

THE LABOR PROBLEM AND THE
SOCIAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT
IN FRANCE



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TORONTO

THE LABOR PROBLEM AND THE
SOCIAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT
IN FRANCE

A Study in the History of Social Politics

BY

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TO
MY MOTHER

PREFACE

NOR until quite recently, in the United States, has anything like general public attention been directed to one of the most powerful and interesting of contemporary movements toward the solution of the insistent problem of labor unrest. There is a real need for an impartial historical study of this movement and a critical analysis of the forces which lie behind it. Such a need the present narrative does not pretend to satisfy completely; but it is hoped that even a preliminary survey, such as this, will be of interest to those who concern themselves with the grave social and economic problems now confronting political democracy.

The movement in question,—generally known as the Social Catholic movement,—has expanded so rapidly in the last few decades that it may now be regarded as a force comparable in magnitude and in power to international Socialism, or to Syndicalism, or to the coöperative movement. On the eve of the Great War, Social Catholicism was represented by organizations in every civilized country where there was any considerable Catholic population. Its adherents were numbered by tens of millions; a host of journals, reviews, year-books, economic treatises, manuals, and millions of tracts were preaching its doctrines; it had apologists in the universities and representatives in the legislatures of many European and several American states; its propaganda was growing by leaps and bounds. It had already taken its place as second or third among the great international movements for social reform. Moreover, thanks to authoritative endorsements by papal encyclicals, and thanks to the energetic efforts of its patrons in the hierarchy, it has resumed its progress since the conclusion of peace and bids fair to command the substantial support of the great body of Catholic Christians throughout the world.

The program of reforms advocated by the leaders of this movement presents an elaborate and far-reaching scheme of economic reconstruction. One might call it a rival of the other "Proposed Roads to Freedom" described by Mr. Bertrand Russell. The program is all the more significant because several of its basic principles, which once appeared somewhat visionary, are gaining widespread popularity at the present time. For instance, the idea that a modernized guild system, with industrial democracy, was the true alternative to State Socialism, had little vogue a generation ago, except among Social Catholics, whereas today it is making remarkable headway among British labor leaders, in the form of "Guildism" or "Guild Socialism." The conservative wing of the British Guild Socialist movement, one might add, is Social Catholic. The scheme of Joint Standing Industrial Councils put forward by the Whitley Committee¹ and incorporated in the British Government's reconstruction policy provides another indication of the same trend of thought, and the Whitley plan bears an astonishing resemblance to the scheme of industrial organization formulated many years previously by French Social Catholics. Again, the Social Catholics have insisted, from the beginning, that labor must not be regarded as a commodity, the price of which could be determined by the law of supply and demand. This principle is now officially recognized by a clause in the Treaty of Versailles. International labor legislation is a third principle of which the Social Catholics were among the earliest and most determined advocates. Yet another of the reforms of which Social Catholics, particularly in France, have long been supporters, is the establishment of an industrial, or, rather, a vocational senate as a complement to the existing parliament based on purely numerical or geographical representation. Under the name of "functional representation," this idea is coming to be more and more widely debated.

A genuine practical interest attaches to the question whether the Social Catholic movement is inherently antagonistic to other schools of social reform, or disposed to cooperate with them. In general, the Social Catholics have been opposed to

State Socialism, Bolshevism, and the anarchistic wing of Syndicalism. On the other hand, in promoting trade-unionism, in legislating against child labor, in protecting women from injurious industrial exploitation, in establishing social insurance, and in similar matters, there has been much coöperation between Social Catholics and other friends of labor legislation.

In the United States, there has been less of such coöperation than in Europe, principally because the Social Catholic movement was more backward in the New World. Very striking, however, is the manifesto on social reconstruction recently issued by four American bishops, in the name of the National Catholic War Council, championing in principle a minimum wage law; social insurance against sickness, invalidity, unemployment, and old age; shop committees and labor participation in industrial management; coöperative selling and marketing; coöperation in production; regulation of public service monopolies; heavy taxation of incomes, excess profits, and inheritances. While this "Bishops' Program" contains several distinctive features, it nevertheless explicitly approves many of the practical reform measures urged by American liberals, by labor leaders, and by Socialists.

In France, Social Catholics helped to enact the law of 1884, the charter of French trade-unionism, and have rivalled the Socialists in urging factory and labor legislation, workingmen's insurance, and other reforms. In Germany, the early establishment of workingmen's compensation and of social insurance was in no small part due to the influence of the Center or Catholic Party. In Switzerland, the Social Catholic leader, Decurtins, coöperated with Radicals and moderate Socialists to secure workingmen's compensation, to fix a maximum working day, to pass factory legislation, and to establish a Secretariat of Labor; he also obtained the support of the Radicals, and ultimately the approval of the Swiss Federal Council, for his proposal that Switzerland convoke the first international conference on labor legislation. In England, Cardinal Manning became so conspicuous a champion of workingmen's demands that his portrait was borne on a banner in the great eight-hour-

day demonstration of May 4, 1890. Instances need not be multiplied. No one familiar with the recent history of France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, or Spain can be ignorant of the active participation of Social Catholics in Continental social politics.

In the light of the facts just stated, it is clear that this movement is important enough to repay a more thorough analysis than it has yet received at the hands of Anglo-American historians, economists, and students of public policy. Among European publicists and scholars, Social Catholicism has been much debated. Unfortunately, most of the voluminous literature on the subject has been controversial or apologetic, and no adequate general history of the Social Catholic movement has yet been published, in any language. Professor Nitti's history of *Catholic Socialism*, written in the Italian language, thirty years ago (1890), and subsequently translated into English, is admirable, so far as it goes, but it covers only the infancy of the movement. Turmann, de Clercq, Calippe, Goyau, Eblé, and Monicat,—to mention only a few,—have written scholarly and readable books on various special aspects of Social Catholicism; their works, however, have not been translated, nor do they provide the general and impartial account that the ordinary reader would desire. There remains, therefore, an attractive field, still open, for historical investigation.

To compress the whole history of the international Social Catholic movement within the two covers of the present monograph would be obviously impossible. It has appeared wise to focus attention principally upon the development of the movement in a single country. France is selected, because the Social Catholic program has there been elaborated in great detail and formally incorporated in the platform of a political party, the *Action Libérale Populaire*. Consequently, Social Catholicism has played a most interesting rôle in French politics.

Unfamiliar though its name may appear to the eyes of American readers, the *Action Libérale Populaire* or, as we may call it, the Popular Liberal Party, is quite as interesting, in point of political theory and social doctrine, as the Socialist and

Syndicalist movements in France. Nor is it insignificant in numerical strength. Before the war, Revolutionary Syndicalism in France could boast, at the maximum, only two or three hundred thousands of adherents, since the national Syndicalist organization, the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, embraced at most 600,000 members, many of whom were not Syndicalists at all, but merely trade-unionists or Socialists.² The Popular Liberal Party at that time had a dues-paying membership of over 250,000 and a voting strength of three-quarters of a million. The Unified Socialist Party had only one fourth as many dues-paying members, although its dues were eighty per cent smaller than those of the Popular Liberal Party.³ From the war the Popular Liberal Party has emerged unquestionably more powerful than the Unified Socialist Party, both in parliamentary representation and in membership. In the elections of November, 1919, the Unified Socialists obtained only 68 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, whilst the Liberals won a hundred.⁴

As an important political organization pledged to the social program of the French Social Catholic movement, the Popular Liberal Party will necessarily figure largely in the present narrative. The party, however, is not the movement; it is only a part, and not even the most important part, of the movement. In all probability, the Social Catholic vote, like the general Catholic vote, will remain scattered, and the influence of French Social Catholicism will be discernible not so much in the growth of a single party as in the penetration of several political parties by Social Catholic ideas. For this reason, the author has endeavored to sketch not only the activities of the Popular Liberal Party, but also the development of the Social Catholic movement prior to the formation of the party, and the work of various non-political organizations.

In this attempt to reconstruct from scattered and all too fugitive sources the story of a comparatively recent political and social movement,—to analyze the factors that gave birth to the movement and then to portray the movement as a living force in practical politics,—the difficulties were so formidable

that the author more than once lost courage and was held to the task only by a lively consciousness of the inherently interesting and significant character of the subject. Finality is not claimed for the narrative as it is given here. It will betray some of the errors of judgment that are well-nigh inevitable in any endeavor to bring a puzzling array of facts into a comprehensive synthesis for the first time; it is certainly and unavoidably incomplete. If it provides an objective and substantially accurate picture of the movement, intelligible to the general reader as well as to the specialist, the author will consider his purpose achieved.

For courteous replies to inquiries which often must have been troublesome and for assistance in collecting the materials used in the preparation of this study, the author is grateful to several officers of the Action Libérale Populaire of Paris, and particularly to M. Abel Tocquet. Thanks are also due to M. Arthur Saint-Pierre, of Montreal, for advice which facilitated the preliminary stages of research. The author is deeply indebted to Professors Carlton J. H. Hayes and Charles Downer Hazen of Columbia University for reading and criticizing the manuscript. From Professor Hayes, who has done so much to stimulate the scientific study of social history and social politics, the author received not only inspiration and many a helpful suggestion for the improvement of this book in style or in content, but also patient assistance in the wearisome task of revising the proofs.

PARKER THOMAS MOON.

Columbia University,
February 14, 1921.

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APPENDIX

¹ Interim Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils, submitted by the sub-committee (on Relations between Employers and Employed) of the Reconstruction Committee, March 8, 1917, Parliamentary Papers, 1917-1918, Cd. 8606. Cf. Kellogg and Gleason, *British Labor and the War* (N. Y., 1919), pp. 185-194, 418-448.

² M. Jouhaix, secretary of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, claimed that there were 400,000 dues-paying members and, in reality, 600,000 adherents, in 1912. Opponents of the C. G. T. regard these figures as exaggerated; cf. *Année sociale internationale 1913-1914* (Rheims, 1914), pp. 530-31. In his book on *The Labor Movement in France* (N. Y., 1912), pp. 181, 191-192, Dr. Louis Levine gives the total membership of the C. G. T. as 357,814 in 1910, and leaves the reader to judge the accuracy of M. Pawlowski's claim that approximately five-eighths of these members repudiate revolutionary Syndicalism, as contrasted with the opposing claim that the Syndicalists have a two-thirds majority in the C. G. T. Admitting the latter claim, we would arrive at something like 266,000 as the maximum estimate of the number of revolutionary Syndicalists.

³ Jacques, *Les Partis politiques sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1913), pp. 309, 336, supplemented by information obtained at party headquarters in Paris.

⁴ It is impossible to calculate the voting strength of the Popular Liberal Party in the elections of 1919, because, under the new system of proportional representation, the Liberals frequently supported fusion tickets. The Socialist vote, according to official returns, was approximately 1,615,000. For the figures cited, the author is indebted to Georges Lachapelle's book, *Les Élections législatives du 6 Novembre 1919* (Paris, 1920), and to personal correspondence.

⁵ The British Trade Boards Act, 1909, concerning certain "sweated" trades, is a case in point.

⁶ "Social politics' thus becomes a convenient phrase to indicate, loosely perhaps, the present-day development of political democracy and its utilization for social purposes."—C. Hayes, *British Social Politics* (Boston, 1913), p. 3.

⁷ A good mental picture of the Industrial Revolution in France may be obtained by comparing J. A. C. de Chantal, *De l'industrie française* (Paris, 1819); Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers . . .* (Paris, 1840); and E. Levasseur, *Comparison du travail à la main et le travail à la machine* (Paris, 1900). For a narrative and discussion, see Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870* (Paris, 1904).

⁸ According to Weill, *La France sous la monarchie constitutionnelle (1815-1848)* (Paris, new ed., 1912), p. 222, there were 200 steam-en-

gines in 1820; 572 in 1830; 3,053 in 1843. According to M. Block, *Statistique de la France* (Paris, 1875), vol. ii, p. 140, there were 2,873 in 1840; 4,019 in 1843; 6,832 in 1850; 18,726 in 1860. According to E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières . . . de 1789 à 1870*, vol. ii, p. 171, there were 2,591 in 1840; 3,360 in 1843. I have given approximate round figures in the text, since the exact figures are of no great interest in this connection, and in the presence of conflicting statements, any new figures claiming precision would require an extensive exposition by way of support.

⁹ Levasseur, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 628; Block, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 322-323.

¹¹ Block, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 143, 149.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

¹⁴ Deposition of MM. Witz Sons and Co., in *Enquête sur l'industrie du coton*, cited by Ch. Rist, "Durée du travail dans l'industrie française de 1820 à 1870," *Revue d'économie politique*, 1897, vol. xi, p. 373.

¹⁵ *Bulletin de la société industrielle de Mulhouse*, 1828, pp. 326-329, cited by Ch. Rist, *op. cit.* p. 373.

¹⁶ G. Weill, *La France sous la monarchie constitutionnelle*, pp. 233-234.

¹⁷ Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et morale des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie* (2 vols., Paris, 1840), vol. ii, p. 85, *et seq.*

¹⁸ *Bulletin de la Société industrielle de Mulhouse*, vol. XX, p. 222, Report by M. Achille Penot on the modification of the law of March 22, 1841. Cited in Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

¹⁹ Villermé, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 28-32.

²⁰ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *L'Economie politique chrétienne* (Paris, 1834), cited by Villermé, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²¹ At Rouen, for example, men were earning from 1 fr. 25c. to 2 fr. a day. See the comparative table of expenses and wages, Villermé, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 150-151.

²² Villermé, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 408. The quotation is from M. Barbet's remarks in the Chamber of Deputies, June 15, 1839. It is only fair to state that some of the larger manufacturers, notably the Industrial Association of Mulhouse, expressed the desire for legislative regulation of child-labor, and the General Council of Commerce, composed of the chief industrial magnates of France, wished the employment of children under eight years of age to be prohibited, and the working day to be limited to twelve hours for children under fifteen years of age. Cf. Villermé, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-100.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116, note 2. Villermé regards this as "a rare exception."

Mouvement physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770 (2 vols., Paris, 1910); also H. Higgs, *The Physiocrats* (London, 1897); G. Schelle, *Du Pont de Nemours et l'école physiocratique* (Paris, 1888); Eugène Daire, *Physiocrates* (Paris, 1846), selected works and biographical notes; Paul Permezel, *Les Idées des physiocrates en matière de commerce internationale* (Lyons, 1907); August Oncken, *Die Maxime Laissez faire et laissez passer, ihr Ursprung, ihr Werden* (Bern, 1886); Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, pp. 1-59; L. de Lavergne, *Les Économistes français du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1870); G. Schelle, "Physiocrates," in Léon Say and J. Chailley, *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'économie politique* (Paris, 1892), vol. ii, pp. 473-486.

²⁸ François Quesnay (1694-1774). His first writing on economic questions was in the form of articles (on "Fermiers" and "Grains") for the *Encyclopédie* (vol. vi, 1756, vol. vii, 1757). His famous *Tableau économique* appeared in 1758. Cf. Aug. Oncken (ed.), *Oeuvres économiques et philosophiques de F. Quesnay* (Frankfort and Paris, 1888); and G. Schelle, *Le docteur Quesnay* (Paris, 1907); in addition to general works already cited on the Physiocrats.

²⁹ Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours (1730-1817). A full list of his voluminous writings is given by G. Schelle, *Du Pont de Nemours et l'école physiocratique* (Paris, 1888), p. 399, et seq.; Schelle's biography of the economist, it may be remarked, is exceptionally informing. Probably the most interesting of Du Pont's treatises, from the point of view of social politics, is that entitled *De l'Origine et des progrès d'une science nouvelle* (London and Paris, 1767). His collection of Quesnay's works, published under the title *Physiocratie, ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain* (Leyde, Paris, 1767-1768), gave the Physiocratic school its familiar name, and contained an introduction by Du Pont recapitulating the philosophy of the new school.

³⁰ Victor Riquetti, marquis de Mirabeau (1715-1789). He wrote *L'Ami des hommes ou traité de la population* (Avignon, 1756), *Théorie de l'impôt* (1760), *Philosophie rurale* (Amsterdam, 1763). Cf. Louis de Loménie, *Les Mirabeau* (Paris, 1889-91); L. Brocard, *Les Doctrines économiques et sociales du marquis de Mirabeau dans "L'Ami des hommes"* (Paris, 1902).

³¹ Mercier de la Rivière, *L'Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (Paris, 1767), is perhaps the best exposition of the Physiocratic doctrine.

³² G. F. Le Trosne (1728-1780). His views are best stated in *De l'Ordre social* (2 vols., Paris, 1777).

³³ Nicholas Baudeau (1730-1792?). See especially his *Première introduction à la philosophie économique* (Paris, 1771).

³⁴ Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, baron de l'Aulne, (1727-1781), expounded his economic theories in the *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (written in 1766, published in Dupont's *Ephémérides du citoyen*, 1769-1770). While minister under Louis XVI, he endeavored to realize his theories by suppressing restrictions on internal free trade and by abolishing the craft guilds. Cf. G.

Schelle, *Œuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant avec biographie et notes*, (Paris, 1913-1914); Léon Say, *Turgot* (second ed., Paris, 1891); Du Pont de Nemours, *Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Turgot* (2 vols., Phila., 1782); R. P. Shepherd, *Turgot and the Six Edicts* (Columbia Univ. Studies, 1903, vol. xviii, No. 2). While there is good reason to include Turgot among Quesnay's followers, Turgot in developing his ideas manifested great independence of mind and differed from the orthodox Physiocrats on several important points.

³⁵ Cited by Ch. Gide and Ch. Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, p. 6.

³⁶ Mercier de la Rivière, *Ordre naturel* (new edition, Paris, 1910), p. 338.

³⁷ Du Pont, in his preface to *Physiocratie*, p. lxxxii.

³⁸ This famous phrase is usually attributed to Gournay, a contemporary of Quesnay; it was repeated by some of Quesnay's followers, though not by the master himself, and came to be regarded as the central maxim of physiocratic doctrine. Cf. Oncken, *Die Maxime Laissez faire et laissez passer, ihr Ursprung, ihr Werden* (Bern, 1886).

³⁹ Du Pont de Nemours, *De l'origine et des progrès d'une science nouvelle*, reprinted in Daire's edition of the *Physiocrates* (Paris, 1846), vol. ii, p. 347.

⁴⁰ Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832). His *Traité d'économie politique ou simple exposition de la manière dont se forment, se distribuent et se consomment les richesses*, appeared in 1803 and was very widely read, going through many subsequent editions. After the publication of this treatise, Say established a large textile factory, and divided his time between the practise and the theory of economic science. Among his other works, special interest attaches to the *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique* (six vols., Paris, 1828-1829), a work "destined to place before the eyes of statesmen, landed proprietors and capitalists, scientists, agriculturalists, manufacturers, merchants, and in general all citizens, the economy of societies"; *Catéchisme d'économie politique* (first ed., 1817, 7th ed., Malines, 1836); *Lettres à M. Malthus* (Paris, 1820); *Mélanges et correspondance d'économie politique* (Paris, 1833), a posthumous collection edited by Charles Comte. See also A. Liesse, "Un professeur d'économie politique sous la restauration" (in *Journal des économistes*, series V. vol. 46, pp. 3-22, 161-174).

⁴¹ E. Dubois de l'Estaing, "J. B. Say," in *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'économie politique* (Paris, 1892), vol. ii, pp. 783-790.

⁴² Cf. Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, pp. 120-138.

⁴³ J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique* (seventh edition), p. 13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 355, et seq.

⁴⁵ J. B. Say, *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique*, vol. iii, pp. 243-244. Liberty, to J. B. Say, implied prohibition of associations of workmen and of employers,—cf. *ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴⁶ Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) was a bourgeois by birth as well as by economic viewpoint. His father was a prosperous merchant at

Bayonne; Frédéric himself was at first employed in business, but later became a gentleman farmer, then a politician and publicist. Cobden's Anti-Corn-Law campaign in England inspired Bastiat with the aspiration of becoming a French Cobden. He organized a Free-Trade Association in France and issued a series of pamphlets against protectionism and socialism, the two greatest menaces to economic liberty. His most ambitious economic treatise, *Les Harmonies économiques*, was begun in 1849, and published in 1850. See G. de Molinari's biographical note on Bastiat in *Journal des économistes*, Feb. 1851, p. 180, et seq., and A. Courtois, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Frédéric Bastiat," *Journal des économistes*, Feb., 1888, p. 272, et seq.

⁴⁷ Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, p. 384.

⁴⁸ Speech on labor coalitions, in the National Assembly, Nov. 17, 1849, printed with *Incompatibilités parlementaires* (Paris, 1851), p. 85, et seq. The speech is extremely interesting as an evidence of his attitude toward labor.

⁴⁹ Bastiat, *Les Harmonies économiques* (Brussels, 1850), ch. iv, p. 127.

⁵⁰ Bastiat, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵³ Gide et Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

⁵⁴ Bastiat, it may be remarked, received Christian sacraments at his death, but was far from a devout Catholic in life, *Journal des économistes*, Feb., 1851, p. 195; Feb., 1888, p. 293.

⁵⁵ Charles Dunoyer, (1786-1862), *De la liberté du travail, ou simple exposé des conditions dans lesquelles les forces humaines s'exercent avec le plus de puissance* (Paris, 1845). This was the enlarged and final form of a work which had already appeared in 1825 and 1830.

⁵⁶ Charles Dunoyer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 448, et seq.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 435, et seq.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 457.

⁵⁹ Louis Gabriel Ambroise, vicomte de Bonald (1754-1840). Consult Mauduit, *Les Conceptions politiques et sociales de Bonald* (thesis, Paris, 1913); Beaumont, *Esprit de M. de Bonald, ou Recueil méthodique de ses principales pensées* (third ed., Paris, 1870). Of Bonald's works (*Œuvres complètes*, edited by Abbé Migne, Paris, 1859, 1864), the following are of chief interest: *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile démontrée par le raisonnement et par l'histoire* (1796); *Essai analytique sur les lois naturelles de l'ordre social, ou du Pouvoir, du ministre et du sujet dans la société* (1800); *Législation primitive considérée dans les derniers temps par les seules lumières de la raison. . .* (1802); *Observations sur l'ouvrage de Mme. la baronne de Staël, ayant pour titre, "Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française"* (1818); *Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société* (1830).

⁶⁰ Bonald, *Observations sur l'ouvrage de Mme. la baronne de Staël ayant pour titre "Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française,"* (1818), section vi. (*Œuvres*, vol. ii, p. 634).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, sections ix-x, on Bonald's attitude toward political liberalism.

⁶² François René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), the famous apologist for Christianity and author of *Le Génie du christianisme* (1802). He was the recipient of distinguished political honors under the Restoration government, but went over to the Opposition during the reign of Charles X. On his life and writings, consult Jules Lemaître, *Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1912),—a primarily personal and literary biography.

⁶³ These tendencies of his thought are perhaps best expressed in the "Conclusions" which Chateaubriand appended to his *Mémoires d'outre tombe* (Paris, 1860), vol. vi, p. 352, *et seq.* Cf. also Chateaubriand, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1859), vol. viii, p. 18, *et seq.* Chateaubriand valued liberty, as he defined it, but detested Liberalism as it was then understood.

⁶⁴ Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. ii, p. 271.

⁶⁵ *Revue européenne*, 1831, no. 4, p. 7. Quoted by Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. i, p. 95.

⁶⁶ Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. vi, p. 359.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 367, *et seq.*

⁶⁸ Philippe Joseph Benjamin Buchez (1796-1865). Cf. *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Buchez*, by A. Ott, which serves as a biographical preface to the posthumous *Traité de politique et de science sociale*, (Paris, 1866) by Buchez, pp. xi-cxliii. For criticism, see Calippe, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-176; Éblé, *Les Écoles catholiques d'économie*, pp. 23-27; Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, pp. 301, 357, 582. Also, Debidour, *Rapports de l'église et de l'état en France* (Paris, 1898), p. 484. Éblé asserts that Buchez was not a Catholic but "gravitated in the sphere of influence of the Church." It is true that in his earlier life Buchez was not a Catholic, but he is usually regarded as having returned to the Catholic faith. Cf. Buchez, *Essai d'un traité complet de philosophie, du point de vue du catholicisme et du progrès* (Paris, 1838-1840).

⁶⁹ See his scathing denunciation of existing conditions and of the attitude of the economists, in *Introduction à la science de l'histoire, ou science du développement de l'humanité* (Paris, 1833), pp. 5-42, especially p. 21.

⁷⁰ Buchez, *Introduction à la science de l'histoire*, p. 347, *et seq.*

⁷¹ A coöperative association of gilt-workers was founded in 1834 under his inspiration. Cf. the article by Buchez in the *Journal des Sciences morales et politiques*, Dec. 17, 1831, and comment by Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁷² Dr. Ott's *Traité d'économie social* (Paris, 1851) gives an interesting development of Buchez's ideas. Chevè's *Catholicisme et démocratie* (Paris, 1842), and *Le dernier mot du socialisme* (Paris, 1848) present a somewhat similar doctrine. Cf. Éblé, *op. cit.*, p. 28, *et seq.*, and Calippe, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

⁷³ Calippe, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁷⁵ Buchez, *Traité de la politique et de science sociale* (Paris, 1866), vol. ii, p. 504.

⁷⁶ Mgr. Olympe Philippe Gerbet (1798-1864), bishop of Perpignan.

⁷⁷ Gerbet, *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire* (Paris, 1832) pp. 221-223.

⁷⁸ Gerbet, *Mandements et instructions pastorales* (Paris, 1876), vol. i, p. 323.

⁷⁹ Louis Veillot (1813-1883), consult Eugène Veillot, *Louis Veillot* (Paris, 4 vols., 1899), or the more recent study by Eugène Tavernier, *Louis Veillot* (Paris, 1913) and the article in the Social Catholic organ, *Association catholique*, vol. xv, p. 545, et seq.

⁸⁰ Louis Veillot, *Cours d'économie politique à l'usage d'un journal conservateur*, published in *L'Univers*, Jan. 16, 1842. Reprinted in Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 301-304.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Jean Baptiste Henri Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861); Cf. *Œuvres du R. P. H. D. Lacordaire* (Paris, 1873); R. P. Chocarne, *The Inner Life of the Very Rev. Père Lacordaire*, tr. from French (Dublin, 1867?); MacNabb, *Lacordaire* (London, 1890); Foisset, *Vie du R. P. Lacordaire* (Paris, 1870); Montalembert, *Le Père Lacordaire* (Paris, 1862); Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste 1830-1848* (Paris, 1897); comte d'Haussonville, *Lacordaire* (4th ed., Paris, 1911); H. Villard, *Correspondance inédite du P. Lacordaire*, preceded by a biographical study (Paris, 1870); Ségur, "Le Père Lacordaire, le libéralisme et l'infailibilité," in *L'Association catholique*, vol. i, p. 289.

⁸³ In his own words, "I reached Catholic belief through social belief," Chocarne, *The Inner Life of the Very Reverend Père Lacordaire*, p. 46.

⁸⁴ Lacordaire, *Conférences de Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1844-51), 52e Conf.

⁸⁵ H. Villard, *Correspondance inédite du P. Lacordaire* (Paris, 1870), appendix xvi, pp. 498-500.

⁸⁶ Armand de Melun, (1807-1877). The biographical details are drawn from Baunard, *Le vicomte Armand de Melun* (Paris, 1880); Baguenault de Puchesse, "Le vicomte de Melun" (a series of articles in *Le Correspondant*, Feb. 10, 1882, p. 43, et seq.; Feb. 25, p. 655, et seq.; March 25, p. 953, et seq.); F. Dreyfus, *L'Assistance sous la seconde République* (Paris, 1907); Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. ii, pp. 129-152.

⁸⁷ Which became the *Revue d'économie chrétienne* in 1860, and subsequently, *Le Contemporain*.

⁸⁸ In 1847. The association included 150 delegates, representing fourteen nations. Cf. Dreyfus, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁸⁹ Cf. biographical sketch in Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 23-24.

⁹⁰ Goyau, *Autour du catholicisme social*, 3e série, pp. 130-131.

⁹¹ Cf. *infra*. His speech in the Chamber of Deputies, Dec. 22, 1840, *Moniteur universel*, 1840, p. 2493, et seq., is well worth reading in contrast with the liberal, anti-interventionist doctrines voiced by some of the speakers in the same debate. Théry, in *L'Œuvre économique de Villeneuve-Bargemont* (Paris, 1911), p. 68, ascribes great importance to Villeneuve-Bargemont's defense of the Bill.

⁹² *Moniteur universel*, 1841, p. 721.

⁹³ Charles Forbes René de Montalembert (1810-1870). Cf. Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 17-32, and biography in *Catholic Encyclopedia*. See Montalembert's speech on the child-labor bill in the Chamber of Peers, March 4, 1840, *Moniteur universel*, 1840, p. 418 *et seq.*, and 444.

⁹⁴ Jean Paul Alban vicomte de Villeneuve-Bargemont (1784-1850). Cf. Théry, *Un précurseur du catholicisme social, le vicomte de Villeneuve-Bargemont* (Lille, 1911); Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 73-82; Éblé, *op. cit.*, p. 9, *et seq.*; Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Jannet, "De l'État actuel de la science sociale," in *Correspondant*, Sept. 25, 1878, p. 1072. There is a short biography by an authoritative Social Catholic scholar, Georges Goyau, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under the entry, "Villeneuve-Barcément" [Sic].

⁹⁵ Théry, *L'Œuvre économique de Villeneuve-Bargemont*, pp. 50-51.

⁹⁶ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Économie politique chrétienne, ou Recherches sur la nature et les causes du paupérisme en France et en Europe, et sur les moyens de le soulager et de le prévenir*. (Paris, 1834).

⁹⁷ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Histoire de l'économie politique, ou Études historiques, philosophiques et religieuses sur l'économie politique des peuples anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1841).

⁹⁸ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Le Livre des affligés* (Paris, 2 vols., 1841).

⁹⁹ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Histoire de l'économie politique, etc.*, ii, p. 423.

¹⁰⁰ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Économie politique chrétienne*, p. 151; *Histoire de l'économie politique*, vol. i, ch. ix and *passim*.

¹⁰¹ Speech in Chamber of Deputies, Dec. 22, 1840, *Moniteur universel*, 1840, p. 2492, *et seq.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Économie politique chrétienne*, p. 468.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 475, *et seq.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-117.

¹⁰⁷ Théry, *op. cit.*, p. 167, *et seq.*

¹⁰⁸ Speech in Chamber of Deputies, Dec. 22, 1840, *Moniteur universel*, 1840, pp. 2493-2494.

¹⁰⁹ Théry, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

¹¹⁰ Henry Michel, *L'Idée de l'état* (Paris, 1895), p. 263.

¹¹¹ A Swiss Protestant historian and economist, whose *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique* (Paris, 1819), and *Études sur l'économie politique* (Paris, 1837-38) expounded a new system of economy, opposed to the methods, objects, and practical conclusions of what he called economic "orthodoxy," *i. e.*, the classical school of economists. In method, economy should be less abstract, more historical. Its object should not be mere production of wealth, but men's welfare by the general distribution of wealth. Unrestrained production, competition, and individualism, he endeavored to prove, were not conducive to the welfare of society. Hence, he concluded, the government should regulate and restrain production, favor small holdings and small *entrepreneurs*, grant to labor the right of coalition, forbid child-labor

and limit adult labor, force employers to support their employees in sickness, unemployment and old age, and place obstacles in the way of the marriage of paupers. Sismondi is one of the first modern economists to admit extensive intervention in behalf of the workers; he is also regarded as the precursor of the historical school of political economy. In many respects his doctrine was close to that of Villeneuve-Bargemont, by whom he was frequently cited. In fact, Sismondi was one of the writers whom Villeneuve-Bargemont wished to include in a new group or school of "Christian political economy" as opposed to the orthodox or liberal school. Sismondi, says Théry, was not much read in the middle of the nineteenth century, whereas Villeneuve-Bargemont enjoyed greater prestige. In more recent times, however, Villeneuve-Bargemont has fallen into obscurity, while Sismondi's reputation has enormously increased. Cf. Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, pp. 201-233; Théry, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-228; Aftalion, *L'Œuvre économique de Simonde de Sismondi* (Paris, 1899); G. Isambert, *Les Idées socialistes en France de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1905), ch. v.

¹¹² Gaston Isambert, *Les Idées socialistes en France de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1905), p. 254.

¹¹³ For a discussion of other friends or disciples of Villeneuve-Bargemont, notably Droz, Ganilh, Saint-Chamans, and Morogues, the reader is referred to Théry, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-213.

¹¹⁴ Count Charles de Coux (1787-1865). Cf. Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 59-72; Éblé, *Les Écoles catholiques d'économie*, p. 9, et seq.; Théry, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-209.

¹¹⁵ Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, p. 556.

¹¹⁶ Théry, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹¹⁷ *Revue européenne*, vol. i, no. 9, pp. 380-382 (1832).

¹¹⁸ Charles de Coux, "De l'état moral de l'Europe," in *L'Avenir*, April 21, 1831; cf. his *Essais d'économie politique* (Paris, 1832), p. 4.

¹¹⁹ Charles de Coux, "Des Associations patriotiques," in *L'Avenir*, March 21, 1831.

¹²⁰ Théry, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹²¹ Charles de Coux, *Essais d'économie politique*, p. 44.

¹²² *Ibid.*, passim.

¹²³ Antoine Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853). On his biography, consult C. A. Ozanam, *Vie de Frédéric Ozanam* (Paris, 1879); O'Meara, *Frédéric Ozanam, his life and works* (2nd ed., London, 1878); Huit, *La Vie et les œuvres de P. Ozanam* (Lyons, 1888); H. Joly, *Ozanam et ses continuateurs* (Paris, 1913); Baudrillart, *Frédéric Ozanam* (Paris, 1912); and an article by V. de Clercq in *L'Association catholique*, Feb., March, June, 1902. Ozanam's complete works were published in 11 volumes, at Paris, 1855-65.

¹²⁴ Frédéric Ozanam, *Réflexions sur la doctrine de Saint-Simon* (1831). The *Réflexions* were little more than a pamphlet against Saint-Simon's attempt to substitute a new religion, the "New Christianity," for the historic Church. In another work, *Les Origines du socialisme* (*Œuvres complètes de A. F. Ozanam*, Paris, 1862-1873, vol. vii, pp.

196-245), Ozanam recognizes the "generosity" of socialist "illusions," and asserts that, "like all the doctrines which have troubled the peace of the world, socialism is a power only because it contains many truths, mixed with many errors." All that which is true in socialism, Ozanam continued, was contained in Christianity, but without the admixture of errors and illusions.

¹²⁵ Saint-Simon, *Le nouveau christianisme* (pub. 1825), in *Œuvres de Saint-Simon* (Paris, 1841), p. 138, *et seq.* Saint-Simon put these words in the mouth of Luther, as what Luther should have said.

¹²⁶ He says this very clearly in his speech before the Conference of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul at Florence, Jan. 30, 1853, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. viii, p. 38, *et seq.*

¹²⁷ These principles were stated in Ozanam's notes for a course of lectures delivered in 1840. The notes are published under the caption of "*Notes d'un cours de droit commercial*" in Ozanam's *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1862-1873), vol. viii, especially pp. 537-545. Ozanam, it should be explained, studied and, for a time, taught law, before he devoted himself to literary history and philosophy.

¹²⁸ Ozanam, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. vii, pp. 263-265,—an extract from the *Ère nouvelle*, of Oct. 1848.

¹²⁹ *Notes d'un cours de droit commercial, op. cit.*, p. 544.

¹³⁰ Cf. Vansteenberghe's assertion (*Revue de Lille*, 1901, n. s. vol. 5, p. 603) that the new school of Christian sociology "finds its basis in the ancient doctrine of Saint Thomas, of the Fathers of the fourth century, of the Franciscans of the thirteenth, the doctrine which does not grow old, because it is the truth; and Leo XIII, who is its chief, in teaching it has done no more than rehabilitate the august and ancient Christian sociology." Leo XIII's historic encyclical "On the Condition of the Working Classes," which may be regarded as the charter of the Social Catholic movement, laid great emphasis on the teachings of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

¹³¹ The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, founded by Ozanam at Paris, 1833, now has branches in almost every Catholic parish, the world over. It took the name from Saint Vincent de Paul (1580-1660), a French priest distinguished by his work for the poorer classes. Consult *Catholic Encyclopedia* under entry, "Saint Vincent de Paul, Society of."

¹³² The Franciscan order (Order of Friars Minor) was founded by Saint Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century. It is at present one of the largest orders, and together with its auxiliary "third order" of lay brothers, exercises a very powerful influence in the direction of social action. Cf. Georges Fonsegrive's interesting article in the *Quinzaine*, 1900, vol. xxxiv, pp. 523-542, on "Le Tiers-Ordre franciscain: son influence religieuse et sociale." The Franciscans were the most interesting, from this point of view, but several other orders of mendicant friars, notably the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Carmellites, arose in the Middle Ages.

¹³³ Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821) was a Savoyard, of French ancestry (on his father's side). His most famous apologetic work, *Du Pape*

(Lyons, 1819), was devoted to the defense of the doctrine of papal infallibility and proof of the necessity of papal sovereignty. In *L'Église gallicane dans ses rapports avec les souverains pontifes* (Paris, 1821), he energetically combated "Gallicanism," i. e., the attempt in France to diminish papal control and to increase the national autonomy of the French Church. His writings exerted a very powerful influence upon French Catholic thought, especially upon the ideas of the ultramontane group. Consult F. Paulhan, *Joseph de Maistre et sa philosophie*. (Paris, 1893); E. Grasset, *Joseph de Maistre* (1901); G. Cogordan, *Joseph de Maistre* (Paris, 1894); de Margerie, *Le Comte Joseph de Maistre* (Paris, 1882); John Morley, *Critical Miscellanies* (London, 1892), vol. ii, pp. 255-338; L. Moreau, *Joseph de Maistre* (Paris, 1879).

¹³⁴ Cf. *Œuvres complètes de Joseph de Maistre* (Lyons, 1891), vol. i, pp. 197-202, 8, et seq.

¹³⁵ Joseph de Maistre, *Considérations sur la France*, in his *Œuvres complètes*, vol. i, p. 55.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123, et seq.

¹³⁷ Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 60.

¹³⁸ Cf. Lamartine, *Histoire de la restauration* (8 vols., Paris, 1851-1852); Bourgain, *L'Église de France et l'état au 19^e siècle, 1802-1900* (2 vols., Paris, 1901); Lavisse, *Histoire générale*, vol. x, ch. iii.

¹³⁹ Art. 6 of the Charter of June 8, 1814. Cf. L. Duguit and H. Monnier, *Les Constitutions et les principales lois politiques de la France depuis 1789* (third ed., Paris, 1915), p. 185.

¹⁴⁰ Debidour, *Rapports de l'église et de l'état en France de 1789 à 1870* (Paris, 1898), p. 340. Law of May 8, 1816.

¹⁴¹ Laws of March 17 and 25, 1822. Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 369, et seq.

¹⁴² Law of April 20, 1825. Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 379, et seq.

¹⁴³ Debidour, *op. cit.*, 2nd part, ch. i and ii, *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ Mgr. Frayssinous is perhaps best known as an exponent, in *Les Vrais Principes de l'église gallicane* (1818, third ed., 1826, Paris), of the theory of the liberties of the Gallican Church. He was made grand master of education by Louis XVIII, and insisted upon the teaching of "religious and monarchical sentiments" in the schools. The combination of Gallicanism and ultramonarchism, as shown in Frayssinous, is typical. Cf. Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 371, et seq.

¹⁴⁵ De Bonald, mentioned in the preceding section as an opponent of economic liberalism, was one of the foremost advocates of political absolutism and of religious intolerance. Cf. his *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile, démontrée par le raisonnement et par l'histoire* (1796); *Essai analytique sur les lois naturelles de l'ordre social, ou du Pouvoir, du ministre et du sujet dans la société* (Paris, 1800); *Observations sur l'ouvrage de Mme. la baronne de Staël ayant pour titre "Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française"* (Paris, 1818); *Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société, suivie de Méditations politiques tirées de l'évangile* (Paris, 1830); and Mauduit, *Les Conceptions politiques et sociales de Bonald* (thesis, Paris, 1913).

¹⁴⁶ Cited by Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale*, vol. i, p. 92. For the sake of

bringing out more clearly the drift away from old-fashioned monarchism, I have given a too simple sketch of Chateaubriand's political philosophy. In the face of discouragements, Chateaubriand remained a monarchist,—with misgivings. Thus, in 1830, he said, "perhaps the representative republic is the future state of the world, but its time has not come." (*Œuvres de Chateaubriand*, vol. viii, p. 475.) In 1836 he promised that the remainder of his life would belong to his young king. (*Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. vi, p. 345). But, with all his loyalty, he could not refrain from writing, in 1841, that "The old European order expires" . . . "the kings still hold the cards, but they hold them for the nations." . . . "Since the banner of the French kings exists no more, all modern society is deserting monarchy. To hasten the degradation of royal power, God has delivered the sceptres in various countries into the hands of sickly kings and little girls. . . ." (*Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. vi, p. 356, *et seq.*)

¹⁴⁷ Eugène Veuillot, *Louis Veuillot* (Paris, 1899); Tavernier, *Louis Veuillot* (Paris, 1913). The quotation is from Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. iii, pp. 38-43.

¹⁴⁸ This quotation is from the *Univers*, Veuillot's organ, Dec. 26, 1852, and is cited by A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les Catholiques libéraux* (Paris, 1885), p. 163.

¹⁴⁹ Pierre Marcel, *Essai politique sur de Tocqueville* (Paris, 1910), ch. ii-iii, especially p. 64.

¹⁵⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (tr. by Henry Reeve, N. Y., 1898), vol. i, pp. 384, 393.

¹⁵¹ Letter of Jan. 30, 1829, cited in Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les Catholiques libéraux*, p. 82.

¹⁵² Lacordaire, however, seems to have maintained certain mental reservations regarding Lamennais' philosophy. Cf. Chocarne, *Inner Life of the Very Rev. Père Lacordaire* (tr. from the French, Dublin, 1867), p. 93, *et seq.*

¹⁵³ Cf. Blaize, *Essai biographique sur M. F. de Lamennais* (Paris, 1858); E. Spuller, *Lamennais* (Paris, 1892); Boutard, *Lamennais, sa vie et ses doctrines* (Paris, 1905-8); Maréchal, *Lamennais et Lamartine* (Paris, 1907); Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les Catholiques libéraux*, p. 81, *et seq.*; Gibson, *Abbé de Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France* (London, 1896); A. Roussel, *Lamennais d'après des documents inédits* (3d. ed., Rennes, 1893); A. Feugère, *Lamennais avant l'essai sur l'indifférence* (Paris, 1906).

¹⁵⁴ As minister of the interior, Aug. 11, 1830; as minister of public instruction, Oct. 11, 1832.

¹⁵⁵ Debidour, *Histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état en France de 1789 à 1870* (Paris, 1898), part ii, ch. iii; Bourgain, *L'Église de France et l'état au XIX^e siècle*; G. Weill, *La France sous la monarchie constitutionnelle* (Paris, 1912); J. MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (St. Louis, 1910), vol. i, p. 59, *et seq.*; consult especially the memorandum presented to the pope by the editors of *L'Avenir*, reprinted in Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste*, p. 308, *et seq.*, for a contemporary description of the government's policy.

¹⁵⁶ The editors were Lamennais, Gerbet, Rohrbacher, Lacordaire, de Caux, Bartels, Montalembert, Daguerre, Ault-Duménil. Cf. Fesch, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

¹⁵⁷ G. Weill, *La France sous la monarchie constitutionnelle*, p. 147.

¹⁵⁸ Leroy-Beaulieu: *Les Catholiques libéraux*, p. 96. It should not be implied, however, that the editors were unanimously convinced that a democratic republic was the best possible form of government. Lamennais, for one, would have preferred a republic to the July Monarchy. At the time of the July Revolution he wrote to a friend,—“They are going to place the crown on the head of the duke of Orleans. The majority would prefer a republic, a republic frankly declared, and I am among that number.” The Orleanist monarchy, he believed, was only a compromise, the republican idea was bound to triumph and non-republican institutions would inevitably be overturned, perhaps by dangerous violence. Cf. Spuller, *Lamennais*, p. 172. Lacordaire, on the other hand, was a constitutional monarchist by predilection, and became a hesitant republican by necessity. In a letter to Montalembert, Oct. 9, 1839, he said, “We will not put our hope in the reestablishment of the ancient monarchy; no more must we put hope in the reestablishment of the old aristocracy. We can expect nothing except from new elements hidden in the palpitating bosom of modern peoples. . . . Democracy, born of the old society and thereby corrupted in its cradle, has already committed great faults and great crimes, but this new French people has been a product, not a cause; it has not yet possessed power long enough to be condemned forever. Moreover, it is the only strong element today. It is a vigorous child of an aged race; instead of wishing to curb it under the corrupted ferule of its fathers, Religion must elevate and enlighten it.” Cf. Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste*, pp. 60-61. *L'Avenir* did not openly condemn monarchy in principle, cf. Spuller, *Lamennais*, p. 178.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *Articles de l'Avenir* (7 vols., Louvain, 1830-1832).

¹⁶⁰ Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 422; Spuller, *Lamennais*, pp. 180-181.

¹⁶¹ Spuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-4.

¹⁶² Cf. Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome* (Paris, 1836) for Lamennais' own story of the episode; cf. also Leroy-Beaulieu, *Catholiques libéraux*, p. 101, *et seq.*; Spuller, *op. cit.*, ch. vi. The memorandum presented to the pope by the editors of *L'Avenir* is reprinted in Lamennais, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-89.

¹⁶³ *Bullarium Romanum* xix, pp. 126-132. Cf. F. Neilsen, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (translation, London, 1906), vol. ii, pp. 67 *et seq.*; the text of the encyclical is given in French and in Latin in Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome*, p. 318, *et seq.*

¹⁶⁴ Cardinal Pacca wrote Lamennais a personal letter informing him that the pope had been pained to see him discuss questions with which only the highest ecclesiastical authorities were capable of dealing, and that *L'Avenir's* advocacy of liberty of the press as positively desirable had astonished the Holy See. Cf. Spuller, *op. cit.*, 209; Neilsen, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 70; Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome*, pp. 32, 131, *et seq.*

¹⁶⁵ Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome*, p. 137.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Lamennais, *Paroles d'un croyant* (Paris, 1834), *passim*; *idem*, *Affaires de Rome*, p. 270, *et seq.*; Spuller, *Lamennais*, *passim*.

¹⁶⁷ Montalembert, whose mother was Irish, knew and admired O'Connell, the famous Irish leader, and possibly had O'Connell's example in mind. Cf. Weill, *La France sous la monarchie constitutionnelle*, p. 155; and, by the same author, *Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France* (Paris, 1909), p. 69, *et seq.*; J. T. Foisset, *Le Comte de Montalembert* (Paris, 1877).

¹⁶⁸ Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les Catholiques libéraux*, pp. 111, 118, 121-124.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142, *et seq.*

¹⁷⁰ Weill, *Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96. For further details regarding Maret, see G. Bazin, *Vie de Mgr. Maret* (2 vols., Paris, 1891).

¹⁷² Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste*, p. 62, *et seq.*

¹⁷³ Charles de Coux, although barely mentioned in this sketch, was an extremely interesting figure. He had been the acknowledged economist of *L'Avenir*. His theory that universal suffrage would help to ameliorate the condition of the workingman is an indication of his attitude toward democracy. Cf. Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 59-72, and also *supra*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64, *et seq.*, 87. Other signatories of the prospectus were Charles Sainte-Foy, Lorain, de Labaume, J. P. Tessier, and Gouraud.

¹⁷⁵ The success of the journal was immediate and its influence considerable. The circulation reached 20,000 in June, 1848. After the June Days, Lacordaire's lack of faith in the republic became so discordant with the democratic convictions of the other editors, of Maret particularly, that he resigned the office of editor-in-chief in Maret's favor, September 2, 1848. Lacordaire's own explanation of his retirement, as given in Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste*, p. 91, *et seq.*, shows clearly that while he accepted the republic he was not a convinced republican. As he himself said, he was not a republican of yesterday, but a republican of tomorrow; hope rather than principle was the basis of his republicanism, and hope was destroyed by the tragic events of June. Cf. Chocarne, *Inner Life of . . . Lacordaire*, ch. xvii; Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste*, p. 59, *et seq.*

¹⁷⁶ *Le Correspondant*, vol. xxi, p. 412. In a letter to M. Foisset, Feb. 22, 1848, Ozanam explained the phrase. "When I say 'let us go over to the side of the barbarians,' I do not mean go over to the side of the radicals. . . ." What he did mean, was to go over, "from the camp of the kings, of the statesmen of 1815, to the people." "And in saying 'let us go over to the barbarians,'" he continued, "I demand . . . that we concern ourselves with the people, who have too many needs and not enough rights, who rightly demand a more complete participation in public affairs as well as guarantees of work and against poverty,—the people, who have false leaders, but only because they cannot find good leaders. . . ." *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam* (Paris, 1873), vol. ii, p. 217, *et seq.*

¹⁷⁷ Letter to M. Prosper Dugas, March 11, 1849, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*, vol. ii, 251.

¹⁷⁸ MacCaffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 485-487. In strict accuracy, it should be said that Lacordaire was acclaimed by the crowds outside, rather than by the Assembly itself. Cf. Fesch, *Lacordaire journaliste*, p. 76 note, and Chocarne, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

¹⁷⁹ Lamartine's part in the great events of 1848 is described in much detail in his own *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (Leipzig, 1849). Cf. also, P. Quentin-Bauchart, *Lamartine, homme politique* (thesis, Paris, 1903); H. Remsen Whitehouse, *The Life of Lamartine* (2 vols., Boston, and New York, 1918); Émile Ollivier, *Lamartine* (Paris, 1874); L. de Ronchaud, *La Politique de Lamartine* (2 vols., 1878); L. Barthou, *Lamartine, orateur* (Paris, 1916); there are numerous other biographies. As regards social questions, Lamartine was opposed to *laissez-faire*, on one hand, and to socialism, on the other. He stood for the workingman's "right to work, or to state assistance in case of demonstrated necessity." Cf. his *Discours sur le droit au travail* (Paris, 1848); H. Michel, *L'Idée de l'état* (Paris, 1895), p. 330, *et seq.*; and Eva Sachs, *Les Idées sociales de Lamartine* (thesis, Paris, 1915).

¹⁸⁰ Dreyfus, *L'Assistance sous la seconde république* (Paris, 1907), pp. 211-212.

¹⁸¹ Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-4, gives this and additional evidence of the generality of Catholic approval. Cf. Henri Cabane, *Histoire du clergé de France pendant la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1908).

¹⁸² Cf. Chocarne, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-437. The pope himself wrote to Montalembert, expressing deep gratification that during the Revolution no injury had been offered to the Church.

¹⁸³ Fesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-67.

¹⁸⁴ Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (2 vols., Paris, 1870), ch. xi, xix-xxii; J. A. R. Marriott, *The French Revolution of 1848 in its Economic Aspect* (Oxford, 1913), vol. i, p. lxi, *et seq.*; Émile Thomas, *Histoire des ateliers nationaux* (Paris, 1848,—re-published as vol. ii of Marriott, *op. cit.*); Pierre de La Gorce, *Histoire de la seconde république française* (7th ed., Paris, 1914), vol. i, pp. 277-328.

¹⁸⁵ La Gorce, *Histoire de la seconde république*, vol. i, pp. 377-381, 389; and *Moniteur universel*, 1848, p. 1503. This event occurred on June 25, after the fighting had begun. Ozanam, one of the precursors of Social Catholicism mentioned in ch. i, wished to accompany the archbishop, but the latter refused to grant the request. Mgr. Affre induced the workingmen to discuss a truce, and the drums were beat to command silence, but the drum-call was misinterpreted and fighting was resumed. The unsuccessful mediator, mortally wounded, fell into the arms of a workingman and was taken to a nearby rectory. Louis Blanc (*Histoire de la révolution de 1848* vol. ii, p. 179) cites an affidavit by one of Mgr. Affre's companions stating that, so far as could be judged in the confusion, the archbishop was not shot by the defenders of the barricades.

¹⁸⁶ The losses on both sides were estimated at 16,000 by Lord Normanby, then British ambassador to France (Marriott, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. xcii). The prefect of police, however, placed the figure much lower,

probably too low; there had been 1,035 killed and 2,000 wounded, he said. La Gorce, a conservative historian, arrives at 3,000 as the approximate figure. (La Gorce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 393). Gustave Geoffroy, writing in *La Révolution de 1848, Bulletin de la société d'histoire de la révolution de 1848* (1904-1905, pp. 22-29), gives a "moderate" estimate of 12,000 dead and 25,000 arrests.

¹⁸⁷ A "state of siege" was maintained until the end of October, and Gen. Cavaignac was virtually dictator. Cf. Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, vol. xi, p. 20, *et seq.*; La Gorce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 405, *et seq.*; Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, vol. i, p. 184, *et seq.*; Marriott, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. xcii, *et seq.* Louis Blanc, who is, of course, a prejudiced witness, tells us that after the June Days, "the counter-revolution audaciously unfurled its flag"; Cavaignac's power, he says, was merely nominal, for "the true masters of the situation were MM. Thiers, de Falloux, de Montalembert, Odilon Barrot, Berryer: royalists." Of the Republic, "only the word remained." Though this may be exaggeration, it gives some idea of the bitter passions excited by the June Days,—passions fatal to democratic concord. Cf. also E. Dagnan, "La Réaction conservatrice" in *La Révolution de 1848, Bulletin de la société d'histoire de la révolution de 1848*, 1909-10, pp. 213-223, 290-313.

¹⁸⁸ Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, vol. xi, pp. 22-23; La Gorce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 458, *et seq.*; MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 237; Debidour, *Rapports de l'église et de l'état en France*, p. 494; A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les catholiques libéraux* (Paris, 1885), p. 165; Georges Renard, *La République de 1848* (*Hist. socialiste*, vol. ix, Paris, 1907), p. 124, *et seq.* Montalembert supported Louis Napoleon, and gave evidence of abandoning his earlier liberal views. In October, 1849, he wrote, "the kings have mounted their thrones again; liberty has not regained hers, she has not even regained the throne which she had in our hearts."

¹⁸⁹ Debidour, *op. cit.*, part ii, ch. v.; G. Weill, *Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France, 1828-1908*, p. 109, *et seq.*

¹⁹⁰ Cf. two articles by Am. Matagrif, entitled "Le Comité des cultes en 1848," in *La Révolution de 1848, Bulletin de la société d'histoire de la révolution de 1848*, 1905-1906, pp. 180-196, 245-256; the author holds that the development of anticlericalism among the French republicans was in large measure due to clerical aggression.

¹⁹¹ W. R. Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence* (Boston and New York, 1893), vol. ii, pp. 263, 288-293; L. C. Farini, *Lo Stato Romano dall'anno 1815 al 1850* (Florence, 1853), vol. iii, pp. 1-208; H. Reuchlin, *Geschichte Italiens* (Leipzig, 1859-1873), vol. iii, pp. 18-52.

¹⁹² La Gorce, *Histoire de la seconde république*, vol. ii, pp. 151-248; T. Delord, *Histoire du second empire* (5th ed., Paris, 1869), vol. I, pp. 141-150; Olliver, *L'Empire libéral* (Paris, 1895-1912), vol. ii, p. 220; Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 496, *et seq.*; E. Bourgeois and E. Clermont, *Rome et Napoléon III* (Paris, 1907); Farini, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 360, *et seq.*, vol. iv, *libro sesto*.

¹⁹³ Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 504-512, 701-718 (text of law). Cf. Leroy-

Beaulieu, *Les Catholiques libéraux*, ch. ix, and G. Weill, *Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France*, p. 102, et seq., regarding the effect of this law in disrupting the Catholic party.

¹⁹⁴ Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 519. Veuillot gave chief credit for the Rome expedition to Louis Napoleon himself,—cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.* p. 155 note.

¹⁹⁶ Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, ch. ix; Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 524, et seq.; La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire* (Paris, 1899-1905), vol. i, livre ii; Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 111, et seq.; Delord, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. ii, ch. v-vi.

¹⁹⁷ Foisset, *Vie du R. P. Lacordaire*.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Montalembert, *Des Intérêts catholiques au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1852); Lacanuet, *Montalembert, passim*; Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 161, et seq.; Debidour *op. cit.*, pp. 522, 532, 580, 582, et seq.; and an article by J. F. Jeanjean on "Montalembert, les catholiques et l'Empire en 1859," in *La Révolution de 1848, Bulletin de la société histoire de la révolution de 1848, 1913-1914*, p. 23, et seq.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 196, et seq.

²⁰⁰ Original text in Latin in *Acta et decreta concilii Vaticani* (Freiburg, 1871); in French translation, Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 719, et seq.; in English and Latin, Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (N. Y., 1878), vol. ii, pp. 213-233. On the effect of the Syllabus, consult Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, ch. xi; Debidour, *op. cit.*, part ii, ch. viii; Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 169, et seq.; Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*, vol. vii, p. 201, et seq.

²⁰¹ La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. ii, p. 97, et seq., vol. iv, p. 190; T. Delord, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. iii, p. 398.

²⁰² On his earlier career, cf. *supra*, ch. i, pp. 18-19.

²⁰³ Dreyfus, *L'Assistance sous la seconde République*, pp. 96-97.

²⁰⁴ From a speech before the Society of Charitable Economy, March 6, 1848,—cf. *Annales de la charité, quatrième année*, p. 65. It is interesting to compare this with a letter of June, 1850, in which Melun explained that what he hoped for in the republic was an opportunity to establish social legislation inspired by Christian charity, so that by merely opening the code of laws "one could recognize that Christianity was at the basis of our social legislation, and that the Gospel was our legislative alphabet. That was what attracted me, I admit, in the Republic, which seemed to discard all established principles, all official maxims, and promised to realize in this world, so far as possible, the divine commands. The monarchy, as it was formerly understood, had the advantages and the disadvantages of the theory upon which it rested: it placed itself between God and us, posing as intermediary between heaven and earth." This doctrine had the advantage of strengthening obedience to authority, but too often it forced the acceptance of evil. But the fiction of divine right monarchy had crumbled, and the people had assumed the right to choose the form of government considered most serviceable to their own interests. They had established a republic, but were already growing weary of it, and there were signs of reversion to monarchy, not monarchy by divine

right, Melun sarcastically observed, but monarchy for the protection of property.

²⁰⁵ *Correspondant*, Feb. 10, 1882, p. 446.

²⁰⁶ Dreyfus, *op. cit.*, p. 98, *et seq.*

²⁰⁷ *Correspondant*, Feb. 10, 1882, p. 449.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1882, p. 656.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 657; Dreyfus, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²¹² Article XIII of the constitution of 1848 is as follows: "The constitution guarantees to the citizens liberty of work and of industry. Society favors and encourages the development of labor by free primary instruction, vocational training, equality in the relationship between employer and workingman, institutions for providence and credit, agricultural institutions, voluntary association, and the establishment by the state, by the departments and by the communes, of public works designed to employ idle arms; it furnishes aid to abandoned infants, to the infirm and aged who are destitute of resources, and whose families cannot succor them."—Duguit and Monnier (ed.), *Les constitutions de la France*, p. 235.

²¹³ Melun's report, in *Moniteur universel*, 1840, p. 2197. Cf. also p. 2140.

²¹⁴ *Moniteur universel*, 1849, pp. 2304-2308.

²¹⁵ Dreyfus, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-127.

²¹⁷ *Correspondant*, Feb. 25, 1882, pp. 661-662.

²¹⁸ *De l'intervention de la Société pour prévenir et soulager la misère* (pamphlet, Paris, 1849). This pamphlet is a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *Annales de la charité* for 1849, pp. 337, *et seq.*, 401, *et seq.*

²¹⁹ In 1851 he reported a bill for such organization. The bill provided for the creation of a special council or board under the chairmanship of the minister of the interior to supervise the execution of the laws on public assistance of the poor. This council was to be composed of twenty members, including four delegates of the National Assembly, two of the Council of State, two of the court of appeal, one of the audit department, one of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and ten members appointed by the president of the Republic. In addition, each *département* was to have a committee on assistance of the poor; the departmental committee in each case would comprise the prefect, the bishop, a Protestant minister in *départements* where a Protestant church was recognized, a delegate of the court of appeals or of the court of first instance, and from four to six members chosen by the *conseil général* of the *département*. To these committees would be intrusted the task of supervising the various public institutions for poor relief, and the authority to grant recognition [implying the right to own property and receive bequests] to deserving institutions of private charity. The bill was never adopted. Cf. *Moniteur universel*, 1851, pp. 965-967.

²²⁰ Melun, *De l'Intervention de la Société pour prévenir et soulager la misère*. In summarizing Melun's ideas I have availed myself freely of the excellent exposition and discussion to be found in Dreyfus, *op. cit.*, p. iii, *et seq.*

²²¹ *Loi relative à l'assainissement des logements insalubres*, passed by the National Assembly on April 13, 1850, and duly promulgated, *cf. Moniteur universel*, April 23, 1850, p. 1317. The law gave the municipal council in each commune authority to appoint a committee for the inspection of housing conditions, and to require improvements where necessary. Buildings which could not be rendered healthful, might be condemned by the prefectural council. This bill had been presented by Melun.

²²² *Loi qui crée, sous la garantie de l'Etat, une caisse de retraites ou rentes viagères pour la vieillesse*, passed by the National Assembly on June 12, 1850, and duly promulgated,—*cf. Moniteur universel*, June 25, 1850, p. 2163. This was a scheme for voluntary insurance against old age; neither the state nor the employer was obliged to contribute. The amount of the annuity or pension was based on the amount of the premiums paid by the workingman, plus five per cent interest, taking into account his probability of life according to actuarial tables; in any case, the annuity could not exceed 600 francs.

²²³ *Loi sur les sociétés de secours mutuels*, passed by the National Assembly on July 15, 1850, and duly promulgated,—*cf. Moniteur universel*, July 20, 1850, p. 2479. Mutual aid societies having not fewer than 100 and not more than 2,000 members might under certain conditions be recognized as of public utility and be authorized to receive gifts and legacies not exceeding 1000 francs. Such societies were forbidden to promise old age pensions to their members, but they were allowed to grant temporary aid in case of sickness, accident, or infirmity, and to defray funeral expenses. Dues were to be fixed in accordance with actuarial tables prepared or approved by the government. The societies were to be subject to municipal surveillance.

²²⁴ *Loi sur l'éducation et le patronage des jeunes détenus*, passed by the National Assembly on Aug. 5, 1850 and duly promulgated,—*cf. Moniteur universel*, Aug. 13, 1850, p. 2813. Juvenile offenders were to receive moral, religious, and vocational training, and were to be kept apart from adult criminals. Under certain conditions they might be employed in penitentiaries.

²²⁵ *I. e.*, the revolving closets (*tours*), which were placed at the entrance to hospices, and in which foundlings might be deposited without observation. The foundlings left there were then cared for by charitable institutions. *Cf. Melun's report, Moniteur universel*, pp. 974, 1080.

²²⁶ *Loi sur les hospices et hôpitaux*, passed by the National Assembly on Aug. 7, 1851,—*cf. Moniteur universel*, Aug. 13, 1851, p. 2363.

²²⁷ *Loi relative aux contrats d'apprentissage*, passed by the National Assembly on Feb. 22, 1851, and duly promulgated,—*cf. Moniteur*

universel, March 4, 1851, p. 641. This was an important measure. By article 8, "the master must conduct himself towards the apprentice as a good father." He must not employ the apprentice on work unrelated to the trade, or work injurious to health, or work in excess of the boy's strength (art. 8). Apprentices less than fourteen years old might not work over ten hours a day; apprentices under sixteen might not work at night; no work was to be done on Sundays and legal holidays (art. 9). If the apprentice had not yet mastered the "three R's" he must be allowed two hours a day for instruction (art. 10). The master was legally obliged to give his apprentices full training in the trade (art. 12).

²²⁸ The reference is probably to a bill prepared by the Conseil général de l'agriculture, des manufactures et du commerce, cf. *Moniteur universel* 1850, pp. 1393, et seq., 1439, et seq., 1454 et seq.

²²⁹ From one of the series of biographical articles by G. Bagueault de Puchesse in the *Correspondant*, Feb. 25, 1882, p. 664. The list is not complete. Among other laws passed by the National Assembly,—and in some of these laws Melun took a very active interest,—might be mentioned the law of Feb. 3, 1851, on the provision of cheap or free public baths (*Moniteur universel*, Feb. 10, 1851, p. 429); the law of March 27, 1851, on repression of frauds in the sale of merchandise (*Moniteur universel*, April 2, 1851, p. 955); the law of May 21, 1851, emancipating the workingman from the veritable peonage which indebtedness to his employer sometimes brought about (*ibid.*, May 21, 1851, p. 1427); the law of Dec. 10, 1850, facilitating the marriage of paupers by reducing official fees (*ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1850, p. 3609); the law of Dec. 19, 1850, on usury (*ibid.*, Dec. 26-27, 1850, p. 3707); the law of Jan. 22, 1851, on free legal service (*ibid.*, Jan. 30, 1851, p. 303).

²³⁰ *Correspondant*, Feb. 25, 1882, p. 670.

²³¹ Report by M. Thiers, in the name of the commission on public assistance and provident institutions, Jan. 26, 1850, in *Moniteur universel*, 1850, p. 304, et seq. Thiers recommended the encouragement of miscellaneous charitable institutions and of mutual aid societies, the improvement of dwellings, etc.

²³² Quoted by Dreyfus, *op. cit.*, p. 141, from Melun's *Memoires*, vol. ii, p. 57, et seq.

²³³ *Correspondant*, Feb. 1882, p. 661.

²³⁴ Written in October, 1852, when Louis Napoleon was acclaimed with cries of "Vive l'Empereur." Quoted in *Correspondant*, Feb. 25, 1882, pp. 671-672.

²³⁵ Written in 1855. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1882, pp. 1099-1100.

²³⁶ *Correspondant*, March 25, 1882, p. 1091.

²³⁷ E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870* (2nd ed. Paris 1903-1904), vol. ii, p. 343; Émile Thomas, *Histoire des ateliers nationaux* (Paris, 1848), pp. 19-21; Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1870), vol. i, ch. vii.

²³⁸ Émile Thomas, *Histoire des ateliers nationaux*, p. 27; Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 382.

²³⁹ Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, ch. ii; Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, vol. i, pp. 136 *et seq.*; Fighiera, *La Protection légale des travailleurs en France* (Paris, 1913), vol. i, p. 64, *et seq.*

²⁴⁰ Louis Blanc, *L'Organisation du travail* (Paris, 1839).

²⁴¹ Louis Blanc, in his *Appel aux honnêtes gens* (Paris, 1849), definitely repudiates the "national workshops," and alleges that Émile Thomas, who was selected as director, was not only a stranger to him, but an indefatigable antagonist of his doctrines; see especially pp. 20-31. Émile Thomas, in his own account of the affair,—*Histoire des ateliers nationaux*,—shows clearly enough that he was no disciple of Louis Blanc (p. 323); his aim was not to apply Louis Blanc's theories, but to realize "the Saint-Simonian idea of semi-military organization of the workers" (p. 35). Cf. Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, ch. iii; J. A. R. Marriott, *The French Revolution of 1848 in its Economic Aspect* vol. i, p. lxix, *et seq.*; Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, vol. i, ch. xi, *passim*.

²⁴² Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 370, 372; Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de 1848*, vol. ii, ch. xix, p. 222.

²⁴³ Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, p. 351.

²⁴⁴ Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-308.

²⁴⁵ Cf. *supra*, ch. i, p. 26.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. i, pp. 8-9, and Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 84.

²⁴⁷ Pierre Leroux, *De l'Humanité* (Paris, 1840), and *De l'Égalité* (Paris, 1838), *passim*.

²⁴⁸ For example, see his *Organisation du travail* (5th ed., Paris, 1848), pp. 6-7.

²⁴⁹ Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 52, *et seq.*

²⁵⁰ *Correspondance de P. J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1875), vol. vi, pp. 110-11. Cf. Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 53; Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 339, *et seq.* Proudhon in his *Confessions d'un révolutionnaire* (new ed., Paris, 1876), says that there is an "eternal dilemma,"—"either no papacy, or no liberty" (p. 261). On the other hand, "Christianity is the best expression of religion, up to the present" (*ibid.*, p. 267).

²⁵¹ That the modern socialist movement in France is pronouncedly anticlerical, even anti-Christian, is a thesis hardly requiring documentation; but the reader who desires an explanation of this antagonism should consult the opinions expressed by leading socialists, in reply to a questionnaire or "Enquête sur l'anticléricalisme et le socialisme" in *Le Mouvement socialiste* of 1902; also, the article on "Socialisme et l'Église" in *La Revue socialiste*, 1903, vol. xxxviii, p. 35, *et seq.* On the other side of the controversy, *vide* Victor Cathrein, S. J., *Socialism* (translated from the German, New York, 1904), p. 204, *et seq.*

²⁵² Debidour, *Histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état en France de 1789 à 1870*, p. 518. Compare Montalembert's declaration with the view of the *Ere nouvelle*, that "there is an honest Christian socialism, and the Revolution in proclaiming itself social has yielded to a movement which is the very impulse of the evangelic spirit."—Joly, *Le Socialisme chrétien* (Paris, 1892), ch. iv.

²⁵³ Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. iii, pp. 51-69.

²⁵⁴ Augustin Cochin, *De la Condition des ouvriers français* (Paris, 1862), p. 29. Cf. also Cochin's pamphlets entitled *Lettre sur l'état du paupérisme en Angleterre* (Paris, 1854), and *Progrès des sciences et de l'industrie au point de vue chrétien* (Paris, 1863), as well as his *La Réforme sociale* (Paris, 1865), and *Études sociales et économiques* (Paris, 1880).

²⁵⁵ Vide J. Bourgeois, *Le Catholicisme et les questions sociales* (Paris, 1867), *passim*.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 191, *et seq.*

²⁵⁷ Huet, *Le Règne social du christianisme* (Paris, 1853).

²⁵⁸ Vide Huet, *Le Règne social du christianisme*, and Éblé, *op. cit.*, p. 31, *et seq.*

²⁵⁹ Frederic Le Play (1806-1882) began his career as a mining engineer. Between 1829 and 1853 he travelled extensively, making careful observations of social conditions. These observations he published in the form of thirty-six monographs on working-class families, under the title *Les Ouvriers européens* (1855). In 1864 appeared his second important work, *La Réforme sociale en France*,—an exposition of his theories,— and in 1877 an enlarged edition of his *Ouvriers européens*.

He enjoyed great prestige and exercised a certain influence upon the emperor. The Society for Social Economy was founded by him in 1856. After Le Play's death, divergent tendencies, leading to a definite schism, appeared among his followers. One school, organized in the Unions of Social Peace, and publishing the review *La Réforme sociale*, held firmly to Le Play's system. The other school, which publishes the review *La Science sociale*, follows Le Play's scientific method of careful observation, on a somewhat different basis, to be sure, but lays greater stress on the influence of geographic environment and regards the family of the American type, rather than of the English or Chinese type, as the desirable unit of social organization. Both schools are conservative and anti-socialist in their tendency. On Le Play see P. Ribot, *Exposé critique des doctrines sociales de M. Le Play* (Paris, 1882); Ch. de Ribbe, *Le Play d'après sa correspondance* (2nd ed., Paris, 1906); Auburtin, *Frédéric Le Play d'après lui-même* (Paris, 1906); H. Higgs, article on Le Play in *Harvard Quarterly Journal of Economics*, June, 1890; Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 71-92, 305-307; Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 572, *et seq.*; Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, pp. 23-25, 387-389; Éblé, *Les Ecoles catholiques etc.*, ch. ii; *L'Association catholique*, vol. xiii, pp. 559-579; obituary in *La Réforme sociale*, vol. iii, pp. 345-360, 410-412, 430-438, 474-482.

²⁶⁰ Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France* (6th ed.), vol. ii, pp. 302-305, vol. iii, p. 190, *et seq.*

²⁶¹ *Idem*, Cf. Calippe, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90; Éblé, *op. cit.*, p. 112, *et seq.*; Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

²⁶² Cf. Calippe, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 88-89; Éblé, *op. cit.*, p. 109, *et seq.*; Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, p. 577

²⁶³ Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France*, vol. iii, pp. 22-23.

²⁶⁴ E. Martin Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers*, (Paris, 1897), p. 619.

²⁶⁵ Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France*, vol. iii, p. 21.

²⁶⁶ Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁶⁷ Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France*, vol. iii, ch. 50, is especially interesting as embodying his doctrine on "patronage."

²⁶⁸ Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁶⁹ Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France*, vol. iv, p. 339. There should be democracy in the communes, aristocracy in the provinces, and monarchy in the national government.

²⁷⁰ V. Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France*, introduction; *Les Ouvriers européens* (2nd ed., Tours, 1878), vol. v, p. 528.

²⁷¹ Le Play, *L'Organisation du travail* (first ed., Tours, 1870), fourth ed., Tours, 1877, p. 201.

²⁷² Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France*, book i; *L'Organisation du travail*, ch. v.

²⁷³ Henri Charles Xavier Périn (1815-1905), a Belgian economist. He began his career as a lawyer at Brussels, but was called to fill the chair of public law in the Catholic University of Louvain, 1844. In 1845 he began to teach political economy, at the same institution. During the Second Empire period he exercised a steadily increasing influence over French Catholic thought, through his University lectures, his articles in French periodicals, and his books. Among his writings, the following works may be mentioned: *Les Économistes, les socialistes et le christianisme* (Paris, 1849); *Du Progrès matériel et du renoncement chrétien* (1850, a collection of articles first published in *Le Correspondant*, a French review); *De la Richesse dans les sociétés chrétiennes* (2 vols., Paris, 1861, second edition 1868); *Les Libertés populaires* (Paris, 1871); *Les Lois de la société chrétienne* (2 vols., Paris, 1875); *Le Socialisme chrétien* (Paris, 1879); *Les Doctrines économiques depuis un siècle* (Paris, 1880); *L'Association ouvrière* (pamphlet, Lille, 1881); *Mélanges de politique et d'économie* (Paris, 1883); *Le Patron, sa fonction, ses devoirs, ses responsabilités* (Paris, 1886); *Premiers principes d'économie politique* (Paris, 1895); *Premiers principes d'économie politique. Seconde édition, revue et complétée, suivie d'une étude sur le juste salaire d'après l'encyclique Rerum Novarum* (Paris, 1896).

²⁷⁴ Mgr. Fèvre, *Charles Périn, créateur de l'économie politique chrétienne* (Paris, 1903).

²⁷⁵ De Clercq, *Les Doctrines sociales en France*, vol. ii, p. 7.

²⁷⁶ Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 263.

²⁷⁷ Fèvre, *Charles Périn créateur de l'économie politique chrétienne*, p. 121.

²⁷⁸ Périn, *Les Lois de la société chrétienne*, especially *livre iv*.

²⁷⁹ Périn was not a partisan of absolute liberty, in the sense of individualism; what he advocated was liberty tempered by voluntary association and properly used in accordance with moral laws. Cf. *Le Socialisme chrétien*, p. 10.

²⁸⁰ Périn, *Le Socialisme chrétien*, (Paris, 1879), p. 32; *De la Richesse* (second ed.) vol. i, p. 141, vol. ii, p. 477, et seq.

²⁸¹ Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 264.

²⁸² Périn, *Le Socialisme chrétien*, p. 16.

²⁸³ Périn, *Premiers principes* (1st ed.) pp. 39-40.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Périn, *Les Économistes etc.*, ch. v; *De la Richesse*, vol. ii, p. 259, et seq.; *Premiers principes*, *passim*.

²⁸⁶ Cf. *Premiers principes*, p. 144, et seq.; *De la Richesse*, vol. ii, pp. 259-352; *Les Doctrines économiques*, p. 233; *Le Patron*, ch. iii, xi.

²⁸⁷ Metz-Noblat, *Les Lois économiques, résumé du cours d'économie politique fait à la faculté de droit de Nancy en 1865 et 1866* (Paris, 1867), p. xxii, et *passim*. These laws, he admits, are not absolutely inflexible.

²⁸⁸ Metz-Noblat, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially ch. xv and xxv; see also his *Analyse des phénomènes économiques* (Nancy, 1853), vol. i, ch. x.

²⁸⁹ Metz-Noblat, *Les Lois économiques*, p. xvii.

²⁹⁰ J. Rambaud, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, (Paris and Lyons, 1902), second edition, p. 295.

²⁹¹ Metz-Noblat, *Analyse des phénomènes économiques*, vol. i, ch. xxv, *Les Lois économiques*, ch. vii, xlii. After discussing the relative merits of state action and private charity for the relief of poverty, he concludes in favor of the latter.

²⁹² Metz-Noblat, *Les Lois économiques*, p. 726, et seq.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, ch. xxxiv.

²⁹⁴ Corbière, *L'Économie sociale au point de vue chrétien* (Paris, 1863), *passim*.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 225-230.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 273-291, 372-384.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 380, et seq.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 278, et seq.

²⁹⁹ Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social*, ch. i-ii.

³⁰⁰ Auguste Comte, the great positivist philosopher and sociologist, played an important rôle in denouncing revolution, in preaching social peace, in emphasizing the moral aspect of the social problem.

³⁰¹ *Journal des Économistes*, second series, vol. xv, p. 275.

³⁰² Quoted in Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 4. It must be remembered, however, that in practice Louis Napoleon promoted a number of legislative measures in the interest of the working-classes. Cf. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870*, vol. ii, livre vi, *passim*, especially pp. 828-836; P. L. Fournier, *Le second empire et la législation ouvrière* (Paris, 1911).

³⁰³ Jules Simon, *La Liberté* (Paris, 1857), second edition, vol. i, p. 204.

³⁰⁴ Jules Simon, *L'Ouvrière* (Paris, 1861), especially part iv, ch. i. See also his later books, *Le Travail* (Paris, 1866), and *L'Ouvrière de huit ans* (Paris, 1867).

³⁰⁵ Jules Simon, *La Liberté*, vol. ii, p. 126.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁰⁸ *Vide* Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, *Des Idées Napoléoniennes* (London, 1839); *Extinction du paupérisme* (Paris, 1844). On the social policy of the Second Empire, cf. Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, ch. i-vi; P. L. Fournier, *Le second empire et la législation ouvrière* (Paris, 1911); Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870*, vol. ii, livre vi; A. Thomas, *Le Second Empire* (in the *Histoire Socialiste*). For suggestions regarding the political philosophy of the Second Empire, see H. A. L. Fisher's lectures on *Bonapartism* (Oxford, 1908), or the more substantial works of Pierre de La Gorce, Taxile Delord, Émile Ollivier, and Jerrold.

³⁰⁹ Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral* (Paris, 1895-1912), vol. v, p. 8, et seq.; vol. vi, p. 154, et seq., and p. 248, et seq.; La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire* (Paris, 1899-1905), vol. iii, p. 457, et seq.; Debidour, *Histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état*, part ii, ch. vi-viii.

³¹⁰ Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*, vol. vi, p. 98, et seq., 157, et seq., 328, et seq.; La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. iv, p. 414, et seq.

³¹¹ Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*, vol. vi, p. 436, et seq., 574, et seq., vol. vii, p. 514, et seq., vol. ix, p. 58, et seq., 523, et seq.; La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. iv, p. 6, et seq., 308, et seq.; T. Delord, *Histoire du second empire* (Paris, 1869-1874), vol. iii, ch. ix-x; vol. iv, ch. iv; vol. v, ch. iv.

³¹² Debidour, *Histoire des rapports de l'église et de l'état*, p. 582.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 573. La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. iv, p. 134, et seq.; T. Delord, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. iii, p. 216, et seq.

³¹⁴ La Gorce, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. ii, p. 97, et seq., vol. iv, p. 190; T. Delord, *Histoire du second empire*, vol. iii, p. 398; cf. Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*, vol. xi, p. 557, et seq., vol. xii, p. 341, et seq. The Legitimist pretender consistently represented the traditional monarchy as the true protector of religion, as will be seen by consulting his letters, conveniently published in *Étude politique: M. le comte de Chambord, correspondance de 1841 à 1871* (Geneva, 1871).

³¹⁵ Summary of excerpts reprinted in *La Monarchie française: Lettres et documents politiques (1844-1907)* (Paris, 1907), pp. 202-207.

³¹⁶ *Lettre sur les ouvriers*, April 20, 1865, reprinted in full in *La Monarchie française*, pp. 84-91. As early as Jan. 12, 1855, the Count of Chambord had written:

"As regards labor associations, during recent years they have undergone a development which has by no means escaped my attention. By conforming to ideas of order, of morality, of mutual aid, by regularizing their existence under the tutelary authority of the laws and by avoiding, along with the abuses of monopoly which in another epoch led to the suppression of the old trades organizations, all that which might make them instruments of disorders and of revolutions, these associations will more and more constitute serious collective interests,

which will naturally have the right to be represented and heard in order that they may be sufficiently protected."

^{V.} *L'Association catholique*, 1882, vol. xiv, p. 147. Cf. E. Demolins, "Les Doctrines sociales de M. le comte de Chambord," in *La Réforme sociale*, 1883, vol. vi, pp. 289-292.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-91.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³²² Étienne Martin Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers*, (Paris, 1897), p. 538, *et seq.*

³²³ *La Monarchie française*, p. 91.

³²⁴ *Supra*, pp. 27-28.

³²⁵ This fact is recognized by writers of the most divergent social views. Cf. Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 141, *et seq.*; G. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France* (tr. from the French by J. C. Tarver, N. Y., 1912), vol. i, pp. 163-169; E. Zévort, *Histoire de la Troisième République* (Paris, 1899), vol. i, p. 208; Dubreuilh, *La Commune, 1871* (vol. xi of the *Histoire socialiste* edited by Jaurès), *passim*.

³²⁶ The events of the Commune are among the most controversial in French history, and consequently historians of the Commune differ radically not only in their general interpretation of the revolution but even in their statement of the facts, Cf. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, vol. i, ch. iii; Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune* (the second edition was not permitted to be published in French but was translated by E. M. Aveling as, *History of the Commune of 1871* (London, 1886); L. Fiaux, *Histoire de la guerre civile de 1871* (Paris, 1879); Maxime du Camp, *Les Convulsions de Paris* (4 vols., Paris, 1881); A. Bertrand, *Les Origines de la Troisième République* (Paris, 1911), pp. 50-130; B. Becker, *Geschichte und Theorie der Pariser revolutionären Kommune des Jahres 1871* (Leipzig, 1879); E. Lepelletier, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (2 vols., Paris, 1911-1912); Jules Claretie's quaintly illustrated *Histoire de la Révolution de 1870-1871* (Paris, 1872); Dubreuilh, *La Commune, 1871* (in the Jaurès series, Paris, 1908). Perhaps the most interesting source-material is found in the *Enquête parlementaire sur l'insurrection du 18 mars* (Versailles, 1872); Count Albert de Mun's testimony appears on pp. 275-277.

In particular, opinions differ as to the number of persons killed and executed. Hanotaux asserts that "Paris lost 80,000 citizens" (*op. cit.*, p. 228); Seignobos, in Lavis et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale* (Paris, 1901), vol. xiii, p. 7, mentions 17,000 killed; Lissagaray, p. 393, declares that 20,000 is no exaggeration; Lt. Col. Rousset, in 1871, *La Commune à Paris et en province* (Paris, 1912), p. 249, gives the losses of the Versailles army as 7,514 and, as regards the losses of the insurgents, mentions estimates running as high as 30,000 or 40,000 but considers these exaggerated. The conflict of opinions on this one point shows

how much uncertainty obscures the true history of the insurrection.

³²⁷ Bertrand, *Origines de la Troisième République*, pp. 118-127.

³²⁸ Jules Favre, *Discours parlementaires* (Paris, 1881), vol. iv, p. 85, et seq.

³²⁹ E. Levasseur, *Questions ouvrières et industrielles en France sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1907), p. 472.

³³⁰ Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 172; E. Martin-Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers*, p. 538, et seq. By article 414 of the penal code, as it existed before 1864, any coalition, whether on the part of employers for the purpose of lowering wages, or on the part of the laborers with a view of stopping work in a factory, was *ipso facto* a misdemeanor; the leaders were subject to a penalty of from two to five years' imprisonment, and their accomplices to imprisonment from six days to three months and a fine of from sixteen to 3,000 francs. In 1864 the article was amended, so that mere membership in such coalitions was not penalized, except in case of violence, assault, menaces, or fraudulent manœuvres.

³³¹ These words are taken from the speech of M. Aclouque, in the National Assembly, meeting of May 15, 1872. *Journal officiel*, May 16, 1872, p. 3277.

³³² *Rapport fait au nom de la commission d'enquête sur les conditions du travail en France*, par M. Ducarre, Aug. 2, 1875, in *Journal officiel*, November 15-22, 1875, pp. 9339, 9369, 9396, 9425, 9465, 9483, 9519, 9561. The quotation is from p. 9483. Another report on the conditions of the laboring classes was made at about the same time by Count de Melun, a brother of the philanthropist of the same name mentioned on an earlier page; this report is found in the *Journal officiel*, August 14, 1875, pp. 6788-6792. Neither report was discussed by the National Assembly; both concluded that little or nothing should be done to remedy the existing evils. There is an interesting analysis of the two reports, and a protest against their spirit, in the Social Catholic organ, *L'Association catholique*, 1876, vol. i, pp. 57-78.

³³³ *Vide*, Le Play's review, *La Réforme sociale* (from 1881) during this period, or the *Association catholique* (from 1876), or the *Revue Catholique des institutions et du droit* (from 1873), or Charles Périn *Le Socialisme chrétien* (Paris, 1879).

³³⁴ Hanotaux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 198-9, 218, 219, 222; Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

³³⁵ Charles Périn, *Le Socialisme chrétien*, p. 8, et seq.

³³⁶ *Association catholique*, vol. i, p. 13, et seq.; Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

³³⁷ A. Delaire, "Le Programme d'Action des Unions de la Paix sociale," in *La Réforme sociale*, vol. i, pp. 393-402.

³³⁸ Albert de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale* (Paris, 1908).

³³⁹ Grandmaison, "Le Comte Albert de Mun," in *Études publiées par des pères de la compagnie de Jésus*, October, 1914, vol. 141, p. 26. It is a curious circumstance that de Mun's grandfather was Helvetius, the famous materialist philosopher. For biographical material on de Mun, in addition to the autobiographical work, *Ma Vocation sociale*, already

cited, consult: A. de Mun, "Quatre années d'action sociale (1871-1875)," in *Le Correspondant*, Paris, 1908, vol. 233, new series vol. 197, pp. 449-474, 625-649; *idem*, *Discours* (7 vols., Paris, 1888-1904); *idem*, *Combats d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1908); A. Saint-Pierre, *Le Comte Albert de Mun* (Montreal, 1915); Eugène Tavernier, "Le Comte de Mun," in *Nineteenth Century and After*, London, 1915, vol. 77, pp. 409-420; G. de Grandmaison, "La dernière œuvre du comte Albert de Mun," in *Le Correspondant*, 1914, vol. 257, pp. 657-680; Lucien Degron, "M. le comte Albert de Mun et son œuvre," in *Revue de Lille*, 1910, année xxi, pp. 286-302; L. de Grandmaison, "Le Comte Albert de Mun," in *Études publiées par des pères de la compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1914, vol. 141, pp. 25-52; *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*, vol. iv, pp. 456-457.

³⁴⁰ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 2, et seq.

³⁴¹ Émile Keller, *L'Encyclique du 8 décembre 1864 et les principes de 1789, ou l'église l'état et la liberté* (1865); a revised edition was published in 1909 under the title, *Les Syllabus de Pie IX et Pie X, etc.* Keller represented the department of Haut-Rhin in the *Corps législatif* of the Second Empire.

³⁴² A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 13-14. On the German movement, Cf. *infra*, pp. 121-129.

³⁴³ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 17-36. The horror which he felt at the sight of the corpse-strewn working-quarters in the Belleville ward is expressed in *L'Association catholique*, vol. i, p. 91.

³⁴⁴ I have spelled his name as de Mun spells it in *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 60-62; Léonce de Grandmaison, in *Études*, vol. 141, p. 30, uses the spelling "Meignen." Cf. biographical article by Marolles in *L'Association catholique*, vol. xxxi, pp. 273-284, 414-424.

³⁴⁵ Otherwise and more properly styled the Congregation of Priests of the Mission; sometimes called also the Vincentians and the Lazarists. The order was founded by Saint Vincent de Paul in 1625 for work among the poorer classes in rural districts. This religious order is not to be confused with the lay Society of Saint Vincent-de-Paul, founded by Ozanam in 1833. Cf. "Mission, Congregation of Priests of the," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

³⁴⁶ The *Cercle des jeunes ouvriers* (founded in 1865) was an offshoot of a *patronage d'apprentis* or apprentices' welfare society, founded by the Brothers of Saint Vincent-de-Paul.— Cf. A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 57; Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale*, vol. iii, p. 108, et seq. René de La Tour du Pin, de Mun's close friend, had previously been induced to speak before the club.

³⁴⁷ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 62.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-66; *Discours* (fourth ed.), vol. 1, p. 13.

³⁴⁹ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 67-75. The first session of the committee was held in Vrignault's "humble chamber," Dec. 23, 1871. Vrignault was elected president, but de Mun seems to have been the active spirit. Cf. Lecanuet, *L'Église de France sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1907-10), vol. i, p. 394.

³⁵⁰ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 107.

- ³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-112; *Discours*, vol. i, pp. 21-32.
- ³⁵² Cf. A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 111, 295.
- ³⁵³ Hanotaux, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 218.
- ³⁵⁴ "Nous descendîmes la colline dans une ivresse de victoire."—A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 113.
- ³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-134.
- ³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- ³⁵⁷ "Vivre en travaillant, ou mourir en combattant." *Ibid.*, p. 140; cf. also Louis Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans, 1830-1840* (2 vols. in one, Brussels, 1847), vol. i, pp. 372-386, especially p. 385.
- ³⁵⁸ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 225-230.
- ³⁵⁹ Some 3,000 of the 18,000 members were recruited from the upper and middle classes. A. de Mun, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
- ³⁶⁰ Cf. Lecanuet, *L'Église de France*, vol. i, pp. 409-419; A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 278; Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 405; *L'Année sociale internationale, 1913-1914*, p. 42; *Revue sociale catholique*, vol. xvi, p. 184.
- ³⁶¹ "Regardez-le, il vous parle encore." A. de Mun, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- ³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 280.
- ³⁶³ *L'Année politique*, 1875, p. 292.
- ³⁶⁴ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 282, 283.
- ³⁶⁵ By the law of March 14, 1872. Cf. *supra*, p. 78.
- ³⁶⁶ MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i, pp. 255-256.
- ³⁶⁷ At a banquet in May, 1873, Vri gnault proclaimed the Counter-Revolution, and the leading members of the Association, uplifting their hands, swore to accomplish the regeneration of France (A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 193). Many times de Mun repeated this declaration of war against the Revolution, most notably perhaps at Chartres, September 8, 1878; "we are the implacable Counter-Revolution" (*ibid.*, p. 199).
- ³⁶⁸ Cf. the "Bases et plan général de l'Œuvre" (A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 291-294), and also de Mun's deliberate declaration of the principles of the Association: "To set over against the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which served as the basis of the Revolution, the proclamation of the Rights of God, which must be the foundation of the Counter-Revolution, and the ignorance or forgetfulness of which is the true cause of the evil which is bringing modern society to ruin; to investigate, in absolute obedience to the principles of the Catholic Church and to the infallible teaching of the Sovereign Pontiff, all the consequences which naturally result, in the social order, from the full exercise of this right of God over societies; to propagate—by means of an indefatigable public apostolate—the doctrine thus established; to form men determined to adopt it as the rule of their public as well as of their private life; and to demonstrate its application in the Association by the devotion of the directing class to the popular class; to toil without respite for the purpose of infusing these principles and doctrines into custom, and of creating an organized force capable of making them triumph, to the end that they may find

their expression in the laws and in the institutions of the nation; such should be the spirit and aim of our Association. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 285).

³⁶⁹ The translation does not exactly express the sense of the original phrase, "*le dévouement de la classe dirigeante à la classe populaire*,"—A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 285, 83-84. In later years the ideal became more democratic, and a readjustment was necessary. In January, 1912, for example, we find de Mun declaring before the General Assembly of the Association,—“The Club should not be a prolonged *patronage*, where the authority of the director suffices for all things, regulates all things, decides all things, but a veritable labor association, governed, administered, by its members themselves. This was indeed in our minds at the origin, and the regulations of the Clubs bore the trace of this very sincere thought. But, forty years ago, no one would have dared, no one would have thought it possible, without danger, to follow out the idea completely.” Hence, the Association had tended too strongly to aristocracy rather than democracy. “The workingmen’s initiative, the sense of responsibility which results from self-government, have been almost inevitably stifled by customs, by prejudices, by the rules imposed.” In 1912, therefore, de Mun was proposing more democracy for the Clubs. “That is the great reform which I should demand. . . . We love the workingmen with a loyal and disinterested heart. I demand that we should love them more fraternally than paternally,”—*Le Gaulois*, Jan. 29-31, 1912. The aristocratic conception of the Association, at the outset, is simply another illustration of the general fact that, in the nineteenth century, bourgeois liberalism was attacked both by reactionary feudal nobles and by revolutionary workingmen, and that the nobles in many cases assumed the rôle of championing the working-classes against bourgeois exploitation. Members of the feudal aristocracy played a very important and a very laudable part in promoting early factory legislation; merely to mention Lord Ashley’s name is proof enough.

³⁷⁰ Many other officers were interested in the Association, among them: General Borson, Colonel Léon, Captain de Parseval, Captain de Langalerie, Captain de Roquefeuil, Captain Récamier, Captain de Hennezel. Cf. Lecanuet, *L’Église de France*, vol. i, p. 398. The *Plan général de l’Œuvre* aims to protect the patriotism as well as the faith of the workingmen.—Cf. A. de Mun, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-294, and compare with the “Appeal to Men of Good Will,” *supra*, p. 83.

³⁷¹ A. de Mun, *op. cit.*, p. 210. In another place, he admits, “Although strangers to politics, we were for the most part supporters of the Extreme Right,”—*ibid.*, p. 272.

³⁷² Léon Grégoire (Georges Goyau) *Le pape, les catholiques et la question sociale* (Paris, 1893), edition of 1895, p. 14. M. Goyau was and is a prominent figure in the more democratic wing of the French Social Catholic movement. Cf. obituary of Chambord in *L’Association catholique*, vol. xvi, pp. 351-353.

³⁷³ Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, vol. ii, pp. 48-49, 266-275, 475-483, vol. iii, pp. 124-194, 283-362, 446-471.

³⁷⁴ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 274.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

³⁷⁶ At that moment Gambetta was proclaiming his campaign to free "the country of Voltaire" from the "retrograde and theocratic spirit,"—Lecanuet, *L'Eglise de France*, vol. i, p. 491.

³⁷⁷ A. de Mun, *Discours*, vol. ii. p. 2; *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 312. This electoral address should be compared with Marshal MacMahon's presidential proclamation to the electorate: "I appeal to the united action of those who place defense of the social order, respect of the laws, devotion to the nation, above the memories, the aspirations, and the engagements of parties." The president urged the nation to defeat those who menaced its internal security "by the propagation of anti-social doctrines and revolutionary programs,"—*cf. Année politique*, 1876, pp. 4-5.

³⁷⁸ *Annual Register*, 1876, p. 141; *Journal officiel*, March 24, 1876, p. 2053, *et seq.* Free-Masonry had been assailed by de Mun at Havre, Jan. 15, 1876, as "a supreme effort of Satan against Jesus Christ,"—*Discours*, vol. i, p. 168.

³⁷⁹ *Journal officiel*, March 25, 1876, p. 2087, *et seq.*

³⁸⁰ *Journal officiel*, March 24, 1876, p. 2056.

³⁸¹ *Journal officiel*, March 24, 1876, p. 2055, and June 21, 1876, p. 4351.

³⁸² *Journal officiel*, March 25, 1876, p. 2089.

³⁸³ *Journal officiel*, March 25, 1876, p. 2089; *Année politique*, 1876, p. 96.

³⁸⁴ *Journal officiel*, June 21, 1876, pp. 4348-4360.

³⁸⁵ *Journal officiel*, July 14, 1876, pp. 5130-5145.

³⁸⁶ De Mun's speech in the Chamber, June 3,—*Journal officiel*, June 4, 1876, p. 3840, *et seq.* The Guichard report,—*Journal officiel*, June 21, 1876, pp. 4353-4360,—on clerical influence in the elections of 1876, shows the spirit of the men who pronounced de Mun's election invalid.

³⁸⁷ *Dictionnaire des parlementaires*, vol. iv, p. 457.

³⁸⁸ *Journal officiel*, March 28, 1878, pp. 3564-3570.

³⁸⁹ *Journal officiel*, Feb. 22, 1878, p. 1856, *et seq.* This speech was delivered in the course of a debate on the suppression of the *bourses des séminaires*.

³⁹⁰ *Journal officiel*, Feb. 22, 1878, p. 1859.

³⁹¹ *Journal officiel*, May 5, 1877, p. 3284.

³⁹² *Journal officiel*, Feb. 19, 1878, p. 1728.

³⁹³ *Journal officiel*, Feb. 22, 1878, p. 4862.

³⁹⁴ *Journal officiel*, Nov. 16, 1878, pp. 10661, 10664.

³⁹⁵ *Journal officiel*, March 25, 1878, pp. 3447, 3564-3570; Nov. 7, 1878, pp. 10261, 10386-10408; Nov. 16, 1878, p. 10661, *et seq.* After the decision of the Chamber, Nov. 16, 1878, that his election had been invalid, de Mun once more contested the Pontivy seat, Feb. 2, 1879, this time unsuccessfully, being narrowly defeated by the Republican Le Maguet. He then threw himself enthusiastically into extra-parliamentary campaigns against anticlericalism. *Cf. Dictionnaire des parlementaires*, vol. iv, p. 457; Saint-Pierre, *Le comte Albert de Mun*, pp. 43-44. He was elected to the Chamber in August, 1881, as representative of a

new electoral district carved from the former district of Pontivy, and was reelected in 1885 and 1889. In 1893 he suffered defeat, but the following January found him again in parliament as deputy from the second district of Morlaix, and from 1894 to the time of his death, in 1914, he was continuously reelected. Cf. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires*, *loc. cit.*

³⁹⁶ After the death of the Count of Chambord, the Legitimist pretender, in 1883, de Mun became one of the leading supporters of the Orleanist candidate for the throne, the Count of Paris; but he seems to have been somewhat out of place in the Orleanist party. In 1885 he attempted to found a Catholic party, but was discouraged by the papal nuncio. Later, in 1888, he gave his support to Boulanger. After the Boulanger episode, he was suspected of abandoning monarchism. In 1892 he became a leader in the movement for acceptance of the republic. Cf. A. de Mun, *Les derniers jours du drapeau blanc* (Paris, 1910); L. de Grandmaison, "Le comte Albert de Mun," in *Études*, Oct., 1914, vol. 141, pp. 25-52.

³⁹⁷ *Discours*, vol. ii, p. 387, *et seq.*; *Le Temps*, March 9, 1881.

³⁹⁸ "Rapport fait au nom de la commission d'enquête parlementaire sur les conditions du travail en France" in the *Journal officiel*, Nov. 5-22, 1875, pp. 9339, 9369, 9396, 9425, 9465, 9483, 9519, 9561.

³⁹⁹ "Rapport fait au nom de la commission chargée d'étudier la situation des classes ouvrières en France, par M. le comte de Melun," *Journal officiel*, July 27, 1875, pp. 6788-6792.

⁴⁰⁰ *Journal officiel*, 1874, p. 3697, *et seq.* For the debate, see *Journal officiel*, 1874, p. 3381, *et seq.* The bill was pushed through by Ambroise Joubert, a monarchist and capitalist, and is usually known as the Joubert Bill.

⁴⁰¹ *Journal officiel*, Jan. 24, 1873, p. 511.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 1873, pp. 911, 1008.

⁴⁰³ Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, vol. iii, pp. 463, 471.

⁴⁰⁴ Jean E. Laroche-Joubert (1820-1884) inherited part ownership in a paper manufactory, which he directed, and in which he instituted a system of profit-sharing. After the fall of the Empire, his political sympathies were with the Bonapartists. He held a seat in the Chamber of Deputies from 1876 to 1884. Cf. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*, vol. iii, p. 598.

⁴⁰⁵ *Journal officiel*, June 24, 1876, p. 4476, *et seq.* The debate was opened on June 23.

⁴⁰⁶ *Journal officiel*, June 24, 1876, p. 4476.

⁴⁰⁷ *Journal officiel*, June 24, 1876, p. 4477. These words closed the debate.

⁴⁰⁸ Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, vol. iv, pp. 516-529, 540.

⁴⁰⁹ *L'Association catholique*, vol. ix, p. 975.

⁴¹⁰ For the text and history of the Bill see *Sénat, 1881, Documents*, p. 733, *et seq.*; cf. *Association catholique*, 1881, vol. xi, p. 543, *et seq.*

⁴¹¹ *Chambre des députés, 1881, Débats*, pp. 667-668.

⁴¹² It is not to be inferred that all Republicans opposed the Bill. The Bill had been presented by Republicans of socialist tendency and

was ardently defended by them. *Vide*, the speech by Martin Nadaud, *ibid.*, p. 599, *et seq.* But Nadaud represented a minority opinion.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 595-599.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 611.

⁴¹⁵ *Chambre des députés, 1881, Débats*, p. 677, *et seq.*

⁴¹⁶ *Cf. infra*, p. 110. The texts will be found in *Sénat, 1881, Documents*, p. 733, *et seq.*, and *Chambre des députés, 1881, Débats*, p. 676.

⁴¹⁷ *Vide, Sénat, 1881, Documents*, p. 733, *et seq.* The Bill was not passed by the Senate.

⁴¹⁸ *Chambre des députés, 1881, Débats*, p. 677, *et seq.*

⁴¹⁹ *Cf. supra*, pp. 70-74.

⁴²⁰ Bréda, "La Question ouvrière et le gouvernement chrétien," in *L'Association catholique, 1882*, vol. xiv, p. 133, *et seq.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² The passage is quoted from a letter written by Chambord in 1847. *Ibid.*

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ *Appel aux hommes de bonne volonté*, issued by the committee for the creation of Catholic Workingmen's Clubs, in December, 1871, and reproduced in A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 72-75.

⁴²⁵ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 110; *Discours*, vol. i, pp. 21-32.

⁴²⁶ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 194.

⁴²⁷ A. de Mun, *Discours*, vol. i, p. 181.

⁴²⁸ Count de Mun's speech at the General Assembly of the Association of Catholic Workingmen's Clubs, 1878, published in *L'Association catholique*, vol. v, pp. 925-939; see especially p. 930.

⁴²⁹ A. de Mun, speech at Chartres, Sept. 8, 1878; *cf. L'Association catholique*, vol. vi, pp. 624-633.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, *Cf. L'Association catholique*, vol. vi, pp. 587-593.

⁴³² *Ibid.*

⁴³³ Speech at the General Assembly of the Association of C. W. C., May 4, 1879, published in *L'Association catholique*, vol. vii, pp. 904-1009.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ De Mun conceived that the aristocracy, as a disinterested third party, should be the "negotiators of peace" between capitalists and workingmen, "the artisans of social reconciliation." *Cf.* A. de Mun, *Discours*, vol. i, p. 378.

⁴³⁷ A. de Mun, *Discours*, vol. i, p. 378.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ A. de Mun, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 403.

⁴⁴⁰ A bill to legalize *syndicats* (unions of workingmen or employers in the same branch of industry) had been adopted by the Chamber of Deputies in June, 1881, amended by the Senate, and returned to the Chamber. The second debate in the Chamber, beginning June 12, 1883, is the one referred to. *Cf. Journal officiel, 1880*, p. 11677; *Chambre*

des députés, 1881, *Documents*, p. 361; *Chambre des députés, 1881, Débats*, pp. 516, 910, 917, 956, 972, 996, 1160, 1170; *Sénat, 1882, Débats*, pp. 688, 706, 748, et seq., 775 et seq., 790 et seq., 801 et seq., 847, 980, et seq.; *Chambre des députés, 1882, Documents*, p. 2626; *Chambre des députés, 1883, Débats*, pp. 513, 1276, et seq., 1312, et seq., 1330, et seq., 1346, et seq.

⁴⁴¹ June 12, *Chambre des députés, 1883, Débats*, p. 1277, et seq. See also his second speech, June 19, *idem*, p. 1356, et seq.

⁴⁴² *Chambre des députés, 1883, Débats*, p. 1283, et seq.

⁴⁴³ *Chambre des députés, 1884, Débats*, p. 33.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190, et seq.

⁴⁴⁵ *Chambre des députés, 1884, Débats*, p. 2076.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1388, et seq.

⁴⁴⁷ Article by Grandmaison in *Études*, vol. 141, p. 42; Saint-Pierre, *Le Comte Albert de Mun*, pp. 47-50. The death of the Legitimist pretender in 1883 had left de Mun politically stranded, so to speak; moreover, the Catholic successes in the election of 1885 had encouraged him to hope that by emulating the Belgian Catholic party and the German Center party, the French clericals might stem the tide of republican anticlericalism.

⁴⁴⁸ By repealing the divorce law.

⁴⁴⁹ By revision of the articles in the Civil Code which tended to the division and, consequently, the destruction of family properties.

⁴⁵⁰ Saint-Pierre, *loc. cit.* This program represents de Mun's idea of the social legislation which Catholics could be induced to advocate, at that time. It does not represent the maximum development of his own proposals. In fact, the Bills presented by him in 1886-1889 contain definitive proposals of a much more radical nature. Cf. *infra*, p. 111.

⁴⁵¹ Grandmaison, *loc. cit.*, Saint-Pierre, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵² Law of Sept. 9, 1848, Cf. R. Figliera, *La Protection légale des travailleurs en France*, pp. 73-87; P. Pic, *La Protection légale des travailleurs* (Paris, 1909), pp. 77-79.

⁴⁵³ *Chambre des députés, 1886, Documents*, p. 1073, et seq.

⁴⁵⁴ *Chambre des députés, 1886, Documents*, p. 1738.

⁴⁵⁵ *Chambre des députés, 1886, Documents*, p. 891, et seq.

⁴⁵⁶ Bills presented June 16, 1887, and Dec. 7, 1889. *Chambre des députés, 1887, Documents*, p. 903, et seq., and 1889, *Documents*, p. 273, et seq.

⁴⁵⁷ Bill presented on Dec. 7, 1889. *Chambre des députés, 1889, Session extraordinaire, Documents*, p. 270, et seq.

⁴⁵⁸ *Chambre des députés, 1889, Documents*, p. 268, et seq.

⁴⁵⁹ *Chambre des députés, 1889, Session extraordinaire, Documents*, p. 272.

⁴⁶⁰ *Chambre des députés, 1889, Débats*, p. 241, et seq.

⁴⁶¹ *Chambre des députés, 1891, Débats*, pp. 129, 185, 208, 214, 215, 235.

⁴⁶² Reply to an official questionnaire regarding the Val-des-Bois works, *vide L'Association catholique*, vol. v, p. 682, et seq.

⁴⁶³ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xvii, p. 536, et seq.

⁴⁶⁴ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 245.

⁴⁶⁵ *Manuel d'une corporation chrétienne* (Tours, 1876).

⁴⁶⁶ *Catéchisme du patron: élaboré avec le concours d'un grand nombre de théologiens; édité par L. Harmel* (Paris, 1889).

⁴⁶⁷ The following description of the Val-des-Bois Guild and discussion of its principles is based on the works of Harmel already cited, and also "La Démocratie dans l'usine," in *La Démocratie chrétienne*, 1903; *Le Val-des-bois: situation actuelle, juin, 1895*, (Rheims, 1895); *Fortnightly Review*, Jan. 1896; Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale*, vol. iii, pp. 133-143; Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, pp. 291-299; "L'usine du Val-des-Bois; Enquête . . . exposition du ministère de l'Intérieur," a reply to a questionnaire, in *L'Association catholique*, vol. v, p. 682, et seq.; *Revue de l'Action Populaire*, Jan. 10, 1914, pp. 14-22, Feb. 10, pp. 121-130, March 20, pp. 210-217, April 10, pp. 263-270, a series of articles entitled "La Famille ouvrière du Val-des-Bois," by J. Dassonville.

⁴⁶⁸ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 245.

⁴⁶⁹ *Manuel d'une corporation chrétienne* (Tours, 1876). Cf. *L'Association catholique*, vol. iv, p. 455.

⁴⁷⁰ From Harmel's report at the Bordeaux congress,—*Association catholique*, vol. ii, p. 456. In the Manual, he gave a shorter definition of the guild as "a religious and economic society formed freely by the heads of industrial families (employers and workmen of the same industrial group or of analogous professions) all the members of which are grouped in various pious associations." *Manuel d'une corporation chrétienne*, p. 193.

⁴⁷¹ *L'Association catholique*, vol. iv, p. 372, et seq.

⁴⁷² A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 246.

⁴⁷³ Reproduced as "Annexe XIII," pp. 308-309, in de Mun, *op. cit.* For evidence that this was not a purely platonic resolution, vide *Année sociale internationale*, 1913-1914, p. 39, et seq.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 104.

⁴⁷⁵ The monthly review, *L'Association catholique*, which served as an organ for the group of Social Catholic leaders interested in the Association, teemed with such articles.

⁴⁷⁶ This is not to say that von Ketteler was the first, but, rather, that he was the first great figure in the German Social Catholic movement. Before him, Adolph Kolping (1813-1865), a priest of working-class origin, had been very active in founding Journeymen's Unions (*Gesellenvereine*), somewhat similar to de Mun's Workingmen's Clubs. At the time of Kolping's death, in 1865, there were about 400 of these unions. Cf. *L'Association catholique*, vol. i, pp. 402-406.

⁴⁷⁷ On von Ketteler's life and social ideas, consult Pfülf, *Bischof von Ketteler* (3 vols., Mainz, 1899); E. de Girard, *Ketteler et la question ouvrière* (Berne, 1896); Goyau, *Ketteler* (Paris, 1907); J. Lionnet, *Un Evêque social, Ketteler* (Paris, 1903); A. Kannengieser, *Ketteler et l'organisation sociale en Allemagne* (Paris, 1894); John J. Laux (Geo. Metlake, pseud.), *Christian Social Reform: program outlined by its pioneer, William Emmanuel, baron von Ketteler, bishop of Mainz* (Philadelphia, 1912); Rev. C. D. Plater, *Catholic Social Work in Germany* (Herder, 1909).

⁴⁷⁸ Max Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, p. 4.

⁴⁷⁹ This is von Ketteler's interpretation of the Thomist doctrine. The sermons were published under the title, *Die grossen sozialen Fragen der Gegenwart* (Mainz, 1849); the remarks here quoted are found on pp. 12, 17, 25-26, of the pamphlet.

⁴⁸⁰ Despite the burden of his duties as bishop of Mainz (1850).

⁴⁸¹ *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christenthum*.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, (third ed., Mainz, 1864), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23, and appendix ii, p. 171, *et seq.*

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-20.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (London, 1899), p. 136, *et seq.* Four lectures by Schulze-Delitzsch, bound together under the title *Die Arbeit* (Leipzig, 1863), afford an interesting expression of the spirit in which his plan was conceived.

⁴⁸⁶ W. E. von Ketteler, *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christenthum*, p. 32, *et seq.*

⁴⁸⁷ W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (London, 1899), p. 205; Ed. Bernstein (ed.), *Ferdinand Lassalles Reden und Schriften* (Berlin, 1892), vol. i, p. 131, *et seq.*, and vol. iii, pp. 1-261, especially pp. 221-238, in which Lassalle attacks Schulze-Delitzsch.

⁴⁸⁸ W. E. von Ketteler, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-87.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138, *et seq.*

⁴⁹⁰ G. Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse: le catholicisme* (Paris, 1909), vol. iii, p. 135, *et seq.*

⁴⁹¹ W. E. von Ketteler, *Die Arbeiterbewegung und ihr Streben im Verhältniss zu Religion und Sittlichkeit*, a speech delivered on July 25, 1869, (second ed., Mainz, 1869).

⁴⁹² G. Goyau, *Ketteler*, pp. 226-237; Kannengieser, *Ketteler*, pp. 66-67.

⁴⁹³ W. E. von Ketteler, *Die Katholiken im Deutschen Reiche; Entwurf zu einem politischen Programm* (Mainz, 1873).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80, *et seq.*

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 86, *et seq.*

⁴⁹⁷ Franz Christoph Ignaz Moufang (1817-1890). See his biography in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, liii, 486-8.

⁴⁹⁸ Moufang proposed that the state should institute a commission of magistrates and workmen to fix a just wage for each category of labor, and to enforce its decisions. Cf. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 142.

⁴⁹⁹ *Christlich-Soziale Blätter*, March, 1871.

⁵⁰⁰ Franz Hitze (1851-). *Vide Deutsches Zeitgenossenlexikon* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 615.

⁵⁰¹ *Die Sociale Frage und die Bestrebungen zu ihrer Lösung* (Paderborn, 1877); *Kapital und Arbeit und die Reorganisation der Gesellschaft* (Paderborn, 1880); *Die Quintessenz der Socialen Frage* (pamphlet, Paderborn, written in 1880); *Schutz dem Handwerke* (Paderborn, 1883); *Pflichten und Aufgaben der Arbeitgeber in der Arbeiterfrage* (Cologne, 1888); *Schutz dem Arbeiter* (Cologne, 1890); *Die Arbeiterfrage und die Bestrebungen zu ihrer Lösung* (Berlin, 1899); *Zur Würdigung der deutschen Arbeiter-Sozialpolitik* (München-Gladbach,

1913); besides many articles in *Arbeiterwohl*, *L'Association catholique*, *Christlich-Soziale Blätter*, and other Social Catholic periodical publications, and "Die Arbeiter-Sozialpolitik," in *Deutschland unter Kaiser Wilhelm II* (Berlin, 1914).

⁵⁰² Franz Hitze, *Capital et travail et la réorganisation de la société* (an enlarged edition of *Die Soziale Frage*, in French, Louvain, 1898), ch. ii, and p. 37.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. i, v, vi, vii.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. x-xv.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Hitze's three bills of March 5, 1887, to amend the *Gewerbeordnung* or factory code, in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages, VII Legislaturperiode, I Session 1887, Dritter Band, Erster Anlageband, Nr. 21*, pp. 281-282, *Nr. 22*, pp. 282-284, *Nr. 23*, pp. 284-285, and his speeches on these bills, March 16, June 8, June 14, 1887, in *Stenographische Berichte, VII Legislaturperiode, I Session 1887, Erster Band*, pp. 127-130, 780-783, 964, 966. Also, a bill presented on Nov. 25, 1887, by Hitze and other deputies, in *Stenographische Berichte, VII Legislaturperiode, II Session 1887-1888, Dritter Band, Erster Anlageband, Aktenstück Nr. 21*, pp. 148-150, and discussion, in *Erster Band*, pp. 477, 1182, 1184, 1192, 1193. Also, a bill by Lieber and Hitze, in *op. cit.*, *Dritter Band, Erster Anlageband, Nr. 54*, pp. 295-296, with discussion, *Erster Band*, pp. 905, 1245, 1253, 1356. Also, Hitze's emphatic speech of May 20, 1890, favoring the legal enforcement of Sunday, the progressive diminution of the working-day, restriction of woman-labor, and the legal organization of labor, *Stenographische Berichte, VIII Legislaturperiode, I Session 1890-1891, Erster Band*, pp. 179-185. In the last-mentioned speech he proposed the legal institution of a form of labor organization resembling the "shop committee" so much discussed at present.

⁵¹⁰ On Nov. 20, 1884, to cite one instance, Freiherr von Hertling with several of his colleagues and a large number of supporters or seconders, introduced a resolution to the following effect:—"Be it resolved by the Reichstag: that the federated governments be requested to lay before the Reichstag, if possible in this session, a bill relative to the further development of the legislation for the protection of the laborer, in which (1) work on Sundays and holidays shall be forbidden, subject to special exceptions to be precisely defined, (2) child-labor and woman-labor in factories shall be restricted, (3) the maximum working-day for adult male workers shall be regulated." *Stenographische Berichte, VI Legislaturperiode, I Session 1884-1885, Fünfter Band*, p. 80.

⁵¹¹ F. Salomon, *Die deutschen Parteiprogramme* (Leipzig, 1912, second ed.), vol. ii, pp. 23, 38-45. Cf. also Wenzel, *Arbeiterschutz und Centrum*.

⁵¹² Alphonse Thun, in *Die Industrie am Niederrhein und ihre Ar-*

beiter, *Erster Theil: die linksrheinische Textilindustrie* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 197-198, gives interesting testimony to this effect: "with the Kulturkampf, a new principle appeared in the formation of parties: the weavers of Rhenish Prussia had to take a position on a question toward which they had hitherto been neutral. The social conflict between manufacturers and laborers subsided; to it was joined a new conflict, between clericals and liberals. The liberal party appeared as the organization of manufacturers and anticlericals, the Center party as the organization of workingmen and clergy. More than ever the clergy, hostile to the liberal manufacturers, were thrown back upon the people. The weavers are the adepts of ultramontanism less because it is a religious party than because it has become a social party."

For this illuminating quotation I am indebted to the excellent chapter on the social movement among German Catholics, in G. Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse: le catholicisme*, vol. iii (Paris, 1909), chapter ii, pp. 85-166.

⁵¹³ V. Brants, "La Réglementation du travail industriel en Autriche," in *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. vii, 1889, pp. 165-175; cf. *L'Association catholique*, vol. xv, p. 468, vol. xvi, pp. 233-234, vol. xviii, pp. 662-669.

⁵¹⁴ His program is set forth in an article entitled, "La Réforme sociale et le programme antisémitique," in *L'Association catholique*, vol. xxxii, pp. 164-173, 199-207; cf. de Bréda, "Le Prince de Lichtenstein et la question sociale," in *L'Association catholique*, vol. vi, pp. 238-250, 402-416, and *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. vii, p. 226.

⁵¹⁵ See Vogelsang's articles in *Monatsschrift für christliche Social-Reform*: on interest and usury, May, 1884, pp. 233-258; June, pp. 321-342; July, pp. 345-350; Aug., pp. 419-432; Sept., pp. 457-480; on sickness-insurance for workingmen, Nov., 1884, pp. 602-612, Dec., 656-661; on the organization of industry, April-May, 1886, pp. 188-196; on state-action, in reply to Michael Flürscheim, Aug., 1887, pp. 405-411; on the basis of social reform, vol. xi, pp. 617-623; etc. He contributed to the French Social Catholic review, *L'Association catholique* (q. v. for May, 1888).

⁵¹⁶ Dr. Rudolph Meyer, *Politische Gründe und die Corruption in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1877).

⁵¹⁷ He was subsequently compelled to make a second migration, this time because of an attack on the Austrian premier. Leaving Vienna, he went to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of the French Social Catholic leaders and became a contributor to their review, *L'Association catholique*.

⁵¹⁸ Dr. Rudolph Meyer, *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes* (second ed., Berlin, 1882); *Ursachen der Amerikanischen Concurrenz* (Berlin, 1883); *Heimstätten und andere Wirthschaftsgesetze der Vereinigten Stäten von Amerika, von Canada, Russland, China, Indien, Rumänien, Serbien, und England* (Berlin, 1883). Cf. "Le Socialisme d'état en Autriche," in *L'Association catholique*, vol. xvi, pp. 209-222; La Tour du Pin, "Étude de législation sociale," in same review, vol. xvi, pp. 464-485.

⁵¹⁹ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xiii, pp. 383-386, 783-786, vol. xv, pp. 419-436, 461-467; Prince A. von Lichtenstein, "La Réforme sociale et le programme antisémite," in same review, vol. xxxii, pp. 164-173, 199-207; V. Brants, "La Réglementation du travail industriel en Autriche," in *La Réforme sociale*, 1889, 2nd series, vol. vii, pp. 165-175; Dr. Kaempfe, "Le Mouvement antisémite en Autriche," in *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. vi, pp. 567-577.

⁵²⁰ The clergy also bore an important part in the movement; witness the work of Father Weiss, Father Kolb, Mgr. Schleicher, Father Eichorn, and others.

⁵²¹ Stauracz, *Dr. Lueger's Leben und Wirken* (Klagenfurt); *idem.*, *Dr. Karl Lueger, Zehn Jahre Bürgermeister* (Vienna, 1907); cf. *Le Mouvement social*, April, 1910, p. 339, et seq.; Dr. Kaempfe, "Les Résultats du socialisme chrétien en Autriche," *La Réforme sociale*, 1897, 3d. series, vol. i, p. 471.

⁵²² Gaspard Mermillod (1824-1892), ordained bishop, in 1864, and appointed cardinal in 1890. Cf. Jeantet, *Le Cardinal Mermillod*.

⁵²³ Quoted by Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, pp. 237-238.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241, et seq.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁶ For this initiative he was praised by Leo XIII.—cf. *Civiltà Cattolica*, March 1, 1890, and T'Serclaès, *Le Pape Léon XIII* (2 vols., Paris and Lille, 1894), ii, pp. 56-58. The proposition was taken up by the Swiss Government, but Wilhelm II intervened and brought the conference to Berlin.—cf. *La Réforme sociale*, 1890, 2nd series, vol. ix, pp. 89-98, 145-154.

⁵²⁷ Gaspard Decurtins, *Les Catholiques et la question sociale* (Fribourg, 1890).

⁵²⁸ Cf. *L'Association catholique*, May, 1890, pp. 615, 617; *Revue d'économie politique*, May-June, 1890, pp. 315, 316; *La Réforme sociale*, 1890, 2nd series, vol. ix, pp. 572-579; *Le Temps*, April 11, 1890; *L'Economiste français*, April 26, 1890.

⁵²⁹ Huet was French by nationality, but is usually classed as a Belgian because he was a professor in the Belgian university of Ghent. Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, p. 581. Cf. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 301, et seq.; Éblé, *Les Ecoles catholiques d'économie*, p. 31, et seq.; Laveleye, *Le Socialisme contemporain*, pp. 236-239.

⁵³⁰ M. Gide, in Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, p. 582.

⁵³¹ François Huet, *Le Règne social du christianisme* (Paris, 1853). Huet, says M. Gide, was the first to use the term *socialisme chrétien*.

⁵³² "The Gospel does not recognize its social expression in the middle ages, that terrible dictatorship corresponding to the barbarity of the period, the iron age of the church, the long '93 of religion. Born in pains, in the midst of a régime of blood, the true Christian society of which the communes were the cradle did not take possession of the stage of the world until 1789."—François Huet, *Le Règne social du christianisme*, p. 4.

⁵³³ Huet, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁵³⁴ Charles Périn, *Le Socialisme chrétien*, p. 48.

⁵³⁵ Périn's theories have been discussed more fully on another page, *cf. supra*, pp. 62-65.

⁵³⁶ Béchaux, *La Politique sociale en Belgique* (Paris, 1887); Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 304; V. Brants, "Les nouvelles lois sociales en Belgique," in *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. v, pp. 198-203; *cf.* also the excellent summary of Belgian social legislation to 1890 in the same review, 1890, 2nd series, vol. x, pp. 385-403, 439-452.

⁵³⁷ Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892). Among many biographical studies, the following throw most light on his social work: J. Lemire, *Le Cardinal Manning et son action sociale* (Paris, 1893), a very interesting study by a French Christian Democrat; F. de Pressensé, *Le Cardinal Manning* (Paris, 1896); I. A. Taylor, *The Cardinal Democrat, Henry Edward Manning* (London, 1908). W. H. Kent, author of the article on "Manning, Henry Edward" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, has under preparation a definitive biography.

⁵³⁸ The lecture was published in pamphlet form, as *The Rights and Dignity of Labor* (London, 1887).

⁵³⁹ See especially his article in the *Dublin Review*, 1891, vol. 109, pp. 153-167.

⁵⁴⁰ Sidney Buxton, "Cardinal Manning, a Reminiscence," *Fortnightly*, 1896, vol. 65, pp. 576-594; *La Réforme sociale*, 1889, vol. viii, pp. 603-609.

⁵⁴¹ *Dublin Review*, 1891, vol. 109, pp. 153-167; *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. x, p. 536; Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, p. 319; Spuller, *L'Evolution politique et social de l'église*, p. 97.

⁵⁴² Spuller, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁵⁴³ Mgr. E. G. Bagshawe, *Mercy and Justice to the Poor, the True Political Economy* (London, 1885); Père de Pascal, "Monseigneur Bagshawe, évêque de Nottingham," in *L'Association catholique*, vol. xxv, p. 109, *et seq.*; also, *L'Association catholique*, vol. xviii, pp. 61-71, and vol. xvii, p. 442.

⁵⁴⁴ *Cf.* Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, pp. 348-357; J. Cazajoux, "La Question sociale en Espagne," *La Réforme sociale*, 1891, 3d series, vol. i, pp. 85-90; Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social, passim*.

⁵⁴⁵ The French Social Catholic review, *L'Association catholique*, had an article on "Les Chevaliers du travail" before the decision, in vol. xxii, p. 703, *et seq.*; it printed Cardinal Gibbons' memorandum, in vol. xxiii, p. 488, *et seq.*, and Cardinal Manning's letter, vol. xxiii, p. 505, *et seq.*, and published another article on "Les Chevaliers du travail et le Saint-Siège," in vol. xxvi, p. 729, *et seq.* *Cf.* also an anticlerical's comment in Spuller, *L'Evolution politique et sociale de l'église*, p. 97.

⁵⁴⁶ *Cf. supra*, p. 81.

⁵⁴⁷ For example, in *L'Association catholique*, vol. xiv, pp. 253-273.

⁵⁴⁸ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xiii, p. 301, *et seq.*

⁵⁴⁹ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xii, pp. 621-646, 744-766; vol. xiii, pp. 52-68; vol. xvi, pp. 209-222, 322-338, 565-585; vol. xvii, pp. 334-348, 467-481.

- ⁵⁵⁰ Cf. *infra*, pp. 153-154.
- ⁵⁵¹ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 118.
- ⁵⁵² Cf. *L'Association catholique*, vol. xi, pp. 247, 266-270.
- ⁵⁵³ Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. iii, pp. 251-252, 312-316; *Semaine sociale de Rouen*, 1910, p. 69, et seq.
- ⁵⁵⁴ Cf. *infra*, pp. 157-165.
- ⁵⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 58-65.
- ⁵⁵⁷ Éblé, *Les Ecoles catholiques d'économie*, ch. iii; F. Le Play, "L'École de la paix sociale, son développement et son avenir," in *La Réforme sociale*, 1882, vol. iii, pp. 145-150; Delaire, "Les Doctrines sociales de Le Play et de son école," in same review, vol. viii, pp. 496-501.
- ⁵⁵⁸ Claudio Jannet, "L'Intervention de l'état dans le régime du travail," in *Revue cath. des inst.*, Jan., 1885; H. Dubreuil, "La Liberté du travail au congrès des juriconsultes," *La Réforme sociale*, 1885, vol. ix, pp. 181-183; Jannet, "Les Syndicats professionnels et la loi du 21 mars 1884," in same review, vol. x, pp. 289-319.
- ⁵⁵⁹ *L'Association catholique*, vol. i, pp. 9-41.
- ⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv, p. 257.
- ⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 559, et seq.
- ⁵⁶² Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 184.
- ⁵⁶³ A. de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 123; Grandmaison, "Le Comte Albert de Mun," in *Études*, vol. 141, p. 32.
- ⁵⁶⁴ Vol. xi, p. 247, et seq., vol. xv, p. 294, et seq., cf. vol. vii, appendix, pp. 1-52.
- ⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶⁶ Cf. "Rapport et avis No. VII" and "Rapport et avis No. VIII" printed in *extenso* in *L'Association catholique*, vol. xi, pp. 387-412, 548-574, and vol. xiii, pp. 511-555. "Avis No. VII" was adopted by the general committee of the Association of Catholic Workingmen's Clubs on Feb. 23, 1881; "Avis No. VIII" on March 1, 1882.
- ⁵⁶⁷ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xiii, "D'où nous venons," p. 122, et seq., "Où nous en sommes," p. 244, et seq., "Où nous allons," p. 347, et seq.
- ⁵⁶⁸ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xiv, pp. 253-273, Sept., 1882.
- ⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷⁰ *L'Association catholique*, vol. xvii, p. 1, et seq., Jan., 1884.
- ⁵⁷¹ *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. ix, p. 592; *L'Association catholique*, Nov. 15, 1889, p. 591.
- ⁵⁷² De Ségur-Lamoignon in *L'Association catholique*, Nov., 1889, p. 591.
- ⁵⁷³ Cf. *La Science sociale* (1886—); *La Réforme sociale*, vol. xi (1886), pp. 1-2; vol. x, p. 418; *Journal des économistes*, 1886, 4th series, vol. xxxiii, pp. 236-237; Éblé, *Les Ecoles catholiques d'économie*, pp. 181, 234.
- ⁵⁷⁴ Alfred Renouard, in *La Réforme sociale*, vol. xii, pp. 236-239.
- ⁵⁷⁵ H. de Moly, "La Réglementation du travail en France et les catholiques," in *La Réforme sociale*, May 16, 1890, 2nd series, vol. ix, pp. 585-606.

⁵⁷⁶ *Supra*, p. 110.

⁵⁷⁷ Charles Périn, "Ni libéraux, ni socialistes," in *Revue catholique des institutions et du droit*, 2nd series, vol. v, pp. 463-470; cf. *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. x, p. 675.

⁵⁷⁸ Raoul du Sart in *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. iv, p. 507.

⁵⁷⁹ *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. ii, pp. 326-327, 584-592.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2nd series, vol. iv, pp. 507-513.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸² J. Cazajoux, "Le Socialisme chrétien aux congrès de Liège et d'Angers," in *La Réforme sociale*, Nov. 1, 1890, 2nd series, vol. x, pp. 533-547.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, and *Revue catholique des institutions et du droit*, 2nd series, vol. v, pp. 530-543.

⁵⁸⁴ *La Réforme sociale*, 2nd series, vol. ix, pp. 585-606, vol. x, p. 545, and *Revue cath. des inst.*, 2nd series, vol. v, pp. 415-427.

⁵⁸⁵ *Revue cath. des inst. et du droit*, 2nd ser., vol. v, pp. 385-414; cf. Spuller, *L'Evolution politique et sociale de l'église*, pp. 149-150; *Revue d'économie politique*, 1891, vol. v, p. 87.

⁵⁸⁶ Éblé, *Les Écoles cath. d'économie*, p. 190.

⁵⁸⁷ H. de Lestelly, "Procès-verbal général du congrès tenu à Angers par les jurisconsultes catholiques," *Revue cath. des inst.*, 2nd series, vol. v, pp. 385-414; Mgr. Freppel, "La Question ouvrière et le socialisme chrétien," *ibid.*, pp. 415-427; G. Théry, "Rapport sur le socialisme d'état," *ibid.*, pp. 428-463; A. Onclair, "Rapport sur le socialisme contemporain," *ibid.*, pp. 481-510; A. Gibon, "Les Accidents du travail," *ibid.*, 2nd series, vol. vi, pp. 126-153.

⁵⁸⁸ Spuller, *L'Evolution politique et sociale de l'église*, pp. 153-158.

⁵⁸⁹ Count Albert de Mun, in *L'Association catholique*, Jan. 15, 1891, vol. xxi, pp. 3-33.

⁵⁹⁰ Éblé, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁵⁹¹ Gioacchino Pecci (1810-1903), son of Count Lodovico Pecci. On his character and life, consult Mgr. Charles de T'Serclaès, *Le Pape Léon XIII* (Paris, 1892); Justin McCarthy, *Pope Leo XIII* (London, 1896); R. H. Clarke, *The Life of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII* (Phila., 1903); Martin Spahn, *Leo XIII* (Munich, 1905); Boyer d'Agen, *La Prélature de Léon XIII* (Paris, 1900); Lecanuet, *L'Eglise de France*, vol. ii, *Pontificat de Léon XIII* (Paris, 1910); F. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, ch. xii; Rev. J. J. Wynne (ed.), *The Great Encyclicals of Leo XIII* (N. Y., 1902).

⁵⁹² Cf. *supra*, pp. 121-125.

⁵⁹³ *L'Eglise et la Civilisation*, par S. Em. le cardinal Pecci, archevêque de Pérouse . . . traduit de l'italien par Paul Lapeyre (Paris, 1878); quoted by Max Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social depuis l'encyclique "Rerum Novarum"* (2nd ed., Paris, 1909), p. 23.

⁵⁹⁴ *Acta sanctae sedis*, (Rome), vol. xi, p. 369, et seq.

⁵⁹⁵ *Acta sanctae sedis*, vol. xii, p. 97, et seq.

⁵⁹⁶ *Acta sanctae sedis*, vol. xi, pp. 369 et seq. English translation, in

The Pope and the People (London, 1912) pp. 28-40; Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, pp. 365-370.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 122.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 141-145.

⁵⁹⁹ On the general development of Social Catholicism prior to 1891, see Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*.

⁶⁰⁰ Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, p. 10; Léon Grégoire, *Le Pape, les Catholiques et la Question sociale* (Paris, 1899, 3rd ed.), p. 26, et seq. There is also a pamphlet entitled *Union de Fribourg* (Paris, 1893), setting forth the work of the Union.

⁶⁰¹ *Association catholique*, May 15, June 15, 1887; Léon Grégoire, *op. cit.*, p. 48, et seq.; Justin McCarthy, *Pope Leo XIII* (2nd ed., N. Y., 1899), pp. 152-156.

⁶⁰² Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, p. 184; E. Spuller, *L'Évolution politique et sociale de l'église*, pp. 163-184.

⁶⁰³ Turmann, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Spuller, *loc. cit.* In *Catholic Social Guild Pamphlets*, No. 3, Mgr. Parkinson asserts that 100 employers, 1,400 workmen, and 300 priests participated in the pilgrimage. Spuller states that there were 1,200 workmen.

⁶⁰⁴ Turmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-188; Spuller, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁰⁵ Francesco S. Nitti, *Studi sul socialismo contemporaneo: Il socialismo cattolico* (Turin, 1890).

⁶⁰⁶ *Acta sanctæ sedis*, vol. xxiii, p. 641, et seq. Citations are from the Official English Translation, "*The Condition of Labor*," published in pamphlet form by the International Catholic Truth Society. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, G. Goyau, G. de Pascal, and Max Turmann will be found among the most interesting of the Encyclical's numerous commentators. Justin McCarthy, *Pope Leo XIII*, pp. 169-181, gives a summary of contemporary comments. An English translation may be found in Rev. J. J. Wynne (ed.), *The Great Encyclicals of Leo XIII* (N. Y., 1902).

⁶⁰⁷ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 165, writes "*Le 15 mai 1891 éclata comme un coup de tonnerre l'Encyclique Rerum novarum*"; the statement is somewhat surprising in the light of the facts mentioned by the same author, pp. 158-164. Among the utterances foreshadowing *Rerum Novarum* may be mentioned, besides the documents adverted to in the text, the address "*C'est avec une particulière satisfaction*" with which Leo XIII encouraged the Catholic Workingmen's Clubs of France (February 24, 1885, *The Pope and the People*, pp. 67-70); the reply to Cardinal Langénieux's address, October 20, 1889 (see Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, pp. 401-403); and the letter written in 1890 to William II, on the occasion of the International Congress for Social Legislation (cf. McCarthy, *Pope Leo XIII*, pp. 157-160).

⁶⁰⁸ Despite the length of *Rerum Novarum*, certain of the declarations, and still more the omissions, of the Encyclical gave rise to controversy. Leo XIII, therefore, and his successors Pius X and Benedict XV, found it necessary at frequent intervals to write more precise explanations, new exhortations, and more than one rebuke. Their

utterances, compiled from encyclical letters, instructions and allocutions, would constitute a lengthy treatise on the social question.

⁶⁰⁹ *The Condition of Labour*, p. 12.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-9, 11.

⁶¹³ The first nine pages are directed against Socialism; the remaining thirty-two are devoted to what the pope considered to be the true solutions.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 22-23, 25, 39-40, 15, 9.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23, 24, 25.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-37.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-37.

⁶¹⁹ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 50-51: *supra*, p. 107.

⁶²⁰ Tournier, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie* (Paris, 1913), pp. 277, 338.

⁶²¹ Dabry, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-59.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

⁶²³ Spuller, *L'Évolution politique et sociale de l'église* (Paris, 1893), pp. 67-73.

⁶²⁴ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 72, 91-92.

⁶²⁵ *Année politique*, 1890, p. 15, *et seq.*

⁶²⁶ *Journal officiel*, July 17, 1889, p. 3437, *et seq.*

⁶²⁷ *Année politique*, 1889, pp. 197-198.

⁶²⁸ J. Tournier, *Le cardinal Lavigerie et son action politique d'après les documents nouveaux et inédits* (Thesis, Paris, 1913); Mgr. Bannard, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie* (Paris, 1896); Vicomte de Colleville, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie* (4th ed., Paris, 1912); Jules Delacroix, *La Déclaration du cardinal Lavigerie, le clergé français et les partis politiques* (Saint-Amand, 1891); *Du Toast à l'encyclique* (Paris, 1892), published anonymously but written by Goyau and Brunhes.

⁶²⁹ In his Encyclical *Immortale Dei*, November 1, 1885, Leo XIII had written, "no one of the several forms of government is in itself condemned, inasmuch as none of them contains anything contrary to Catholic doctrine and all of them are capable, if wisely and justly managed, to insure the welfare of the state." The pope explicitly stated that political democracy was not only permissible but might be of benefit and of obligation in some cases.—*The Pope and the People*, p. 92; *Acta sanctae sedis*, vol. xviii, p. 161, *et seq.* Again, in *Sapientiae Christianae*, January 10, 1890, Leo XIII declared that "the Church . . . holds that it is not her province to decide which is the best amongst many diverse forms of government and the civil institutions of Christian States, and among the different systems of government she disapproves none, provided that religion and the Christian discipline of morals be respected."—*The Pope and the People*, p. 165; *Acta sanctae sedis*, vol. xxii, p. 385, *et seq.*

⁶³⁰ Text in Debidour, *L'Eglise catholique et l'état sous la Troisième République*, vol. ii, pp. 499-500; comment on its influence, from an

anticlerical viewpoint, *ibid.*, p. 39, *et seq.*; cf. Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 72-75; and Tournier, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie*, p. 287, *et seq.* The latter is the best and most recent account of Cardinal Lavigerie's action.

⁶³¹ See the comments of a shrewd non-Catholic political observer, Eugène Spuller, in the article reprinted in his *L'Evolution politique et sociale de l'église*, pp. 1-19.

⁶³² Tournier, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie*, p. 308.

⁶³³ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 77.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

⁶³⁵ Weill, *Mouvement social en France*, pp. 395-398; Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18; *et infra*, pp. 365-374.

⁶³⁶ Tournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-344.

⁶³⁷ Tournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-375; Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Spuller, *L'Evolution politique et sociale de l'église*, pp. 100-102.

⁶³⁸ Dabry, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁶³⁹ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 104-109.

⁶⁴⁰ De Mun himself was active in forming a *Ligue de propagande catholique et sociale* in 1892. Cf. Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 91, and Dabry, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶⁴¹ Dabry, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁶⁴⁴ The letter of February 16, 1892, was antedated by a letter to Cardinal Lavigerie, approving the policy enunciated in the Toast of Algiers. MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I, p. 265.

⁶⁴⁵ The encyclical *Inter Gravissimas*. The text is found in *Acta sanctae sedis*, vol. xxiv, p. 529, *et seq.* Cf. MacCaffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 174, *et seq.*; Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale*, vol. i, pp. 252, *et seq.*; Spuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-276.

⁶⁴⁶ Spuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-300.

⁶⁴⁷ Dabry, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

⁶⁴⁹ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 177-178.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁶⁵¹ *Année politique, 1892*, pp. 158-159; Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91; Tournier, p. 400; Dabry, pp. 109, 177-179; Spuller, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁶⁵² *Vide supra*, p. 83.

⁶⁵³ Albert de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, pp. 71, 289-290, gives the text of the address, together with a facsimile reproduction of the papal benediction which was received in return.

⁶⁵⁴ In particular see the commendatory briefs written by Pius IX in 1871, 1874, and 1877, reproduced in de Mun's *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 316, *et seq.*

⁶⁵⁵ Count Albert de Mun, *Ma Vocation sociale*, p. 275, note 2.

⁶⁵⁶ Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, p. 242, *et seq.* Compare de Mun's Bordeaux speech of January 16, 1892, urging Catholics to take a more earnest interest in social reform, and agreeing

with socialistic criticisms of existing economic evils, but defending the principles of private property and religion,—in *Année politique*, 1892, pp. 28-29.

⁶⁵⁷ Calippe, *L'Attitude sociale des catholiques*, vol. ii, p. 127, note; Turmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

⁶⁵⁸ An interesting and frankly partisan account of the early development of Christian Democracy will be found in Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, especially chapters vi, vii, viii; a shorter and more scholarly treatment is that by Professor Weill, in his *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, pp. 395-403; cf. the same author's *Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France*, pp. 215, 229, *et seq.*

⁶⁵⁹ The declaration of Gallican liberties in 1682 was an illustration of the Gallican spirit. On the nature and influence of Gallicanism in the nineteenth century consult MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i, chapters i and viii; and also Georges Weill, *Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France*, pp. 3-6, 8, 212, *et seq.*

⁶⁶⁰ See the comments of the monarchist leader d'Haussonville and of the reactionary journals *Autorité* and *Soleil* on the *ralliement*, particularly their contention that the pope had no infallible authority in political questions,—in *Année politique*, 1892, *passim*; cf. also Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Spuller, *L'Évolution politique et sociale de l'église*, pp. 123-126, 277-296.

⁶⁶¹ Léon Jacques, *Les Partis politiques*, pp. 484-485, 184-185.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 182-185, 485. Note especially that the *Action française* rejects the idea of legislative limitation of the working-day and at the same time appeals to feelings not much different from those evoked by the socialist conception of the "class-struggle."

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁶⁶⁴ Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Dabry, *op. cit.*, p. 308. The latter gives the date as 1903,—an obvious misprint.

⁶⁶⁵ Article in *La Vérité française*, July 23, 1894, cited by Barbier, *Rome et l'Action Libérale Populaire*, pp. 35-39.

⁶⁶⁶ Cited by Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 311-313.

⁶⁶⁷ My Italics.

⁶⁶⁸ Cited by Barbier, *Rome et l'Action Libérale Populaire*, pp. 220-223.

⁶⁶⁹ By way of exception it should be noted that a few monarchists continued to support the Social Catholic movement. Most notable of all the monarchist Social Catholics was La Tour-du-Pin. But the main body of the Social Catholic movement was cut off from monarchism.

⁶⁷⁰ Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 260.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁶⁷² *Chambre des députés*, 1885, *Débats*, p. 382.

⁶⁷³ *Année politique*, 1886, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁷⁴ Lockroy had brought in a bill as early as 1876 for the legalization of trade-unions. *Journal officiel*, 1876, pp. 5600-5601.

⁶⁷⁵ *Chambre des députés*, 1885, *sess. extr.*, *Débats*, p. 19.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ch. des dép. 1886, Documents*, pp. 1787, 972, and *session extraordinaire*, p. 1057.

⁶⁷⁷ Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 267; cf. *Année politique*, 1887, p. 103.

⁶⁷⁸ *Année politique*, 1888, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁷⁹ *Chambre des députés, 1888, Débats*, p. 1489.

⁶⁸⁰ Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-270. The Blanquist faction was inclined to support Boulanger; the Guesdists held to class-conscious neutrality.

⁶⁸¹ Vizetelly, *Republican France*, pp. 293-342; *Année politique*, 1888, *passim*, 1889, pp. 173-199.

⁶⁸² *Chambre des députés, session extraordinaire, 1891, Débats*, pp. 2487-2490.

⁶⁸³ Throughout his speech, Lafargue was much annoyed by interruptions. He could not understand, he said, why there was so much noise and tumult in the Chamber of Deputies. With a fine touch of irony, he asked the Chamber's indulgence, on the ground that he had hitherto been accustomed only to public mass-meetings, "where business proceeds in a calmer manner."

⁶⁸⁴ *Débats, loc. cit.*

⁶⁸⁵ *Loc. cit.*, speech of Henry Fouquier.

⁶⁸⁶ *Loc. cit.*, speech of M. Dumay.

⁶⁸⁷ *Loc. cit.*, speech of Henri Brisson.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 2491-2492.

⁶⁸⁹ Eugène Spuller, *L'Évolution politique et sociale de l'église*, p. xii.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xii, xxxv, 162.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁶⁹² Cf. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires*, vol. iv, p. 374; G. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains* (Paris, 1893), p. 1110; Weill, *op. cit.*, *passim*; S. P. Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* (N. Y., 1913), p. 80, *et seq.*

⁶⁹³ *Chambre des députés, session extraordinaire, 1891, Débats*, p. 2492. It is an interesting fact that on several occasions, earlier in the year, in debates on labor questions, de Mun had rushed to Millerand's support, earning the applause of the Left. Cf. *Chambre des députés, 1891, Débats*, pp. 775, 778, 1081 and *Chambre d. d., sess. extr. 1891, Débats*, pp. 2231-2232.

⁶⁹⁴ *Chambre d. d., sess. extr., 1891, Débats*, p. 2492.

⁶⁹⁵ In the foregoing sketch of the early career of Jaurès I have used biographical data from Charles Rappoport's *Jean Jaurès* (Paris, 1915), Margaret Pease, *Jean Jaurès* (N. Y., 1917), and Weill, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Cf. also, S. P. Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe*, pp. 80-117. None of these authorities, however, is responsible for my interpretation of Jaurès' political attitude; my own reading in the *Débats* and in the above-mentioned biographies inclines me to regard Jaurès in action as more of the bourgeois Radical and less of the Socialist economic reformer than he is usually considered.

⁶⁹⁶ With some Catholic orators it was at this period a favorite theme to denounce the Jewish capitalists who dominated high finance.

⁶⁹⁷ Count Albert de Mun's speech at Toulouse, in 1893, *Vide Année politique*, 1893, p. 155 and Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 275.

⁶⁹⁸ From the *Soleil*; *vide Année politique*, 1893, p. 155.

⁶⁹⁹ *Année politique*, 1893, p. 137. The names of the members of the Delegation were as follows: M. Piou, Gen. de Frescheville, Prince d'Arenberg, Baron Hély d'Oissel, M. Sabatier, Count de Caraman, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, M. Caplain, M. Delville, M. François Maynard, (editor of the *Figaro*), Ernest Daudet, D. Guibert, A. Viellard, Viscount Pierre de Pelleport-Burète, M. Henri Darcy, M. Savoye, and M. Achille Delorme. This group was to all intents and purposes the campaign committee of the Republican Right.

⁷⁰⁰ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 273, *et seq.*; *Année politique*, 1893, p. 266.

⁷⁰¹ *Année politique*, 1893, p. 265.

⁷⁰² A passage from d'Haussonville's book, *Misère et remèdes*, quoted by M. Paul Deschanel in the Chamber of Deputies, 1896, *Débats*, p. 1048.

⁷⁰³ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 268, *et seq.*

⁷⁰⁴ From a letter defining the policy of the *ralliés*, published in the *Figaro*, in January, 1893. I quote it from the *Année politique*, 1893, pp. 3-8.

⁷⁰⁵ *Année politique*, 1893, pp. 184-187; *cf.* E. Spuller, *L'Evolution pol. et soc. de l'église*, pp. 74-77; Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains* (Paris, 1893), pp. 1406-1408; Georges Picot, *Notices historiques* (Paris, 1907), vol. ii, pp. 1-53; Georges Michel, "Une Dynastie d'économistes," in *Journal des économistes*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 170-191.

⁷⁰⁶ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 563.

⁷⁰⁷ *Annuaire du parlement* for 1898 and following years.

⁷⁰⁸ *Chambre des députés*, 1891, *session extr.*, *Débats*, p. 2487, *et seq.*

⁷⁰⁹ For instance, see *Ch. d. d.*, 1891, *Débats*, p. 2487, *et seq.*

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2492.

⁷¹¹ Weill, *Hist. du mouvement social*, p. 291.

⁷¹² *Année politique*, 1893, p. 156.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-178.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁵ Labusquière, *La Troisième République*, p. 264; Levine, *Labor Movement in France*, *passim*.

⁷¹⁶ The electoral programs and declarations of the various successful candidates for election to the Chamber contained a surprisingly large number of references to the *ralliés*; one must read them to get any adequate conception of their hostility to the new group. They are printed in *Chambre des députés*, 1894, *Documents*, p. 1253, *et seq.*

⁷¹⁷ In the preceding election, when he ran as a monarchist, de Mun had received 5,572 votes and had not been opposed. In 1893 he received only 4,158 votes as against 4,427 given to his moderate Republican opponent, Le Clec'h. In other words, because de Mun abandoned monarchism, a thousand voters abandoned him and permitted an anticlerical Republican to win the seat. See Samuel and Bonét-

Maury, *Les Parlementaires français*, p. 303. Dabry, in *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 280, affirms that "there is no doubt that at least the defeat of M. Mun (*sic*) was the result of a manoeuvre of the royalists." Debidour, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 108, makes a similar statement.

⁷¹⁸ In 1889 Piou had obtained, on the second ballot, 7,228 votes against 6,229; but in 1893, when he stood for election as a *rallié*, he obtained only 6,168 votes, as compared with 6,959 for his Republican opponent. It is significant that whereas Piou lost 1,060 votes, his opponent gained only 730; hence it seems probable that several hundred monarchists who had voted for Piou in 1889 simply abstained from voting in 1893. Cf. *Les Parlementaires français*, p. 330, and Debidour, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. Hosotte, *Troisième République*, Part II, p. 66.

⁷²⁰ These and the foregoing figures can only approximate the truth, since the groups of the Chamber were in such a state of flux that it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines between them. Compare Hosotte, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 66 and Part I, p. 534, *et seq.*; *Année Politique*, 1893, p. 281; Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Levine, *Labor Movement*, p. 111; Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe*, p. 81, gives the number of socialists as 40. Jacques, *Les Partis politiques*, p. 270, mentions 55 "*radicaux socialistes*."

⁷²¹ Levine, *op. cit.*, p. 111; but the *Journal des Débats*, May 20, 1902, quotes a Socialist calculation that the number of Socialist votes in 1893 was 440,000. Obviously the discrepancy arises from the difficulty of distinguishing between Socialists and Socialist-Radicals.

⁷²² Jaurès, speech in the Chamber of Deputies, Nov. 21, 1893, *Chambre des députés, sess. extr. 1893, Débats*, p. 79, *et seq.*

⁷²³ *Chambre des députés, 1893, sess. extr., Débats*, p. 79, *et seq.*

⁷²⁴ Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 537, *et seq.*; E. Zévort, *Histoire de la Troisième République*, vol. iv., pp. 252-254.

⁷²⁵ *Dictionnaire des parlementaires*, vol. i, p. 600; E. A. Vizetelly, *Republican France, 1870-1912* (London, 1912), pp. 404-411; *Année politique*, 1893, pp. 316-324.

⁷²⁶ *Année politique*, 1893, p. 319, *et seq.*

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 326, *et seq.*

⁷²⁸ These bills modified (1) the press law, (2) the provision of the penal code regarding associations and malefactors, (3) the law on explosives; the fourth bill appropriated 800,000 fr. for an increase of the police force. *Année politique*, 1893, p. 329, *et seq.*

⁷²⁹ *Chambre des députés, 1894, Débats*, p. 388.

⁷³⁰ Spuller, *L'Évolution politique et sociale de l'église* (Paris, 1893), especially pp. v, 325-331.

⁷³¹ Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 543.

⁷³² *Ibid.*, p. 541.

⁷³³ *Chambre des députés, 1894, Débats*, p. 659, *et seq.*

⁷³⁴ *Année politique*, 1893, p. 262.

⁷³⁵ *Ch. des dép. 1894, Débats*, p. 856.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 865.

- ⁷⁸⁷ Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 544; Zévort, *Hist. de la Troisième République*, vol. iv, pp. 286-289.
- ⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸⁹ *Chambre des députés, 1895, sess. extr. Débats*, p. 2267, Nov. 4, 1895.
- ⁷⁹⁰ *Année politique, 1895*, pp. 177-178, 185-186; *idem.*, 1896, pp. 25-36, 103-112, 139-141, 380; *Annual Register, 1895*, p. 242, and 1896, pp. 228-229; Hosotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 559-565.
- ⁷⁹¹ *Questions actuelles*, vol. xi, p. 341.
- ⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 342.
- ⁷⁹³ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 563.
- ⁷⁹⁴ *Annual Register, 1896*, p. 237.
- ⁷⁹⁵ *Chambre des députés, 1896, Débats*, pp. 925, 933, 948, 1020, 1038, 1052, 1076.
- ⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 944.
- ⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 965, *et seq.*
- ⁷⁹⁸ Cf., R. C. K. Ensor, *Modern Socialism*, p. 48, *et seq.*; *Questions actuelles*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 98-108; *Année politique, 1896*, pp. 208-211; Jean Jaurès (ed.), *Histoire socialiste*, vol. xii, p. 284.
- ⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰⁰ Weill, *Hist. du mouv. soc.*, p. 311, quoting Bracke, *Leur congrès à la salle Wagram* (1901).
- ⁸⁰¹ *Le Catholicisme social* (3 vols., Paris, 1892-1899), especially vol. iii, ch. v. Citations are from vol. iii, p. 179, and vol. ii, p. 271.
- ⁸⁰² *Vers un ordre social chrétien* (2nd ed.), p. 347.
- ⁸⁰³ *Chambre des députés, 1894, Débats*, pp. 669-670.
- ⁸⁰⁴ Vizetelly, *Republican France*, pp. 348-371; Hosotte, *Troisième République*, pp. 523-532.
- ⁸⁰⁵ Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
- ⁸⁰⁶ Joseph Reinach, *Histoire de l'affaire Dreyfus* (7 vols., Paris, 1901-1911); Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 582, *et seq.*
- ⁸⁰⁷ On the attitude of the Socialists, read Labusquière, *Troisième République*, p. 266, *et seq.*, a Socialist's view, and compare Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-315. The foregoing account of the Dreyfus affair is based on J. Reinach, *op. cit.*, and Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 582, *et seq.*
- ⁸⁰⁸ Dec. 4, 1897. *Ch. des députés, 1897, Débats*, p. 2734.
- ⁸⁰⁹ *Ch. d. d., 1898, Débats*, p. 1225.
- ⁸¹⁰ *Questions actuelles*, vol. 40, pp. 340-341, quoting Méline's speech at Remiremont, Oct. 10, 1897.
- ⁸¹¹ Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, pp. 84-88, 566, *et seq.*; compare with the statements of M. Dron in the *Chambre des députés, 1898, Débats*, p. 1207.
- ⁸¹² *Infra*, pp. 347-352.
- ⁸¹³ *Supra*, p. 169.
- ⁸¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 188.
- ⁸¹⁵ *Infra*, pp. 365-374.
- ⁸¹⁶ Dabry, *op. cit.*, pp. 568-574.

⁷⁶⁷ Those *ralliés* who had been thoroughly absorbed into the Republican Progressist group are not counted. The 31 are those who still hesitated, unwilling wholly to identify themselves with either the Conservative Right or the Progressists.

⁷⁶⁸ The *Association catholique*, the Social Catholic organ, remarked, "The scheme of calling itself Progressist has served as a substitute, with the Moderate Party, for a program of social reforms," first volume for 1898, p. 553, *et seq.*

⁷⁶⁹ *Année politique*, 1898, p. 213, *et seq.*

⁷⁷⁰ Official figures given by *Année politique*, 1898, p. 217. Needless to say, different authorities give different figures. Hosotte, *op. cit.*, p. 586, gives 55. *Journal des Débats*, May 20, 1902, gives 43, and estimates the number of Socialist votes at 751,554.

⁷⁷¹ *Annuaire du parlement*, 1898, and Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains*, p. 576.

⁷⁷² *Annuaire du parlement*, 1898.

⁷⁷³ For example at Gourdon, in the department of Lot, the *rallié* Abbé Magne on the first ballot received 5700 votes while the Progressist Lachèze received 5600 and the Radical Cocula 8000. Had the *rallié* insisted upon his right to fight out the second ballot against the Radical, enough of the Progressists would probably have voted for the Radical to give the latter the victory. Shrewdly, therefore, the *rallié* withdrew in favor of the Progressist and the Progressist was elected by clerical votes.

⁷⁷⁴ Dabry, *op. cit.*, p. 578, *et seq.*

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 579. Zévaès it was who in 1901 proposed to suppress the religious congregations (monastic orders) altogether,—Hosotte, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

⁷⁷⁸ *Année politique*, 1898, pp. 231-245.

⁷⁷⁹ *Année politique*, 1898, pp. 335-343.

⁷⁸⁰ *Idem.*, 1899, pp. 203-218.

⁷⁸¹ *Journal officiel*, June 23, 1899, pp. 4189-4190.

⁷⁸² The author has purposely avoided encumbering his narrative with a discussion of the interesting debates at the French Socialist congress of December, 1899, at the international Socialist congress of September, 1900, at the French Socialist congress of the same month, at the Wagram Hall Congress of May, 1901, and elsewhere, on the question whether an orthodox Socialist might be permitted to enter a bourgeois cabinet. Interesting brief accounts of the controversy will be found in Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-343; Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe*, pp. 84-93. For full details, of course, the "Proceedings" of the congresses should be consulted.

⁷⁸³ Labusquière, *Troisième République* (vol. xii of the *Histoire socialiste*), p. 296.

⁷⁸⁴ An interesting discussion of Millerand's work as minister is found in A. Lavy, *L'Œuvre de Millerand* (Paris, 1902).

⁷⁸⁵ Lavy, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-16. Decrees of Aug. 10, 1899.

- ⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-77. Decree of Sept. 1, 1899.
- ⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-90. Decrees of Sept. 17, 1900, and Jan. 2, 1901.
- ⁷⁸⁸ *Journal officiel*, 1900, p. 2025; Fighiera, *La Protection légale des travailleurs*, p. 335, *et seq.*; Lavy, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-57.
- ⁷⁸⁹ *Chambre des députés*, 1900, *Documents*, pp. 721-740; *idem*, 1901, *Débats*, pp. 1242-1754; *Année politique*, 1901, pp. 215-223, 232-233.
- ⁷⁹⁰ *Ch. d. députés*, 1901, *Débats*, pp. 1760-1762, 2165-2179; *Sénat*, 1902, *Doc.*, pp. 187-189; *Annuaire du parlement*, 1903-1904, p. 88; *Année pol.*, 1901, pp. 211-213, 306-309.
- ⁷⁹¹ *Ch. d. députés*, 1901, *Débats*, p. 2652; *Sénat*, 1902, *Débats*, pp. 658-664; *Journal officiel*, March 30, 1902, p. 2274; *Année pol.*, 1901, pp. 91-94, 325; *idem.*, 1902, pp. 79-80.
- ⁷⁹² Reinach, *Histoire de l'affaire Dreyfus*, vol. iii, p. 587, vol. iv, pp. 296-310, 330-332, 416, 425-428, 571-580.
- ⁷⁹³ See his book, *Vers un ordre social chrétien, passim*.
- ⁷⁹⁴ Reinach, *op. cit.*, vol. v, ch. iv, v.
- ⁷⁹⁵ Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 616; Wright, *Third French Republic*, p. 140, *et seq.*; Reinach, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 615, vol. v, pp. 74, 113, 183-184, 257, 261, 311, 422-426, vol. vi, pp. 30, 32, 59, 61, 64-65.
- ⁷⁹⁶ Reinach, *op. cit.*, vol. v, pp. 182-184, 251-263, 308, 311, vol. vi, pp. 63-65; Hosotte, *op. cit.*, p. 616. Hosotte asserts that Déroutède was absolutely innocent of monarchical conspiracy, whereas Reinach holds the contrary view.
- ⁷⁹⁷ Hosotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 616-617.
- ⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹⁹ Text of bill as presented, *Ch. d. députés*, 1899, *sess. extr., Documents*, pp. 123-125; text of law, *Journal officiel*, July 2, 1901, pp. 4025-4027; *cf.* Waldeck-Rousseau, *Associations et congrégations* (Paris, 1902).
- ⁸⁰⁰ Text of bill, *Chambre des députés*, 1899, *sess. extr., Doc.*, p. 132; report of committee, *idem*, 1900, *Doc.*, p. 626.
- ⁸⁰¹ Count Albert de Mun, preface to Jacques Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales* (Paris, 1910), p. ix.
- ⁸⁰² Let it be remarked once and for all that the author has deemed it wiser to give an intelligent equivalent rather than a meaningless literal translation of the names of the group and the party.
- ⁸⁰³ Léon Jacques, *Les Partis politiques sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1913), p. 320.
- ⁸⁰⁴ *Année politique*, 1899, *passim*; Waldeck-Rousseau, *Pour la République* (Paris, 1904), pp. 391-404, 418-426.
- ⁸⁰⁵ Piou, Amédée Reille, and de Mun. See *Association catholique*, 1905, first part, p. 122, *et seq.*, article by de Monténon.
- ⁸⁰⁶ Eugène Flornoy, *La Lutte par l'association: L'Action libérale populaire* (Paris, 1907), p. 40, *et seq.*
- ⁸⁰⁷ Joseph Zamanski, "La politique sociale," in *Association catholique*, May, 1910, p. 285, *et seq.*
- ⁸⁰⁸ *Annuaire du parlement*, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901.
- ⁸⁰⁹ *Annuaire du parlement*, 1901. They were: Alicot, Avmé, Blanc, Chambrun, Colle, Dansette, Fould, Galot, Gay, Gourd, Guibert, Loyer,

Motte, Pascal, Rogez, Saint-Quentin, Salignac-Fénelon, and Viellard.
⁸¹⁰ *Annuaire du parlement*, 1901. They were: F. Bougère, L. Bougère, B. de Castellane, Dansette, Daudé, Delpech-Cantaloup, Desjardins, Dupuytren, Elva, L'Estourbeillon, Galot, Gay, Gayraud, Jacquey, Jaluzot, La Ferronnays, Laroche-Joubert, Lerolle, Pascal, Paulmier, Roy de Loulay, Savary de Beauregard.

⁸¹¹ Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, p. 37, et seq. Piou's speech is given in *extenso* in *Questions actuelles*, vol. 59, p. 323, et seq.

⁸¹² Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, pp. 38-39.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸¹⁴ The membership certificates explained the other parts of the name as follows: "Elle [the party, *l'Action Libérale Populaire*] s'appelle *Action* parce qu'elle doit être un centre de vie et d'activité. Elle s'appelle *Libérale* parce qu'elle veut maintenir ou restaurer dans leur intégrité toutes les libertés publiques, sans en refuser le bénéfice à personne."

⁸¹⁵ A reprint of the constitution (*Statuts*) may be found in Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, p. 168, et seq., or in Jacques, *Partis politiques*, p. 501, et seq.

⁸¹⁶ Art. 6, *Statuts of the Action Libérale Populaire*.

⁸¹⁷ The Central Committee was invested with power to pronounce — by a two-thirds vote — the exclusion of one of its own members or — by a simple majority — of any member of the Association, for an infraction of honor or a contravention of the constitution, "or for an act contrary to the aim and the spirit of the Association," — *Statuts*, Art. 6.

⁸¹⁸ *Statuts*, Art. 4.

⁸¹⁹ *Association catholique*, 1905, first part, p. 122, et seq.

⁸²⁰ *Congrès de 1911. Compte rendu*, p. 57.

⁸²¹ Jacques, *Partis politiques*, pp. 306, 309.

⁸²² *Statuts*, Art. 5.

⁸²³ Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, p. 53, et seq.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57, et seq.

⁸²⁵ See de Mun's definition of the bond between the *Jeunesse Catholique* and the party, in Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, p. 148.

⁸²⁶ Flornoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 150.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 152.

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸²⁹ For full accounts of the proceedings, see the *Compte-rendus* published by the A. L. P., 7, rue Las-Cases, Paris.

⁸³⁰ *Compte-rendu du congrès général tenu à Paris . . . 1904*, pp. 4, 105, et seq., 127, et seq.

⁸³¹ See comment in Flornoy, *op. cit.*, p. 76, et seq. Since Flornoy's book was written, the party bulletin has been made a fortnightly.

⁸³² At present (1920), MM. Jean Lerolle, Henri Bazire, and Joseph Denais, all members of the Popular Liberal Party, are among the principal members of the editorial staff of *La Libre Parole*, an important Parisian daily.

⁸³³ Levine, *Labor Movement in France, passim*.

⁸³⁴ *Supra*.

⁸³⁵ *i. e.*, legally recognized unions.

⁸³⁶ Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, p. 99, *et seq.*

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100, *et seq.*, 107, *et seq.*

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105, *et seq.* An interesting list of the social-economic institutions maintained by the party is given by the same author, p. 201, *et seq.*

⁸³⁹ Léon Jacques, *Partis politiques*, pp. 343-344. Compare the more sympathetic account of the party's employment bureaus in Flornoy, *op. cit.*, p. 96, *et seq.*

⁸⁴⁰ *Brochure No. 110* of the Action Populaire; *Guide social* of the Action Populaire, 1905 and 1906; Flornoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53, 170-177; *Répertoire des archives législatives parlementaires et sociales* (published by the P. L. Party, Paris, 1904, 372 pages).

⁸⁴¹ The speech may be conveniently consulted in *Questions actuelles*, vol. lix, p. 323, *et seq.*

⁸⁴² A literal translation of Piou's phrase, "*sur le terrain constitutionnel*" might be misleading. He meant to express not a desire to preserve the constitution against change in the manner of certain American constitutionalists, constitutionally opposed to innovation, but, rather, a determination to refrain from any attempt to overthrow the Republic. "On a basis of acquiescence in the Republic" would perhaps be the best translation.

⁸⁴³ An obvious reference to the *Volksverein*, that great league of German Catholics, for the purposes of benevolent, social, and religious action, primarily, rather than for political aims. The *Volksverein* in 1913 had 776,090 members, including 26,786 women. See *Année sociale internationale*, 4me année, p. 51.

⁸⁴⁴ Speech delivered by Jacques Piou at Lille, November 17, 1901, on the occasion of the annual congress of the Catholics of the departments of the North and Pas-de-Calais,—Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, p. 94, *et seq.*

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ *Questions actuelles*, vol. lxii, p. 169, *et seq.*

⁸⁴⁷ The foregoing is a fragmentary résumé of de Mun's speech in the *Salle des agriculteurs de France*, March 15, 1902, printed in *Questions actuelles*, vol. lxiii, p. 2, *et seq.*

⁸⁴⁸ Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 640.

⁸⁴⁹ *Correspondant*, vol. 207, p. 600.

⁸⁵⁰ The most interesting of these Liberal defeats was that which occurred in the second district of Albi (department of Tarn), where the Socialist, Jaurès, defeated the Liberal, Marquis de Solages, by 6494 votes to 6154. Since the latter had received 6,702 votes in 1898, more than two hundred of his former followers must have deserted him. Were these two hundred deserters intransigent Monarchists, or were they bourgeois Republicans who from observation of the Socialists' attitude toward the Waldeck-Rousseau Government had concluded, with the premier, that the "Socialist menace" was, after all, not very menacing, so long as the Socialists could be induced to spend most

of their energy passing laws against the Catholic Church? Or were they workmen who had been converted to Socialism?

⁸⁵¹ I have obtained this figure by count of the names; a slightly smaller figure is sometimes given, as in Jacques, *Partis politiques*, p. 437. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that a few members, affiliated with the Liberal Group in 1902, drifted away a year or two later. Compare *Annuaire du parlement*, 1901, 1902, 1903-4, 1905.

⁸⁵² Figures from Hosotte, *Troisième République*, p. 640; compare the same work, *Deuxième Partie*, p. 66 and Jacques *Partis politiques*, pp. 336, 437, 438. Needless to remark, the figures are so uncertain that even Jacques cannot remain self-consistent; for example, he gives the number of members of the *Action Libérale* as 75 on p. 437 and as 79 on p. 336.

⁸⁵³ *Correspondant*, vol. 207, p. 601, issue of May 10, 1902.

⁸⁵⁴ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du congrès général tenu à Paris, les 15, 16, 17 et 18 décembre 1904* (Paris, 1905).

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-151.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 126.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 217, 225.

⁸⁵⁸ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 2^e congrès général, tenu à Paris, les 14, 15, 16 et 17 décembre, 1905* (Paris, 1906), pp. 129-130.

⁸⁵⁹ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général, tenu à Lyon, les 22, 23, 24, 25 novembre 1906* (Paris, 1907), pp. 37-38, 55-56, 68-69, 80. The question of decentralization was further studied at the convention of 1907, cf. *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 4^e congrès général tenu à Bordeaux, les 7, 8, 9 et 10 novembre 1907* (Paris, 1908), p. 79.

⁸⁶⁰ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 5^e congrès général, tenu à Paris, les 3, 4, 5, et 6 décembre, 1908* (Paris, 1909), p. 20.

⁸⁶¹ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 6^e congrès général, tenu à Paris, les 2, 3, 4 et 5 décembre 1909* (Paris, 1910), pp. 33-35, 43, 51.

⁸⁶² *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 7^e congrès général, tenu à Paris, les 8, 9, 10 et 11 juin 1911* (Paris, 1911), pp. 39, 43-44, 45, 56.

⁸⁶³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 72, 101.

⁸⁶⁴ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, pp. 63-64, 70.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-80.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-172. The following quotations are from this same speech, which was delivered at the convention of Social Workers at Pau, October 13, 1903.

⁸⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 218.

⁸⁶⁹ Piou, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁷⁰ Flornoy, *L'Action libérale populaire*, p. 65.

⁸⁷¹ From a letter written by Jacques Piou to the editor of the *Croix*, describing the character of the Popular Liberal Party, published in the

Croix of October 18, 1906, and reproduced in Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, p. 16, *et seq.*

⁸⁷² Since 1891 the magazine no longer served as the organ of the Clubs, but de Mun continued to write articles for it, and its editors were in close sympathy with the leading spirits in the Clubs.

⁸⁷³ *Association catholique*, 1898, first part, p. 553, *et seq.*

⁸⁷⁴ *Association catholique*, 1899, first part, pp. 51-53.

⁸⁷⁵ *Association catholique*, 1899, first part, p. 1.

⁸⁷⁶ *Association catholique*, 1899, first part, p. 1, *et seq.*

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁸ *Association catholique*, 1905, first part, p. 131, *et seq.*

⁸⁷⁹ *Association catholique*, 1910, first part, p. 485, *et seq.*

⁸⁸⁰ For a good expression of this view, see article on "*Le Rôle social de l'église*," by Count Albert de Mun, in *Association catholique*, 1909, December, p. 1319, *et seq.* He asserts that the Church never accepted the rôle of a "sort of religious gendarmerie but rather was from the beginning the champion of the downtrodden, coming forth from the catacombs, defending the enchained slaves against pitiless masters, the oppressed against the oppressors"; in the Middle Ages it had enforced Sunday rest, curbed usury and profiteering, safeguarded the dignity of labor, protected women and children from industrial exploitation, limited hours of labor, dispensed charity, and through quasi-religious fraternities cared for the aged and the infirm. The Reformation, the Renaissance, and the resultant Caesaristic state had withered the beneficent influence of Christianity, but even so, de Mun believed that still "the Church alone is independent enough, disinterested enough, to love the people sincerely and without ulterior motive."

⁸⁸¹ Proposition de loi sur l'organisation professionnelle, presented by MM. Léonce de Castelnau, Piou, Ollivier, de Mun, and Lerolle. *Chambre des députés*, 1906, *Documents*, p. 768.

⁸⁸² *Comptes-rendus* of the A. L. P. conventions, *passim*.

⁸⁸³ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, p. 245, *et seq.*

⁸⁸⁴ *Revue des deux mondes*, June 15, 1897, pp. 801-806.

⁸⁸⁵ Resolution of the Party Convention of 1904, *Action libérale populaire*, *Compte-rendu du congrès général tenu à Paris, les 15, 16, 17 et 18 décembre, 1904*, p. 225; *cf.* also pp. 217-225.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-193. Numerous examples are cited.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁸⁸⁸ *Action libérale populaire*, *Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général, tenu à Lyon, les 22, 23, 24, et 25 novembre, 1906*, pp. 37-38, 56.

⁸⁸⁹ A resolution favoring proportional representation with the *scrutin de liste* was passed by the party convention in 1904, see the *Compte-rendu*, p. 217. The system of voting by list, with whole departments as constituencies, had been employed in the election of the National Assembly of 1871, it will be remembered, but a system of uninominal voting, with single-member constituencies, *i. e.*, the *scrutin d'arrondissement*—had been introduced in 1876; after a reversion to the *scrutin de liste* in 1885, the *scrutin d'arrondissement* was reintroduced in 1889.

⁸⁹⁰ *Chambre des députés, 1900, Session extraordinaire, Documents*, p. 304.

⁸⁹¹ See Dansette's Bill, *Chambre des députés, 1903, Documents*, p. 837; Massabuau's Bill, *Chambre des députés, 1906, Documents*, p. 587; Massabuau's Bill, *Chambre des députés, 1910, 2^e législature, Documents*, p. 494.

⁸⁹² *Chambre des députés, 1909, Débats*, p. 2330.

⁸⁹³ *Chambre des députés, 1912, Débats*, p. 2192, et seq.

⁸⁹⁴ *Annuaire du parlement, 1909*, p. 230.

⁸⁹⁵ *Chambre des députés, 1911, Débats*, p. 2198.

⁸⁹⁶ *Chambre des députés, 1912, Débats*, p. 2221.

⁸⁹⁷ *Chambre des députés, 1914, Débats*, pp. 377-387.

⁸⁹⁸ Electoral Reform Act of July 12, 1919. Text in *Revue politique et parlementaire*, August, 1919, p. 205. Cf. Georges Lachapelle, *Les Elections législatives du 16 novembre 1919* (Paris, 1920).

⁸⁹⁹ A. L. P., *Compte-rendu du 6^e congrès général*, p. 44; *Association catholique, 1910, part i*, pp. 88-89.

⁹⁰⁰ *Chambre des députés, 1906, Documents*, p. 768, et seq.

⁹⁰² A. Esmein, *Éléments de droit constitutionnel* (Paris, 6th ed., 1914), pp. 252-260; L. Duguit, *Traité de droit constitutionnel* (Paris, 1911), *passim*; A. L. Lowell, *The Governments of France, Italy, and Germany* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 2-118; E. M. Sait, *Government and Politics of France* (Yonkers, 1920).

⁹⁰³ Léon Duguit and Henry Monnier, *Les Constitutions et les principales lois politiques de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, 1898), pp. 1-4, 36-38, 66-69, 78-80, 127-129, 183-185, 196-197, 213-214, 233-236, 274. Cf. L. Duguit, *Traité de droit constitutionnel* (Paris, 1911), vol. ii, pp. 5-16.

⁹⁰⁴ Quoted from a report by M. Souriac, at the convention of 1906. *Vide, Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général, tenu à Lyon, les 22, 23, 24, et 25 novembre, 1906*, p. 42.

⁹⁰⁵ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général, . . . 1906*, p. 55. Resolution adopted by unanimous vote of the party convention.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹⁰⁷ These details are contained in M. Souriac's report at the convention of 1906, cf. *Compte-rendu*, pp. 52, 54-55. The resolution voted by the convention was couched in more general terms as follows: "3. That the institution of a court or supreme tribunal, composed of irremovable magistrates absolutely independent in their selection and in the exercise of their functions, should be established as the guardian of the constitution, as protector of the public liberties inscribed therein, and with the right to annul or to declare void any act, whether of the executive or of the legislative power, which infringes upon these liberties."

⁹⁰⁸ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général, . . . 1906*, p. 56. Resolution adopted by the convention.

⁹⁰⁹ *Journal officiel*, 1875, pp. 1521, 1545, 5489.

⁹¹⁰ Cf. Esmein, *op. cit.*, pp. 636-854; Duguit, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 416-

514; Lowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-65; F. A. Ogg, *Governments of Europe* (N. Y., 1916), pp. 308-311; Sait, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-67.

⁹¹¹ Esmein, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-259; Sait, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Lowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

⁹¹² *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général*, . . . 1906, pp. 44-46, 50-52, 56.

⁹¹³ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 6^e congrès général*, . . . 1906, pp. 29-30.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-36.

⁹¹⁶ *L'Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 6^e congrès général*, . . . 1900, p. 11.

⁹¹⁷ *L'Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 4^e congrès général*, . . . 1907, p. 6.

⁹¹⁸ M. Charles Brun, quoted at the 1907 convention, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁹¹⁹ *L'Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général*, 1906, p. 56.

⁹²⁰ *L'Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 4^e congrès général*, . . . 1907, p. 64, et seq.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

⁹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69, 72-73.

⁹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72.

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁹²⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Du Contrat social* (ed. by Geo. Beau-lavon, Paris, 1914), p. 271.

⁹²⁷ *L'Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général*, . . . 1906, p. 56.

⁹²⁸ *L'Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 7^e congrès général*, . . . 1911, pp. 35-39. The same convention also resolved, "That, for the municipal elections of 1912, all the committees (of the party) be invited to include the question of the municipal referendum among those which figure in their programs; that, furthermore, the executive committee send to all the local groups instructions regarding the application of the municipal referendum."

⁹²⁹ *Le Programme social et politique de l'Action libérale populaire* (published by the secretariat of the party, Paris, 1913), p. 4.

⁹³⁰ Speech of Oct. 15, 1905, in Jacques Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, p. 228.

⁹³¹ Eugène Flornoy, *La Lutte par l'association: l'Action libérale populaire* (Paris, 1907), pp. 1-3.

⁹³² *Le Programme social et politique de l'Action libérale populaire*, p. 3, and *Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général* . . . 1906, p. 55.

⁹³³ *Journal officiel*, 1905, p. 7205.

⁹³⁴ Article 4 provided that the associations for public worship should conform "to the general rules of organization of the religion of which they proposed to assure the exercise." In deciding disputes, therefore, under article 8, the council of state would have to decide which association really conformed to "the general rules of organization" of the

religion in question. Owing to the opposition of the Catholics, the government refrained from enforcing the provision regarding associations, and, by a law of Jan. 2, 1907, the clergy was permitted to use the church buildings, without being given legal title. *Journal officiel*, 1907, pp. 34, 997.

⁹³⁵ *Compte-rendu du 6^e congrès général*, p. 55.

⁹³⁶ *Chambre des députés, 1901, Débats*, pp. 64-65.

⁹³⁷ *Journal officiel*, 1901, pp. 4025, 4087, 5240.

⁹³⁸ *Chambre des députés, 1903, Débats*, pp. 1117, 1137, 1179, 1199, 1219, 1245, 1306, 1359, 2163.

⁹³⁹ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, pp. 39-40.

⁹⁴⁰ Speeches by Piou and Grousseau, Jan. 17 and 21, 1910, in *Chambre des députés, 1910, Débats*, pp. 112-122, 248-254.

⁹⁴¹ *Journal officiel*, 1882, p. 1697. One day a week, besides Sunday, was allowed, in which religious instruction might be given, outside the school. Priests were not allowed to give religious instruction in the school building even outside of class hours.

⁹⁴² *Journal officiel*, 1886, p. 4997.

⁹⁴³ Law of July 1, 1901, cf. *Journal officiel*, 1901, p. 4025.

⁹⁴⁴ Law of July 7, 1904, cf. *Journal officiel*, 1904, p. 4129. The schools maintained by religious orders were to be suppressed within a maximum of ten years.

⁹⁴⁵ *Le Programme social et politique de l'Action libérale populaire*, p. 7.

⁹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 32-33; and *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 7^e congrès général . . . 1911*, pp. 17, 24, et seq., 47, et seq., 56.

⁹⁴⁷ Léon Jacques, *Les Partis politiques sous la III^e République* (Paris, 1913), pp. 341-342.

⁹⁴⁸ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général . . . 1906*, p. 118.

⁹⁴⁹ *Idem, Compte-rendu du 4^e congrès général . . . 1907*, p. 114.

⁹⁵⁰ Speech at Pau, Oct. 13, 1903, in Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, p. 171.

⁹⁵¹ Speech at Besançon, Nov. 29, 1903, in A. de Mun, *Combats d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, vol. i, p. 467, et seq.

⁹⁵² *Chambre des députés, 1905, Débats*, p. 268.

⁹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 277-280.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-283.

⁹⁵⁷ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, pp. 48-49.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁹⁶⁰ A. de Mun, *Combats d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, vol. i, pp. 434-435.

⁹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

⁹⁶² The Law of March 30, 1900, limiting the working day to eleven hours for women and children and for men working in the same shops with women or children. The limit of eleven hours was to be reduced

to ten and one-half after two years, and to ten after another two year delay.

⁹⁶³ *Chambre des députés, 1904, Débats, p. 785, et seq., 789, et seq.*

⁹⁶⁴ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général, . . . 1906, pp. 6-7.*

⁹⁶⁵ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales, p. 170.*

⁹⁶⁶ A. de Mun, *Combats d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, vol. ii, pp. 273-274.*

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 469.

⁹⁶⁸ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales, pp. 264-265.*

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁰ This decision was taken at the eighth party convention, January, 1914. *Cf. Le Temps, Jan. 31, Feb. 1-3, 1914.*

⁹⁷¹ In a debate on Tunisian affairs, Nov. 9, 1881, de Mun threw the Chamber into an uproar by using the expression, "the difficulty which the republican régime has in sustaining worthily our national honor," — *Cf. Chambre des députés, 1881, Débats, p. 1993, et seq.* In the debate on Franco-German negotiations respecting Morocco, de Mun delivered a patriotic oration which won unusual applause.—*Ch. des d., 1911, Débats, sess. extr.*, pp. 3970-3973.

⁹⁷² *Chambre des députés, 1900, Débats, p. 1870.*

⁹⁷³ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du congrès général . . . 1904, p. 15.*

⁹⁷⁴ The author was informed at the Office of the party that among the deputies who served in the army were Lt. Col. Plichon, M. Engerand, Lt. Col. Driant, M. Dutreil, Col. Cochin, M. René Reille, M. de Constans, M. Ybarnegarey, M. Blaisot, M. Tailliandier. Col. Cochin, M. Reille, Lt. Col. Driant, and M. Tailliandier lost their lives.

⁹⁷⁵ The last sentence is from an obituary article by François Veuillot, quoted by A. Saint-Pierre, in his *Le Comte Albert de Mun, p. 53, et seq.* *Cf. L. de Grandmaison, "Le Comte Albert de Mun," in Études, vol. 141, pp. 25-52.*

⁹⁷⁶ *La Presse de Paris, Nov. 17, 1919; Le Temps, Dec. 17, 1919, and Jan. 2, 1920.*

⁹⁷⁷ *Chambre des députés, 1891, Débats, p. 2492.*

⁹⁷⁸ Paris, 1909, vol. ii, pp. 331-332.

⁹⁷⁹ Paris, 1909, pp. 224-225.

⁹⁸⁰ Paris, 1913, p. 339, *et seq.*

⁹⁸¹ *Cf. Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 7^e congrès général . . . 1911, p. 112.*

⁹⁸² *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁸⁴ Abbé Naudet, *Pourquoi les catholiques ont perdu la bataille* (2nd ed.), p. 217, *et seq.*

⁹⁸⁵ Pierre Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains, Histoire et souvenirs 1800-1903* (Paris, 1905), p. 696.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 700.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 690.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 728.

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 694.

⁹⁹⁰ Abbé Emmanuel Barbier, *Rome et l'Action libérale populaire, Histoire et documents* (2nd ed., Paris and Poitiers), pp. 246-247.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219. Inasmuch as one of Abbé Barbier's books, *Le Progrès du libéralisme catholique en France sous le Pape Léon XIII* was placed on the Index by a decree of May 28, 1908, it may be doubted whether he is an authoritative interpreter of the papal policy as regards liberalism. A decree of Jan. 4, 1909, announced that he had praiseworthy submitted to the correction of his views.

⁹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. He quotes a letter written by M. Arthur Loth in 1894, claiming that the Republican factions had never obtained even a majority of the electoral body.

⁹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 269. He quotes these figures from a computation made by *L'Action catholique française*.

⁹⁹⁶ L. Hosotte, *Histoire de la Troisième République*, Part II (Paris and Besançon, 1912), pp. 66-67.

⁹⁹⁷ According to a calculation based on official returns of the first ballot.

⁹⁹⁸ *Le Programme social et politique de l'Action libérale populaire* (Paris, 1913), p. 2.

⁹⁹⁹ *Action libérale populaire, Compte-rendu du 5^e congrès général* . . . 1908, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *L'Action Libérale Populaire, Bulletin bi-mensuel de l'Association*, July 15, 1919, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰¹ Jacques, *Les Partis politiques*, p. 343.

¹⁰⁰² *Le Temps*, April 9, 1919.

¹⁰⁰³ *L'Action Libérale Populaire, Bulletin bi-mensuel de l'Association*, July 15, 1919, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁰⁴ A complete bibliography of these would be almost a volume in itself. Many are cited in the footnotes of this and preceding chapters. For others, consult the bibliographies in the successive issues of *L'Association catholique*, *Le Mouvement social*, and *L'Année sociale*. The Catholic universities are producing in increasing number dissertations on philosophical, legal, and economic aspects of the social problem, and on the lives and works of precursors of the Social Catholic movement.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The most convenient source of information concerning these various institutions is the *Année sociale internationale*. The same work provides useful bibliographies for further research.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Professor Max Turmann, in his *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, makes his whole program rest, logically, upon the Christian view of the dignity of the laborer; in the first place, dignity as an individual, which involves a minimum wage, Sunday holiday, a maximum working day, shop committees or joint boards, and profit-sharing; in the second place, as the head of a family, which function requires a wage sufficient for the family, interdiction of night work, restriction of the employment of women, and protection of small

holdings; in the third place, as member of a profession, which involves proper organization of the trades.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Éblé, *Les Écoles catholiques d'économie politique et sociale en France*, p. 248.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Année sociale internationale*, 1913-1914, p. 51.

¹⁰¹⁰ In 1904, for example, the chairman of the central committee of the A. C. J. F. was Jean Lerolle, who is a conspicuous member of the Popular Liberal Party, while the first vice-chairman was Joseph Zaminski, who is one of the most important figures in the *Action populaire*, and joint editor of *Le Mouvement social*.

¹⁰¹¹ The following account of the *Action Populaire* is based upon personal observations and inquiries, upon consultation of the various publications of the organization, and upon the following descriptions of its work: Georges Goyau, "L'Action Populaire de Reims, son histoire, son rôle," in *Le Correspondant*, June 25, 1912, pp. 1058-1077; G. Desbuquois, *L'Action Populaire, son esprit, son travail*, No. 1 of the yellow brochures published by the *Action Populaire*; the *Catalogue général des publications de l'Action Populaire de Reims*, 1916; *Année sociale internationale*, 1913-1914, p. 48, et seq.; and Irene Hernaman, *Catholic Social Action in France*, a brochure published by the Catholic Truth Society of London, being an account of a visit to the office at Rheims.

¹⁰¹² *Année sociale internationale*, 1913-1914, p. 51.

¹⁰¹³ Georges Goyau, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰¹⁴ *Guide social 1913-1914*, tenth year, published by the *Action Populaire* at Rheims, 1914, and its Paris agent, Lecoffre.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Guide social*, 1911, preface, p. 3.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Année sociale internationale 1913-14: Bilan des Idées et des Institutions: 4me Année* (Rheims and Paris, 1914), preface, p. vi.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. v.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Manuel social pratique*, published by *Action Populaire* (Rheims, 1910, sixth thousand) part two, ch. ii, section A.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Manuel de droit pratique usuel et rural*, by Jean Hachin (*Action Populaire*, Rheims).

¹⁰²⁰ *The Guide pratique de lois d'assistance* (*Action Populaire*, Rheims) gives an exposition of and commentary on the laws on public assistance of maternity cases, of children, of large families, on accident compensation, old-age pensions and old-age assistance, etc.

¹⁰²¹ *Vocabulaire économique et social* (*Action Populaire*, Rheims).

¹⁰²² *L'Almanach illustré de l'Action Populaire*, a 130-page almanac, with a circulation of over 120,000.

¹⁰²³ *Manuel pratique d'action religieuse*.

¹⁰²⁴ *Guide d'Action religieuse* for 1908 and for 1909.

¹⁰²⁵ *Guide de l'école libre*.

¹⁰²⁶ *Le Mouvement social*, Jan., 1909, p. 7.

¹⁰²⁷ Léon de Seilhac, *Les Congrès ouvriers en France*.

¹⁰²⁸ Eugène Duthoit, *Vers l'organisation professionnelle*.

¹⁰²⁹ O. Jean, *Le Syndicalisme: son origine, son organisation, son rôle social*.

¹⁰³⁰ J. Hachin and A. Agasse, *Retraites ouvrières et paysannes: Commentaire pratique de la loi.*

¹⁰³¹ *La Question de l'apprentissage: Études et enquêtes présentées à l'Assemblée générale de l'Œuvre des Cercles catholiques, 1913*, and *L'Élite ouvrière catholique*, a publication of the reports and deliberations of the General Assembly of the Association of Catholic Workmen's Clubs.

¹⁰³² Maurice Rigaux, *Vers les humbles: Drame social des premiers siècles du christianisme.*

¹⁰³³ *Idem*, *Quand l'âme est droit.*

¹⁰³⁴ Ch. Calippe, *Balzac: ses idées sociales.*

¹⁰³⁵ René Johannet, *L'Évolution du roman social au XIX^e siècle.*

¹⁰³⁶ G. Goyau, "L'Action Populaire de Reims: son histoire—son rôle" (in *Le Correspondant*, June 25, 1912, pp. 1058-1077).

¹⁰³⁷ Irene Hernaman, *Catholic Social Action in France* (brochure published by the Catholic Truth Society of London); G. Goyau, "L'Action Populaire de Reims: son histoire—son rôle" (in *Le Correspondant*, June 25, 1912, pp. 1058-1077); *Année sociale internationale 1913-1914*, p. 50.

¹⁰³⁸ Goyau, *loc. cit.*; *Année sociale internationale, 1913-1914*, p. 49.

¹⁰³⁹ The following paragraphs are all based upon the series of articles—of which they are a summary—published by Abbé Desbuquois in *Le Mouvement social*, Aug., 1912, p. 672, *et seq.*; Sept., p. 779, *et seq.*; Oct., p. 865, *et seq.*, under the title "L'Action sociale catholique."

¹⁰⁴⁰ The word syndicalism comes from the French word for a union, and specifically for a trade union,—*syndicat*. But revolutionary propaganda aiming to overthrow political democracy and to make the *syndicats* of the workingmen all-powerful gave revolutionary implications to the word *syndicalisme*. Still, the word is sometimes used to designate labor-unionism, the revolutionary movement being described as *syndicalisme révolutionnaire*.

¹⁰⁴¹ These prophetic words, it should be recalled, were written not in 1919, when the Great War and the Bolshevik uprisings in Russia, Hungary and Germany had made such events all too actual, but in 1912, when the Great Powers were at peace and the social order seemingly secure.

¹⁰⁴² In the *Catalogue général des publications de l'Action Populaire de Reims, 1916*, pp. 4-6, are cited a number of endorsements of the *Action Populaire*. The Pope, the papal secretary of state, six cardinals, and 76 French bishops and archbishops have commended the institution. In 1912, Pius X said to a French bishop, referring to the *Action Populaire*, "*non solum laudo sed approbo.*" Cardinal Merry del Val, papal secretary of state, wrote on July 8, 1909, "Among the social works so useful and so highly recommended for the present age, the Holy Father is not ignorant of the zeal with which the *Action Populaire* . . . pursues its noble aim. But what especially pleases the Sovereign Pontiff is to observe by what principles the *Action Populaire* is inspired. Its frankly Catholic spirit, superior to all party struggles,

its entire fidelity to the teachings of the Church, from which it professes to receive all its strength and its direction, finally, its generous aim of working for the true welfare of the working class, which is so worthy of interest, are pledges that it will produce precious and enduring fruits. . . ." In 1911, also, Cardinal Merry del Val sent a telegram to the congress of the *Action Populaire* at Paris, expressing the pope's "paternal encouragements." Cardinal Luçon, archbishop of Rheims, wrote in 1911, "For five years as I have watched you at work in my episcopal city and in my diocese, I have admired your intelligence in social work and Catholic work, your fruitful activity, the zeal with which you apply yourselves to promoting devotion among the popular classes, and with which you strive toward the aims defined by the Church and toward the solution of the Social Question. All the world feels the necessity of social action, but many do not know how to undertake it: they have not been trained for it, they have not had experience in it. The orthodoxy of your principles, your Catholic spirit, your scrupulous attention to conformity with the directions of the Holy See, as well as the talent and science of your collaborators, make the *Action Populaire*, in my opinion, a trustworthy school of social studies, and make its publications, the classics, so to speak, of Catholic work. . . ."

¹⁰⁴³ This section is based upon the *Comptes rendus* of the *Semaines sociales* of Orléans (1905), Dijon (1906), Amiens (1907), Marseilles (1908), Bordeaux (1909), Rouen (1910), Saint-Etienne (1911), Limoges (1912), and Versailles (1913), and the following articles: M. Rigaux, *La Semaine sociale de Rouen* (No. 134 of the *Action Populaire's* yellow brochure series); H. J. Leroy, "La Semaine sociale de Limoges" (in *Le Mouvement social*, vol. 74, pp. 821-824); Albert Chapon, "La Semaine Sociale" (in *Le Monde économique*, Aug. 9, 1913); Hubert Lagardelle, "Les Catholiques sociaux" (in *Le Mouvement socialiste*, vol. 32, pp. 199-201); Georges Blondel, "Les Semaines sociales" (in *Le Monde économique*, June 7, 1913); A. Boissard, "La Semaine sociale de Versailles" (in *Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug. 1913, pp. 522-521); Robert Ulens, "La Semaine sociale de Versailles" (in *Revue social catholique*, vol. 17, pp. 376-377); Étienne Lamy, "À propos des semaines sociales; Socialistes et Catholiques" (in *Le Correspondant*, Aug. 23, 1909, vol. 236, pp. 625-653); Louis Rivière, "La Semaine sociale de Versailles" (in *La Réforme sociale*, vol. 66, pp. 467-476); A. Danset, "De Versailles à Besançon" (in *Le Mouvement social*, July 15, 1914, pp. 34-55); Abbé Ch. Calippe, "La 'Semaine sociale' d'Amiens" (in *Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug., 1907, pp. 632-644); A. Albaret, "La Semaine sociale de Saint-Etienne" (in *Revue sociale catholique*, vol. 16, pp. 1-20); Max Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social* (Paris, 1909), pp. 328-329; and Count Albert de Mun's letters to the *Semaines sociales* (*Le Mouvement social*, vol. 74, pp. 859-860, vol. 76, p. 90).

¹⁰⁴⁴ See, for example, Hubert Lagardelle's significant comment in *Le Mouvement socialiste*, vol. 32, pp. 199-201.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Le Correspondant*, Aug. 25, 1909, vol. 236, pp. 625-653.

¹⁰⁴⁶ A. Boissard, "La Semaine sociale de Versailles" (*Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug., 1913, pp. 522-531).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, pp. 328-341; *Année sociale internationale 1913-1914*, pp. 55-56; Blondel, in *Le Monde économique*, June 7, 1913; Boissard, in *La Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug., 1913, pp. 522-531; Ulens, in *La Revue sociale catholique*, vol. 17, pp. 376-377.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 394; Blondel, in *Le Monde économique*, June 7, 1913; Turmann, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Calippe, in *La Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug., 1907, pp. 632-644; Albaret, in *La Revue sociale catholique*, vol. 16, pp. 1-20.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Quoted by Lamy, in *Le Correspondant*, vol. 236, p. 631.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The *Comptes-rendus* of the *Semaines sociales* give the number of registered attendants, in addition to whom there are always a large number who attend the lectures without formally registering. Cf. Boissard in *La Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug., 1913; Danset, in *Le Mouvement social*, July 15, 1914; Rivière, in *La Réforme sociale*, vol. 66, pp. 467-476.

¹⁰⁵¹ Calippe, in *La Revue hebdomadaire*, Aug., 1907, pp. 632-644.

¹⁰⁵² Étienne Lamy, "À propos des Semaines sociales; Socialistes et Catholiques" (*Correspondant*, Aug. 25, 1909, vol. 236, pp. 625-653).

¹⁰⁵³ Article by Eugène Rostand on "The Young Social Catholics and the 'Semaine sociale' of Bordeaux," originally published in the *Journal des Débats*, reprinted in *La Réforme sociale*, 1909, vol. 58, pp. 606-612. It should be noted that *La Réforme sociale* is hostile only to the extremist tendencies exhibited in the *Semaine sociale*, not to the *Semaines* themselves. In fact, the school of which this review serves as organ is obviously friendly to the *Semaines*. Cf. André Roche on "Semaine sociale d'Orléans," in *Réforme sociale*, 1905, vol. 50, pp. 585-588, and Louis Rivière on "La Semaine sociale de Versailles," in *Réforme sociale*, 1913, vol. 66, p. 467, *et seq.*

¹⁰⁵⁴ Fr. Veuillot, *Action social des jeunes: Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Française* (Yellow Brochure No. 29 of the *Action populaire* series), pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 10, 31; *Annuaire de l'Action Libérale Populaire 1904-1905*, p. 324.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Idem*, pp. 9-12, 17-21, 31-32; *Annuaire de l'A. L. P.*, p. 323.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Article by Alexandre Souriac on the social ideas of the A. C. J. F., in a symposium on "The Social Ideas of the Contemporary Youth," in *La Réforme sociale*, 1913, vol. 65, pp. 513-541.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Count Albert de Mun, *Combats d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, vol. i, p. 408.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cf. for example his letter to the convention of 1903, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-438, and his speech on "The Social Duty of the Catholic Young Men's Association" at a convention at Besançon, *ibid.*, 439-475.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. Souriac's article on "Les Idées sociales de la Jeunesse contemporaine" (*La Réforme sociale*, 1913, pp. 513-541); G. Piot, *op. cit.*; *L'Action sociale dans l'A. C. J. F.*; Zamanski's report to the Bordeaux

convention of 1907 (*Association catholique*, vol. 63, p. 189, et seq.).

¹⁰⁶¹ Fr. Veuillot, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶² *Semaine sociale* of Saint-Etienne, *Compte-rendu*, p. 267, et seq., 222, et seq.; of Limoges, *Compte-rendu*, p. 137, et seq.; of Versailles, *Compte-rendu*, p. 291, et seq.

¹⁰⁶³ *Semaine sociale* of Rouen, *Compte-rendu*, p. 245, et seq.; of Saint-Etienne, *Compte-rendu*, p. 515, et seq.; of Limoges, *Compte-rendu*, p. 129, et seq.; of Versailles, *Compte-rendu*, p. 423, et seq.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Cf. *Action libérale populaire*, *Compte-rendu du congrès général* . . . 1904, p. 148; *Compte-rendu du 2^e congrès général* . . . 1905, p. 126; *Compte-rendu du 5^e congrès général* . . . 1908, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. *Action libérale populaire*, *Compte-rendu du 3^e congrès général* . . . 1906, pp. 40, 54; *Compte-rendu du 4^e congrès général* . . . 1907, p. 64.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Count Albert de Mun, *Combats d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, vol. i, p. 438 (letter to the convention of the A. C. J. F. at Chalon-sur-Saône, May 9, 1903).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Piou, *Questions religieuses et sociales*, pp. 135-145; cf. *Annuaire de l'Action libérale populaire* . . . 1904-1905, pp. 54-62, and Fr. Veuillot, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 58-62.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 140-156.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *La Réforme sociale*, 1914, vol. 67, p. 1, et seq.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷² *La Réforme Sociale: Bulletin de la Société d'Économie Sociale et des Unions de la Paix Sociale fondées par P.*—F. *Le Play*, published twice monthly, at Paris. The editorial committee, in 1914, comprised Paul Nourrisson, F. Lepelletier, Louis Rivière, Herbert-Valle-roux, Maurice Defourmantelle, F. Charpin (secretary).

¹⁰⁷³ The article here summarized is part of a symposium on "The Social Ideas of the Contemporary Youth," in *La Réforme sociale*, 1913, vol. 65,, pp. 513-541.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *La Réforme Sociale*, 1905, vol. 49, pp. 326-327, article by A. D. (presumably Alexis Delaire, secretary-general of the Society of Social Economy) on "Le Programme de la Paix Sociale et les élections prochaines."

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cf. for example, *La Réforme sociale*, 1909, vol. 57, p. 676, reviewing the *Manuel social pratique* published by the A. P. Among the pamphlets published by the A. P. and written by conspicuous members of the "Social Reform" group, may be mentioned: No. 13 (Etienne Martin-Saint-Léon, *La Mutualité*), No. 257 (*idem*, *Une crise économique: La Vie chère*), No. 51 (A. Delaire, *Le Play et son École*), No. 101 (G. Blondel, *La Situation économique et sociale des États-Unis*), No. 164 (*idem*, *Les Transformations de l'Allemagne contemporaine*), No. 28 (*Pierre du Marousssem, Qu'est-ce que la Question ouvrière*), No. 49 (*idem, Qu'est-ce que la Question sociale*), No. 152 (M. Dufourmantelle, *Le crédit populaire*).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 345-346.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *La Réforme sociale*, 1910, vol. 59, p. 598.

- ¹⁰⁷⁸ *Idem*, 1909, vol. 57, pp. 296-308.
- ¹⁰⁷⁹ *La Réforme sociale*, 1900, vol. 40, pp. 641-659.
- ¹⁰⁸⁰ Charles Maurras and Lucien Moreau, on "L'Action Française," an article in *Le Correspondant*, June 10, 1908, pp. 959-981; Léon Jacques, *Les Partis politiques sous la III^e République*, p. 176; R. L. Buell, *Contemporary French Politics* (N. Y., 1920), pp. 8-18.
- ¹⁰⁸¹ Maurras and Moreau, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁸³ Jacques, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
- ¹⁰⁸⁴ Étienne Lamy, "L'Action Française et le Correspondant," in *Le Correspondant*, Dec. 10, 1907, pp. 984-1005.
- ¹⁰⁸⁵ Quoted by Jacques, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- ¹⁰⁸⁶ Cf. Guy-Grand's interesting discussion of the possibility of alliance between the *Action Française* and the C. G. T., in his book, *Le Procès de la Démocratie* (Paris, 1911), pp. 10-11, *et passim*.
- ¹⁰⁸⁷ Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France*, p. 395, *et seq.*; Éblé, *Les Écoles catholiques d'économie*, p. 222, *et seq.*
- ¹⁰⁸⁸ Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-399; Éblé, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-225; Barbier, *Progrès du libéralisme*, p. 88, *et seq.*
- ¹⁰⁸⁹ Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 395.
- ¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 208.
- ¹⁰⁹¹ Barbier, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Abbé Lemire was secretary-general.
- ¹⁰⁹² Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social*, p. 193.
- ¹⁰⁹³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 347-348.
- ¹⁰⁹⁴ Extracts from Abbé Naudet's speeches, quoted by Barbier, *op. cit.*, p. 46, from *Le Bien du Peuple*, 1892-1894.
- ¹⁰⁹⁵ Abbé Naudet, *La Démocratie et les Démocrates chrétiens* (Paris, 1900), *passim*, especially p. 76, *et seq.*
- ¹⁰⁹⁶ Fesch, *Année sociale en France et à l'étranger*, 1898 (Paris, 1899), pp. 75-80.
- ¹⁰⁹⁷ Abbé Pierre Dabry, *Les Catholiques républicains, Histoire et souvenirs, 1890-1903* (Paris, 1905), especially pp. 694-695.
- ¹⁰⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, and *La Vie catholique*, Nov. 2, 1907.
- ¹⁰⁹⁹ Naudet, *Pourquoi les catholiques ont perdu la bataille*.
- ¹¹⁰⁰ Another Christian Democratic priest in the Chamber of Deputies, Abbé Gayraud, joined the Popular Liberal Party. Abbés Gayraud and Lemire may exemplify the two tendencies of the Christian Democrats, the first towards reconciliation with the Social Catholics, the second towards a form of radicalism incompatible with Social Catholicism.
- ¹¹⁰¹ Abbé Emmanuel Barbier, *Les Démocrates chrétiens et le modernisme: histoire documentaire* (Paris and Nancy, 1908), *passim*.
- ¹¹⁰² Article reproduced in Barbier, *Les Démocrates chrétiens et le modernisme*, p. 367, *et seq.*
- ¹¹⁰³ *Acta sanctae sedis*, vol. xli, p. 141.
- ¹¹⁰⁴ Article by Bazire, in *L'Univers*, Aug. 29, 1907.
- ¹¹⁰⁵ Marc Sangnier, *L'Histoire et les idées du Sillon*; *idem*, *Le plus grand Sillon*. "Cinq années d'action," in *Le Sillon* for March 10, 1907; Jacques, *Les Partis politiques*, p. 347; Weill, *Histoire du catholicisme libéral*, p. 241; Fesch, *Année sociale*, 1907, pp. 183-196.

¹¹⁰⁶ In addition to the works already cited, see Marc Sangnier, *Le Sillon, esprit et méthodes*; Louis Cousin, *Vie et doctrine du Sillon*; Barbier, *Les Idées du Sillon*; *idem*, *Les Erreurs du Sillon*; *idem*, *La Décadence du Sillon*; Ch. Maurras, *Le Dilemme de Marc Sangnier*.

¹¹⁰⁷ Quoted by Weill, *loc cit.*

¹¹⁰⁸ Works cited above.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹² Weill, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

¹¹¹³ Barbier, *Progrès du libéralisme catholique*, p. 45.

¹¹¹⁴ R. de Marans, "Un nouvel état d'esprit rétrograde," in *L'Amé latine*, July, 1904, quoted by Éblé, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

¹¹¹⁵ Pius X, letter to the French Archbishops and Bishops, August 25, 1910, in *Rome*, Sept. 3, 1910, pp. 116-120, Sept. 10, pp. 129-132.

¹¹¹⁶ Marc Sangnier, *Discours 1910-1913* (Paris, 1913), *passim*.

¹¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 403, *et seq.*, 451, *et seq.*

¹¹¹⁸ Hubert Lagardelle in *Le Devenir social*, 1898, p. 81.

¹¹¹⁹ A convention or congress for the study of social questions. Cf. *supra*, pp. 339-346.

¹¹²⁰ *Le Mouvement socialiste*, Sept.-Oct., 1912, p. 199, *et seq.* Lagardelle in concluding his article finds comfort in the reflection that "Socialism, and I speak of syndicalist Socialism, not of democratic Socialism, has nothing to fear from the Social Catholics. It can only profit by their critique of capitalism and by their exaltation of trade-union organization. Social Catholicism is working for syndicalism."

¹¹²¹ *Le Rappel*, June 5, 1912.

¹¹²² *La Révolution Syndicaliste convoquée par les "Catholiques Sociaux"* (Paris, 1913).

¹¹²³ Defoyère, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93. Italics are as in original.

¹¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100, 107.

¹¹²⁵ Fidao-Justiniani, "Les Courants d'idées," *Le Mouvement social*, Feb., 1912, pp. 113-126; April, 1912, pp. 317-333.

¹¹²⁶ Max Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social depuis l'encyclique "Rerum Novarum" (15 mai 1891); idées directrices et caractères généraux: deuxième édition revue et augmentée d'une étude sur le mouvement social catholique depuis 1900* (Paris, 1909), p. iii of Preface to First Edition.

¹¹²⁷ Joseph Zamanski (joint editor of *Le Mouvement social*), article on "La Politique sociale," in *Le Mouvement social*, 1913, vol. 76, p. 336, *et seq.*

¹¹²⁸ *Moniteur universel*, Feb. 17, 1791, pp. 194-196, and June 15, 1791, p. 688; Office du travail, *Les Associations professionnelles ouvrières* (Paris, 1899), vol. i, pp. 6-19.

¹¹²⁹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 19-24.

¹¹³⁰ Cf. *supra*, pp. 101-105.

¹¹³¹ M. Éblé, *Les Écoles catholiques d'économie politique et sociale en France* (Paris, 1905), ch. v; *Manuel social pratique* (Rheims, 1910), pp. 150-171; *Le Mouvement social*, vol. 77, pp. 372-377.

¹¹³² Proposition de loi sur l'organisation professionnelle, présentée par MM. Léonce de Castelnau, Piou, Ollivier, le comte Albert de Mun,

Lerolle, Chambre des députés, 1906, *Documents*, pp. 768-771. Cf. Éblé, *loc. cit.*; Martin Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers* (Paris, 1897), pp. 620-659.

¹¹³³The idea of professional or functional representation is suggested but not formally included in the Bill of 1906. Cf. Max Turmann, *Le Développement du catholicisme social* (Paris, 1909), pp. 93, 290-292; La Tour du Pin, *Vers un ordre social chrétien* (2nd ed., Paris), *passim*; articles by Urbain Guérin and Eugène Duthoit in *L'Association catholique*, January, 1891, p. 34, *et seq.*, and July, 1900, pp. 4-21. The article by Duthoit is particularly interesting.

¹¹³⁴Max Turmann, article in *Le Correspondant*, July 10, 1919, pp. 1-31.

¹¹³⁵*The Constitution of the German Republic*, translated by W. B. Munro and A. N. Holcombe, published by World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1919.

¹¹³⁶The literature of Guild Socialism is rapidly becoming voluminous. I have based my brief discussion of the subject upon *The Guildsman* (monthly, edited by G. D. H. and Margaret Cole, London); articles in *The New Age*; G. D. H. Cole, *The World of Labour* (London, 1920, first published, 1913); *Self-Government in Industry* (London, 1920, first published, 1917); *Labour in the Commonwealth* (London, 1920); *Chaos and Order in Industry* (London, 1920); *Social Theory* (London, 1920); S. G. Hobson, *National Guilds* (London, 1919); *Guild Principles in War and Peace* (second edition, London, 1919); *National Guilds and the State* (London, 1920); A. J. Penty, *Restoration of the Guild System* (London, 1906); *Old Worlds for New* (London, 1917); M. B. Rickett and C. E. Bechhofer, *The Meaning of National Guilds* (London, 1918).

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