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 177-181.

[71]Buchez, Introduction à la science de l'histoire, pp. 469-471, 478-480, 531-532.

[72]L'Européen 2: 257., as cited by Isambert, Politiques, religion,, p. 157.

[73]Félicité de Lammenais, Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion (Paris, 1817).

[74]Some of the censorship was certainly related to Lamennais' anti-Bourbon sentiments: Lamennais to Foisset in 1828, cited by Pierre Flottes, La pensée politique et sociale d'Alfred de Vigny (Paris, 1927), p.85, footnote #5. See also "Lamennais," La Grande Encyclopédie, 21: 829-830, and Eugène Spuller, Lamennais: étude d'histoire politique et religieuse (Paris, 1955), pp. 33, 56-57.

[75]La Grande Encyclopédie 21: 829.

[76]Félicité de Lamennais, Paroles d'un croyant (Paris, 1834).

[77]P.-J.-B. Buchez et P.-C. Roux, Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française, ou journal des assemblées nationales depuis 1789, jusqu'en 1815, précédée d'une introduction sur l'histoire de France jusqu'à la convocation des États-Généraux (Paris, 1834-38), 40 vols.

[78]Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 94.

[79]Buchez et Roux, Histoire parlementaire 1: 163, as cited in Isambert, ibid., p. 97.

[80]Rousseau to Hebert: "Atheism is aristocratic! The idea of a Great Being protecting and punishing is wholely popular. If God did not exist He would have to be invented" as quoted in William R. Everdell, "The Rosières Movement, 1766-1789: A Clerical Precursor of the Revolutionary Cults," French Historic Studies 9, 1 (Spring 1975): 23-36.

[81]Buchez et Roux, Histoire parlementaire 33: ix, as cited by Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 100.

[82]"Avide de la foi qui crée et las du doute qui tue, nous avons demandé à tous les novateurs de boire la vérité à leur calice. Ils ne nous ont présenté que le vin empoisonné de l'erreur. Et nos lèvres se sont desséchées, et notre âme s'est flétrie, veuve d'espérance." C.-F. Chevé, Catholicisme et démocratie, ou le règne du Christ (Paris, 1842), p. ii.

[83]l'Européen, as cited in Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 88, 158, 160, 168-169, 180-181.

[84]l'Européen, journal de morale et de philosophie, 30 octobre 1835-octobre 1838, 2 vol., published monthly. Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 59-60.

[85]Actually, he had always been against violence while still putting hope in the revolutionary situation. See Européen 1 (14 juillet 1832), and Européen 2: 86. Also Histoire parlementaire 20. For later explicit condemnation

of violence see ibid. 32, 6, and Introduction de la science de l'histoire (2) 1: 42-43., as quoted in Isambert, ibid., pp. 80-81.

[86]Brochure on Worker Association, 1838, for example, abandoned plans for organization of all workers in all industries, and instead spoke of free, voluntary association. See Isambert, ibid., pp. 87-88.

[87]Charles-François Chevé, "Le Parti-Prêtre," Le Spectateur de Dijon 73 (11 juin 1844): 1. Quoted above p. 51, and Isambert, ibid., p. 88, note 18.

[88]Les Saints Évangiles de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Édition populaire dédiée à la nation française par les ouvrières imprimeurs (Paris, 1837).

[89]A. Duval, "Lacordaire et Buchez: Idéalisme révolutionnaire et réveil religieux en 1839," Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et théologiques 45, 3 (juillet 1961): 454. Isambert, ibid., pp. 304-305.

[90]The church was Saint Nicholas, its pastor, Abbé Fournier, who was influential in Piel's conversion, and his friendship with Réquédat, and with Tammaseo. L'Abbé Pothier, Monseigneur Fournier, évêque de Nantes (Nantes, 1900), p. 405. See also Augustin D'Arrès, "Souvenirs du Noviciat de Bosco," L'Année Dominicaine 12, 115 (mai 1873): 203, and Isambert, Politiques, religion, pp. 305-308.

[91]Charles-François Chevé, "Buchez," Dictionnaire des conversions, ou Essai d'encyclopédie historique des conversions au catholicisme, Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique 33 (Petit-Montrouge, 1852): 310.

[92]". . . où mes croyances sortirent d'un examen approfondi de ces questions, je n'ai aucun préjugé à dépouiller, aucune crainte routinière qui retienne l'audace de ma pensée, et j'ai trempé mon esprit trop avant dans tous les systèmes philosophiques et sociaux pour n'être pas un juge impartial et désintéressé." C.-F. Chevé, Simples notes sur le base historique et le principe constitutif du Catholicisme (Paris, 1851), p. vi.

[93]AS, Actes de Mariages, copy made from the record of the Archives de l'Église de Saint-Médard, Actes de Mariages, 1838, #115, p. 335. Chevé et Vincent, 4 août 1838. Notes that a dispensation was required since the partners were within the third degree of consanguinity. See Daumard, Les bourgeois de Paris au XIXe siècle (Paris, 1970), p. 211 for the frequency of such marriages.

[94]Louis Foucher, La Philosophie catholique en France

au XIXe siècle avant la renaissance Thomiste et dans son rapport avec elle (Paris, 1955), p. 256-257. See also Pothier, Monseigneur Fournier, p. 408, Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 408, and D'Arrès, "Souvenirs du Noviciat de Bosco," p. 204.

[95]D'Arrès, ibid., p. 197, and Duval, "Lacordaire et Buchez," p. 427.

[96]D'Arrès, ibid., pp. 202-205, Duval, ibid., p. 426.

[97]D'Arrès, ibid., p. 200, "Souvenirs du Noviciat de Bosco," L'Année Dominicaine 158 (août 1873): 323, and M. Foisset, Vie de R.P. Lacordaire 1 (Paris, 1870): 468.

[98]D'Arrès, L'Année Dominicaine, 158 (août 1873): 334, and Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 307.

[99]Isambert, ibid., pp. 189-192, 194, 308.

[100]D'Arrès, "Souvenirs du Noviciat de Bosco," L'Année Dominicaine 15, 193 (juillet 1876): 277-278, Duval, "Lacordaire et Buchez," pp. 424, 428, and Isambert, ibid., p. 307.

[101]D'Arrès, ibid., pp. 271-283, Cuvillier, P.J.B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien, p. 26, Duval, ibid., pp. 430-438, Isambert, ibid., pp. 193, 308.

[102]A scornful letter by Piel in Spring 1839 to Fournier indicates Piel's aversion to those who "for eight years remain at the door of the church without ever entering" and who "sanctify by marriage culpable unions," possible references to both Buchez and Chevé, as quoted in Pothier, Monseigneur Fournier, p. 424. This evidence would seem to support Isambert's notion that Roux was not solely responsible for the opposition within Buchez's school to his religious position. D'Arrès, ibid., discusses Piel's interpretation of "Compelle intrare" as seen by Buchez. See also Duval, "Lacordaire et Buchez," pp. 438-439 for the letter by Lacordaire quoted.

[103]Pothier, ibid., pp. 424-428, D'Arrès, ibid., pp. 280-283, Foisset, Vie de R.P. Lacordaire, p. 468, and Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 308.

[104]Chevé, "Buchez," Dictionnaire des conversions.

[105]Duval, "Lacordaire et Buchez," p. 432, note 24.

[106]Rudé, Stendhal et la pensée sociale, p. 212.

[107]Octave Festy, Le Mouvement ouvrier au début de la

monarchie de juillet, 1830-1834 (Paris 1908), and Édouard Dolléans, Histoire du mouvement ouvrier 1830-1871 1 (Paris, 1967): 182ff. Also see Armand Cuvillier, Un Journal des ouvriers: "L'Atelier," 1840-1850 (Paris, 1954), p. 19. Jacques Droz, Europe Between Revolutions, 1815-1848 (London, 1967), p. 124.

[108]Nermon at Lyons to Ott, as cited by Cuvillier, ibid., p. 19, 199-200.

[109]Charles-François Chevé, Programme démocratique, ou Résumé d'une Organisation complète de la Démocratie radicale (Paris, 1840).

[110]"Aussi est-ce dans la conviction profonde d'une crise imminente et définitive . . ." Ibid., p. 1. "Résumer toutes les institutions de quelque valeur créés par la République française ou proposées par la démocratie depuis 1830, les réunir, les compléter, les fondre, en former un tout homogène et compact, une indivisible unité voilà notre plan." Ibid. "Le but que se propose la démocratie, nous semble, dans sa généralité . . . se résumer par cette formule: Affranchissement moral, intellectuel et physique du peuple." Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[111]Ibid.

[112]"Pour compléter l'organisation morale, il nous resterait à parler de culte; mais la démocratie ayant proclamé la liberté de conscience comme la première et la plus inviolable, il s'en suit qu'à part une simple surveillance de police, l'état ne doit pas plus s'immiscer dans l'église que l'église dans l'état." Ibid., p. 39. ". . . le catholicisme marche à une immense rénovation qui, l'épurent de ses alliances profanes, doit se rendre à sa destination primitive." Ibid.

[113]"Que l'église le comprenne ou le nie, les démocrates sont les vrais chrétiens des temps modernes, et le code de la démocratie, c'est l'Évangile." Ibid.

[114]Ibid., p. 45.

[115]Ibid., pp. 49-51.

[116]Ibid., pp. 52-54.

[117]Ibid., pp. 56-59.

[118]Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[119]Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[120]This letter was later printed as part of Chevé's Dernier Mot du Socialisme (Paris, 1848), pp. 38-45, and is quoted here from that source.

[121]"Puisse ce programme de quelques pages n'être pas tout-à-fait inutile à la cause saint du progrès, objet du culte de notre vie!" Chevé, Programme démocratique, p. 3.

[122]Weill, Un précurseur du socialisme, p. 82, quotes Le Globe (24 octobre 1831).

[123]"Tandis que les sectateurs d'Owen et de Babeuf nient la propriété elle-même et la maudissent, moi je repousse, au contraire, tout ce qui blesse et détruit ce droit sacré." Chevé, Dernier Mot du Socialisme, p. 38. "Or . . .la rente qui lui donne pour base l'oisiveté au lieu du travail . . ." Ibid.

[124]Ibid., pp. 38-47, and Charles-François Chevé, Le Socialiste: Journal de l'Égal-Échange, 1849.

[125]". . . je dis: toute valeur donnée doit recevoir une valeur égale . . " Chevé, Dernier Mot du Socialisme, p. 38. "Ou l'usage contre l'usage, ou la propriété contre la propriété, quoi de mieux? quoi de plus?" Ibid., p. 41.

[126]Ibid., pp. 39-40, 45.

[127]Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[128]Ibid., p. 44.

[129]"J'entends! C'est l'abus d'une chose qui la [propriété] fait vivre, comme c'est l'intempérance qui nourrit, la gangrène qui sanifie le corps, la madadie qui donne la sainté." Ibid., p. 46.

[130]Isambert, Politiques, religion, p. 23.

[131]Rudé, Stendhal et la pensée sociale, p. 131, Cuvillier, Un Journal des Ouvriers, p. 22.

[132]Cuvillier, Ibid., p. 20.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Ibid., p. 200. See L'Atelier 1, 10 (juin 1841): 76.

[135]Chevé, Catholicisme et démocratie, p. 123.

[136]Charles-François Chevé, "Réforme Industrielle: Organisation du Travail: Production et Répartition,"

L'Atelier 1, 11 (juillet 1841): 84-86. Cuvillier ascribes to Chevé a third article published prior to these two and likewise entitled "Réforme industrielle: Organisation du Travail," L'Atelier 1, 10 (juin 1841). Cuvillier, Un Journal des Ouvriers, p. 58, note 5.

[137]Charles-François Chevé, "Réforme Industrielle: Organisation du Travail: Association et Concurrence," L'Atelier 1, 12 (août 1841): 92-94.

[138]Ibid.

[139]AS, Actes de naissance, Athanase-Désiré Chevé, 7 février 1840.

[140]AS, Actes de décès, Agathe-Clarisse Vincent Chevé, 15 juillet 1841. She died at 10, rue de la Bourbe, according to record above. J.-M.-V. Audin in Le Véritable Conducteur Parisien de Richard (reprinted Paris, 1970), p. 314, notes the location of a maternity hospital at 3, rue de la Bourbe, which may have expanded to #10.

[141]Letter to the members of the Editorial Committee of L'Atelier, as cited by Cuvillier, Un Journal, p. 204. See Appendix B.

[142]D'Arrès, "Souvenirs du Noviciat de Bosco," L'Année Dominicaine 15, 188 (février 1876): 58. P.-V. Grégoire, "Les débuts du Catholicisme social," Vie intellectuelle (juin 1952), p. 64, and ibid., note 3.

[143]Cuvillier, Un Journal, p. 204. See Appendix B.

[144]Charles-François Chevé, Le Correspondant 3 (août 1843): 281-282.

[145]Törben Christensen, Origin and History of Christian Socialism, 1848-1854 (Copenhagen, 1962), p. 62.

## CHAPTER THREE

## PROVINCIAL CATHOLIC JOURNALIST, 1842-1847

The heightened revolutionary atmosphere of 1839-40 which had inspired Chevé to spring into print for the first time exerted a similar impact on other Leftist critics of bourgeois capitalism and the July Monarchy. On the one hand were the Utopian socialists, Fourier, Cabet, and former Saint-Simonian Pierre Leroux, and on the other, jacobin-socialists with ideas derived from Buonarotti and the revolutionary tradition of '89 and '93, kept alive in the conspiratorial republican societies. Two newcomers, more easily placed in the socialist camp, though not utopians, were Louis Blanc, one of the editors of the radical republican La Réforme, whose work, L'Organisation du Travail, appeared in 1839, and P.-J.Proudhon, whose mémoire Qu'est-ce que la Propriété? was to arouse debate from 1840 onward. Auguste Blanqui, leader of the secret Société des Saisons, also came to public attention with his ideas of direct and violent action following the workers' strike of May 1839.

While Chevé's earliest publications were well suited to this milieu, the same cannot be said for the work he

produced subsequent to his return from Piedmont after his time spent in the Dominican novitiate there.

In the months which followed his return to Paris in 1842, Chevé lived at home with his mother, exercising his new social vocation as Saint-Simonian priest/educator/journalist, and attempting to express his vision of the future in writing. His second book, Catholicisme et démocratie, ou le Règne du Christ, published by Capelle in late Spring 1842, signalled Chevé's entrance into the realm of theological speculation and his public identification as a Liberal Catholic.[1] Gone was the cool rationalist of the Programme démocratique, and in his place was the ardent author of the republican "Testament" glimpsed nine years earlier. Describing himself as "a disciple of the democratic faith, Catholic with fervor, revolutionary, Christian, and impassioned lover of all the great ideas of the nineteenth century," Chevé called on the sons of the Church and the sons of the people to become reconciled in a common vision and behind a common goal, on which, he said, the destiny of France and the progress of humanity depended.[2] The vision was that the message of the Gospels, as transmitted by Catholicism in the past, was the same as that of democracy, i.e., to achieve the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity, or the Kingdom of Christ on earth.[3] Chevé refuted those who argued that Christ's Kingdom was not of this world. Rather, he stated, it was

already present in those reformers: young believers, apostles, artists, and savants, who were working to enfranchise the people and bring equality and universal brotherhood into the public sphere.[4] The very desires of the century, Chevé asserted, were the revelation of God to man to further His design, His Will. He had given France the task of being the model and leader for all humanity, Chevé declared, achieving progress through education, the arts, governmental reforms, and economic association.[5] Such progress would include universal suffrage, the equality of women, elimination of war, rehabilitation and reconciliation of criminals, justice for the poor and oppressed, respect for life and for labor, and the organization of workers.[6] Not surprisingly, this last topic was developed to a greater extent than others, not in its practical detail, but in its relationship to the ideals of liberty, equality, and universal brotherhood. In all this Chevé made no reference to historical events or to texts advocating such reforms, but simply asserted what, in his reforming zeal, he wished to see realized.

Sections on property, and on the work of social education, which Chevé called a priestly task, were also treated at length.[7] Finally, Chevé appealed to the Church to shake off its lethargy, and, by allying with the poor and weak rather than with the wealthy, to play a strong role in seeing morality realized in society's laws, the Gospel in

its manners, and in recalling all to the worship of God.[8]

Shortly after the publication of this work Chevé made a number of changes in his life--from being a widower he became a husband, from journalism he turned to teaching, and from his mother's house he moved to a new residence on the Left Bank. It was there, on March 13, 1843, that Chevé, now twenty-nine years old, married Marie Thérèse Adélaïde Schneider, aged nineteen, in the Church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont.[9] Although details of his teaching are lacking, he probably taught mathematics, and continued as a professor until the Spring of 1844.

As a Catholic educator, as well as a long-time opponent of the principles basic to Louis-Philippe's reign, Chevé had already shown signs in his Catholicisme et démocratie of being drawn into the great controversy of the 1840s, the issue of "freedom of teaching." It was after his academic career ended in the Spring of 1844, that he was reintroduced into journalism, this time as editor of a Catholic paper in Dijon, and became part of a larger Liberal-Catholic effort to reintroduce Catholicism into society.[10] The burning issue of the time was for freedom of education, and Chevé, with the help of Lacordaire, became a spokesman for the Catholic Party, led by Montalembert.[11]

The Université had been created and granted a monopoly over education by Napoleon in 1808, to crown and regulate a nationally centralized system of education, as "Jesuits of

the State." It had been maintained under the Restoration, but delivered into ecclesiastical control. Resistance against this monopoly manifested itself, as we have seen, in the violent anticlericalism evident among the educated youth of the Restoration, and erupted in student demonstrations, sacrilegious acts, and a widespread hatred of the clergy, especially of the perennial target, the Jesuits. Liberal opponents of the regime, like writers Benjamin Constant in the Mercure de France and Dubois in the Globe, called for "freedom of teaching," that is the acceptance of private and other schools to operate with a curriculum and faculty outside the Université's control, in order to break the stranglehold of the Church. Other supporters of the Bourbons like the Duc de Broglie's Société de la Morale Chrétienne and the realist-politician Guizot submitted statements to the King's Ministry urging the same solution but in the defense of respect for religion. Abbé Lamennais had advocated freedom of education as early as 1816, and the romantic writer Chateaubriand, both conservatives at the time, had seen that the Université's monopoly was detrimental to the interests of both Church and State. The majority of the Catholic hierarchy, however, stubborn Legitimists and Gallicans, felt that to concede such freedom would violate absolute principles and grant concessions to the Church's enemies. It was, therefore, unthinkable in their sight.

The violently anticlerical atmosphere of the 1830 revolution had been the consequence of their intransigence. During the "Glorious Days" the issue of freedom of education was again raised and Lafayette had publicly promised its realization. Such a provision had, indeed, been written into the Charter, and sworn to by Louis-Philippe. Yet, once in power, with the Université no longer in the Church's hands, the Liberals in turn used the Université's monopoly over education to exclude the clergy from teaching. Guizot introduced an initiative in 1833 which succeeded in freeing primary education from Université control, but the important area of secondary education remained under its monopoly. The state-run collèges and lycées had all the rights, whereas the petits séminaires run by the Jesuits were limited to enrolling 20,000 students nationwide. Students at the latter institutions were required to wear clerical garb, and could not present themselves for state examinations or receive the baccalaureate degree, granted only to those who had studied rhetoric and philosophy in a state institution. In 1836, Guizot presented another educational initiative which would have allowed competition between state institutions and others privately or corporately owned, but amendments perverting its purpose were added in the Chamber of Deputies, and, after Minister Guizot's fall from power, the measure died without discussion in the Chamber of Peers.

Critics of the Orleanist regime and the Liberal policies which informed it were loud in their attacks on the Université's continuing monopoly in the 1830s and early 40s, but the issue would become central to political debate only after 1844 when Chevé became editor of a departmental newspaper. The classical curriculum which prevailed in state schools had long been declared passé, ill-suited to teaching graduates to deal with the scientific and technological challenges of the century or with the increasingly international scope of its problems and opportunities. The harsh discipline, the separation of teachers from students, and the stratification of students by social class disturbed humanitarians and egalitarians. Socialist critics of Liberal individualism argued that the philosophy fostered egoism in youth, and that such a background would stifle social vocations and lead to political and social apathy. In 1831, the Globe, a Saint-Simonian journal, attacked the Université's teaching as "vicious, . . . contradictory to present needs, . . . and not in contact with social demands."[12] Republican journalists denounced the failure of public education to provide civic education or moral motivation. And many cited the Université's monopoly of education as illiberal, and in violation of the Charter of 1830.[13]

In the Summer of 1837, a fateful meeting for Liberal Catholics, in general, and for the future direction of

Chevé's life, among others, took place in Italy among Abbé Lacordaire, Abbé Guéranger, and Count de Montalembert. Guéranger had just received papal approval for the re-establishment of the Benedictine Order in France. Lacordaire, as we have seen, would make his announcement concerning his re-founding of the Dominican Order the following year. He and Montalembert were longtime friends and former associates of Lamennais. The three zealous leaders met to discuss the most rapid means of advancing the revitalization of Catholicism, or, as they saw it, the reign of God, in all Europe.[14] Lacordaire suggested the founding of a great Catholic association which would embrace France and Belgium with several strong provincial centers and a Directive Committee to coordinate programs. Montalembert spoke of the need to establish a journal as the organ of communication for such an association, while Guéranger was concerned with ecclesiastical reform.[15] Shortly after that meeting Montalembert had returned to Paris to assume his hereditary seat in the Chamber of Peers, and to take an active role in parliamentary affairs.

Once established in that Chamber, the young nobleman steered clear of the traditional parties and chose to identify himself simply as a Catholic, (a designation Chevé was to imitate in more than one of his later works), a self-definition which made him suspect in a number of quarters. He soon gained respect, however, for his integrity and his

intellect in defense of liberty on a broad spectrum of issues, and for his concern for the poor and oppressed in France and abroad. He also used the opportunities afforded by the deaths of conservative bishops to propose priests he considered of high caliber intellectually and spiritually, men of realistic outlooks, to take their places. Like the majority of the Avenir group, he was convinced that the Church could operate under any regime which allowed it freedom. Thus, he proved himself a supporter of the Orleanist Government, though not an uncritical one, ever wary of the anticlerical character of its founding.

Outside of his official duties, Montalembert encouraged Christian art and architecture, sponsoring such projects as the buiding of the Gothic church of Saint Nicholas in Nantes, on which Buchez's, and later Lacordaire's, disciple, Piel worked. He also encouraged the writing of provincial histories, such as Aurélian de Courson's Histoire de la Bretagne, and Théophile Foisset's Histoire du Bourgogne, in order to revive provincial pride as a counterweight to centralization, which he considered a deprivation of people's liberties and the "great arm" which the "legalists and sophists" used against the Church. Through these projects he became associated with Foisset, then magistrate at Beaune, who was a compatriot and childhood friend of Lacordaire. This association, begun in 1838, would deepen over the years, as Foisset became the sage of the Catholic

over the years, as Foisset became the sage of the Catholic movement of the century.[16]

1838 was a year of new beginnings in Liberal-Catholic circles. Lacordaire announced his intention to revive the Dominican Order in France. It was the year that some of Buchez's disciples, and most probably among them, Chevé, became practicing Catholics. It was in August of that year that Chevé married his common-law wife with the Church's blessing. And it was in that year that Montalembert saved the journal L'Univers religieux from bankruptcy, thus acquiring the organ for a progressive-Catholic viewpoint around which, he hoped, modern thinkers might rally, and which would serve as a fortress for Catholic youth, priests and bishops in their coming struggle to revive religion. To that end, Montalembert contributed sizeable amounts of money to keep L'Univers afloat, and sought diplomatic and financial support for the project throughout France and among European Catholics. Its future still looked uncertain in 1840, however, and it continued to have a policy independent of Montalembert until it came under the editorship of Louis Veuillot later that year.

The issue of freedom of education resurfaced in the Assembly in 1840, led by Victor Cousin, Minister of Public Instruction under Thiers, but that Government fell before any effective initiative was discussed. His successor, Villemain, elaborated a project in 1841 which would affect

petit séminaires as well as providing for new private institutions. That aroused many bishops, who would never have spoken out on an issue of "liberty," to defend their claim, not to privilege, or monopoly, but to "common right." The initiative was retired, but Montalembert sought to keep interest in the issue alive by convincing conservative bishops that it was their duty to be concerned about the education of laymen, as well as clerics. He tried to channel and clarify their attack to focus, not on the existence of the Université, but on its monopoly; not on the quality of its teaching of secular subjects, but on the State's indifference to religion as reflected in its educational system.

This line of criticism deepened in 1842, as the eclectic philosophy, characteristic of the Restoration's decline, became the official system of the Université. Politically inoffensive, it assigned to the State the maintenance of material order, and, in academe, championed reason without attacking religion. Some scholars, like the Saint-Simonians, argued for the reconciliation of religion and science, but the religion they conceived of had the same pantheistic and materialistic tendencies which Buchez and the Liberal Catholics had earlier rejected in Enfantin's Church. Varieties of neo-Christian and social reform groups, like that of Pierre Leroux, termed Christian-Socialist, but bitterly anti-Catholic, and of Utopian

socialists and communists Fourier and Cabet which attacked traditional morality and the family, were at the height of their popularity among the youth of the collèges and lycées in 1842.[17] Letters from bishops, priests, and laymen, critical of the "eclectic system," and in favor of "freedom of teaching" appeared in L'Univers from March of 1842.[18] And Chevé's Catholicisme et démocratie, published that Spring, referred to Utopian ideas like free love and their proponents as "false prophets" to be avoided if one wished to reconstruct a moral society.[19] Chevé emphasized, as well, the importance of education and social virtue to the task of building the Kingdom of God on earth.[20]

An eruption was underway, with Montalembert striving to lead the conservative Catholic hierarchy and laity out of their stance of aloof non-involvement in the political life of what they considered the "illegitimate" Orleanist regime, and into the arena in defense of Catholic interests. Such an active stance would, he hoped, bring them to an acceptance of the existing reality. As Foisset contended: "Salvation is in political action, not in religious grievance. The moment is come to recall the words of Saint Paul: "Civis romanus sum!"[21]

It was at this moment that Chevé began his teaching career, perhaps at a petit séminaire, or in a collège or lycée of the Latin Quarter, since he had moved his residence there.[22] That section of Paris was to become a battle

ground during the year as the Université struggle intensified.

The Fall of 1842 witnessed an apparent setback for the Catholic campaign when Montalembert became seriously ill and was forced to retire from the political scene in order to recuperate. In his absence, however, new champions arose as several bishops--Clausel de Montais of Chartres, Cardinal Bonald of Lyon, and the bishops of Toulouse, Châlons, Perpignon, and Belley--publicly criticized the philosophy of the Université, and threatened to withdraw their chaplains from the collèges and lycées in protest. Books, pamphlets, and brochures opposed to the Université's monopoly proliferated, and the Univers, under Veuillot, directed a flood of bitter words on the subject. The Universitarians and the Government did not remain silent in the face of this assault. While Cousin refrained from outright attack on the Church, some of his disciples and colleagues were less restrained. MM. Quinet and Michelet at the Collège de France bitterly attacked Jesuits in particular and the Catholic Church in general, and Thiers directed the press: "It is time to put the hand of Voltaire on those people."[23]

On a short trip to Paris in the Spring of 1843, two months after Chevé's second marriage, Montalembert noted the intensifying situation and urged that a Committee be established in the capital under Msgr. Affre, the archbishop, with legitimist Bishop Dupanloup, Lacordaire,

and Louis Veuillot to lead the campaign. Montalembert also urged Veuillot to moderate his verbal attack, lest his violence betray the spirit of the cause.

Back in Madeira, Montalembert wrote a short work, Du devoir des catholiques dans la question de la liberté d'enseignement. Addressed to Catholics, the work called on them to remedy France's officially irreligious condition, not by destroying the Université, or by attempting to Christianize it, but by ending its monopoly in order to allow Catholic schools to coexist on an equal basis, and Catholic teachers and priests, not educated in State schools, to teach in them. He offered the examples of Belgium, England, and the United States, where similar situations existed. Finally, the author exhorted his co-religionists to take courage and act as Catholics in the political arena, conscious and confident of their power, and to organize nationally, and in the départements to act in defense of their rights as parents, and citizens. The work amounted to a public call for a Catholic Party.

The call was welcomed by the avant-garde of the movement, and in late 1843 plans for the formation of such a party, with the Univers as its organ, were underway. Undoubtedly, Chevé was one of those who heard Montalembert's call to arms, and who welcomed the challenge it implied. In this he was like the young idealists who, he had indicated, were the vanguard of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, alert

and eager to respond.[24] Although he was committed to teaching in Paris through spring of 1844, he would soon become influential in this struggle, from the vantage point of a provincial center.

Because of Lacordaire and Foisset's influence there, as the province of their birth, Burgundy, with its capital at Dijon, was already a center of Liberal-Catholic activity. In January 1844 the decision was made to revise the editorial policy of the Catholic paper, Le Spectateur de Dijon, and to hire a new editor who would draw it closer in line with the Catholic Party and its ideology. It is clear that Foisset contributed to this decision, and appealed to Lacordaire for recommendations for the post of editor. It was Chevé's dedication to Lacordaire, his belief in the cause, and his experience and skill in writing which earned him the position, and returned him, forever, to the world of the press. In the Spring, the Chevés moved to Dijon. The announcement concerning the new editor noted that he was "a man habituated to all the difficulties, to all the press battles. . . " i.e., to controversy.[25]

Meanwhile, a new Government initiative concerning private schools appeared in parliament. Introduced by Villemain in February 1844, the new measure was even more restrictive of religious influence in private schools than that of 1841, although it did not apply to petits séminaires. Montalembert returned to Paris for the debate,

and was pleased to find that some bishops, despite attacks on them by Liberal journalists and Universitarians, had taken up the cause of lay education. A group of them had petitioned the Government to withdraw the legislation or they would be obliged to oppose it. Reluctant to take on the bishops, the Government instead seized the Univers, arrested Veuillot and some priests active in the opposition. The parliamentary debate which began in April was a lively one.

On April 16, in response to those deputies who questioned the right of bishops, whom they saw as public employees, to form an association against their employer, Montalembert defended from the tribunal the bishops' right to petition the government as a right enjoyed by all French citizens. He refuted the notion that bishops were mere fonctionnaires appointed by the government to do its will. Rather, he asserted, they were "commissioned by God to the government of the Church," and, as such, they had the right, and even the duty, to speak out in matters pertaining to God and to morality. Discussion of the proposed law, per sé, began on April 22 and continued for over a month. While the Catholics had little hope of dominating the Peers' vote, they saw the occasion as an important opportunity to air such larger issues as the rights of the Church and of individuals in matters of education, the qualities and deficiencies of the Université, the advantages and

inconveniences of freedom, and the rights of religion in a secular state. When Guizot concluded that the law, although flawed, would still constitute progress, Montalembert countered by quoting Burke that "bad laws are the worst tyranny."[26] This law, he insisted, was doubly hypocritical, being hostile to both religion and liberty. Since education was, he argued, the right of parents, the State could offer national education, but could not, rightfully, impose it.

In May, as the Peers moved to discussion of the law article by article, Chevé's real involvement with the issue as journalist and editor began. As new editor of Le Spectateur de Dijon he not only reported and commented on these debates, but strove to establish his philosophical bases and articulate his concern on a wide variety of topics. He asserted in his opening issue of the journal that he was above partisan interests or desire for power: "We will place ourselves on the eternal terrain of morality, of justice, and of truth, where all beliefs are sisters..., we profoundly believe in respect for authority and obedience to law, but also . . . in those who govern, devotion and loyalty"[27] The latter reference was to the clause abolishing the Université's monopoly over education in the Charter of 1830. He denounced revolutionaries as those who would change society violently, and applied the title equally to those who caused violence by their indifference to problems, as to those who perpetrated it as a solution.

Although he had declared himself a revolutionary only two years earlier in Catholicisme et démocratie, he now called himself a reformer, working "with perseverance for the moral reconstruction of society," combatting, "with all our strength this narrow spirit which tends to materialize politics, seeing there only a simple science of affairs, only a combination of possibilities, where private interest is the sole motivator."[28] Chevé's first editorial discussed at length the issue of freedom of education, asserting, with Montalembert, the parents' right to educate their children as they deemed fit, the legal issue of the violation of the Charter, and the need for moral education for society's future. He called for freedom of conscience, of cult, of teaching, and of the press, and decried the State's domination of the Church. He closed, recalling France's mission to humanity, and calling for freedom for Poland and Ireland. "The Christian cause," he contended, "was the cause of the people, of the poor, the weak, the oppressed, [and] the suffering."[29] In this sentence he reiterated the core of the doctrines he had imbibed over the previous fifteen years, and demonstrated how their values coincided, to a great extent.

His subsequent editorials during May reflected broadly on the parliamentary debate, dealing with areas where religion and politics converged, such as anticlericalism in the Government, the union of freedom and religion in the

Catholic position, democracy as an offshoot of the Catholic ideal, the proscription of members of religious orders from teaching, and the necessity of moral education for the fulfillment of France's mission to the world.[30] Yet, true to his initial promise "to not remain a stranger to any of the questions of politics, of religion, of social-economy which could be pertinent," in other editorials Chevé addressed questions of the ideal form of government, advocating greater democracy in the election of Deputies, and the election of Peers from among their own number on the basis of intelligence.[31] Indeed, the issue of electoral reform was widespread on the Left, for the pays légal was limited to some two hundred fifty thousand men, only three percent of the total male population. As for Peers, heredity no longer ruled, as the King could nominate candidates from his supporters among the leading bourgeois and noble families.

Chevé also discussed labor legislation, favoring a strong child labor law, since France's feeble attempt of 1841 in that direction was unenforced, as well as life insurance and retirement benefits. Further, he advocated broad economic and social reform, for "to attack the evil at its roots requires nothing less than a complete reconstitution of the working classes, combining the advantages of association with those of free labor."[32] His reference here was to the program he had first proposed in

the pages of L'Atelier in 1841. Other reforms he advocated were the elimination of paupery by establishing municipal workshops, the abolition of slavery in the colonies, and penal reform.[33] His Saint-Simonian affiliations are evident, particularly as he urged the Government to consider a north-south railway line to link the ports of the Mediterranean to those of the North Sea.[34]

In his debut as editor, Chevé witnessed to his sense of vocation as a journalist, declaring that journalism, when viewed from a higher plane, "is not only a discussion of affairs, but also a teaching, a preaching, we would say almost a priesthood."[35] His tone was confident and assertive, he often took on critics of his positions in Government or in other journals, whether on the Left, or Right.[36] Yet Chevé did not stoop to vituperative or ad hominem attacks, as Veuillot did, and at times he agreed with other journalists, like those of Démocratie pacifique, when their positions were close to his own.[37]

The Chamber of Peers amended and gutted Villemain's law on secondary education by May 26th, in a surprising victory for the opponents of monopoly. While the bill awaited presentation before the Deputies in July, Chevé turned his attention to other questions, particularly to foreign policy. With other progressives, Chevé had deplored Guizot's having turned France toward Metternich and maintenance of the status quo of the Vienna settlement.

Like most nationalists, he bridled at the subservience of Louis-Philippe's regime to England, and like most lovers of liberty he despised Russian despotism and backwardness, calling it "the great enemy of European civilization."[38] These last attitudes were reinforced by his espousal of the cause of national sovereignty for Poland and Ireland, which he called the "sisters of France," having been denied their freedom by these two eternal enemies of France.[39] Chevé argued, instead, for a continental system of alliances with countries like Belgium, Spain, and possibly Switzerland, to assure France its natural predominance and protection against those two, who "by their religion, their interests, and their history, rest outside of French politics."[40] Such an alliance could be realized, he felt, if these nations would "identify their interests with ours," and would trust "that we are guided only by a deep sentiment of Christian and civilizing mission."[41] It was important also, he argued, to help the cause of nationalism in Italy and Germany, and to create in the latter, a buffer against Russia.[42] As for England, he declared, "it was certainly not in order to exercise continental influence that Providence placed it on an island."[43]

In two editorials in June, Chevé also discussed his economic and social program. The first was decidedly Buchezian, or Saint-Simonian, in tone, in which he sought to enlarge the meaning of the term "organization of labor,"

arguing that all kinds of human endeavor, not only industrial labor, be considered. To organize labor, he continued, was to create an immense confraternity of workers, artistic, scientific, and industrial, united by the goal of achieving the moral, intellectual, and physical amelioration of mankind. A single code of morality of divine origin (for him that meant only Catholic morality) was necessary as an absolute standard for society. Acceptance of such a code would create a community of belief, a Christian community of devotion and brotherly love, which, he considered, must underlie any durable association, since, without it, "interests divide rather than unify men."[44] He pointed to the worker journal L'Atelier as an existing model of such an organization and as an example of a voluntary partial association where democracy and competition were maintained. In reflecting on the strength of this and other cooperatives designed by Buchez, he mused at how far from the ideas of Fourier or Cabet they were.[45]

Meanwhile, the last illness and death of Chevé's mother in Paris on June 23rd required that he and his wife return to the capital.[46] His editorials were, consequently, interrupted from June 18th until June 29th. Chevé later sold the family home at 1, rue des Bourguignons, and kept the house at 55, rue du four-Saint-Germain as a permanent residence in the capital.[47]

In July, the law on secondary education moved to the Chamber of Deputies for debate, and again Chevé took up related questions in his editorials. He had earlier refuted the idea that the Catholic movement was a parti prêtre, an image which he considered a specter from the dead, resurrected to frighten the ignorant and stir up anticlericalism. He judged that bitterness against the Church was maintained either by such ignorance, or by evil passions which scorned the Church's moral law.[48] He deplored the Government's inability to act, attributing its powerlessness to a fatalism and godlessness popularized by Voltaire and furthered by the Constituent Assembly and Napoleon.[49] To one reader who questioned why the journal's "concentration is on law and complicated affairs, and why we treat questions of moral belief and politics," Chevé replied that France was in danger and her loyal citizens were needed to help her. Since faith is all pervading, he argued, it must be applied to questions of politics and of the reorganization of society.[50]

As the discussion of secondary education continued in parliamentary debate throughout 1844, Montalembert tried to assess realistically the strength of his movement. It was clear that the masses, even those who considered themselves Catholic, were not with him. One friend wrote that there was a "glacial coldness" on the issue even among fathers of families, explaining that "they don't read the

papers...they are victims of a thousand prejudices."[51] The Legitimists, excited by the arguments in their press against freedom of education, were angry at Montalembert for raising the issue. The bishops largely retreated from the situation, and Rome urged moderation in the face of opposition. His followers, Montalembert acknowledged ironically, were only a "fistful of powerless fanatics who did not value the honor of being dreaded."[52] But, rather than being crushed by discouragement, they urged him to build a Catholic Party, with strong provincial ties, as earlier envisioned.

That was the effort to which Montalembert bent himself in the summer of 1844, with the support of Msgr. Bonald and the bishops of Nevers, Orléans, Bourges, and Meaux. One progressive bishop, Msgr. Parisis of Langres, welcomed this sign of the laity's assumption of their own unique mission, so necessary, he believed, in an era of revolt against clerical power. But ecclesiastical circles in Paris, Rome, and elsewhere did not echo this sentiment.[53] Feeling that he had done all that was possible to gain the bishops' support and leadership, Montalembert wrote to his friend Foisset of his determination to proceed with an organization of laymen.[54] The plan was to enlighten public opinion through the written word, i.e., journals, books, etc., and to organize a vast petition drive, to focus on freedom of education in the next election, and to raise money to

finance these activities. A Committee of Direction was created for the Univers, primarily to censor Veuillot's contributions before they went to press.

In the provinces, Montalembert's associates tried to gather "intelligent, active, influential people capable of marching in accord with their bishops, and, if needed, to win them over."[55] While some Legitimists hated those who cooperated with the regime in any way, most were willing, when prevailed upon, to drop their political stance for a religious one. Departmental committees were formed with branches in each commune, and newspapers in Bayonne, Lyons, Saint-Brieuc, and Nancy, added to those already existing, like that run by Chevé in Dijon, dispersing news and opinion gleaned from L'Univers, or generated on their own.

In Côte-d'Or, Foisset doubled his activities to form a departmental committee. Chevé, at Le Spectateur, who had never put his hope for reform in institutions of either Church or State, and who had proclaimed his support for lay action in Catholicisme et démocratie in 1842, welcomed the challenge which the times offered. In his July editorials he wrote of the need for Catholics to unite, called for provincial organization, exchanged notices with other Catholic papers, such as Le Français de l'Ouest, and extolled the power of the departmental press to act as review journals to educate their readers.[56] In what might be taken as an attack on the Gallican hierarchy, Chevé

called Gallicanism "false patriotism," since, he said, it divided people united by the bond of Catholicism. He posed instead political and religious ultramontanism as the only means of achieving a "peaceful alliance of peoples."[57] Further, he urged Catholics to exercise their political rights in working for divine truth and the realization of virtue in government, and to assure protection for religion and liberty.

In the Fall of 1844, Chevé continued to deal with questions of colonial and foreign policy as they arose, but also devoted his attention to a broad critique of the Government and of the Liberal ideology which prevailed in political circles.[58] In a series of articles called "Études sociales," he once again cited the moral law as the basis of civic obedience, public service, and international harmony and progress.[59] He was not alone in indicting the Government and the politicians for corruption, inaction, and refusal to achieve needed reform, but his criticism went deeper to see in these outward manifestations the "moral plague," which, he said, underlay them.[60] He argued that a society cannot be built on the principle of the "rights of man," rather than on the moral law. Concentration on the former, he continued, makes man a slave to his vanities, passions, appetites and caprices, and those of his compatriots, whereas true liberty could only result from acknowledging the moral law and the social principles which

flow from it.[61] One should speak of duty, rather than of the "rights of man," he quoted elsewhere. Adhesion to the moral law constituted the very soul of a nation.[62]

If society truly was, as Rousseau had proclaimed, "a pact freely consented to," Chevé insisted, surely the poor and disinherited in French society would not have signed such a pact, as the preceding half century of revolution would attest.[63] The moral bankruptcy of the existing regime was evident, he declared, in that it could oppose the rising tide of revolution, not with moral righteousness or persuasion, but with repressive force. And citing opposition to the regime on all sides, he asked, "Who remains to [support] you still?" The conclusion was that few did.[64]

On the other hand, he posed his own and other idealists' goals, in a statement worthy to stand by the side of his "Testimony" of 1833:

> "And what higher and more holy work can impassion a man than that of accomplishing the redemption of that society which is dying of exhaustion and agony, of enthroning in the face of this pagan world the moral law which must rejuvenate and reconstitute it, of rebuilding the city of man on the cornerstone of God, and of making rise above these old parties which pass and are extinguishing, the radiant sun of a new political faith, a holy belief in the future, which must resuscitate among men the spirit of all the glorious traditions of the past."[65]

In December, Chevé again took up the question of working conditions, and of labor unrest, which he proposed

for parliamentary discussion in the next session. Specifically, he addressed the lifting of prohibitions on worker association, the need for effective child labor laws, the urgency of health and sanitation protections, the necessity for higher wages, and, most importantly, the moral education of workers. He argued that education was necessary to broaden the vision of workers, and of those who wished to aid them, in order to insure that the "organization of labor" should apply, not only to the material aspects of life, but to a total reorientation of society, socially and politically, as well as economically, so that justice and brotherly love might reign.[66] About this time Chevé also prepared two articles for publication. The first, discussing Msgr. Parisis' statements on freedom of education, appeared in Le Correspondant in March 1845.[67] The second, on the institution of prud'hommes in Paris, was published in the same periodical in June 1845.[68]

In Chevé's eight months as editor of Le Spectateur, he had proven himself an ardent republican, a socialist, and a Catholic, the summation of the important schools of social thought and moral reform to which he had belonged thus far. Still a partisan of political equality, and of economic and social justice, he would, however, have shrunk from the first two of those titles since, as they were currently used, they implied schools of thought incompatible for the most part with Catholicism. Chevé preferred, rather, to

call himself "a Catholic of the social party," a name which he felt embraced the best of those schools and more. Actually, there were few who spoke of themselves as republicans in 1844. Rather, those who saw political equality as a necessary condition for socio-economic reform called themselves democrats, while those who advocated economic change to come before, and even determine, the political form of the State, called themselves socialists or communists. Chevé, as we have seen, considered all these schools of thought inadequate. What was good in them, he argued, had come from a religious tradition which they scorned, and that very scorn limited them to the material and outward aspects of social reform, while ignoring its central, moral core. The perfect government, for him in 1844, was not necessarily a republic, but one which united elements of the past, present, and future harmoniously.[69] The concept of "popular sovereignty," for him, as for Buchez, could be realized by any form of government which united the people under the rule of moral law to achieve a spiritual national goal, which guaranteed liberty to all, and which cared for the poor and the oppressed.[70] As commonly understood, Chevé contended, the notion of popular sovereignty sapped the spiritual basis of society by making material self-interest and the desires of a selfish majority the standard by which actions were taken in society.[71] He rebuked Saint-Simonianism for its pantheism and its

so-called "rehabilitation of the flesh," and socialism for its narrow concern with material questions.[72] For Chevé, to be a Catholic (he never used the term Liberal Catholic) was to be associated with the divine instrument of human progress throughout the ages. While its human adherents in every period were flawed, its code of morality, its basic principles, which he believed were divinely bestowed, were consonant with all human aspirations for betterment. Indeed, in his view, Catholicism included, corrected, and completed these more limited ideas of progress proposed by men alienated from the Church's rich tradition and devoid of its age-old wisdom. In considering himself a Catholic of the social party, he embraced all these visions of progress within the larger goal of realizing the Kingdom of Christ on earth.[73]

Chevé took up these themes in 1845, in discussing the reforms advocated by M. Lamartine. While approving them in general, Chevé regretted that Lamartine had furnished revolutionaries with a slogan when he recalled the jacobin cry: "When the people or a considerable part of the people are oppressed, insurrection is the holiest of duties." In such circumstances, Chevé countered, the way of revolution leads only to "blood and ruins, but has never produced real reconciliation because the emancipated classes, unprepared for their new state, fall into barbarism."[74] Rather than resorting to revolution, he said, Catholics knew that by

obedience "all great social progress has been accomplished." With moral education, he continued, "manners modify, laws and institutions follow the progress of customs, and without catastrophe," change for the better is effected.[75]

In January 1845, Villemain became ill, and was replaced in the Ministry. His initiative on secondary education was allowed to drop. Chevé dealt with a number of other questions in his editorials that Spring. He commented on crime statistics to illustrate the need for moral education.[76] He decried Michelet's stand on divorce, argued in favor of freedom of the Church from State power, and again urged the abolition of slavery in the colonies.[77] In April, Chevé announced the formation of a Committee of Religious Liberty to unify Catholic voters, and in two articles he appealed to his readers to write to the Government in defense of their faith.[78] Some eighty thousand signatures of fathers of families were gathered nationally on petitions to the Government in 1845.[79]

In late April, a Voltairean campaign, aimed at the expulsion of the Jesuits, was launched by the government. Earlier in the year, the Universitarean, Dupin, had published a Manuel de droit public ecclésiastique, a compendium of laws referring to the Church and its relation to the State. In February, Msgr. Bonald of Lyons wrote condemning this as a "Gallican collection." A month later the Council of State censured Bonald's statement.

Montalembert and others mustered other bishops to defend Bonald, and more than fifty of them wrote to do so. Rome also condemned the Manuel, but the Council of State stood firm. Montalembert had copies of Bonald's letter and those of the bishops printed and disseminated throughout France. From then on, through 1848, no charges were brought against any bishop. Instead, a virulent anticlerical campaign was launched against the Jesuits. Eugène Sue wrote a novel, Le Juif Errant, in which Jesuits were portrayed as attempting to dominate the world by crime. Thiers's Constitutionnel and the Government organ, Journal des Débats, took up the attack, and in May, after much discussion in both Chambers, the Jesuits were expelled from France by order of the government. Montalembert's group endeavored to defend the Jesuits, but felt the ground cut out from under them when word came from Rome in July that the Master General of the Society of Jesus had disbanded the French branch. Shocked and angry that he had been betrayed and his movement weakened by Rome's support of its enemies against its loyal sons, Montalembert wrote to a friend, quoting St. Thomas of Canterbury: "I do not know why it happens that at Rome they always prefer Barabas to Christ."[80]

Meanwhile, Chevé had headlined the debate in the Chamber of Deputies in April 1845, "Crise religieuse."[81] He called the proposed ban on the Jesuits a violation of their rights as citizens, and of freedom of conscience.[82] He went

on to denounce the consideration of anticlerical laws in the Chamber, and warned that the Jesuits were only the first target of a campaign which would attack "family, property, religion."[83] He also signalled that the number of communists was increasing in the Paris region, encouraged by the revolutionary ideas contained in Le Juif Errant.[84]

In other editorials that Summer and Fall, Chevé dealt with the question of suicide, which he called a sign of moral and social disorder, with the notion of natural religion, and with a new religion emerging in Germany.[85] This interest in Germany was manifested in a series of articles on the Zollverein, and again Chevé urged that France support German nationalism as a hedge against possible trouble from England or Russia.[86]

In the late Fall of 1845, a new initiative on secondary education was on the discussion table. Chevé took up the topic on November 22nd, quoting Comte Beugnot that the new proposal was more conformable to the Charter, and more favorable to religious liberty than that of 1844. "All the parties are tired of the discussion and disposed to make concessions," he concluded.[87] And, indeed, by December, the Ministry performed an about-face on their former position, so eager were they and the Deputies to seem agreeable on that issue to the active Catholic voters, newly a force on the political scene. On December 7, 1845, the Government abolished the Council of the University, and, shortly

afterward, elections were called for August. Only one question was asked by the new Catholic voters of candidates for office, and that was their stand on the education issue; anyone who favored the end of the monopoly, no matter what his party, received their support. The provincial branches of the Catholic group were very active, with circulars coming out weekly from Paris with instructions. Chevé devoted numerous articles to education and the coming elections.[88] He advocated that a new petition drive get underway, and that drive gathered twice as many signatures as the previous year.[89] When the elections were over, more than one hundred forty members had been elected with the mandate to pass the freedom of education law.[90] Chevé, however, urged this new Chamber to embrace an even broader program of reform to restore order and progress.[91]

Meanwhile, foreign affairs provoked comment from Chevé. He was concerned about the plight of Christians in Lebanon, and in disturbances in England over Sir Robert Peel's economic reforms, which he considered a masterpiece.[92] He devoted several editorials to news of a Polish revolution in Galicia, and he urged French Catholics to come to the aid of Polish freedom through financial and spiritual means.[93] He also hailed the election of the new Pope, the liberal Pius IX, who succeeded the octogenerian Gregory XVI.[94]

In September 1846, Bishop Dupanloup, who had cooperated in the Liberal-Catholic efforts of the past few years, made

his official visit to Rome to meet the new Pontiff. Montalembert sent with him a mémoire to the Pope stating the situation of the Church in France, its relation with the Government and the Ministry, the growth of the Church, and its increasing influence in politics. The only setback in this progress, he stated, had been the alliance between the Government and Rome against the Jesuits, an alliance he hoped the new Pope would not continue, in the interest of this growth.[95] The Pope received Dupanloup and other liberal bishops warmly and declared his support for their efforts on behalf of freedom of education. He praised Montalembert and his work, finding fault only with the lack of moderation in some militant Catholic writings, referring no doubt to Veullet and others writing for L'Univers. Returning home in October, Dupanloup triumphantly bore this news of the Pope's support to the waiting Catholic activists, renewing their confidence and their desire to continue the struggle. On November 7th, editor Chevé assured his readers that Le Siècle was incorrect in stating that the Pope opposed Jesuits and ultramontanists.[96]

That Fall and Winter, Chevé once more demonstrated that his interests extended beyond any one issue, no matter how absorbing this may have become to his readers. He began alerting them to economic problems, and to their effect on the poor and the workers at home and abroad. One editorial dealt with rising prices, and the hunger and hardship

visible in Dijon, another, with the need for bread relief.[97] He also drew attention to the famine in Ireland, indicating sympathy for Daniel O'Connell as he tried to urge a policy of moderation on the radical and potentially violent Young Ireland movement.[98] He addressed the Austrian incursion into Galicia, and the occupation of Cracow, deploring this violation of a nation's liberty, as well as the hunger and suffering which came in its wake.[99]

The education issue recaptured the public limelight in Spring 1847. Once again, Chevé attacked the illiberalism of the so-called Liberal politicians who were antagonistic to the Church and would deny Catholics, he contended, the right to a religious education as granted in the Charter.[100] He castigated the Government for being immorally self-serving, and without principles in domestic or foreign affairs.[101] Nowhere, however, did he refer to the growing division within the Catholic movement between conservatives, like Dupanloup and other formerly Gallican bishops, and what they termed the "extreme opinions" of other spokesmen, especially of Veuillot, the editor of L'Univers. With reason, Veuillot took this attack on extremism personally and balked at Dupanloup's suggestion of an Editorial Committee as an attempt to muzzle him. He openly criticized Dupanloup's latest statements on the education issue, and in this he was joined by Bishop Parisis, who saw conciliation with the Government as an end to the advancement of the militants'

struggle. Montalembert, who with Frédéric Ozanam and other Catholic intellectuals, was adverse to the violent language of L'Univers, was also deeply disturbed at the growing rift within his movement and unwilling to give the State such a dominant role in education as Dupanloup suggested.[102]

In March 1847, a new Minister of Public Instruction, Salvandy, spoke against an imperial University, and for the rights of the family, the Church, and the clergy to educate. Yet his legislative initiative, when presented, did not conform in any way to these ideals. Montalembert called for petitions to denounce it. Chevé, in Le Spectateur, referred to Salvandy as the "grand manipulator of servitude," and launched a series of articles on primary instruction which dwelt heavily on the perversion of liberty, of morals, and of law, perpetrated in schools which forbade instruction in religion by religious teachers.[103] He also communicated Montalembert's call for a petition to oppose the new proposed law.[104]

This petition drive served to reunite Catholics against the Government and the Ministry, although the bishops did not join in the action, fearful of stirring up anticlerical opposition. Rather than using the public and liberal instruments of press and public appeal, most bishops preferred silence, or direct appeal to the King as their means of influencing the legislative outcome. This reversion to Gallican modes of operation infuriated

Montalembert; he now insisted that a committee of Peers investigate the Salvandy proposal.[105] That committee deliberated throughout the early summer, and when it closed in July, its Orleanist chairman announced that it revindicated the rights of the State in education, and he praised the bishops for their public silence.

Chevé's articles in late Spring and early Summer of 1847 reflected the wait-and-see attitude of Catholics on the education question. Besides continuing the series on primary education, begun earlier, Chevé directed his attention once more against socialist and communist programs, and called for economic reforms, and support of subjugated peoples abroad. On the first point, he asserted that most Saint-Simonians, socialists, phalansterians, and Communists, Lammenais included, were deceived by thinking that the human will, rather than religion, was the basis of the social order.[106] He rebuked the editor of the Courrier de la Côte-d'Or, M. Joigneaux, for overlooking this fundamental distinction in his treatment of the subject. On the question of the economy, Chevé called for the reduction of the salt tax, transport fees, and of postal and railroad regulation, and criticized the Government for neglecting the farmers and their need for agricultural improvement.[107] With regard to foreign affairs, Chevé wrote of the need for political reform, and for religious freedom in Algeria, and he reprinted Montalembert's speech on Poland's plight at the

hands of Austria, quoting him as saying that "Poland will be revenged in Italy."[108]

Suddenly, in August 1847, Chevé's editorials fairly exploded with new vigor, heralding the alliance of religion and liberty as the great hope for social justice. Perhaps this new energy flowed from the Pope's growing support for the Liberal-Catholic position, demonstrated before the world in the funeral oration for Irish Catholic patriot, Daniel O'Connell, delivered in Rome by Père Ventura, which confirmed and consecrated this alliance. Perhaps it was the sense he could feel of liberal-national revolutions seething beneath oppressive regimes, but ready to break out in various parts of Europe, in which, he hoped, the Church might play a progressive role, and in which repression would be banished forever. Perhaps, closer to home, it was the reactivation of the Catholic movement against the Salvandy initiative.[109] At any rate, a new militancy and desire to convert his readers to his viewpoint, rather than merely report the news, mark Chevé's writing in the succeeding months.

The ideas and actions of Pope Pius IX were the subject of a series of articles which Chevé wrote at this time.[110] In the first of these, he reviewed the history of anticlericalism and suspicion between the People and the Catholic Church for much of the modern era. While the Church had been attacked by philosophers, scientists, and

social reformers, he proudly announced that

> "the nineteenth century shows this marvelous spectacle of Catholicism, which they call dead and buried, shaking off the shroud with which they wished to envelop it, proclaiming in its universal voice the true rights of humanity, and sharing with all the social heritage of the Gospels. Catholicism will revenge itself on its detractors by covering them with good deeds, by opening its arms to them, and seating them at the banquet of true civilization."[111]

At the same period he also wrote an article on the Pope and the social benefits to be derived from the union of Catholicism and liberty, in the monthly Revue Nationale, the successor to L'Européen, and like it, headed by Buchez and Bastide.[112] His argument was that an alliance of religion and liberty was necessary to save Europe, and he highlighted some outstanding leaders: O'Connell, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Ventura, and Pius IX himself as examples of those who saw religion and progress as necessarily linked, making the Gospels the charter of liberties for all.[113]

In a similar vein, in an editorial titled "Catholic Socialists," Chevé contended that progressive Catholics were the only true liberals and the only true socialists, since they understood religion to be the basis of real freedom and brotherhood. While Christianity was presently adopted as an individual ethic, he argued that it was now time to establish its principles in society, to have them reflected in legislation, as well as in institutions. Chevé called on Catholics to embrace this work of reform since the times were ripe for their intervention.[114] In September, as Msgr.

Parisis' pamphlet Cas de conscience supporting freedom of conscience and limited separation of Church and State was shocking conservatives, Chevé supported these ideas in his own article advocating religious freedom. He went on to declare that Catholics were interested in all social questions and could learn from the proposed solutions offered by the Utopians.[115] By October, the masthead of Le Spectateur now read simply Spectateur, and beneath it appeared the slogan: "Religion Needs Liberty; Liberty Needs Religion". Thus, as Weill commented regarding the French clergy, Chevé "made an apologia for liberty at the dawn of the revolution which would render it complete for all."[116]

This was not, of course, a new stance for Chevé, but he now strove to defend it as a consistent Catholic position, against those skeptics who argued that Catholicism was basically conservative, and that the new advocacy of liberty by Catholics was a calculated effort to manipulate the current ardor for freedom to their own sectarian and devious ends. In one such editorial Chevé quoted from an article of Foisset, written in 1828, in which he embraced liberty, at a time when Catholics could hardly be accused of riding progressive waves.[117] Chevé also specified existing problems in society and proceded to supply them with "Catholic" solutions. These, he asserted, might be borrowed from Utopian thinkers, although their underlying philosophy was rejected. One example, that calling for credit unions, was

not new for Chevé either, since he had advocated such on the basis of Buchezian and Liberal-Catholic ideas. Chevé now spoke of establishing "Catholic banks," where the evils of usury and of cut-throat competition, so prevalent in private or state banks, would be avoided.[118] He demanded agricultural assistance from the government, which he called as Malthusian as the British with regard to the famine in Ireland.[119] In looking beyond French affairs, he was particularly sympathetic to the plight of the oppressed and suffering in Ireland and Poland.[120] In an article in Revue Nationale which appeared in the November issue, he praised the Irish clergy for the progressive role they were playing in dealing with the current hardships, and expressed the wish that Catholic clergy elsewhere could play such a role in achieving justice for their people.[121] He also spoke for the rights of oppressed Catholics in Switzerland, and in Germany, where he saw revolution as imminent.[122] In the last issue of Spectateur for 1847, Chevé wrote what would be his last editorial for the journal, remarking that the French, a people of mass revolutions, were not always brave in the face of new situations, citing matters of religion, association, industry and commerce, in which areas he said they were often backward and suspicious.[123]

Not one to lack bravery in the face of new situations, Chevé had already accepted new challenges for the new year 1848. In December 1847 there had appeared a "Prospectus"

for a new Catholic publication in Nantes, to be called L'Alliance. This journal, it announced, would be published five days a week, with a special Sunday edition, and would begin January 15, 1848. The editor was to be "M. Ch. Chevé, rédacteur en chef," with M. A. Bourgine as business manager.[124] It is doubtful that this was another press venture financed by Montalembert. The only clue provided in the "Prospectus" for the journal's founding was that Nantes was a metropolitan center, a hub of commercial and intellectual activity for the lower Loire Valley, and, by implication, a city worthy of a first-rate progressive Catholic journal. It was also the cathedral city of Monseigneur Fournier, a good friend of both Lacordaire and Buchez.[125]

The "Prospectus" also signalled a change of emphasis for Chevé's writing, a chance to concentrate on aspects of the social revolution which he had been anticipating for some time. In a phrase reminiscent of Saint-Simon, the new editor stated that the task of the journal was "to ameliorate the lot of the poorest classes, and work for their material and moral rehabilitation." The cheaper Sunday edition was designed especially for workers, Chevé announced, and would be devoted to economic questions, and to the solutions proposed by various reformers and social movements. Such knowledge was important, he asserted, because the time was ripe for conciliation between men of

all parties in the interest of a just future. He urged his prospective readers to rise above old party divisions, since it was necessary "to leave the beaten paths and forge hardily the new, because humanity never passes twice by the same paths."[126]

The alliance of the paper's name implied, then, not only the alliance of "Catholicism with liberty," of "tradition and the future," but also the alliance of all men and ideas working for social justice. As Chevé expressed it, it was "urgent to establish an intellectual and practical link, a community of principles and of action among so many men who are today separated only by purely fictional and nominal classifications," and "indispensable to reform from this unity of spirit those kinds of intellectual and moral circumscriptions that one calls political parties." For his part, Chevé vowed: "We hope to serve this great thought by our weak concurrence, not in transporting to the political scene questions of belief which do not belong there, but in placing ourselves clearly, firmly, on the neutral terrain of freedom of conscience, and in calling there men of all religions and philosophical opinions." "It is in this spacious soil, without limits, open to all points of the horizon, to all currents of light," he continued, "that we come to do battle, not in the name of a belief, but in the name of all, not as Catholics but as citizens, so that all may breathe with full lungs the

free air and the sunshine."[127] This was a decided shift in position!

Chevé continued his stirring announcement with a call for religious freedom for all, for free speech, free press, free assembly, freedom of education, and of worker association, electoral and parliamentary reform, municipal liberties, commercial and agricultural development, national glory, and finally a more just redistribution of the instruments of production, by non-violent means. He closed with a statement concerning himself and his sense of purpose: "Son of Catholicism by voluntary and reasoned option, child of the ideas of our century by precedents and by conviction, we come to raise this double standard above all banners, and run to place these two ideals, which are only one, at the head of the triumphant march of nations towards the future which opens on the horizon of the world."[128]

In the new revolutionary era which was dawning as he composed these words, Chevé stood much further to the Left than most Liberal Catholics with whom he had recently collaborated, certainly further than a Veuillot, a Dupanloup, or even a Montalembert, who feared a republic, in opening his arms thus to all those who aspired to social justice and to the establishment of a new order. As he and his wife departed for Nantes at the end of December 1847, a new period of collaboration by all the parties on the Left

was gathering force to burst onto the Parisian and European stage.

## NOTES

[1]C.-F. Chevé, Catholicisme et Démocratie, ou Le Règne du Christ (Paris, 1842), 154 pp.

[2]"Disciple de la foi démocratique. . . Catholique avec ferveur. . . Révolutionnaire. . . Chrétien. . . Né aux entrailles de ce siècle, et l'amant passionné de toutes les grandes pensées qui l'agitent et le remuent. . . " Ibid., p. i. Further ideas cited, p. 4.

[3]Ibid., pp. 3-27.

[4]Ibid., pp. 10.

[5]Ibid., p. 18.

[6]Ibid., pp. 67-78, 90-96, 119-126, 134-142.

[7]Ibid., pp. 119-126, 134-138.

[8]Ibid., pp. 131-134.

[9]Registre de l'église de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, Acte de mariage religieux, 1843, L13, 56. This record cites Chevé's address at the time of his marriage to Adélaïde Schneider as 25, rue des fossés-Saint-Victor, in the same parish. His wife's full name was Marie Thérèse Adélaïde Schneider, and she is designated as a rentière, (property owner) and the eldest daughter of Henri Gaspard Schneider and his wife, Virginie Pétronille Jourdan.

Archives de la Seine, Acte de mariage of Chevé-Schneider, 13 mars 1843. The civil record states the occupation of the bridegroom as professeur, and that of his deceased father as marchand en gros (wholesale wine merchant). Adélaïde's age was nineteen, while Chevé was almost thirty.

[10]Le Spectateur de Dijon: Journal politique, littéraire et industriel. Chevé took over the editorship in the journal's fifteenth year of publication, on 2 mai 1844.

[11]Jean Maitron, ed., Dictionnaire Biographique du Mouvement Ouvrier Français, Première-Partie: 1789-1864, 1

(Paris, 1964): 415-416.

[12]Paul Gerbod, La Condition universitaire en France au XIXe siècle (Paris, 1965), p. 100.

[13]Ibid., p. 104.

[14]R.P. Édouard Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: La Liberté d'enseignement (Paris, 1899): p. 38.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 53.

[17]Gerbod, La condition universitaire, p. 119.

[18]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 164.

[19]"Le premier des faux prophètes s'approche et dit: 'Toute passion est sainte et divine'." Chevé, Catholicisme et démocratie, pp. 38-60.

[20]Ibid., pp. 134-142.

[21]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 155.

[22]AS, Acte de mariage of Chevé-Schneider, 13 mars 1843.

[23]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 164.

[24]Chevé, Catholicisme et democratie, pp. 10-11.

[25]"Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer à nos abonnés qu'un homme habitué à toutes les difficultés, à toutes les luttes de la presse, a bien voulu se charger pour l'avenir de la direction et de la rédaction du Spectateur." Le Spectateur de Dijon (2 mai 1844), p. 1.

[26]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 196-198.

[27]". . . nous nous placerons sur le terrain éternel de la morale, de la justice et de la vérité, là où toutes les croyances sont soeurs." "Nous croyons profondément au respect de l'autorité, à l'obeissance aux lois, mais aussi demandons-nous dans ceux qui gouvernent, dévouement et loyauté." Chevé, Le Spectateur (2 mai 1844), p. 1.

[28]". . . avec perséverance à cette reconstition morale de la société . . . nous combattrons de toutes nos forces cet esprit étroit qui tend à matérialiser la politique, à n'y voir qu'une simple science des affaires, qu'une combinaison de rouages dont l'intérêt privé est le seul

mobile . . ." Ibid.

[29]". . . la cause chrétienne est la cause du peuple, la cause de tout ce qui est pauvre, faible et délaissé, la cause des opprimés et de tous ceux qui souffrent." Ibid.

[30]Chevé, Le Spectateur (7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 30 mai 1844).

[31]"Notre feuille ne restera étrangère à aucune des questions de politique, de religion, d'economie sociale qui pourront s'agiter." Chevé, Le Spectateur (2 mai 1844), p. 1. Further references from (18, 20, 23 mai 1844).

[32]". . . pour attaquer le mal à sa racine, il ne faut rien moins qu'une reconstitution complète des classes ouvrières combinant les avantages de l'association avec ceux du travail libre." Chevé, Le Spectateur (20 mai 1844), p. 1.

[33]Chevé, Le Spectateur (9, 16, 20, 25 mai 1844).

[34]Chevé, Le Spectateur (18 mai, 1 juin 1844).

[35]". . . pour nous, il ne soit pas seulement une discussion d'affaires, mais aussi un enseignement, une prédiction, nous dirons presque un sacerdoce." Chevé, Le Spectateur (16 mai 1844), p. 1.

[36]Chevé, Le Spectateur (7, 9, 16, 20 mai 1844) particularly cited the Courrier de Côte-d'Or. Chevé, Le Spectateur (7, 14 mai 1844) particularly cited the Journal des Débats.

[37]Chevé, Le Spectateur (16, 20 mai 1844).

[38]"Le grand ennemi de la civilisation européenne, la Russie . . . " Chevé, Le Spectateur (20 mai 1844), p. 1.

[39]"Ces deux nations, soeurs de la France. . . " Chevé, Le Spectateur (1 juin 1844), p. 1.

[40]". . . par leur religion, par leurs intérêts, par leur histoire, resteraient en-dehors de la politique française." Ibid.

[41]". . . à identifier leurs intérêts aux nôtres, . . . que nous . . . sommes guideés . . . seulement par le sentiment profond de la mission chrétienne et civilisatrice que tout temps nous avons accompli dans le monde." Ibid.

[42]Chevé, Le Spectateur (1 juin, 19, 24, 30 septembre 1844).

[43]". . . ce n'est certes pas pour exercer une influence continentale que la Providence l'a placée sur une île." Chevé, Le Spectateur (1 juin 1844), p. 1.

[44]"L'intérêt, loin d'unir les hommes, les divise." Chevé, Le Spectateur (18 juin 1844), p. 2.

[45]Chevé, Le Spectateur (18 juin 1844), p. 2.

[46]AS, Acte de décès of Marie-Catherine Billard [Chevé], 23 juin 1844.

[47]AS, Sommier foncier, 1, rue des Bourguignons. The family home was sold for 22,000 francs to Philibert-Nicholas Courtoil on 12 avril 1845, as witnessed by Huillier, notary. Chevé's address is listed as 55, rue du four-Saint-Germain, Paris.

[48]Chevé, Le Spectateur (11 juin 1844), pp. 1-2.

[49]Chevé, Le Spectateur (9, 20 juillet 1844), p. 1.

[50]Chevé, Le Spectateur (25 juillet 1844), p. 1.

[51]Monseigneur de Marguerie, as quoted by Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 217.

[52]Ibid., p. 218.

[53]Ibid., p. 224.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid., p. 233.

[56]Chevé, Le Spectateur (27, 29 juin, 4, 9, 25 juillet 1844).

[57]"Le patriotisme faux repousse cette alliance des peuples; c'est là l'idée payenne, c'est là le gallicanisme politique." ". . . tout homme qui tend à l'alliance pacifique des peuples, est par cela seul un ultramontain en politique. Tout homme, qui veut cette alliance . . . devient ultramontain en religion comme en politique." Chevé, Le Spectateur (5 septembre 1844), p. 1.

[58]Chevé, Le Spectateur (14, 19, 24 septembre 1844), p. 1.

[59]Chevé, Le Spectateur (26 septembre 1844), p. 1.

[60]"Oui, la France . . . porte à son corps une large

plaie qui s'étend sans cesse et menace de pénétrer jusque dans ses entrailles." Chevé, Le Spectateur (10 octobre 1844), p. 1.

[61]Chevé, Le Spectateur (15 octobre 1844), p. 1.

[62]Chevé, Le Spectateur (31 octobre 1844), p. 1.

[63]Chevé, Le Spectateur (19 octobre 1844), p. 1.

[64]Ibid.

[65]"Et quelle oeuvre plus haute et plus sainte peut passioner un homme que celle d'accomplir la rédemption de cette société qui se meurt d'épuisement et d'agonie, d'intrôniser à la face de ce monde payen la loi morale qui doit le réjeuner et le reconstituer, de rebâtir la cité de l'homme sur la pierre angulaire de Dieu, et de faire lever au-dessus de ces vieux partis qui paissent et s'éteignent, le soleil radieux d'une foi politique nouvelle, sainte croyance de l'avenir, qui doit resusciter parmi les hommes l'esprit de toutes les glorieuses traditions du passé. . ." Chevé, Le Spectateur (19 octobre 1844), p. 1. Other references (24, 29 octobre 1844).

[66]Chevé, Le Spectateur (3, 17 décembre 1844).

[67]C.-F.Chevé, "Des écrits de Mgr. Parisis, évêque de Langres sur la liberté d'enseignement," Le Correspondant, 9 (mars 1845): 590-602.

[68]C.-F.Chevé, "Quelques mots sur l'établissement des prud'hommes et leur établissement à Paris," Le Correspondant, 10 (juin 1845): 920-933.

[69]Chevé, Le Spectateur (18 mai 1845), p. 1.

[70]Chevé, Le Spectateur (9 mai, 29, 31 octobre 1845).

[71]Chevé, Le Spectateur (14 janvier 1845), p. 1.

[72]Chevé, Le Spectateur (3 décembre, 14, 16 janvier 1845).

[73]Chevé, Le Spectateur (14 janvier 1845), p. 1.

[74]"La révolte a couvert le monde de sang et de ruines, mais n'a jamais produit un véritable affranchissement; car . . . les classes émancipées. . . n'étant point moralement préparées à leur nouvel état, sont tombées dans la barbarie." Chevé, Le Spectateur (16 janvier 1845), p. 1.

[75]"C'est par la sainte obéissance que. . . tous les

grands progrès sociaux ont été accomplis." "Sous l'influence d'une pareille prédication, les moeurs se modifient, les lois et les institutions suivent le progrès des moeurs, et ainsi, sans secousse, sans catastrophe. . . " Ibid.

[76]Chevé, Le Spectateur (27 février, 4 mars 1845).

[77]Chevé, Le Spectateur (22 février, 8 mars, 15 avril 1845).

[78]Chevé, Le Spectateur (15, 17 avril 1845).

[79]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 244.

[80]Montalembert to Count Beugnot on 23 juillet 1845. Quoted Ibid., p. 268.

[81]Chevé, Le Spectateur (24 avril 1845), p. 1.

[82]Chevé, Le Spectateur (29 avril, 8 mai 1845).

[83]". . . demain on s'attaquera à la famille, après demain à la propriété; le jour d'après à la religion. . . " Chevé, Le Spectateur (14 juin 1845), p. 1. Other references from (3, 29 juillet 1845).

[84]Chevé, Le Spectateur (29 juillet 1845), p. 1.

[85]Chevé, Le Spectateur (7, 9, 17, 19 juillet, 28 août 1845).

[86]Chevé, Le Spectateur (20, 23, 30 septembre, 2 octobre 1845).

[87]". . . les partis sont fatigués de ces discussions, et ils se trouveront disposé à faire des concessions." Chevé, Le Spectateur (22 novembre 1845), p. 1.

[88]Chevé, Le Spectateur (25 novembre 1845, 15 janvier, 17 janvier, 5, 14 mars, 26, 28, 30 mai, 7, 11, 18, 21 juillet 1846).

[89]Chevé, Le Spectateur (5 mars 1846), p. 1.

[90]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 304.

[91]Chevé, Le Spectateur (15 août 1846), p. 1.

[92]Chevé, Le Spectateur (13 janvier, 19, 21 février, 5 mars 1846).

[93]Chevé, Le Spectateur (10, 12, 21 mars, 11, 21 avril,

7 mai 1846).

[94]Chevé, Le Spectateur (23 juin 1846), p. 1.

[95]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 312-315.

[96]Chevé, Le Spectateur (7 novembre 1846), p. 1.

[97]Chevé, Le Spectateur (5 décembre 1846), p. 1.

[98]Chevé, Le Spectateur (15 décembre, 1846, 16 février 1847).

[99]Chevé, Le Spectateur (17 décembre 1846), p. 1.

[100]Chevé, Le Spectateur (5, 8 décembre 1846, 19 janvier, 2 février, 16, 27 mars, 3 avril 1847).

[101]Chevé, Le Spectateur, (16 février, 27 mars 1847).

[102]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 319-322.

[103]". . . ce grand manipuleur de servitude." Chevé, Le Spectateur (30 mars 1847), p. 1. Other articles referred to in (1, 13 avril, 13 mai 1847).

[104]Chevé, Le Spectateur (27 avril 1847), p. 1.

[105]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 326-327.

[106]Chevé, Le Spectateur (10, 15, 27 avril 1847).

[107]Chevé, Le Spectateur (29 mai, 24 juillet 1847).

[108]Chevé, Le Spectateur (15 juin 1847), p. 1.

[109]Lecanuet, Montalembert 2: 328-329.

[110]Chevé, Le Spectateur (5 août, 1, 3 octobre 1847).

[111]"Le XIXe siècle semble convié à ce magnifique spectacle du catholicisme, qu'on disait mort et enterré, secouant le suaire dont on avait voulu l'envelopper, proclamant de sa voix universelle les vrais droits de l'humanité et partageant à toutes les âmes l'héritage social de l'Évangile. Le catholicisme se vengera de ses détracteurs en les couvrant de bienfaits, en leur ouvrant les bras et les faisant asseoir au banquet de la vraie civilisation." Chevé, Le Spectateur (5 août 1847), p. 1.

[112]C.-F. Chevé, "Nouvel appel en faveur de Pie IX," Revue Nationale 1, 5 (1847): 123-128.

[113]Chevé, Le Spectateur (24, 31 août, 16, 18 septembre 1847).

[114]Chevé, Le Spectateur (21, 31 août 1847).

[115]Chevé, Le Spectateur (23 septembre 1847), p. 1.

[116]Georges Weill, Histoire du Catholicisme libéral en France, 1828-1908 (Paris, 1928), p. 90.

[117]Chevé, Le Spectateur (16 octobre 1847), p. 1.

[118]An article by Chevé headed: "Necessité de fonder des Banques Catholiques" appeared on 23 octobre 1847; a second was published on 3 novembre 1847, p. 1.

[119]Chevé, Le Spectateur (5 octobre 1847), p. 1.

[120]Chevé, Le Spectateur (6 novembre 1847), p. 1.

[121]C.-F. Chevé, "De l'Irlande," Revue Nationale 1, 7 (1847): 188-193.

[122]Chevé, Le Spectateur (7 octobre, 9 décembre 1847).

[123]Chevé, Le Spectateur (30 décembre 1847), p. 1.

[124]Chevé, "De la publication du Journal," Prospectus for L'Alliance (décembre 1847). The journal, entitled: L'Alliance: Journal de l'Ouest-Nantes, appeared daily except Saturdays from 15 janvier to 23 mars 1848, at which time it began to appear five times weekly.

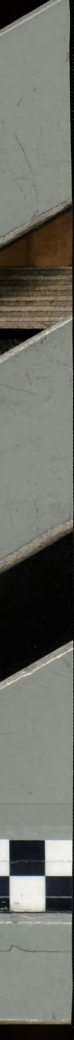
[125]L'Abbé Pothier, Monseigneur Fournier, évêque de Nantes 1 (Nantes, 1900).

[126]". . . pour remplir [notre rôle] avec fruit, il faut sortir des voies battues et en frayer hardiment de nouvelles, car l'humanité ne repasse jamais deux fois par les mêmes chemins." Chevé, Prospectus for L'Alliance, p. 1.

[127]". . . alliance du catholicisme et de la liberté. . . la tradition et l'avenir." Prospectus, p. 2. ". . . il est urgent d'établir un lien intellectuelle et pratique, une communauté des principes et d'action entre tant d'hommes qui ne sont aujourd'hui séparés que par une classification purement fictive et nominale." Ibid., p. 1. ". . . indispensable de réformer au point de vue de l'unité ces sortes de circonscriptions intellectuelles et morales, qu'on appelle partis politiques." Ibid., p. 2. "Nous croyons servir de notre faible concurs cette grande pensée, non en transportant sur la scène politique ces questions de croyance qui ne sont pas de son domaine, mais en nous

plaçant nettement, hardiment sur le terrain neutre de la liberté de conscience et en y appelant les hommes de toutes les opinions religieuses ou philosophiques. C'est sur ce sol spacieux, sans limites, ouvert à tous les points d'horizon, à tous des courants de la lumière, que nous venons combattre, non pas au nom d'une croyance, mais au nom de toutes, non comme catholiques, mais comme citoyens, afin que tous respirent à pleine poitrine l'air libre et le soleil." Ibid.

[128]"Fils du catholicisme par option volontaire et raisonnée, enfant des idées de notre siècle par précédents et par conviction, nous venons arborer ce double étendard au-dessus de toutes les bannières et concourir à placer ces deux blasons qui n'en font qu'un, en tête de la marche triomphale des nations vers l'avenir qui s'ouvre à l'horizon du monde." Ibid.


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# CHARLES-FRANÇOIS CHEVÉ AND FRENCH CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Volume II

By

Catherine Mary Jones

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## CHAPTER FOUR

## MILITANT CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, 1848-1851

The weeks following the inauguration of Chevé's new journal L'Alliance in Nantes, on January 15, 1848, witnessed some of the most dynamic and stirring events of modern history. The new year brought with it, to Paris and other French cities, a wave of political banquets which expressed and encouraged criticism of the Government. The latter responded by repressing freedom of the press, assembly, and speech, thus causing opposition to escalate and to turn from barred doors and inactive presses to the streets, demanding the rights of the Charter, the replacement of the Ministers, and then the fall of the entire Orleanist regime. Louis-Philippe, fearful of the worst, hastened to comply, and before the provinces even got word of the barricades in Paris the king had abdicated and fled, the dynasty had fallen, and the Second French Republic had been proclaimed. The month was February 1848.

This time, unlike 1830, there was no compromise solution presented as "the best of republics." This time the dream of the men of the Convention and of the

jacobin-socialists of 1830 was realized by proclamation of the republic, although the reality still needed to be confirmed by election, and institutionalized by a constitution. While republicans rejoiced at the February Revolution, they were aware of the tremendous tasks which lay ahead.

All of Chevé's ardent republican sentiments were uncovered by these events and he was eloquent in support of the new republic and in praise of the Provisional Government, many of whose members he had but lately criticized for their opposition to the Church and to Christian morality. Now, he proclaimed that their efforts in the days following the Revolution had caused "all hatreds to cease, discord to be silenced," and hope arise that "France might be great and free, and that the Revolution, begun sixty years ago, might close in a definitive way."[1] He referred here to a series of labor laws issued in late February, and the creation of national workshops, supervised by Louis Blanc, to aid the unemployed. The Provisional Government had also replaced the Chamber of Peers with a Government Commission for Labor, the Luxembourg Commission, which seemed to be precisely the kind of parliament for workers and employers from various industries for which Chevé had called in his Programme démocratique in 1840. The new Government also vowed to pursue peace in all Europe.

Chevé, editor and writer for L'Alliance in Nantes since the beginning of the year, was at pains not only to vent his own enthusiasm, but to convince his readers, many of them conservative Catholics, that they had no reason to fear that a repressive, bitterly anticlerical, or elitist government had risen from the revolution. He reported on the approval of the Archbishop of Paris, and of the Pope himself for the "noble" Revolution, and he quoted Père Lacordaire, who, preaching from the pulpit at Notre-Dame, had praised the French militants as "superb in their anger."[2] Chevé asserted that foreign invasion was not likely to attack the new republic or subvert it from within, for no other nation could surpass republican France, since its strength came from the unified support of its people. He urged all to rally to the republic since "France needs to be strong, and to be strong it is necessary that she be united."[3]

Chevé's argument went deeper, beyond the events and exigencies of the day, to argue, as he had since 1842 in Catholicisme et démocratie and subsequent writings, that democracy was the logical consequence of Catholicism, its "daughter" in fact, and that "the principles of liberté, égalité, fraternité are only a corollary, a political realization of the Gospel." He quoted from theologians of the previous centuries, Bellarmine, Suarez, and Billuart, to prove that revolution and popular government were also sanctioned by traditional Church teachings and were not new

theories resulting from the seduction of the times. As cited by Chevé, Bellarmine had stated: "Power resides immediately in the multitude," Suarez had argued that "All civil authority exercised by man comes, directly or indirectly, from the people and the community, otherwise it would not be legitimate authority," and Billuart had contended that "Power which comes from God resides naturally in the community, it devolves to governors only by human law."[4]

The Provisional Government announced in early March that elections for the National Assembly would take place in April, with the new legislature to convene later that month. Chevé threw himself into the early debate concerning the form of the election, i.e., the extent of suffrage, the qualities of good candidates, the number of stages in the election procedures. His articles and editorials in L'Alliance repeatedly advocated the fullest exercise of universal suffrage in order that the new government be truly a democracy.[5] He urged all eligible to vote to exercise that privilege. "Shame on him who is missing from this rendez-vous of honor," he wrote.[6] He also advocated that the election be held in two phases, the first, for primary assemblies on the cantonal level, and the second, for the national elections.[7] He referred to a booklet on the subject recently written by Buchez's associate, August Ott, whom Chevé called "one of our friends."[8] Chevé also

continued to urge his readers to put aside their former political affiliations and loyalties; "for these new times," he argued, "new men are necessary."[9] And since the old party organizations could no longer function to inform voters about the issues and the men, he pledged that L'Alliance, would constitute "from today, a tribunal open to all the voices, to all the information which could enlighten public opinion."[10] He reminded his readers to vote, not as Catholics, but as citizens, recalling that they had not only the right, "but before all the duty to make all their efforts to send to the National Assembly men of integrity, ardent with patriotism and energy, and devoted head and heart to all the liberties which the new Constitution of France must finally inaugurate."[11]

After March 9th, Chevé began to address in the columns of L'Alliance those issues which, in his opinion, needed to be considered by the National Assembly once it was elected. The first task, as he saw it, was to incorporate civil rights into the new Constitution, such as

> "freedom of conscience and of cult, of the press and speech. . . of home and hearth. . . of education and teaching. . . of labor and industry. . . of the individual and of property. . . of association and assembly. . . by all and for all."[12]

The second issue was that of "political economy."[13] Economic reform, he said, was like "a sword of Damocles [hanging] over its [the National Assembly's] head," since

> "the people, the workers who made the February Revolution . . . will not be at all content with

> insufficient remedies nor vain palliatives. It is necessary to enter into the heart of the question to find. . . a definitive solution which would satisfy the demands of the masses while respecting the two fundamental principles of the social order, property and liberty."[14]

He urged that workers, agricultural as well as urban, be included among the electors. He emphasized to voters the need to study the economic order and search for solutions to the injustices found there, urging them to ask the candidates: "What are the political consequences which, according to your convictions, must necessarily follow from the February Revolution?"[15] Those best prepared to answer, he suggested, would be "men attached for a long time to these popular interests by their study, their backgrounds, their convictions, and their personal positions."[16] These, he felt, would be the "new men for new times," since these times called for "no more false notability of fortune or of class, but representatives profoundly devoted to the moral, intellectual, and physical betterment of the workers' situation."[17]

There is little doubt that Chevé's ardent humanitarian values placed him decidedly to the Left, not only of the conservative Gallican and Legitimist hierarchy and laity, but of the majority of the Liberal-Catholic leaders with whom he had been closely associated, most recently in Dijon.[18] While it was generally true that French republicans and Catholics declared <u>detente</u> in 1848, and, indeed, that some republican priests could be found blessing

"liberty trees" and presenting themselves as candidates for the National Assembly, Chevé's stance as editor of a Catholic newspaper seems unique. By contrast, militants like Veuillot in Univers and Msgr. Parisis argued that cooperation with the government would only vitiate their cause, and they continued to push Catholic issues, especially freedom of teaching and of education. Chevé's praise of the Provisional Government, and of universal suffrage, and his call for economic and social reforms to come reveal him as an ardent social democrat, as socialists were then called. It was these same social issues that would soon cause a rift among Frenchmen.

Even before the April elections a political shift became noticeable in France. In fact, by mid-March, the initial enthusiasm for the republic among many in the middle classes began to wane. The Provisional Government's egalitarian measures, combined with the report of thousands of unemployed Parisian laborers standing idle and being supported from the public treasury, aroused middle class fears and offended their sense of the value of frugality and hard work. Moreover, accounts of the socialist rhetoric rising from the Luxembourg so alarmed them that disbanded corps of the Parisian National Guard demonstrated against the Government on March 16th. The following day, a larger counter-demonstration of workers and intellectuals expressed concern for the growing anti-republican sentiment among

their fellow Frenchmen.

Mid-March was also a turning point for Chevé at L'Alliance; a new adamancy appeared in his editorials on March 16th and 17th. The prime issue to be settled, Chevé declared on March 16th, was the relationship between the spiritual and public life, between Church and State, and the mutual independence of these two. Whether the arena in which it needed to be settled was in the State, or in the Church is not made clear. On the following day, however, he made reference to the limitation of Hippolyte Carnot's proposal regarding the freedom of education issue, and expressed displeasure at the illiberalism of M. Arago in wishing to continue the Government ban on the establishment of new religious orders.[19] The inability of some men of the Left to regard Catholicism as anything less than suspicious apparently propelled Chevé to act more directly and forcefully than was possible in the confines of the Catholic press. In any case, after March 17th Chevé's name no longer appeared as editor of L'Alliance, and by March 21st, M. Bourgine's name appeared in its place. A short letter from Chevé appeared in the March 31st issue, indicating that after March 20th he had totally dissociated himself from L'Alliance and wished to so notify his readers.[20] No explanation for the change was offered in his letter or elsewhere for this move.

On March 17th and again on April 16th, the republicans petitioned the Government to have the elections delayed until a more auspicious time. Despite the fact that they were rescheduled for Easter Sunday, the atmosphere remained ominous for the democratic Left. And "all devoted republicans," wrote Émile Caussidère, a member of the Provisional Government, ruefully, "are lumped together under the name of communists."[21]

Although no longer editor of a journal, Chevé was not totally unheard from in this pre-election period. The April issue of Revue Nationale contained an article of his addressed to the clergy, in which he urged them and all Christian democrats to take part in the elections and to be active in changing institutions in order to achieve social justice.[22] The possibility of such sweeping progress seemed less bright as it became apparent that the republic would be fighting for its life in the coming elections. Yet some clergymen did hail the Easter festival and election day as a day of political and spiritual resurrection. Indeed, it was the first time that Frenchmen could vote under a system of universal suffrage, and some eighty-four percent of adult males did vote. When the ballots were counted, the new Constituent Assembly revealed its diverse character.

Notables, against whose election Chevé had repeatedly written, made up the majority of the Assembly. Only thirty-four working class members were elected. But from Paris and

elsewhere came the social theorists and intellectuals, "the flower of the nation," among the Pierre Leroux, Étienne Cabet, Lammenais and Considérant, and Chevé's friends, mentors, and associates, Buchez, Lacordaire, and Montalembert.[23] The new Assembly went to work on May 4th, with Philippe Buchez elected as its President. He presided over former fellow-conspirators in republican societies, as well as men of the Right, who constituted the majority. Buchez's colleague, Doctor Ulysse Trélat, was appointed Minister of Public Works, and fellow Saint-Simonian schismatic, Jules Bastide, became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Both these men were held in high esteem by P.-J. Proudhon, editor of the radical journal Le Peuple, whose famous Qu'est-ce que la Propriété? had stirred controversy in intellectual circles, and particularly among socialists since the early '40s.[24] Despite the fact that some of these republicans had been conspirators during the 1820s, they proved now to be formalists, i.e. satisfied with achieving the republican form of government and universal suffrage, but not eager to press for the social and economic reforms which constituted the program of the social democrats in 1848. The Executive Committee reflected the Assembly's turn to the Right, and the Workers' Parliament at the Luxembourg Palace, where the worker spokesman Albert and socialists Blanc and Caussidière had held sway, was in ruins.

The Assembly faced its first direct challenge on May 15th, when a benevolent crowd of demonstrators, mobilized by the Left-wing clubs of Raspail, Barbès, and Blanqui, penetrated the Palais Bourbon and dominated the discussion of Polish, Irish, and Italian freedom which was taking place there. One intruder, in disgust, declared the Assembly dismissed, and the crowd moved off to the Hôtel de Ville to set up a new Provisional Government. The National Guard quickly restored order, but in the aftermath the forces of reaction within the Assembly grew stronger. Leaders of the crowd were arrested and imprisoned, Louis Blanc was accused of complicity and treachery, and Philippe Buchez, judged weak, was replaced as President of the Assembly. In the days which followed, the national workshops also came under increasing criticism.

The month of June brought even greater threats to the democratic republic. The first sign appeared on June 4th and 5th when by-elections in the department of the Seine and elsewhere brought Prince Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, the great Emperor's nephew, to the Assembly. Resistance to his seating by staunch republicans, like the newly seated P.-J. Proudhon, led to his resignation on June 15th, but he continued to constitute a threat to the republic, even from the sidelines. On June 21st the Government issued an edict shutting down the national workshops and conscripting the younger beneficiaries into the Army, moves which predictably

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aroused worker opposition. The ensuing "June Days" of civil strife in Paris were marked by the barricades and bloodshed of earlier struggles, with an important and notable difference. Unlike 1830, or February 1848, this time it was the bourgeois National Guard of the capital who carried out with certain relish the repression of Parisian workers, while the Army and the provincial Guardsmen held back. The social unity of February was entirely gone. On June 26th the Executive Committee of the Assembly was abolished, a state of siege proclaimed, and General Cavaignac was named dictator. Worker losses were later reckoned as 3500 killed, and 11,671 arrested. Some of the latter were put to death or imprisoned in France; most were deported to Algeria.

After the June Days it was difficult for any socialist to influence public policy. Many leaders were in prison or in exile, Considérant and Louis Blanc were totally discredited among workers as well as on the Right. P.-J. Proudhon remained in the National Assembly, where he gained greater hearing among the workers since he had long been a critic of Blanc's program. Perhaps it was frustration born of impotence that gave fuel to his speech in the Assembly on July 11th. He proposed a tax on rents and interest, with one-sixth to be returned to the payee, and another sixth to be paid to the government to finance free credit and to reduce other taxes. He justified his proposal on the grounds that it would increase production and aid

consumption. On the surface, the plan seemed quite bland, but its radical implications were not lost on his hearers. The Assembly's reaction was heated and vocal. Adolphe Thiers denounced the proposal as leading to the ultimate abolition of rents and interest, thus destroying the existing social structure. Proudhon countered by avowing his intent to transform the social order and decrying the shut-down in social reforms since June. By the end of the debate the Assembly only narrowly defeated a resolution to ban the printing of Proudhon's speech in Le Moniteur, the official parliamentary organ. It did, however, pass a resolution rejecting his proposal as "an odious attack on the principles of public morality," and saying "that it violates property, . . . encourages denunciation . . . [and] appeals to the worst passions."[25]

It was in the atmosphere generated by such events that Chevé came to publish his definitive statement on Christian Socialism, Le Dernier Mot du Socialisme. While the Assembly settled down to writing a constitution for the Second Republic, Chevé also devoted himself to the task of writing, actually editing, a manuscript which he said he had written two years earlier. The work was pressed into print, as the author confessed in the Foreword, by the "imperious duty" imposed on him by the times. The book, published by Hervé, bore the date, August 1848. It was signed simply, "un catholique."

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The title, Le Dernier Mot du Socialisme, may have been chosen by Chevé for several reasons. First, the work presented a definitive statement of Chevé's social philosophy and reform program which had been in formation for almost twenty years; therefore, this was the last word on what he believed to be a complete and comprehensive system of thought. Indeed, Chevé signalled in the Foreword, the formulae of his system had been clarified in writing since 1840. He referred here to his theory of equal-exchange formulated eight years earlier. Secondly, he judged the bases of this system to be more profound philosophically and more deeply rooted in tradition than other socialist programs, while at the same time transcending them in mystical vision, and social application. Finally, he stated that "since the frightful misery of the masses has said to our century the last word on individualism, we must say to future men the last word on socialism."[26]

In his Foreword, Chevé set out his thesis: that there needed to be a radical reform in the understanding and operation of the prevailing laws concerning property in order to save the property confiscated from thirty million French people and to avoid the revolution which such injustice fomented.[27] He proposed using the non-violent means of free persuasion and of faith in Christ's Gospel and in the triumph of its principles to achieve these goals.

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Confessing himself to be a Catholic and a Socialist, he explained their connection thus: "we are Socialist because we are Catholic: one implies the other."[28] He recognized that this stance would be "a stumbling block and a scandal" for many on both Right and Left, since in his work the most radical social reform would be preached in the name of Catholicism. Yet he argued that this reform was "the only base for salvation which remains for present societies, agitated by an ardent thirst for equality and ready to be swallowed up in the abyss by the invasion of pauperism, the modern Attila."[29] His introduction ended by emphasizing that his program promised "no chimeral systems, no magnificent Utopias."[30] Neither would it bring changes overnight, but they would occur surely and peacefully through conversion to and living Christ's Gospel.

The body of the work was composed of forty short chapters. In the first of these, Chevé presented the roots of his Christian Socialism, as it was derived from the New Testament, from the writings of the Church Fathers of the early centuries, the teachings of Church Doctors, and from the pronouncements of Popes and of Church councils throughout the ages. Here Chevé determined to "preach from the housetops what was whispered in the ear," i.e. what he termed the "hard truths of the Gospel."[31]

Among these truths, and the titles of the chapters related to this topic were: the "anathema of the Gospel

against riches," "the ultimate value of poverty and of human labor," "the principle of equality founded on labor," and "the law suppressing usury". His citations ranged from Deuteronomy in the Old Testament, through the Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles in the New, from the Contra Avaritia of Salvien in the third century, through the Rule of Saint Benedict, and the encyclical Vix Pervenit of Pope Benedict XIV in the eighteenth. Throughout, Chevé argued that the Gospel was essentially the good news of the poor, the afflicted, the oppressed, and all the disinherited of the earth, while riches were seen as an impediment to salvation.[32] This indictment of riches, he contended, applied to all riches, not only those attained by exploiting others. For indeed, he insisted, all riches do exploit and oppress workers, despoil and kill the just without resistance, and dishonor the name of Christ.[33]

Christ's own example taught mankind the value of poverty, he continued, a value in that it necessitated labor which was not only a means of satisfying material need, but of fulfilling a part of the divine law brought on by Adam's sin.[34] This law of labor was, to Chevé, the basis for the Christian social gospel, which called for a new political economy, a complete system of production and distribution of riches, based on another Gospel principle: "to each according to his works."[35] Adoption of a system of distribution of riches according to one's labor, not to the

ownership of the means of production, would, Chevé envisioned, end the suppression of man by man, especially that of the salariat, and result in the redress of social inequalities, and the achievement of economic and social justice.[36] In order to assure this justice, the Church law suppressing usury, by which he meant rents, tenant fees, and all interest on capital, would need to be applied.[37]

In the next large section of the book, Chevé examined in depth the existing system of interests, rents, and wages in order to uncover, on both the theoretical and practical levels, the faulty reasoning and radical injustices on which, he believed, they were based. His presentation encompassed many levels of argumentation, from philosophical and historical to the citing of contemporary Government reports and the use of statistical and mathematical tables to furnish data and support his conclusions. The theoretical or philosophical basis of Chevé's critique of the existing system regarding rents and interest had been previously presented in his Lettre sur la réforme de la propriété, par un futur propriétaire, in 1840. Simply stated, he argued that since all value given should receive an equal value, one could not legitimately exchange usage for ownership since they are by nature radically opposed and contradictory.[38] It would follow, therefore, that usage could only be exchanged for usage, and ownership for ownership. All other exchange is unequal, he declared, and

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therefore, unjust and illegitimate.[39]

Chevé went on to consider the current system of rents, wages, and salaries, citing innumerable examples of injustice, and arguing that these systems impoverished the producers and rewarded the indolent.[40] Sounding like a true student of Saint-Simon he concluded that, rather than poverty being caused by indolence, as the rich insisted, it was the workers who were most often poor, while the wealthy produced nothing.[41] He cited several demographic studies from government sources to prove that the majority of Frenchmen, even small owners, lived in poverty, while great wealth was controlled by the very few. As for the unemployed, he contended that the majority would be working had not competition and other consequences of Liberal economic policies deprived them of work.[42] He went on to present the material and moral costs to society of such an inequitable system. He used statistics from various European governments concerning disease and death, prostitution and illegitimate births, unemployment and starvation among the working classes. He justified that these "dangerous classes" sometimes constituted a threat to the wealthy by quoting Brissot that "Society cannot urge one to respect property when his right to property is not respected."[43]

The remainder of the book was devoted to the application to the social order of the principles which

Chevé had earlier demonstrated as the Christian-Social "Gospel". That effort might begin tomorrow, he indicated, and extend over the next twenty or twenty-five years. While the program called for State initiative, intervention, and some ownership, it also protected the private economic sector, and the freedom of individuals to associate and compete in every aspect of production. Chevé called on the State to suppress interest in all its forms, since it is, he said, "an unceasing violation of property . . . a monopoly of the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor... the oppression of the majority by the minority, an illegal tax levied by the rich upon the poor. . . a last remnant of feudalism and pagan slavery."[44] Rents currently collected could be considered payment toward the purchase of the property, or could be returned, as one does the property rented, at the end of the rental period.[45] The State would mediate claims of partial or multiple ownership from this period. The State must also, he demanded, increase taxes on property presently being leased, to motivate the owner to sell it, and use the taxes raised to provide easy credit to worker associations to purchase the land or tools necessary for production. By the establishment of such producer associations, the salariat would be abolished. To facilitate this process, he argued, quoting Proudhon, the State should establish a Bank of France immediately.[46]

Once the transitional period had passed, Chevé projected, the practice of interest, rents, and wages would be completely abolished. The owner would recover his capital, and even State-owned property would be purchased by producers. With this revenue the State would be able to pay off the public debt and reduce taxes, thus lessening bankruptcy for businesses unable to pay their taxes, and increasing the purchasing power of all citizens.[47] In such a climate, he predicted, agriculture, industry, and commerce could expand, and thus provide employment for many millions of European workers.

In the private sector, present owners would regain all that was rightfully theirs, and would, additionally, benefit from lowered taxes, and repayment of loans, and would be relieved of unnecessary paperwork. Since the government would introduce free trade, the wealthy would be able to purchase more.[48] Yet, Chevé recognized that those who profited from the existing system would hardly be motivated to change it, remarking that "selfishness makes a God of routine."[49] Anticipating that his opponents would ridicule these ideas as impossible, Chevé declared: "What is strange are your errors and prejudices, your political economy without compassion and without God. One does not discuss those," he continued, "one shows them for what they are."[50]

Chevé recognized the social implications of his program. One of these required the rich to become

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producers, but, Chevé argued, they would have ample time to make that transition. After twenty-some years of transition, most of the present adults would be gone, he contended, and the next generation could be prepared for useful and productive lives in society. In the broader perspective, he argued that the new order would allow commerce and industry to pass from a rule of individualism and of absolute competition to that of association.[51] Professionals and producers would come into voluntary association within their own ranks, assisted by State-provided credit, and business insurance.[52] With an increasingly democratic economy, social and political democracy would soon follow. Other benefits would include a reduced need for public services and assistance programs, which in turn, he said, would reduce taxes, causing general consumption to increase, production to triple, and the social disorders of strikes and layoffs to be eliminated. Education would also improve, and in general, society would have a new face and civilization would improve.[53] At this point Chevé lapsed into Utopian images of the new society, in which misery and luxury, hatred and envy, laziness and corruption, exploitation and slavery would all come to an end, and temperance and virtue would reign.[54] In closing, Chevé presented three sets of alternatives: existing systems with their glaring inequalities, the Utopian fantasies of Fourier, or what he called the practical program which he

presented for immediate adoption; he demanded of his readers to choose among them.[55]

It is not difficult to predict the reception with which Chevé's latest work was met. While socialists in general agreed that labor was the only real measure of exchange value, and that all incomes from property, such as rent, interest, and profit should be eliminated, these ideas flew in the face of capitalism and capitalist values. As the book circulated in the increasingly conservative atmosphere of late 1848 and early 1849, socialism was out of favor and Christian-Socialism seemed an even rarer hybrid. Chevé's former associates at L'Atelier, in reviewing the book, urged their subscribers to read the work, yet even they warned of the author's "peculiar logic" and his "curious argument".[56] Some sixteen months later, a lengthy critical review of Le Dernier Mot appeared in the conservative Catholic journal, L'Ami de la Religion. Chevé was called a serious writer, a sincere Catholic, and a true philosopher, with "praiseworthy intentions and talent," but the author insisted that he had erred in adapting Proudhon's phrase to assert that "all revenue is theft." Against Chevé's condemnation of revenue citing biblical and other Church sources, the reviewer cited the Christian practice throughout the ages of utilizing revenues, calling this a living teaching. He then attacked Chevé's socialist theory of equal-exchange on a logical basis, asserting that use and

ownership are separate realities, each with a value fixable in monetary terms. He argued his case in detail for farm rental or fermage to refute Chevé's thesis.[57] The questions of viability, of justice, or of social reform were not addressed.

Perhaps the returns from the sale of his book helped finance Chevé's next venture, the founding of another journal in Nantes. In November 1848, L'Unité appeared.[58] Its purpose, implied in its title, was to rally the forces in support of the republic against the rising tide of conservatism, and to bridge the rivalries and differences among the groups on the Left. Its masthead proclaimed: "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité." It was to appear five days a week until January 12, 1849. The first issue constituted a flyer, with the editor's "Profession of Faith" signed by Chevé. In it he declared his dedication to religion and the moral law, to democracy, family, property, and order as interrelated values, and to the realization of the desires of the February Revolution in society. His detailed program called for a democratic republic, a single-chambered legislature, complete freedom of the press, association, thought, science, and art, freedom of education under state surveillance, the right to work, free and universal elementary education, the abolition of capital punishment, elections for the magistrature and within the military, as well as for all government officials, the abolition of

monopolies, a national health program, revision of the penal system, nationalization of transportation and the utilities, universal state insurance, abolition of most excise taxes, establishment of free credit, creation of agricultural aid, elimination of salaried workers by the establishment of producer cooperatives, and a foreign policy which courted Germany rather than "the British oligarchy," and which worked for the national liberation of Poland and Italy, and the establishment of a European Federation.

In subsequent issues Chevé addressed himself to various of these topics. He consistently linked this socialist program, replete with ideas from Saint-Simon, Buchez, and Proudhon, and yet unique to himself, with Catholic tradition and doctrine. Chateaubriand, Bossuet, and Pascal, he asserted, had been socialists.[59] The death penalty he termed "paganism," since homicide was not permitted by moral and religious law.[60]

In early November the new Constitution was announced and the presidential election which would follow absorbed Chevé's full attention. He battled with forceful, direct, and even sarcastic wit against the candidacy of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte for President, predicting that he would bring an end to the Second Republic, as his uncle had done with the First.[61] The coalition behind Bonaparte's candidacy, he warned, was guided by legitimists and by known dynasts, who would destroy the February Revolution and

reverse all its reforms, returning France to the nihilism of the previous Government led by Guizot.[62] He rejected their practice of categorizing all progressive ideas as "red," and all repressive ideas as moderate.[63] Those "false republicans" who supported the Bonaparte candidacy, including Thiers, Guizot, Cavaignac, and elements of the press, he contended, actually supported monarchy and hated the republic, persecuting republicans up to February 24th, and since then longing for the return of monarchy.[64] In that category fell even his former associate, Montalembert, who now considered as heretics any Catholics who supported democracy.[65] Chevé reprinted an article of Proudhon's from the former's new journal Le Peuple, which was severely critical of Louis-Napoléon.[66] And Chevé himself poked fun at the exile's imperfect accent in an effort to render him ridiculous.[67] While not at first endorsing a candidate in opposition, Chevé wrote approvingly of a "Manifesto" signed by a group of fifty-six "Representatives of the People" gathered at rue Taitbout in Paris, among them his former associates Lammenais, Raspail, and Félix Pyat, which called for freedom of education, reduction of tariffs, free credit, and worker association.[68] Many in this group supported Ledru-Rollin for President.[69]

As the election drew nearer, Chevé's ideas paralleled those which had been expressed by Proudhon, that the division of powers between a president and a National

Assembly would condemn the country to either powerlessness or to usurpation for four years.[70] He advocated the delegation of national sovereignty solely to the Legislative Body which would elect a President of the Council of Ministers responsible to it and revocable at its will.[71] Yet, immediately before the election, Chevé declared that since the office of President existed, all should vote. He recognized the work done by socialists in raising concern for the workers and for democracy before the public, and he urged a united effort by socialists and democrats to defeat Bonaparte and the royalists.[72] Since he judged that Ledru-Rollin and other men of the Left had little chance to win, he endorsed Cavaignac for President, arguing that he was the lesser of two evils, and that the republic had a better chance to survive under him than under other candidates.[73] In this he was joined by L'Atelier and other democratic journals.

Chevé also directed his readers' attention to events outside of France, especially to the revolutionary situations prevailing in Germany and Italy. As in 1830 and after, he continued to advocate unification and national freedom for both areas. With regard to Italy, he quoted Chateaubriand expressing the hope that the Pope might still accept the challenge and be willing to support Italian unity.[74] To Chevé and others, the election of Pope Pius IX had marked the beginning of a new era which had linked the

Church with the cause of liberty.[75] Since the Pope had preferred his sovereignty to the cause of national unity, leadership of that movement swept past him and in due course the Roman Revolution had forced him into exile. While Chevé expressed sympathy for him, he noted that the Papal States were not necessary to the freedom of the Pope, and, indeed, he argued that their loss might constitute a "great transformation" which would free the Papacy from temporal concerns and help it become more of a spiritual and progressive force.[76]

Early December brought the victory of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte in the presidential election. Chevé was provoked to anger, first against his countrymen in general, who betrayed their own best instincts and secondly, against the Left in particular, who, though "most implacable enemies of monarchism, made common cause with it" either by abstaining from voting or voting for Bonaparte out of hatred for Cavaignac.[77] He also blamed "our adversaries," the liberals, who "made cheap" the three safeguards against despotism and anarchy in society, by denouncing the Constitution as a mere piece of paper, and the National Assembly and universal suffrage as born in violent crisis and no longer to be considered the expression of public opinion.[78] A Bonaparte presidency was, to Chevé, illegal and invalid, since it violated the fundamental aspirations of the Provisional Government which had created the office

initially.[79] He foresaw that, if confirmed, it would serve merely as a transition to monarchy, and the deathblow to the republic.[80] A series in L'Unité recalled the White Terror of 1816 in all its horror.[81] Already, Chevé noted, republicans were constantly vilified and proscribed, while monarchists throve and were favored, and he predicted the closing of political clubs.[82]

After the inauguration of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte as President on December 20, 1848, Chevé reminded his readers of the campaign promises the former had made, to eliminate pauperism, organize labor, decrease unemployment, and reduce taxes.[83] These were problems he considered solvable only by socialism.[84] And, indeed, he recognized in the speeches of the new President dating back to 1844, and those of the Minister of Public Works from 1836, what he called socialist principles.[85] But he did not see in the President's appointees to the ministerial offices, men like the Liberals Guizot and Odilon Barrot, who had all served under Louis-Philippe, any chance of achieving the hoped-for reforms. It seems, Chevé noted ironically, "that the February Revolution has served only to glorify and bring to power those men against whom it was made".[86]

In the new year Chevé dealt with more theoretical issues, defending the principles of socialism as consistent with the teachings of the Gospels and the Church Fathers.[87] Against those who defended the status quo as morally right,

Chevé asserted that the existing society was not Christian since workers were denied the right to work by capitalists, so many were mired in misery that they could not pursue their moral and intellectual development, young women were forced into prostitution in order to survive, and those who labored were oppressed while the lazy grew rich and esteemed.[88]

Yet Chevé expressed great hope for the achievement of social reforms in the future, provided the tools of the Constitution and the National Assembly were preserved and utilized. "All the great principles of socialism are in seed in the Constitution," he asserted. "Courage then, and perseverance. The Future is Ours! The Constitution is sufficient for us, our devotion will do the rest. Let us work without relaxing, not to destroy, but to build. Let us show to our adversaries all that love of justice can do."[89] This rallying cry came little more than a week before L'Unité ceased publication. In the last issue to appear, on January 12th, Chevé continued in the same positive and militant vein. Reporting that the National Assembly was under attack by the monarchists, he urged passionately: "Let us defend it. . . Let us oppose petition for petition . . . Let us invoke . . . national sovereignty, we who wish to safeguard the inalienable rights conquered by February." He closed with the cry: "Let every soldier be at his post."[90]

Even before L'Unite: Journal de Nantes folded on January 12, 1849, an article bearing the mark of Chevé's ideas and style appeared in Proudhon's journal, Le Peuple. Entitled simply: "Lettre d'un Catholique sur le Socialisme I: Le Droit du Travail," it was signed simply: "X".[91] A second, lengthy article called "Les Nouvelles Provinciales II: L'Aumône" appeared about a month later and was also signed "X".[92] Another month went by before a third article, titled in a similar manner and signed "un catholique" was printed.[93] A few days later, on March 19th, a fourth article appeared, this time signed C.-F. Chevé.[94] And on March 22nd, two articles, one an "Appeal to Citizens of All Parties, to Representatives of All Nuances, to Editors of Journals of All Opinions," and the other entitled "Violation of the Constitution-Regal Resistance," were published in Le Peuple. Each was signed by the editors of the journal, and the last name on each list was that of "Ch. Chevé."[95]

In returning to Paris in March 1849, and joining the editorial group at Le Peuple, Chevé had chosen for himself a post as close to the heart of the struggle to save the republic as possible. The early months of 1849 had been eventful ones for Proudhon and his collaborators at Le Peuple. The People's Bank, which Proudhon had advocated to furnish credit for worker associations, had been established in early January. Later that month, Proudhon, in failing health, was imprisoned and then brought to trial for his

attacks on the new President in the pages of Le Peuple. During Chevé's first weeks at the journal Proudhon was fined and sentenced to three years in prison. He later escaped to Belgium, and in a few weeks secretly returned to Paris, remaining in hiding.

While Chevé left no written account of his motives in making this dramatic move back to the capital and to collaboration on Le Peuple, his previous career and writing make it clear that he was coming to the defense of democracy and of the principles of the February Revolution in as effective a way as he saw possible. With socialism in decline and democracy under attack by the Government itself, the return from the provincial city of Nantes seemed imperative if he were to lend his energies at this crucial moment to the struggle which had consumed his life and constituted his sense of mission. In coming to Le Peuple as an editor he was joining forces with the most dedicated socialists and democrats of the day, in publishing the most outstanding radical journal of the Left opposition.

He had obviously read Proudhon's works earlier, since he had adapted Proudhon's title Property is Theft to his own purposes to argue that "the abuse of property is theft," and also that "revenue is theft."[96] As fellow socialists they both espoused ideas of worker association, free credit, and the abolition of income from property, as means of bringing about the fall of capitalism. Both held that labor was the

ultimate value in the productive process, and both agreed that competition was a useful stimulant to production, rather than an evil to be abolished by the state. In this they were opposed to the statist solutions of Louis Blanc, and, later, of Karl Marx, in advocating that while the state should support the formation of worker associations and production initiatives by means of banks and credit, both emphasized that the state should not direct the economy. Both Proudhon and Chevé were moralists who extended the implications of moral law to the social and economic spheres. In addition, they were also staunch supporters of the traditional ethical values of family and property, in opposition to Utopians, Cabet and Fourier.

Of course there were also notable differences between Chevé and Proudhon. While Chevé had been a republican for almost two decades, believing that the "sovereignty of the people" could be realized only through a government elected by universal male suffrage, Proudhon professed indifference to political forms, judging that any state was capable of tyranny. Chevé saw the Constitution, universal suffrage, and the National Assembly as the bulwarks of freedom, but Proudhon opposed the Constitution of November 1848 simply, "because it [was] a constitution."[97] Before the December 1848 election, Proudhon had advocated abstaining from voting since he saw the division of powers between Assembly and President as a violation of popular sovereignty, while we

have just seen Chevé's attitude on that question. And Proudhon saw a republic founded on universal suffrage as nothing more than the tyranny of the majority, which had nothing to do with the will of the people. Political liberty was not possible, Proudhon argued, until economic inequality was abolished.[98] Lastly, at the heart of Chevé's socialism was his love of religion, and his devout Catholicism, whereas Proudhon was a Mason, and a militant atheist, though some have since called him "a Christian atheist."[99]

Chevé's article, "Provincial News II: Almsgiving," which appeared in Le Peuple in February, used the device of a dialogue between a simple peasant and his parish priest to discuss the meaning of charity as distinct from justice. The peasant asked questions regarding the relationship between Catholicism and democracy, and wondered that what society called charity seemed to negate rather than crown justice, to which the priest responded with arguments from Scripture and Church teachings to show that Christians should hope for the reign of Christ on earth and the abolition of poverty, which would obviate the need for so-called "charity" and establish economic equality on the basis of one's labor.

Chevé continued the dialogue format in a series of articles which appeared from March 12th in the weekly supplement to Le Peuple, in which Master Pierre, le malin,

was pitted against Master Jacques, le bonhomme. The titles of the articles express the views of Master Pierre, which were the refuted by Master Jacques in each article. The series continued through June considering, under titles such as: "How the Socialists are Robbers," and "How Owners and Landlords Will Die of Hunger by the Abolition of Rent," Chevé's program for economic and social reform, Equal-Exchange, earlier presented in his book Le Dernier Mot du Socialisme.[100] In response to an article in La Patrie, which refuted Master Jacques' socialism, Chevé wrote two rejoinders: "Contre-poison," and later "Poison sur-contre-poison".[101] In these Chevé referred to the Right's banner of order as the banner of exploitation and injustice, and once more he presented a list of sources from Scripture, Church tradition, and history to support his Christian-Socialist views. His biting wit and sense of humor is evident in a satirical review of books he had purchased from an anti-socialist bookstore, in which he noted that their works refuted socialism "as the Hottentots would refute the astronomical system of Laplace."[102]

In May, Chevé produced two articles which left behind his provincial spokesmen, Pierre and Jacques, but retained the dialogue form. The first of these was a debate "Between Capital and Labor" in the presence of an interlocutor. Chevé had Labor accuse Capital of being guilty of the misery and crimes of the many. The article ended by the third party

offering Capital forgiveness, declaring: "I am the voice of Christ."[103] In a second article, Chevé matched Master Jacques in dialogue with his priest, whose opinions reflected those of the majority of the Catholic hierarchy. The two parried argument with argument, authority with authority. Jacques, a sobriquet designating a simple peasant, showed remarkable erudition which he explained to his curé by saying: "the winter evenings are long, one studies the books as one can." When discussing the mandate against riches in the Scriptures, Chevé, through Jacques, carried the application of that teaching into the Church itself. He called for an end to inequalities and class distinctions within the Church, citing pew rents, and payment of fees for Masses, marriages, and funerals as discriminating against the poor, and causing their alienation. He also advocated democracy within the Church by re-establishing the election of bishops by the clergy and faithful within a diocese, a practice followed during the first three centuries. In the end the curé was won over, but cautioned Jacques in parting: "say nothing of this to our bishop."[104]

In June 11th's Supplément, Chevé wrote his last dialogue between Jacques and Pierre for Le Peuple, entitled: "Les Adieux de Jacques Bonhomme." By this time Pierre had become a convinced socialist, and he and Jacques spoke in tandem, summing up Chevé's argument. As Jacques departed,

he begged his friend to pray for him in words which Chevé also might have spoken about himself: "Jacques Bonhomme, poor thing, child of the People, from now on isolated and persecuted until the reign of God comes on earth."[105] Indeed, Jacques was not the only one to bid adieu in June. Following the recapture of Proudhon in Paris, and his incarceration at the Conciergerie, the editors of Le Peuple were accused of playing a role in an insurrectionary attempt. Consequently, the journal was closed by order of the Government and its offices sacked by the troops of the National Guard.

Chevé seemed to have anticipated this eventuality, or else had used his sojourn at Le Peuple as a stopgap while he sought a new vehicle for his ideas. In any case, he had already issued a Prospectus for a new journal to be called Le Socialiste in May 1849. Christian Socialism would be the new journal's philosophy, and Equal-Exchange its program. Chevé justified the need for such a journal saying that Catholic newspapers lagged in their role of reconciling Christianity with the contemporary situation, and lacked initiative, intelligence, and appeal to the People. Their conservative policies, he felt, were detrimental to the Church since they made Catholicism appear as an enemy of the people. He reiterated his political and social program, calling for universal suffrage in both Church and State, and restated that this program was consistent with traditional

Catholic teachings and principles. Chevé invited all like-minded Catholics, all Socialists of Christian leanings, and all men of good will to subscribe to his journal and thus support and sustain this work carried on, as he expressed it, by "simple workers who can give only the alms of their time and their modest fortune."[106] The journal, printed on the presses at L'Atelier, would appear first as a monthly publication but Chevé aimed to produce it weekly and even daily if finances would allow.

The first issue of Le Socialiste, now subheaded Journal de l'Égal-Échange appeared, not in June as projected, but in July 1849.[107] The eight-page paper was dominated by Chevé's contributions, although other contributors: "J.T. a worker in bronze," later revealed as Jules Tourneaux, the managing editor, "J.P.," and "P." also wrote pieces from time to time. A review of the news and special articles, such as the "Protestation of the Hungarian Nation Against Russian Intervention" signed by Count Casimir Betthyany and Louis Kossuth, which appeared in the first issue, completed the format.[108] In the first four issues, Chevé wrote lengthy articles presenting his theory of Equal-Exchange as a viable, practical program for the total economic and moral reform of society.[109] His antipathy to state control, attributable to both his close affiliation with Proudhon and the pressure of events, is notable from the beginning. "We do not want labor to be organized," he argued, "but that

labor organize itself... in a word, we do not wish that society be governed, but that it govern itself, which is totally the opposite."[110] For the first time, in discussing his political program, Chevé criticized the wording of the Constitution and charged that the National Assembly had become an "absolute despotism," a dictatorship of a minority against an immense but disunited majority. He saw this as "a pretense of the sovereignty of the people." He mourned that in a society such as France which rejected religion and hated the Church there was no moral law to act as a safeguard against such evil. A society without morals, he stated, "is a society materially impossible to conduct without repression, without tyranny."[111]

In the September issue, Chevé proposed some political reforms to safeguard the rights of the people. Among these was the establishment of a National Assembly chosen by representation from each trade and occupation, from intellectual to craftsman, an idea he had first published in 1840, in his Programme démocratique. He called for an end to the powerful Presidency, which, he said, clashed with the sovereignty of the people, and he attacked "ministerial absolutism", as a violation of democracy in action. On the other hand, he advocated individual freedom from government restraint or coercion. He called for the abolition of passports, and of hunting and fishing licenses, and he wanted to abolish conscription, to limit the right of

arrest, and to do away with customs and excise taxes, as well as state monopolies on goods such as tobacco and munitions. To overthrow the state, he argued, meant "to overthrow the monarchy, not in that form only, but in the presidential, ministerial, bureaucratic and functionary power also, which are nothing but disguised royalty." The society he envisioned would instead recognize the fact that, as St. Martin had said, "all men are kings." In that situation, Chevé predicted, state centralization would change, and society would conform to Pascal's description of the cosmos as an "infinite sphere whose center is everywhere, whose circumference is nowhere." The only desirable centralization, he continued, would consist in the bond between voluntary associations of workers and their elected representatives in the Assembly. Such an Assembly, should also resist the tendency he called "legomania," to create laws to regulate everything. A note on the last page of this issue helps explain Chevé's increasingly negative attitude toward the repressive state. It signalled oppression and loss of hope everywhere and noted that the journal's publisher had been arrested and imprisoned at Sainte-Pélagie "for distributing the journal without permission."[112]

Although Le Socialiste produced a fourth issue in October 1849, Chevé was no longer the major contributor. The journal retained its theoretical orientation against

increasingly virulent attacks by other journals, including, as it noted, L'Atelier itself. A "Petition to the Council" by Chevé did appear in that October issue;[113] it also appeared in the new journal of the Proudhonian circle, La Voix du Peuple, with which Chevé became associated.[114] This journal began publication in October with the financial backing and collaboration of the famous Russian exile, Alexander Herzen.

La Voix du Peuple professed to be a journal of discussion, in contrast to the combative tone of its predecessor. Proudhon himself, now granted some privileges, wrote several articles from Sainte-Pélagie prison where he had been moved. Chevé's articles appeared on an irregular basis in the weekly Supplément; he made weekly contributions in October, none in November, and then once a month from December through February. His message and tone was similar to that found in his other writings appearing since 1848. His first article, cited above, was a petition against usury, which he urged be sent to all provincial councils, and later to the National Council. His second article resumed the earlier dialogue form, here between Master Jacques and the peasants in his village, on the Christian bases of socialism.[115] In his third contribution, Chevé responded to M. F. Bastiat, who had written a pamphlet in defense of rents. Chevé used Bastiat's own argument to prove the case against rents, a conclusion which, he said,

Bastiat shrank from admitting. Chevé made his case by distinguishing, as he had done previously, between use and ownership, and contending that one should not be exchanged for the other. He also noted a real project in which rents were being abolished, the renters becoming partial owners until the full price of their unit was paid. "Thus," in theory as well as in practice, Chevé concluded, "rent is abolished under all its forms." He argued further that Liberty must be accompanied by equality and that "both, crowned by fraternity, would lead to the reign of justice, peace and universal conciliation in the world."[116]

Just as that article dealt with economics from a general sense of morality, citing no Christian sources or goals, so too did Chevé's next article, called "Socialist Catechism."[117] Despite the religious-sounding title, it dealt entirely with political and economic issues: Socialism, Sovereignty, Property, Taxes, and Interest or Rent. Using a question and answer format, Chevé wove his now familiar arguments in favor of worker association, equal-exchange, a National Assembly elected by workers according to trades, mutual insurance, and mutualism. This article was republished and distributed as a separate pamphlet by the editors of La Voix du Peuple in 1850.

Before that new year dawned, Chevé wrote a second piece referring to the anti-socialist group of Orleanists, among them Thiers and the Count de Montalembert, at the rue de

Poitiers. Again he criticized them all as being ignorant of economic questions and of socialist programs. He summarized the opposition, in general, as composed of those against Catholicism, who "make the maintenance of usury a matter of worship. . . tax as an article of faith, the theories of Malthus a page from the Gospel, their counter an altar, their purse a chalice, their piece of gold a God." He also cited those Catholics who used Christ's words that "the poor you have always with you" as a defense of the status quo. Chevé reminded these latter that Christ also counselled mercy, humility, amnesty, and forgiveness.[118]

Chevé's contributions to La Voix du Peuple ceased after February 1850. At that same time, the authorities punished Proudhon for the increasingly pugnacious tone of the journal by returning him to the Conciergerie and rescinding his privileges. La Voix was finally suppressed by Government order in May. By June, 1850, the fourth of Proudhon's journals established since the February Revolution appeared. This one was called Le Peuple de 1850, and Chevé was one of eleven to sign the flyer announcing its advent.[119] It was published secretly, appearing at irregular intervals, at first as a monthly, and then in August, three times weekly, until it, too, was silenced in October. It was during this period that Proudhon's anarchism developed to its fullest, and his anticlericalism ripened into near atheism due to the force of events.

The days of priests blessing "liberty trees" had long passed by mid-1850. One reason for this was the Pope's recalcitrance in the face of Italian nationalism, another was the supportive link which was being forged between the Catholic Church in France and the regime of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte as he moved to crush the Left. While Chevé's writings show that he shared the Left's dim view of the reactionary tendencies of most Church officials and laymen, his anchor of faith in Christ and in Christian morality and the teachings of the Church throughout the ages as the source of all hope and vision for the future kept him from going further, as most on the Left had done, to attack or condemn religion in general, or Catholicism in particular.

It is an interesting commentary on the fluctuating circumstances of the period from 1849 through 1850, that he and other democrats both sought and found asylum and indeed, a working base in the Proudhonian circle. There he was respected for his clear, reasoned voice and his passionate energies directed toward social justice and against the rising tide of conservatism. A note following the list of editors' names in the journal of August 16th, confirmed the collaborative nature of their enterprise: "This list includes names chosen from all nuances of republican thought."[120] Chevé's first article, in the July edition, issued a universal "Call to Socialist Democracy," urging socialists and democrats to see in the new journal "a

council to coordinate diverse elements and all the living forces."[121] He saw their common ground to be Liberty, in all its aspects, religious, economic, and political, and he cited specifically the sovereignty of the people exercised by universal suffrage and enjoying freedom of the press and of association, freedom of conscience, of teaching, of work, of exchange, and of industry, and mutual, reciprocal and free credit and national insurance as goals which united them. "Whoever accepts these," he asserted, "is with us; whoever propagates them is a collaborator."[122] The necessity of such a coalition of the Left was evident, Chevé stated, since all others were united in their hatred of Liberty.

Chevé again extolled social democracy in an August article in which he argued that it led to the liberation of the human spirit. He called for liberty in men, learning, and institutions. Since this desire for liberty was so rooted in human history, Chevé argued, it was the conservatives who deserved to be called utopian, because they wanted to "stop the human spirit and lead it back from maturity to the cradle," clearly an impossible goal. Let them use force, materialism, and ignorance, he counselled, the Left would use science to study facts and develop laws, combined with a morality aimed at making nations free and peoples strong.[123]

A second recurring theme of Chevé's contributions to Le Peuple de 1850 was the need for economic reform to correct

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the ills of poverty, crime, disease, and unemployment which threatened to destroy society. Again, he presented rent and taxes as the roots of these ills, and he expressed outrage that the Government, urged on by Thiers and Montalembert, would wage a holy war against socialists and democrats to suppress their voices of protest and reform.[124] He argued against "Right to Work" legislation favored by L'Atelier which would put the Government in control of the economy. He referred to this control as the organization of poverty, and argued, instead, that "the right to work in its acceptable, scientific and true sense is nothing but the right to the fruit of one's labor. . . the abolition of rent, taxes, in a word of all interest on capital." Equally adverse to state-controlled education, Chevé argued: "Give to each the fruit of his labor, by association and abolition of rent, and workers will know very well how to pay for the bread of the soul as for the bread of the body."[125] In a later article, he warned that the prevailing economic policies were driving many bourgeois into the ranks of the proletariat where they became the most aware and bitter opponents of the regime, thereby becoming a new factor in the social conflict.[126] He referred to the artisans, shopowners and propriétaires who were being swallowed into the proletariat through their inability to compete with factory-produced goods in the mass-market.

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A third topic of Chevé's concern was the growing forces of repression. He saw the opposition as not one, but a coalition of three groups: Bonapartists, Legitimists, and Orleanists, each struggling to destroy the republic and to set up a dynasty of its choice. In an article titled "A Conspiracy!" he warned of the growing military forces, some hidden in the ranks of the National Guard, which were being assembled to attack the republic under the protection of the President. Legitimists and Orleanists likewise had their strong bases of activities, he warned, exclaiming with irony that this "Party of Order" was plotting to destroy the republic.[127] That the Government could declare a state-of-siege and grant dictatorial powers to military commanders, Chevé warned, merited the concern of all citizens.[128] And he saw the possibility of such a turn of events as imminent.

Then, in a series of three articles in September, Chevé addressed a recent proposal of Deputy Émile de Girardin, to have the National Assembly retire early, in October or November 1851, rather than sit for its full three-year term, until May 1852. The interval, according to Girardin, would furnish time to revise the Constitution to extend the President's term of office. Chevé judged both aspects of the proposal to be dangerous, violating both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution and subverting the republican ideals on which it was founded. Such a move would abrogate

the principle of popular sovereignty, he said, a principle previously declared unassailable even by the National Assembly, and would allow the re-election of Louis Bonaparte for an indefinite period. What "if before the election of a new president an Assembly of revision could prolong the presidential powers to ten or twenty years. . . and re-establish under the name of the elected Senate, the former Chamber of Peers?" Cheve asked. This would totally undo the February Revolution, and return the Orleanist dynasty, an eventuality which no democratic socialist or republican could accept![129]

Concurrent with Chevé's series was another, reviewing the newly published French translation of the work of German theologian David F. Strauss called La Vie de Jésus. The original, subtitled "a critical examination," had been published some ten years earlier. In it, the author created an historical biography of Jesus using rationalist analyses. In so doing he challenged not only dogmatic Christology, but also the Christ of the New Testament. Claims of the supernatural, of miracles, and of the mystical were explained as products of the development of thinking about Jesus during the time of the Apostles and Evangelists, as well as in the later Church. The review which appeared in Le Peuple de 1850 commented favorably on the image of Jesus presented in Strauss's work, as well as on its revision of Christian doctrine and its concomitant criticism of

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traditional Christianity.[130]

Because Chevé felt strongly that Christ, the Church, and even religion itself had become the target of attack within Proudhon's group, he resigned from the journal. As he explained in his notice of resignation, published in the September 27th issue, he had wished to respond to the articles but was thwarted by the other editors. In the reply of A. Massol for the editors, they indicated that they had thought "it would have been easy for him to disengage himself from responsibility on this point." But, the note went on, "he believed his conscience engaged. We regret his resignation," they continued, "but we think it possible to retain his free collaboration on other questions."[131] Chevé finished his note by forcefully declaring his allegiances: "Fifteen years of studies have given me the right to have unshakeable convictions in this regard," he asserted. "I am a Catholic, nothing more, nothing less; that is why I am a socialist."[132]

It is not clear where Chevé went immediately after leaving Le Peuple de 1850, perhaps he did continue an informal collaboration with that group. In January 1851 his writing appeared again in an anti-Bonapartist, republican daily, Le Vote Universel, then in its second year of publication. Le Vote Universel was a journal to which republican leaders such as Ledru-Rollin, socialist Louis Blanc, and Liberal-Catholic Félix Pyat contributed on

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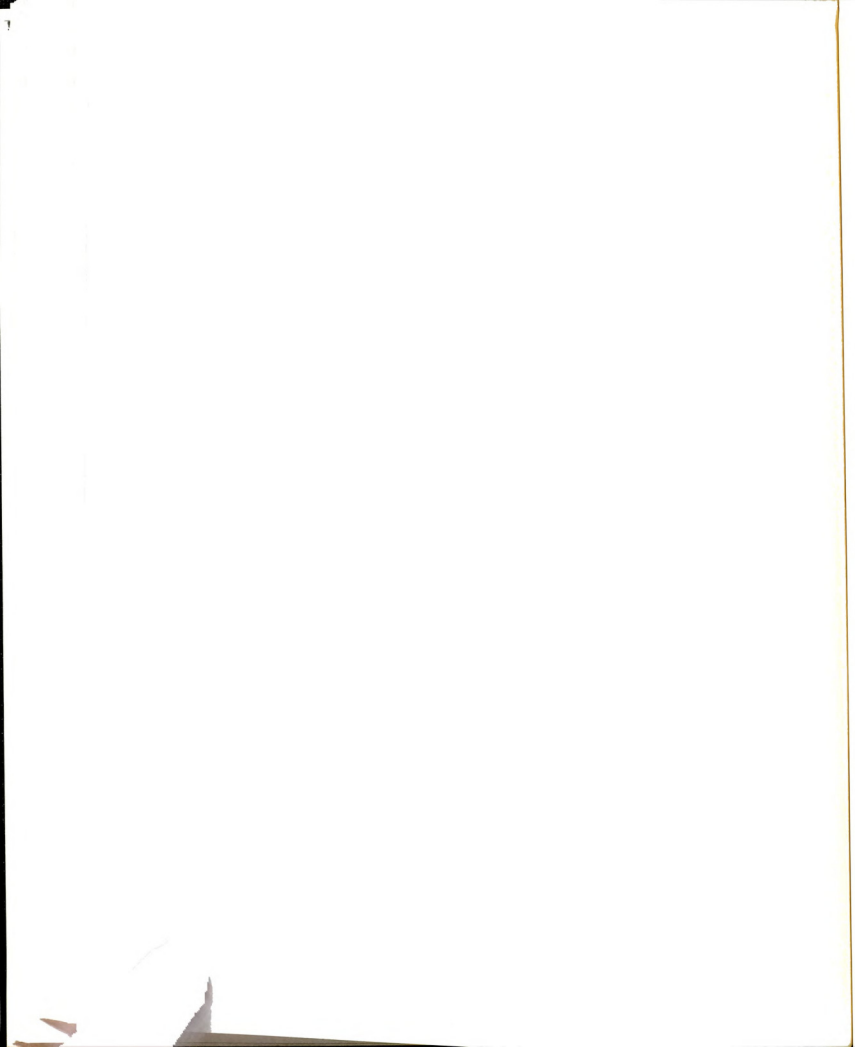
occasion. During the months of January and February 1851 in which Chevé was associated with the journal it was subject to official censorship and to the arrest of some of its editors.[133] By the end of February it too was forced to close.[134]

Chevé's writing for Le Vote Universel first appeared on January 9th. It is indicative of the turbulent atmosphere that by January 20th his articles had moved to the front page, and by the 26th, he was producing a considerable part of the paper! His articles dealt mainly with political or constitutional issues, in keeping with the general purpose of the journal as revealed in its title, but he also dealt with questions of political economy, and with foreign affairs.

The times were crucial for those who treasured democracy, and Chevé's articles reflected the republic under great duress. On January 26th he wrote defending the Constitution against those who wished to subvert it, and on February 12th encouraged readers to sign a petition to re-establish universal suffrage.[135] He frequently referred to the specter of dictatorship on the horizon, even using the headline, "Vive César!" on January 19th and warning of freedoms being suppressed.[136] As in Le Peuple de 1850, Chevé argued that in the face of such repression the Left needed to band together, forgetful of their differences in defense of their commonly-held ideals.[137] On the economic front he

urged the establishment of mutual credit, of national insurance, and credit banks.[138] He was critical of the budget of 1852 when it was first presented, and of the presidential dole which, he said, attempted to tie unemployed workers to Bonapartist rule.[139]

In a real sense, Chevé's contributions to Le Vote Universel drew from the fullest expression of his ideas, found in Le Dernier Mot du Socialisme. Indeed, his entire body of writing from 1848-51 is of one piece. During that period he had worked in the secular arena to achieve the political, social, and economic reforms associated with democratic socialism, and once achieved to defend them against their very real and powerful enemies in Church and State. Chevé had argued that these reforms were the application of Christian morality, as traditionally taught, to the problems of the time, and that they would effect the progress of human society, and the achievement of the Kingdom of God on earth. He had argued for unity on the Left across sectarian lines in order to accomplish these goals. He not only had established journals to this end, but had himself joined his labor to that of others who hated the Church which was the very foundation of his socialism, in order to defend these reforms when threatened. It is fitting that his last article to appear in Le Vote Universel should sum up much of this struggle. In it, he detailed points of political, economic, and civil liberties that he



considered essential to a free and healthy society. He warned of the growing threat of a Bonapartist empire which would destroy the republic, and of its daily erosion at the hands of revisionists in government.[140] As his voice, and those of other opponents of autocracy, were systematically silenced by Presidential decree, his last words published in a republican journal echoed the principles and policies which he had advocated and fought for so passionately since the dawn of 1848.

## NOTES

[1]"Toutes les haines s'éffacent, tous les dissentiments se taisent." ". . . la France se fasse grande et libre, et que la Révolution commencée il y a soixante ans, soit enfin close d'une manière définitive. . . " C.-F. Chevé, L'Alliance: Journal de l'Ouest-Nantes (1 mars 1848), p. 1.

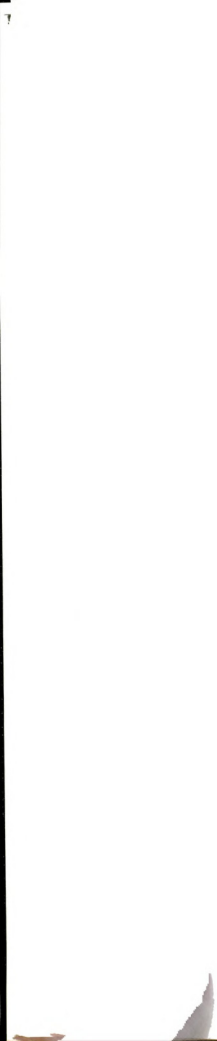
[2]"superbe en sa colère," Ibid.

[3]". . . la France a besoin d'être forte, et pour être forte, il faut qu'elle soit unie." Chevé, L'Alliance (2 mars 1848), p. 1.

[4]". . . les principes de liberté, d'égalité et de fraternité. . . ne sont qu'un corollaire, une réalisation politique de l'Évangile." "Le pouvoir, dit Bellarmine, réside immédiatement dans toute la multitude. . . " "Toute autorité civile exercée par un homme, dit Suarez, vient, soit directement, soit indirectement du peuple et de la communauté, autrement elle ne serait pas une autorité légitime." "La Puissance, qui vient de Dieu, dit Billuart, réside naturellement dans la communauté; elle n'est dévolue aux gouvernants que par le droit humain." Chevé, L'Alliance (3 mars 1848), p. 1.

[5]Writers of the period referred to "universal suffrage," but, in fact, really meant "universal male suffrage."

[6]"Honte à qui manquerait à ce rendez-vous d'honneur." Chevé, L'Alliance (8 mars 1848), p. 1.



[7]Chevé, L'Alliance (7 mars 1848), p. 1.

[8]"Un de nos amis. . . "Ibid.

[9]"Pour ces temps nouveaux, il faut des hommes nouveaux." Chevé, L'Alliance (8 mars 1848), p. 1.

[10]"Elle se constitue dès aujourd'hui, comme une tribune ouverte à toutes les voix, à tous les renseignements qui peuvent éclairer l'opinion publique. . . " Ibid.

[11]". . . mais avant tout, le devoir de faire tous leurs efforts pour envoyer à l'assemblée nationale des hommes intègres, ardents de patriotisme et d'énergie, et dévoués, tête et coeur, à toutes les libertés que doit enfin inaugurer la constitution nouvelle de la France." Ibid.

[12]"Liberté de conscience et des cultes. . . de la presse et de la parole. . . du domicile et du foyer domestique. . . d'éducation et d'enseignement. . . du travail et de l'industrie. . . de l'individu et de la propriété. . . d'association et de réunion. . . en tout et pour tous." Chevé, L'Alliance (14 mars 1848), p. 1.

[13]"Les représentants. . . auront deux grands problèmes à résoudre: une question de constitution gouvernementale et une question d'économie politique."
Chevé, L'Alliance (9 mars 1848), p. 1.

[14]". . . un lourd problème. . . celui des réformes économiques. . . qui restera suspendue sur sa tête comme une épée de Damocles. . . " "Le peuple des ouvriers qui a fait la révolution de février. . . ne se contenteront point de remèdes insuffisants ni de vain palliatifs, il faut entrer jusqu'au coeur de la question et lui trouver. . . une solution définitive qui satisfasse l'exigence des masses, tout en respectant ces deux principes fondamentaux de l'ordre social, la propriété et la liberté." Ibid.

[15]". . . quelles sont les conséquences politiques qui suivant vos convictions, doivent nécessairement découler de la révolution de février?" Chevé, L'Alliance (15 mars 1848), p. 1.

[16]". . . des hommes rattachés depuis longtemps à ces intérêts populaires par leurs études, leurs précédents, leur convictions, leur posirion personnelle." Chevé, L'Alliance (9 mars 1848), p. 1.

[17]"Point de fausse notabilité de fortune ou de clocher, mais des représentants profondément dévoué à l'amélioration morale, intellectuelle, et physique du sort

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[18]Georges Weill, Histoire du Catholiicisme libéral en France, 1828-1808 (Paris, 1909), p. 92.

[19]Chevé, L'Alliance (17 mars 1848), p. 1.

[20]Chevé, L'Alliance (31 mars 1848), p. 1.

[21]Georges Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolution (New York, 1967), p. 92.

[22]Chevé, "Au clergé," La Revue Nationale 1 (avril 1848): 377-378.

[23]Duveau, 1848, p. 102.

[24]Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[25]Robert L. Hoffman, Revolutionary Justice: The Social and Political Theory of P.-J. Proudhon (Urbana, 1972), p. 141.

[26]"Charles Chevé" was handwritten on the title page below the designation: "Un Catholique." "l'impérieux devoir," Le Dernier Mot du Socialisme (Paris, 1848), p. iii. "La misère effroyable des masses est venue dire à notre siècle le dernier mot de l'individualisme. Nous devions dire à notre tour aux hommes d'avenir le Dernier Mot du Socialisme." Ibid., p. v.

[27]Ibid., p. ii, iv.

[28]"Nous sommes donc socialiste [sic] parce que nous sommes catholique [sic]: l'un implique l'autre. . ." Ibid., p. ii.

[29]"Cette oeuvre sera, pour plusieurs, une pierre d'achoppement et de scandale." ". . . est la seule planche de salut qui reste aux sociétés actuelles, agitées d'une soif ardente d'égalité et prêtes à s'engloutir dans l'abime qui creuse sous leurs pas l'invasion du pauperisme, ce moderne Attila. . . " Ibid., p. iii.

[30]". . . nous n'inventons ni systèmes chimérique, ni fastueuses utopies. . . " Ibid., p. iv.

[31]Quote from Matthew XIX: 23-24, and Luke VI: 24-25. Ibid., p. 7.

[32]Ibid

[33]Ibid. pp. 6-10.

[34]Ibid., p. 7.

[35]This is the title of Chapter III in which Chevé cites references from 1st Thessalonians, 2nd Thessalonians III, 8-12, Matthew XVI: 27 and passim, Job XXXIV: 11, Psalms LXII: 13, Romans II: 6, 2nd Corinthians V: 10 ff., and the Apocalypse XXII: 12ff. Ibid., p. 13-15.

[36]Ibid., pp. 12-15.

[37]Quotes from Deut. XXXIII: 19-20., Lev. XXV: 36-37, Exod. XXII: 25, Psalms XIV: 1, 4, Ezech. XVIII: 5, 8, 15, 17, and Nehemi V: 8, in the Old Testament, and from Apostolic Constitutions, Canons 36 and 43, Benedict XIV, "Vix Pervenit," CXIV: 34, and from the teachings of Church Councils and Popes throughout the centuries. Ibid., p. 23.

[38]Ibid., pp. 38-45.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., pp. 49-54, 57, 69-72.

[41]Ibid., pp. 51, 83, 85-88.

[42]Ibid., pp. 90-96.

[43]Ibid., pp. 97-114. The quote is from p. 114.

[44]"Qu'est-ce que l'intérêt du capital, sinon une violation incessante de la propriété. . . un monopole, un privilège odieux des fortes contre les faibles, des riches contre les pauvres. . . l'oppression de la majorité par la minorité, une dîme, un impôt illégal, prélevés par les riches sur les pauvres. . . un dernier débris de la féodalité seigneuriale et de l'esclavage païen?" Ibid., p. 122.

[45]Ibid., pp. 125-126.

[46]Ibid., pp. 134-176. Reference to the Bank on p. 176.

[47]Ibid., p. 128.

[48]Ibid., pp. 129-133.

[49]". . . égoïsmes. . . qui ont fait de la routine un Dieu." Ibid., p. 139.

[50]"Il n'y a d'étrange que votre erreur et vos préjugés, vos codes blasphèmateurs, votre société parricide et votre économie politique sans entrailles et sans Dieu.

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On ne discute pas de telles objections, on les expose, c'est les flétrir assez." Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., p. 161.

[53]Ibid., pp. 148-149.

[54]Ibid., pp. 183-190.

[55]Ibid., pp. 188-192.

[56]"logique particulière," and "exposé tellement curieux." Review of Le Dernier mot du socialisme, L'Atelier 9 (janvier 1849): 280. Yet, in his work Chevé had quoted L'Atelier (mai 1842) as saying: "La revenue est une propriété fictive. . . une propriété immorale. . ."

[57]Review of Le Dernier mot du socialisme, L'Ami de la Religion 145 (15 janvier 1850): 208-212.

[58]C.-F. Chevé, L'Unité: Journal de Nantes. Published daily from 2 novembre 1848-12 janvier 1849.

[59]Chevé, L'Unité (3, 16 novembre 1848), p. 1, 1.

[60]Chevé, L'Unité (3 novembre 1848), p. 1.

[61]Chevé, L'Unité (3 novembre, 2, 16, 17 décembre 1848).

[62]Chevé, L'Unité (4 novembre 1848), p. 1.

[63]Chevé, L'Unité (9 novembre 1848), p. 1.

[64]Chevé, L'Unité (8 novembre 1848), p. 2.

[65]Chevé, L'Unité (9 novembre 1848), p. 1.

[66]Chevé, L'Unité (15 novembre 1848), p. 1, quoted Le Peuple (octobre 1848), p. 2. Proudhon's journal ran from sometime in the Fall of 1848 (The first three issues were undated.) until 13 juin 1849.

[67]Chevé, L'Unité (13 novembre 1848), p. 4.

[68]Chevé, L'Unité (10 novembre 1848), p. 1.

[69]Chevé, L'Unité (13 novembre 1848), p. 2.

[70]Chevé, L'Unité (16 novembre 1848), p. 1.

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[71]Ibid.

[72]Chevé, L'Unité (30 novembre 1848), p. 1.

[73]Chevé, L'Unité (16, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30 novembre 1848).

[74]Chevé, L'Unité (22 novembre 1848), p. 2.

[75]Chevé, L'Unité (1 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[76]Ibid.

[77]"Les ennemis les plus implacables du royalisme ont fait cause commune avec lui." Chevé, L'Unité (6 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[78]"Il reste à la société trois bases inébranlables contre lesquelles viendra se briser toute tentative d'usurpation: la Constitution, l'Assemblée nationale et le suffrage universel. . ." "Nos adversaires font bon marché de tout cela." Chevé, L'Unité (16 décembre 1848). p. 1.

[79]Chevé, L'Unité (14, 18 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[80]Chevé, L'Unité (14 décembre 1848), p. 2.

[81]Chevé, L'Unité (8, 21, 29, 30 décembre 1848).

[82]Chevé, L'Unité (14 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[83]Chevé, L'Unité (23 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[84]Chevé, L'Unité (22 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[85]Chevé, L'Unité (26 décembre 1848), p. 1.

[86]". . . la révolution de février n'a servi qu'à glorifier et à porter au pouvoir les hommes contre lesquels elle s'est faite." Chevé, L'Unité (3 janvier 1849), p. 1.

[87]Chevé, L'Unité (4 janvier 1849), p. 1.

[88]Chevé, L'Unité (8 janvier 1849), p. 1.

[89]". . . tous les grands principes du socialisme sont en germe dans la Constitution. . ." "Courage donc et persévérance. L'avenir est à nous. La Constitution nous suffit, notre dévouement fera la reste. Travaillons sans rêlache, non pour détuire, mais pour édifier. Montrons à nos adversaires tout ce que peuvent l'amour de la justice." Chevé, L'Unité (4 janvier 1849), p. 1.

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[90]"On attaque avec violence la Constitution. Défendons-la. . . opposons pétition à pétition. . . Ils invoquent la souveraineté nationale. . . à notre tour, invoquons-la, nous qui voulons sauvegarder des droits imprescripibles conquis en février. . . Que tout soldat soit à son poste." Chevé, "Contre La Dissolution De L'Assemblée Nationale," L'Unité (12 janvier 1849), p. 1.

[91]Chevé's articles date from 8 janvier 1849, through 11 juin 1849. The first articles identified as Chevé's were signed "X," or "un catholique," and bear his characteristic arguments and style; "Chevé" has been written in below in the copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale. X, [C.-F. Chevé], Le Peuple (8 janvier 1849), p. 6.

[92]X, [C.-F. Chevé], Le Peuple (12 février 1849), p. 6.

[93]Un catholique, [C.-F. Chevé], Le Peuple (12 mars 1849), p. 6.

[94]C.-F. Chevé, Le Peuple (19 mars 1849), p. 6.

[95]Le Peuple (22 mars 1849), p. 6.

[96]C.-F. Chevé, Le Dernier Mot du Socialisme, pp. 38-45, 69.

[97]Édouard Dolléans et J.L. Puech, Proudhon et la revolution de 1848 (Paris, 1948), p. 66.

[98]Ibid., p. 33.

[99]"P.-J.-B. Proudhon," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 12 (New York, 1930-1935): 605.

[100]Chevé, "Comme quoi les socialistes sont de voleurs," Le Peuple (12 mars 1849), p. 6, "Comme quoi les propriétaires et rentiers mourront de faim par l'abolition de la rente," and "Utopie de l'association." Le Peuple (19, 26 mars 1849), pp. 6, 6-7. There were nine articles in all from mars-juin 1849.

[101]Chevé, Le Peuple (9, 16 avril 1849), pp. 5-6, 6-7.

[102]". . . comme les Hottentots réfuteraient le système astronomique de Laplace." Chevé, Le Peuple (30 avril 1849), p. 6.

[103]". . . je suis la voix du Christ." Chevé, Le Peuple (14 mai 1849), p. 6.

[104]". . . les soirées d'hiver sont longues; on étudie comme on peut dans les livres. . ." "Mais surtout n'en

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[105]". . .Jacques Bonhomme, le pauvre, l'enfant du Peuple, désormais seul et persécuté jusqu'à ce que le règne de Dieu arrive sur la terre." Chevé, "Les Adieux de Jacques Bonhomme," Le Peuple (11 juin 1849), p. 6.

[106]". . . simples travailluers qui n'ont pu lui donner que l'aumône de leur temps et celle de leur modeste fortune." C.-F. Chevé, "Prospectus," Le Socialiste: Journal de l'Égal-Échange (mai 1849), p. 3.

[107]Le Socialiste: Journal de l'Égal-Échange (8 juillet 1849).

[108]Ibid. A second printing of this edition was dated simply (juillet 1849).

[109]Chevé, "L'Application de l'Égal-Échange," Le Socialiste (juillet, août, septembre, octobre 1849).

[110]"Nous ne voulons pas qu'on organise le travail, mais que le travail s'organise. . . en un mot, mous ne voulons pas que la société soit gouvernée, mais qu'elle se gouverne elle-même, ce qui est tout l'opposé." Chevé, Le Socialiste (juillet 1849), p. 4.

[111]". . . ce qu'on nomme la majorité, a le droit de souveraineté ou plutôt de despotisme absolu sur les minorités." "Est-il. . . une contradiction plus manifeste. . . que la prétendue souveraineté du peuple. . .?" Chevé, Le Socialiste (août 1849), p. 2. ". . . la société dans laquelle il n'existe aucun gouvernement morale organisé est une société matériellement impossible à conduire sans la compression, sans la tyrannie." Ibid., p. 3.

[112]". . . c'est renverser la monarchie, non pas dans sa forme seulement. . . mais. . . dans le pouvoir présidentiel, ministériel, bureaucratique et fonctionnaire, qui n'est qu'une royauté déguisée." "comme Saint Martin: 'Tous les hommes sont rois'." Chevé, Le Socialiste (septembre 1849), p. 3. "Pascal disait du monde physique: 'C'est une sphère infinie dont le centre est partout, la circonférence nulle part'." Ibid., p. 4. "comme ayant distribué les imprimés sans permission." Ibid., p. 7.

[113]Chevé, Le Socialiste (octobre 1849), p. 5. The differences with L'Atelier had been evident from August.

[114]C.-F. Chevé, La Voix du Peuple: Journal Quotidien et Hebdomadaire (8 octobre 1849), pp. 5-7. This journal ran from 1 octobre 1849 through 14 mai 1850. Chevé was

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[115]Chevé, "Partageux, Communiste ou Socialiste: Lettre de Jacques Bonhomme aux paysans de son village," La Voix (15 octobre 1849), pp. 6-7.

[116]"Voici la rente abolie sans toutes ses formes. . ." "Vous voulez pour l'échange la liberté, veuillez donc aussi l'Égalité, afin que la Fraternité, en les couronnant tous les deux, amène sur le monde le règne de la justice, de la paix et de la conciliation universelle." Chevé, "Capital et Rente," La Voix (22 octobre 1849), p. 3.

[117]Chevé, "Catéchisme Socialiste," La Voix (29 octobre 1849), pp. 6-7.

[118]"faire le maintien de l'usure une question de culte. . . de l'impôt un article de foi divine, des théories de Malthus une page de l'Évangile, de leur comptoir un autel, de leur bourse un calice, de leur pièce d'or un Dieu." Chevé, "La rue de Poitiers no. 2," La Voix (17 décembre 1849), pp. 6-7.

[119]"Prospectus," Le Peuple de 1850 (juin 1850), p. 1. This journal lists Chevé as "journaliste, demeurant à Paris: 142, rue de Bac," and, among others, founder and member of the Société du Journal.

[120]Le Peuple de 1850 (16 août 1850), p. 1.

[121]". . . nous essayerons, dans le Peuple de 1850, de coordonner les élements épars et toutes les forces vives." C.-F. Chevé, Le Peuple de 1850 (juillet 1850), p. 7.

[122]"Quiconque les accepte est avec nous; quiconque les propagé est de droit notre collaborateur." Ibid., p. 2.

[123]"Laissons à nos adversaires l'utopie, c'est-à-dire l'impuissance: quoi de plus utopique, en effet que de vouloir arrêter l'esprit humain et ramener l'âge mûr au berceau!" Chevé, Le Peuple de 1850 (août 1850), pp. 7-8.

[124]Chevé, Le Peuple de 1850 (1 juillet 1850), p. 1.

[125]"ce droit du travail n'est donc, dans sens acceptable, scientifique et vrai, que le droit au fruit de son travail." "Or la restitution à chacun du fruit de son travail, c'est abolition de la rente, du revenue, en un mot, du tout intérêt du capital." "Non, non, rendez d'abord à chacun le fruit de son travail par l'association et l'abolition de la rente, et les travailleurs sauront bien payer le pain de l'âme comme le pain du corps." Chevé, "La Solution du problème social," Le Peuple de 1850 (7 août

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1850), pp. 7-8.

[126]Chevé, "Le Bilan de la Bourgeoisie," Le Peuple de 1850 (18 août 1850), pp. 1-2.

[127]Chevé, "Conspiration!" Le Peuple de 1850 (11 août 1850), p. 1.

[128]Chevé, "Projet de mise en état de siège de toute la France," Le Peuple de 1850 (18 août 1850), p. 2.

[129]"Mais si avant l'élection de nouveau président une Assemblée de révision pouvait prolonger à dix ou vingt ans, . . . la durée des pouvoirs présidentiels, rétablir sous le nom du sénat électif l'ancienne chambre des pairs." Chevé, "La Solution de M. de Girardin," Le Peuple de 1850 (6 septembre 1850), pp. 1-2.

[130]"Philosophie: La Vie de Jésus, La Dogmatique Chrétienne," Le Peuple de 1850 (11 septembre 1850), p. 7.

[131]"Nous croyons qu'il lui eût été facile de dégager sa responsabilité sur ce point. Il croit, lui, sa conscience engagée. Nous le regrettons, mais nous pensons pouvoir conserver sa collaboration libre sur les autres questions." A. Massol's reply for the editors, Le Peuple de 1850 (27 septembre 1850), p. 1.

[132]"Quinze ans d'études m'ont donné le droit d'avoir à cet égard d'inébranlables convictions." "Je suis catholique, rien de plus, rien de moins: Voilà pourquoi je suis socialiste." Chevé, "Lettre aux rédacteurs," Le Peuple de 1850 (27 septembre 1850), p. 1.

[133]Le Vote Universel (24-25 février 1851), p. 1.

[134]Le Vote (28 février 1851).

[135]C.-F. Chevé, "Le Message et la Constitution," Le Vote (26 janvier 1851), p. 1. Chevé, "Pétition pour le rétablissement du suffrage universel," Le Vote (12 février 1851), p. 1.

[136]Chevé, "Vive César!" Le Vote (19 janvier 1851), p. 2.

[137]Chevé, "Solidarité," Le Vote (15 janvier), p. 2.

[138]Chevé, "Le Socialisme," Le Vote (1 février), pp. 1-2. "Le Socialisme devant L'Assemblée nationale," Le Vote (2 février), pp. 2-3. "1852," Le Vote (16 février 1851), p. 1. "Mutualité du Crédit, I et II," Le Vote (9, 12, janvier 1851), pp. 1-2, 1-2. "De l'Assurance," Le Vote (21

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janvier), p. 1. "De l'origine des banques et des Monts-de-Pieté," Le Vote (28 janvier), p. 2.

[139]Chevé, Le Vote (20 janvier, 5, 7, 10 février 1851).

[140]Chevé, Le Vote (16 février 1851), p. 1.

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# CHAPTER FIVE

## REPRESSION UNDER THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1851-1864

Chevé's continued involvement with the democratic socialist cause in early 1851 through his writing for the radical journal Le Vote Universelle demanded an increasing courage which he seemed to possess in abundance. Opposition journalists operated in the face of increasing government repression and official press censorship which finally closed the journal in question on the twenty-eighth of February. In the months that followed, Chevé ruefully witnessed Louis Napoleon's success in winning over various segments of the population to his leadership, notably the Catholic hierarchy, the royalists, the middle class, and the unemployed. Each group saw in the President's policies the answers to its immediate and specific problems. Bonaparte thus strengthened his popular and legal hold upon the majority of the population, while silencing the opposition press and political groups. Chevé and other confirmed democrats no doubt struggled against severe frustration and discouragement as well as concrete obstacles while they searched for ways to continue to speak out in defense of freedom. How to do so in the increasingly repressive

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political and social climate was a problem which would challenge them over long and difficult months.

At first Chevé used the apparent lull in his activity to publish at the insistance of a friend, as he stated in the Foreword, notes which he had gathered earlier in order to respond to the Strauss article in Le Peuple de 1850. The one hundred fifty-page book, entitled Simples notes sur la base historique et le principe constitutif du catholicisme appeared later in 1851. Chevé explained that the notes comprised "not a book, not even a sketch; . . .[but] a pastiche of citations from the most famous of the adversaries of Catholicism and the highest authorities of science and history." They would serve, Chevé observed, not as a definitive work on the beauties of Catholicism, or as an apologia for his own faith, but rather, to indicate the way which might be followed if one were seeking to prove the historic base and constitutive principle of Catholicism. He noted that he had been too involved with journalism and economic questions to devote much energy to the work, but indicated that if his readers could forget all their prejudices "they will soon see with Bacon, 'that if a little science leads one away from religion, much science leads back to it'."[1]

On a personal note, Chevé explained that his own exposure to Catholicism had come when he was an adult, after having "previously steeped [his] spirit too much in all the

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philosophical and social systems to not be an impartial and disinterested judge."[2] He noted with regret that "Catholicism, its traditions, history, and proofs are today a hundred times more unknown than the annals of the Laplanders and the Eskimos." This ignorance, he continued, is "so unbelievable that it would be the most comic of spectacles if it were not at the same time a moral assassination."[3] As for anti-Catholic prejudice found among intellectuals, Chevé quoted the Irish Catholic patriot, Daniel O'Connell, to assert that, "It is not Catholicism they attack, but a monster that they create themselves and call Catholicism."[4]

In Simples notes Chevé reached back into history, summarizing the desires of ancient peoples in India, China, Persia, Greece, and Egypt, among others, for a Liberator or Messiah. In great detail he presented the development in the Hebrew Scriptures of prophesies and references to the Messiah, stretching over a period of five thousand years before the birth of Jesus. Then, he considered the New Testament evidence of the divinity of Jesus, quoting the Master Himself, His apostles, and other believing witnesses to His life and miracles, as well as Jewish and Roman sources verifying the evidence of His death and resurrection. Finally, there were references from the eighteen hundred years following the life of Jesus, of mystics and scholars in proof of the authenticity of the

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Scriptures, the divinity of Christ, and the truth of His message.

After this argument from history, Chevé proceeded to discuss some difficult questions raised by scientific minds of his own generation: first, the issue of Christ's miracles, and then, more generally, the relationship between religion and science. Regarding the first, Chevé quoted noted skeptics from Julian the Apostate through Montaigne and D'Alembert to assert the reality of those miracles. As to the relation between religion and science, Chevé argued that in the nineteenth century the concepts of science and philosophy, as previously perceived, had been distorted and limited to the study of physical nature and of logic, and were thus removed from considering the most vital questions in life, placing them outside of human reasoning. Yet, the revealed truths of the moral law, so scorned by men of learning, were mankind's only access to God, Chevé argued. God created man to know (Science), and to act (Love), and "it is in this love and by love that we have the knowledge and the understanding of living realities, the point of departure, the principle, the means and the end of the solution of all questions religious and moral." Far from being "abstract and theoretical," he insisted, "this religious method is life itself in action. It attacks man himself to transform him . . . by establishing. . . an eternal society of spirits with God."[5] And this spiritual

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society, he asserted, was that which founded Europe.

In his concluding chapters Chevé summarized his belief that Catholicism was to be lauded for its continuity with apostolic Christianity and was thus, he claimed, the résumé of the entire history of the world, i.e. the realization of the hopes of the ancient peoples and of the two Testaments. He quoted Michelet that "A religion should respond to all the needs of humanity," and he concluded, "Catholicism does that."[6] Further, he argued, faith is above, not against science. As human knowledge advances, man uses science to explain the truths of faith in the light of new reality. Thus, he continued, progress in society should be the movement from "belief to understanding," from "the objective to the subjective."[7]

In an interesting Epilogue, Chevé reasserted the vision, shared by Lacordaire and Liberal Catholics, of the mission of modern France as a latter-day Joan of Arc called by God to lead humanity to freedom from oppression and injustice to the realization of Christian social justice. The means he proposed for achieving this reign of Christ on earth were familiar ones for readers of his earlier works: popular sovereignty, universal suffrage, and other political reforms urged by democratic republicans. Once again Chevé argued that these were applications of the social principles taught by the Church throughout the ages.

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Chevé may not have intended this work as an apology for his faith, but it was, nonetheless, a strong argument for his social Catholicism. Although he had disengaged himself from the conservative stance of most of the bishops and the majority of French Catholics after the 1848 revolution, this work reveals that his commitment to the tradition of the Church's spiritual and moral teachings had not weakened. Rather, while seeking political and economic affiliation with the partisans of the Left during the turbulent days of the Second Republic his own religious faith seems to have deepened and grown more transcendent, even mystical.

The times were exceedingly difficult for reconciling Chevé's two affiliations. The breach between the Left and the official Church continued to widen during the last days of the Republic. Louis-Napoléon rallied around himself the defenders of order, and no liaison was more supportive and essential than that realized between Government and Church. On December 2, 1851, a presidential coup brought the Republic to an end, and on December 20th, a plebiscite confirmed the advent of the Second Empire. The move met with only token resistance on the part of an emasculated Left. Censorship of the press, almost complete at the time of the coup, assured no public journalistic outcry. The options for a man like Chevé, who had been a publicist of democratic and socialist ideas and who had warned that a Bonapart Presidency signalled the end of the Republic, were

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limited if he was to guard his integrity. Yet Chevé's active writing and editing career was not arrested, nor did he renounce his dual identity as Catholic Christian and Social Democrat. If his articles could no longer appear in daily newspapers, still he was determined that his ideas would find an audience.

So, it was that Chevé's next association as writer and editor would be in a Catholic publishing house where he could be relatively free of censorship and yet write on ideas of value to him, if not on current political issues. His collaboration was with an outstanding scholar, the Abbé J.-P. Migne, who presided over Ateliers Catholiques, a publishing house located on the outskirts of Paris, at Petit-Montrouge. It is known that Chevé had come into association with other progressive Catholics, some of them friends of Migne, through participation in the fifteen-member Commission of Direction for the Cercle de la Démocratie Catholique, founded by Désiré Laverdant, a phalansterian in September 1850.[8] Migne's Ateliers produced the Universal Library of the Clergy, a vast collection of theological and spiritual treatises, the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and a variety of Catholic reference works.[9] Abbé Migne had already taken some other socialists, e.g. Abbé Roux and Abbé Raymond, priests who were in opposition to their bishops, under his protection, before Chevé was brought into the enterprise as an editor.[10]

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In 1852, Chevé's first editorial work in the series, Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique, volume 33, appeared. Its title was Dictionnaire des conversions ou Essai d'encyclopédie historique des conversions au catholicisme depuis dix-huit siècles, et principalement depuis le protestantisme.[11] Chevé contributed a lengthy, forty-seven page Introduction to this work in which, using arguments derived from Saint-Simon similar to those Chevé had used previously, he linked Protestantism's private interpretation of Scripture to the individualist ethic of Liberalism. Such private interpretation, Chevé asserted, led to the universal skepticism, individualism, and absolute egoism, typical of both Liberal and Positivist thought. The Catholic criteria of truth, on the other hand, merited his praise, for they were based, according to Chevé, on mutual consent and the common adhesion of man to the thought of God. Thus, truth, he continued, was a common belief placed in the bosom of a spiritual society and professed by its members. While the first [private] method separated and isolated man, Chevé asserted, the second unified sentiment, thought, and action, the three faces of human life. His solution to the search for truth amid the contradictions and error of subjectivist thought was a mystical one: one must listen to God who reveals to us be the Good, the Truth, Unity, and Synthesis."[12]

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Among the eight thousand converts to Catholicism considered in this work, Chevé included Philippe Buchez, his former mentor. In a relatively long biographical sketch, Chevé credited Buchez for his own encounter with Catholicism and dated Buchez's conversion around 1828, incorrectly as we have seen above. Chevé argued that Buchez was for "a very great number of young men imbued with democratic ideas. . . the instrument of Providence and the means of their conversion to Catholicism. In his writings [they] realized the refutation of their anti-religious prejudices, a profound respect for Catholicism and a more or less dogmatic conviction. One could even say," he continued,

> "that this school was, with that of Avenir, the principal agent of the nineteenth century reaction against Voltairianism and the spirit of religious unbelief which reigned under the Restoration." Although Buchez still remained "too little known . . . due to the political suspicions which surround him," [presumably those concerning his role in 1848], yet, "the services that he has rendered to religion by his return to Catholicism, [sic] permit us to count him in the number of the most illustrious converts of this time already so fruitful in remarkable conversions."[13]

Chevé's citing of the role of Buchez and of the Avenir group in leading the youth of the 1820s and 30s back to the Church indicates that he continued to view Liberal Catholicism in a favorable light even in this period of its decline under the Second Empire.[14] Although the Church enjoyed a position of power and privilege in its alliance with Louis-Napoléon, progressives, like Chevé and the

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Liberal Catholics, were not happy with this liaison and its conservative, even repressive character. They argued that freedom was a universal right and they deplored the fact that freedom of the press, speech, and of assembly had been denied since 1851. Monsignor Dupanloup warned of the Church's "false situation" and its "unhappy position of privilege."[15] In a sermon at St. Roch's Church in Paris in February 1853, Père Lacordaire made a veiled reference to this repression and to the probable presence of government informers in his audience while referring to relations between the Emperor and the Pope: "A man who uses despicable means to attain his ends is himself despicable. I know there is no need for an army to prevent me saying more."[16] And Montalembert, still the movement's most outstanding layman, reminded his co-religionists that the Church since the Revolution had been rebuilt through nothing but freedom and the struggle which freedom had made possible. He warned them of the inherent hypocrisy of their approval now of the denial of freedom, and of its effect upon the Church's critics.[17] Chevé, most certainly, applauded these arguments.

Though no longer considering himself a Liberal Catholic, since most of them, with the exception of Lacordaire, Ozanam, and some others, were locked into middle class values and interests, Chevé would have sympathized with his former associates as fellow beleaguered members of

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the Catholic Left. Indeed, at the time, not only the Government, but the Papacy, ironically enough, and the majority of the French hierarchy, clergy, and laity were more or less hostile to the Liberal Catholic cause. And the vituperative press of Louis Veuillot, radical spokesman of French Ultramontanism, now turned conservative, openly criticized the Liberal Catholic leaders and questioned their loyalty to the Church.

Chevé's next work, without a doubt, confirmed his loyalty to Catholic doctrine and tradition. In 1853, he published at Petit-Montrouge a two-volume study entitled Dictionnaire des apologistes involontaires: Le catholicisme triomphant par ses propres adversaires.[18] In it, Chevé quoted outstanding thinkers of all times, from Plato through nineteenth-century philosophers, to demonstrate atheism, skepticism, materialism, paganism, Protestantism and unbelief refuted by atheists,skeptics, materialists, pagans, Protestants, and unbelievers. Chevé designed the work as a defense and celebration of Catholicism in its morality, dogma, cult, authorities, constitutions, hierarchy, discipline, priesthood, tradition, history, institutions, good works, and religious, intellectual, social, and economic programs by those very men who had fought against it. The work had been prompted by the publication of an encyclopedia which Chevé called more dangerous to Catholicism than that of Diderot and D'Alembert in the

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eighteenth century. This was the Encyclopédie nouvelle, edited by Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud, Saint-Simonian defectors who called themselves Christian Socialists. He also addressed himself to refuting the writings of Proudhon, Mme. de Staël, Ange Guépin, and other rationalists, romantics, and social reformers of the century who scorned Catholicism in the name of Christianity and of progress. Their attacks were the more insidious, Chevé declared, in that they tried "to make Catholicism disappear, less by denying it than by interpreting it."[19] Thus, Chevé undertook to use their own words to refute their criticisms and what he called their false interpretations of Catholicism.

The years 1854 through 1856 witnessed the apogee of the close alliance between the Catholic Church and the Second Empire. They were the years in which France was involved in the Crimean War, a war painted in the Catholic press as a Crusade for the defense of the Holy Land. During the election campaign of 1857, Government candidates received great support from the clergy, and one bishop went so far as to compare Napoleon III to Saint Louis.[20] Liberal and progressive Catholics deplored these signs of episcopal allegiance to a repressive regime. One such critic, commenting on public scandals in which government officials were involved, called the Empire "a bawdy house blessed by the bishops."[21]

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For his part, Chevé spent those years working on two volumes which would constitute volumes nine and thirty-two in a series called the Troisième et dernière Encyclopédie Théologique ou Troisième et dernière série de Dictionnaires sur toutes les parties de la science religieuse published by Ateliers Catholiques.[22] These studies were a labor of love because they allowed him to expand on his most dearly valued ideas. The first of these studies, called Dictionnaire des bienfaits et beautés du christianisme appeared in 1856.[23] In a sense the work was an enlargement and extension of the theme sounded by Saint-Simon some thirty years earlier in Nouveau Christianisme, that the influence of Christianity on the institutions and culture of Europe was decisive in creating a unique and highly advanced civilization out of a barbarian tribal culture. In his Introduction, Chevé stated that the one essential element that Christianity had incorporated into Western Europe was the concept of charity as the universal law, the very essence of God and of God's Incarnation in the world. As a corollary to this concept of love shared within a community of believers, Chevé posited the early Christian notion of community of goods, based, he asserted, on Christ's blessing of the "poor in spirit" in the Sermon on the Mount, as recounted in Matthew 5:3 and Luke 6:20.

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carried the idea into its mystical depths by proclaiming: "God shares the goods of the spirit and of the body, after the mysterious plan of eternal destiny to which He calls His creatures. To judge this sharing, one must never separate earth from heaven, present from future life, man from God, because one is explained by the other. It is necessary to take for one's horizon, not the limited sphere of the times, but the projection of our being into the field of the infinite where exist the secret of its immortal destiny and the answer to all the enigmas of the things of this world exist."[24]

Thus, in the midst of the society of the Second Empire, noted for its gaudy materialism, Chevé continued to assert the interrelation of simplicity of life, and love, as the very bases of Christianity. As always, for him, to be Christian meant being socialist, or of the parti social, as he termed its non-violent counterpart. His interpretation of Scripture and of the teachings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church confirmed for him the beauty of Catholic Christian teachings, and preserved him from the accusations as well as from the example set by the majority of his French co-religionists.

By the time this work came to publication, the peace conference following the Crimean War was in session, bringing to international attention, once more, some unfinished business, i.e., the question of Italian

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unification. Dear to the hearts of romantics and liberals prior to 1848, it had been an issue on which Catholics of the Left had been unqualified enthusiasts until 1848, especially after the election of the "liberal" Pius IX, in 1846, had raised their hopes for a united, free, and Catholic Italy under his leadership. But as the wave of revolution had swept through Italy, threatening the Papal States, and, later, creating the Roman Republic under the anticlerical Mazzini, the Pope had proven himself a most reluctant reformer. Rather, from exile, he had come to view nationalism as the direct enemy of his temporal power, and to judge the latter as absolutely necessary for the spiritual independence of the Papacy. Restored to his throne in 1849, and maintained there by French troops sent by then President Louis-Napoléon, Pius IX had become an archconservative opponent of Liberalism and democracy. Therein lay the basis of his hostility and that of Ultramontanist Veuillot to French Liberal Catholicism, previously mentioned; there, too, in the Government's defense of the Papacy, lay a strong reason for the bond between the French Catholic Church and the regime of Napoleon III.

Now, in the late 1850s, when Count Cavour of Piedmont-Sardinia raised the question of Italian unification once more, the allied question of the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy resurfaced. Catholics throughout Europe, and

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especially those on the Left, felt themselves split by divided loyalties. On the one hand, they were obedient to the Pope and mindful of the indignities he had had to suffer, and on the other, sensible to the frustrated nationalism of the Italians. Earlier, they had argued that the Papal monarchy was an anachronism, and that, not only was the notion that temporal rule was essential for the exercise of spiritual authority inaccurate, but that the Papacy would be freer to operate as a worldwide spiritual force once the obligations of temporal rule had been removed. While they discussed these issues among themselves, however, most refrained from expressing any thoughts critical of the Papacy in public, choosing instead to rally to the defense of the Pope.

It was in this context that Chevé brought out, in 1857, the second of the two works mentioned earlier, volume thirty-two in the Third and Last Theological Encyclopedia, entitled Dictionnaire des papes, ou Histoire complète des souverains pontifs depuis Saint-Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX, in which he exalted the civilizing mission, carried out by the Popes throughout the ages.[25] In its Introduction Chevé stated that his purpose was to produce a complete history of all the Sovereign Pontiffs as both spiritual and temporal rulers. His sources would be, he stated, original documents and the letters of the Sovereign Pontiffs, but it was clear that this was not to be a work of purely objective history.

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Rather, Chevé also indicated he would include their religious, social, and civilizing actions, quoting de Maistre: "O holy Church of Rome, your Pontiffs will soon be universally proclaimed supreme agents of civilization, creators of European monarchy and unity, conservators of science and the arts." And, while noting the decline of Papal power in modern times, he cautioned that the record was still open with regard to the reign of Pius IX. Despite evidence to the contrary, Chevé expressed a hope that "the time of that great rehabilitation [of the Papacy as a progressive force in society] has come."[26]

Apologist of a revived spiritual and intellectual Papal leadership, Chevé may have been, a prophet he was not. Not long after the Dictionnaire des papes's publication, Count Cavour and Napoleon III met in secret at Plombières to plot war against Austria as a necessary step toward the unification of Italy, not under Papal leadership, but under the rule of the House of Savoy. Before their plottings were executed, however, Papal mishandling of the Mortara Case, involving the custody of a Jewish child in Bologna who had been baptized by his Catholic nurse during his illness, provided anticlericals and liberals in France and elsewhere with fresh reason to criticize the Pope and ridicule his ability as leader of a united Italy. Thus, the majority of intellectuals in France were prepared to be sympathetic to the switch in France's Italian policy implied in Napoleon's

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While French opinion, in general, may have favored support for the war of Piedmont-Sardinia against Austria at its opening in the Spring of 1859, as it developed into a war against the Papacy, the position of French Catholics changed radically. The conservative hierarchy and majority, as well as the so-called "Intransigents" behind Veuillot, turned from their earlier praise of Napoleon III to attack him with critical invective. In this criticism they had been preceded by Catholics of the Left, like Chevé, Montalembert, and Dupanloup, who despite their earlier misgivings about Papal monarchy, saw the Pope's welfare as a cause around which to rally. They were freer to do this, moreover, because unlike the Catholic majority they had no previous attachment to the policies of the Second Empire to overcome or to inhibit their view. This unfavorable storm of criticism at home, as well as pressure exerted from other European capitals, was in large part responsible for Napoleon III's decision to sue for peace with Austria. A treaty was signed at Villafranca in July, which stated that both sovereigns, Napoleon and Franz Joseph, supported the creation of an Italian confederation under the presidency of the Pope.

Events quickly made this hope impossible; plebiscites in Tuscany, Romagna, and the Duchies demanded annexation to Piedmont, as had already been accomplished in the case of

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Lombardy, and by December, 1859, the French Emperor was trying to persude the Pope to give up Romagna. The fate of the Pope, termed the "Roman Question," was the concern of every Catholic in Europe.

In France, the earlier happy alliance between Church and State in the Second Empire, an alliance which typified the decade of the 1850s, now disintegrated. For their criticism of the Government's policies regarding the Pope, Veuillot's L'Univers and other "Intransigent" organs were silenced. Henceforth, new episcopal nominations, which had to be approved by the Government, favored Gallican candidates. Imperial favors formerly granted to religious orders and Catholic schools were now markedly absent. So clear was the change in attitude, with new legislation and tighter enforcement of laws limiting Church freedom, that Monsignor Dupanloup denounced the policy as a war upon the Church carried on by the Ministers of Interior, Justice, Public Instruction, and Cults.[27]

While critics of Napoleon from the Right, such as some noted Orleanists, now rallied to the Pope's cause as a means of attacking the Emperor, others from the Left, like the workers of Paris's Faubourg Saint-Antoine, intensified their anticlericalism and, correspondingly, softened their criticism of Louis-Napoléon.[28] The Government, in turn, began a certain tepid liberalization of its internal policies as it sought support from the Center and Left to

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compensate for the loss of the Catholic Right. This domestic liberalization would help reconcile Louis-Napoléon's internal policies with his support of national-liberal movements elsewhere in Europe.

For Leftist journalists like Chevé, the loosening of press restrictions in the early 1860s, while not totally lifting censorship or allowing direct criticism of the Emperor or his policies, still allowed them to resume their profession and to re-emerge as a political force. They would use this platform for an ever-widening critical view of the world scene in the decade to come. At first, Chevé seized on the issue of the self-determination of oppressed peoples, currently espoused by the French Government, and one close to Chevé's heart, to provide a safe platform upon which to argue passionately for liberty. That his pleas could apply at home as well as abroad only added to the fervor of his writing.

Thus, the topic of Chevé's first real book in over a decade, would be entitled: La Pologne, sa constitution, son histoire, et ses démembrements, published by Blériot in 1861.[29] An even more important reason for his choice of topic was the course of events which had raised, during the Crimean War, the issue of the national liberation of the Poles, at the same time as that of Italy. Poles had fought bravely in the Russian armies, and after the war, the new Tsar, Alexander II, had rewarded Poland with a degree of

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liberalization. This served to allow revolutionary ideas and elements, especially among the aristocrats at home and abroad, to gain strength. Nowhere outside of Poland was the promise of Polish freedom and liberalization more discussed and debated than among the Polish émigré colony in Paris. As we have previously seen, Chevé's ties to this community extended back over three decades to his revolutionary activities of 1830-31 and his association with Buchez.

In general, the cause of Polish unity and freedom had long been popular in France. This support increased and grew more vocal as the French republican Left resurfaced in the somewhat liberalized atmosphere of the 1860's. Representative of a new generation devoid of the romanticism and moral idealism of the "men of '48," young republicans viewed nationalism as a matter of positivist or rational imperative. Chevé's outlook was far from theirs, but the timely appearance of his book probably secured some of these youth as well as other diverse elements of the French public as audience although the work was particularly aimed at those Polish émigré leaders in Paris who were the crucial center of national debate and planning. The fact that Chevé's publisher brought out a second, two-volume edition of the work in 1863 is evidence of its timeliness and popularity.[30]

In Warsaw, the first signs of a national rising became evident toward the end of 1860. By the time Chevé's work

appeared in Paris, the so-called "Warsaw Massacres" of April 1861 had occurred, giving the insurrection its baptism in blood. Although the Tsar's representative in Poland at first reacted by granting further liberal reforms, the people of Warsaw, in particular, refused to be placated or bought off by less than full freedom. By October, a state of siege was proclaimed. Autumn of 1861 and all the following year passed in an atmosphere of tension and increasing hostility. Upper class Poles, called the "Whites," moved somewhat closer to the largely middle-class "Reds" in advocating land reform and national autonomy, though the differences between these two groups were still great. In September 1862, the "Red," National Central Committee declared itself the de facto government. By September 1863, Russian reprisals were met by open insurrection in the countryside, particularly against conscription of Warsaw's "Red" youth into the Russian Army. By late Spring and Summer the resistance spilled over into Austrian and Prussian Poland. From Warsaw the Central Committee controlled communications and police, and maintained ties with exiled Poles.[31]

In France, the republican presses and even conservative journals exploded with accusations against Russian oppression and urgent pleas calling on the Great Powers to intervene in the interest of the Poles. Polish émigrés lobbied for French government mediation. Here was a cause

to which progressive Catholics could rally without feeling split; indeed, the image of innocent Poland, the victim of Russian despotism, stirred French citizens of all creeds and political persuasions to protest. But Napoleon III refrained from public comment on the situation until February 1863, when the rumor of a Convention agreed upon by Russia and Prussia roused him to protest. He wrote to the Tsar urging him to grant the Poles national rights. Then, in June, the Emperor issued, in conjunction with England, a six-point démarche recommending the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland to its status under the Treaty of Vienna, with the inclusion of Ruthenia and Lithuania. When this suggestion was rejected, the Powers urged anew that a degree of national autonomy and religious freedom be allowed the Poles within the Russian Empire. By the Fall of 1863, however, it was clear that despite the international clamor, neither England nor France would interfere in the struggle, nor strongly affect its outcome. This was the atmosphere into which Chevé launched the second edition of his history of Poland in 1863.

The body of the work recounted Polish history in full. What is most interesting, however, is Chevé's thesis which he elaborated in the Introduction. This thesis explained the rise and fall of Poland in the past, and provided a program for its rebirth in the present. Imbued with an organic sense of historical development derived from

Saint-Simon and Buchez, Chevé, with them, once more praised Christianity as the great civilizing force in medieval Europe, and the cause of Polish greatness until the sixteenth century. Up to that time, Chevé argued, all Poles had worked together for the progressive development of Poland's power, grandeur, and liberty.[32] Although strong nobles dominated society, he said, yet they always conserved some common interests with the other classes. Indeed, he asserted, documents showed that even early historians judged that the privileges of nobles, far from being the exclusive monopoly of a caste, were at base only the same pact of public and national liberties which all were called to enjoy.[33] This Polish unity was not, he went on, the result of common laws, political institutions, or customs, for such did not exist, but was rather, a mystical "living force" which enabled Poland to resist invasions, conquests, population movements, and even periods of crisis and division, as in the period from 1139 to 1333 A.D., to emerge even stronger, as it did from 1333 to 1587. This living force was the unity of faith, Chevé declared.[34] Religion infiltrated the veins of the Polish nation, he argued, substituting for the natural bonds which were missing. The Church drew together and equalized the classes, maintaining between them a reciprocal fraternity, protecting the peasants from the oppression and encroachments of the nobles, and causing them to participate in their privileges,

guaranteeing at the same time the freedom of workers and of the bourgeoisie by its confraternities, associations, corporations of trade, and by the application of Germanic law.[35]

Then, he argued, the Renaissance and the Reformation of the sixteenth century crept into Poland from abroad bringing the dual evils of ancient pagan materialistic culture and the individualist ethic implicit in Protestantism. These two movements, according to Chevé, undermined Polish unity from within. The latter did not bring a reformation, but a negation of Christianity, he argued. The former brought serfdom, through the application of Roman law, which burdened the peasants with heavy dues and prohibited them from owning land, while the bourgeoisie were likewise limited, being removed from the provincial diets by nobles who claimed the right of life and death over commoners.[36]

With serfdom, Chevé continued, came the introduction of pagan arts and literature, and the political and social institution of paternalistic absolutism. Applied in the home, Chevé noted, this paternalistic absolutism deprived women and children of the honor and respect due to them. Applied to the nation as a whole, soon only nobles were considered the Polish people, while the peasant was no longer a part of the nation, but rather, a thing possessed: neither a slave, nor a citizen, but a serf, and not a man.[37] Deprived of the social unity proved by a common faith, he

continued, seventeenth-century Poland witnessed great excesses of paternal authority, and the transformation of its political and social life. It also lost, according to Chevé, a reason for being, and political unity. It was the servitude of the masses, he went on, which led to internal struggle, paving the way for the division and dismemberment of Poland in the eighteenth century.[38] Having abandoned Christianity for pagan culture, he said, Poland no longer had the living force to resist such external aggrandizement.[39]

Yet even in its darkest moment, Chevé continued, the Polish spirit was stirring, returning to its first point of departure, Catholicism, and reclaiming a faith more alive and ardent than that which allowed her to be dragged into heresy earlier. Enthusiast of liberty and of all the original rights of nature and humanity, not only did she abolish slavery and all that could recall it, but she acted in favor of peasants and laboring classes with much more force and élan than their slavery had been pushed earlier.[40] Finally, Chevé said, the new Poland would not only abandon the imitation of pagan institutions, but would go to great lengths to imbue all its laws, institutions, public manners, literature, and civic and national life with the purest Christian spirit.[41]

This was the Poland that Chevé saw in its birth pangs in 1863, a Poland firm in piety, and social justice, and

capable of achieving unity and independence.[42] But this Poland could be reborn, he insisted, only if everyone understood why the old Poland had been dismembered in the first place. And that was Chevé's purpose and challenge in writing the work: to educate the Polish aristocrats, especially those who had emigrated to Paris and who controlled the insurrection from outside, to the need for Christian piety and social justice as the bases for a revived Poland. The body of the work was devoted to a history of Poland from 800 A.D. through 1860.

Chevé was accurate in seeing the need for social unity and justice for Poland in 1863. Especially in the eastern provinces, most peasants remained loyal to the Russian state, refusing to trust the nobles to lead them in the best interest of the entire nation.[43] Chevé was also correct about the strength of the peasants' desire for social equality. In April 1863, they joined the insurrection by refusing to pay their rents. But when, in March 1864, the Tsar issued an emancipation decree, freeing them from the remnants of serfdom, the Polish peasants withdrew their support from the revolt whose only aim was political reform and the insurrection collapsed. A new Poland had not been born; an historic opportunity had been lost. And, in great part, it was, as Chevé had warned, because the aristocrats had not learned their lessons from the past and had not, consequently, insured equality and justice for the middle

class and peasants.

Meanwhile, between the two editions of his study on Polish history, in 1862, Chevé published a slim volume called L'Idéal: raison et catholicisme which addressed once again a dominant theme of nineteenth-century thought and one which Chevé had already addressed in 1851, the relation between science and faith.[44] That he did so again may have been by way of a response to a work by Proudhon published in 1858, entitled La Justice poursuivie par l'Église. (The English translation was entitled: Justice in the Revolution and the Church.) In it, Proudhon had argued that since religion and justice are incompatible, people should not adhere to religion but to justice, as dictated by their consciences. This thesis was, undoubtedly, popular among the new republicans whose positivist outlook and hatred of dogmatism precipitated particularly bitter attacks on organized religion in general, and on Catholicism, in particular. Chevé, of course, unlike Proudhon or the postivists, saw no opposition between religion and reason and once again acted as synthesizer, attempting "to reconcile all reason as all religions among themselves by showing in Catholicism, the universal synthesis of all religious beliefs, the infinity of human reason elevated to Divine Reason by revelation, the entirety of that which is and of that which can be."[45] He attempted to do this for a new generation of positivists, as he had in the past to

republicans, liberals, socialists, democrats, anarchists, and others on the Left. In his Introduction, Chevé quoted Vincent de Lérins that what is truly Catholic comprises all truth, and Mme. de Staël who stated that: "Religion is nothing, if it isn't everything." Thus, he argued, his ideal comprised the entire body of truth: material and spiritual, rational and mystical, particular and universal, which society falsely dichotomized and opposed.

Chevé asserted the relativity of all human knowledge. He argued further against duality, declaring that "in the world of ideas, Truth, like the earth, has two poles, and that an idea no more excludes the opposite idea than the Arctic pole excludes the Antarctic and that. . . they imply, define and complete each other in a universal reconciliation which is... the eternal Ideal...of thought."[46] Since each individual or group sees truth in a particular and relative way, Chevé said, all truth, that of human reason and that of divine revelation, that of science and that of theology, were necessary for the whole, just as knowledge and love were complementary and necessary to the whole of Truth.

In response to Proudhon's argument, cited above, Chevé asserted again that progress and justice were compatible with Catholicism: "Revelation gives to humanity absolute truth. . . but it is only given to one with faith. . . under the form of. . . love. It is necessary for this truth to pass from the state of sentiment and of belief to the state

of knowledge and of reason, so that the passive being who believes becomes the active being who understands, thus man cooperates freely in the work of God."[47] This work, he continued, is that of creating human progress. "In effect, the social and economic questions are at base only religious and moral questions taken at their terrestrial point of view, as religion is only a divine social economy taken at its celestial point of view."[48] Quoting John Henry Cardinal Newman, Chevé asserted that: "One who comes to Catholicism from atheism or heresy passes from error to truth not in losing what he had, but in gaining that which he didn't yet have. He would not be despoiled, but enriched."[49]

Chevé's philosophical defense of religion against the attack of Positivism followed the lines of M. Gillot, and of Abbé Lenoir, both of whom he quoted.[50] But the strength of the positivists was great; not since the eighteenth century had there been such a revival of anti-Catholic thought as was seen in the 1860s.[51] Men like Renan, whose revisionist Vie de Jésus was published in 1863, contended that "science [was] a religion" which refuted traditional creeds.[52] Some of those who wrote defending the Church against these ideas were rather inept.[53] And the publication by the Vatican of the Syllabus of Errors in 1863 which condemned the nineteenth-century progressive ideologies of liberalism and socialism as morally evil, only served to increase the anti-Catholicism of most French intellectuals. Former

Physiocrat Quinet even called for a union of all religions and Christian sects against the Catholic Church.

Thus, it can be seen that the almost fifteen years following Louis-Napoléon's election victory as President of the Second Republic had been difficult ones for Chevé as for others, democratic republicans, Liberal Catholics, Christian Socialists, and so forth, on the Left, and also for Legitimists and Orleanists on the Right. While Chevé's journalistic output had ceased due to Government repression early in 1851, he had managed, through tenacity and the bonds of friendship and shared values, to remain in the publishing world, editing theological encyclopedias in a Catholic publishing house and publishing three monographs. It was the longest period, with the smallest output, in his career as a journalist and man of letters. But, with others, he would take advantage of new press liberalizations occurring after the elections of 1863 to regain his earlier wit and sharpness and play a unique role among the anti-Bonaparte-Opposition press in the last years of the Second Empire.

## NOTES

[1]"Ce n'est pas un livre, pas même une esquisse; c'est un pastiche de citations où je laisse parler pour moi tous les adversaires les plus fougueux du Catholicisme, et toutes les plus hautes autorités de la science et de l'histoire." ". . .et ils reverront bientôt avec Bacon "que si un peu de science éloigne de la religion, beaucoup de science y ramène'." Charles-François Chevé, Simples notes sur la base historique et le principe constitutif du catholicisme (Paris, 1851), pp. v-vi, ix.

[2]". . .j'ai trempé mon esprit trop avant dans tous les systèmes philosophiques et sociaux pour n'être pas un juge impartial et désintéresse." Ibid., p. vi.

[3]"Le catholicisme, sa tradition, son histoire et ses preuves sont aujourd'hui cent fois plus inconnus que les annales des Lapons et des Esquimaux; l'ignorance à ce sujet est tellement inouie que ce serait le plus comique des spectacles si ce n'était en même temps un assassinat moral. . ." Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

[4]"Aussi, redisons-le avec O'Connell: 'Ce n'est pas le catholicisme que l'on attaque, mais un monstre que l'on a crée soi-même et qu'on nomme catholicisme'." Quote dated 15 juillet 1839 in footnote. Ibid., p. vii.

[5]"C'est en cet amour et par amour que nous avons la conscience et l'intelligence des réalités vivantes, le point de départ, le principe, le moyen et la fin de la solution de toutes les questions religieuses et morales. Cette méthode religieuse n'est pas abstraite et théorétique, elle est la vie même en action. . . Elle s'attaque à l'homme lui-même pour le transformer. . . en établissant unen société éternelle des esprits entre Dieu." Ibid., p. 117-8.

[6]"M. Michelet ajoute: "Une religion doit répondre à tous les besoins de l'humanité, le catholicisme l'a fait." Ibid., p. 131.

[7]"Il faut que cette vérité passe de l'objectif [de la révélation] au subjectif, de l'état de croyance à l'état de connaissance." Ibid., pp. 149.

[8]J.-B. Duroselle, Les Débuts du catholicisme social en France, 1822-1870 (Paris, 1951), pp. 382-33.

[9]"J.-P. Migne," Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter 35-36 (Paris, 1853-66).

[10]Duroselle, Les Débuts du catholicisme social en France, p. 408.

[11]Charles-François Chevé, Dictionnaire des conversions ou Essai d'encyclopédie historique des conversions au catholicisme Tome 33: Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique (Petit-Montrouge, 1852).

[12]"L'homme restant un être fini et borné, il ne peut donc y avoir que l'être infini et absolu, c'est-à-dire Dieu, qui nous révèle le bien, la vérité. . . unité et synthèse." Ibid., pp. 99-100.

[13]"Buchez fut pour un très-grand nombre de jeunes gens imbus des idées démocratiques, l'instrument providentiel et la voie de leur conversion au catholicisme. . . [ils] puisèrent dans les écrits de M. Buchez la réfutation de leurs préjugés anti-religieux, un respect profond pour le catholicisme et une conviction tout au moins dogmatique." "On peut même dire que cette école fut avec celle de l'Avenir, le principal agent de la réaction du XIXe siècle contre le voltairianisme et l'esprit d'incrédulité religieuse qui régnèrent jusque sous Restauration." ". . . encore trop méconnus. . . à cause des préventions politiques qui s'y mêlent. Les services que M. Buchez a rendus à la religion par son retour au catholicisme nous permettent de le compter au nombre des plus illustres convertis de ce temps déjà si fécond en conversions rémarquables." Ibid., pp. 309-310.

[14]This implies a reversal or reconciliation of his earlier differences with Montalembert. See Chapter 4.

[15]Adrien Dansette, Religious History of Modern France (New York, 1961), p. 280.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 281.

[18]Charles-François Chevé, Dictionnaire des apologistes involontaires: Le catholicisme triomphant par ses propres adversaires 38 et 39: Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique, (Petit-Montrouge, 1853).

[19]"Or il existe une Encyclopédie qui est pour le XIXe siècle ce que fut pour le XVIIIe l'Encyclopédie publiée par Diderot et d'Alembert; et son action destructive du catholicisme est d'autant plus puissante. . . elle s'efforce de faire dispatatître le catholicisme moins en le niant qu'en l'interprétant." Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[20]Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, p. 278.

[21]Ibid., p. 279.

[22]Charles-François Chevé, Dictionnaire des bienfaits et beautés du christianisme 9: Troisième et dernière Encyclopédie Théologique ou Troisième et dernière série de Dictionnaires sur toutes les parties de la science religieuse (Petit-Montrouge, 1856). For Tome 32, see footnote 25. On the back of the tile page of Chevé's Visions de l'Avenir (Paris, 1868) two other encyclopedia volumes were listed as Chevé's: Dictionnaire de mystique chrétienne and Dictionnaire des preuves de la divinité de Jésus-Christ. Neither was consulted for this work.

[23]This work is an essay on charity as the fundamental rule governing the material as well as the spiritual realms. Ibid.

[24]"Dieu répartit les dons de l'esprit et du corps d'après le plan mystérieux des destinées éternelles auxquelles il appelle ses créatures. Pour juger cette répartition, il faut donc jamais séparer le terre du ciel, la vie présente de la vie future, l'homme de Dieu, car l'un s'explique par l'autre: il faut prendre pour l'horizon, non la sphère bornée du temps, mais la projection de notre être dans le champ de l'infini où est le secret de ses destinées immortelles et le mot de toutes les énigmes des choses de ce monde. . ." Ibid., p. 41.

[25]Charles-François Chevé, Dictionnaire des papes, ou Histoire complète des souverains pontifs depuis Saint Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX 32: Troisième et dernière Encyclopédie Théologique ou Troisième et dernière série de Dictionnaires sur toutes les parties de la science religieuse (Petit-Montrouge, 1857).

[26]"Le temps de cette grande réhabilitation est venu. . . " Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[27]Adrien Dansette, Du 2 décembre au 4 septembre (Paris, 1972), p. 182.

[28]Ibid., pp. 72, 181.

[29]Charles-François Chevé, La Pologne, sa constitution,

son histoire, et ses démembrements (Paris, 1861).

[30]Charles-François Chevé, Histoire complète de la Pologne de ses premières origines jusqu'à nos jours (Paris, 1863).

[31]Piotr S. Wandyc, A History of East Central Europe Vol. VII: The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1775-1918 (Seattle and London, 1974), pp. 159-176. W.A. Day, The Russian Government in Poland With a Narrative of the Polish Insurrection of 1863 (London, 1867), pp. 19-23.

[32]Chevé, Histoire complète de la Pologne, p. vii.

[33]Ibid., p. viii.

[34]Ibid., pp. xi-xii.

[35]Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

[36]Ibid., pp. xxvi-xxxiii.

[37]Ibid., p. xxxviii.

[38]Ibid., p. xlvii.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., p. xlix.

[41]Ibid., p. l.

[42]Ibid., p. xlix.

[43]Day, The Russian Government in Poland, p. 23.

[44]Charles-François Chevé, Idéal: raison et catholicisme (Paris, 1862).

[45]"Nous venons concilier toutes les raisons comme toutes les religions entre elles, en montrant dans le catholicisme la synthèse universelle de toutes les croyances religieuses, l'infini de la raison humaine élevée jusqu'à la Raison divine par la révélation, le tout de ce qui est et de ce qui peut être." Ibid., p. 5.

[46]". . . dans ce monde des idées, la vérité, comme la terre, a deux pôles, qu'une idée n'exclut pas plus l'idée inverse que le pôles arctique n'exclut le pôle antarctique; et que loin de là elles s'impliquent, se définissent et se complètent l'une par l'autre dans une conciliation universelle qui est. . . l'éternel Idéal, L'X absolu de la pensée." Ibid., p. 16.

[47]"La révélation. . . donne à l'humanité la vérité absolu. . . mais elle ne la lui donne qu'à l'état de foi... sous la forme de . . . amour ou charité. Il faut que cette vérité passe d'état de sentiment et de croyance à l'état de connaissance et de raison, que être passif qui croit devienne l'être actif qui comprend, et qu'ainsi l'homme coopère librement à l'oeuvre de Dieu." Ibid., p. 89.

[48]"C'est qu'en effet, les questions sociales et économiques ne sont au fond que des questions religieuses et morales prise à leur point de vue terrestre, comme la religion n'est elle-même qu'une divine économie sociale, prise à son point de vue céleste." Ibid., p. 103.

[49]From the Tract for the Times, #87, as quoted by Chevé, Ibid., p. 69.

[50]As found in Dictionnaire des droits de la raison dans la foi ou Exposition raisonée sur les sources mêmes des propositions catholiques.

[51]Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, p. 313.

[52]Ibid., p. 311.

[53]Ibid., p. 314.

## CHAPTER SIX

## ENDINGS AND BEGINNINGS, 1865-1875

Chevé returned to the world of journalism in 1865, after an absence of almost fifteen years. His return followed a revival of opposition journalism after 1863, encouraged by Minister Morney's liberal leadership of the Legislative Body. The surfacing of opposition journals paralleled the strengthening of two anti-government movements--the republicans, characteristically anticlerical, humanitarian, and positivist, and a moderate liberal group composed of Liberal Catholics, Orleanists, and some legitimists, generally referred to as the "Third Party."

Besides corresponding to this awakening of the anti-Napoleonic Opposition and the raising of hopes for liberalization within France, Chevé's return to journalism coincided with the appearance of many worker initiatives in Europe and North America. In 1864, France finally declared associations of employers or employees legal, realizing a goal which Chevé had advocated for thirty years. A "Manifesto of the Sixty," published at the time, is considered a significant last statement of a genuinely French and moderate, Proudhonian and mutualist socialism

before that movement perished in the Commune. Meanwhile, outside France the dominant tendency in future socialism signalled as the First International, dominated by Karl Marx, met in London in September 1864. By the following July, the first French branch of the organization was founded in Paris.[1] Chevé, the reformer and worker advocate, would address himself to these issues and more in his journalistic writing.

Some of his other concerns were specifically Catholic ones, and it was to the Catholic press that Chevé returned. As in the 1840s, the issue of the limitations placed on Catholic education under the Second Empire, and particularly under the Minister of Education, Duruy, in the mid-1860s, were a source of general Catholic concern. A broad second area, and one more central to Chevé's interests and expertise, although infinitely more complex, was that of the confusion and contradiction of Napoleon III's foreign policy and its effect on the Papacy and Catholics in particular, as well as on Europe and the world in general. In highest relief at the moment was the "Roman Question," considered a political time-bomb waiting to explode. The covenant which Napoleon had signed in late 1864 with the representatives of the new Kingdom of Italy to withdraw French troops from Rome within two years seemed to many Catholics to mean abandoning the Pope.

These issues were paramount as Chevé joined the staff of the Journal des Villes et des Campagnes in October 1865. That was the same year in which two of Chevé's mentors had died: Proudhon in January, and Buchez in August. Bereaved of his "intellectual fathers," whose ideas he had tailored to his own, he was, at age fifty-two, at the full height of his powers. Although the death of the liberal Morney in March had caused Napoleon III to retreat toward absolutism and to deny any further concessions to liberalization, Chevé and others would seize the opportunity that obvious imperial decay presented to attack the regime and push for reform.

Chevé's first articles dealt exclusively with foreign affairs: the Danubian principalities, the Irish Fenians, Russian imperialism in the North Sea and the Middle East, and extensively with the Schleswig-Holstein Affair and the consequent meeting between Napoleon and Bismarck at Biarritz.[2] His reporting was clear and factual, usually incorporating information drawn from other French and foreign papers. It is apparent that he either read himself, or had access to readers for the major European languages, especially English, German, and Polish. On one occasion he deviated from concern with foreign affairs to refute a journalist from the Gazette who had said that the Germans and English were ahead of the French in developing worker cooperatives. While the foreign co-ops dated from 1852, Chevé asserted that Buchez had established worker

cooperatives among jewellers and cabinet-makers in 1834 which had lasted for thirty-one years. There were in 1849, he claimed, more than five hundred such cooperatives, which had demanded representation in the National Assembly.[3]

Other topics among Chevé's lifelong interests began surfacing in his columns by November 1865. In quoting the Austrian press in its opposition to the Russsian treatment of the Polish clergy and the suppression of the Polish language, he referred to Poland as the "eternal martyr" and called the actions of the Austrians to defend the Poles as holy work and a model for France.[4] Again in December, inspired by the sufferings of some religious orders in Italy, reportedly suppressed and their goods confiscated by the Italian government, Chevé protested what he called a war against the Church in which the straw man, the Jesuit, was made the target of liberal, anticlerical attack to justify limiting the freedom of the Church, the episcopate, the clergy, and all Catholics.[5] He cited the attacks led by Le Monde and Avenir National against Père Hyacinth's talks at Notre Dame, as an example of this war in France, calling these attacks a sign of antitheism, an attack on God.[6] Also in December, at the death of the Belgian king, Chevé praised the Belgian Catholics for having created what he termed, "the most liberal constitution in Europe," which, in granting freedom of conscience, became a model for others, creating an alliance between religion and freedom.[7] Chevé

also used the example of the Belgian constitution to refute the writers of Siècle, Journal des Débats, and Le Monde who, he said, presented the Church as the enemy of liberty.[8]

By far, the most important single works Chevé produced in the 1860s were philosophical and even visionary in nature and indicate the development of his thought in this period. Among these are the lengthy, two-volume Histoire de la Communauté des biens dans l'antiquité et dans l'ère chrétienne ou Tradition universelle du catholicisme et de l'humanité published in 1866-1867, a short tract called La Statue de Voltaire, érigée par lui-même published in 1867, and the deeply reflective, Visions de l'avenir, which came out a year later.

To the first of these, the two-volume Histoire de la Communauté des Biens, published in Nancy by Bordes Brothers, Chevé did not attach his name, using instead the phrase "par un catholique" which he had employed in 1848 for his Dernier mot du socialisme.[9] Perhaps he wished to confirm by this that his ideas were within the mainstream of traditional Catholic thought, as the title asserted, in order to insure a Catholic readership. It was a work which castigated its time for intellectual and moral laxity and for rampant materialism, which Chevé called "this God of the century," "this Golden Calf," "this deification. . . of the mammon of iniquity." The present, so-called regime of Property, Chevé argued, was an irony in that most people

were without any property, with most goods owned in common by families, universities, hospitals, and other institutions, and by the universal commmunity of the State.[10] Rather than the destruction of property, he said, what he proposed was its use by all, a true Régime of Property.[11] He would attempt to prove the reasonableness and practicality of this proposal, arguing in a reversal of Hugo's definition of Utopia as "truth seen at a distance," that "truth seen up close will dissipate the prejudice which made it be considered, in our ignorance, as a Utopia."[12]

The study is divided into three main parts. Part One deals with the notion of Community of Goods as practiced by early peoples, especially the Jews, and as developed in the early Christian Church. In this section Chevé cited examples from ancient China, India, Africa, Peru, and from classical Greece and Rome, as well as ancient Judaism to support his contention that Community of Goods is a natural and universal right of man.[13] He then traced the concept in the primitive Church as found in the Acts of the Apostles, through the practices in monastic foundations, in the teachings over the centuries of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and even in the definition of doctrine and ritual. Regarding the latter, for example, he found signs of community in the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Communion of Saints, as well as in the celebration of the Eucharist. Truly, he argued, community

is the universal law of the material and spiritual world.[14]

Part Two treated the concept of community as developed by the State from antiquity to the modern age. The sources cited in this part ranged from the Pelagians, through the Moravian Brethren and Thomas More, to the arguments concerning equality of property raised by the Enlightened philosophes and theoreticians during the French Revolution, and by a variety of nineteenth-century thinkers. The Revolution, according to Chevé, had as its goal "the complete and universal realization of the community of goods." Its "sole true personification," he declared, "is Babeuf."[15] Praising Babeuf for his "Manifesto of the Equals," and Buonarotti for publicizing Babeuf's ideas, Chevé concluded that the work of the revolution was still to be completed.[16] He called for a truly national community which would furnish its citizens with the physical necessities. He also advocated local and regional administration, demanding the decentralization which was to become an issue as the decade progressed. As to the social reformers of the eighteenth century and the Revolution, Chevé argued that unlike Babeuf they had placed themselves outside the Christian tradition of the law of the Gospel and of the Catholic tradition and faith which alone are the living spirit and integral formula of it.[17] That had caused the movement to lose its way and retard its complete realization for a century. But, he projected, "God who

leads and directs the finger of humanity . . . will soon return it to its true ways and to the execution of His providential plan in the world."[18] This would be accomplished through the work of Saint-Simon, Buchez, Avenir, and O'Connell among others, who were, he asserted, heralds of a profound return of Communism to Catholicism, especially through the movement of "associationism."

It is worthy of note that Chevé here departed from a position he had taken in 1848, now asserting that socialism led directly to communism, whereas he had earlier gone to great pains to define them as distinct. He quoted J.-J. Thonissen in Le Socialisme dans le passé to say: "There are two kinds of socialists, those who are Communists in the name of real equality without accepting community of goods, its consequence, and those who knowingly accept the consequences of the principle of equality and abolition of individual ownership, yet reject the principle in proclaiming the inequality of distribution." He placed the Saint-Simonians and the Fourierists among the latter group.[19] He then proceeded to discuss at great length the socialist programs of his contemporaries, from those of Saint-Simon and his followers through the programs of Fourier, Owen, Cabet, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc, as well as worker movements tnroughout Europe and America. Chevé revealed himself an ardent Saint-Simonian by crediting that thought with having penetrated society to its core.[20]

Part Three is devoted to the issue of Community as fostered by both Church and State. He cited initiatives undertaken by clergymen in the interest of community: those of Abbé Chantôme, of the Archbishop of Paris, and of the Bishop of Mayence, as well as the ideas presented by Abbé Gabriel in his works Ideal of a Christian Society, published in 1857, and Christ and the World, in 1862.[21] Chevé quoted from his own work, Ideal: Raison et Catholicisme, on the image of a universal spiritual community, referring to its author, himself, as an "ardent Catholic."[22] Such a spiritual Christian community would unite the insights of science and religion in the interest of the moral and social transformation of society.[23] Such a community, he asserted, does not need to be created, but already exists, at least in part, with modern technology and a modern army actually preparing the way for its realization.[24] What was lacking, he felt, was the direction of those structures to aid the plight of the worker, whom he described as "displaced, mutilated, suppressed, and reduced to the role of a lever, of a piston, of a retort, no longer a man but a machine, and the most miserable of all."[25] He ended the study with a plea for social justice.

Despite his ardent plea for justice for the working class, and his efforts to root himself in traditional Catholic teaching, Chevé found himself alienated once more from the mainstream of these two groups about which he

passionately identified himself in principle: the Church and the social reformers. Workers were increasingly influenced by anticlerical republican spokesmen in the 1860s. Freemasonry, whose base was humanitarianism and scientism again flourished in their ranks. While neo-Enlightened works like that of Renan's Vie de Jésus exhibited a new scientific scholarly approach which replaced the exegesis of Voltaire, still the latter remained something of a hero to the new rationalists and their working-class followers. When Chevé learned that there was a movement among the public to erect a statue honoring Voltaire in Paris he decided to write an exposé of that noted anticlerical philosophe addressed particularly to the workers. He called the work: La Statue de Voltaire érigée par lui-même, which was published in 1867.[26]

Arguing that the Voltaire of the neo-Enlightened republicans was a fiction created by prejudice, passion, and party interests, Chevé proceeded to present what he called the true picture of Voltaire, as evidenced by his writings, his acts, and by the judgement of his contemporaries.[27] The telling features of this portrait were those of a misanthrope who rejected his own common origins to live like a great lord, and who despised the People as stupid and bestial. Chevé revealed him as an enemy of equality, alien to Paris, an enemy of France and the French, an enemy of Poland, a preacher of lies, and a religious hypocrite, who

had been judged severely by his fellow philosophes as well as by nineteenth-century thinkers. The short work on Voltaire seems to have proven popular, for a second, lengthier edition, was printed that same year.[28]

There is reason to believe that in late 1867 or early 1868 Chevé suffered a deep personal loss in the death of his wife of twenty-six years, Adélaïde Schneider Chevé. He made reference to such a loss in his reflective Visions de l'Avenir and indeed it seems that it was the period of mourning after her death that occasioned the work, and also prompted its emotional overtones and its deeply spiritual and philosophical subject matter.[29] In his grief Chevé poured out in writing his thoughts on the essentials of life, the reality of death, and his hopes and legacy for the future.

The work, composed during the seasons of Lent and Easter, liturgical seasons of penitence and of contemplation of the Passion and death of Jesus, as well as of reflection upon His Resurrection, has the tone of a meditation.[30] In form it consists of a series of short chapters, or essays, many of them less than five pages long. Some were addressed by the author, self-described as a "son of the People," to God, others to "the People" in order, he said, to "make the sentiments which palpitate in the depths of [their] heart[s] vibrate even if they ignore or deny them with [their] lips."[31] Chevé's interest in touching their hearts

proceeded from his desire to pursue, in the name of Christ and the Church, the building of the new city of liberty, equality, and fraternity of which the Gospel is the living law.[32] Chevé described "the People" thus: "our lips are dry and our soul is withered, devoid of hope" at the failure of the grand schemes created by the innovators of the century. Instead, Chevé envisioned that having mirrored in their suffering the passion of Jesus, they would also come to experience the resurrection, "the cracking of an abyss opening, like the tearing of the womb of a woman giving birth." From this abyss, he said, would spring forth torrents of light signalling the birth of divine Reason in our life.33 Then, he foresaw, the Church and Reason would embrace. "The living Spirit of God who comes to realize universal liberty, equality, and fraternity in society."[34]

Once again, Chevé's compassion for the poor and powerless is evident. Of an orphaned youth he wrote: "Misery made of his life the slave of a machine, the cog-wheel of a piston."[35] While decrying this inhumanity, he, like a true descendent of Saint-Simon, was still clearly aware of the advantages coming from the technology of the century, calling the harnessing of steam, electric, gas power to aid man as the spiritualization of nature. And he pleaded that all society might witness and share the "Social Communion" of the benefits of this transformation, through the "cooperative organization of workers," and through

"distribution according to needs and works."[36] He wrote of the importance of cooperative organizations of workers, and of the dignity of labor, as an act of creation mirroring that of the Creator.[37] He also advocated the liberation of women, the abolition of usury, and the restitution of marriage and the family in what he called an age of immorality and unbelief.[38]

In a vision which again echoed the Saint-Simonian idea of the artist/savant as priest, an image Chevé used frequently, and which prefigured the Chardinian view of the transformation of all creation in Christ, the Omega Point, the author described the Eucharist as analogous to the "sublime transubstantiation of the universe by the word of man."[39] He wrote of the Trinity as the mystical prototype of Fraternity, and called for the communion of all men "in the indivisible trinity of their moral, intellectual, and physical goods."[40] Again this trinitarian idea of Saint-Simon appeared: "Art, science, and industry are three branches of religion. . . Each of them is a social priesthood."[41]

Once again, as in earlier works, Chevé granted France a leading role in the realization of the New Age.[42] In the battle against injustice, he envisioned France, "[her] flag in the wind" riding on the Apocalyptic white horse.[43] "France carries in her bosom," he asserted elsewhere, "the destinies of the world."[44] Yet he disagreed with the

familiar martial note the image of this crusade evoked, decrying homicide, war, and the scaffold, all of which he dubbed "The Reign of Force."[45] Indeed, he asserted with the vision of a mystic that "the life of man is sacred, and the one who kills commits deicide, since the blood of Christ runs in the veins of humanity."[46]

As for the Church's role in the creation of this new society, Chevé asserted that its duty was to "give to the world true liberty," to unite the two worlds of God and of earth, of Church and people.[47] And he called upon the Pope and the bishops to summon the people to this course.[48] To those who would argue for a separation of spiritual and temporal realms, Chevé noted that the prayer of the "Our Father": "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth..." affirmed the divine will that God's rule come on earth, and the call of Christians to help achieve what he called the "Republic of God" on earth.[49]

That phrase is a particularly interesting modification of the traditional "kingdom of God." Chevé explained, through the eyes of a time traveller: "the Seer looked for a sovereign, king, emperor, . . . but there were none; no man commanded another; God alone reigned through His Christ, and this reign was the reign of love, because God is love."[50] There would be in reality no government and no laws, for "Christ alone is the living law and the Gospels echo His Word."[51] "Each governs himself according to justice and

truth and his liberty is as perfect as his virtue, without limits, like his charity."[52] In this we can note the influence of Romantic and especially Proudhonian ideas of true anarchy.

Descending to earth from his vision, Chevé saw the crucifixion being reenacted with one who fought for freedom as the victim, hailed by the people but attacked by opponents of liberty, whom he called: "false sages who call his aspirations toward a better society where justice reigns foolish."[53] Was Chevé, in his private grief, feeling especially vulnerable to his critics, likening his suffering at their hands to a crucifixion? Did he also feel attacked by "the elected assembly of this world which sees the eternal sanction of misery in these words of Christ: 'The poor you have always with you.'?"[54] Elsewhere, in considering a worker for justice who was maligned and misunderstood, Chevé showed a sympathy, born perhaps of personal knowledge, when he stated that in order to understand him one must possess his virtues. "In vain after his death they will try to write his life. Who knows his life; God alone has the secret?" Yet he saves mankind from annihilation, becoming the servant of all to make all free.[55] And further he asserted, "All saints carry within them the republic of God, as a seed carries the plant, and the child his race."[56]

It is in his reflections on death that Chevé allowed the depths of his soul to be revealed. He referred to his recently departed wife as "the sister of my soul, the soul of my life."[57] It was she who had urged him to work for justice, arguing that was conducive to his own spiritual growth.[58] Elsewhere he accepted the label of mystic, declaring that "Mysticism is reality substituted for the dream, practical life substituted for chimeral imagination."[59] And further: "Mysticism is only Christianity itself in its supreme ideal."[60]

As to his own life, Chevé admitted that his time on earth was growing short (he was aged fifty-five), that in him arrogance of thought was giving way to the wisdom of the heart, and that he gained humility as he saw into the secrets of heaven.[61] He announced that he placed great value in simplicity and in the hidden life as lived by Jesus for all but three of his thirty-three years.[62] In the closing pages of the book, Chevé expressed the wish that he might be unknown after his death.[63]

Perhaps the very writing of this work helped Chevé to heal some of the pain of loss he had suffered, and enabled him to return to his public life and his continuing struggle for justice for a few more years. His articles in the Journal des Villes et Campagnes after April 1868 show that if he had abandoned his former arrogance of thought, he still maintained a sharpness of mind and the moral courage

to address the key questions of his day without flinching.[64] He criticized important government figures and policies, and pointed out errors regarding Catholicism in the anticlerical, republican press. French journalists in the last years of the Second Empire had indeed learned to live by the government rules which still gagged them somewhat, and had moved by wit and wile into a place of great influence in society. Indeed, a contemporary recalled that these journalists "were the salt and the life of Paris and of Europe under the [late] Second Empire."[65] In that competitive and heady journalistic hothouse Chevé returned to his old self.

Although imperial policies and the Emperor were the main targets of attack by the rabid republican press, they were not its only focus. Equally under their attack was the old target, Catholicism. The Church was blamed for everything from ignorance and superstitution to authoritarianism and oppression of Algerian Muslims and workers. In this mêlée, Chevé remained a voice of reason and moderation both during his tenure as columnist and later, as editor-in-chief of the Journal, from mid-April to August 1868. Indeed, his attention focussed, not on foreign affairs per se, but on what might be called particularly "Catholic issues," both within and outside of France. Within France he concerned himself at great length with the issue of the place of religion within the state-supported



educational system.[66] It was an issue with which he had dealt in 1865 in the Journal's pages and previously in Liberal-Catholic journals during the July Monarchy. As twenty years before, the existing government monopoly over education, especially as narrowly interpreted by M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction, assured protection for atheism and materialism which, as Chevé saw it, were destroying the youth of the Second Empire. He argued instead for freedom of education from state monopoly as a step toward true freedom, quoting de Tocqueville that "the religious and moral sentiment of a people always gives the exact measure of its freedom."[67] Indeed, Chevé's basic viewpoint on the place of religion in education was that the Catholic tradition had always supported science, citing Sir Francis Bacon and Saint Thomas Aquinas, that it had always respected workers, for Jesus was a worker, and had supported liberty of speech, assembly, and the press, as well as of education.[68] He refuted accusations to the contrary made by anticlerical journals, most notably Le Siècle, L'Opinion nationale, Journal des Débats, and Avenir national.[69] The Catholic tradition, Chevé argued, was the historic and philosophical root from which sprang the desires of his century for social, political, and economic freedom and justice.

Chevé wrote, further, against both Saint-Simonian and conservative calls for unity of Church and State, while at

the same time countering the anticlerical effort for the strictest separation of the two institutions, by raising the specter of a clerical state. Instead, his moderate position mirrored, he asserted, what the Church had always advocated, i.e., the independence of these two institutions, each operating freely in its own realm, without desire of dominating the other.[70] He cited as ideal the model of the United States where, he noted, a chaplain opened each day's legislative session with a prayer.[71] More than once he decried the ignorance of Catholicism shown by its enemies, and he blamed attacks on churches and priests in the departments of the Gironde and Charente as the result of calumnies against the Church repeated in the anticlerical press.[72] He distinguished between the Church's enemies, both those revolutionary democrats who would destroy the Church, and what he called the "caesarists," supporters of Napoleon III, who would subordinate it to the temporal power.[73]

In rejecting the stereotype of the Catholic position by Catholics Rightists, Chevé insisted that there were many Catholics, and most Catholic journalists, who were not conservative.[74] Likewise, as the bridgebuilder that he was, he abhorred the anti-Catholic attitude exhibited in the Liberal journals Le Siécle and L'Opinion nationale, and yet advised his readership against the proposed formation of an exclusively Catholic movement or party advocated by

l'Univers, which, he said, would isolate them on confessional lines in the coming Fall elections. Rather, he urged his readers to vote as individual citizens, and for any candidates who would uphold their positions.[75] The issues at stake, he protested, were social and political, not religious, and there "are only two radically opposed parties, one which wants liberty, and one which oppresses it."[76] It is to his credit that one of the republican journals with which Chevé differed most and whose articles he consistantly counter-attacked, namely, Le Siècle, offered him the following compliment in print: "He is of a small number of these spirits, carried towards generous ideas, who, anchored in dogma, make sincere efforts to conciliate their religious faith and their political aspirations." The remark was made as preface to a column accusing him of error in presenting Catholic teaching.[77]

True to his position as a spokesman for the Catholic Left, Chevé again advocated rights for workers, especially emphasizing the Sunday observance issue under debate in the Legislative Body.[78] In fact, the Journal had earlier submitted a petition on the question to the legislature.[79] In particular, he decried the centralization of France, and the "Haussmanization," as he called it, which brought people to cities, breaking all tradition of domestic hearth and fostered immorality.[80]

As before, Chevé also reported and commented on foreign news and foreign affairs, matters of great controversy as the errors of Napoleon's policies in Italy, Mexico, and at Sadowa were becoming more evident. Some of his early articles were directly critical of the Emperor and his inept and confusing conduct of foreign affairs. The crucial state of France's foreign policy, to which Chevé and other imperial opponents alluded, dated back to the Spring of 1866 when the Emperor had been quite ill, and the French government had bungled the confrontation with Bismarck's Prussia as it prepared for war with Austria, called the Sadowa Crisis. By failing to offer Prussia armed opposition in defense of Austria, or to force Prussia into granting concessions, France had effectively lost to Prussia all initiative in European affairs and any prestige it had held in international matters. Napoleon's hesitation to act had been due, not only to his illness, but to the losses France had recently suffered in attempting to rescue the disastrous Mexican adventure from inevitable failure. In turn, Napoleon had alienated the Austrian government by abandoning it to Prussia, and the Italian government by his intervention in Venetia after Austria's defeat. From that point on, war with Prussia loomed as a real possibility. In the face of that possibility, France found herself without allies, a situation which the Opposition seized on to further castigate imperial policy. As the former Orleanist

leader, Thiers, eloquently declared in a lengthy speech to the Legislative Body: "There is no mistake left for us to make."[81]

The seeming inevitability of war with Prussia had triggered some liberal concessions within France, in the Spring of 1867, for Napoleon wanted to win over a larger segment of popular support in order to reorganize the army. Among the reforms were moderate constitutional changes affecting the central and municipal governments, the guarantee of the right of assembly, and the relaxing of some press restrictions. When the World's Fair opened in Paris that Spring, Napoleon III proudly paraded with the visiting heads of Europe's royal houses, visibly proud of France's prosperity and sure that France would not be without allies for the future.

But events conspired to work against Napoleon's hopes. An attempt was made on the Russian Tsar's life at Longchamps in June, and the events of the trial which followed turned Russian sympathies away from France and toward Prussia. Late in June word arrived in Paris of Emperor Maximilian's death in Mexico, an event which, inevitably, drew criticism upon Napoleon from all sides. The Legislative Body rang with denunciations of the whole adventure which had been created and carried through by the imperial couple. Later that Summer and Fall difficulties arose between Italy and France over Garibaldi's stirring of revolt in Rome with

official approval of the Italian king and government. French ships were dispatched, and although war was averted, public opinion in Italy, and among the Opposition in France, was hostile to the French government's handling of the affair, although their reasons for feeling so differed.[82] Meanwhile, Napoleon's plan for military reorganization had gone down to legislative defeat in January 1868, and the reform bill which subsequently passed even reduced the size of the army.[83] The Emperor's plans for gaining allies and strengthening the army to prepare for the eventuality of war against Prussia had gone decidedly awry.

As for Chevé's opinion on these questions, one typical column summarized his sentiments toward the Emperor and the contradictions which existed between his foreign and domestic policies and between his words and his actions thus:

> "At home, liberty always promised, never given, or conceded in infinitesimal doses which neutralizes all the advantages while conserving all the inconveniences. Abroad, France alone is isolated in the bosom of Europe, stricken in Mexico, brought low at Sadowa, compromised in Italy, allowing Poland to be annihilated, the Orient to be menaced, and exhausting itself, comes to ruin in armaments under the pretext of assuring a peace which ceaselessly leads to war. Such are the principal consequences of this hesitant attitude so far from one who 'marches head high in the sense of duty, across all obstacles'."[84]

From Chevé's deep love of freedom and justice he opposed the Emperor and his authoritarian domestic policies which, he argued, curtailed civil liberties,

over-centralized the State, and limited worker association and freedom of religious education. In addition, Chevé argued, the regime pursued disastrous economic policies.[85] Indeed, the World's Fair, hailing French technology and prosperity, had been followed by a rise in the cost of living which disturbed the middle class and moved them into action. The autumn wheat crop had been poor, and business slowed in late 1867, with capital drying up, causing the stock exchange to falter into inactivity. Out of this came social unease among the workers either hit or threatened with unemployment. As hostility grew, the radical press and demagogues arose to channel this hostility to their own political gain. The Prefect of Police, Pietri, reported to the Emperor:

> "The active portion of society, the portion that takes the greatest interest in politics . . . is accentuating its attitude of opposition . . . There can be no doubt that a war as bitter as it is shortsighted is being waged against [you] in the ruling classes. Respect for authority is waning. Everything is the subject of slander."[86]

Opposition papers increased their circulation by 300% over those which supported the government.[87] Strikes increased among the more militant labor force, and at public meetings, protected by the new reform law, the Emperor was attacked. As one commentator observed: "Fatigue, bad humor, mistrust were everywhere . . . [while] a tidal wave of demagoguery made up and broke over Paris."[88]

The Emperor's reaction was to initiate a series of

legal actions against journals and journalists, accusing them of violation of the restrictions which still existed on the press. Jules Favre would note in April 1869 that "during the preceding thirteen months there had been one hundred eighteen cases involving the press with sentences totalling nineteen years in prison, and one hundred thirty-five thousand francs in fines."[89]

In early August 1868, François Beslay, noted son of the radical Charles Beslay, became co-editor-in-chief with Chevé as well as owner of the Journal and also of the evening Le Français.[90] From that time on Chevé's articles, though not all others, appear in both journals. His writing now appeared on an irregular basis, approximately once a week. In tone, the columns were less reportorial and more reflective. The topics he considered understandably ran the gamut of his broad interests, already revealed through his lifetime as writer and journalist. To be sure, new stimulants or events evoked his responses, for example, when he wrote decrying new signs of anticlericalism exhibited by the Government or the press.[91] It was with the lifelong regret of one who stood in the breach that he lamented in an article entitled, "Social Application of Christianity," that reform in society was blocked by two groups, defined as "men who hate the Church and who pretend to find incompatibility between Christianity and the new ideas," such as the anticlerical Left, and, "those who hate modern society and

who wish to see in all its tendencies only human passions mixed with error, prejudice, contradiction, and obscurity in order to throw anathemas," such as his conservative co-religionists.[92] While in 1848, Chevé had felt himself straddling both camps, he now appeared to feel estranged from both, since, as he said, both sides were opposed to liberty.[93]

His articles in support of worker rights and particularly in favor of Sunday rest, continued the same lines of argument as his earlier ones in the Journal, stressing the benefits to the workers' health and family, to intellectual life as well as to labor's productivity, and to fostering the moral, economic, social, and cultural life of society as a whole.[94] In anticipating the Worker Congress to be held in Brussels in September 1868, Chevé expressed a new interest: that the needs of agricultural workers would be considered equally to those of industrial labor.[95] Later, in evaluating that Congress's agenda, he was critical of the lack of strong initiative, and observed that it ignored the plight of women in agriculture, and the workers' need for religion.[96]

This assembly had, however, raised the question of women's rights in general, a cause which Chevé had championed in previous writings, using traditional Catholic arguments that women are the heart of the family, and lead men to virtue. Now, he questioned the need to declare women

equal to men, and he asserted instead their moral superiority and their intellectual equality. In consequence, he strongly advocated women's right to education, and to access to careers, specifically in medicine. On the question of political rights, and especially of female suffrage, the being hotly debated in England, he declared that equal rights would demand equal duties, some of which, like the duty to bear arms and to govern, he considered impossible for women. At base he saw the issue as a desire to suppress the sexes and to make women men, a goal he considered "ridiculous."[97] He estimated that rights were already equal in principle, but applied in a diverse manner according to what he termed the "proper role" of the sexes.[98]

The calling of the Ecumenical Council by Pope Pius IX to convene in the Fall of 1869 met with Chevé's enthusiastic approval. He praised the Pope for taking this initiative and for inviting representatives of other Christian bodies to attend.[99] Despite the criticism found in the anticlerical press, Chevé noted that the invited bodies had responded promptly and favorably to the call.[100]

During the Fall and Winter 1868-69, at Le Français, Chevé seemed to have muted his attack on the Government's policies at home and abroad, but as elections loomed in the Spring of 1869, he returned with renewed vigor and frequency to the contest. From March through July, he devoted twelve

columns to the elections, with heightened intensity as they drew nearer, and in a reflective tone afterward.[101] Basically, he tried to steer his readers through the quagmire of demagogic rhetoric and yellow journalism which dominated the pre-election scene. At first he warned against those groups which were raising what he termed, "specters," to scare voters into their camps. Conservative "saviors," he dubbed them, motivated by fear of the people and hatred of liberty, evoked the "Red Specter" of a radical socialist or communist takeover; "sophists," or anticlerical republicans, evoked the "Black Specter" of clericalism, while the "tribunes," or supporters of the imperial government raised "multicolored specters" to canonize imperfect human institutions. Only the few, he concluded, appealed to reason, justice, and truth which would lead to true liberty.[102] In April he differentiated "two schools of the democratic party." The first, authoritarian and revolutionary, proceeding by violence and constraint, aimed to seize power in order to impose its men, opinions, prejudices, and hatreds on all society. The second, he continued, proceeding by legal and pacific means, wanted to pass power to each and all within the nation by extending liberty more broadly in all its forms. This latter, of course, was the democracy he advocated.[103] Once again, in May, noting the disastrous outcome of the Mexican adventure, and of Sadowa, and the threat to France of an increasingly

armed and menacing Prussia, as well as social and economic problems at home, Chevé reflected that the electorate was awakened as never before. There were, he stated again, three parties to chose from: the party of resistance, or the Government party, the party of revolution, that of the Parisian press, and the party of peaceful and legal progress for the most part represented by the independent press outside of Paris.[104] Chevé favored the "Third Party" led by Émile Ollivier, and he deplored the violent demonstrations which greeted the latter's speeches, as well as what he called the over-reporting of these demonstrations by the radical Parisian press.[105]

On the eve of the first balloting on May 23, 1869, Chevé emphasized the importance of voting in these elections which would determine, he said, the issues of war against Prussia, the future of France, economic issues, especially regarding agriculture, decentralization, and disarmament. Once again he presented the choices: a vote for the doctrinaires of the Left, he warned, would be a vote for the Convention, (which he now equated with violence) and for the past. Instead he urged them to vote for liberty and for the future.

In the wake of the election, Chevé sought to calm the fears incited by the conservatives that all was lost because a minority of socialists had been elected to the Chamber. The outcome proved, he said, the value of the parliamentary

process.[106] Again, he urged his readers to vote in the run-off elections because "the salvation of France and the future of liberty" was at stake.[107] Indeed, the election did produce decisive change; the government lost a million votes and the Opposition attracted 1.3 million voters. The Opposition swept the urban areas and, according to one historian, "created a momentum Napoleon could not have resisted if he wanted to."[108]

Following the election, Chevé wrote a series of nine articles commenting on the new ministry appointed by the Emperor, and on the composition of the new Senate.[109] He regretted the fact that while the Legislative Body now seemed interested in the cause of industrial workers, they totally ignored those involved in agriculture. He urged the legislators to address the questions of social education and of the franchise for workers, to win them over from violence to order and liberty.[110] He again pressed for further liberalizations, especially for the lifting of the repressive press censorship practiced by the Government for over a year.[111] Another series of articles on the topic followed in response to the Emperor's message in early July proposing constitutional changes which not only did not go far enough, in Chevé's estimation, but which "departed from legality to enter into the Right."[112]

If the Emperor was walking a tight rope, hoping to appease the Right, while appearing to offer concessions to

the Left, it was, without doubt, due to the increasingly tumultuous situation in the capital, where anti-Government and even anti-imperial demonstrations and violence wracked the city. Chevé had referred to the disorders earlier, placing the blame on the police who were, he argued, too strict with peaceful citizens and too lax toward the violent ones.[113] There was no doubt that the Opposition journalists made cocky by the election victory were outrageously disrespectful and venemous in their attacks on the Government, a fact which stirred their supporters to violence. This, in turn, created a backlash which worked in the conservatives' favor. The Times reported: "The fear and horror of Socialism is still the protecting god of the Empire. [114] Chevé condemned the most outrageous of the scandalous journalists, Henri de Rochefort, first of La Lanterne, later of the Marseillaise, for inciting the people to hatred and violence.[115]

Issues of foreign affairs continued to capture Chevé's attention. The situation in Poland, suffering under Russian despotism, was the topic of several of his articles that Summer.[116] He was, likewise, concerned about the possible abandonment of Rome to Italy as the formation of a Triple Alliance by Austria, Italy, and France came under discussion.[117]

But it was matters of constitutional change that most absorbed Chevé's interest and passion, as the Legislative

Body, composed of twenty-five "pure" republicans, eighty imperialists, and one hundred fifty moderates convened, and one hundred sixteen of them petitioned the Emperor to "involve the country more effectively in the management of its affairs, i.e., to inaugurate parliamentary government under a Prime Minister." This was exactly what Chevé had been advocating before the elections, and, indeed, throughout his life. He now wrote explaining and favoring this "Petition of the 116."[118] In mid-July, Napoleon signalled his approval of the request and Chevé reported in full the Emperor's message, and the acts of government which followed upon it: the formation of a new Ministry and the commissioning of the senatus consultum, which would give the Lower House preeminence over the Senate.[119] On August 12th, the Senate ratified the constitutional change to parliamentary government, and a month later the constitutional regime was promulgated, with the first ordinary session of the newly empowered Legislative Body meeting on November 27th.

Once the machinery of this constitutional change was set in progress in August, Chevé moved on to what he considered the next pressing reform: decentralization. The issue was not a new one, for it had been a core tenet in Liberal-Catholic writings and in Montalembert's speeches in the Chamber of Peers in the 1830s, and of Proudhon's program in the following decade, but now it had a new urgency. From



August through November 1869, Chevé wrote of the need for regional and municipal government on many occasions. Decentralization was also the theme around which the Congress of the Departmental Press organized its national meeting in Lyons on September 8, 1869. Chevé attended the sessions where other issues such as individual and family freedom, freedom of education, direct election of local officials, and local control of police, schools, and reduction of taxes through limitation of the central bureaucracy were also advocated. Before leaving for the Congress, Chevé declared that, "the first need of France is decentralization!"[120] He cited, in support, successful models of decentralized states such as the United States, England, Belgium, Switzerland, and even Austria. He further asserted that decentralization had been achieved in the moderate liberal revolution of 1789, but that it had been reversed in the more radical stage of 1793, and that reversal had been confirmed by Napoleon as a tool of despotism. As such, centralization was a negation of liberty, and the cause of further revolutions. "True national unity," Chevé stated, "would be achieved through decentralization and the sovereignty of the masses."[121]

Sometime in the Fall of 1869 Chevé left Paris and took up a position at a departmental journal in Cherbourg, Normandy, called Le Phare de la Manche.[122] The Dictionnaire Bibliographique du Mouvement Ouvrier Français, indicates

that Chevé was exiled from Paris for criticizing the Emperor.[123] While we have no record of the exact date of that action, and no legal evidence proving this the cause of Chevé's leaving Le Français and Paris in September 1869, it seems likely that continued Government censorship as reprisal for even reasoned criticism was the reason for his departure. It is also possible that the forced transition had come a year earlier, at the time of Beslay's takeover of both journals, and that Chevé's contributions to Le Français had been mailed from Cherbourg, or elsewhere. His last articles to appear in Le Français, however, were entitled "Lettres d'un provincial," and seem to support the theory that the move took place in the Fall of 1869. These articles appeared between September 25th and November 21st.[124] This "provincial," said to live in Normandy, argued, at times humorously, that the historic freedom of the commune be restored as, he said, the National Assembly had done in 1789, only to be rescinded by the Constituent, under threat of war.[125] He also argued for the election of mayors and of municipal councils.[126]

That Fall, the issue of decentralization was under debate in the Legislative Body. In November, shortly after the opening of the Suez Canal, the Emperor proposed a broad degree of decentralization, with mayors to be chosen by municipal councils which would, in turn, be elected by universal male suffrage. The Senate amended the proposal

for Paris, where, out of fear of the "red" multitudes, they decided that the municipal council would be chosen by the Legislative Body. Cantonal councils were also to be instituted. Suffrage was to be broadened, and an Agricultural Enquiry established to aid farm workers. While Chevé, now at Le Phare de la Manche, acknowledged the progress being made, he decried the slowness of its pace. "Who, then," he remarked with cutting irony, "dares pretend that we don't march from progress to progress with a vertiginous rapidity."[127]

Despite the Government's promises of liberal reform in the Fall of 1869, criticism increased in the Parisian press and street demonstrations grew. Indeed, Napoleon's regime was on the brink of political crisis. One British observer, Lionel Sackville-West, commented that, "The Second Empire has gone off the rails. It is no longer being guided. It's hurling itself at an accelerating speed toward the abyss."[128] Amid the street turbulence the Emperor created an interim government under Third Party leader, Émile Ollivier. Chevé applauded this sign of "slow laborious progress, but progress nonetheless," and regretted that the Ollivier Government was buffeted on all sides in the polarized climate of the time.[129] His articles throughout December noted with satisfaction that the majority in the Legislative Body had now adopted the decentralization policies espoused earlier by Le Phare and at the Lyons Congress.[130] He wrote

criticizing a Rightist journal, La Chambre, for repudiating the election of a deputy because of the so-called socialist ideas in his profession of faith.[131]

Actually Ollivier's troubled Interim Government lasted until May 1870, when the hybrid plan proposed in April by the Constitutional Commission was approved by plebescite. The plan called for elected deputies to share power with the crown in that both could initiate legislation. Émile Ollivier was again named Prime Minister, and the so-called "Liberal Empire" was born. The Prime Minister was made responsible to the Chamber and the monarch, and the Senate became a secondary body. In a speech on June 30th, the new Prime Minister was quoted as saying of foreign affairs: "In whatever direction we look abroad we find no pressing problems!"[132] These famous last words soon had to be swallowed; only two days later, on July 2nd, a Hohenzollern candidature for the vacant Spanish throne was rumored, rumors which Bismarck would exploit and exaggerate to precipitate the war between Prussia and France which had been brewing since Sadowa, some four years earlier.

The collection of the journal Le Phare de la Manche at the Bibliothèque Nationale is interrupted from January 1870 through December 1872, so once again we are deprived of Chevé's reflections during a crucial period. For France these were most turbulent years, which may account for the gap in the library's holdings. They were the years of the

Franco-Prussian War, which brought German invasion and siege to Paris. They witnessed revolution, which followed the capture of Napoleon III at Sedan, bringing the fall of the Second Empire and the creation of the Third Republic. They were months when the Paris Commune repudiated the armistice signed in January 1871 with the newly-proclaimed German Empire, and declared itself independent of the rest of France. Then ensued the days of civil war until May 1871, when many government and Church buildings were set afire by the insurgents and the last of the Parisian "federals" were shot to death by the soldiers of the Third Republic.

Although we do not have Chevé's written account or commentary on these events, it can be surmised from his earlier writings that he would have been profoundly patriotic during the war, for though he deplored war, in general, he had long warned of Bismarck's deceit and of his desire to have Prussia dominate the German states and, indeed, to have Germany under Prussian control seize hegemony in Europe. We can also be sure that Chevé would rejoice at the fall of Napoleon and his Empire, and at the proclamation of the birth of the Third Republic. His attitude toward the Commune, however, would be more problematic. Although Chevé probably was not in Paris at the time of the German occupation, nor later during the Commune, he would surely have been sympathetic with the

suffering of its people, especially the poor workers whose lives were described thus by one historian writing about this period: "Insufficiency of salaries, duration of work amounting to at least ten and frequently twelve hours daily, lack of security of employment, and of all guarantee against age and illness, absence of the right of association, complete lack of organization of rents, unhealthful lodging, complex difficulties to gain patronage . . ."[133] These were the people who had lent their voices and passions to the revolutions and insurrections for liberty in which Chevé had also fought in his lifetime, yet they had been sacrificed and ignored by the ascendant bourgeoisie. As for the "federals'" call for decentralization and municipal elections, they echoed Chevé's own as we have seen. He also would have deplored the monarchist tendencies of the majority in the newly elected National Assembly in 1871, which showed no sympathy for Paris or the hardships endured by its people.

On the other hand, Chevé had been in Paris recently enough to know that the workers' dissatisfaction with the previous regime had been stirred up and exploited by demagogues and the rabidly radical press for their own purposes. He probably would have assumed that it was much the same in the Commune, and detested those who used the workers in that way. His long-developed moderation, and his devotion to unity, order, and liberty under a republic would

probably have turned him against any idea of secession from the central government, no matter how much he had called for decentralization. And there is no doubt that he was shocked by the violence and destruction of lives and property to which the Communards and the Army resorted during Bloody Week, and especially the former's anticlerical attacks on churches, convents and religious schools, their murder of priests, and of Msgr. Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris. Truly Montalembert's prophesy spoken in 1868 had been realized: "The gap of fifteen years in which we have been deprived of the most necessary forms of liberty have paved the way for a revolution beside which the crises of 1830 and 1848 will appear child's play."[134] Though he would have shrunk from the Army's repression, we are told by the Dictionnaire Bibliographique du Mouvement Ouvrier Français, that he supported Thiers' efforts to suppress the Commune and to restore unity and order to France.[135]

With the civil war ended, the French Assembly proceeded to create a government and found itself initially settled on the monarchical form, but not on which of the three dominant factions: Bonapartists, Legitimist, or Orleanist would control it. In the vacuum which ensued, Thiers, the leader against the Parisian insurrection, gained importance. Even Chevé, we are told, rallied to this seventy-five year old Voltairean, authoritarian republican, more probably for his ardor in the last rather than the former attributes.[136]

While this was a reversal of Chevé's earlier opposition to a younger, Orleanist Thiers during the July Monarchy, it is well to note that Thiers had also changed with time, and was now a republican, albeit a conservative one.

Thiers rallied the country to the work of national reorganization. Installments of the indemnity to Germany were paid off early by national subscription, and the German occupation of French territory correspondingly reduced. By-elections held in July 1871 supported the Republic rather than a monarchy. And the work of departmental and municipal organization also showed progress. The need to stabilize finances and the reorganization of the Army were the other dominant themes of 1872. Though Thiers carried these tasks forward with success, he was still far from being embraced by the monarchist majority in the Assembly. Many of those in the Assembly were Catholics, Dupanloup and Foisset among them, but they were not extremists. Despite the fact that Pope Pius IX continued, publicly and in private, to revile Liberalism, and those who sought to reconcile Catholicism and liberty, these Parliamentarians voted against any French attempt to restore the Pope, but urged the guarantee of his freedom and the spiritual independence of the Church.[137]

With the January 1873 issues of Le Phare de la Manche, Chevé's articles are once again available to us. He was, as usual, a defender of the Republic, and critical of its enemies on both Left and Right.[138] He supported the

introduction of an initiative by the "Commission of Thirty" within the Assembly, and chided those who considered that all initiatives must come from the President.[139] He praised Thiers and the moderate Left for speaking clearly for the republic, for national sovereignty, and for democracy.[140] "The Left," he said, "wishes conservation, order and peace and the conditions indispensable to realize these benefits."[141] Ever the Saint-Simonian, he called for a regional caucus to be held in Cherbourg in 1874 to discuss artistic, industrial, agricultural, and commercial development.[142] With regard to municipal organization, he argued for the election, rather than the appointment, of mayors by municipal councils. With a voice as strong and clear as ever, he finished by saying: "We have always demanded the election of mayors. . . and we demand it today as energetically as ever."[143]

Despite the show of his old zeal, Chevé entered his sixth decade in the Spring of 1873. He had been preceeded in death by his two wives, and by at least one child. The strain of his lifelong struggle for justice, equality, and for the republic had surely taken its toll, and his more recent exile from Paris with its removal from friends and associates no doubt also exacted its price on his health, even though his courageous spirit remained indomitable. In an article which appeared in Le Phare in February, he eulogized the closing of a Liberal-Catholic, republican

journal, L'Avenir de la Manche in nearby Saint- Lô, in words which could be equally applied to himself: "Honor to the journal which understood the great mission of the press, and which has known how to fulfill it with devotion."[144]

By 1873 much of what Chevé had fought for over his lifetime had been fulfilled. Even allowing for the Third Republic's conservative tendencies and the number of its opponents, sovereignty of the people had been achieved with its creation. "Despite vain words," Chéve commented, "the Republic exists, it will exist, and we repeat, outside of it nothing is possible. Let us listen then," he advised, "to the voice of France."[145] In March a new Constitution was approved which provided that voting in national elections be on the basis of universal male suffrage. It coincided with the German Emperor's announcement of the evacuation of France and the adoption by the Legislative Body of the Trent Commission's proposals for reform legislation. Regarding all of these Chevé commented, contentedly, that these were fortunate days.[146]

His articles of the following month were preoccupied with the elections for the Assembly under the new constitution.[147] He praised the choice of M. Grévy as President of the National Assembly. With republican victories assured, he rejoiced at what he hoped would prove the death of the monarchy and the definitive arrival of the Republic.[148] Defending "universal suffrage," against its

enemies who called it "the theory of number," he warned that to speak ironically of the theory of number was to provoke revolutions.[149] In the wake of the elections he tried in his reasonable way to calm the "red scare" provoked by the Right. He also called for unity between conservative and radical republicans in order to consolidate the Republic.[150] This, too, was a reiteration of his lifelong plea for unity and conciliation of the forces of the Left. His last two articles in Le Phare were entitled "Moral Order: I and II."[151] They counselled that in order for a new France to emerge from the chaos of the post-war era would require a change of heart, and a change of conscience, not merely a change of minor officials. These articles were the last of Chevé's journalistic writings to remain.

In the Summer of 1873, Chevé passed from public life, at age sixty. He subsequently returned to Paris, where he lived, at 283, rue de Vaugirard, in the Fifteenth Arrondissement.[152] On April 17, 1875, just days short of his sixty-second birthday, and after having received the last sacraments of the Catholic Church, Charles-François Chevé died at his home.[153] The cause of death was not noted. His funeral service was, subsequently, celebrated at the nearby church of Saint-Lambert-de-Vaugirard, and his burial followed at the Cimetière du Sud, at Montparnasse.[154] His son, Athanase-Désiré, who had also become a journalist, following in his father's footsteps, survived him.[155]

Following a practice common in Paris and elsewhere in Europe, Chevé's remains were removed from the grave after a period of time and reburied in a common grave with others whose descendants had not paid to have their graves maintained in perpetuity.[156] It may seem an inappropriate end for the body of such a man of integrity who had fought well so many daily battles in the center ring of France's political and social arena during his whole lifetime, yet he himself had no illusions about death, or he he ever sought fame or notoriety. Indeed, in his Visions de l'Avenir he had expressed his desire to be forgotten after death. May he forgive us our resurrecting his writings and his memory for the purposes of studying his ideas and tracing their influence in our own century, and "may his soul and the souls of all the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace!"[157]

## NOTES

[1]Octave Aubrey, The Second Empire (New York, 1940), p. 278.

[2]Charles-François Chevé, Journal des Villes et des Campagnes (2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, octobre 1865).

[3]Chevé, Journal des Villes (26 octobre 1865).

[4]Chevé, Journal des Villes (11, 15, 19 novembre 1865).

[5]Chevé, Journal des Villes (5 décembre 1865).

[6]Chevé, Journal des Villes (9, 13, 15, 23 décembre 1865).

[7]"la constitution la plus libérale de l'Europe." Chevé, Journal des Villes (11 décembre 1865), p. 1.

[8]Chevé, Journal des Villes (15, 16 décembre 1865). Unfortunately, the Bibliothèque Nationale's holdings of the Journal des Villes et des Campagnes are interrupted from décembre 1865 through mars 1868. We may assume that Chevé continued to contribute to the journal during that period, since his articles continue to appear there when the collection resumes.

[9]Un Catholique [Charles-François Chevé], Histoire de la Communauté des biens dans l'antiquité et dans l'ère chrétienne ou Tradition universelle du catholicisme et de l'humanité 2 vols (Nancy, 1866-1867).

[10]"Il est temps de détrôner 'ce Dieu de siècle'. . . 'ce veau d'or'. . . cette déification de ce que l'Évangile appelle 'Mammon d'iniquité'." Ibid., 1: vi.

[11]Ibid., p. xiii.

[12]"Victor Hugo a dit: 'L'utopie, c'est la vérité vue à distance.' Ajoutons: La vérité vue de près dissipera les préjugés qui la font considérer, par notre ignorance, comme une utopie." Ibid., p. xxxii.

[13]Ibid., pp. 1-49.

[14]Ibid., p. 168.

[15]"Oui, la réalisation complète et universelle de la communauté des biens, voilà le but définitif de la Révolution dont la seule personnification véritable est Baboeuf. . ." Ibid., 2: 7.

[16]Ibid., p. 32.

[17]Ibid., p. 53.

[18]"Mais Dieu qui conduit du doigt l'humanité et la dirige, même au milieu des plus grands écarts de sa liberté, sut bientôt la ramener à ses véritables voies et à l'exécution de son plan providentiel dans le monde." Ibid., p. 55.

[19]Ibid., pp. 63-65.

[20]Ibid., pp. 180

[21]Ibid., pp. 247-282.

[22]"un livre intitulé Idéal: Raison et Catholicisme,

auquel nous renvoyons le lecteur. . . L'auteur, ardent catholique, prouve que l'Église constitue la communauté spirituelle universelle. . ." Ibid., p. 307.

[23]Ibid., pp. 315-340.

[24]Ibid., pp. 348-365.

[25]"D'un autre côté, l'ouvrier, déplacé, mutilé, supprimé, et réduit au rôle d'un levier, d'un piston, d'un ressort, n'est plus un homme, mais une machine et la plus misérable de toutes." Ibid., pp. 359.

[26]Charles-François Chevé, La Statue de Voltaire érigée par lui-même (Paris, 1867).

[27]Ibid., p. 2.

[28]Charles-François Chevé, La Statue de Voltaire érigée par lui-même, 2e édition. This is a slightly longer version, seventy, as against the earlier fifty-seven pages.

[29]Charles-François Chevé, Visions de l'avenir (Paris, 1868), pp. 185-186.

[30]The author's Introduction is dated Pentecost, 1868, i.e. fifty days after Easter.

[31]"Nous venons faire vibrer les sentiments qui palpitent au fond de son coeur, lors même qu'ils les ignore ou que ses lèvres les renient." Ibid., p. i.

[32]Ibid., p. ii.

[33]"Avide de la foi qui crée et las du doute qui tue, nous avons demandé à tous les novateurs de boire la vérité à leur calice. Ils ne nous ont présenté que le vin empoisoné de l'erreur. Et nos lèvres se sont desséchées, et notre âme s'est flétrie, veuve d'espérance." "le craquement d'un abîme qui s'oeuvre, comme le déchirement d'entrailles d'une femme qui devient mère." Ibid., pp. iii, iv.

[34]"C'est l'Esprit vivant de Dieu qui vient réaliser dans la société la liberté, l'égalité, et la fraternité universelles." Ibid., p. 65.

[35]". . . la misére avait fait de sa vie l'esclave d'une machine, le rouage d'un piston." Ibid., p. 17.

[36]". . . par l'organisation coopérative des travailleurs." ". . . --la communion sociale,-- la répartition selon ces besoins et les oeuvres. . ." Ibid., p. 47.

[37]Ibid., pp. 165-166, 168-169, 175-177.

[38]Ibid., pp. 177, 199-215.

[39]"Quoi! dans une si haute spiritualisation de la matière, dans une si sublîme transubstantiation de l'univers en le verbe de l'homme." Ibid., p. 44.

[40]". . . réalisait la sainte communion de tous les hommes entre eux dans l'indivisible trinité de leurs biens moraux, intellectuels et physiques." Ibid., p. 52.

[41]"Et l'art, la science, l'industrie, sont trois rameaux de la religion. . . Chacun d'eux est un sacerdoce social." Ibid., p. 56.

[42]Ibid., p. 64.

[43]Chapter XVII is titled: "France, au vent ton drapeau!" Ibid., p. 69.

[44]"Oui, la France porte dans son sein les destinées du monde." Ibid., p. 72.

[45]"Le règne de la Force" Ibid., p. 80.

[46]"La vie de l'homme est sacrée, et celui qui tue commet un déicide, depuis le sang du Christ coule dans les veines du l'humanité." Ibid., p. 80.

[47]"Et voilà que notre siècle. . . vient conférer. . . la sainte mission de donner au monde la vraie liberté." Ibid., p. 115-116.

[48]Ibid., p. 120.

[49]Chapter XXI is called "La République de Dieu," Ibid., p. 134.

[50]"Dans cette République de Dieu, le Voyant cherchait un souverain, roi, empereur. . . Mais il n'y en avait point; nul homme ne commandait à l'homme; Dieu seul règnait par son Christ, et ce règne était le règne d'amour, parce que Dieu est amour." Ibid., p. 136.

[51]". . . que le Christ, notre loi vivante, et l'Évangile, écho de sa parole éternelle." Ibid.

[52]". . . chacun se gouverne lui-même selon la justice et la vérité, et sa liberté est parfaite comme sa vertu, sans bornes comme sa charité." Ibid., p. 138.

[53]". . . des faux sages qui accusent de folie ses aspirations vers une société meilleure où règnent la justice, la communion des coeurs, du travail et des oeuvres." Ibid., p. 155.

[54]". . . c'est l'assemblée des élus de ce monde qui voit l'éternelle sanction de la misére dans cette parole du Christ: "Vous avez toujours des pauvres parmi vous'." Ibid.

[55]"En vain, après sa mort, essaye-t-on d'écrire sa vie. Qui la connait sa vie, dont Dieu seul a le secret?" ". . . il se fait le serviteur de tous pour les rendre tous libres." Ibid., pp. 283, 285.

[56]"Tout saint porte donc en lui la république de Dieu, comme le germe porte la plante et l'enfant sa race." Ibid., p. 286.

[57]". . .la soeur de mon âme, l'âme de ma vie." Ibid., p. 186.

[58]Ibid., p. 187.

[59]"Mais qu'est-ce que le mysticisme? C'est la réalité substituée au rêve, la voie pratique substituée aux imaginations chimériques." Ibid., p. 245.

[60]"Le mysticisme n'est donc que le christianisme lui même dans son idéal suprême?" Ibid., p. 258.

[61]Ibid., p. 251, 255, 257.

[62]Ibid., pp. 296-297.

[63]Ibid., p. 298.

[64]Note the slight change in the title of this journal, from Journal des Villes et des Campagnes to Journal des Villes et Campagnes.

[65]Aubrey, The Second Empire, pp. 322-324.

[66]Charles-François Chevé, Journal des Villes et Campagnes (6-7, 13-14, 17, 18, 30 avril, 1, 8, 22-23, 25-26, 27, 28, 30 mai, 3, 5, 7, 12, 15-16, 18 juin, 19, 29 juillet 1868).

[67]Chevé, Journal des Villes (11 avril 1868), p. 1.

[68]Chevé, Journal des Villes (27, 28 avril 1868).

[69]Chevé, Journal des Villes (26 juin ff. 1868).

[70]Chevé, Journal des Villes (29, 30 juin, 12, 26 juillet 1868).

[71]Chevé, Journal des Villes (11 avril, 18, 19 mai 1868).

[72]Chevé, Journal des Villes (24, 25 avril, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 26 juin 1868).

[73]Chevé, Journal des Villes (3 juillet 1868), p. 1.

[74]Chevé, Journal des Villes (8 avril 1868), p. 1. He argued this against La France which asserted that it spoke for all Catholics.

[75]Chevé, Journal des Villes (13, 14, 15, avril, 27 juin, 9 juillet 1868).

[76]"A l'heure qu'il est, il n'y a plus réellement en France que deux partis radicalement opposés: celui qui veut la liberté et celui qui la repousse." Chevé, Journal des Villes (27 juin 1868), p. 1.

[77]Journal des Villes (19 juin 1868), p. 1. as quoted from Le Siècle.

[78]Chevé, Journal des Villes (17, 23 avril, 5 mai, 17 juin 1868).

[79]Chevé, Journal des Villes (30 avril 1868), p. 1.

[80]Chevé, Journal des Villes (15, 16 juin 1868).

[81]Aubrey, The Second Empire, p. 416.

[82]Ibid., p. 428.

[83]Ibid., p. 436.

[84]"A l'intérieure, la liberté toujours promise, jamais donnée, ou concedée à doses infinitésimales qui en neutralisent tous les avantages, en en [sic] conservant tous les inconvénients. A l'extérieure, la France seule et isolée au sein de l'Europe, frappée au Méxique, abaissée à Sadowa, compromise en Italie, laissant anéantir la Pologne, menacer l'Orient, et s'épuisant, se ruinant en armements, sous prétexte d'assurer une paix qui couve sans cesse la guerre. Telles sont les principales conséquences de cette attitude hésitante, si éloignée de celle qui "marche la tête haute dans les sentiers du devoir, à travers tous les obstacles." Chevé, Journal des Villes (4 juin 1868), p. 1.

[85]Chevé, Journal des Villes (3, 26 juillet 1868)

[86]Aubrey, The Second Empire, p. 441.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid., pp. 442-443.

[89]Ibid., p. 445. See also the New York Times, and The Times [London] for 1868 and 1869 for accounts of other trials.

[90]Le Français: Journal des Soirs. Jean Maitron, Dictionnaire Bibliographique du Mouvement Ouvrier Français, Première Partie: 1789-1864 1 (Paris, 1964): 416, notes that his father, Charles Beslay, was the dean of the members of the Commune in 1871.

[91]Chevé, Le Français (5 août 1868, 3, 6 septembre, 27 octobre, 9 novembre, 28 décembre 1868, 8 janvier, 28, 30 mai, 2 août 1869) The dates of an article's appearance in both journals may vary by a day or two.

[92]"Deux sortes d'hommes arrêtent ou paralysent cet immense mouvement. Les uns, en haine de l'Église, prétendent trouver je ne sais quelle incompatibilité entre le christianisme et les idées novatrices. . . Les autres en haine de la société moderne, ne veulent voir dans toutes ses tendences que ce que les les [sic] passions humaines y mêlent d'erreurs, de préjugés, de contradictions ou d'obscurité, pour jeter l'anathème. . ." Chevé, Le Français (15 août 1868), p. 1.

[93]Chevé, Le Français (3 octobre 1868), p. 1.

[94]Chevé, Le Français (27 novembre 1868), p. 1.

[95]Chevé, Le Français (3 août 1868), p. 1.

[96]Chevé, Le Français (1 septembre 1868), p. 1.

[97]"Qu'ils le sachent ou qu'ils l'ignorent, ils veulent au fond supprimer les sexes et faire de la femme un homme. Là est la vraie cause du ridicule que les frappe avec raison." Chevé, Le Français (10 septembre 1868), p. 1.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Chevé, Le Français (6 octobre, 11 novembre 1868).

[100]Chevé, Le Français (6 octobre 1868, 30 mai, 22 juillet, 1869).

[101]Chevé, Le Français (1 mars, 22 avril, 3, 11, 15, 16,

17-18, 23, 29 mai, 5, 28 juin, 9 juillet 1869).

[102]The article is entitles: "Les Spectres." "Or ces derniers se partagent en trois groupes que nous nommerons "les sauveurs," "les sophistes," et "les tribunes." Chevé, Le Français (1 mars 1869), p. 1.

[103]The article is called "Les deux Écoles." ". . . pour le parti démocratique." Chevé, Le Français (22 avril 1869), p. 1.

[104]Chevé, Le Français (3 mai 1869), p. 1.

[105]Chevé, Le Français (15, 16, 17-18 mai 1869).

[106]Chevé, Le Français (29 mai 1869), p. 1.

[107]Chevé, Le Français (25 juin 1869), p. 1.

[108]John Bierman, Napoleon III and His Carnival Empire (New York, 1988), p. 315.

[109]Chevé, Le Français (9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 28 juillet 1869).

[110]Chevé, Le Français (23 juin 1869), p. 1.

[111]Chevé, Le Français (10, 19 juin 1869).

[112]"sorti de la légalité pour rentrer dans le droit." Chevé, Le Français (11 juillet 1869), p. 1. Other articles followed (13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 28 juillet, and 25 août 1869).

[113]Chevé, Le Français (16 mai 1869), p. 1.

[114]Bierman, Napoleon III, p. 319.

[115]Chevé, Le Français (2 juillet 1869), p. 1.

[116]Chevé, Le Français (28 juin, 1, 5 juillet 1869).

[117]Chevé, Le Français (7 juillet 1869), p. 1.

[118]Chevé, Le Français (9, 11, 13, juillet 1869). Also Chevé, Le Phare de la Manche (28 octobre 1869), p. 1.

[119]Chevé, Le Français (14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 28 juillet 1869).

[120]"Ne craignons pas de le dire, le premier besoin de la France est la décentralisation." Chevé, Le Français (25 août 1869), p. 1.

[121]"Voilà la véritable unité nationale: la décentralisation et la souveraineté des masses." Chevé, Le Français (26 août 1869), p. 1.

[122]Le Phare de la Manche: Journal de Cherbourg et du Département de la Manche. The holdings of this journal at the Bibliothèque Nationale are incomplete. Chevé's articles appear from 21 octobre 1869 through décembre 1969, when the collection is interrupted. When it resumes in janvier 1873, Chevé's articles are still found. It may be assumed that he contributed continuously from october 1869 through mid 1873. The collection is again interrupted on 5 juin 1873. No articles by Chevé are found in later issues, nor was his obituary found there.

[123]Maitron, Dictionnaire bibliographique du mouvement ouvrier, p. 415-416.

[124]Chevé, Le Français (25, 28 septembre, 1, 5, 15, 18 octobre 1869), no date is discernable for the last two.

[125]Chevé, Le Français (1 octobre 1869), p. 1.

[126]Chevé, "Lettre VII" et "Lettre VIII," Le Français (octobre-novembre 1869).

[127]"Qui donc oserait prétendre que nous ne marchons pas de progrès avec une rapidité vertigineuse?" Chevé, Le Phare (31 octobre 1869), p. 1.

[128]Bierman, Napoleon III, p. 319.

[129]". . . elles attestent du mois une marche, lente et laborieuse sans doute, mais enfin progressive. . . " Chevé, Le Phare (2 décembre 1869), p. 1.

[130]Chevé, Le Phare (9 décembre 1869), p. 1.

[131]Chevé, Le Phare (16 décembre 1869), p. 1.

[132]Bierman, Napoleon III, p. 321.

[133]Jacques Chastenet, Histoire de la Troisième République, 1: L'Enfance de la Troisième (Paris, 1952): 83.

[134]Adrien Dansette, Religious History of Modern France (New York, 1961), p. 318.

[135]Maitron, Dictionnaire bibliographique du mouvement ouvrier, p. 416.

[136]Chastenet, Histoire de la Troisième République, p.

110, refers to Thiers in this way. Maitron, Dictionnaire bibliographique du mouvement ouvrier, p. 416, says that Chevé rallied to Thiers and the Government of National Defense.

[137]Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, p. 329.

[138]Chevé, Le Phare (23 janvier 1873), p. 1.

[139]Chevé, Le Phare (1 janvier 1873), p. 1.

[140]Chevé, Le Phare (23 janvier 1873), p. 1.

[141]"La gauche veut la conservation, l'ordre et la paix et les conditions indispensables pour réaliser ces bienfaits." Chevé, Le Phare (30 janvier 1873), p. 1.

[142]Chevé, Le Phare (23 janvier 1873), p. 1.

[143]"Nous avons toujours demandé l'élection des maires par les conseils municipaux et nous la demanderons aujourd'hui plus énergiquement que jamais." Chevé, Le Phare (30 janvier 1873), p. 1.

[144]"Honneur au journal qui a compris la grande mission de la presse et qui a su la remplir avec dévouement!" Chevé, Le Phare (13 février 1873), p. 1.

[145]". . .la République subsiste, elle subsistera, et nous le répétons, en dehors d'elle rien n'est possible. Écoutons-donc la voix de la France." Chevé, Le Phare (6 mars 1873), p. 1.

[146]Chevé, Le Phare (16 mars 1873), p. 1.

[147]Chevé, Le Phare (6, 20, 24, 26 avril 1873).

[148]Chevé, Le Phare (1 mai 1873), p. 1.

[149]Chevé, Le Phare (4 mars 1873), p. 1.

[150]Chevé, Le Phare (5, 15 juin 1873).

[151]Préfecture de Paris, Mairie du XVe arrondissement. Extrait des Minutes des Actes de Décès, #356751, 17 avril 1875.

[152]Livre de Sépulture, 1875, de l'Église de Saint-Lambert-de-Vaugirard, p. 321, #171.

[153]Ibid.

[154]Préfecture de Paris, Mairie du VIe arrondissement,

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Extrait des Minutes des Actes de Décès, 1882, #335104. Charles-François Chevé's son, Athanase-Désiré, also a journalist, died in September 1882.

[155]From the records of the Cimetière du Sud, Montparnasse, Paris.

[156]Prayers from the Roman Catholic funeral service.

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# CONCLUSION

Consistent to the end of his journalistic career, which he considered a priestly vocation in the Saint-Simonian understanding, Chevé, the warrior from age seventeen, had fought for a just and free society in which men and women of all classes could be assured of dignity and power over their lives and livelihoods. Among his concrete goals were that workers be allowed to organize and that they should receive just compensation for their labor, that all could express their opinions openly, elect their officials freely, and live on this earth as worthy children of God, and brothers and sisters of Christ. He found his own philosophical anchor in the Gospels, in the teachings of the early Christian Church, and in some of the proclamations of Popes and Councils throughout the ages. He found his spiritual nourishment primarily in the sacraments and ritual of the Catholic Church, and in his rich associations with individuals of spirit and integrity. Among the latter were those prophets of progress Buchez, Lacordaire, Montalembert and Proudhon, and others, perhaps lesser known but more intimate to his life, among them his second wife, Adélaïde, and his associates Beslay, Migne, and Foisset.

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To be sure, at his death the great dream that he had reiterated so often, of seeing reconciled the forces of progress in France--democratic republicans, socialists, Proudhonian anarchists--with the Catholicism of their forefathers and with its rich spiritual heritage which he considered their birthright as Frenchmen had not been realized. The bitterness evident during his own and previous centuries in the writings many of the philosophes, Liberals, and men of "science," the positivists, against religion and the clergy, and the depiction of Catholic doctrine as nothing but lies and superstition, capable of attracting only the ignorant and women, was one he had struggled all his life to dispell. For more than three decades he had written, from his own firm, rational conviction of the fundamental justice advocated by both Catholicism and Socialism and with one foot firmly planted in each camp, that not only were the two not philosophically opposed to each other, but that the desire for "liberty, equality, fraternity" emblazoned in the hearts of the "children of [his] century" was in fact fruit of the seed planted by the Scriptures, nourished by the teachings of Church Fathers, and supported by various teachings of Popes and Councils throughout the ages.

Chevé would miss the election of the "Socialist" Pope, Leo XIII, to the throne of Peter, by less than three years, and would not know the strong precedents he set in directing

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the focus of Catholics to the plight of the laboring class, inspiring and even fostering some important Christian Democratic initiatives, such as the "Sillon" in France in the last decade of the century.[1] While the early part of the twentieth century witnessed bitter anticlerical attacks by the Left in the Third Republic, yet young men of the time, Armand Cuvillier and Marc Sagnier, like Chevé before them, tried to reconcile an idealized Catholicism with their deepest aspirations for achieving political liberty and social justice. In a period when European foreign policy, in general, was marked by militant Social Darwinism, the dream of European unity, prosperity, and harmony were, nonetheless, preserved separately by the anticlerical Left and religious thinkers. Perhaps the intellectual historians and the sociologists of religion of the period present the best explanation for this breach, namely, that the ideologies of the nineteenth century--liberalism, socialism, and scientism--were themselves new religions, too doctrinaire and absorbed in their own evolving energies and forms to acknowledge their antecedents. Or, perhaps they were locked in an Oedipal struggle where the "father" must be somehow slain in order for the "son" to reach maturity.

The argument of Sir Isaiah Berlin, cited earlier, suggests that Catholicism was rooted in, and even a major architect of the objective, scientific view of truth which prevailed in European thought until the Romantic revolution.

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Some pure souls, youthful and idealistic intellectuals in the nineteenth century--like Lacordaire and the Liberal Catholics, and Buchez and his Christian Socialists, among them Chevé--were able to extract from Catholicism's long and multifaceted history those kernels of its traditional teachings and heritage which appealed to their own humanitarianism, and discard as chaff those human elements which, they might have argued, only served to prove man's sinfulness and need for God's grace. The realization of these Christian principles in society then took on for them the character of a divine mission, one reiterated in their own time by Saint-Simon as he challenged his followers to ameliorate the condition of the poorest in society, and expressed by Chevé as bringing about the "kingdom of God," and later even "the republic of God" on earth. That others, equally children of their century, could see nothing in the Church but the tower of ignorance and superstition to be toppled by the forces of Progress, on the one hand, and that most Catholics and Church officials saw the revolutionary ideas of the century as a threat to religion and to the power of the Church on earth on the other has been generally accepted.

For more than a century the Church with its standard of absolute truth and the new humanitarian ideologies of created and subjective truth challenged each other in society. That mutual hatred led to the proverbial division

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among the forces of Progress until they, along with others, fell victims to the dictatorships which dominated the world in the 1930s and 'forties. These regimes spoke of international unity, but under the domination of tyrannical governments, opposed to all that was best in Western civilization. It was only when those regimes were destroyed and Europe lay in ruins that there seemed to be found, among the rubble, elements of the past, now freed of their earlier antagonistic forms, which dreamers again dreamed could be brought together to create Europe anew.

Indeed, the period following World War II saw the emergence of a new synthesis among European intellectuals and politicians. Out of the ashes of regimes devoid of civilized religion and humanity, which had used science and technology in the service of genocide and world domination, rose the phoenix of Christian Democracy and of leaders and programs inspired by nineteenth-century Christian Socialism, among other traditions, which would guide the fate of Western Europe through the recovery and reconstruction period which followed. Christian Democratic leaders in France, Italy, and West Germany sought to consolidate and modernize their countries, restructuring them along lines which might respect the individual and society and chart new paths which amalgamated in new form some of the best ideas of the past.

Also, facing great difficulties at home, European leaders "turned to 'Europe' partly as an escape from the limits or frustrations of their domestic policies."[2] In the early 1950's they launched a number of initiatives for the survival and recovery of Western Europe, such as the European Coal and Steel Community, to begin reconciling France and West Germany. In 1957 the Treaty of Rome created the European Economic Community which included France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The man mainly responsible for these initiatives, France's Jean Monnet, was, without a doubt, the direct inheritor of the tradition inspired by Chevé and other Christian Socialist, Social Catholic, and Christian Democratic thinkers of the previous century. And the men of the 1980's directly responsible for the project of a European Community of 1992, and the continued pursuit of a United States of Europe, Jacques Delors, along with politicians and statesmen such as Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing were equally so.[3]

And there are others in the world today, in Eastern Europe and Latin America especially, proponents of human and national liberation inspired by Christian values, who are struggling to achieve what Chevé and those of his century could not. They are doing so on the ruins, not only of the extreme military nationalism of Rightist dictators, but, more immediately, of the downfall of atheistic Communist

systems devised by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and perpetrated by Castro and Ceausescu. If the Lech Walesas and the Paolo Frieres of the world succeed in progressing toward a more just and cooperative society in which the fullness of human liberation is assured by a respect for the dignity of man, based on his spiritual reality and in the best values of all religious traditions, then all of Chevé's efforts to persuade, to teach, and to prepare the ground for these achievements will have made of his life a worthy priesthood, drawing humanity closer to God and to its ultimate destiny. To say this is not to deny the substantial role played by the secular humanists in these movements.

In his novel, The Brothers Karamozov, Russian novelist Doestoevsky recognized the tremendous transforming power which Christian Socialism embodied when he put into the mouth of the Grand Inquisitor, that arch-conservative despot and self-proclaimed atheist, a speech which seems indeed prophetic of ruin for regimes which violate human and civil rights and deprive their citizens of their dignity as children of God:

> "We are not particularly afraid . . . of all these socialists, anarchists, infidels, and revolutionists; we keep watch on them and know all their goings on. But there are a few peculiar men among them who believe in God and are Christians, but at the same time are socialists. Those are the people we are most afraid of. They are dreadful people! The Socialist who is Christian is more to be dreaded than a socialist who is an atheist."[4]

NOTES

[1]Pope Leo XIII was elected on February 20, 1878.

[2]Stanley Hoffman, "The European Community and 1992," Foreign Affairs 68, 4 (Fall 1989): 31.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Dostoevsky, The Brothers Karamazov I, ii: 5.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

## TESTAMENT OF CHEVÉ

Ayant fait d'avance le sacrifice de ma vie à la cause sainte de la liberté; sachant qu'un républicain doit être prêt chaque jour à la mort quand un roi règne sur son pays; pensant d'allieurs que je ne serai vraiment capable de vertu que dégagé des lieus qui m'attachent à la terre, je veux formuler ici mes dernières volontés.

Je lègue à l'enfant qui doit bientôt naître de moi l'héritage de mes croyances; les voici:

Je crois à un principe des choses et des êtres, principe éternel, parce que rien ne meurt; intelligent, parce que de lui émanent les lois admirables de l'univers; équitable, parce que chacune de ses oeuvres décèle la justice.

Je crois à la continuation indéfinie de ma vie intellectuelle. Je crois que ce principe de l'intelligence qu'on appelle âme sera cruellement torturé par le souvenir du crime, délicieusement affecté par celui de la vertu.

Voilà toute ma religion; tel est mon culte.

La fin de l'homme est le bonheur, son moyen la vertu;--le bonheur, c'est le contentement de soi-même, selon la raison;--la vertu, c'est l'exercise de l'intelligence vers le bien.

Sous les lois de ton organisation exerce ton intelligence, élève ton âme et tu seras heureux.

Vivre, c'est sentir; les sensations sont la pâture de la pensée; la pensée est la voix de l'âme; l'âme est tout; le reste n'est rien.

On est grand par le dévouement. Le dévouement se compose d'énergie et de persévérance; accélérer le progrès,

telle est la tâche du républicain;--sacrifier les individualités aux masses, voici la règle de sa conduite.

La liberté se compose du travail qui rend indépendant les autres, et de l'intelligence qui brise l'esclavage des sens, des préjugés des hommes.--Il est plus facile d'être libre dans un cachot que sur un trône.--La liberté, c'est l'émission illimitée d'actes selon le droit.

L'égalité, c'est la consécration de la justice, c'est l'intelligence selon l'ordre, c'est l'état des choses selon les lois de leur organisation.

Le devoir est le respect du droit dans autrui.

Telles sont les bases de mes idées morales et politiques. Tout repose sur le dévouement, et il n'est pas possible d'être républicain sans avoir sans cesse sous les yeux ces paroles de Saint-Just: "Celui qui veut faire des révolutions dans ce monde, celui qui veut faire le bien, ne doit dormir que dans le tombeau."

Je lègue à C.....V....., demeurant rue ....., la moitié de ce qui doit m'appartenir de la succession de mon père, à la charge de payer 150 fr. à M. B....., détenu à Sainte-Pélagie, pour un billet de 75 fr. à lui dus; de plus 25 fr. à M. S....., rue de la Tixeranderie, n. 15, pour 15 fr. dus; plus 300 fr. à J.... (Athanase), dont 100 fr. pour consacrer à son instruction et 100 fr. à distribuer aux patriotes dans le besoin.

Je reconnais comme mien, par un acte, l'enfant dont Cl.....V....., est enceinte. J'engage Cl. à l'élever dans tous mes principes et à faire germer dans son coeur l'amour de la liberté et la haine des rois. Puisse mon patriotisme ardent effacer toutes mes fautes! Fait ce 27 juillet 1833, rue des Bourguignons, 1. CH. CHEVÉ.

FIN.[1]

[1]Procès de vingt-sept ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École polytechnique, p. 120.

## APPENDIX B

## LETTER OF CHEVÉ

A Messieurs les membres du Comité de Rédaction du journal l'Atelier.

MES COLLABORATEURS ET AMIS,

Après dix ans d'efforts infructueux et de tentatives avortées, pleinement convaincu que la grande régénération sociale ne pourra définitivement s'accomplir que par la rénovation religieuse et morale dont le Christianisme est la base, j'entre dans l'Ordre des Frères prêcheurs fondé par M. l'abbé Lacordaire, cette détermination étant d'ailleurs la seule qui puisse convenir à la situation de mon âme.

Poursuivez votre oeuvre avec ferveur, car elle est sainte aussi. Au jour prochain des grandes luttes sociales, vous me trouverez comme vous sur la brèche, et par ce que j'y apporterai l'évangile et la croix, notre cause n'en sera pas moins forte, croyez-le bien.

Adieu, frères, gardez-vous d'oublier qu'avant d'être dominicain, je fus volontaire polonais.

C.-F. Chevé

15 7bre 1841[1]

[1]Armand Cuvillier, Un Journal D'Ouvriers: "L'Atelier", 1840-1850 (Paris, 1954), p. 204.

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Since my interest in Chevé was sparked by brief references to his life and writings in secondary works on Buchez, or on Social Catholicism, I had the task of reconstructing his life and identifying and locating his writings. A biographical dictionary of the French worker movement furnished a short sketch including the names of some of his books and journals with which he had been associated. From there the search led to the public records, finding the Archives du Département de la Seine et de la ville de Paris, (AS) invaluable. Among the birth records were those of Charles-François Chevé (30 avril 1813), as reconstituted in 1888, along with that of his father, Charles-Antoine Chevé, as reconstituted from the baptismal records of St.-Hippolyte Church (4 septembre 1768), and of his son Athanase-Désiré Chevé, (7 février 1840). The AS also held the death records of Chevé's grandfather, Louis-Antoine Chevé (10 juin 1781), his father Charles-Antoine Chevé (16 décembre 1820), his grandmother Louise-Jeanne Chevé (31 octobre 1805), his mother Marie-Catherine Billard [Chevé] (23 juin 1844), and his first wife

Agathe-Clarisse Vincent [Chevé] (15 juillet 1841). A search through the civil marriage records yielded both of Chevé's: the first, Charles-François Chevé et Clarisse-Agathe Vincent (4 août 1838), and the second, Charles-François Chevé et Marie-Thérèse-Adelaïde Schneider (13 mars 1843). References in these documents led to a search of the real-estate records, or Sommier foncier, which provided addresses of inheritors, and sale date and price, and name of the notary, among other information.

Records at the Préfecture de Paris, at the Mairie du XVe and of the VIe arrondissements, Extrait des Minutes des Actes de décès, 1875, and 1882, respectively, yielded the certificates of death for Charles-François Chevé (17 avril 1875), and Athanase-Désiré Chevé (septembre 1882).

Records of both of Chevé's religious marriages were obtained from the respective churches: l'Église de Saint-Médard, Actes de Mariage 1838, p. 115, 335. Chevé-Vincent. (4 août 1838), and l'Église de Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, Actes de mariages religieux 1843, p. L13, 56. Chevé-Schneider. (13 mars 1843), as was the record of his funeral, at Saint-Lambert-de-Vaugirard. Livre de Sépulture 1875, p. 321, 171. The last indicated the cemetary of his burial, the Cimitière du Sud, Montparnasse, where the record of burial was consulted.

Research into Chevé's books at the Bibliothèque Nationale located the following works, listed here in

chronological order: Programme démocratique, ou Résumé d'une organisation complète de la Démocratie radicale (Paris, 1840), Catholicisme et démocratie, ou le règne du Christ (Paris, 1842), Le Dernier mot du socialisme (Paris, 1848, Catéchisme socialiste extract from La Voix du Peuple (29 octobre 1849), published separately in 1850, Simples notes sur la base historique et le principe constitutif du catholicisme (Paris, 1851), La Pologna, sa constitution, son histoire, et ses démembrements (Paris, 1861), Idéal: raison et catholicisme (Paris, 1862), Histoire complète de la Pologne de ses premières origines jusqu'à nos jours, 2 vols. (Paris, 1863), Histoire de la Communauté des biens dans l'antiquité et dans l'ère chrétienne ou Tradition universelle du catholicisme et de l'humanité, 2 vols. (Nancy, 1866-1867), Le Statue de Voltaire érigée par lui-même (Paris, 1867), 2nd edition, slightly longer version; seventy, as against the earlier fifty-seven pages, (Paris, 1867), Visions de l'avenir (Paris, 1868). Later reference to Règne de l'esprit pur (Paris, s.d.) was found in another of Chevé's works. In addition, mention should be made here of Chevé's "Testament" written in 1833 which is published in Procès de Vingt-Sept, ou la Société des Droits de L'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique (Paris, 1834), p. 100, (See Appendix A.) and his second work "lettre sur la réforme de Propriété, [par un future propriétaire]," which is found in his later Le Dernier mot du socialisme

(Paris, 1848), pp. 38-45.

Chevé writings appeared for over thirty years in journals, listed here in the order and with the dates during which he worked at them: L'Atelier: Organe des intérèts moraux et matériaux des ouvriers, (Chevé is listed as a member of the Editorial Committee in septembre 1841); the Liberal-Catholic Le Spectateur de Dijon: Journal politique, litteraire et industriel, (Chevé edited this journal (2 mai 1844-décembre 1847); his own Christian-democratic L'Alliance: Journal de l'Ouest-Nantes (15 janvier 1848 to 23 mars 1848); Le Socialiste: Journal de l'Égal-Échange Nantes (mai 1849-octobre 1849); and L'Unité: Journal de Nantes (2 novembre 1848 to 12 janvier 1849); then Proudhon's Le Peuple, Paris (8 janvier 1849 through 11 juin 1849); La Voix de Peuple: Journal Quotidien et Hebdomadaire, Paris (8 octobre 1849 through 11 février 1850), and also Le Peuple de 1850, Paris (juillet 1850 - 27 septembre 1850); the democratic Le Vote Universel, Paris (9 janvier 1851 through 16 février 1851); and in the Second Empire, the Catholic Journal des Villes et des Campagnes, Paris (2 octobre 1865, through 1869, the Bibliothèque Nationale's holdings are interrupted for the period surrounding the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune); Le Français: Journal des Soirs, Paris (3 août 1868 through 1869) in which he cooperated with François Beslay; and finally Le Phare de la Manche: Journal de Cherbourg et du Département de la

Manche (21 octobre 1869 through 15 juin 1873, the Bibliothèque Nationale's holdings are interrupted from décembre 1869 through janvier 1873, and again after 15 juin 1873).

Included in Chevé's journal articles are a series of three articles entitled: "Réforme Industrielle: L'Atelier: Organe des intérêts moraux et matériaux des ouvriers 1, 11 (juillet 1841): 84-86, 1, 12 (août 1841): 92-94, and 2,1 (septembre 1841): 4-6. There is also his "Letter of Resignation," L'Atelier, 2, 10 (juin 1842), p. 1, and "Organisation du Travail: Premier article," L'Atelier, 4, 1 (octobre 1843): 9-13. He contributed three articles to the Liberal-Catholic review, Le Correspondant, the first, untitled, appeared in vol.3 (août 1843): 281-282, the second, "Des écrits de Mgr. Parisis, évêque de Langres, sur la liberté d'enseignement," Le Correspondant, 9 (mars 1845): 590-602, and "Quelques mots sur l'établissement des prud'hommes et leur établissement à Paris," Le Correspondant, 10 (juin 1845): 920-933. There were also three articles of his in the Revue Nationale, the successor to Buchez's L'Européen: "Nouvel appel en faveur de Pie IX," Revue Nationale, 1, 5 (1845): 123-128, "De l'Irlande," Revue Nationale, 1, 7 (1845): 188-193, and "Au clergé," Revue Nationale, 1, 17 (avril 1848): 377-378.

Also included in Chevé's writings are the encyclopedias he edited at the Ateliers Catholiques in the 1850s. The

following titles have been examined: Dictionnaire des conversions ou Essai d'encyclopèdie historique des conversions au catholicisme, Tome 33: Nouvelle Encyclopèdie Théologique (Petit-Montrouge, 1852), in which Chevé wrote a critical essay on Buchez, Dictionnaire des apologists involuntaires: Le catholicisme triomphant par ses propres adversaires, Tomes 38 et 39: Nouvelle Encyclopèdie Théologique (Petit-Montrouge, 1853), Dictionnaire des bienfaits et beautés du christianisme, Tome 9: Troisième et dernière Encyclopèdie Théologique, ou Troisième et dernière série de Dictionnaires sur toutes les parties de la science religieuse (Petit-Montrouge, 1856), and Dictionnaire des papes, ou Histoire compléte des souverains pontifs depuis Saint-Pierre jusqu'a Pie IX, Tome 32: Troisième et dernière Encyclopèdie Théologique, ou Troisième et dernière série de Dictionnaires sur toutes les parties de la science religieuse (Petit-Montrouge, 1857). In addition, reference to these two additional works were found: Dictionnaire de mystique chrétienne (Petit-Montrouge, 1854?), and Dictionnaire des preuves de la divinité de Jésus-Christ (Petit-Montrouge, 1852?).

Two reviews of Chevé's Dernier mot du socialisme are as follows: "Review of Le Dernier mot du socialisme," L'Atelier, 9 (janvier 1849): 280, and "Review of Le Dernier mot du socialisme," L'Ami de la Religion, 145 (15 janvier 1850): 208-212.

For the writings of Chevé's various associates, see the Papiers de Buchez, série 55, at the Bibliothéque Historique de la Ville de Paris, extremely helpful concerning his relationship with Raspail and other republicans. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's What is Property? (New York, 1966) was a work which influenced Chevé and inspired him to write his "Lettre sur la réforme de Propriété" in 1840. For Lammenais's works consulted, see Oeuvres complètes de F. de Lamennais, Nouvelle Édition (Paris, 1844). Many of the writings of Saint-Simon and Enfantin are gathered in the Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et Enfantin, 47 vols. (Paris, 1865-1879), referred to henceforth as OSSE. I have cited excerpts from "Organisateur," OSSE, 2 et 4; "Mémoire sur la science de l"homme," OSSE, 11; "Catéchisme des industriels," OSSE, 10; "Système industriel," OSSE 4 et 21; and "Industrie," OSSE 3 et 4. The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition. First Year: 1828-1829, translated with notes and introduction by George G. Iggers (Boston, 1958) reports the crucial doctrinal changes which preceded Buchez's schism.

The heroes of literary historians Balzac, Flaubert, Hugo and Stendhal serve here as foils against which to pose and account for Chevé in his earlier years. Specifically, those works used were: Honoré de Balzac, Lost Illusions (New York, 1971), Gustave Flaubert, L'Éducation sentimentale (Paris, 1870), Victor Hugo, Les Misérables (Paris, 1862), and Stendhal, The Red and the Black (New York, 1963).

SECONDARY WORKS

Since Chevé's life spanned much of the nineteenth century many of the classical histories of that period were important to my research. I consulted a vast number of works, but will mention here only those on which I drew most heavily, or which proved especially helpful for a particular question. In reconstructing Chevé's family background and the heritage of his social class, P. de Crousaz-Crétêt, Paris sous Louis XIV (Paris, 1927) provided a sense of atmosphere of pre-revolutionary Paris, as did Georges Mongrédien in his La Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV. (Paris, 1948), and H. Monin in L'État de Paris en 1789 (Paris, 1889). Jean-Marie-Vincent Audin's, Le Véritable Conducteur Parisien de Richard (Paris, 1970) provided valuable information about each of the neighborhoods in which Chevé lived in Paris, while the Petit atlas pittoresque des 48 quartiers de la ville de Paris en 1834 (Paris, s.d), furnished maps of each arrondissement.

René de Lespinasse cites the royal decrees which governed wine merchants in Les Métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris 1, XIV-XVIIIe siècles, Ordonnances Générales, Métiers de l'alimentation. Histoire Général de Paris (Paris, 1886). The works of Adeline Daumard on the interaction of guild members and the social life of the bourgeoisie were extremely helpful, especially Les bourgeois de Paris du XIXe

siècle (Paris, 1970), and "Les Relations sociales à Paris à l'époque de la monarchie constitutionelle d'après les registres paroissiaux des mariages," Population 12, 3 (juillet-septembre, 1957): 458-466. Helpful also were Émile Coornaert's works, Les Compagnonnages en France du moyen âge à nos jours (Paris, 1970) and Les Corporations en France avant 1789 (Paris, 1941). To understand the relationship of this bourgeoisie with Catholicism, Bernard Groethuysen's The Bourgeois: Catholicism vs. Capitalism in Eighteenth Century France (New York, 1968) proved informative and insightful.

A number of fine works have appeared in the last twenty-five years on French education. The Making of Frenchmen: Current Directions in the History of Education in France, 1679-1979, Donald N. Baker and Patrick J. Harrigan, eds. (Waterloo, Ontario, 1980)is an excellent work. I relied heavily here on P. Chevallier, B. Grosperrin, J. Meiller, L'enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours, 1 (Paris, 1968), Joseph Moody, French Education since Napoleon (Syracuse, N.Y., 1978), Georges Duveau's Les Instituteurs (Paris, 1957), Georges Weill's Histoire de l'enseignement secondaire en France de 1802 à 1920 (Paris, 1925), and Félix Ponteil's Histoire de l'enseignement en France (Paris, 1966).

The best general history of the Restoration is Guillaume Bertier de Sauvigny's The Bourbon Restoration (Philadelphia, 1966). Jacques Droz gives France and Britain

broad treatment in his Europe Between Revolutions, 1815-1848 (London, 1967), and Frederick B. Artz's France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830 (New York, 1963) is also excellent. Georges Praedalié in Balzac Historien: La Société de la Restauration (Paris, 1955), and Fernand Rudé in Stendhal et la pensée sociale de son temps (Paris, 1967) justly analyze the role of these literary historians as commentators on Restoration youth. Georges Weill's study Histoire du parti républicain en France 1814-1870 (Paris, 1928) is invaluable for an understanding of republicans in this period.

Juste Olivier's memoires, Paris en 1830: Journal (Paris, 1831), actually a printed primary source, furnishes fine details of the events of the three days of revolution and afterward, reflecting on the Saint-Simonians and Buchez. Bertier de Sauvigny's La Révolution de 1830 en France (Paris, 1970) is again a classic; see also J.-L. de Courson, 1830: La révolution tricolore (Paris, 1965), David H. Pinkney's The French Revolution of 1830 (Princeton, 1972), "The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830," American Historical Review, 70 (October 1964): 1-17, and "The Revolutionary Crowd in Paris in the 1830s," Journal of Social History, 5 (1972): 521-527. Also valuable is John M. Merriman ed., 1830 in France (New York, 1975), and John Plamenatz, The Revolutionary Movement in France: 1815-1871 (London, 1952).

Daumard's article "Les élèves de l'École Polytechnique de 1815 à 1848," Revue D'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, 5 (1958): 225-234, cites the role of these prominent students during the Three Glorious Days, as does Pinet in "L'École Polytechnique et les Saint-Simoniennes," Revue de Paris (15 mai 1894): 77. Maurice Guerrini's, Napoleon and Paris: Thirty Years of History (New York, 1970) was equally helpful for details concerning Paris.

For a treatment of the Belgian Revolution, see Robert Demoulin, La Révolution de 1830 (Brussels, 1950) and Les Journées de septembre 1830 à Bruxelles et en province (Liège, 1934). Louis Leconte's Le Général A.-F.Mellinet et sa brigade: "La Victorieuse," 1 (Brussels, s.d.) gives an account of some of the fighting. Paul Harsin discusses the participation of French volunteers in "La Révolution belge de 1830 et l'influence française," Revue des sciences politiques, 53 (avril-mai 1930): 272, as does Louis Leconte in Les Légiones belges-parisiennes et autres formations de volontaires venues de France en 1830 (Brussels, 1949). Also see Émile Commaerts, The Keystone of Europe: History of the Belgian Dynasty, 1830-1939 (London, 1939) and Colonel Cruyplandts, Les Souvenirs d'un volontaire de 1830 (Bruxelles, 1878).

For the Polish Revolution of 1830-31 see R. F. Leslie's Polish Politics and the Revolution of November, 1830, (London, 1956), and Marion Kukiel's, "La Révolution de 1830

et la Pologne," Revue Internationale d'Histoire politique et constitutionelle (1953). Joseph Hordynski, History of the Late Polish Revolution and the Events of the Campaign, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1833) provides a valuable contemporary account. J.-A. Betley's Belgium and Poland in International Relations (The Hague, 1960), Marion Kukiel, Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861 (Princeton, NJ, 1955), Félix Ponteil's L'éveil des nationalités et le mouvement libéral, 1815-1848 2e éd. (Paris, 1968), and René Martel, La France et la Pologna (Paris, 1930) are valuable for the international implications of the Polish situation.

The actions of workers and republicans opposed to the July Monarchy is of central interest to this study. Besides the work of Weill already cited, see the Procès de vingt-sept, ou la Société des Droits de l'Homme et des élèves de l'École Polytechnique (Paris, 1834), which contains Chevé's "Testament". Lucien de La Hodde's, Histoire des sociétés secrètes et du parti républicain de 1830 à 1848 (Paris, 1850)is a valuable study of a variety of groups, and Georges Duveau's Raspail (Paris, 1948) covers the life of a radical leader of the movement with whom Chevé was associated in diverse settings. Excellent also are J.-P. Aguet, Les grèves sous la monarchie de juillet, 1830-1847 (Geneva, 1954), Édouard Dolléans, Histoire du mouvement ouvrier, 1830-1871, 1 (Paris, 1936, 1967), and Octave Festy, Le mouvement ouvrier au début de la monarchie de juillet,

1830-1834 (Paris, 1908).

There is a vast store of works on Saint-Simon and his followers. Most complete coverage is given by Sébastien Charléty, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme: 1825-1864 (Paris, 1931), and the monographs of Georges Weill: L'École Saint-Simonienne, son histoire, son influence, jusqu'à nos jours (Paris, 1894, 1896), and Un précurseur du socialisme: Saint-Simon et son oeuvre (Paris, 1894). Also see Émile Durkheim, Socialism and Saint-Simon (New York, 1958), Mathurian Dondo, The French Faust: Henri de Saint-Simon (New York, 1955), and Frank E. Manuel, The New World of Henri Saint-Simon (Cambridge, MA, 1956). George Boas's work French Philosophies in the Romantic Period (New York, 1964) is an interesting general study. Jean-Pierre Callot, Enfantin, le prophète aux sept visages (Paris, 1963) is a fine biography of the leader of the Saint-Simonian church.

Barrie M. Ratcliffe, "Saint-Simonism and Messianism: The Case of Gustave d'Eichthal," French Historical Studies, 9, 3 (Spring 1976): 484-502, Weill's "Les juifs et le saint-simonisme," Revue des études juives, 21 (1895): 261-280, Z. Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Anti-Semites in France," Jewish Social Studies, 9: 33-60, and P. Guiral, "Notes sur l'anticléricalisme des saint-simoniens," Archives de sociologie des religions, 5 (juillet-août 1960): 31-40 all discuss the importance of Jews among the Saint-Simonians. Edith Thomas, Pauline

Roland: Socialisme et Féminisme au XIXe siècle (Paris, 1956) deals with the attitude toward women.

As for the negative forces which drove youth to Saint-Simonian ideas, see D. G. Charlton, Secular Religions in France, 1815-1870 (London, 1963), and Anthony Esler, "Youth in Revolt: The French Generation of 1830," Modern European Social History, Robert J. Bezucha, ed., (New York, 1972), pp. 301-334. Albert Soboul quotes Mathiez on the insufficiency of romantic religion in Paysans, Sans-culottes et Jacobins (Paris, 1966). B. Tolley, "The Cenacle of Balzac's Illusions perdues," French Studies, 15 (1961): 324-327, describes the kind of youth drawn to Saint-Simon's "school" and later to Buchez. David Albert Griffiths illustrates the attractive personality of Enfantin in Jean Reynaud encyclopédiste de l'époque romantique (Paris, 1965), as does Georges Brunet, Le Mysticisme social de Saint-Simon (Paris, 1925). Robert C. Carlisle, The Proffered Crown: Saint Simonism and the Doctrine of Hope (Baltimore, 1989) follows the early Saint-Simonians through maturity and argues for their continued influence on French society throughout the century.

For works on Buchez, François-André Isambert has a number of insightful and analytical books: Christianisme et classes ouvrière (Tournai, 1961), De la Charbonnerie au saint-simonisme: Étude sur la jeunesse de Buchez (Paris, 1966), Politiques, religion, et science de l'homme chez

Philippe Buchez: 1796-1865 (Paris, 1967), and articles: "Aux origines de l'associationisme buchezien," Archives internationales de sociologie de la coopération. (1959): 29-66, "Époques critiques et époques organiques, une contribution de Buchez à la théorie sociale des saint-simoniens," Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 27 (1959): 131-152, "Physiologie sociale et système des sciences chez Buchez," Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie, 36 (1964): 101-116, and "Religion et science de l'histoire chez Buchez: 1796-1865," Archives de sociologies des religions, 20 (1965): 45-46. Earlier, Armand Cuvillier published the works which first brought Chevé to my attention: Hommes et idéologies de 1840 (Paris, 1956), P.-J.-B. Buchez et les origines du socialisme chrétien (Paris, 1894, 1948), and Un Journal des ouvriers: "L'Atelier," 1840-1850 (Paris, 1914, 1954), as well as the articles: "Buchez et le saint-simonisme," Revue du mois (mai-juin 1920), reproduced in Hommes et ideologies de 1840 (Paris, 1956), pp. 9-49, "Buchez, fondateur de l'association ouvrière de production," Revue des Études coopératives (octobre-décembre 1950), "Buchez, le fondateur en France de l'association ouvrière de production," Revue des Études coopératives (juillet-septembre 1922), pp. 356-371, and "Un schisme Saint-Simonien," Revue du mois (10 juin 1920), pp. 495-532. Of interest also were G. Castella's Buchez (Paris, 1911) and Paul Chanson's L'Organisation du Progrès

sélon P.-J-.B.Buchez (Paris, 1946).

An article by Bernard H. Moss, "Parisian Producers Associations, 1830-1851," in Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic, Roger Price ed., (New York, 1975) and another, "Producer's Associations and the Origins of French Socialism: Ideology from Below," Journal of Modern History, 48 (March 1976): 69-89, discusses Buchez's programs for worker associations. For some of the works of Buchez's disciples see Paul-Mathieu Laurent, Réfutation de l'histoire de France de l'abbé de Montgaillard (Paris, 1828), and August Ott, Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Buchez (Paris, 1866). Insight into the search these young men were engaged in is provided by Eric H Erickson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York, 1968), and Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (New York, 1958, 1962).

For works on the Liberal-Catholic movement, I recommend the following: for a good general treatment see Weill, Histoire du Catholicisme libéral en France, 1828-1908 (Paris, 1928). For Lamennais: William Gibson Ashbourne, The Abbé Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France (London, 1896), and Jean-René Derre, Lamennais: ses amis et le mouvement des idées à l'époque romantique: 1824-1834 (Paris, 1962). Jacques Poisson's Le Romanticisme social de Lamennais: Essai sur la metaphysique des deux sociétés, 1832-1854 (Paris, 1932) is a valuable scholarly work, as is A.R. Vidler, Prophesy and Papacy: A Study of Lamennais, The

Church in Revolution (London, 1954). More valuable for the social teaching of Lamennais was Claude Carcopino, Les Doctrines sociales de Lamennais (Genève, 1968).

For Lacordaire, see the biography written by his friend R. P. Foisset, Lacordaire, 1 (Paris, 1870) for a sympathetic and intimate account. Eugène Spuller, Lamennais: étude d'histoire politique et religieuse (Paris, 1892) is more objective. Philip Spencer's Politics of Belief in Nineteenth Century France: Lacordaire, Michon, Veuillot (London, 1953) is an even-handed treatment of these three figures. A. Duval's article "Lacordaire et Buchez: Idéalisme révolutionnaire et reveil religieux en 1839," Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et théologiques 45, 3 (juillet 1961): 454, sheds light on the accord between these two men even when Roux-Lavergne found inconsistencies between them. Augustin D'Arres's writing describes the Dominican novitiate life which Chevé and others entered: "Souvenirs du Noviciat de Bosco," L'Année Dominicaine, 12, 155 (mai 1873): 196-203; 158 (août 1875): 323-334; 161 (nov. 1873): 441-445; 13, 163 (jan. 1874): 3-9; 14, 185 (nov. 1875): 448-452, while Joseph-Vincent Morassi's "Le Révérend Père Lacordaire à Bosco (Piémont)," L'Année Dominicaine, 2 (novembre 1862): 627-630; 14 (1875) dealt with the same theme from the Dominican archives.

For general sources on the social Catholic movement and the history of Catholicism in the nineteenth century,

the best treatment is by Adrien Dansette, Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine, 1: 1789-1879 (Paris, 1965). Also helpful were Törben Christensen, Origin and History of Christian Socialism, 1848-1854 (Copenhagen, 1962), and Louis Foucher, La Philosophie catholique en France au XIXe siècle: Avant la renaissance Thomiste et dans son rapport avec elle (Paris, 1955). Georges Goyau's, Histoire religieuse de la France (Paris, 1922), Eugène Spuller's, L'Évolution politique et sociale de l'église (Paris, n.d.), Pierre Poujol's, Socialistes et chrétiens avant 1848 (Paris, 1956), and H. Daniel-Rops', The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789-1870, 2 vols. (New York, 1967) are also of value. H. Joly provides an interesting overview of Buchez's contribution in his work Le socialisme chrétien (Paris, 1892) as does J.-B. Duroselle's Les Débuts du catholicisme social en France, de 1822 à 1870 (Paris, 1951), and Robert Kothen's La Pensée et l'action sociales des catholiques, 1789-1944 (Louvain, 1945).

The work by R.P. Édouard Lecanuet, Montalembert, 2: La Liberté d'enseignement, (Paris, 1899) was a major source of information about the actions of the Catholic Party in the 1840s. Also helpful here was L'Abbé Pothier's Monsigneur Fournier, évêque de Nantes (Nantes, 1900), and Louis Grimaud's, Histoire de la liberté d'enseignement en France, 2 vols. (Paris, 1944).

The principal works consulted on Proudhon were: Georges Gurvitch, ed. Proudhon, sa vie, son oeuvre, avec un exposé de sa philosophie (Paris, 1965), Alan Ritter, The Political Thought of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (Princeton, 1969), Édouard Dolléans et J.-L. Puech, Proudhon et la révolution de 1848 (Paris, 1948), Robert L. Hoffman, Revolutionary Justice: The Social and Political Theory of P.-J. Proudhon (Urbana, 1972), and George Woodcock, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: A Biography 3rd ed. (New York, 1987)

For the July Monarchy, in general, see Louis Blanc, Histoire des dix ans, 1 (Paris, 1877), and Thureau-Dangin, Histoire de la Monarchie de juillet, 7 vols. (Paris, 1888-1900). Georges Duveau's 1848: The Making of a Revolution (New York, 1967), Charles Ledre, La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie, 1815-1848 (Paris, c.1960), Félix Ponteil, Les classes bourgeoises et l'avenément de la démocratie (Paris, 1968), and Georges Rudé, The Crowd in History: 1730-1848 (London, 1959), reflect on the events of 1848-51 during the Second Republic.

For the period of the Second Empire, the work of Octave Aubrey, The Second Empire (New York, 1940), and that of John Bierman, Napoleon III and His Carnival Empire (New York, 1988), provided excellent coverage. Duveau on French workers in this period, La Pensée ouvrière sur l'éducation pendant la seconde république et le second empire (Paris, 1948), and La Vie ouvrière sous le second Empire (Paris,

1946), and I. Tchernoff, Le parti républicain au coup d'état et sous le second Empire, (Paris, 1906) are classics. For consideration of the Catholic Church under the Empire see Adrien Dansette's Du 2 décembre au 4 septembre (Paris, 1972).

The Polish Revolution in 1863 is reflected upon in W. A. Day's, The Russian Government in Poland with a Narrative of the Polish Insurrection of 1863 (London, 1867), and in Piotr S. Wandyc, A History of East Central Europe, 7: The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1775-1918 (Seattle and London, 1974).

And, finally, for coverage of the Franco-Prussian War, the Commune and the early days of the Third Republic, see Jean Lhomme La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir, 1830-1880 (Paris, 1960), Roger Williams, The Commune of Paris, 1871. (New York, 1969), The Mortal Napoleon III (Princeton NJ, 1972, 1971), and The French Revolution of 1870-1871 (New York, 1969). Jacques Chastenet's study, Histoire de la Troisième République. Vol. I: L'Enfance de la Troisième (Paris, 1952) is a standard and solid work on this troubled period of the Third Republic.

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