

THE PERSONNEL OF FRENCH PUBLIC EDUCATION

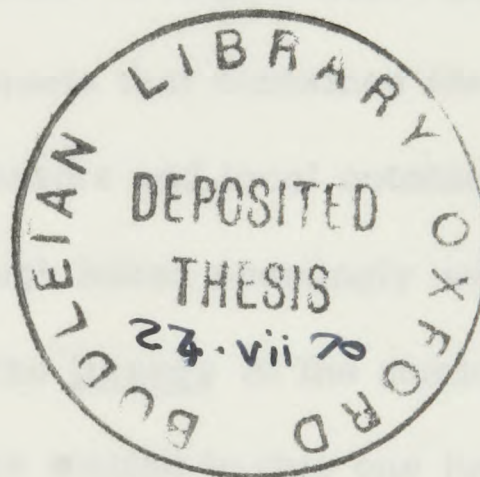
1809-1830

PREFACE

A STUDY OF ANGERS AND PARIS
DURING THE EMPIRE AND RESTORATION

[Paul M. Pressly]

[1970]



The material for the study came primarily from the 17

series of the National Archives, where the documents of public

education are dispersed through a number of PREFACE series.

series of the archives of the Maine-et-Loire, the Vendée, and to

a lesser extent of the Sarthe. Far less than the administrative documents

of the Morbihan, Ille-et-Vilaine, Seine-et-Marne, the Cher and

Cher were of great help as well.

In the National Archives, the chief bulk of records was

the correspondence of the minister of August 1791, which, in the

form of single reports or petitions that contained the reports and

petitions of principals, professors and local authorities. The corres-

pondence was scattered through many different series in the

Academy as well as through the series of the Department of the

The research was by no means limited to the administrative work

work was done on the correspondence of the minister of the Academy

to make a comprehensive study. The first series of the

Maine-et-Loire contained the reports of the principal and the

indispensable in providing a view of the whole system and in the

the Academy. Some of the documents of the Academy were of great

importance.

The material for the study came primarily from the F 17 series of the National Archives, where the documents of public education are dispersed through a number of liasses, and in the T series of the archives of the Maine-et-Loire, the Mayenne, and to a lesser extent of the Sarthe. Forays into the departmental archives of the Morbihan, Ille-et-Vilaine, Seine-Atlantique, the Nord and Cher were of great help as well.

In the National Archives, the chief type of document was the correspondence of the recteur of Angers with Paris, either in the form of single reports or paquets that contained the letters and petitions of principals, professors and local notables. This correspondence was scattered through boxes seemingly unrelated to the Academy as well as through the liasses of the municipal schools. The research was by no means limited to this one jurisdiction; much work was done on the correspondence of other academies in the attempt to make a comparative analysis. The departmental archives of the Maine-et-Loire contained the papers of the old rectorate and were indispensable in providing details on the more human side of life in the Academy. Those of the Mayenne and the Sarthe offered less information.

4 In probing into the life of a particular academy, into the people who taught in its schools, and into its relationship with Parisian bureaucrats, secondary sources could be no more than a general guide. Certain books were of importance in pointing the way to this kind of study; Maurice Gontard's very excellent research on primary education during this period, Remy Tesseneau's biography of an inspector-general, and Jacques Poirier's exploration of the politics of the University from 1816 to 1821. Others served only to provide a more general narrative framework; Ponteil's general history of education, Grimaud's study of the history of "freedom of education", Aubard's account of the creation of the Imperial University, and Garnier's biography of Frayssinous.

The purpose of this thesis is not to retrace the story contained in these works, for the narrative of French education is a well-known and oft-told story. Rather I am seeking to probe into the inner workings of the machinery that formed public education, into the life of the various layers of personnel who made up this body.

<u>Aca. Belles-Lettres Besancon.</u>	Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Besançon.
<u>Ani. His.</u>	Anjou Historique.
<u>Ann. Bourgogne.</u>	Annales de Bourgogne.
<u>Ann. Bretagne.</u>	Annales de Bretagne.
<u>Ann. Révo.</u>	Annales Révolutionnaires.
<u>Bull. Com. His. Arch. Mayenne</u>	Bulletin de la Commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne.
<u>Bull. Soc. Morbihan.</u>	Bulletin de la Société polymatique de Morbihan.
<u>Bull. Soc. Sav.</u>	Bulletin de la Société des Savants.
<u>Com. Dept. Sarthe.</u>	Comité départemental de la Sarthe pour la recherche et la publication des documents économiques de la révolution française.
<u>Mem. Aca. Caen.</u>	Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen.
<u>Mem. Soc. Antiq. Oeust.</u>	Mémoires de la Société des Antiquitaires de l'Oeust.
<u>Mem. Soc. His. Bretagne.</u>	Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et archéologie de Bretagne.
<u>Mem. Soc. Centre.</u>	Mémoires de la Société académique du Centre.
<u>Mem. Soc. His. Cher.</u>	Mémoires de la Société historique et scientifique de Cher.
<u>Mem. Soc. Na. Angers.</u>	Mémoires de la Société nationale d'agriculture, science et arts d'Angers.
<u>Mem. Soc. Statistique Deux-Sevres.</u>	Mémoires de la Société Statistique des Deux-Sèvres.
<u>Revo. Fran.</u>	Révolution Française.
<u>Rev. Bretagne Anjou.</u>	Revue de Bretagne et Anjou.
<u>Rev. Etudes Nap.</u>	Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Rev. His. Arch. Maine.</u>	Revue de la Société historique et archéologique du Maine.	
<u>Rev. His. Ecol.</u>	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique.	
<u>Rev. His. Mod.</u>	Revue d'Histoire Moderne.	
CHAPTER I <u>Rev. Internat. Enseig.</u>	Revue internationale de l'enseignement.	
CHAPTER II <u>Rev. Midi.</u>	Revue du Midi.	
<u>Rev. Paris.</u>	Revue de Paris.	
CHAPTER III <u>Rev. Pyrénées.</u>	Revue des Pyrénées.	
<u>Soc. Arts. Sarthe.</u>	Société d'Agriculture, science et arts de la Sarthe.	
<u>Soc. Etudes Prov.</u>	Société d'Etudes Provençales.	
<u>Soc. His. Ille-et-Vilaine.</u>	Société archéologique et historique d'Ille-et-Vilaine.	
CHAPTER VI <u>Soc. His. Prov. Maine.</u>	Société historique de la Province du Maine.	
CHAPTER VII <u>Soc. Sciences Belles-Lettres Cholet.</u>	Société des sciences, arts, et belles-lettres de Cholet.	
CHAPTER VIII	University, Ministers and Council of State: The Decree of 15 November, 1811	Page 208
CHAPTER IX	Paris against the Rectors: The Application of the November Decree: 1812-1814	Page 223
CHAPTER X	Paris and Angers during the First Restoration	Page 253
CHAPTER XI	Disintegration of the old Order: 1815	Page 279
CHAPTER XII	A New Generation of Rectors: 1816-1817	Page 311
CHAPTER XIII	The Academy of Angers during the Decazes-Nicholas Ministry: 1818-1819	Page 357

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The First Administrators of
Public Education

Page 10

The Schools of the Academy
of Angers and their Principals

Page 44

The Uncertain Beginnings of the
Academy of Angers 1809-1812

Page 75

Obstacle to Unity: The teaching
Corps of Anjou and the Maine

Page 99

Policies and Practices of other
Recteurs

Page 127

The Bureaucracy in Paris
1810-1814

Page 154

Paris and the Academy of
Angers: 1810-1814

Page 183

University, Ministers and Council
of State: The Decree of
15 November, 1811

Page 205

Paris against the Recteurs: The
Application of the November
Decree: 1812-1814

Page 223

Paris and Angers during the First
Restoration

Page 253

Disintegration of the old Order:
1815

Page 279

A New Generation of Recteurs:
1816-1817

Page 311

The Academy of Angers during
the Decazes-Richelieu Ministry:
1816-1819

Page 357

CHAPTER XIV	The University during the 1820s	Page 390
CHAPTER V	The Academy of Angers during the 1820s	Page 418
	<u>CHAPTER ONE</u>	
Conclusion		Page 441
Appendix		Page 462
Bibliography		Page 465

THE FIRST ADMINISTRATORS OF

PUBLIC EDUCATION

CHAPTER ONE

THE FIRST ADMINISTRATORS OF

PUBLIC EDUCATION

gentry, local family dynasties set the tone and style for the provincial town: the occasional soldier, the Treasury functionary, the perpetual calling of the I did not. Far from a symmetrical chain of command, the bureaucratic

institution. In the France of the early 1800s, provincial officialdom had not yet frozen into the unchanging, almost glacial countenance that one finds in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A maze of relationships was growing up between prefects and bishops, mayors and notables, but the relative strengths and weaknesses of each official varied with the temperament and history of each region and town.

In principle, the prefect was the first functionary of the department, but the respect and prestige accorded him depended less on his legal powers than on his social standing among the more influential notables. Mayors of larger towns could be subservient to the prefect or sub-prefect; but more often he enjoyed a quasi-independence on the strength of his role as a landowner. Bishops who were strangers to a region could be minor figures, relegated to the shadows of official life, but those who came from local families often proved to harbor the wordly ambitions of a Renaissance churchman. Then too, the prefect faced a continuous challenge from the commander of the local military garrison, who sought to control the gendarmerie; and simultaneously he had to contend with the controller of finances, who perfected the art of secrecy to a maddening degree. In this golden age of the French

recteur of Angers offers a look into how the

gentry, local family dynasties set the tone and style for life in the provincial town: the occasional soirées, the Tuesday house receptions, the perpetual culling of the list of people whom one saw and whom one did not. Far from a symmetrical chain of command, the departmental bureaucracy during the early 1800s epitomized and in many respects institutionalized these countless rivalries and alliances within a region, and so a web of intricate relationships came to enmesh the various functionaries, whether ecclesiastical, military or civil.

In 1808, Napoleon suddenly inserted a new functionary into French officialdom and in the process restructured the lines of authority that controlled the thirty-six lycées and three hundred odd municipal schools. A new authority appeared in the form of a provincial governor or recteur and of a distant minister or Grand-Master. How this new hierarchy would fit into the usually somnolent, but occasionally strident life of the provincial town was an open question. The only historian to have treated the corps of recteurs as a whole, Alphonse Aulard, asserted that clerical influences governed the choice of these men and concludes that the new functionaries lined up with the clergy. This interpretation finds an echo in most general studies of French education.

Yet who in fact were the recteurs of 1809? Do political criteria offer an adequate yardstick for measuring their role and influence within a department or region? Or must we look for other traits and characteristics? The selection of these officials tells us something of how the patronage system functioned in the France of the Empire. The appointment of the recteur of Angers offers a look into how these men fitted into the life of a department.

local and departmental administrations, which had hitherto been
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 longer building to the same extent on an inherited body of institutions
 and men, but called into

II.

Historians of the twentieth century, fascinated by the evolution
 of the Empire to a more conservative, authoritarian cast, have focused

The Imperial University was the last of the great administrations
 to be created by Napoleon Bonaparte, the final laying of brick and mortar
 on the imposing structure which still forms so much of the institutional
 framework of modern France.¹ In placing primary, secondary and
 higher education under one authority, the Decree of 17 March, 1808,
 followed the major portion of his remarkable work -- the introduction
 of the prefectorial corps, the much needed reform of the judicial mach-
 inery, the revamping of the army -- by eight momentous years.

During this time, the political setting changed from the hectic
 days of the Consulate when Bonaparte's power was uncertain, the guer-
 rillas active in the West, and dark intrigue afoot in Paris, to the more
 stable days of the middle Empire, with the Imperial armies covered in
 glory, a new nobility created and the men of the Ancien Régime entering

Napoleon had a second and more pressing reason for creating a

1. For an account of the early years of the Imperial University: Aulard,
 A.; Napoleon Ier et le monopole universitaire; (Paris; 1911).
 Grimaud, L.; Histoire de la liberté de l'enseignement; (Paris;
 1944-1955). 5 volumes. Ponteil, F.; Histoire de l'enseignement
en France, 1789-1965; (Paris, 1966). Rendu, E.; Amboise Rendu
et l'Université Impériale; (Paris; 1864). Tessenneau, R.;
 1. Joseph Joubert, Educateur; (Paris; 1944).

local and departmental administrations. With this altered setting came a difference in the kind of reform instituted. Napoleon was no longer building to the same extent on an inherited body of institutions and men, but called into existence a new administrative hierarchy. ¹ Historians of the twentieth century, fascinated by the evolution of the Empire to a more conservative, authoritarian cast, have focused on the intentions and designs of the Emperor. Felix Pontell, writer of historical textbooks and himself the recteur of an academy, summarized the opinion of most when he observed that Napoleon's aim was essentially the same as in 1800, that of increasing his authority and prestige. Just as local officials lost the right to govern their own affairs, to collect their own taxes, so it was that education effectively passed from the hands of municipal and departmental officials to the agents of Paris, men who were in principle devoted to the interests of the government rather than to the welfare of a locality or region. The new University offered the means of inculcating the students of France with the lessons of imperial glory, of moulding a corps of professors loyal to the state and of disciplining a clergy that was gaining substantial influence over the schools of the country.

Napoleon had a second and more pressing reason for creating a single teaching corps with authority over all education. By 1808, the thirty-six lycées, introduced only six years before, were on the point of

1. Lenzac de Laborie, L.: "L'instruction secondaire pendant la période napoléonienne. Fondation et régime primitif des lycées, 1802-1804." *Rev. Paris*, 1. 6; 1924: p. 29.

2. For an account of the legal framework of the University, see: Grimaud, *op. cit.*; Vol. 4. *l'Empire*; pp. 78-177; or for a more recent treatment, Pontell; *op. cit.*; pp. 123-133.

1. Pontell, F.; *op. cit.*; pp. 123-124.

financial collapse. The Catholic bourgeoisie abhorred the military discipline of these state institutions while the clergy decried the fact that many of the professors came from the republican Ecoles Centrales and had been revolutionary priests.¹ Although Bonaparte intended that the lycées furnish administrators for his Empire, only a handful of boys attended, mostly sons of army officers and functionaries. At Angers, there were only 150 students, and at Nantes barely 100. By 1808, the choice was a stark one: either close the lycées or enact legislation that would mitigate the competition of the private schools, particularly of the Catholic establishments. event that signalled potentially far-

The Decree of March 17, 1808, called into being a unique teaching corps possessing authority over all education. No establishment could open without express permission from the head of the University, and no individual could direct a school or teach a class without a diploma from one of its faculties.²

The main brunt of the decree seemed to fall on the private schools of France, those speculative ventures that had sprouted up during the Directory and Consulate only to strangle each other financially. typically contained one lycée, or sometimes two, and perhaps fifteen to

1. Lanzac de Laborie, L.; "L'instruction secondaire pendant la période napoléonienne. Fondation et régime primitif des lycées, 1802-1804." Rev. Paris; T. 6; 1924; p. 29.

2. For an account of the legal framework of the University, see: Grimaud, op. cit.; Vol. 4. l'Empire; pp. 78-177; or for a more recent treatment, Pontell; op. cit.; pp. 123-135. Département du Rhone (Paris; 1911).

in the struggle for students. At Lyon, over 150 flourished, most of them small affairs, in delapidated buildings taught by half-educated drifters. To be able to teach or open a school within the private sector, an individual now had to possess a diploma from a state faculty, thereby granting the University a lever for controlling the men flowing into education and for applying pressure on those already teaching.

The truly significant aspect of the March Decree was less the state monopoly over education than the sudden imposition of a bureaucracy on the confusing topography of French schools. Herein lay the great revolution, the traumatic event that signalled potentially far-reaching change to the educational system. The measure carved the nation proper into twenty-six units or academies and placed over each a governor or recteur, in turn aided by two subordinates or inspectors.

The recteur would play a crucial role in shaping the teaching personnel, for he could best serve as the eyes and ears of Paris. His inspectors would make an annual tour of the academy and from their reports came the details which made up the dossiers of each teacher or functionary. The academy itself, composed of three to four departments, typically contained one lycée, or sometimes two, and perhaps fifteen to twenty municipal colleges, along with a scattering of private schools. In an Academy such as Lyon, the recteur found his chief problem to be

1. Charléty, C.; L'enseignement secondaire dans le Département du Rhone; (Paris; 1911). Nap.: T. 2 (1916); pp. 185-219. Aulard, op. cit.; pp. 183-187.

the large number of pensions which competed with the lycée; while in that of Aix, the recteur confronted a network of colleges often inaccessible because of the rugged terrain and the frequent flooding of the countryside. Nonetheless, the new official possessed the precious ability to influence what Paris saw, for the nature of communications in the early nineteenth century made travel from the capital hazardous and excruciatingly slow.

In the capital itself, a complex superstructure came into being, a hierarchy capable of acting upon the information sent by recteurs. At

As a gesture to the Church, Napoleon named as the first Grand-Master not the former revolutionary Fourcroy, director of public education since 1802, but a figure agreeable to the clergy, the 31-year-old Fontanes. The elegant Fontanes had published a royalist paper before 1793. He enjoyed an autonomous status within the government, a fact that the Minister of the Interior greatly resented, and had the right to direct access stirring funeral oration of George Washington, an oration that caught the to the Emperor. Beneath the Grand-Master was a chancellor, who counter-ear of the Corsican general. During the Consulate, the one-time post signed the various arretés and diplomas, and a treasurer, who handled aided Chateaubriand and was a leader among the "neo-Christian" *lettrés* financial matters. Alongside these three officials was a Council of the before entering the Corps Législatif as a spokesman for the monarchist University, composed of thirty men, but, although possessing important elements within imperial society. Lover of the pomp and ceremony of powers -- the right to discuss problems concerning all rules and

statutes, the right to formalize the budgets of each school, to judge

1. LeFlon, J.; *Monsieur Emery* (Paris: 1946); pp. 148-149
questions of discipline, and to hear the inspectors-general on their return

2. Wilson, A.; *Pontanes, 1757-1821* (Paris): Tassinard,
R.; *op. cit.*; pp. 60-96. Aulard; *op. cit.*; pp. 194-221.

1. Lanzac de Laborie, L.; "La haute administration de l'enseignement sous l'Empire;" *Rev. Etudes Nap.*; T. 2 (1916); pp. 185-219.
Aulard, *op. cit.*; pp. 183-187.

from their tours -- this body remained inactive during its brief existence. The director of the Seminary Saint-Sulpice confessed in one

letter to his frequent absences. In Paris, the more important body was the corps of inspectors-general, twenty in all, who were to visit the schools of France each year. Like the recteurs, they came into direct contact with the teaching corps and were in a position to influence the Grand-Master. During the summer of 1808, a bishop became Chancellor;

several priests entered the Council; and his most intimate advisors among the inspectors-general were laymen known for their religious asceticism.

As a gesture to the Church, Napoleon named as the first Grand-Alphonse Aulard goes so far as to accuse this pompous *lettré* of betraying Master not the former revolutionary Fourcroy, director of public education the views of the Emperor and secretly preparing for the return of the since 1802, but a figure agreeable to the clergy, the 51-year-old Fontanes. Bourbon monarchy. Subsequent studies have rejected this extreme. The elegant Fontanes had published a royalist paper before Fructidor, position, but most have agreed with the conclusion of Georges Lefebvre emigrated to England after the coup, and returned in 1799 to deliver a that the Church received a strong voice in the governing of the public stirring funeral oration of George Washington, an oration that caught the school system.

ear of the Corsican general. During the Consulate, the one-time poet The question must be raised, however, whether religious and aided Chateaubriand and was a leader among the "neo-Christian" *lettrés*

before entering the Corps Législatif as a spokesman for the monarchist

1. Vauthier, G.; "Fontanes et les nominations universitaires;" elements within imperial society. Lover of the pomp and ceremony of "La haute administration de l'enseignement sous le Consulat et l'Empire;" op. cit.; Tessenneau, op. cit.; pp. 269-280.

1. LeFlon, J.; Monsieur Emery; (Paris; 1946); pp. 148-149.

2. Wilson, A.; Fontanes, 1757-1821; (Paris). Tessenneau, R.; op. cit.; pp. 60-96. Aulard; op. cit.; pp. 194-221.

au Roi) qu'a l'Empereur, soit par ses complaisances pour l'enseignement privé il favorise les influences cléricales et aussi indirectement l'opposition à l'Empire." p. 201.

high office, devotee of the rarified chatter of the literary salon, and a silver-tongued orator, he was a courtier par excellence, an ingrator who heaped unstinted praise on his protectors.

During the course of 1808-1809, Fontanes named several prominent ecclesiastics to high office within the University, and most historians have subsequently seen his administration as one favorable to the Church.¹ During the summer of 1808, a bishop became Chancellor; several priests entered the Council; and his most intimate advisors among the inspectors-general were laymen known for their religious ascetism. Alphonse Aulard goes so far as to accuse this pompous lettré of betraying the views of the Emperor and secretly preparing for the return of the Bourbon monarchy.² Subsequent studies have rejected this extreme position, but most have agreed with the conclusion of Georges Lefebvre that the Church received a strong voice in the governing of the public school system.

The question must be raised, however, whether religious and

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1. Vauthier, G.; "Fontanes et les nominations universitaires;" Annales Revo; T. I. (1911); pp. 638-653. Lanzac de Laborie, "La haute administration de l'enseignement sous le Consulat et l'Empire;" op. cit.; Tessenneau, op. cit.; pp. 269-280.
 2. Aulard, op. cit.; pp. 194-221. Aulard goes so far as to argue, "Soit en dirigeant surtout l'attention des inspecteurs-généraux sur les pratiques religieuses, soit en introduisant dans L'Université des pretres plus devoués au Pape (ou peut-etre au Roi) qu'a l'Empeureur, soit par ses complaisances pour l'enseignement prive il favorisa les influences cléricales et aussi indirectement l'opposition a l'Empire." p. 206.

political attitudes are the relevant yardstick for measuring the initial organization of the Imperial University. One might ask by what means, what process were the first recteurs chosen for the twenty-five academies? How was the selection effected and what does it tell us of the social fabric of France during the Empire? Who indeed were the recteurs and what kinds of prejudices did they bring with them? These questions offer a first look into the nature of administration in provincial education.

four and instructed him to start anew. The naming of the recteurs general did not take place until the fall of 1806, but this time Fontanes succeeded in having four intimate friends appointed -- the *bourgeois*, a former émigré named de Cottier, and two young friends from the *Salon* of the *Mercure*. But the Council of the University did not hold its first meeting until 1 October, and only on 30 December did the University take possession of the dossiers of public education. In the meantime Fontanes and his advisors were receiving recommendations on behalf of potential candidates for the rectories from an incredibly diverse number of people, and it is here that we find one of the essential characteristics of the Imperial University.

In choosing the first recteurs, ideological and political considerations were of less importance for the Grand-Master than did

1. Pontell, F.: *Histoire de l'enseignement*. (Paris: 1844) p. 131. Lanza de Laborie, "La haute administration de l'enseignement sous le Consulat et l'Empire." *Revue Etudes*. May: 1916 (1916); p. 185. Nicolle, P-N: "L'enseignement secondaire dans la région provençale sous le Consulat et sous l'Empire." *Revue d'Etude provençales*. (1920-1923) p. 128, 151.
- 2.
- 3.

fashioned patronage, patronage that was rooted in friendships. II. ministers, prefects, the whole society, these were the forces that determined the new University.

The first appointments were painfully slow. In March of 1808, the former poet had immediately presented a list of prospective councilors to Napoleon, but the latter struck off the names of all but four and instructed him to start anew. The naming of the inspectors-general did not take place until the fall of 1808, but this time Fontanes succeeded in having four intimate friends appointed -- the lettré Joubert, a former émigré named de Colffier, and two young friends from the days of the Mercure. But the Council of the University did not hold its first meeting until 1 October, and only on 30 December did the University take possession of the dossiers of public education. In the meantime, Fontanes and his advisors were receiving recommendations on behalf of potential candidates for the rectorates from an incredibly diverse number of people, and it is here that we find one of the essential mainsprings of the Imperial University.

In choosing the first recteurs, ideological and political considerations were of less importance for the Grand-Master than old-

1. Pontell, F.; Histoire de l'enseignement; (Paris; 1966); p. 131. Lanzac de Laborie, "La haute administration de l'enseignement sous le Consulat et l'Empire." Revu. Etudes. Nap.; Tome 10 (1916); p. 185. Nicollet, F-N; "L'enseignement secondaire dans la region provencale sous le consulat et sous Empire;" Société d'Etude provencales. (1920-1923) p. 129.151.

3. LeFlen: La Crise révolutionnaire; Paris.

fashioned patronage, patronage that was at once color-blind and
¹
 rooted in friendships. Generals, archbishops, ex-revolutionaries,
 ministers, prefects, the whole constellation of imperial society, these
 were the forces that determined the character of the new University.
 The process of recruitment was no less than a throwback to the days
 of the Consulate when new administrations were to be created, when
 a personnel for the prefectures, for the judiciary and for the communes
 had to be conjured out of the confused layers of functionaries that had
 regularly been regularly cast up since 1789. There was a decided
 similarity between Fontane's ways and the haphazard methods of a
²
 Beugnot drawing up a list of prefects from scattered notes and dossiers,
 or a Bernier pulling names out of the air for the con-cordataire bishop-
³
 rics. *political post.*

During the fall of 1808, the Grand-Master found himself
 wading through countless petitions. The first registers record the names
 of the petitioners: among the Parisian functionaries, Talleyrand, Fouché,
 Régnaud de Saint-Angeley, Alexis de Noailles, M. de Montmorency,
 Portalis and countless senators and deputies; among the provincial

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1. Arch. Nat.; P. 17-133.
 1. Tesseneau, R.; Joseph Joubert, Educateur. (Paris; 1944); pp. 264-266. Aulard, A.; Napoleon Ier et le monopole universitaire; (Paris, 1911); pp. 207. (Aulard charges that the Grand-Master delivered up the academies to the émigré clergy and their allies. He cites the case of the abbé Elicagaray at Pau as the prime example.)
 2. Dejean, E.; Un préfet du Consulat: Beugnot; (Paris; 1897); pp. 38-79.
 3. LeFlon; La Crise révolutionnaire; (Paris; 1951); pp. 186-195.

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notables, a host of prefects, generals and bishops. The Empress Josephine recommended an ex-Oratorian of old acquaintance; Tallyrand put forward the name of an ex-professor in the Lycée of Bourges; his close associate d'Hauterive suggested a former émigré. The Governor of the Bank of France, as well as a number of Bordelais, recommended a member of the well-established Desezes family for recteur, a man whose brother served as lawyer for Louis XVI.²

Fouché himself suggested seven men, six of whom were former Oratorians. Two of this group were married priests, the others, refractories and émigrés, men solidly counter-revolutionary in spirit. The one quality that remained constant in this supple, elusive Minister of Police was loyalty to his acquaintances in the Oratory, whatever their political past.³

The very essence of the selection was its haphazard nature. Here was no imperial bureaucracy being moulded with Cartesian rationality; rather here was a network of interest groups operating to place their favorites. Fontanes and his inner clique only bowed to the strongest pressures. In one instance, the Grand-Master formally

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17-3928; Registers of the first nominations. Some other names were Thibeaudeau, Daru, Boissy d'Anglas and the Bishop of Carcassonne.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17-3928; Registers of the first nominations.
3. Ibid.; One of those whom he recommended as inspector-general was the abbé Roman, superior of the Oratorian College of Lyon when Fouché led a revolt against him in 1789.

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 election. The choice of a recteur for the Academy of Toulouse was promised the Academy of Aix to a chef-de division in the Ministry of Cults, but Portalis and Siméon intervened to have their protégé named, one another in a contest that made even the compromise candidate leary a former lawyer to the Parliament of that town. At Douai, the com-¹ of accepting. An inspector-general finally persuaded the dean of the petition was particularly cut-throat. The ex-Oratorian Roman, Law Faculty to step into this position, appointed inspector-general through Fouché's intervention, fought tooth and nail to have his candidate named as recteur. "Vous aviez un When one scion of a noble Poitevin family wrote of his impecunious state, concurrent formidable par son nom du moins et par ses protecteurs," Fontanes appointed him inspector of the Academy of Poitiers and dean he reminded his friend, but boasted, "...je l'ai combattu: je suis of the Faculty of Letters. With ² this same reasoning, he made the venu, j'ai vu; j'ai vaincu...." At Rouen, the two or three factions penniless abbé Eliongaray the new recteur of Pau, proviseur of the lycée, within local society advanced separate candidates, and the ensuing dean of the Faculty of Letters, professor in the same faculty and rival of battle became so fierce that the University chose a stranger to the town to the lycée -- five separate sources of income. In order to avoid favoring one camp against the other. The competition at Bourges took on political overtones as the proviseur of the lycée, former dechristianizer in the Cher, battled his économe, a man imprisoned during the Terror. The prefect sided with the latter, but the former's friends within the old Doctrinaire Congregation insured his

1. Arch. Nat., Cher, 1809.
 26 January, 1809.

2. Arch. Nat., AI 16-1: Delpuech to the Grand-Master on one candidate. "Il ne faut pas faire comme M. Delpuech, qui a fait
1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7687; The abbé Guairard to the Grand-Master, October, 1814. Guairard went on to become principal of the small College of Tarascon, then proviseur of the Lycée of Angers, recteur of Clermont-Ferrand, and finally inspector-general.
 2. Biblio. Muni.; Douai; 1420; Taranget Letters; The abbé Roman to Taranget, 22 August, 1809; "Vous voyez que, malgré les proctecteurs et les intriguants, on veut absolument que vous soyez Recteur...."

1

election. The choice of a recteur for the Academy of Toulouse was delayed until December, 1809, after the various candidates eliminated one another in a contest that made even the compromise candidate leary of accepting. An inspector-general finally persuaded the dean of the Law Faculty to step into this position.

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Other motives, typical of the prevailing spirit, entered in. When one scion of a noble Poitevin family wrote of his impecunious state, Fontanes appointed him inspector of the Academy of Poitiers and dean of the Faculty of Letters. With this same reasoning, he made the penniless abbé Elicagaray the new recteur of Pau, proviseur of the lycée, dean of the Faculty of Letters, professor in the same faculty and aumonier to the lycée -- five separate sources of income.

4

Who though were these twenty-five men named as recteurs of the academies? What sort of backgrounds and training did they bring to

1. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; The recteur of Bourges to Joubert, 26 January, 1809.
2. Arch. Nat.; AJ 16-1; Delpuech to the Grand-Master on one candidate; "Il ne faudrait pas faire comme M. Rendu, qui a fait choix d'un petit orgueilleux, mechant comme un ane, menteur et jaloux..." 2 April, 1809.
3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general; 1809.
4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general, 21 June, 1810. The inspectors cited the need for him to recoup his losses during the Revolution and his expenses "au long séjour qu'il fait ensuite a Paris dans l'attente de quelque place dans l'Instruction Publique."

revolutionaries as heads of academies. For Brittany, need of numbers

their new task? Were they likely to be field captains, loyal to the Grand-Master, ready to execute his will, or would they become temperamental seigneurs, anxious to establish independent fiefs?

Certainly this new corps, selected in three sets during March, July and December of 1809, combined a confusing variety of pedagogical traditions. Representatives of almost all the scholastic institutions that France had known since the 1780's found their way into the rectorates. The fact that no one set predominated is a testimony to the wide-ranging nature of the patronage system.

The truly significant aspect of the patronage system however was its color-blind attitude towards political questions. At the very moment that Bonaparte was creating an imperial nobility, that the once counter-revolutionary ralliés were re-entering municipal councils, that the personnel of the Consulate was being removed in favor of a more conservative elite, the clerically-oriented Fontanes welcomed into the rectorates a politically-diverse group which possessed no common loyalties, no common purpose, no one partisan bias. Ex-terrorists mingled with émigré priests; former revolutionaries, with victims of the Revolution; those who propagated the republican curriculum of the Ecoles Centrales, with those who clung to the almost exclusively Latin program devised by Rollin, recteur of the Sorbonne in the early eighteenth century.

Local patronage counted more than any particular credo, and this one fact accounts for the presence of five, perhaps six ex-revolutionaries as heads of academies. For Brittany, land of counter-

revolution and clericalism, the Grand-Master named an assermenté priest, former teacher in the municipal college of Rennes, a revolutionary of '93 who defrocked himself and joined the municipal council, then taught Belles-Lettres in the Ecole Centrale of the department. The abbé Germé's good-natured attitude and his tolerant views, along with over twenty years in local education, insured him the patronage of several departmental officials, including that of the prefect. In the South of France, Fontanes acceded to the recommendation of Marchal Augereau and named a former member of the revolutionary committee of Toulouse as head of the Academy of Cahors.

In nearby Montpellier, the new recteur was an ex-priest, veteran of the Ecole Centrale, and proviseur of a lycée, a distinguished mathematician who enjoyed protection from several members of the Institute. Two academies in the east of France likewise received men whose careers had begun during the Revolution, men who were staunchly Gallican and nationalist in outlook. The recteur of Dijon, 54 years, had served as an aide to the Commission of Public Education during the Directory and

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1. Benaerts, L.; Le régime consulaire en Bretagne; le département d'Ille-et-Vilaine sous le Consulat; (Paris; 1914); pp. 193-201; Personal dossier of the abbé Germé, F 17. The Archives of the Ille-et-Vilaine and of the Morbihan contain his correspondence. Likewise, the liasses of the various colleges in the National Archives contain his letters.
 2. Michaud; Biographie Universelle; (1842); Article on Paulin.
 3. Maurin, G.; L'instruction publique sous le premier Empire a Nîmes; 1890. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1623; Correspondence of Tédénat, 1810-1815.

prior to that worked in the Ministry of War obtaining badly-needed¹ ingredients for gunpowder. His younger colleague at Besancon, J-J Ordinaire, came from a well-known family of lawyers: an uncle, professor of law at the old University, had been an intimate friend of Voltaire; his father had become mayor during the municipal revolution of 1790. J-J himself began his career teaching in the Ecole Centrale of that town, an institution that sheltered three married priests, and was always to retain a barely-concealed scorn for what he termed the "Jesuit" clergy of the Doubs² and Jura. S/

The most astonishing and intriguing appointment, however, was that of a former de-Christianizer of the Cher as head of the Academy of Bourges, a "terrorist" who had begun in response to Fouché's celebrated mission in the Nièvre. Raynal, only 43 years, who had been a young teacher in the Doctrinaire College of Bourges, became active in the local popular society and on the appearance of the representative of the people, Laplanche, served as one of the six agents of the revolutionary committee in seeking to uproot reaction. On his turbulent mission in the Cher, Raynal supervised the burning of at least one chateau, although the records of his exploits -- and of his alone -- mysteriously

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1619; Notes on Jacotot, 1815; F 17 7793; Correspondence of the recteur of Dijon. F 17; Personal Dossier. Fizaine, S.; La Vie politique dans la Cote-d'Or sous Louis XVIII; (Dijon; 1931); pp. 117-152.
 2. Villat, L.; "Le Premier Recteur de l'Académie de Besancon, J-J Ordinaire;" Aca. Belles-Lettres Besancon; (1928); pp. 117-152.

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disappeared during the Empire. The fact that he gave a public ball on the announcement of Louis XVI's execution was to haunt him for the rest of his life.

2

Raynal became a leading professor in the Ecole Centrale of the Cher and as proviseur of the Lycée of Bourges, proved an excellent administrator, something that the Imperial University sorely lacked. In accepting his nomination as recteur, he went to no uncertain lengths to demonstrate a political "orthodoxy," concluding, "J'ai bravé le philosophisme du siècle, et dans le lycée que je dirige les principes de la religion ont triomphé."

3

The largest bloc of recteurs, some ten or eleven, came from backgrounds that reflected varying degrees of opposition to the Revolution but nonetheless belonged to the vast grouping of French administrators who preferred to bury the past and look to the Empire as the ideal expression of political and social stability. At Douai, the new head was a local notable active on the municipal council, in charge of several charities, a practicing doctor, and former professor in the old University of Douai. Taranget had resigned from the University in 1791 after refusing the oath to the Civil Constitution but resumed

1. Bruneau, M.; L'enseignement secondaire a Bourges de 1762 a 1792, Mem. His. Cher. (1890), pp. 1-66; La Bonne, M.; Mémoire sur la Terreur a Bourges; Mem. Soc. Centre; 1914.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1617; Recteur of Bourges to Royer-Collard, 16 October, 1815.
3. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; Recteur of Bourges to Joubert, Vendredi Saint, 1809.

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teaching during the Directory. At the proud and religious city of Lyon, Fontanes made recteur the brother of a former Minister of the Interior, the abbé Nompere de Champagny. Nompere loudly professed the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas in the public ceremonies at the lycée, but his habit of wearing secular clothes and of escorting young ladies through the parks identified him with the more social clergy of the capital than with that of the increasingly untramontane ecclesiastics of Lyon. Others may be mentioned. The abbé de Champeaux, whose brother was named inspector-general, became recteur of Orleans. But his preference for the life of a layman shocked local society despite the fact that he had served as aumonier to the armies of the Condé. In all, seven priests were among the new recteurs. Tedénat and Germé were ex-revolutionaries; two others, Nompere and de Champeaux, did not wear the cloth; two of the last three were solid Gallicans, D'Regel at Nancy, and de Belissenns at Poitiers.

4

- education in Normandy.
1. Biblio. Muni.; Douai; Taranget Archives; 4190420; a collection of his correspondence. Also, Archives historique et littéraire du Nord de la France; (Valenciennes; 1838); Article Taranget.
 2. Trénard, L. Histoire sociale des idées: Lyon, de l'encyclopédie au pre-romantisme; (Paris; 1958); 2 vol.; pp. 627-633; Arch. Nat. F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general, 1810.
 3. Courteault, P.; Les origines du Lycée de Bordeaux, 1802-1809; (Paris; 1905) Arch.; F 17 20376; Personal dossier of de Champeaux.
 4. See the correspondence for the various colleges of the respective academies.

What of Alphonse Aulard's charge that the Grand-Master populated the Imperial University with secret royalists, counter-revolutionaries who¹ silently worked for the return of the Bourbon family? Patronage did place at least one such man as recteur, while three or four were to attempt political harassment, if not purges, within their academies. Of this latter group, three were laymen who had remained in France during the Revolution. At Bordeaux, Victor Desezes came from a family of distinguished parliamentarians and was the brother of the lawyer who had defended Louis XVI. His second brother was the leading vicar-general, a² man of decidedly royalist convictions. Victor's neighbor at Toulouse had¹ been professor of law since the 1780's and, although he had supported the Revolution during its first stages, Jammes became a cantankerous³ old man bent on persecuting the former revolutionaries in education. A man of similar background at Caen, Alexandre, dean of the Faculty of Law, threw his weight behind the refractory priests who so dominated⁴ education in Normandy. But the real sire of the counter-revolution in education was the new head of the backward Academy of Pau, the abbé Elicagaray, former companion of the Duc d'Angouleme in Spain and

1. Aulard, A.; op. cit.; pp. 207-237.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of Desezes; F 17 1617; General correspondence.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of Jammes; F 17 8575; College of Saint-Girons. Also, Biographie Toulousaine; (Paris, 1823); Article on Jammes.

4. Zévort, M.; "Le premier recteur de l'Académie de Caen, P-R Alexandre;" Mem. Aca. Caen; (1890); pp. 223-250.

once professor of theology in the old University of Pau. A combative, aggressive little man, this priest of Basque origin carried the Imperial University into a number of crusades against the "modern" spirit in his jurisdiction and was to prove an acute source of embarrassment to the Grand-Master.¹

These, then, were the men who were to form the first phalanx of the new University, the men who were to impose its stringent writ on the face of education.

particular interest groups within provincial cities and thereby created a delicate set of problems.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1625; Correspondence of the abbé Elicagaray; F 17 7938; Ibid.; Correspondence of the various colleges of the Academy of Pau.

with the anti-clerical party, while at the same time ultra-royalists rejoiced that one of their number had been selected as the director of the local school system. During the Empire, this alignment with social and political factions produced a sub-surface tension that was to lurk behind the operations of the academies of France.

One of the few academies to escape this problem was that of Angers, a fortunate circumstance in the light of the bitter divisions that rent the rest of France. Patronage of sorts was at work, for Fontanes named as head of that jurisdiction the lackluster professor of the lycée, an educator of Italian birth who enjoyed the protection of certain Parisian friends, the 51-year-old Parri de Saint-Constant.¹ As inspectors, the Grand-Master appointed a middle-aged professor of

1. Uzureau, P.: "Les recteurs de l'Académie d'Angers, 1809-1850;" *Ann. His.* (Tome 13, 1913), p. 335.

III.

The choices of the twenty-five recteurs effectively committed the Imperial University to particular factions, particular interest groups within provincial cities and thereby created a delicate set of problems. In the Academy of Bourges, public education could not help but be identified with the anti-clerical party, while at Pau the ultra-royalists rejoiced that one of their number had been selected as the director of the local school system. During the Empire, this alignment with social and political factions produced a sub-surface tension that was to lurk behind the operations of the academies of France.

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1. Uzereau, F.; "Les recteurs de l'Académie d'Angers, 1809-1850;" Anl. His.; (Tome 13; 1913); p. 316.

mathematics from the lycée and a young Niortais who was then editing two journals in the Deux-Sèvres, a would-be poet whom Fontanes had met sometime during the Directory.

To be sure, the schools of the Maine-et-Loire, the Sarthe and the Mayenne were receiving local educators, but the choices could hardly have seemed impressive to prefects, bishops or notables. Ferri de Saint-Constant was a socially-ambitious functionary with a passable talent for writing but possessing scarcely a shred of competence for administration. His direction of the lycée from 1805 to 1809, in which the students scoffed at their teachers, drank in the cafés and imported "obscene" books, had brought that naissent establishment to near paralysis and perhaps led the Grand-Master to elevate this man to a post where he might do less harm. Although the director of the petit séminaire generously said of Ferri, "un habile homme, très instruit et bien intentionné," a police report of 1810 tersely affirmed that he no longer had the confidence of the public, nor of the professors in the lycée, nor of the students.¹

The fortunately brief tenure of Ferri de Saint-Constant, from September, 1809, to June, 1811, serves only to indicate the uneven personality of this man and how it could embroil the University in a number of unpleasant situations. First was the dilemma over the location of the offices, a delicate problem in all the academies. In a burst of enthusiasm, the town of Angers voted 18,000 francs to convert the

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7504; Tableau des Départements où il se trouve des établissements d'instruction qui donnent lieu à des observations; 1810.

of few, the administratively-lazy Ferri reserved to the former Grand Seminary into four large halls, three for lectures of 1811 for Rome and the Academy, one for the Academy's records and one for the records. But Ferri insisted that the commune provide a furnished lodging for him and his wife as well, a demand that led to a futile and progressively more bitter exchange of letters with the town council.¹ Then too, the prefects of the three departments were noticeably unenthusiastic about the appearance of a new authority within their jurisdiction, and at one point the recteur brashly chided the prefect of the Sarthe for his refusal to reply to letters and circulars.² As for the initial organization of the Academy, Ferri seems to have left this burdensome work to the two inspectors, both eager to roll up their sleeves and plunge into the thankless task of assembling notes on the teaching personnel. The only event that called for a major decision revealed the social conservatism of this functionary who was soliciting the post of recteur of the prestigious Academy of Rome. When the mayor and principal of Laval denounced the ex-constitutional bishop who taught in the school, Ferri immediately, and without investigation, recommended the man's removal. Paris preferred to set up a special body to look into the matter and logically enough ignored the recteur in its soundings.³ To the regret

1. Uzereau; op. cit.

2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 419-T-13; Registers of the letters of the recteur of Angers, Entry for 10 July, 1810. "En plusieurs circonstances," wrote Ferri, "ma position est assez critique et il semble que votre lettre, permettez-moi de le dire, en est la preuve."

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8421; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, November, 1809, and subsequent correspondence.

reports of Fourcas, 1811-1814.

of few, the administratively-inept Ferri departed in the summer of 1811 for Rome and the long-sought plum that its Academy represented.

The real administrators of the Academy were the two inspectors, one a young man who belonged to the generation of the Empire, the other a local teacher of long experience. Pierre Fourcas, 47 years, had taught in the Ecole Centrale supplémentaire of La Flèche and in 1805 migrated to the newly-created lycée as professor of mathematics.¹ His viewpoint was that of a layman who could appreciate the ex-revolutionaries around him, a man attuned to life in one of the largest cities in the West, favorable to the stability that the Empire had brought. His conscientious reports contained a faintly anti-clerical overtone,² a trait that accentuated with the years until his purge in 1824 for too "liberal" of views. Yet for all his competence, Fourcas never displayed the aptitude for administration that his colleague, F. Mazure, so markedly possessed.

Frédérique Mazure, only 31 years, had passed through the many stages that marked the young functionaries of the Empire: a bright student in a revolutionary school; a passionate nationalist during the Consulate and early Empire; an advocate of France's new institutions who acquired his convictions while secretary to the prefect of the Deux-Sèvres;

1. Port, C.; Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire; (Paris, 1878); 3 vol.; articles on Fourcas.
2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 45-T-1; School of Combrée; reports of Fourcas, 1811-1814.

and a journalist of local note who organized the first literary society within the department.

Here was one of the few real administrators within the Imperial University, one of the few functionaries whose career lay before him and who gave public education a degree of loyalty and enthusiasm that his colleagues could rarely generate. Mazure became acting recteur in the summer of 1811, after Ferri's departure, and continued until the spring of 1817 when he was named inspector-general, a post that he held under Royer-Collard, Corbière and Frayssinous, until his death in 1828. The years 1811-1817 were to leave a distinctive mark on the Academy, a mark it bore until dissolution in 1851, and simultaneously these years provide us with an insight into the world of a young administrator of the Empire, someone who had to cope with a royalist region where Catholicism retained a scarcely-diluted sway.

Mazure was uniquely well prepared to deal with the "revolutionary" ring of schools in the Sarthe and the Maine-et-Loire for his early training had been under the celebrated ex-priests of the Ecole Centrale of the Deux-Sèvres, a group that had initiated the de-christianizing movement on the plains of Poitou.¹ The Ecole Centrale of Niort, operating

1. Deschamp, E.; "Le Collège de Niort: Mem. Soc. Statistique Deux-Sèvres; (1816) t. I. Bouteiller, J-A; L'Oratoire et le Collège de Niort, 1617-1864, notice historique; (Versailles; 1865); pp. 1-45. See also Coirault, G.; Les Ecoles Centrales dans le Centre-Ouest; (Paris; 1940); p. 310.

from 1797 until 1802, had been the largest in all France and was certainly one of the best. The boarding department attracted over two hundred students, all living under the old Oratorian system of discipline, while studying the new, advanced curriculum proposed by Tallyrand's Commission of Public Education. The teacher who adopted Mazure as a protégé and the one who did most to shape his intellectual development, was the professor of Belles-Lettres, Nicolas Briquet, none other than the leading Terrorist at Poitiers in '93, member of the revolutionary committee, a married priest who had supervised the arrests of many of his one-time colleagues and who had been the prime mover in the local popular society until the Thermidorian Reaction.¹ At the Ecole Centrale, the now sedate Briquet brought the light, frothy French of eighteenth-century society into the confines of the old scholastic curriculum and annually published the best poems and prose of his students in a unique booklet, Almanach de l'Ecole Centrale de Deux-Sèvres, a work subsidized first by the directory of the department, then by the prefect.²

The best of the poems were composed by the 21-year-old F. Mazure who served as économe of the school as well as student. Their subjects reveal a mind still fresh and provocative, still that of a humanist rather than that of an administrator: "A Julie, mon dernier Amour," typified the spirit

1. Delfour, J.; Le Collège de Saint-Marthe à Poitiers, 1763-1795; (Poitiers, 1934).
2. Briquet, N.; Histoire de la ville de Niort; (Niort; 1842); pp. 110, 121, 154; 175-198.

of these writings.¹ In 1802, the prefect reprimanded Briquet for printing such "frivolity," but nonetheless, Mazure was crowned poet laureate of the department and in later years, he was to recall this period as the most satisfying and happiest of his life.² Someone else thought highly of these first literary efforts, Louis Fontanes, future Grand-Master, then at a country home near Niort.

Because of his unique background, Mazure was one of the few functionaries of the new University to have the training to be an administrator as well as pedagogue. After a year as aide to a general of the artillery, he served as private secretary to the first prefect of the Deux-Sèvres, Louis Dupin, and in that position helped to construct the departmental and communal organization while participating in the founding of two reviews, Le Journal des Deux-Sèvres and the Mémoires de l'Athénée de Niort.³ His latter publication revealed how deeply the optimistic rationalism of the eighteenth century continued to permeate the society of the provincial lettré; the subjects ranged from ill-conceived laws as the cause of human misery to the necessity of an economy founded on the twin principles of "happiness" and the "perfectibility of mankind."⁴

1. L'Almanach de l'Ecole Centrale de Deux-Sèvres; The Year VI to 1802.

2. Mazure, A.; Néocrologie de Frédérique Mazure; (Paris, 1828); p. 4-6.

3. Richard, J.; Le Département des Deux-Sevres, 1800-1815; (Niort; 1868); pp. 29, 40, 85, 115, 211.

4. Mémoires de l'Athénée de Niort; (Niort; 1808).

The year 1809 was a turning point for many a provincial notable and lettré. In Mazure's case, the reason was unique. Louis Fontanes, remembering his fondness for the young poet of the Deux-Sèvres, unexpectedly named him inspector of the Academy of Angers, the only example of the Grand-Master's having directly intervened to name a functionary in the rectorates. Student of the Ecole Centrale, disciple of a married priest, urbane administrator, F. Mazure was to take up his activities in a region known for its hostility towards the Revolution and its unflinching loyalty for a stringent Catholicism. His beginnings reflected the sharp differentiation of mentalities: in a speech in 1810 before the assembled authorities of Angers, the new inspector read a poem dedicated to the Emperor, then proclaimed that the last twenty years had done more to improve the existence of mankind than the preceeding twenty centuries.¹

Between 1810 and 1812, the inspector nevertheless evolved with the changed circumstances. In that latter year, the one-time lettré of Niort had exchanged his romantic yearnings, his intellectual questioning for a more traditional and acceptable philosophy of life. In competing for the prix d'éloquence of the Académie Française, the recteur of Angers wrote an elegy of Montaigne to serve as a vehicle to prove that no true philosophy could exist without religion, that all progress was due to Christianity.² Here was a statement

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1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-14; Entry in the Actes du Recteur; 6 June, 1810.
 2. Biblio. Municip.; Angers; Mazure, F.; Eloge de Montaigne; (Angers; 1814); a reprint of the 1812 essay.

which undoubtedly delighted the clergy of Anjou, yet here also was a statement that reflected the administrator's concern for the elements of social cohesion and stability. His elegy thus marked an important step on the road towards pre-occupation with administrative problems and towards the acceptance of a safe, convenient philosophy that would sanction his efforts. Certainly Mazure did not surrender interest in things literary and intellectual: on the contrary, he was to publish two books during the 1820's and edit a newspaper on behalf of the Comte de Serre.¹ Nonetheless, this evolution illustrates a crucial development in the thinking of so many administrators of the Empire, men who went on to serve under the First Restoration, the Hundred Days, down into the July Monarchy. In Mazure's evolution, we find a growing awareness of the strength of regional spirit in Anjou and the Maine, of the need to conciliate this spirit, and yet of the necessity to impose unity on the jumbled confusion of local practices in the field of education. How he went about building a system of public education in this notoriously difficult region of France becomes in many ways the story of how the functionaries of the Empire and Restoration imposed an administrative unity on the country while evolving a political credo that justified this attempt at centralization.

1. Mazure, F.; De la représentation nationale en France et en Angleterre: (Paris; 1821).

The backgrounds of the twenty-five recteurs made clear that no one policy, no one credo was to be imposed on French education. It was impossible to expect a Raynal or an Eliezer to share IV. some vision of a reformed system of education or to carry out in the same mechanical fashion the directives which began to stream from the capital. In effect,

The initial choice of the administrative personnel effectively insured the malfunctioning of the carefully-sculptured hierarchy as outlined in the Decree of 17 March, 1808. Napoleon had intended a professional corps of laymen, disinterested in spirit, ascetic in manner, devoted to the interests and needs of the state. Instead, Fontanes and his advisors placed in the upper levels of public education a ragged collection of local notables, a bewildering assembly of lawyers, priests, ex-legislators and medical doctors, as well as educators who represented a number of conflicting scholastic traditions.

Ideological and political considerations had less to do with the selection than did the social system of imperial France, for this was still an age of informal, ad hoc arrangements where friendships and patronage counted more than the needs of some abstract entity called the state. The whole constellation of imperial society, from prefects and generals to ministers and senators, showered the scarcely-organized offices of the Grand-Master with petitions, and in turn, he and his advisors willingly acceded to the strongest pressures.

so many obstacles to change.

The backgrounds of the twenty-five recteurs made clear that no one policy, no one credo was to be imposed on French education. It was impossible to expect a Raynal or an Eliçargaray to share the same vision of a reformed system of education or to carry out in the same mechanical fashion the directives which began to stream from the capital. In effect, the regional and social diversity of nineteenth century France was invading a hierarchy intended to impose the will of Paris. The recteurs became the very mirror of provincial life with all its idiosyncrasies.

Yet the case of Frédérique Mazure hinted at a future development, of a situation that might bring to the fore a generation of true administrators, of technicians concerned with the proper functioning of public education. Here was a young man who had witnessed the tragedy of civil war, someone who felt a deep committment to the ideal of civic equality, a Frenchman who subordinated his local attachments to the higher need of imposing a national unity and yet an individual who remained acutely sensitive to the regional complexities in the various departments. His fortuuitous advancement to the rectorate of Angers pointed up the presence of a layer of younger men within the Imperial University, some as inspectors, some in the lycées, who were to furnish the material for a more uniform personnel in later years. The question remained nonetheless how far reformers such as he could operate and maneouver in a social order that imposed so many obstacles to change.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SCHOOLS OF THE ACADEMY OF ANGERS

AND THEIR PRINCIPALS

In 1809, the revival of Angers approached a crisis of its own problems at seventeen in number, "revolutionary" in origin, the other deeply counter-revolutionary. Of the seventeen principals, there were two married priests, two republican soldiers, and four laymen who had participated in the Revolution; of the remaining number, eight were priests who had emigrated or led fugitive existences in the forests of the Mayenne.

This was only one level of reality, however, for masked beneath the political were profound social and economic cleavages which divided the life of the three departments into a maze of customs and traditions. Here was the greatest obstacle to administrative unity in public education; this was the heritage that defied Fréderique Masure in his attempt to impose a standard system on the schools of the three departments. The political question only served to highlight problems that were at bottom social.

The Academy of Angers stretched across three departments where the Civil War had brought to the surface age-old tensions, tensions of once economic, social and political. This was a region more torn for its unity than for its contrasts, since it was here that the plains of the

center of France gave way to the rough hedges of the West. Crossing over the Maine-et-Loire, the Mayenne and the Sarthe, the Academy contained all the ingredients, in exaggerated form, that went to make the task of subjugating the departments to Paris, a major undertaking

In 1809, the recteur of Angers confronted a delicate set of problems stemming from the fact that the municipal schools of the Academy, seventeen in number, neatly split into two contending blocs, one "revolutionary" in origin, the other deeply counter-revolutionary in spirit. Of the seventeen principals, there were two married priests, two former republican soldiers, and four laymen who had participated in the Revolution; of the remaining number, eight were priests who had emigrated or led fugitive existences in the forests of the Mayenne.

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center of France gave way to the rough bocage of the West. Extending over the Maine-et-Loire, the Mayenne and the Sarthe, the Academy contained all the ingredients, in exaggerated form, that went to make the task of subjugating the departments to Paris, a major undertaking that lasted well into the nineteenth century. If this region of chouans and Vendéans, of married priests and blues, of townsmen and ignorant peasants, possessed a unique character, a special temperament, it was the very effort to subdue this character which made the Academy a microcosm of the multiple problems facing the recteurs in provincial France.

II

In the Maine-et-Loire, the fundamental fact of life during the Empire was the tension between two distinct and opposed regions, that to the south known as Southern Anjou and that along the Loire valley, covering the towns of Angers and Samur as well as the fertile plains to the east. It was a division that determined the course of public education in the department.

Southern Anjou was part of the vast, inhospitable bocage in the West of France, a land that had so successfully defied the republican armies and which continued to be a region of fields enclosed by hedges, of subsistence agriculture supplemented by a few cattle, of a domestic textile industry which fluctuated with the unstable markets. The merchants of Cholet, town of six thousand in the heart of this primitive land, controlled the community itself, but had little influence or interest in the open areas of the uninviting bocage, where peasants eeked out a living in the same primitive fashion as their forefathers, and where the nobility retained large tracts of land and a scarcely diluted sway. The Civil War of 1793 resulted from four years of growing tension in this intensely religious area: the expulsion of the refractory clergy and the introduction of assermentés priests aroused the pious inhabitants; then came the hated conscription into the

republican armies in March, 1793, and the subsequent rioting, followed by the appearance of the Catholic armies of the Vendée, motley affairs driven by a romantic, desperate impulse.¹

After rising briefly in 1799, the Angevin Vendéans buried their arms for a time, but the area remained in a state of uneasiness throughout the Consulate and early Empire. After 1809, the region as a whole began to stir in visible anger as its young men were called into Bonaparte's ever-expanding armies, as news of the Pope's arrest spread among the faithful, and as the grinding taxes made themselves felt with increasing severity. Bands of destitutes reappeared in the bocage, and the more daring among them, such as the Sans-Peur, entered rural communes wearing the white cocarde and occasionally waylaid the coaches between Cholet and Beaupréau. Then too, curés ceased reading the Bulletins of the Grand Army from the pulpit; privately they referred to Napoleon as the Anti-Christ. Some declined to inter those who were not reconciled with the Church while others used the leverage of confession to force the restitution of confiscated land. In this avowedly royalist land, one ecclesiastical school flourished

1. Tilly, C.; The Vendée; (London, 1964). Port, C.; Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique du Maine-et-Loire; three volumes; 1878; articles on the towns of Beaupréau and Cholet. Blordier-Langlois, L.; Angers et le Département de Maine-et-Loire: 1787-1840; (Angers, 1837), 2 Vol. Uzereau, F.; Anjou Historique; (1900-1951). Numerous short articles on the politics and religion of this region. Dubreuil, L.; Histoire des insurrections de l'Ouest; (Paris, 1929-1930); 2 Vol. Gabory, E.; La Revolution et la Vendée; (Paris, 1925); 3 Vols.

at tiny Beaupréau with one-hundred fifty boys; a public school at Cholet with only thirty students, and on the edge of the region, at Doué, a second ecclesiastical school that became a public one in 1810, with over one hundred boys.

The two principals and the one private director of this militant region fully embodied the austere, unremitting ideals which periodically galvanized the mass of peasantry into overt opposition to the government. At Beaupréau, heart of the Vendée militaire, the head of the large private school was an elderly priest who had confessed captured blues awaiting execution, who had served as apostolic administrator of Southern Anjou during the Consulate and was now training a new generation of priests to man the succursales of the region. Only eighteen miles to the south, at the manufacturing town of Cholet, the principal had been a royalist soldier who enjoyed the solid support of the mayor, while at the town of Doué, to the east, the head was an ecclesiastic who had served as a aumônier to the Vendean armies and then as a tutor in one of the noble families of the area.

The complex nature of regionalism in the West is shown however by the varied backgrounds of these three men, for in them Frédérique Mazure faced no monolithic bloc, no uniform wall of hostility, but confronted the same colorful diversity that had characterized the France of the eighteenth century. The principals mirrored not only the political temperament of this region but the rich diversity of social gradations, the odd assortment of personalities, the variety of religious feeling.

On the one hand, the head of the famed ecclesiastical school of Beaupréau was a distinguished, highly cultured priest who moved within the aristocratic world that dominated Southern Anjou.¹ The abbé Loir-Mongazon, fifty-three years old, dined each noonday with the largest landowner in the Maine-et-Loire, the Maréchale d'Aubeterre, first cousin of the Duc d'Angoulême. In keeping with his breeding and refinement, Loir-Mongazon was no extremist, but a gentle, moderately inclined ecclesiastic well versed in the curriculum of the Ancien Régime. He had been educated by the Oratorians at Saumur and taught in the College of Beaupréau during the years immediately preceding the Revolution.

What a contrast between the cultured Mongazon and the principal of the tiny College of Cholet, only eighteen miles to the south of Beaupréau. From the world of the aristocracy one passes to the lowest levels of Angevin society. The head of the college had been a royalist soldier, son of an artisan who had drifted into teaching after two years as an ageing choirboy at Beaupréau. He eked out a bare existence tutoring twenty-five boys in an unsanitary wing of the local hospice. The local curé denounced Raimbault to the bishop when the mayor's son failed to recite his catechism perfectly.

1. Bernier, H.; Notices Historique sur le Collège de Beaupréau, 1901, pp. 77-197. Uzereau, F.; Anjou Historique; Brief articles on the College of Beaupréau, 1904, 1929, 1928. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 456-T-33; Report of F. Mazure, March 17, 1810. Moreau, J.; "Les origines du Nouveau Collège de Beaupréau," Anj. His.; T. 2 (1902).

"Il y a longtemps que je devais m'attendre à cela," he rasped, "puisque je savais combien cette boutique était mal menée," a testimony to the petty feuds that divided this solidly royalist town.¹

A third thread that ran through the curious fabric of this backward region was to be found at the College of Doué, to the east of Southern Anjou, yet temperamentally a part of the region. The nominal principal had belonged to the more refined circles of ecclesiastical society before the Revolution, a canon at Angers and member of a leading family. By 1810, he was a shell of his former self, a demoralized man who allowed himself to be dominated by his aggressive partner. The co-principal, the abbé Guilleteau, represented the militant, stubborn lower classes of Southern Anjou, the very layers that had furnished the troops of Staufflet in 1793 and that continued to farm their land in the same primitive fashion as had their forefathers. Guilleteau came from a family of artisans, served as aumônier in the Vendean armies and tutored at the Pacification in a noble family of the region. This ambitious ecclesiastic was never more than a rough-hewn, somewhat crude product of the rural Vendée, moulded in the heat of the Civil War where life had been a series of marches, ambushes and hidings. "Longtemps fugitifs, il a acquis l'habitude d'une vie très dure," the recteur sniffed,

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425; Tableaux du Personnel; 1813. Labarre, R., "Le Collège Municipal de Cholet, 1806-1835." Soc. Sciences, Belles-Lettres Cholet; T. 22 (1937), pp. 65-109.

while the parents of Doué grumbled that Guilleteau seemed more of a speculator than educator or priest.¹

In the towns of the Loire valley thrived a different culture, a different way of life from the primitive peasant society to the south. Here was the France of the Revolution, a France that had its roots in the ideology of civic equality and in the economics of a national market system. The farmer around Saumur was a proud proprietor, independent of any lord, closely attached to the soil, a genuine revolutionary in the sense that he looked to the regime that guaranteed his land. Depending on the wine and wheat trade, Saumur and the surrounding towns were linked to national and even international markets and hence belonged to the urban society that tied the commercial communities and the plains of the East.²

The Empire was losing something of its popularity in the Loire valley, but the western tour of Bonaparte in 1808 revealed the proud nationalism that pervaded municipal life. The town of Saumur, gateway to the West, but commer-

1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-25; Reports of F. Mazure, 3 April, 1810, 27 September, 1810. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8603; Reports on the College of Saumur, 1810.
2. Desmé de Chavigny, O.: Histoire de Saumur pendant la Révolution; (Vannes, 1892). Tilly, C. The Vendée; pp. 16-37. Seigreid, A.: Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République; (Paris, 1912), pp. 38-42. Blordier-Langlois; op. cit. McManners, J.: French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime: A Study of Angers in the Eighteenth Century; (Manchester, 1960). Bois, P.: La Vie scolaire et les créations intellectuelles en Anjou pendant la Révolution: 1789-1799; (Paris, 1929).

cially linked to the Center, gave the Emperor a tumultuous reception, a reception that found no echoes in Southern Anjou. The streets were festooned with flags and lamps; ladies stood in the balconies frantically waving the tricolor; and an honor guard of bourgeois and functionaries formed a proud if ageing escort.

Not surprisingly, the principal of the College of Saumur was a member of the generation that had been catapulted into the professorial rank by the Revolution, a generation that set about with enthusiasm to chop away the horary routine of Latin in favor of French and science. Here was the kind of man that the Imperial University preferred to build upon: a layman trained in the schools of the Revolution, a proven administrator, someone willing to place himself at the service of the capital.¹

In 1790, Delaroche had been a student of the Doctrinaires at La Flèche, center of liberalism in the Maine, and, when these departed, found himself full professor of grammar. He attended the short-lived Ecole Normale of 1795, and, after serving four years in the republican armies of the North, a time that he later recalled with fondness, Delaroche aided a former Doctrinaire in reopening the prestigious College of La Flèche. When students began to desert this liberal establishment during the Consulat, he refounded the College

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425; Tableau du Personnel; 1813. F 17 2688; Tableau du Personnel; 1812-1813. See also Elie Sorin, Histoire du Lycée d'Angers; (Angers, 1873).

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425; Tableau du Personnel; 1813.

of Saumur. Delaroche's talents received such high praise from the recteur that in 1809 Paris decided to send him into the Lycée of Angers, a promotion that the Saumurois bitterly resented and to which they were to point in later years as the end of the days of prosperity. Delaroche went on to become a proviseur, then an inspecteur d'académie during the Restoration.

In the three small colleges of the Loire Valley and the Val-du-Loir, the principals were laymen who finally resented the competition that the ecclesiastical school of Beaupréau gave their establishments. The twenty-eight year old director of Beaufort had studied mathematics in the College of Saumur and was an outspoken advocate of the Empire. At Baugé, the principal had been a Frère des Ecoles Chrétiennes in pre-revolutionary Saumur, then resurfaced during the Directory as a prosperous private teacher before moving to Baugé.¹ The principal at Chalonnes, former private teacher, aroused the clucking tongues of the dévôtes for his habit of giving late parties in the school building.

Yet here again, the recteur found that these schools belonged to that impoverished level of "second-class" institutions which formed the sickly underbelly of secondary education. The head of Beaufort became involved in an affair with a thirty-five-year-old widow living in the same building and frankly confessed to the Academy his inability to handle the school, plaintively warning, "Le Collège marche à grand

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425: Tableau du Personnel; 1813.

pas vers sa ruine."¹ His neighbor at Baugé knew no Latin and was deeply in debt, while that of Chalonnes spent most of his time quarreling with the mayor over the rent for the school building.²

The last piece in the curious mosaic of Angevin education was the lycée of Angers, an institution created in 1805 to replace the ill-organized and republican Ecole Centrale, but in turn an unpopular, suspect establishment that imposed a strict military regime on its students and counted among its professors five ex-revolutionaries. Here was the first and foremost of the delicate problems faced by the recteur of the Academy.³ The scarcely attended lycée with only 150 boys, was a living testament to the "excesses" of the Revolution: Thomas Benaben, professor of mathematics, president of the Club de l'Opus, the most radical of the popular societies, witness to the noyades at Nantes, commissioner to the avenging army of the West, a former Oratorian who had led the dechristianizing movement in that town; Thomas Cauvin, professor of science, a revolutionary from Le Mans; Laille, professor of humanities, defrocked priest who had been part of the revolutionary movement at Laval; Heron, professor of physics, oratorian in the old college, member of the popular

1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 29-T-8; Principal of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 14 February, 1811.

2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 29-T-1; Mayor of Baugé to the recteur of Angers; 27 January, 1811.

3. Sorin, E.; Histoire du Lycée d'Angers; (Angers, 1873), pp. 1-21.

society at Angers and a notable orator; Moulin, censeur of the lycée, an ex-priest who wore a blue redingote with gold buttons, much to the shock of the local clergy.¹

The difficulty that the rectorate would have in reconciling public opinion to this institution was compounded by the Grand-Master's appointment as new proviseur an ex-army officer whose one claim to promotion rested on the fact that he was the nephew of a former Marshal of France, Armand Jossey Dubreuil and had married the sister of the Senator for the Angevin area, Le Mercier. Here we see another example of the system of patronage and here we find another example of its often disastrous consequences. De Jossey was a hard-bitten officer who carried the habits and discipline of army life into the confines of the lycée. From 1810 until 1814, the students learned the ins-and-outs of a polished drill, the intricate art of maintaining an immaculate uniform, and the delights of surreptitious adventures into the town, some ending with the students transported back to the lycée in a drunken stupor, stretched out on a plank of wood for all the town to see.

Significantly, the new proviseur saw his establishment as an independent unit, a fiefdom that was beholden to no other authority, a military camp whose security lay in its isolation not only from the town but from the rectorate. And here lay one of the fundamental obstacles to the proper

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2682: Tableau du Personnel, 1810-1814; and correspondence of the proviseur.

functioning of the new Academy; for Ferri, then Mazure, found in the former captain a haughty administrator who refused to obey his younger colleagues who were setting up office in a building several streets distant. Until 1814, the authority of the rectorate over the lycée remained tenuous and the intermittently flaring feud between the functionaries brought on more than one occasion the intervention of the Grand-Master and Senator Le Mercier, the latter periodically holding dinners to reconcile the two adversaries.¹

The Maine-et-Loire remained at heart an intensely conservative region where clericalism and loyalty to the Bourbon monarchy were deeply ingrained sentiments. By way of contrast, the Department of the Sarthe had served as the rampart of Paris during the Revolution, a bastion, so claimed the departmental administrators, whose fall would have opened the route to the capital. This once-republican area was no ancient region but a compendium of three separate provinces, the Perche, the Maine and Anjou, thereby making it, too, a land of contrasts where loyalties fed on differing and opposed traditions. The eastern wing, extending from La Ferté-Bernard in the north, through Saint-Calais, had been the real bulwark of the Revolution in the Sarthe, for the farmers shared the same existence and customs as their colleagues in the Val-Saumurois: self-reliant proprietors, anti-clerical by temperament, hostile to the nobility that resided at Le Mans or in

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7687; Correspondence between the recteur and proviseur, January-June, 1814.

the West, proud that their communes had never been "dirted" by chouannerie. The fact that a number of married priests dominated the judiciary after 1800, that the Jacobin noyau at La Ferté continued to defy the prefect, and that the Empire remained popular in this region, testified to the lively fears of the rural counter-revolutionary countryside.¹

The real stronghold of reaction in the department was the western side, on an elevated plateau, covered by immense forests, dotted with rocky vallies and some bocage, a land of savage grandeur, but one where impoverished peasants inhabited low-sitting huts, humid, badly ventilated affairs that often adjoined a stable. The influence of the nobility remained strong and religion retained its hold. Statues of the Virgin hung over the doors; crosses stood on the roofs; and innumerable calvaries marked the muddy ditches which served for roads. In 1793, the conscriptees refused to march against the Vendéans and six years later the inhabitants took part in the chouannerie which ended with the capture of Le Mans. As in Southern Anjou, the guerrilla bands melted away after 1800, but new groups, such as the Nouveaux-Nés, reappeared nine years later. The leading figure among the clergy, the reactionary vicar-general, Dumourrier-Duperrier, drew his

1. Reinhard, M.: Le Département de la Sarthe sous le régime directorial: (Paris, 1935), pp. 3-25. Bois, P.: Les Paysans de l'Ouest: (Le Mans, 1960), pp. 295-571. Berenger, A. de: "La Police générale dans la Sarthe sous le Consulat et sous l'Empire"; Rev. Arch. Maine: T. 80-86 (1934-1940); pp. 28-38, 156-182, 18-27, 216-225, 79-93, 85-98, 90-101, 16-31. Seingfried, A.: Tableau politique: pp. 60-63.

strength from this portion of the department, delighting the inhabitants by ringing the cathedral bells on Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig in 1813.

The fundamental fact of life during the Revolution for the Sarthe was thus the opposition between town and countryside, between the lawyers, republican troops, buyers of confiscated land, refugees on the one hand and the peasants, refractory clergy, artisans of the rural communes on the other. It was this fact that did much to shape the teaching personnel of the seven colleges.

After 1800, the once Jacobin towns of the Sarthe proclaimed their liberal sympathies by turning to the old revolutionary clergy for teachers. At Saint-Calais, the director was a married priest who once acted as secretary to the municipality then avoué to the local court.¹ His neighbor at Yvetot, a private teacher, was described by one inspector as "L'instrument du parti turbulent et irréligieux, composé comme lui de prêtres mariés qui garde encore beaucoup d'influence dans l'instruction publique du pays".² At La Suze, a former Doctrinaire had left the priesthood to marry and kept the town gossiping about his spectacular quarrels

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-4; Report of F. Mazure, 17 May, 1810.

2. Ibid. May, 1811; Mazure reprimanded the married priest for not submitting his marriage to the clergy; the ex-abbé proudly brandished a report of the National Council of bishops convoked by Napoleon to justify his Gallican attitude.

with his spouse;¹ the head of Sablé had served as a republican soldier, and the second principal of Mamers was a married priest.² The department as a whole contained a high proportion of married and assermenté priests in private education, particularly at Le Mans, where three ex-revolutionaries taught, much to the displeasure of the bishops, and in the northeast section around strongly republican La Ferté-Bernard.

Yet education in the Sarthe bespoke another heritage, another tradition; for the principals and private teachers came primarily from the more common layers of society, the ill-educated, crude products of artisanal families. The underbelly of French society furnished a number of "educators" in the impoverished second-class institutions which dotted the smaller communes and hamlets, and the Sarthe was no exception. The principal of Sablé was no more than a common soldier whose artisanal background shone through an atrocious accent, "un langage vicieux et infecté de toutes les tournures anti-françaises du pays", while rumors periodically reached Angers that he was an alcoholic.³ At Saint-Calais, in the eastern Sarthe, the director had been an obscure parish priest before the Revolution, who knew little Latin. Between 1804

1. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; 1-TT-49; Also see Bois, Les Institutions intellectuelles...p. Courteille had served as a district commissioner in the Maine-et-Loire during the Directory.

2. Calendini, A.: Le Collège de Mamers: 1935.

3. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; 1-T-49; Report of F. Mazure, 11 May, 1810.

and 1808, the head of the College of Mamers was a broken-down publican who became drunk regularly in the company of his shrewish wife and notorious daughter.¹ His neighbor at Sillé-le-Guillaume was the young secretary of the commune who doubled as principal to fill his spare time and earn an extra salary.² At Chateauduloir, the town had been plaintively demanding a principal since the death of the former one in early 1809. "Divers instituteurs ont cru pouvoir speculer sur ses dépouilles," the mayor indignantly related, "l'un n'eut...point de honte de venir le jour de la clôture des classes pour en recruter les élèves."³ Although these men gave a frank loyalty to public education, the Academy understandably maintained a cool distance from the group.

The one exception in the department and the one hope for the recteur was the principal of the prosperous College of Le Mans, situated in the commercial and administrative center of the Sarthe, a town of 25,000. The most important and perhaps distinguished figure in the Academy was the abbé Moissenet, last superior of the Oratorians College who had returned in 1805 to recreate the school as he had known

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1. Calendini; op. cit.: In 1810, Mazure discovered this man as a primary teacher in a rural commune and suspended him after learning not only that he was continuing in his alcoholic ways but that his daughter's reputation was open to question.
 2. L'Hermite; "Le Collège de Sillé-le-Guillaume sous la Révolution et l'Empire" Com. Dept. Sarthe. T. 6 (1911), pp. 140-158.
 3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8329; Mayor of Chateauduloir to the recteur of Angers: February, 1809. He continued that private schools as a rule "ne doivent leur origine qu'à l'intérêt et à la cupidité de leurs chefs."

it. Professor at the finest colleges of the Oratory, Moissenet had been sent in 1787 from Angers to reform the decaying school of Le Mans and within two years had ended its indebtedness, increased its student body, and reinvigorated its studies. In 1792, he reluctantly emigrated to Germany but continued to espouse the Gallicanism that his congregation had so long defended. In 1805 the prefect of the Sarthe invited him to reestablish the school as he had known it and extended a protection that jealously guarded the abbé from his many tribulations.¹

Nevertheless the liberal bourgeoisie of Le Mans could never reconcile itself to the sight of a black robe inside what had been the Ecole Centrale, and, when Moissenet accepted as professor of the third form an ex-chouan who boasted of his proficiency with weapons, began a campaign to unseat him.² Certain of the parents, in collaboration with a clique of teachers, egged on the students against the new professor. When the latter badly beat the ex-chouan one night in the dormitory, the prefect expelled two boys, excluded a teacher, and set up a picket of gendarmes around

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8451; Correspondence of Moissenet; Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 47/2: Correspondence of Moissenet, Boyer, M.; Notice historique sur la vie du Père Moissenet; 1842. Reminiscences by a teacher in the school from 1787 until 1841. Arch. Nat.; Series M; 223; Mémoire des Persecutions qu'a éprouvées la Maison de l'Oratoire du Mans...

2. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; T 47/2; The liberal mayor of Le Mans wrote Colonel Auvray on the subject of the ex-Vendean, "Vous ignorez peut-être que le Beau Monsieur a fait partie de l'armée vendéen où il a figuré, qu'il a été renvoyé de la Flèche où il preschait (sic) et formentait le désordre."

the college.¹

But Moissenet was far from a reactionary. Although he had emigrated, the former superior welcomed into the college as teachers two married priests, an assermenté and a Bazinist on the grounds that they were all former Oratorians, Doctrinaires and Lazarists that he had known under the Ancien Régime. His greatest battles during the Empire were with the vicars-general of the diocese, offended by his outspoken espousal of an old-fashioned Gallicanism. In 1812, Moissenet asked for the title of doctor-of-theology in the suspect University to proclaim the doctrine "Crue, connue, et enseigné avant que les opinions untramontanes eussent altéré l'enseignement de l'église Gallicane."²

Here was an ecclesiastic who epitomized the abbé of the eighteenth century with all the accompanying idiosyncrasies: a tolerant Gallicanism, a gout-ridden health, a penchant for good food and a broad sense of humor that could skate the ribald. His refusal to discipline the students contrasted sharply with Horeau's stern attitude, and in later years, the professors complained that this generosity verged on weakness. As for Moissenet's administration, there was to emerge a romantic nostalgia for the golden days of the

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1. Ibid.; Professor of the College of Le Mans to the prefect, 18 January, 1806; prefect to Fourcroy, 17 January, 1806; Principal of Le Mans to prefect, 22 January, 1806.
 2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1678; Principal of Le Mans to the recteur of Angers, June, 1812. He boldly affirmed, "Je desire être Docteur en Théologie et cela parce que je crois devoir m'honorer d'un titre que j'ai proné ici inutilement parmi les ecclésiastiques."

Oratory and on the first inspection, the recteur noted of the daily movements in the school "tous se fait comme dans l'ancien ordre de l'Oratoire."¹

Here was to be the cornerstone of the recteur's authority within the three departments, the summa of the tradition that F. Mazure wished to extend to the lesser schools of the Academy. Surely the alliance of its principal with the Academy of Angers was to be a unique phenomenon in the west, a curious, fascinating union between a strongly Gallican ecclesiastic bred in the eighteenth century and a modern bureaucrat anxious to extend state power.

Perhaps the greatest stumbling block to public education in the nineteenth century was the agricultural character of French society, for in the early 1800s France shared many of the traits of the less developed countries today: an economy at once primitive and rural, with poor communications, periodic famines and a population tenacious in its loyalty to outmoded traditions. Nowhere was this problem more acute than in the Department of the Mayenne, a backward area where fields lay fallow two out of three years, where bocage was the normal means of preserving what little

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; T 47/2; Principal of Le Mans to the prefect, 1806; When one ex-Oratorian asked for a raise in his paltry salary of 800 francs, the abbe could explode in a letter to the prefect, "Le prix que j'ai toujours attaché aux services de mes anciens confrères, a consisté plutôt dans les moeurs, les principes, l'expérience que j'ai espéré trouvé en eux que dans les sommes que leur seraient comptées comme récompense de leur travaux."

topsoil there was, and where roads were muddy trails snaking from bourg to bourg.¹ The condition of the peasantry was similar to that which prevailed in the western Sarthe: impoverished and downtrodden. The bourgeoisie of the seven towns boasted an ancient pedigree and were indeed fairly well off at the end of the eighteenth century, prospering on the textile trade and educating their sons at the Doctrinaire College of La Flèche or the University of Angers. At the wealthiest of the towns, Laval, chief-lieu of the department, a few distinguished hotels graced this center built up on the right bank of the Mayenne, but most families, noble or otherwise, continued to live in the wooden houses of the sixteenth century, simple affairs thrown together in narrow, winding streets.

Throughout the Empire, the inhabitants of the department remained suspicious, inward-looking and cliquish, preferring to cling to a rigidly orthodox, yet deeply felt religion, and a backward way of existence in the face of reforms imposed by Paris. The peasants had traditionally been a sullen, tenacious group; the clergy, few in number, all from the Mayenne, presented a closed front to the outsider; and the grand nobility such as the Trémouille or the d'Aumont rarely resided in the department but retained a major influence as

1. Masset, R.; Le Bas-Maine; Etude géographique; (Laval, 1917), pp. 3-12. Gaugain, F.; Histoire de la Révolution dans la Mayenne; (Laval, 1917), 2 Vol. Angot, A.; Dictionnaire historique, topographique et biographique de la Mayenne; (Laval, 1900-1911). See the articles pertaining to the various towns.

grands seigneurs of the Ancien Régime. The left-overs from the Revolution, those few men who had dared carry out the will of Paris, found themselves a small, isolated group by the time of the Empire, and nowhere was this more true than in the College of Laval, where several of the leading figures had come to teach, among them a former constitutional bishop and an ex-member of the revolutionary committee for that town. As for the other four colleges, these were in the hands of refractory priests, men bred in the Bas-Maine of the eighteenth century, accustomed to the slow, traditional pace of that insular region.

It was here that the new Academy ran head on into the problem of clericalism, a problem complicated by the fact that the rectorate was very much an intruder in an educational system that had survived intact from the 1780s, an outsider elbowing its way in on a rhythm of life that continued unchanged from the eighteenth century.

In his first letter, in 1809, the county principal of the College of Château-Gontier, in the southern third of the Mayenne, cautiously hailed the University as the protector of Catholicism and recommended that one private teacher be excluded from education as an "atheist". The sixty-one-year-old Charles Horeau was the proud head of a school that his great-uncle had created in 1745 and in which he had been both a student and professor before becoming director in 1776.¹

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8318; Reports of the successive recteurs, 1810-1830. Angot, A.: Dictionnaire historique et archéologique de la Mayenne; (Laval, 1890), Article on Horeau.

The only problem seemed to be the magistrates who lived among the students.

Here was a man who gave himself entirely to the special heritage of which he was a part, someone who felt a deep commitment not only to the Catholic Church and to education, but to an institution which his forefathers had shaped and to a region, the Bas-Maine, whose priests he had raised and trained. On top of this commitment was a burning hatred for the Revolution and its works, a hatred that had its roots partly in the knowledge that the old tradition of his province was threatened and partly in bitter personal experience. During the Revolution Horeau had been imprisoned at the notorious stockades of Baimbouillet, then on release impetuously preached against the Republic, a show of bravado that earned him re-imprisonment until 1799. He still entertained a running feud with the head of the revolutionary committee that had prosecuted him in 1792, now the procureur-général.¹ Moreover the principal found himself in competition with the most celebrated terrorist of the Mayenne, proselytizer of the guillotine in the department, a former student of the Doctrinaires who now held a small private school inside Château-Gontier.²

Utterly fixed in his ways, the abbé was undoubtedly the best administrator in the Academy.³ The college operated according to an eighteenth century discipline: the students

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1; Letter to recteur of Angers, 9 September, 1809.

2. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 1-T-50; Primary education; Dossier on Huchede, 1802-1804. Huchede had been a student of the Doctrinaires in 1791 at La Flèche.

3. Arch. Nat.; Mayenne; 1-T-11; Report of the inspector; 24 April, 1810. The recteur made this admission in 1816. The only problem seemed to be that the daughters of a magistrate who lived nearby waved occasionally to the students.

rose at 5:30 in the morning; prayers and daily mass followed; at meals the boys waited on their tables and at recreation kept discretely off the streets of the town. The regime was extraordinarily severe even for that day and age, for Horeau, bred in a bygone era, had a dark view of human nature that led him to regard his students and teachers with all the contempt of an Old Testament prophet. After a disturbance by several boys in 1812, he reaffirmed his unshakable belief in the traditional doctrine of original sin: "La jeunesse est difficile à mettre à la raison; elle est opinatre, entêtée, et ne pense rien à bon."¹ When the teachers collectively complained of an excessive load imposed on them, he could think of no more apt reply than to denounce them as materialistic and irreligious.² He was a lettered and opulent man in his sphere. The proddings of the new Academy to improve the curriculum, to rework the financial records, to space the beds further apart, were to incense this venerable educator. Never would he let an official at Angers, an agent of Bonaparte, dispossess him of this family heritage, this monument erected for the greater glory of God, an institution over which he had presided since 1776. Protected by two bishops and the local nobility, Horeau tranquilly continued to rule over the school as an institution peculiar to the Mayenne

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1. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T-11; Principal of Château-Gontier to the recteur of Angers, 7 February, 1818. The students had been making fun of the pious ecclesiastics.
 2. Ibid.; Principal of Château-Gontier to the recteur of Angers, 3 December, 1810.

and not part of a system directed from Paris.

At Laval, chef-lieu of the Mayenne and once center of the Revolution in the Department, the rectorate found a rival to the abbé as well as a principal willing to give his loyalty to public education and risk the consequences.¹ The relationship of the abbé de Bigault with the Academy was to be representative of the strange alliances that cropped up throughout France between recteurs and men in need of protection, alliances that could never be more than unstable compounds ready to dissolve under a change in circumstances.

Perhaps the most controversial of the principals, de Bigault was an ecclesiastic who came from an old bourgeois family of the Mayenne who earned the patent of nobility in the armies of Louis XIV. He was a lettré who composed poems in his spare time, and a socialite who delighted in displaying his considerable fencing skills. Scion of a noble family of Le Mans, student of pre-revolutionary La Flèche, de Bigault belonged to the refined world of the eighteenth century town where ecclesiastical and administrative institutions supported a rich and varied life. Returning at the time of the Concordat, the young de Bigault reorganized the diocese as secretary to the bishop of Le Mans and in the process maintained a number of constitutional priests in place, thereby offending

1. Sinoir, "Le Collège et le lycée de Laval". Com. His. Arch. Mayenne. Tome 51, 52 (1931-1932), pp. 43-60, 101-154, 199-253. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8421; The mayor later affirmed, "A son arrivée ici (1807), M. de Bigault afficha trop les idées prétendues libérales." To the recteur, October, 1815.

2. Revue de l'enseignement, 1823. "L'abbé de Bigault, qui n'aurait jamais dû quitter le département de la Mayenne, se serait vu refuser l'espérance de faire quelque bien pendant de bons ministres."

the refractory clergy newly surfaced from their years of fugitive existence.¹ The abbé moved among the first families of Le Mans and at one soirée of the prefecture fenced the bemused prefect into the bushes of the terrace, all to the applause of the ladies. Yet it was this very style of living, this gracious, highly social existence that made the abbé suspect in the eyes of the Manceau clergy and gave him the reputation for "liberalism". Throughout the Empire, the Manceau clergy boycotted the abbé de Bigault, and so the College remained an outpost of urbanity in the Mayenne, surrounded by a hostile ring of traditional schools.

Three other schools, to the north, in the bleak, unfertile arrondissement of Mayenne, duplicated on a smaller scale the system of Château-Gontier. The principals, all refractory priests, were lesser replicas of the outspoken Horeau: counter-revolutionary to the core, servants of the bishop, proud veterans of education under the Ancien Régime, anxious to recreate the schools that they had governed during the 1780s.

At tiny Ernée, the abbé Pottier proudly recalled his exploits as a fugitive during the chouannerie of 1795 and stubbornly sought to reestablish the college as he had governed it between 1786 and 1791.² In the College of

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; T-47-2; Correspondence of de Bignault. The abbé taught at Le Mans for two years but was asked to leave on becoming involved in a rather sordid plot to replace the principal of the school.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8373; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 14 June, 1814. Pottier freely admitted that he would never have reopened the school "si je n'eusse eu l'espérance de faire quelque bien à l'église en lui procurant de bons ministres."

Mayenne, the abbé Raimbault, country curé before the Revolution, émigré in England, spent most of his time confessing the dévôts of the quarter where the bourgeois and nobility lived.¹ Only in the thickly wooded country east of the Mayenne, at Evron, did the principal show a certain moderation. The abbé Poupin, director of the school before the Revolution, émigré in Germany, obediently dropped the title of "Episcopal College" in 1809 and accepted instructions on the curriculum.² Poupin went so far as to praise Bonaparte in a public speech, a fact that the sub-prefect noted with delight and astonishment.³

Yet all three saw the Academy of Angers as another agent of "republican" Paris, another step in the progressive annexation of the Bas-Maine to the Empire of the Anti-Christ. They too were to welcome the Restoration as a freeing of their schools from secular authority and a return to the original purpose for which these had been created. Like Horeau they were fighting to re-establish the old pre-revolutionary cycle;

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425; Tableau du Personnel; 1813. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T/331-B; Report on l'enseignement mutuel, 1818. Grosse-Duperon, A.: Le Collège de Mayenne; 1910. In a report to the Grand-Master, the recteur denounced the principal of Mayenne for his slovenly habits: "Il n'aime pas le travail et regarde le collège comme une retraite."
 2. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T; Report of Fourcas, 1810. Fourcas found the Latin studies surprisingly strong.
 3. Ibid.; 1-T-54; Sub-prefect of Mayenne to the prefect, 15 December, 1810. "Sincèrement attaché au gouvernement actuel... Cependant le texte des compositions n'est point tiré de l'histoire de la dynastie actuelle, mais cela a un vient que d'un usage antérieurement."

training students from peasant and artisanal families, then sending them to study theology at the Seminary of Le Mans. For the Department of the Mayenne, the rectorate was thus to be an intruder in an educational system that had survived intact from the 1780s.

The academies of France represented no self-contained units, no delicate ecology that an outside force might unbalance, but rather their complexity bespoke a multiple set of traditions and habits, of political views and religious practices, of social gradation and economic activities. The directors of the new jurisdictions faced regions distinguished primarily by their diversity.

This was the first and the greatest obstacle that the Imperial University came to encounter. Administrators during the time of the Empire could not afford to ignore the complexities of provincial France and therefore had to shape its forms and policies accordingly. Centralization could not be effective without weaving into its very structure the peculiarities of the ninety departments. The principals who embodied proud local traditions could not be overlooked. The abbé Moreau had operated his school since the 1770s and was determined not to surrender control over the institution which his forefathers had so laboriously built. He refused Moissac's stubbornly sought to suppress the local tradition that of the seminary, but could not do so without losing its meaning, its character, its very existence as a university institution. Throughout the nineteenth century, the struggle

Barthe, the schools reflected the peculiarities and characteristics of their localities. The primitive land of Southern Anjou, the fertile plains of the Mayenne, the commercial activities of the Barthe and the flat-lying regions of the Mayenne.

III.

The difficulty was the nature of the Empire experienced in submitting a local administration to a central authority. The academies of France represented no self-contained units, no delicate ecology that an outside force might unbalance, but rather their complexion bespoke a multiple set of traditions and habits, of political views and religious practices, of social gradation and economic activities. The directors of the new jurisdictions faced regions distinguished primarily by their diversity.

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Sarthe, the schools reflected the peculiarities and eccentricities of their localities: the primitive land of Southern Anjou, the fertile plains of the Val-Saumurois, the commercial activities of the Sarthe and the flat-lying bocage of the Mayenne.

The difficulty that the recteurs of the Empire experienced in recruiting a loyal clientele from among their principals came from a consideration larger than the mere political. This broader problem was the hidden strength of regionalism, a factor that loomed so large under the monarchy of the Ancien Régime and that continued to play a leading role in the France of the early nineteenth century. Napoleon Bonaparte, the Corsican who grew up outside the rich variety of French localisms, never fully appreciated the tenacity of these traditions and willingly steamrolled over them in the elaboration of his policies. Yet they remained very much alive, exacerbated in some cases by the events of the Revolution: the fiercely insular culture of the Bretons, the superstitious habits and beliefs of the Vendean peasant, the Germanic sub-culture in Alsace, the Provençal peasants, and the rural tradition of the Angevin countryside as well as the independent spirit of the old administrative centers in the Loire valley.

CHAPTER THREE

THE UNCERTAIN BEGINNINGS OF THE ACADEMY OF ANGERS

1809-1812

The division of secondary schools into revolutionary and counter-revolutionary rings obscures a second and in some ways more profound division, one that cut across political differences. This was the separation of the colleges into the "haves" and the "have-nots", the genuine secondary establishments of one to two hundred students, with adequate funds and a reasonable teaching personnel, and the pathetic, miserable establishments of fifteen to thirty students, with almost no certain source of income. While the Colleges of Chateaubriant, Le Mans, Laval and Saumur contained 115 to 225 students, that of La Sire had no more than 11, that of Saumur 31, that of Erasme 30, and that of Chateaux 18. This was the major obstacle that severely limited Frederique's career for advancement. His ability, or inability, to deal with the peculiar set of problems arising from the economic and financial conditions of education in the Academy of Angers offers a measure of the situation confronting the rector in provincial France.

I.

The division of secondary schools into revolutionary and counter-revolutionary rings obscures a second and in some ways more profound division, one that cut across political differences. This was the separation of the colleges into the "haves" and the "have-nots", the genuine secondary establishments of one to two hundred students, with adequate funds and a reasonable teaching personnel, and the pathetic, miserable establishments of fifteen to thirty students, with almost no certain source of income. While the Colleges of Chateau-Gontier, Le Mans, Laval and Saumur contained 115 to 225 students, that of La Suze had no more than 11, that of Baugé 45, that of Ernée 30, and that of Chalonnnes 18. This was the major obstacle that severely limited Frederique Mazure's room for manoeuver. His ability, or inability, to deal with the peculiar set of problems arising from the economic and financial conditions of education in the Academy of Angers offers a measure of the dilemma confronting the recteur in provincial France.

at Sablé and Sillé, the municipalities donated the salaries of four hundred francs a year. Those of Châteauneuf, Châteauneuf-sur-Loire and Beaufort donated between 1,000 and 1,500 francs, barely enough to insure the continuation of the schools.

II.

Even a large and wealthy town such as Angers reduced its responsibility by reducing a budget of 9,000 francs to 2,500 francs. The larger towns showed on the whole a better spirit. Between 1809 and 1812, the rectorates of France lacked real powers with which to attempt a thorough-going reform of secondary education; and the reasons were less political or religious than financial.

The inevitable and tragic result of this attitude was to transform the municipal colleges into a self-supporting financial burden of the colleges onto the shoulders of reluctant principals and thereby perpetuated a vicious cycle that kept education on an impoverished, tormented level. By necessity, the principal became first and foremost the director of a commercial enterprise, a man who had to pay for the furniture, free beds to students, as well as the University, financial control still lay with town councils, councils who felt oppressed by the heavy taxation of the government, frustrated by the loss of revenue that came with the economic crises of 1811, and resentful of losing authority over their own schools. How often the recteurs and principals bemoaned the recalcitrant attitudes of mayors, the stinginess of town councils, the indifference of local notables.

The very idea of the University as a system giving unity and security to the network of colleges threatened to run aground and splinter on the rock of municipal indifference. Within the Academy of Angers, the tiny agricultural communes of Evron, Baugé and La Suze refused to subsidize their colleges;

at Sablé and Sillé, the municipalities donated the ludicrous sum of four hundred francs a year. Those of Chalonnes, Cholet and Beaufort donated between 1,000 and 1,500 francs, barely enough to insure the continued existence of the schools. Even a large and wealthy town such as Saumur dodged its responsibility by reducing a budget of 9,000 francs to 2,500 francs. The larger towns showed on the whole a better spirit. Laval set the pace with a record 12,000 francs annually, yet the erratic administration of de Bigault was leading the college perilously close to bankruptcy.¹

The inevitable and tragic result of this attitude was to transform the municipal college into a self-supporting business and the principal into something of a speculator. By necessity, the principal became first and foremost the director of a commercial enterprise, a man who had to buy much of the furniture, from beds to armoires, as well as to provision the school with food, candles and wood. He had to be someone able to undertake a heavy initial investment and wait patiently for a return. The first principal of Blois invested 32,000 francs of his own money on signing a contract for possession of the college at his own "risks and perils".² That of Chatellerault had to put forward 5,000 francs his first year while collecting only 1,600 francs

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-23; 412-T-1; 28-T-1; 29-T-8; Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-13; Annual Budgets of the colleges, 1810-1812.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8229; Report of Amboise Rendu, 9 July, 1811. The principal of Blois lost most of this sum and had to accept a post as teacher at the College of Laval.

from his students.¹ And how many would-be principals withdrew at the end of fruitless negotiations? One teacher from Nantes dickered for weeks with the town of Civray but the recteur had to report his failure "vu qu'il est dépourvu de moyens pécuniaires."²

Municipal parsimony thus became the single greatest influence on the recruitment of this long-suffering class of educators. Communes willingly imported into public education the man who was financially independent, and this was almost invariably the private teacher, the maître-de-pension who brought his own furniture, his own capital and his own students into the municipal college. In fact, it may be said that public education was rebuilt on the pocketbooks of private teachers.

The effect of rebaptizing local pensionnats as the municipal colleges or more simply tapping their directors as principals determined the character of public education for the first third of the nineteenth century. A ragged collection of priests, ex-revolutionaries, laymen of little formal training, former soldiers, ex-merchants, surfaced into the municipal colleges, bringing with them the habits and ideas of small-scale entrepreneurs. In the process of

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8322; Dossier of the abbé Ragneau, 1811-1814. His financial operations earned him a trial before the Academic Council of the Academy of Poitiers.
2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8330; Report of the recteur of Poitiers, 3 March, 1811. The teacher had taught in the Ecole Centrale of the Sarthe and served briefly as procuréur of Le Mans during 1795.

tapping private teachers, an unsavory underbelly to public education was created, a substrata of misfits and ratés.

In the Academy of Angers, no less than seven of the seventeen principals came from this milieu. The principal of Sablé was no more than a common soldier who opened a private school during the Directory;¹ while the principal of Mamers until 1808 was a former maître-de-pension who got drunk regularly in the company of his wife and daughter.² The town of Saint-Calais simply redubbed as college the private school of a local married priest, a man fit only for primary teaching.³ In the Maine-et-Loire, the College of Doué was nothing more than the private school of Guilleteau renamed; and by 1810, parents were beginning to grumble that the abbé was less a teacher than a greedy speculator.⁴ The principal of Baugé, the former ex-frère Maugin, had had a prosperous private school at Saumur and left in 1807 only when the mayor of Baugé promised that if he accepted the post of principal all the profits would accrue to him. Maugin eagerly sold his belongings and brought 100 students as well as some furniture to an empty, forlorn building on the outskirts of the small town. By 1811, he was deep in debt. When the recteur and town council decided on his removal,

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1435; Tableau du Personnel, 1813.

2. Calendini, L.; Le Collège de Mamers, (Mamers; 1935).

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8561; Notes on the Tableau du Personnel, 1811.

4. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-5; Report of F. Mazure 27 September, 1810.

5. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8561; Report of the recteur of Angers, 20 March, 1810.

the mediocre principal secretly sold the school's furniture, both his own and the commune's, then fled.¹

The creation of the Academy of Angers had a minimal effect on the traditional pattern of recruiting principals, on a practice rooted in the dearth of men who combined personal means with experience. The same collection of avaricious maîtres-de-pension; militant refractory priests, incompetents and misfits continued to enter public education. In 1812, the town of Chalonnes replaced its principal by contracting with a maître-de-pension in tiny Beaumont-sur-Sarthe.² That same year, a former private teacher became principal of Baugé, replacing Maugin. In 1811, the mayor of Beaufort found a successor to the departing principal by corresponding not with Frédérique Mazure but with the five private teachers in the town of Angers. He found one only too glad to close his faltering school, almost bankrupt from the inflation of grain prices, the imposition of the school tax, and the spread of an epidemic in the dormitory. Edeline was no more than an ill-educated layman whose checkered career had led him from Saint-Domingo in 1790 to Angers, where he was imprisoned as a suspected émigré, and then into the Vendée where he served as a royalist soldier.³

1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-4; Mayor of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 27 January, 1810.

2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 412-T-1; Mayor of Chalonnes to the recteur of Angers, 1813.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8257; Report of the recteur of Angers, 20 March, 1810.

The most striking example of the vicious cycle whereby the towns ignored the Academy to recruit their own principals occurred at Saumur in 1810. In December of the previous year, the college had lost its principal to the Lycée of Angers, and the mayor, bypassing the machinery of the rectorate, resorted to the time-honored way of recruitment: allowing local maîtres-de-pension and principals of lesser colleges bid for the school. The highest bidders in January, 1810, were the abbés of Doué, Guilleteau and Chalopin, the latter pushed on by his ambitious partner. The two proceeded to negotiate a secret contract, then decamped for Saumur with seventy-five students and a wagonload of furniture, and nine months later F. Mazure sheepishly admitted to Paris that the matter had been done "sans mission légale."¹

Anti-clerical Saumur was receiving with open arms two refractory priests! The mayor, once a republican administrator, had raided clerical Doué to find two ecclesiastics, two former royalists. Like most municipalities in the West, the town of Saumur was more interested in its pocketbook than in political etiquette. It forced the abbés to agree to a reduction in the budget from 9,000 francs to a meager 2,500 francs, a contract that the rectorate opposed in vain.²

Within the space of nine months, the new director of Saumur, Guilleteau, had driven his partner to despair, alienated the parents, bankrupted the school and made him-

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-5; Report of F. Mazure, April, 1810; September, 1810.

2. Ibid.

self an object of ridicule: F. Mazure visited the college in early September and was aghast at what he saw: The unpolished abbé was directing the establishment with the mentality of a peasant who tenaciously exploits a small tract of land: He collected posts as if they were sinecures -- that of sub-principal, then of the class of rhetoric, of mathematics, desservant in a neighboring chapel where he spent an inordinate amount of time. His arrival in the college had been followed by that of his clan: the father, who became doorkeeper, a sister, two nieces and as many nephews. The students were taxed on each and every object; the professors complained that they were no longer paid at regular intervals. Guilleateau's miserliness led to whispered hints that he was dishonest, a vile speculator. Mazure saw more clearly. "Pauvre," he remarked, "il a senti le besoin d'une sévère économie et de s'assurer l'indépendance par les privations et par le travail."¹

Nevertheless, the inspector found the college disintegrating, the classes poorly taught, the teachers discouraged and angry parents threatening to withdraw their sons. The climax came the day of Mazure's stay. On 5 September, the one time that a curious public entered the college for the literary exercises, Guilleateau decided to sulk in his apartment while the gentle Chalopin wandered about

1. Ibid.

the rudderless crowd on the verge of tears. "J'ai vu 1,200 personnes dans une confusion affreuse," wrote the horrified inspector, "les maîtres sans chefs, les élèves sans guides, le principal ayant perdu la tête et l'adjoint renfermé dans son cabinet." The next morning at 5 a.m., the Niortais awoke to a grating sound on the door and there stood the abbé Chalopin, bleary-eyed, still in bedclothes. The crushed principal shuffled into blurt out his resignation.¹ Chalopin packed his belongings and two weeks later departed, stripping the college bare of linen, utensils and most of its furniture.

In this manner, the economics of education in provincial France effectively crippled the rectorate of Angers.

1. Ibid.

In September, 1803, Verri de Saint-Quentin took the first step by setting up a number of examining commissions with the principals of the largest colleges as their heads. In November, the Niortais strategy of departmental unity thanked the rector for his efforts and requested that he examine the teachers in the department. The rector added that none had yet appeared before the examining

1. Arch. Dept. d'Angers. Lettre du principal de la collégiale à la recteur de Angers, 12 novembre 1803.

III.

Despite the inability to break the cycle of the private-teacher-turned-principal, the Academy of Angers nevertheless began to extend a certain control over the activities of the colleges and thereby laid the groundwork for subsequent reform.

In 1809 Paris provided the initial impetus by demanding that the teachers of France, both public and private, be carefully examined and a report sent to the Grand-Master detailing their qualifications and character. A vast enquête was to be undertaken digging into the strengths and weaknesses of the teaching personnel, thereby giving the inspectors-general their first tool in the remaking of this corps.

In September, 1809, Ferri de Saint-Constant took the first step by setting up a number of Examining Commissions with the principals of the larger colleges as their heads. In November, the clerical director of Chateau-Gontier warmly thanked the recteur for this all-too-valued opportunity of examining the teachers in the arrondissement, but plaintively added that none had yet appeared before his Commission.¹

1. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; L-T-11; Principal of Chateau-Gontier to the recteur of Angers, 12 September, 1809.

The liberal-minded principal of Saumur wondered whether the tempestuous curé of Saint-Pierre was to be examined,¹ while at Le Mans the Gallican abbé Moissenet reassured anxious married priests that there was no question of their right to teach.² The principal of Mayenne, later so lax and negligent in his duties, sent the recteur a massive table listing the professors of the arrondissement, with a précis of their careers.³

Herein lay the real function of the Commissions. The rectorate was obtaining its first information on the topography of Angevin and Manceau education. It was simultaneously recruiting the more important principals as its agents, a plan originally suggested and encouraged by Paris. "Je profiterai de votre bonne idée," the recteur of Bourges was to write to an inspector-general, "de faire de mes principaux de collège de petits inspecteurs. Il faut attendre que je les connais bien et que je les trouve digne d'un tel honneur."⁴ But Ferri was not waiting as was his neighbor two departments away. Not only did he collect the information that went to make up the first grand report on the personnel but he utilized the principals as a means of

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1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-23; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 12 September, 1809.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F-17-10211; Houdet to the principal of Le Mans, 28 October, 1809.
 3. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-511-G; Principal of Mayenne to the recteur of Angers, 1 October, 1809.
 4. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-P-5; Recteur of Bourges to Joubert, 7 April, 1810. Another illustration of the close link between inspectors and recteurs.

distributing the endless circulars explaining the new system with all its obligations and formalities.¹

countered new problems, for he found the the new st-

principals The full weight of the University's authority over the municipal colleges and private schools came, however, with the tournées of the inspectors from March to June, 1810.

Here was the first confrontation between administration and principals, the first meeting between the officials of public education and the principals of provincial France.

On 14 March, F. Mazure set out for the school of Beaupréau, located in the heart of Southern Anjou, an agricultural center "isolé pour ainsi dire de la France entière par des chemins impraticables," wrote the inspector who recognized an isolation that was as much spiritual as physical. The principal, the abbé Loir-Mongazon, graciously welcomed Mazure and deeply impressed him with his classical erudition, his administrative abilities and a frank, pleasant personality. At the manufacturing town of Cholet, further south, the inspector found the situation to be much less encouraging, leading him to wonder later whether education would ever be "implanté dans un pays où il n'a jamais existé et que la guerre civile a dévasté."² The principal, an ex-Vendean

1. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 1-T-11; Principal of Chateau-Gontier to the recteur of Angers, 9 September, 1809. 2-T-1-511-G; Principal of Mayenne to the recteur of Angers, 10 September, 1809. In September, Horeau announced that he had sent out fourteen circulars, with eleven left over. The principal of Mayenne accidentally sent a number of them to the primary teachers of the town, who thereupon trooped to the college refusing to obey.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425; Tableau du Personnel, 1813.

soldier, proved to be of an appalling ignorance. Moving upwards into the more productive Loire valley, Mazure encountered new problems, for he found the two new co-principals of Saumur to be "d'un écorce un peu rude," and tangled with the town council over the paltry funds donated to the school.¹ In the Sarthe during June, he detailed the miserable conditions of education outside Le Mans, but was full of praise for the abbé Moissenet and his professors who lived "dans un esprit de zèle et de fraternité qui rappelle les beaux jours et l'ancienne régularité des mœurs et des études classiques."²

Fourcas had much the same experience in the Mayenne. The abbé Horeau struck him as an excellent administrator although weak from a scholastic point-of-view.³ The social grace of de Bigault d'Harcourt pleased him but the shaky finances of the abbé gave rise to his suspicions.⁵ The north of the Mayenne impressed the inspector as "un pays peu riche et de difficile accès" and at tiny Niort-près-Lassay he uncovered a member of the Petite Eglise teaching at the primary level.⁵

1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-5; Report of F. Mazure; April, 1810. The inspector forced the town council to re-do the contract, but only after delivering an ultimatum: that he would remove the title of "college" from the school if changes were not made.

2. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; T-47-2; Report of F. Mazure, June, 1810.

3. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 1-T-11; Report of Fourcas, 24 April, 1810.

4. Sinoir, op. cit.

5. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T-1; Report of the inspector, 2 May, 1810.

During the tournee, both inspectors showed a particular interest in the delicate problem posed by the former revolutionaries still in education, a problem that every academy in France had to face and one that gave rise to as many different solutions as there were recteurs. In that of Toulouse a number of purges had occurred; in Brittany a counter-revolution in education seemed to be in process.

But the rectorate of Angers had no intention of calling into question the status quo in education at a moment when financial and administrative problems were pressing in. On the contrary, Mazure had words of praise for Courtelle, the ex-Doctrinaire and married priest at La Suze, and kind words for L'Hermite, the good-natured if poorly trained principal of Saint-Calais.¹ He called the ex-revolutionaries in the College of Le Mans the best teachers in the Academy while Fourcas felt that a defrocked priest teaching at Laval was the most talented.

Instead, the rectorate chose another field to display its religious and political conservatism, that of primary education, an area that was crying for reform, an area where the Academy could pose as the defender of religion and morality at a minimum of costs. Faced with a hostile clergy and a resentful officialdom, the rectorate grew increasingly anxious to hoist the flag of conservatism and religious orthodoxy over the Academy and thereby nip in the bud the most effective argument of its enemies. Already,

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-49; Reports of F. Mazure.

the Angevin clergy were decrying the Lycée as a den of iniquity, a campaign that had profoundly shocked the inspectors-general of 1809.¹

The sporadic crusade had its beginnings at liberal Saumur. In four of the six primary schools, F. Mazure forbade a number of brochures and novels encouraging "idleness" and on finding one that contained several "dangerous" maxims, tore it into shreds before the round-eyed students and the embarrassed teacher. In the liberal-minded Sarthe, the inspector insisted on the inclusion of religious exercises in the daily life of secondary schools and sharply reprimanded maîtres-de-pensions at La Ferté-Bernard, Montmirail, and Le Mans for their indifference and neglect. As for the married priests, he firmly insisted that they reconcile their marriage with the Church or risk being excluded from education. At Le Mans, Mazure reacted to the refusal of one by having the Grand-Master suspend him without further ado and at Yvetot, on the republican side of the department, he relentlessly pursued another even though the mayor threatened to make a special trip to Paris in the man's defense while the ex-priest himself brandished the Gallican statements made by Napoleon. The teacher eventually submitted.² At Saint-Ouen

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1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 33-T-3; Recteur of Angers to the Grand Master.
 2. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-4; Report of F. Mazure, May, 1811.

Le Nimbée, the curé spilled out a lurid story of how the local primary teacher had taken seven or eight little girls into his bedroom and asked them to pull up their dresses. The rectorate indignantly suspended the man, but Paris found the evidence insufficient and reinstated him.¹ In the Maine-et-Loire, the Academy persecuted a former perruquier-turned-primary teacher, "un misérable qui avait débauché toutes les petites filles de son école."²

The evolution to a more conservative stance did not mean that Mazure and the Academy had lost their essential pragmatism and tolerance. Like most functionaries of the Imperial University, those of Angers insisted only that the outward forms be respected. As for a man's personal beliefs and political past, they remained indifferent insofar as these did not materially affect the college. At Le Mans itself, Mazure climbed onto a limb to defend a married priest and maître-de-pension from the wrath of the vicar-general and in the process vindicated the Gallican point-of-view preached by the abbé Moissenet.³ The nature of Mazure's tolerance had other, more pragmatic facets. He desisted in harassing one primary teacher accused of incest with his sister on

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 10211; Report of F. Mazure, 15 June, 1811.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 10211; Report of F. Mazure, 20 June, 1811.

3. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; 1-T-49; Report of F. Mazure, 27 May, 1810; Bedeau's persistent refusal to seek reconciliation with the Church was intimately tied to diocesan politics. A demand for the regularization of the marriage had long been disposed; the Papal Brief arrived seven years ago, but he refused to submit to the curé of Saint-Julien "parce qu'il était ancien chouan."

learning that the man enjoyed the patronage of the father-in-law of Thibeaudeau, former conventionnel and prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône.¹

For primary education as a whole, the Academy made little attempt to establish a systematic control. Fourcas wearily reported after an inspection of the arrondissement of the Mayenne that the eighty men who reportedly taught the rudiments of French within its boundaries were too scattered and too obscure to merit his attention.² A feeling of pessimism and discouragement underlay the attitudes of the rectorate in this domain until the liberalizing wave of Enseignement Muteul reached conservative Anjou and Maine in 1817.

One of the most universally decried aspects of the Imperial University in 1810 and one of the most potent reasons for anti-University attitude in the West of France was the school tax, an annual levy of one-twentieth of the tuition for each student. Napoleon had wished to endow public education with an independent source of income, but in reality was contributing to the undermining of the financially undernourished school system of the Empire. In the Academy of Angers, the rectorate relentlessly imposed the tax, its one visible achievement before 1812.

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 10211; Report of F. Mazure, 3 May, 1810.
 2. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T-331B; Report of Fourcas; 12 June, 1811.

The Decree of March, 1808, specified that the levy was to equal one-twentieth of each student's annual tuition, but this straight-forward statement was soon succeeded by three decrees that made the tax genuinely oppressive. A day student who paid 100 francs would normally owe only five francs, but the University issued a measure in January, 1809, making all day students liable to the same tax as boarding boys, or forty francs if the tuition was 800, and thereby increased its revenue by many times.¹ The sense of injury felt by parents and principals alike was deepened by the knowledge that the revenue went only towards the administrative costs of the University, the excessive salaries of the inspectors-general and recteurs, the brilliant social life of these men, the splendid costumes, the pointless pagentry of official processions.

In the Academy of Angers, the tax quickly became a causas bellus, particularly in those schools where peasant boys were preparing for the priesthood. In 1809, Fontanes had generously and impulsively exempted all ecclesiastical students from the tax on the simple demand of the principal. Over one hundred boys at Chateau-Gontier escaped as well as sixty at Evron. But as the realities of financing the new University became more apparent and the abuses of the exemptions multiplied, the Grand-Master decreed an in-

1. Grimaud, L.; Histoire de la Liberté de L'Enseignement, (Paris, 1954); Vol. 5, pp. 102-103. Tessenneau; Joubert; pp. 295-303.

flexible criteria: the exemptions accorded to a particular college could never exceed the number determined by dividing the day students by ten. An arbitrary figure and a small one. At Chateau-Gontier, only fifteen students escaped the tax the following year; at Evron only five.¹ In the last four years of the Empire, the crusty Horeau resentfully paid over 13,000 francs, a sum double the annual budget of most municipal colleges. In 1811, Fourcas twisted the arm of the abbé Poupin who still owed 300 francs after paying 2,346 francs and at the College of Mayenne, the number of students decreased. "Plusieurs mêmes ont abandonné le collège et renoncé à leurs études lors qu'ils se sont vus obligés de payer la nouvelle tax," the principal wailed to a deaf recteur.²

In the Maine-et-Loire, the abbé Mongazon paid over 16,000 francs.³ At Beaufort, the principal met a blank refusal to pay from most parents throughout 1809. While some students left for the primary school of the town to escape the tax.⁴ The town of Baugé protested in turn that the application of the tax to the primary school attached to the college would mean its annihilation.⁵

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; ; Records of the tax for the colleges of Chateau-Gontier and Evron.

2. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1-511-G; Principal of Mayenne to the recteur of Angers, 25 May, 1809.

3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 456-T-23; Report of F. Mazure 17 March, 1810.

4. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 29-T-8; Principal of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 4 August, 1809.

5. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-1; Mayor of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 2 October, 1809.

Paris, with Frédérique Mazure, so much the hard-nosed administrator, urged the recteur to take those parents who would not pay into the courts. When a group at La Flèche refused to hand over the required sums, he suggested to Ferri, "Je pense qu'une poursuite judiciaire faite directement au nom de l'Université produirait un bon effect en faveur de maitres, qui éprouvent beaucoup d'obstacles dans le recouvrement de la rétribution," a frank admission of the universal opposition that the tax provoked.¹

By 1812, the rectorate, at Angers had little to show for its multiple efforts. Certainly a tight financial control had been imposed and the principals collectively groaned under the monthly obligations to send charts of students and sacks of money. The Academy had little to offer in return. The efforts of Mazure to bully the towns of Anjou and the Maine into contributing adequate funds remained without effect. As for imposing a single curriculum and a uniform conduct, the rectorate fell woefully short. When the principal of Baugé issued a prospectus proclaiming the study of Greek, history, cosmography, as well as dancing, the Academy rudely intervened to withdraw the publication.² Aside from this petty form of policing, Mazure and his inspectors had to content themselves with serving as the eyes and ears of

1. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; 1-TT-9; Report of F. Mazure, 10 May, 1810.

2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-11; Recteur of Angers to Principal of Baugé, 15 December, 1813.

Paris, with influencing the promotions and demotions decided in Paris.

In effect, Fréderique Masurel failed to alter the basic fabric of provincial education: the pernicious cycle of the collège-magasin-tuteur-principal. Here was the greatest stumbling block to French education during the early part of the nineteenth century. The ex-private teacher, that ready entrepreneur, remained indispensable to the life of the municipal college. No other source offered the necessary combination of personal means, long experience, and the desire to remain inside education. The rector of Bourges, wearily admitting his failure to recruit outstanding men who possessed some private wealth, observed,

Les sorties d'employés ne sont pas rares dans l'Université mais ils ne veulent pas de principes parce qu'ils préfèrent le gain en place, surtout dans le commencement, car comme pas de l'air à boire.¹

By necessity, the principal continued to act as the director of a commercial enterprise anxious to dissect out a modest profit. That help could be expected from the rector in the effort to maintain the college? The change-faced mayors tightly guarded the municipal purse, the

1. Arch. Nat., F. 17. 345; Rector of Bourges to the Minister, 16 April, 1811.

councils refused to repair the school building, the sons of parents and shopkeepers were obliged to study at home; and the principal himself found the schoolroom crowded with beds, armoires and tables. This was the state of things at the Academy of Angers as soon as the school opened out the door.

IV.

In effect, Frédérique Mazure failed to alter the basic fabric of provincial education: the pernicious cycle of the maître-de-pension-turned-principal. Here was the greatest stumbling block to French education during the early part of the nineteenth century. The ex-private teacher, that seedy entrepreneur, remained indispensable to the life of the municipal college. No other source offered the necessary combination of personal means, long experience, and the desire to remain inside education. The recteur of Bourges, wearily admitting his failure to recruit outstanding men who possessed some private wealth, observed,

S/ Ces sortes d'employées ne sont pas rares dans l'Université mais ils ne veulent pas de principat parce qu'en général ce genre de place, surtout dans le commencement, ne donne pas de l'eau à boire."¹

By necessity, the principal continued to act as the director of a commercial enterprise anxious to squeeze out a modest profit. What help could he expect from the recteur in the effort to maintain his solvency? The stony-faced mayors tightly guarded the municipal purse; the town

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8496; Recteur of Bourges to the Grand-Master, 16 April, 1811.

councils refused to repair the ageing school buildings; the sons of peasants and shop-keepers paid little for their tuition; and the principal himself faced the dolorous task of keeping his family clothed and fed while supplying the school with beds, armoires and tables. This was the cycle that kept the Academy of Angers on such an impoverished level throughout the Empire; this was the cycle that frustrated the recteur in his attempts to find a loyal clientele. Political and religious differences only provided the salt that made these wounds all the more tender.

CHAPTER FOUR

OBSTACLE TO UNITY:

THE TEACHING CORPS OF ANIOU AND THE MAINE

ity as a monolithic body with a well-disciplined corps of professors. Teaching was to be a noble profession, a vital part of the machinery upon which government rested. The prestige of the professors was to be insured by distinctive costumes, a prominent place in official professions, and a network of retirement homes where the "professors emeriti" of the University could live out their last days in state and dignity.

As chiseled out in the Decrees, the University embodied the highest principles of the Revolution. Admission was to be by merit and merit alone, while every professor accused of some infraction possessed the precious right to a hearing before an impartial board. Justice, equality and fraternity were to reign in the ordered ranks of the Imperial University. The rectors were to be grave and sober administrators, arbitrating questions of salary, listening to complaints of disobedience, and passing in review every professor's duties and privileges.

the reality of courses was far different. Despite the wonderfully conceived plan, so generous in character and so rational in form, no substantial improvement occurred in the pitiful conditions of the professorial corps during these years. The daily life of the teachers remained unchanged from the days of the Consulate and early Empire. The situation was pathetic.

I.

In outlining the Decree of 17 March, 1808, Napoleon possessed a sweeping conception of the Imperial University as a monolithic body with a well-disciplined corps of professors. Teaching was to be a noble profession, a vital part of the machinery upon which government rested. The prestige of the professors was to be insured by distinctive costumes, a prominent place in official professions, and a network of retirement homes where the "professors emeritus" of the University could live out their last days in ease and dignity. ?c/

As chiseled out in the Decree, the hierarchy embodied the highest principles of the Revolution. Advancement was to be by merit and merit alone, while every professor accused of some infraction possessed the precious right to a hearing before an impartial board. Justice, equality and fraternity were to reign in the ordered ranks of the Imperial University. The recteurs were to be grave and sober magistrates, arbitrating questions of salary, listening to complaints of disobedience, and passing in review thorny problems concerning duties and privileges.

The reality of course was far different. Despite the wonderfully conceived plan, so generous in character and so rational in form, no substantial improvement occurred in the pitiful conditions of the professorial corps during these years. The daily life of the teachers remained unchanged from the days of the Consulat^e and early Empire. The grinding, pathetic, existence on minimal salaries, the long, dreary hours in the classroom that could stretch from six in the morning until after dusk, the frequent battles with the principals, the petty rivalries and bickering between colleagues, all these features continued to plague the secondary schools.

At the heart of the problem lay the diversity and disunity of the teaching personnel.

the small and attraction of politics had dramatically shaped off the generation of the 1790s.

The result by 1810 was dramatic in the Academy of Letters, over one-half of the seventy-five teachers were under twenty-six years, many boys fresh from the benches of the lycees and the municipal colleges; at the other end of the spectrum, over one-third were forty-five years or older, men who had either taught during the Ancien Régime or been employed in the colleges of eighteenth-century France.¹ There was a dramatic gap in generation that paralleled the division within the clergy between the old-fashioned, faintly comical abbés

1. Arch. Nat., F. 17, 1813. Statistics compiled from the survey of the teaching personnel, August, 1813. For the Academy of Letters, the figures were 45% for those 25 or younger and 35% for those over 45.

of the Ancien Régime and the young, illiterate half-educated priest of the Empire. This gap laid the basis for much of the turmoil and strife which marked the Revolution and for much of the petty jealousies and rivalries.

II.

During the Empire, principals necessarily had to supply most of their teachers and therefore drew heavily on the older students, boys whom they had raised and trained.

In the France of the early nineteenth century, the most noticeable aspect of the professorial corps was the almost complete absence of a middle generation, of men between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five. The closing of the colleges during the Revolution, the disbanding of the teaching congregations, the necessity to enter the republican armies, the thrill and attraction of politics had dramatically siphoned off the generation of the 1790s.

The result by 1810 was dramatic: in the Academy of Angers, over one-half of the seventy-five teachers were under twenty-six years, chiefly boys fresh from the benches of the lycée and the municipal colleges; at the other end of the spectrum, over one-third were forty-five years or older, men who had either taught during the Ancien Régime or been educated in the colleges of eighteenth-century France.¹ Here was a dramatic gap in generation that paralleled the division within the clergy between the old-fashioned, faintly comical abbé

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1425; Statistics compiled from the survey of the teaching personnel; August, 1813. For the Academy of Poitiers, the figures were 45% for those 25 or younger and 35% for those over 45.

of the Ancien Régime and the young, militant half-educated priest of the Empire. This one fact laid the seeds for much of the turmoil and strife within public education, the foundation for much of the petty jealousies and rivalries.

During the Empire, principals necessarily had to supply most of their teachers and therefore drew heavily on the older students, boys whom they had raised and trained, knew and occasionally loved -- hence the family-like character of the early nineteenth-century school. At Cholet, Beaufort, Baugé, Evron, Ernée, Saint-Calais, La Suze, Chateauduloir and Sillé, this was the case, while at Laval the abbé de Bigault had brought with him from Le Mans three young ecclesiastics, all personally devoted to him.¹

Although no information can be obtained on their background, these boys came in all probability from lower middle-class families as did the majority of the rising generation of young teachers in France.² They sprang from artisanal or lower middle-class families too poor to afford to place them in a "profession" but anxious that they begin the long, slow ascent into respectability.

For this generation, merit was not always the route to a post. In all the academies, there were examples of favoritism: the son of an old friend of the principal, the

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1. See the Tableau du Personnel in the liasse of each college.
 2. Simon, J.; Premières Années; (Paris, 1875); A charming autobiography that details his rise from the son of impoverished shopkeeper in Brittany to a student of the Ecole Normale during the July Monarchy.

protégé of a local curé, the offspring of a local notable, the candidate of a proviseur. In the College of Saumur, the twenty-four-year-old professor of the third form owed the position to his kinship with the Senator Clément de Ris, leading the recteur to sniff, "se livrant plus à la société qu'à l'étude."¹ Yet talent did count. The teacher in the class below him was the young Charles Loyson, student at Beaupréau and successful candidate to the yet-to-be-formed Ecole Normale, a brilliant poet of the early romantic period and a friend of Guizot until his tragic death in 1820.²

Product of the imperial schools, the new generation of teachers was ambitious, enthusiastic and impatient; it was well aware of its numerical importance and of its real or presumed intellectual superiority; it was pushing hard against its elders and it might be argued that the Bonapartist attitudes shown by the young teachers during 1815 stemmed in large part from the absorbing desire to flaunt the staid and timorous principals. Citing the insubordination and flippancy of the young teachers at Le Mans, the recteur of Angers declared of the group as a whole, "A peine sortis des bancs, ils se considèrent comme des professeurs du lycée," and went on to ask the Grand-Master to place his authority behind the princi-

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1425; Tableaux du Personnel; 1813.

2. See Remusat, C.; Mémoires; (Paris, 1885).

pals and against "these children".¹ The enfant terrible of the Academy and probably the individual whom Mazure had in mind when he wrote those words was S. Remy, a former student of the Seminary of Angers whom the bishop had offered to the Academy for reasons that soon became apparent, and yet who the recteur found to be one of the most intelligent individuals that he examined.² At Le Mans, Remy shocked the abbé Moissenet with his anti-clerical statements, refused to accept the discipline of the school and provoked the abbé into dismissing him. Sent to Evron, he plagued the principal with his flute-playing and incurred the wrath of a magistrate for courting his daughter. And at Saumur, Remy was to keep company with the officers of the droits réunis.³

Discipline was the great problem. The young teachers of France spent much time in cafés, piled up large debts, sought to escape the rule of the principal by taking a room in town and showed a ticklish pride over their own particular methods of teaching. Reputation as local dandies was part of the stock-in-trade of these younger teachers.

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8451; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 15 April, 1813. Mazure equally complained of the effects of conscription on the younger teachers: "De là une instabilité perpétuelle dans le régime intérieur et une grande faiblesse dans le ressort de la police directe sur les enfants."⁴
 2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Registre de Correspondence; 8 January, 1812.
 3. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-4; Report of Fourcas; June, 1812. The inspector approved Moissenet's dismissal of the teacher, describing the latter as "original, prétentieux, et orgueilleux". Arch. Nat.; F 17 8373; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 14 June, 1814.

On the other hand, the younger teachers felt as if they were being grossly exploited by the older generation: salaries were as low as 700 francs, barely enough to exist; the hours were long, from six in the morning until nine at night; the onerous duties of maîtres de d'études, including supervision of studyhalls and of recreation, fell to them; the food provided by the principal was less than adequate.

At the clerical school of Chateau-Gontier, the separation of generations took the form of a struggle over the kind of discipline to be imposed on the young professors. Despite the religious atmosphere, the priests moving noiselessly through the halls, a lively tension existed between the old-fashioned principal and his young professors, for Horeau demanded a Spartan existence from his subordinates, salaries of only 400 francs, a routine that lasted from the rising in the morning until bedtime, and a discipline which bordered on the monastic. He crushed the teachers with the duties of maître-d'étude; he forbade them to give private tutorials to supplement their income; he painfully told the recteur that they were absent-minded about attending daily mass. One professor was accused of being too preoccupied with music; another with local society; a third with bucking his authority at every turn.¹ At each new incident, Horeau wrote the recteur, "Je suis confus d'entrer dans les détails

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 1-T-2/15; Principal of Chateau-Gontier to the recteur of Angers, 19 April, 8 May, 2 November, 1813. When he forbade the professors to swim in the Mayenne, one produced a certificate from a doctor recommending this form of activity.

si humiliants" and then proceeded to recount the chicaneries of the ecclesiastics. In 1813, the professors demanded a raise in salary, Horeau added 200 francs to each. Then they protested supervising the studyhall. "Des esprits remuants ne peuvent se borner," Horeau darkly muttered. F. Mazure intervened to take the side of the principal. A grateful Horeau predicted that henceforth the seven ecclesiastics would be "plus souples et plus disposés à écouter mes leçons."¹

With the exception of the young ecclesiastics, the new generation of teachers, fresh from the benches of the private schools of the Directory and the imperial schools, provided the foundation for the rectorate's future control of the municipal colleges. Despite their youth, despite their pretentiousness and conceit, they nonetheless gave their loyalty to the Imperial University and to the Empire. This was the generation that had come of age in an era of French military triumphs, of strong nationalistic spirit, of increasing administrative unity; and this was to be the generation that provided the first layer for a professional teaching corps. In 1811, F. Mazure could thus send two former students of the lycée to the clerical College of Ernée in order to break the opposition of the royalist abbé Pottier, who later denounced them as agents of the rectorate.

1. Ibid.; 1-T-11; Principal of Chateau-Gontier to the recteur of Angers; 13 December, 1813.

the municipal colleges in hopes of a new, more lucrative career. Almost every college in France contained at least one such individual, usually a private teacher native to the town, with his own friends and clientele. In the Maine-et-Loire, two schools underwent the torments of their erratic behavior. At the much-troubled College of Saumur, the professor of the first form was an embittered, humiliated maître-de-pension from Rennes whose establishment had been crushed by a rival one. The post at Saumur had come as a disagreeable surprise to this sixty-eight year old grandfather who had been led to expect a more important chair, and the only solace was the bottle, long hours of pleasant inebriation.¹ The forty-six year old teacher in the fourth form suffered much the same malady, yet in more acute fashion. Chardin asdabeen head of a private school in Paris which went bankrupt and as a frustrated director the insufferable Parisian provided another element of disunity. "Il se trouve déplacé dans les fonctions qu'il remplit et qu'il regarde comme un exil," wrote an inspector, "De là son dégoût pour son état; de là sa mauvaise humeur; sa misanthropie".² This kind of petty bickering kept the college of Saumur on the same unhappy level as

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8602; Report of the recteur of Angers; 18 September, 1813. Thomas deserted the school the following year.
2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-5; Report of the inspector, Fourcas, 10 April, 1813.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8602; Report of the recteur of Angers; August, 1813. "Chardin asdabeen head of a private school in Paris which went bankrupt and as a frustrated director the insufferable Parisian provided another element of disunity. 'Il se trouve déplacé dans les fonctions qu'il remplit et qu'il regarde comme un exil,' wrote an inspector, 'De là son dégoût pour son état; de là sa mauvaise humeur; sa misanthropie'".² This kind of petty bickering kept the college of Saumur on the same unhappy level as

its neighbor.¹

In the same way that the maître-de-pension-turned principal kept the colleges of France unstable and off balance so it was that the maître-de-pension-turned teacher brought turmoil. In the northern part of the Sarthe, at Mamers, matters took a disastrous course. Paris sent as professor of mathematics an instructor in a pensionnat of Nîmes, a meridional with a strong faith in Bonaparte and the works of the Revolution. Under the priest who directed the college, Henriot suffered a thousand deaths and not the least of the reasons was his firm conviction that he could make a better principal. The Nimois bragged in the cafés of his own talents, censored the administration of the principal and threatened to leave Mamers if his salary were not raised. When the town council voted to increase the school's grant from 2,500 francs to 4,000 francs, Henriot made a great cry over the profits that the abbé would lay away and confided to the mayor that he would be delighted to assume the direction of the college and make it operate more efficiently at 2,500 francs than Le Frons could at 4,000 francs.²

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1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 29-T-8; Principal of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 21 June, 1813. Professor of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 6 May, 1813. Houdet had been principal of the same college before the Revolution, left the priesthood to marry in 1793, and opened a private school at Chateauduloir during the Consulate. In 1809 he left to open a school at Châtonnes, a testimony to the meandering habits of the private instructor within a particular region.
 2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8449; Henriot to the recteur of Angers, August, 1816. Henriot dared slander the abbé: "Il était scandaleux de voir," he pompously moralized after the principal had invited a divorced cousin to visit him, "un prêtre, un principal de collège se promener avec des femmes perdues de réputation, avec de marchands de modes et une cousine qu'il paraissait avoir débauchée."

A variation of the problem of the maître-de-pension-
turned-teacher, and one that plagued the smaller colleges of
France, was the presence of formerly independent primary
teachers who entered the school either under pressure or in
hopes of expanding their income. The Maine-et-Loire offered
two such examples. At tiny Chalonnes, the principal had the
recteur annex the leading primary instructor to the college
to end his competition, but the latter had yielded only to
become an independent master within the college claiming as
his own the profit accruing from the elementary class. In
1813, a new director sarcastically remarked, "J'ai été étonné
de voir que le college était un attribut de l'école primaire."¹
The same situation occurred at Cholet where the primary instruc-
tor had the unfortunate habit "de battre ses élèves de la
façon la plus brutale."²

Unlike primary education in the West, very few
men had wandered into the secondary level after having failed
at other careers. The very gap in generations is a partial
testimony to this fact: the young came straight from the
imperial schools and the over-forty group had long been in
education, either as teachers during the Ancien Régime or as
private instructors. Thus the set of professors who came

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 30-T-2; Principal of
Chalonnes to the recteur of Angers, 3 December, 1812.

2. Labarre, R.; "Le Collège municipal de Cholet, 1806-
1835."; Soc. Lettres Cholet; T. 22 (1937), pp. 65-109.

from beyond the world of the Latin textbook was extremely small. The inbred character of secondary education remained intact despite the low level of salaries and prestige. In the records of the teaching personnel, one only occasionally finds the presence of a merchant, a former administrator, a rentier or an ex-soldier.

In the Department of the Sarthe, a bankrupt commercant taught at Mamers,¹ while a former avocat at the Châtelet, a miserable old man barely able to walk, was named to the College of Chateauduloir.² No one out of this category taught in the Maine-et-Loire. For the Mayenne, the College of Laval and Mayenne contained a certain number. At the latter was a well-born Gallerie de la Tremblaye, member of a distinguished family of the region who entered education when his wealth disappeared with the Revolution.³ His son taught an elementary class. But the real collection of drifters, of men without careers, was the College of Laval, storm-center of the Academy and cross-section of the more intriguing aspects of provincial life. The professor of third form was one of those colorful, intelligent vagabonds thrown into education by the Revolution, lawyer to the Parlement of Toulouse, tutor at Nantes in 1792, officer in the Army of the West, then in the

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1. Arch. Nat.: P 17 1425; Notes on the teaching personnel, 1813.
 2. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; TT; Correspondence concerning Clot, 1813.
 3. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T-1-511-G; Tableau du Personnel, October, 1809.

naval administration, and finally teacher at La Flèche where his brother directed the school.¹ The chair of rhetoric went in 1812 to an inhabitant of Vitré, a surgeon in the royal, then republican navy, retiring in 1802 as a result of wounds.² The class of second form was given to someone who enjoyed patronage in Paris, but he continually inebriated himself and the recteur suspended him after a commissaire de police caught the man in a brothel.³

The most colorful and controversial professor in the college as well as in the Academy was d'Orlodot, elected constitutional bishop of the Mayenne in 1799 and a first cousin of the principal, de Bigault. In a clerical department, the forthright abbé offended moderate and conservative opinion by his friendship with former republicans, by his enthusiastic participation in the National Guard and above all by his habit of sporting a tricolor ribbon tied around his old-fashioned queue of hair.⁴

Within this older generation, a small, intimate group did exist, a group that set a standard for the Academy

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8533; Maurin to the Grand-Master, 1 August, 1811; Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 319-T-14; Actes de Recteur; July, 1811.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1425; Tableau du Personnel; 1813.
3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-14; Actes du Recteur; 12 October, 1810.
4. Sinoir; op. cit. Pisani, P.; Répertoire Biographique de L'Episcopat constitutionnel, 1791-1812; (1907, Paris).

in terms of erudition and of discipline. These six men were the former Doctrinaires and Oratorians who had taught in Anjou and the Maine during the eighteenth century and who had survived the succession of events since 1790 to resurface in the colleges of the Empire. They were men in their fifties for the most part, modest, unassuming, well-educated, teachers who displayed a certain nostalgia, yet equally a sense of resignation as they surveyed the inferior schools that had sprouted in place of their congregations and the noisy lot of men scrambling for posts and rewards in the financially undernourished colleges. Only the two largest colleges, with the exception of Chateau-Gontier, contained representatives of this disappearing generation.

In the Sarthe, the College of Le Mans offered a precious link of continuity with the grand old tradition of classical humanism; it was an island of the eighteenth century tranquilly drifting across the nineteenth. While the teachers in the six outlying colleges of the Sarthe were raw young men, scarcely trained and poorly paid, the professors of Le Mans were for the most part experienced veterans of the Ancien Régime, men who enjoyed the public's esteem and possessed private means. From the third to the sixth form, all but one of the teachers came from the old teaching congregation: three former Oratorians, one ex-Doctrinaire and one ex-Lazarist.¹

1. Reeb, L'abbé; "Le Collège-Séminaire de l'Oratoire du Mans;" Soc. His. Arch. Maine; T. 70 (1911), pp. 127-166. Boyer, M.; Notice biographique du sur le Père Moissenet; (Le Mans, 1842).

The professor of philosophy, the abbé Lamerrier, had dispensed the same well-worn lessons in the pre-revolutionary college since 1776. In the chair of rhetoric was a fervent disciple of Moissenet, a student in the old college of Le Mans, until the superior recognized his aptitude for teaching and had him named to the third form in 1787. The two leading intellectual institutions of Anjou also had representatives in the classrooms. The professor of fourth form came from the Oratorian College of Angers, while that of mathematics had taught the same subject at La Flèche as a Doctrinaire.

This anachronistic group, bound together by memories of another time, cast only a fleeting shadow across the Academy and the West. No other college in Poitou, Normandy and Brittany could boast of such an experienced personnel, professors of the Ancien Régime, men whose scholastic and political liberalism was acquired inside the teaching congregation. But age was quick to take its toll. The abbé Le Mercier, professor of philosophy, was seventy-eight years old; his substitute, the abbé Petit-Didier, sixty-seven years. Chamballu was becoming senile and could no longer keep discipline in his class. He was forced by the vicar-general and an inspector to accept the post of sub-principal.¹ Only Michèle Boyer, forty-four years, had a long career ahead of him and in fact remained inside the school until 1842.

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-4; Report of F. Mazure, July, 1811.

In the Department of the Mayenne, the College of Laval contained, until 1809, several of the old guard, a checkered lot which represented the successive upheavals through which the school had passed. After the abrupt dispersal of the priests of the Ancien Régime, the establishment had been colonized by the Doctrinaires of La Flèche who had followed their superior, abbé Villar, into the department. When de Bigault arrived in 1807, he found three of their number still teaching, but two of these, sensing the changing mood of the times, quietly left, one to become a judge of the tribunal at Laval, and the other to accept a post at the new military school being created at La Flèche.¹

The last genuine representative of the link between the college and the Doctrinaire school of La Flèche was the controversial professor of philosophy, Joseph Sartres, Toulesain and former teacher of de Bigault himself, part of the triumvirate that had held the college together during the Terror. Sartres belonged to the generation of teachers who began as innovators within the school system of the eighteenth century, became the bulwark of the revolutionary schools and passed into the lycées during the Empire. In 1787 he was teaching rhetoric in the Doctrinaire College of Bourges under the superior, his close friend P. Villar head of La Flèche the following year.²

1. Sinoir; "Histoire du Lycée de Laval"; op. cit.

2. Le Tourneur, La Grand Séminaire de Bourges, (Bourges, 1900). Bruneau, M.; L'Enseignement secondaire à Bourges de 1762 à 1792; (Bourges, 1898), pp. 43-53.

The understandable pride of Sartes in his forty years in education led him to refuse, in November, 1809, to pay the sixty francs for the diploma of bachelor-of letters. The principal privately offered the recteur this sum without the professor's knowledge.¹ By 1811, Sartres was dissatisfied with his post at Laval and demanded a chair in the Lycée of Toulouse. He resigned in December, apparently to de Bignault's regret.²

In the Maine-et-Loire, the one pillar of sanity among the squabbling professors was the teacher of rhetoric at Saumur, Louis Papin, one of the stalwarts of Angevin education. The forty-four year old Papin was one of the few representatives in the Academy of the generation of the Revolution, a generation that had been trained in the colleges of the Ancien Régime and suddenly surfaced in the purged schools to carry out dramatic scholastic innovation. He was a classmate of Fourcas, de Bignault and Delaroche at La Flèche and became professor in the revolutionary college of 1792. Three years later he attended the Ecole Normale, then accepted the chair of history at the Ecole Centrale of the Maine-et-Loiré. In 1800, Papin became secretary to the first prefect, Montault des Isles, and from there joined Delaroche in the refounding of the College of Saumur, four years later. Papin married the

1. Sinoir; op. cit.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8421; Tableau du Personnel; 1811.

widow of a wealthy architect, retired to a nearby commune, and soon became its mayor.¹ Here then was one of the most talented and able men in the Academy as well as the only one financially and socially well placed; yet strangely, the rectorate kept its distance from this product of the Revolution. When the notables of Saumur proposed him for principal in 1810, Ferri de Saint-Constant rejected Papin for his "philosophical" principles. Mazure annually sent reports complaining of his failing eyesight as well as his ignorance of Greek and at one point actually called for his removal.²

Partly because of their political past, partly because of their age and social position, the remnants of the teaching orders of the eighteenth century and of the Ecoles Centrales exercised little influence over their younger associates in the municipal colleges of France. Papin not only was suspect from a political view-point but had too much an interest in his lands and fortune to be a leading example to the teachers in the school. Joseph Sartres possessed a rare fund of knowledge but the tumultuous existence of the previous twenty years, left him an isolated, discouraged man. As for the professors of Le Mans, age intervened before they had the opportunity to pass on their splendid heritage.

1. Port, C.; Dictionnaire historique et archéologique... du Maine-et-Loire; Article Port; Bois, P. Les Institutions intellectuelles...en Anjou; (Paris, 1929).

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; Report of the recteur of Angers; 1813.

On top of the professional differences which split the teaching personnel into so many factions were the political tensions, the half-covered memories of the Revolution, the widely varying attitudes towards the Empire that kept the colleges within the Academy of Angers in a state of perpetual tension from 1809 until 1814. The teachers represented a remarkable cross-section of opinion in Anjou and the Maine: three married priests, a former Baziniste at Le Mans, a republican, several assermentés, including a former constitutional bishop, laymen who espoused Bonaparte, laymen who were repelled by the endless wars of the Empire, an ex-administrator of the confiscated goods of émigrés, refractory priests and especially young ecclesiastics who detested the Empire and professed ultramontane doctrines. The ecclesiastic-teachers in the Department of the Mayenne and in Southern Anjou were swimming with the current of popular opinion; the former revolutionaries in the liberal ring of schools, from that outpost in the Mayenne, the College of Laval, to the center of studies in the Sarthe, that of Le Mans, to the pivot of the Academy in the Maine-et-Loire, that of Saumur, found themselves increasingly isolated and on the defensive.

Anti-Bonapartist sentiments were rarely expressed and even more rarely prosecuted. At Saumur, the ex-private teacher Chardin caused a small stir in 1812 by making a comment on Napoleon that was interpreted by his students as anti-Bonapartist; but the procureur-général, who paid a quick visit, declared that the original statement had been grossly

distorted.¹ Only one instance occurred in the Academy that ranked as a genuine scandal. The professor of second form at Laval, the former officer in the Army of the West, Maurin, dared criticize the harsh sentence meted out to several young men who had hidden in the forests of the Mayenne, rather than be conscripted.² The magistrates of Laval demanded his removal; both principal and recteur reluctantly agreed and Paris intervened to give Maurin a promotion of sorts, the third form in the large, well-financed college of Le Puy, a promotion that spurred the ex-officer to demand the direction of a lycée "préférentiellement du côté de Toulouse, pays où se trouve le reste de mes propriétés."³

But what of the former revolutionaries inside public education? How did they fare under the increasingly conservative rectorate, a rectorate acutely aware of the wall of hostility erected around its schools by clerical opinion? The Academy in fact intervened only when the political divisions within a school erupted into open quarrels, a not uncommon event. In the Maine-et-Loire, the greatest problem came from the College of Beaufort where the fifty-three year old Houdet, principal of the same school before the Revolution and a married priest, feuded constantly with the former Vendean

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-5; Report of the inspector, 10 April, 1815.

2. Sinoir; op. cit.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8534.

soldier Edeline who now directed the school.¹ The teacher complained that he was being unfairly burdened by the rule requiring that he shepherd the boarding boys to mass at 5:30 each morning. The church was much too cold, the old revolutionary pointed out; but the former Vendean retorted that the nave was generally free of the currents of icy air that circulated in the other sections. Houdet called the task his corvée. Edeline criticized his teacher for never approaching the sacraments.

In the Department of the Sarthe, the College of Le Mans contained a unique set of individuals who went to great pains to steer away from their controversial pasts. An old-fashioned liberalism set off this quiet group of aging professors from their contemporaries. While the new seminary dispensed an "ultramontanist" philosophy taught by a twenty-five year old ecclesiastic, the two professors of the sixth form stoutly maintained the integrity of Bossuet and the Four Articles. Moissenet remarked of the Lazariste, "bien vu par le clergé quoiqu'il...suive la ligne tracée par les lois et les libertés de l'Eglise gallican."² Four of the others had taken part in the Revolution, although most had since retreated into

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 29-T-8; Pacquet of correspondence between the recteur of Angers and the principal and professor of Beaufort, 1812-1813. On the ex-revolutionary's appointment, the principal had voiced his concern over public reaction: "Sa position de prêtre marié et veuf n'en repugnerait pas mais serait-il bien vu dans ce petit endroit, c'est ce dont je doute."

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8451; Principal of Le Mans to the recteur of Angers, October 19, 1812.

a discrete^e neutrality.¹

In the Department of the Mayenne, the great political event heard around the Academy was the expulsion in 1810 of the former constitutional bishop, d'Orlodot, from the College of Laval.² To save himself, the vulnerable principal was more than willing to part company with his cousin, a former revolutionary who undeniably was harming the school by his friendships, his habits and his beliefs. The mayor of Laval, once a liberal, followed de Bigault's denunciation three days later, repeating the well worn argument that public opinion could no longer be ignored. The recteur of 1810 was not slow to grasp this kind of argument. The College of Laval, the one foothold of the Academy in the Mayenne, had to be made competitive with that of Château-Gontier. On 5 November, Ferri sent a formal report demanding the removal of D'Orlodot: "Personne ne nie qu'il ait beaucoup de talent et de connaissances," he admitted

Mais sans parler de ses moeurs qu'on dit très relâchés, il est un objet d'aversion et ses opinions religieuses sont cause que beaucoup de familles s'abstiennent d'envoyer leurs enfants au Collège.³

Here was the kind of calculating realism that distinguished the University during the Empire.

1. Reinhard, M.; Le Département de la Sarthe sous le régime directorial; (Paris, 1935), pp. 487-496. Pesche, J.-R.; Dictionnaire topographique, historique, et statistique de la Sarthe; (Le Mans, 1829-1842); Article on Michel Boyer.

2. Sinoir, op. cit.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8421; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 1809.

Le Mans was indeed an island of the eighteenth century drifting tranquilly across the nineteenth century, for few of its professors had been Doctrinaires, Oratorians or Jansenists in Anjou and the Maine. The fact that these had participated in the Revolution served to make them all the more quaint in local eyes since their new-born religious fervor was for them approval from the bishop. Outside Le Mans, the small colleges had more the atmosphere of a breeding ground, for configuration, mirrored in the two rings of mutually hostile the rectorate sent young graduates of the lycée and of the schools, the Academy of Angers possessed a teaching personnel larger colleges into these hopeless institutions to see their thrown up by the various currents that had crossed and recrossed the three departments since the 1780s. Diversity and disunity characterized the professors: teachers of the Ancien Régime, former maîtres-de-pensions, young boys fresh from the lycées, ex-soldiers, retired doctors, assermenté and refractory priests, men from backgrounds that stretched across the political and social spectrum. The gap in generation, the lack of men between the ages of twenty-six and forty-five, only accentuated the phenomenon. The age groups above and below these figures had their own outlook, their own traditions, their own ambitions; each jealously sought to assert its independence, to secure its own rights. As a result, the principal was as often the oppressed as the oppressor. Whether at clerical Château-Gontier or at liberal Saumur, the atmosphere was charged with suspicion, hostility and resentment.

Out of this Babel of tongues there emerged a distinct and often colorful personality for each of the municipal colleges. In the Department of the Sarthe, the College of

Le Mans was indeed an island of the eighteenth century drifting tranquilly across the nineteenth century, for four of its professors had been Doctrinaires, Oratorians or Lazarists in Anjou and the Maine. The fact that these had participated in the Revolution served to make them all the more quaint in local eyes since their new-born religious fervor won for them approval from the bishop. Outside Le Mans, the small colleges had more the atmosphere of a breeding ground, for the rectorate sent young graduates of the lycées and of the larger colleges into these hopeless institutions to cut their teeth. Only at Mamers were there more than two men: one had been a bankrupt merchant, another a private teacher from Nîmes, and the last two, young ecclesiastics from the Seminary of Le Mans.

Even in the clerical Department of the Mayenne, where one would have expected to have found greater uniformity, the same problems prevailed. Young ecclesiastics from the Seminary taught at Château-Gontier, but these entered into the same kinds of disputes with the abbé Horeau as did their lay counterparts elsewhere in France. At Evron and Ernée, the seminarists lived in a state of tension with their fellow teachers sent from Angers. The real storm-center of the Academy however was the College of Laval, where the various movements that had shaken the region deposited representatives, who, like the lava of a volcano quickly burned out to form a hard, cold substance, immobile, unchanging. The Doctrinaires of revolutionary La Flèche had colonized the school during

the Terror. Then came the last constitutional bishop of the Mayenne, followed by an abbé who had put together the concordataire diocese, and later a retired surgeon, a bankrupt private teacher, and an alcoholic who apparently passed his free time in the local brothel. These were men who had spent themselves in other pursuits, who looked on teaching as a means of honorably finishing their careers.

The tension that prevailed at Laval found a distinct echo in the Department of the Maine-et-Loire. In the College of Saumur, the three lowest classes were in the hands of an ageing ex-primary school teacher, a young nominee to the Ecole Normale, and of a family friend of the senator from Angers, a friend who spent more time at local soirées than at teaching. So too were the upper classes beset by the petty bickering of men from different backgrounds: an ex-private school teacher and a former revolutionary.

The rectorate at Angers brought no substantial reform to this piebald corps, but Frédérique Mazure did make his authority felt in one crucial respect. He intervened in the endless disputes inside the municipal colleges to arbitrate questions of salary and discipline, and as an impartial magistrate made his services much in demand. The principal of Mamers appealed to the recteur when one teacher attempted to do him out of his job. A teacher at Chateauloir boarded a coach to make an impassioned plea against the tyranny of the principal's wife. In this way the authority of the Academy began to grow and expand.

But what had Frédérique Mazure and Ferri de Saint-Constant accomplished between 1809 and 1812? The basic fabric of provincial education certainly remained unaltered. The Horeaus and the Moissenets continued to set the pace of life in the municipal colleges; the practice of recruiting principals from among private teachers continued unchanged; the teaching corps remained splintered into a kaleidoscope of interests and factions. The best that could be said was that the rectorate had begun to make itself visible in Anjou and the Maine, that it had asserted its claims against municipalities, principals and teachers. Above all, it was beginning to acquire information on the people involved in education and thus to lay the groundwork for future control.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF OTHER RECTEURS

In the light of Frédérique Mazure's many difficulties and problems, it is well to ask how far the recteurs of the Empire were able to develop and elaborate their own policies, how far they breathed life into their academies and imprinted them with a vigorous, unique personality. To what extent did these administrators, most of them weak and indecisive, succeed in infusing the rectorates with a life of their own? Here we touch on the very nature of centralization during the Empire, on the vital question of whether provincial administrators found room in which to manoeuvre. This is a question that Georges Lefebvre has raised with respect to the prefects, a question that as yet lacks an adequate response.¹

1. Lefebvre, G.: *Napoléon* (Paris, 1965), p. 395.

I.

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II.

From the moment of their creation, the rectorates of France were plunged into an administrative crisis that seriously reduced the powers of the Grand-Master and threatened the very existence of the University. Inactivity, internal rivalries, quarrels with local officials, these were the chief shortcomings of most of the rectorates throughout France. The heads of academies sent back to Paris curiously laconic reports that generally repeated a request made on the local level. When the Grand-Master asked for information on certain teachers, only the names and a few vague comments accompanied the reply. Rarely did the recteur venture out of his comfortable bailiwick to negotiate the rough terrain and see the schools at first hand. Rarely did an inspector cover all the academy. And during the interval, recteurs and inspectors seemed to delight in quarreling with one another and with prefects, mayors and notables over such vital questions as who was to stand where in official processions.

The crisis in administration had less to do with the legal powers of the bureaucrats than with the problem of personalities, with the kind of men who populated the upper ranks of the Imperial University. The nature of administration

was very much dependent on the individuals who inhabited the new hierarchy. Just as Frédérique Mazure brought a firm, yet paternal hand, a shrewd sense of diplomacy and a healthy insistence on the rights of public education to his post, so did his colleagues bring the old-fashioned attitudes of another century. At the end of their careers, these were men who found paperwork distasteful, administration painful and their subordinates too ambitious.

Weakness in character seemed to be the common complaint of the inspectors-general. The recteur of the Academy of Cahors, former revolutionary of Toulouse, proved strangely indecisive. "La timidité de son caractère," criticized one inspector, "entraîne beaucoup d'indécision dans ses volontés et le conduit à des demimesures..."¹ Another inspector found the head of the Academy of Bordeaux to be a soft, polite, well-meaning person, but one of the most mediocre administrators that he had ever encountered.² Indeed, when the town of Périgueux wrote Desèzes, desperately asking for a new principal, the recteur replied that he would postpone the

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6808; Report of the inspector-general, Pictet and Marignie; 22 August, 1812. Paulin lived in terror of the censeur of the lycée of Cahors, a brusque, arrogant man of whom an inspector wrote, "Il veut jouer l'homme du monde, et il le fait avec gaucherie."

2. Ibid.; Report of the inspectors-general, 26 June, 1810: "Ses idées ne sont pas claires." The situation was complicated by the fact that the secretary of the Academy was a former member of the revolutionary committee of '93, and hence a dire enemy of the recteur.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general, 1812. Of the two inspectors, the younger was too old to make his mark. The other "a passé presque tout son temps à Paris pour solliciter les Ministres." See biases for the individual careers.

choice until his return from the waters, a good three months away. The recteur of Dijon, the former Jacobin Jacotot, who became during the Restoration a leader of the liberal party in the Côte-d'Or, could rarely give Paris the information demanded, allowed petty feuds to drag several municipal colleges into turmoil, and seemed ready to sanction whatever local authorities wished from the purge of married priests to the elimination of a class of mathematics in one school.¹ "D'une douceur voisine de la faiblesse," voiced the inspector-general Roger, an old Dijonais who virtually ruled the Academy from Paris.²

Perhaps the most striking case of a recteur who totally abdicated his duties to enjoy a life of leisure was that of Lyon, the abbé Nompère de Champagny, brother of the Minister. On arriving as proviseur of the lycée in 1806, Nompère had set about to end its reputation as a center of irreligion by publicly attacking the philosophes of the eighteenth century and by making overtures to the episcopate. Yet as recteur, he preferred the company of women to the details of administration:

La faiblesse de son tempérament jointe à
la faiblesse de son caractère le soumet à

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7793; Report of the inspectors-general Roger and Noel; 1812. F 17 8566; Dossier on the College of Saint-Dizier; F 17 8325; Dossier on the College of Chaumont; F 17 8417; College of Langres; F 17 8236; College of Autun.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7793; Report of the inspectors-general, 1812. Of the two inspectors, the report noted that one was too old to make his tournées, the other "a passé presque tout son temps à Paris pour y solliciter les Ministres." See liasses for the individual college.

faiblesse la volonté ou au caprice de quelques femmes
qui lui prodiguent des soins et lui intiment
des ordres.¹

The University was less concerned by the fact that he no longer exercised the function of priesthood nor wore the cloth as by the fact that he sacrificed the Academy to his social life. "Nompère de Champagny, renfermé dans son intérieur et recueillant les bénéfices de sa place sans songer même à en remplir les devoirs," wrote an inspector in 1817, "a toujours laissé l'autorité centrale et semble être resté lui-même dans la plus parfaite ignorance de son académie."² In 1810, J-M Ampère, the scientist, concluded that if Nompère was less dangerous at the head of an academy than a lycée, perhaps he would be safer still on the Council in Paris, carefully isolated from all responsibility.³ In the Academy of Poitiers, the abbé de Belissens, émigré priest, meekly assented to what local authorities suggested, from the nomination of a married priest as principal to the purge of another elsewhere.⁴ Contradiction piled upon contradiction during his five-year tenure. At Toulouse, the lawyer and former Girondin who directed the Academy found himself overwhelmed by the simplest of details. "Il cache une

1. Ibid.; Report of the inspector-general, 8 October, 1810.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6809; Report of the inspectors-general, 1816.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general, 8 October, 1810.

4. See in particular the liasses for the College of Niort, F 17 8497; the College of Civray; F 17 8330; and the College of Chatellerault, F 17 8322.

faiblesse de caractère qui le soumet facilement à l'influence des intrigues..." reported one inspector.¹ Paris had nothing but scorn for the recteur of Montpellier whose reports were rarely over two paragraphs in length and invariably recommended whatever local officials advocated. On a tournée in 1813, the inspector-general Rendu reported the financial administration of Montpellier in an even greater mess than that of Toulouse. The Academic Council, instead of meeting twice a month, convened perhaps five times a year: few members ever appeared, and these discussed anything but finances.²

During the first year in the life of the twenty-five academies, the inactive role of most recteurs provoked a crucial development in administration. Looking on their posts as sinecures, these notables generally turned the day-to-day work over to their inspectors, usually junior in age. The head of an academy became increasingly a figurehead, a grateful beneficiary of the patronage system anxious to enjoy the fruit of his semi-retirement. At Angers, Ferri de Saint-Constant showed himself an incompetent administrator as proviseur as well as recteur. F. Mazure was to make himself indispensable during the first year of operation, partly because he personally visited and met the principals and mayors of two departments.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of the inspector-general Pictet, 26 May, 1812. Pictet continued, "Il est jaloux de ses prérogatives; et la supériorité de moyens de MM. Dessoles et Sary (inspector and proviseur) lui donne l'ombrage..."
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of A. Rendu, July, 1813.

Throughout the West and France as a whole, a similar development was taking place. The men who had been rewarded with rectorates for past services abdicated their functions to the more active and more knowledgeable inspectors. At Poitiers, the abbé de Bellissens passed most of his time in a maison de campagne or at a watering resort.¹ The inspector, B. de la Liborlière, émigré bent on vengeance, found ample room to vent his prejudices. At Rennes, the abbé Germé rubber-stamped whatever his inspectors suggested.² The head of the Academy of Caen, the crusty lawyer, Alexandre, was dependent on the more active abbé Sordes, the former Benedictine from Pau.³ The list could be expanded to over half the academies in France. The aristocratic Laporte de Lalanne, a Parisian who knew nothing of Rouen, consistently bowed to the advice of Faucon, an inspector of clerical inclinations. Indeed, one ecclesiastic later recalled that the affairs of the Academy were settled in the apartment of Faucon where he and a vicar-general paced the drawing room arm in arm for thirty minutes each afternoon.⁴ At Toulouse, the situation was similar. An inspector-general found that

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1625; Correspondence of de Bellissens, 1810-1814.
2. Arch. Dept. Morbihan; 183-T-552; Dossier on the College of Joselin. Arch. Dept. Finistère; T Series; College of Quimper, 1809-1810.
3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8449; Recteur of Caen to the Grand-Master, August, 1810.
4. Arch. Dept.; Rouen; T Series; Correspondence of the colleges of the Academy. Bibliothèque Municipale; Rouen; M M; Four volumes; Les Notices de R-L Labbé, manuscripts that concern the clergy of this town during the Empire and Restoration.

the real director of education was General Dessolles, inspector who later became prefect, then head of the National Guard in 1814.¹

Isolated in their bureaus, the recteurs had to see the colleges of their academies largely through the eyes of their inspectors. It was the latter who roamed across the departments forming the Academy for two months of each year, busily taking notes on the teachers, talking with local officials and attempting to arbitrate the myriad number of problems. It was the inspectors who returned to the seat of the academy to deliver verbally their impressions, their judgments and then to file scanty reports for the form. When the Grand-Master asked the recteur of Caen for his opinion on a principal, the latter had to admit that his immobility in the chef-lieu did not permit him an independent judgment: "Mon opinion dans ce cas ne peut être que celle de MM. les inspecteurs."²

Yet the tours made by the inspectors had serious defects. "Qu'est-ce qu'une surveillance de deux jours uniquement exercée dans les classes?" asked one teacher.³ The hour of arrival was known; all was placed in rigorous order.

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of the inspector-general, 26 May, 1812. As for Dessolles, the report concluded, "Tout attaché aux formes, il leur donne quelquefois une importance exagérée."
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8449; Recteur of Caen to the Grand-Master; August, 1810.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8109; A professor in the Academy of Aix to the Grand-Master of the University, 11 September, 1826.

The inspector crammed his satchel full of notes on the teachers, but not on the principal himself, then left. When he visited the mayor, it was generally in the company of the principal, a fact that led the head of the commune to confine his statements to generalities. The recteur, on the other hand, was reluctant to take action against a college until a local official had spoken. Then too, the very nature of the tours undertaken by the inspector made him dependent on local notables. In 1810 and 1811, names and faces were still unfamiliar to the tiny rectorates, and one inspector could excuse his support for the naming of an inept principal on the grounds that he did not know the individual but had met a flattering welcome by the mayor and prefect.¹ Another reported dining with a prefect who was feuding with the mayor over the local school. He took the side of the prefect after a second evening in his entertaining company.² An inspector of Angers picked up his information on the College of Saumur while attending the meetings of the local literary circle, Baucher, of which he was a long-time member.³

The far-reaching role of the inspector inevitably accentuated the uneasy relations within the academy between

1. Arch. Dept.; Nord; T-683; College of Estaires; report of the inspectors, 1810.

2. Ibid.; T-854; College of Tourcoing, report of the inspector, 1810.

3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-15; Report of the inspector to the Recteur of Angers, 3 March, 1814.

men who came from so many different backgrounds and brought such conflicting ambitions. Indeed, the rectorates of the Empire were the scenes of violent disputes between the beneficiaries of a patronage system that had been politically and socially color blind. Former assermentées and refractories, ex-soldiers of the Republic and émigrés, representatives of the Ecoles Centrales and of the schools of the Ancien Régime, all found themselves thrown into the same administration, working at close quarters, having to jostle and elbow each other for a breathing space. Little wonder that the rectorate of Nîmes was torn by a rivalry between the ex-abbé and professor of an Ecole Centrale who directed the Academy and the former Doctrinaire and émigré priest who carried out the inspections. "M. Tedenat, exact et judicieux administrateur, ne voit dans l'Université que des études et des finances," wrote an inspector-general, "M. Felix s'applique davantage à cette partie morale de l'éducation qui n'est point écrite dans les règlements."¹

At Rouen, Laporte de Lalanne refused to apply rigorously the legislation of the University against the maîtres-de-pension and ecclesiastics of that port town, preferring to hobnob with the nobility and the Catholic bourgeoisie. His proviseur, the strongly Gallican abbé Le Priol, denounced him

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6308; Report of Gueneau de Musy; 1810. Of the causes of the quarrel, Gueneau astutely observed, "C'est la suite inévitable d'une grande diversité de caractère entre deux hommes qui ont chacun leur prix et dont les qualités contraires se compensent à un certain point..."

to the prefect and from then until the Restoration, the two exchanged polite but nonetheless sharp punches.¹ At Bourges, the former terrorist of the Cher, Raynal, 43 years, spent much of his energy keeping the dean of the Faculty of Letters and the économe of the lycée in tight harness. While the latter affair was both personal and political, the former was a question of privilege and duties, typical of the petty jealousies of these provincial administrators who attached so much importance to titles, costumes and rank in the various processions. "Comme ils sont sacrés Vos Doyens!" wrote Raynal to an inspector-general, "Ils se regardent comme des recteurs. Leur double gallon à la toque, les verteurs (sic) n'en ont qu'un, leur costume éclatant..."² The same problem afflicted the Academy of Toulouse. The recteur was deeply hurt by the fact that his inspector, General Dessoles, enjoyed a greater reputation and as a result became hyper-sensitive on the question of his prerogatives. As for the dean of the Faculty of Science, "son esprit trascassier, son caractère impérieux et susceptible lui font voir des ennemis partout où il n'a pas d'inférieurs."³ So it was that the provincial educators

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1. Arch. Dept.; Seine-Atlantique; T Series; Lycée of Rouen; Proviseur of Rouen to the prefect of the department; 16 November, 1811.
 2. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; Raynal to the inspector-general Joubert, 16 May, 1810. As for the économe of the lycée, Raynal growled, "Je n'ai jamais connu d'homme moins estimable que celui-là. Il m'a rendu malheureux pendant mes deux an de provisorat..."
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general, 26 May, 1812.

jealously defended their rights and looked on their colleagues with suspicion and resentment.

This same attitude carried over to the relationship of the recteurs with Paris. How resentful they were of the promotions and demotions that Paris made without consulting them. How jealous they were of the interference of the impervious inspectors-general. And how angry they were when their own efforts were thwarted and turned aside. The recteur was to play only the role of intermediary. This conception provoked bitter resentment among the more aggressive heads such as Raynal, who found his plans disconcerted and mutilated. "On n'a pas assez d'égards à Paris pour les recommandations des recteurs," he told Joubert.¹ The head of an academy dreaded the annual tour made by the inspectors-general who brought back to the capital a mountain of criticism.

...Je me suis apperçu qu'il était passé une doctrine dans la tête de quelques Inspecteurs-généreaux... de croire que tout ce qui ne fait pas ou se fait mal dans une académie vient de la négligence de ceux qui le gouvernement,"

wrote Desèzes from Bordeaux:² "Cette doctrine est commode quand on ne fait que des tournées et ce qu'on ne s'arrête qu'aux résultats et qu'on juge d'après des tableaux..."

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1. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; Raynal to the inspector-general Joubert; 21 June, 1810: "Souvent mes vues se trouvent contrariées, arrêtés, par des ménagements nuisibles."
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1098; Report of the recteur of Bordeaux to Royer-Collard, Confidential; 1 May, 1817.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8436; Letter of the Prefect of the Nièvre to the Grand-Master of the University, 1811.

The long hand of the capital meant in effect that an academy could never become the fief of its director, his personal creation. Local and departmental authorities could only doubt the capacity of the new administrators to effect change and hence bypass them, concluded Raynal of Bourges, and in this he was right.

Relations between recteurs and prefects, the most important figures within the departments, remained cool, distant and often strained. For one, the two officials had little direct contact. When the Minister of Police consulted the prefect of the Isère in 1813 concerning the recteur of Grenoble, Fourier had to reply that he had rarely had occasion to meet him.¹ The register of correspondence for the Academy of Angers records no more than the perfunctory sending of circulars. Nonetheless, the infrequent contact between the two figures was generally of an abrasive nature for the prefects were both jealous of their lost authority in education and eager to insure that the colleges within their departments were composed as they saw fit. That of the Sarthe accused the recteur of Angers of systematically excluding him from secondary education.² The prefect of the Nièvre blamed the recteur for having disorganized and demoralized the College of Nevers.³ In the Haute-Marne, the prefect

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 9088; Report of the Prefect of the Isère to the Minister of the Interior, December, 1812.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Report of the prefect of the Sarthe to the Minister of the Interior, 18 October, 1810.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8436; Letter of the Prefect of the Nièvre to the Grand-Master of the University, 1811.

reprimanded the recteur of Dijon for introducing a merry-go-round of promotions, demotions, and transfers in the College of Chaumont.¹

The isolation of the more backward, primitive departments of France made access difficult to the immobile head of an academy. Thus in the mountainous Lozère, the prefect governed the college of Mende arbitrarily, naming and dismissing professors at will despite the protests of Tedénat at Nîmes.² The new prefect of the Haute-Loire in 1810 used contacts in Paris as well as his own direct intervention at Le Puy to rid the college of its principal, a staunch constitutional priest. One afternoon in April, the abbé was summoned to the prefecture to find the Comte Cahouet, with a pale, severe face, sitting emotionless in a sofa by the fire. Without offering the principal a chair, Cahouet told him to resign. When the latter refused, he had an uncle see Fontanes and a senator pressure the recteur of Clermont-Ferrand. The former legislator and beneficiary of imperial patronage, Describes, took a surprisingly courageous stand in favor of the principal:

Tout serait perdu dans l'Université, et cette magnifique institution serait menacée d'une ruine prochaine si Votre Excellence permettait à des autorités étrangères au Corps de l'Université d'y faire ainsi la loi au gré de leur inexpérience et de leur caprice...³

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8325; Prefect of the Haute-Marne to the Grand-Master of the University, 19 February, 1810.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8464; Report of the recteur of Nîmes to the Grand-Master, 11 November, 1810, and successive correspondence.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17

When Paris reluctantly removed the abbé, the recteur promptly gave his resignation and retired from active life, the only example before 1824 of an universitaire voluntarily resigning to protest a flagrant abuse of power.

Looking at the other imperial administrations, it is hard to argue that centralization had proceeded to such an extent that Paris effectively ruled the country. Many prefects treated their jurisdictions as their own private fiefs, such as the rather lax Colonel Arvey who refused to obey the orders of the various ministers in the governing of the Sarthe,¹ or the head of the Department of the Doubs, the Comte Dubouy, who composed municipal councils after his own wish. The Church was very much representative of this problem, with Gallien against non-Gallican, priests of the Justice Légion against those of the Empire, Parisian ecclesiastics against those of the provinces, bishops against the lower clergy, the Ministry of Cults against the bishops, a honeycomb of interest groups each working to frustrate the will of the other. The Consulate had indeed entered France with a highly centralized structure, but the operation of this hierarchy, whether in the judicial field, the church, or in the departments or communal level, proved to be erratic, given the extreme

1. Beranger, A. de: "Le police générale sous le Consulat et le Consulat de l'empire": *Ann. Hist. Nat. Paris*, 1898, T. 70, 71 (1898, 1899), pp. 25-26; 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902.

III.

Looking at the other imperial administrations, it is hard to argue that centralization had proceeded to such an extent that Paris effectively ruled the country. Many prefects treated their jurisdictions as their own private fiefs, worked at cross-purposes with the plans of the capital. They such as the rather lazy Colonel Auvray who refused to obey the orders of the various ministers in the governing of the Sarthe,¹ or the head of the Department of the Doubs, the Comte Debray, who composed municipal councils after his own whim. The Church was very much representative of this problem, with Gallican against non-Gallican, priests of the Ancien Régime against those of the Empire, Parisian ecclesiastics against those of the provinces, bishops against the lower clergy, the Ministry of Cults against the bishops, a honeycomb of interest groups each working to frustrate the will of the other. The Consulate had endowed France with a highly centralized structure, but the operation of this hierarchy, whether in the judicial field, the church, or on the departmental or communal level, proved to be erratic, given the extreme

1. Berenger, H. de; "La police générale dans la Sarthe sous le consulat et sous l'empire"; Rev. His. Arch. Maine; T. 70, 71 (1934, 1935), pp. 28-38; 156-182; 216-225.

diversity that characterized France at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A handful of recteurs did overcome the numerous obstacles of provincial France to impose their own reforms, their own prejudices, their own style of administration. These were the strong-willed few, the more opinionated notables who had an axe to grind. Colorful products of the patronage system, these administrators were to stamp their own personalities on the new jurisdictions, less out of loyalty to Paris than out of pursuit of eccentric visions which often worked at contretemps with the plans of the capital. They were demonstrating that the head of the academy could possess real power, that he could dismiss principals and replace them with his own men.

The Gallican spirit infused more than one rectorate with a combative tone. In the Academy of Besançon, the former professor of the Ecole Centrale, J.-J. Ordinaire, brought a Gallicanism that bordered on the anti-clerical into the daily life of his administration, leading an inspector-general to declare that he would have been the perfect recteur "si le zèle dont il est animé...ne l'emportait quelque fois hors de bornes d'une prudente modération."¹ Not only did the prefect

have special praise for Ordinaire's devotion to the institutions of the Empire,² but his close association with one in-

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1616; Report of the inspector-general Roman on the Academy of Besançon, 30 June, 1816.

2. Pingaud, L.: Jean Debry, 1760-1835; le congrès de Rastatt, une préfecture sous le premier empire; (Paris, 1909), p. 285.

spector, whose brother was the leader of the assermentés in the Jura, helped to identify the rectorate with the constitutional clergy.¹ To the College of Salins, populated by three former Oratorians, the recteur gave his full protection and indeed made it the pivot of his authority outside the *chef-lieu* of the academy.² For the nearby college of Dôle, directed by an aging ex-Jesuit, teaching the horary scholasticism of the seventeenth century, he worked assiduously to have the philosophy course suppressed and its students sent to the Faculty of Letters.³ Behind the Gallicanism of J.-J. Ordinaire was an intense pride in his own "frenchness" and his equally intense scorn for regional spirit, a fact that repeatedly cropped up in his reports.

The ambitions of each of the stronger-willed recteurs took a confusing number of directions. In the Academy of Douai, the old professor of medicine in the eighteenth-century university, opponent of the Revolution but partisan of the Empire, dreamed of turning out the aging, decrepited principals of the municipal colleges in favor of his own protégés.⁴ A personal fief seemed in the making. The principal of Arras,

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1616; Report of the inspector-general Daburon on the Academy of Besançon, 13 June, 1823.
 2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8595; J.-J. Ordinaire to the Grand-Master, 13 September, 1811; "J'ajoute que les principes libéraux de l'Université animent tous les membres de ce collège, qui présente annuellement au Baccalauréat Académique douze à quinze élèves."
 3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8361; Report of the recteur of Bordeaux on the College of Dôle, 1 September, 1815.
 4. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8229; Report of the recteur of Douai, 1810.

an ecclesiastic who looked on the college as a sinecure, was retired; a principal who refused the oath to the University was removed;¹ a third one quit rather than pay the school taxes. Taranget installed in their places, and in the successive vacancies, a married priest whom he told Paris "is completely under my thumb,"² two former maitres-de-pension, equally devoted to him, and a priest who looked to him for protection from the mayor of the town. The high-handed tactics, the arrogance, and the decisiveness of Taranget earned for him the hatred of mayors and the overly lavish praise of the principals. "L'amitié que l'on a pour M. le Recteur, disais-je à mon épouse à mon retour de Douai," wrote the head of Valenciennes to him, "ressemble à un culte: on parle de lui comme un bienfaiteur des hommes."³

The most deliberate attempt to convert an academy into a private reserve took place at the other end of France, at Pau. The colorful campagnon-in-arms of the Duc d'Angoulême, the abbé Eliçagarçay, had become recteur through the patronage of the Cardinal Maury, and without a qualm, set about to transform the rectorate into something approaching an eighteenth

1. Arch. Dept.; Nord; 686; College of Hazebrouck, 1810.
2. Arch. Dept.; Nord; 769; Recteur of Douai to Amboise Rendu, April, 1811. "L'essential est d'avoir dans l'instruction un bon sujet de plus...", Taranget wrote the inspector.
3. Arch. Dept.; Nord; 865; Principal of Valenciennes to the recteur of Douai, March, 1811.
4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2484; Reports of the inspectors-general, 1811-1812.

century *bénéfice*. Eliçargarcay combined the posts of proviseur, recteur, dean of the Faculty of Letters, and professor of philosophy in the Faculty, to finance a hotel that reminded one inspector-general of the splendor of that of an archbishop of the Ancien Régime¹. The lycée and Academy were plunged into debt. The opinionated recteur ruled the schools of the Pyrénées with an iron hand. An assermenté priest was expelled; another was denounced as a "philosophe"; one principal was declared to be in open rebellion after failing to answer two letters; a maitre-de-pension at Pau, former revolutionary, found Eliçargarcay doggedly attempting to secure his closure;² and the recteur went on to enter the lists against prefects, bishops, judges, anyone and everyone, liberals and clericals alike. "Il me serait difficile," the prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées wrote the Minister in 1815,

de vous rendre dans quel désordre le Recteur avait plongé l'administration...entièrement occupé d'intrigues étrangères à ses attributions, mêlé dans toutes les affaires, je retrouve à chaque pas dans mes Bureaux les traces de ses interventions.³

The conservative recteurs were not the only ones to rework their academies according to their whims. The

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2484; Reports of the inspectors-general, 1811-1812.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8817; The Eliçargarcay Affair, 1812-1815.
3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7938; Prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées to the Minister of Interior, 9 May, 1815.

greatest revolutionary among the twenty-five recteurs, Raynal of Bourges, pursued a dual policy of placing his old cronies in important spots and of simultaneously terrorizing the lesser revolutionaries in education, particularly the married priests, as a gage of his political reliability.

To Joubert, he boldly wrote in April, 1810, "Mes protégés prospèrent! Grâce à vous, Monsieur, car que suis-je, que puis-je tout seul, moi, à l'Université où je ne connais personne et où personne ne me connaît."¹ Indeed a former colleague in the Doctrinaire College of Bourges, now a married priest, Alaux, became his inspector and his right-hand. A colleague in the Ecole Centrale was transferred by Raynal from the College of Chateauroux to the Lycée. The recteur had to explain to Joubert that the man had never been in the major orders, that his only political crime had been a momentary "loss of perspective" in the year III and that he had had his children baptized in 1802.¹ The most determined effort of Raynal was to replace the principal of the College of Nevers, repugnant to both parties in that much-divided town, with a close friend, the last vice-chancellor of the Sorbonne, then living in retirement in the Nièvre. But the abbé Motrel no longer exercised the functions of the priesthood and

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1. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; Recteur of Bourges to Joubert, 12 April, 1810.
 2. Ibid.; The recteur of Bourges to Joubert, 18 April, 1810.

directed a textile factory. Paris vetoed the plan.¹

The strong anti-clerical leanings of the recteur received ample room for display when Paris ordered that all ecclesiastical students attend the class of the public schools. Raynal vigorously pressed the Archbishop and was unrelenting in his insistence that the students of every class in the seminary be sent, not simply those in the upper ones.² He was one of the few recteurs to attempt an application of this arrêté that lacked the force of law. Simultaneously, Raynal proved harsh and arbitrary towards the obscure married priests who had wandered into education, some of those recalling no doubt his own mission to dechristianize the Cher in 1793. When the prefect of the Indre demanded the exclusion of a married priest from education in that department he readily agreed. In the Cher, he harassed the married priests at Viezron, Cosne, and Chateauneuf. "Pendant mon dîner, j'ai reçu le prêtre Marié de M. Alaux," he related to Joubert and admitted his failure to persuade the man to reconcile his marriage. "Il m'a cité le concordat, l'empereur, il a mis en avant son honneur, sa conscience, il se croirait perdu de réputation s'il se présentait devant un prêtre..." He added with a certain admiration, "C'est un vrai fanatique

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8496; The recteur of Bourges to the inspector-general de Coiffier, 30 March, 1811.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8827; Report of the recteur of Bourges, 27 December, 1810.

dans son genre et c'est un fanatique qui n'est pas bête."¹

Recteurs such as Raynal and Eliçargarcay, Ordinaire and Taranget, stamped their personalities on the new academies in a way that the young Niortais at Angers could not. These were men full of spit and fire, notables who had known the Ancien Régime, who had actively participated in the Revolution, petty rulers who governed their courts with all the arrogance of provincial lettrés. The six gave their academies a distinctive style, a reputation, even a following. But the fundamental reforms that they wrought were few indeed.

1. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; The recteur of Bourges to Joubert, 9 January, 1810.

IV.

If the Grand-Master of the Imperial University had been asked his opinion of the recteurs and their administrations, he probably would have shaken his head and shrugged his shoulders in a gesture that connoted not only helplessness but resignation. The patronage system of 1809, that network of friendships and ties, so grandly impartial from a political viewpoint and so satisfying from a social one, had rudely let him down. Instead of a well-oiled, coolly efficient machine in provincial France, public education had spawned a series of clubs across the land, clubs that absorbed large amounts of funds, generated a fair share of quarrels and passed along uninformative reports of progress.

With few exceptions, the recteurs remained local notables at the end of their careers, a ragged collection of semi-failures more interested in a generous sinecure than in advancing the cause of Paris. These were not modern figures, part of the budgeoning bureaucracy of the nineteenth century; they were old-fashioned men who retained the casual habits and outlook of a past age. Some were in their seventies, too old and senile to care; others

had no experience in administration and disdainfully declined to serve an onerous apprenticeship in learning the whys and wherefores of French education. More to their tastes were lengthy trips to the waters, dinners in the company of local dignitaries or the satisfaction of disputing rank and position with their own subordinates. Even those recteurs who showed a vigorous, aggressive spirit in organizing their academies revealed less the attitudes of the bureaucracy in Paris than the viewpoint of grands seigneurs determined to establish their independent bailiwicks, come what may.

What then can be said of administration at this level? How does it illustrate the operation of imperial institutions and to what extent does it tell us something of the social fabric in the France of the early 1800s? One obvious point is that the rural character of the departments, the rough terrain, the uneven communications, prevented the recteurs from effectively monitoring their academies. Then too, local officials remained suspicious of these alien bodies dropped in their midst and never reconciled themselves to the loss of authority over a domain that they considered local in a nature. As for the argument that the recteurs were the inflexible agents of Paris, the opposite seems nearer the truth. Not only did these men act as the clearing houses of local requests, but they could and did carry out their own vendettas, their own prejudices, thereby committing the capital to what

often proved untenable positions. Finally we see that the ultimate failure of men like Mazure or Ordinaire to effect fundamental reform stemmed less from the question of personalities than from the essential nature of provincial education, the maitre-de-pension turned principal, the refusal of municipalities to subsidize their schools, the strength of proud municipal traditions.

The conclusion must be that despite the rigid regulations of the Imperial University, a colorful mosaic of men and practices characterized provincial education, a mosaic which took its shape and form from the diversity of early nineteenth-century France.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BUREAUCRACY IN PARIS

1810 - 1814

stands out above all the France of the early 1810s. The France of 1810 was an intensely religious and imperialistic country, still recovering from the Civil War, ever aware of its spiritual heritage. That of Rennes had to grapple with the strongly insular Breton culture, while the head of the nation awkwardly straddled the obscurest Vendean legacy on the one hand and the traditional strongholds of Protestantism on the other. Throughout the country, the principalities themselves were frequently the product of a proud municipal tradition, the Bretons and the Normans veterans of the Great Britain, men who carried the torch of the Imperial University with defiance.

Even the provinces shared in the regionalism of regional interests from the shores of Paris. The great cities most were chosen from among local nobles, men who were conscious of the delicate balance of power between the capital and the provinces as well as reluctant to apply imperial regulations to the capital. And even the provinces did not generally regard themselves as the subject of imperial departmental officials. In the absence of a central authority

head happened to be an excellent administrator, the school system still ran his college as an independent unit; the mayor of Saumur could choose his own principal without consulting the rectorate; and the prefect of the Sarthe persistently refused his vital cooperation.

I.

What then was the nature of the centralization imposed during the Revolution? In the life of the imperial academies, one feature stands out above all others: the strength of regionalism in the France of the early 1800s. The recteur of Angers faced an intensely religious and inward-looking area, badly scarred by the Civil War, ever more proud of its spiritual heritage. That of Rennes had to grapple with the strongly insular Breton culture, while the head of Poitiers awkwardly straddled the obscurantist Vendean bocage on the one hand and the traditional strongholds of Protestantism on the other. Throughout the country, the principals themselves were frequently the symbols of a proud municipal tradition, the Moissenets and the Horeaus, veterans of the Ancien Régime, men who accepted the idea of the Imperial University with difficulty.

Even the recteurs seemed more the representatives of regional interests than the agents of Paris. The fact that most were chosen from among local notables made them acutely conscious of the delicate complexion of their jurisdictions as well as reluctant to apply unpopular legislation taken by the capital. And when the recteur did attempt reform, he generally found himself frustrated by the panoply of local and departmental officials. In the Academy of Angers, where the

head happened to be an excellent administrator, the abbé Horeau still ran his college as an independent fief; the mayor of Saumur could choose his own principal without consulting the rectorate; and the prefect of the Sarthe persistently refused his vital cooperation.

What then was the nature of the centralization imposed during the Empire? Why did Felicité de Lammenais cry so loudly in 1814 that the University was a highly autocratic institution, an octopus whose tentacles extended into every school and every home? To answer this question, one must study the men in Paris and their administration. The historians of French education, from Alphonse Aulard to Felix Ponteil, have somewhat neglected this crucial question precisely because the organization of the Imperial University seemed so formalized and static.

Who formulated the policies that the recteurs were instructed to execute? Who actually decided the promotions and demotions inside the schools? What were the elements of administrative control that Paris exercised over its constituents? Who formulated the policies that the recteurs were instructed to execute? Who actually decided the promotions and demotions inside the schools? What were the elements of administrative control that Paris exercised over its constituents? and paralleling this structure was the Council of the University, a prestigious but inactive body divided into five sections.³ The twenty inspectors-general split into commissions

1. *Almanach de l'Université Impériale: 1810-1814*; The Library of the Sorbonne has the only complete set. The series runs from 1810-1814, then from 1822 until late in the July Monarchy. During the first part of the Restoration, the Almanach was a victim of an enemy-minded government.

2. Madelin, L.: *La Crise de l'Université* (Paris, 1955), p. 48.

3. Leflon, J.: *Monsieur Berry* (Paris, 1946), p. 345. Leflon describes the activities of Berry on the Council.

duplicating those of their colleagues on the Council, and the distinguished scientist and inspector Georges Carrier directed a special Commission of Colleges to facilitate matters regarding the municipal schools.¹

II.

Ironically though, the work of the Imperial University was never carried on within this stately facade, this formal

hierarchy of units. Appalled at the disorganization during the first months, several of the inspectors-general persuaded Imperial University for the years 1810-1814, one gains the impression of a sophisticated bureaucratic machine.¹ Here was an imposing superstructure that provided, at least in principle, a detailed control over the recteurs of provincial Extraordinary Commission, then the General Commission, all of France. At the top of the hierarchy stood the ermine-draped Grand-Master, the elegant if pompous Fontanes, president of the Senate, *lettré* whom Louis Madelin has gratuitously dubbed the *choryphée* of the counter-revolutionaries.² Then came the Chancellor, the aging Bishop of Casals, followed by the Treasurer, the scientist Despaulx. Immediately beneath were the several administrative units, the bureaus for personnel and finances; and paralleling this structure was the Council of the University, a prestigious but inactive body that subdivided into five sections.³ The twenty inspectors-general split into commissions

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2. Madelin, L.; La Crise de l'Empire; (Paris, 1955), p. 48.

3. Leflon, J.; Monsieur Emery; (Paris, 1946), p. 345. Leflon describes the activities of Emery on the Council.

duplicating those of their colleagues on the Council, and the distinguished scientist and inspector Georges Cuvier directed a special Commission of Colleges to facilitate matters regarding the municipal schools.¹

Ironically though, the work of the Imperial University was never carried on within this stately facade, this formal hierarchy of units. Appalled at the disorganization during the first months, several of the inspectors-general persuaded the Grand-Master to create a small, inner council of his "veritable" friends, and by early 1810 this group had become the governing organ of public education, known first as the Extraordinary Commission, then the Central Commission, an organ that quickly aroused resentment among those inspectors not included. "Elle se réduisait au fonds," wrote Cuvier, bitter at his own exclusion,

à un ou deux individus qui faisaient tout et qui avaient fini par absorber l'autorité du Grand Maître, celle du Conseil et par se mettre au-dessus des renseignements et des avis donnés par les inspecteurs-généraux et par les recteurs.²

Here was an apt expression of how arbitrary and detached the Commission seemed to so many. It was also an apt expression of the kind of "centralization" involved.

In his Napoléon I et le Monopole Universitaire, Alphonse Aulard was unaware that the Commission even existed

1. Arch. Nat.; F; The Commission of Colleges filled four registers with the names of all secondary school teachers in France and a short comment on their talents.

2. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; Fonds Cuvier; 270; Lettre sur le régime à établir dans l'Université, (1815).

For "Les inspecteurs-généraux et l'inspection générale de l'instruction publique de 1802 à 1811": Revue de l'histoire de l'éducation, 1966, pp. 77-100.

and wrongly assumed that the policies of the University were Fontane's own, a point of view that enabled Aulard to place public education in the center of political intrigues during the Empire, a position that it distinctly did not occupy. Writing in the 1920s, J. Poirier briefly mentions the Commission in one of his excellent studies on the University during the Restoration but did not know of its membership nor of the nature and extent of its role. Ponteil's recent Histoire de l'Enseignement, 1789-1965 fails even to make a passing bow to this body, while Paul Gerbod, in a brief and perhaps superficial study of the inspectors-general, asserted that these enjoyed no particular position of preeminence.¹ The Central Commission was in fact a throwback to the days of 1800, when administrations were to be created, policies to be initiated, reforms to be hammered through. Here we see the last flickering of the creative spirit that had characterized the ministries of the Consulate, the same free-wheeling ways, the same small cliques, the same concern to remake the personnel of an administration.

The Central Commission was no harbinger of the bureaucratic complexities that have come to haunt the twentieth century; it remained a thoroughly backward-looking institution upon which time-honored means of administration -- patronage, friendships, personal petitions and appeals -- could exercise

1. Aulard, A.; Napoléon 1 et le Monopole Universitaire, (Paris, 1911); Poirier, J.; "L'Université Provisoire 1814-1821"; Rev. His. Mod.; (T. 1, 1926), pp. 241-279.; Ponteil, F.; Histoire de l'Enseignement, 1789-1965; (Paris, 1966); Gerbod, P.; "Les Inspecteurs-Généraux et l'inspection générale de l'instruction publique de 1802 à 1881"; Rev. His. Mod.; T. 236 (1966), pp. 79-106.

their greatest influence. It was a highly informal body whose members sat around a table in an obscure room of the Palais Bourbon, discussing every conceivable affair, listening to professors who brought complaints, examining other inspectors on return from their tours, handling all the sensitive correspondence to the point that Fontanes rarely knew what was being decided. Its methods were strikingly informal. Indeed, the Commission had a passion for anonymity. An inspector-general could write the principal of Chatellerault, "La Commission ne reçoit point de lettre en nom collectif," yet conclude, "Vous pouvez faire usage de cette lettre-ci auprès de M. Rendu et tout autre member,"¹ a suggestion illustrating the accessibility of this body and its highly personal mode of operation.

Who then were the members of this mysterious elite, this informal but highly autocratic body that guided French education through its formative stages? To what extent did they appreciate the peculiar problems and dilemmas of the rectorates?

A former superior of the progressive Congregation of the Doctrine was active on the Commission. Politically vulnerable in view of his past as constitutional bishop of the Mayenne and as a priest who no longer said mass nor wore the habits, the abbé P. Villar nevertheless offered an unparalleled range of experience that spanned the France of the Ancien Régime and of the Revolution -- superior of the Colleges

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8322; Castel to the principal of Chatellerault, 28 September, 1812.

of Bourges and La Flèche, member of Tallyrand's Commission of Public Education, member of the Institute, and an inspector of studies since 1802. From a strictly pedagogical point of view, Villar was a profoundly conservative individual who firmly believed in the necessity of an iron discipline over education. The political winds of the Revolution, in whose breeze he so willingly stood, scarcely rippled his impeccably classical view of Latin and French.¹

Beside him sat two former Oratorians, priests who had opposed the Revolution but who nevertheless shared with Villar a peculiar nationalism. Both the abbés Roman and Balland had refused the oath to the Civil Constitution and emigrated in 1792, but both looked to the Ancien Régime of the monarchy rather than that of the provinces.² Roman, 68 years, had taught in the Colleges of Niort, Juilly and Arras and had been superior of those of Marseille and Lyon. Balland had equally shuttled between the colleges of the congregation; and, in 1816, Amboise Rendu was to recall how Balland urged on the Central Commission in its task of reestablishing a steady flow of teachers between the schools of France, teachers loyal to Paris rather than to a region or to a town.³

1. Michaud; Biographie universelle; (Paris, 1834-1862); Villar article.; Auvity, M.; Histoire du Grand-Séminaire de Bourges; (Bourges, 1933), p. 52. Bouillier, I.; Un prêtre de Laval; (Laval, 1841), p. 55. Tesseneau; Joubert; pp. 10-20.

2. Charlety, A.; L'enseignement secondaire dans le Département du Rhône; (Paris, 1911), pp. 9-16.

3. Rendu, A.; Le Système Universitaire de France; (Paris, 1816).

Yet the real animateurs of the Central Commission were two young men whom Fontanes had attached to himself during his days as an editor of the Mercure, men whose intense religiosity offset his own highly polished brand of Christianity, whose rigorous thinking and closely-knit argumentation balanced his own elegant but hollow style. Gueneau de Mussy and Amboise Rendu, both thirty-two in 1808, were prototypes of the young generation of administrators propelled to the fore during the Empire and there sustained by their own fertile energy, surviving the successive changes in regime through devotion to the authority in power. They were part of that generation which brought forward the Guizots, the Molés, the Tournons, politicians and administrators of the Restoration and the July Monarchy, men who began their brilliant careers as talented servants of the Empire.

Both Gueneau de Mussy and Amboise Rendu were strong believers in the reforming powers of Paris, a central tenet of this generation, yet both were profoundly conservative. Gueneau was an ascetic, devout Catholic, something of a melancholic dreamer who had been raised in an old and distinguished family of parliamentarians at Dijon, a family steeped in the Jansenist tradition. At 18, he attempted to join the armies of the Condé, and in 1797 left the Ecole Polytechnique for refusing the oath of hatred to the monarchy. In the spring of 1800, Gueneau made the acquaintance of Louis Fontanes, was introduced into the salon of Pauline de Beaumont, and from there became an outrider of the movement of romantic

Christianity, helping to edit Chateaubriand's Mercur.¹

The most influential person on the Central Commission however was Amboise Rendu, an energetic, ambitious man who forced his way into almost every decision of importance during the Empire. Like his colleagues, he had been reared in a strict religious atmosphere. He had been with Gueneau at the Ecole Polytechnique, quit for the same reason, then entered the salon of Pauline de Beaumont through Fontane's protection. Like Gueneau, he attended the first readings of Chateaubriand's Génie; unlike his friend, he was on the point of entering law when Fontanes called him to the University.²

These two Parisians, more responsible than anyone for the activities of the Imperial University, represented the generation of young men nourished in Christian romanticism, exposed to the currents of German thought, bred in a royalist environment. Coming of age during the autocratic period of the Empire, this generation evolved the very policies that de Lammenais was to call despotic in 1814.

In Rendu we find the extreme ^{Fica}personalization of power within the Imperial University, the embodiment of its autocratic ways. In his encyclopedic mind he carried the names and faces of hundreds of men. His notes formed the basis of all the important circulars; his comments on the personnel decided all promotions and demotions. Indeed, he was the

1. Somie, de P.; "Un ami de Chateaubriand, Philibert Gueneau de Mussy"; Rev. His. Litt. France; (T. 34 (1932), pp. 384-400.

2. Rendu, E.; Amboise Rendu et l'Université de France; (Paris, 1861).

Central Commission. All its minutes were in his hand, and often only his signature and that of another member appeared.¹ He carried on an active private correspondence with most recteurs. The head of Douai wrote, "Tout ce que vous recommandez sur mon domaine académique, c'est plus que favorablement recommandé..."² Joubert, while on inspection, addressed his correspondence and reports directly to Rendu and on his return to Paris would insist on speaking with no one but him.³ Another inspector-general bewailed his inability to have the proposed appointments to the College of Montauban approved by that same evening because Rendu was at his father's deathbed.⁴ Of all the inspectors-general, the incisive young lawyer had the reputation for accomplishing swift, concrete results. "Tu ne pouvais mieux rencontrer," a proviseur wrote the principal of Vannes,

Tu peux t'ouvrir en toute confiance à M. Rendu, qui ne demanderait pas mieux que de redresser tous les torts réels dont tu peux avoir à te plaindre, soit du côté de l'administration, soit du côté des Professeurs.⁵

1. The notes of the Central Commission are scattered through the hundreds of liasses of documents in the F 17 series in the Arch. Nat.
2. Arch. Dept.; Nord; T-769; Recteur of Douai to Rendu, 11 August, 1810.
3. Tessenneau; Joubert; p. 308.
4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8473; Marignie to the director of the First Bureau, 22 October, 1810.
5. Arch. Dept.; Morbihan; G Series; Personal papers of the Principal of Vannes; Proviseur of the Lycée of Rouen to the principal, 22 April, 1812.

the Ecole Normale. His dominating position, his interference in all the affairs of education, high and low, awoke a number of jealousies and created a backlog of resentment. Guizot and Royer-Collard disliked his active role in the shaping of the Sorbonne and of the Ecole Normale.¹ Georges Cuvier spoke of him as a "favorite" of Fontanes and was only too glad to see the Central Commission abolished in 1815.² An anonymous member of the Academy of Toulouse characterized much of the feeling against him in lampooning him as "...ce petit faiseur...ce petit Grand-Maitre."³

Amboise Rendu appeared at a moment when a man of his background and thinking was required. The Empire was moving from a federal system to a more autocratic one; the prefectoral corps was acquiring greater powers as it enforced taxation and conscription; the whole of the imperial machinery was becoming more unified and more efficient, with Paris as the pivot of national life.⁴

Within this movement, Rendu was the great apostle of centralization, the enthusiastic believer in the cultural mission of Paris. The cornerstone of his ambitious program was the Ecole Normale, an institution that he wished to make his own personal creation, his obedient tool for undermining regional insularity. The attempts by Royer-Collard to convert

1. Poirier, J.; "L'Université provisoire, 1814-1821"; T. 1 (1926), pp. 241-279.

2. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; op. cit.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1016; Anonymous letter, September, 1809.

4. Lefebvre, G.; Napoleon; (Paris, 1955), pp. 391-434.

the Ecole Normale into a center of research, of philosophical fermentation, grated against his intense desire to impose a rigid Latin curriculum in the style of Rollin, while the noisy visits of Parisian dames to the gilded lectures drew from him a stinging rebuke.

Rendu's vision was of an institution that would train a uniform elite, loyal only to Paris, soldiers in the crusade to carry the authority of the capital into the schools of France. "Il n'y aura plus lieu à aucune présentation ni proposition (for teachers) de la part des principaux, proviseurs ou meme recteurs,"¹ he fumed after a blunder by one recteur. A uniform corps would replace refractories and assermentés, ex-maitres-de-pension and former soldiers, failed commerçants and retired doctors. Rendu considered the Ecole as a national institution, and when the proviseur of the Lycée Charlemagne claimed possession of Victor Cousin, the most distinguished student of the first promotion in 1812, he drafted the famous circular declaring that Normalians had no home, that they were a national elite which had to begin its apprenticeship in the provinces. In November, 1813, he followed this circular with a second one proclaiming that within a year the Ecole Normale would be the only route to teaching posts.²

In many respects, it was a noble and reasonable program; but Amboise Rendu, such a passionate nationalist,

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8318; Report of Rendu while inspecting the Academy of Angers, March 12, 1812.

2. Arch. Nat.: AJ 16; (Fonds Special); Papers of the Academy of Paris; draft circulars in Rendu's handwriting.

could never appreciate the obstacles and difficulties posed by regional considerations. Within his thoroughly rational vision, with its roots deep in a dogmatic Christian faith, Rendu rejected the infinite subtleties and complexities which divided the various regions of France.

Nowhere was his peculiar blindness more evident than in the Academy of Rennes. Educated in the best Gallican traditions, this lawyer had an intense scorn for the appalling ignorance of the Breton clergy and for its ultramontane leanings. On one tournée, he found an ecclesiastic teaching rhetoric to sixteen farm boys who had never heard of Cicero but seemed well versed on ultramontane doctrines. With ruthless logic, the scandalized inspector forced the abbé to retire; "Un jour peut-être," he told Villar and Balland, "on n'y brulera plus les oeuvres de Bossuet et l'on osera même y lire Nicole."¹ The intellectual arrogance of a Parisian pervaded his every action. In visiting the tiny College of Josselin in 1812, where the students were chiefly sons of peasants, the inspector decreed that the study of Greek was now obligatory. The one professor of Latin, an aged relic, was so frightened at this dictum that he pleaded for demotion. Rendu promptly obliged.²

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8403; Inspecteurs of the College of Guingamp; Rendu, 24 June, 1812. The priest removed, the abbé Richard, had already been denounced by the prefect of the Côtes-du-Nord for subversive activities. See René Durand, Le Département des Côtes-du-Nord sous le Consulat et l'Empire (Paris, 1925), p. 571.

2. Arch. Dept.: Morbihan; 183-T-552; Professor to Recteur of Rennes, 11 June, 1812.

Only ten miles away at Plöermel, Rendu was furious to learn that a young professor had deserted the college to re-enter the seminary to escape conscription and denounced this "cowardice" to Paris.¹ Unintentionally, he was making public education seem the agent of the imperial armies in a department where anti-bonapartist sentiment was strong.

The most galling aspect of Rendu's blindness was his dogmatic insistence that the onerous school tax, one-twentieth of tuition, be paid by each and every student. At the College of Vannes, where the five hundred students were impoverished farm boys, subsisting on a diet of coarse bread and cheese, the burden was immense. Rendu proclaimed his sympathy when the principal outlined the problem, "Mais pourtant le décret est là," he concluded, "La loi n'est pas libre à fléchir."² Here was the heart of his dogmatism, of his peculiarly Parisian way of seeing things.

In the Central Commission and Amboise Rendu, we touch on something larger than the question of the imperial bureaucraties; we touch on one of the vital nerve-cords of French liberalism during the nineteenth century, one of the major roots of the system of the 1830s and the 1840s. Too often historians have looked at liberalism through the jaded

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1. Ibid.; 183-T-573; Principal of Ploermel to Recteur of Rennes, 21 May, 1812. He wrote, "Ces MM. (the inspectors) étaient fortement d'avis d'exerciser à son égard toute la rigueur des décrets et d'épargner à l'état ecclésiastique... l'infamie d'avoir dans son sein un sujet dont la lâcheté égale la corruption des mœurs."
 2. Ibid.; 183-T-48; Rendu to Recteur of Rennes, 12 October, 1812.

optique of Guizot's enrichissez-vous and seen only the grasping for power of the financial and manufacturing bourgeoisie.

Yet the movement had other, more conservative origins. Prime among these was the generation of administrators bred within the imperial bureaucracies of the Empire or during the hectic days that followed in 1814, 1815. Here were men who believed in the strong hand of Paris, men who struggled against regional idiosyncrasies, both political and social -- the Baron Louis, the Corvetto, the Pasquiers, the Molés, the Beugnots, the Tournons, or even Balzac's Baron Hulot. These were the men who played prominent roles during the first period of the Restoration in holding the imperial system together. The shared attitude was an authoritarian view of how France should be governed ---the system of notables, a tightly controlled prefectorial corps, the maintenance of a strong gendarmerie and police, a relentless system of taxation for the national government. The common problem was how to subdue a France where regionalism blended with political diversity.

Lyons," voiced one weary member on being asked to expedite his letters to Paris.¹ Let Henry proceed then reluctantly, on. In one draft of a letter on behalf of footmen, he recommended that they receive the smallest of meals, from the heart of meals to the spacing of beds in the dormitories and the surveillance exercised during the night.² The records of small

1. Arch. Nat., L. 22, 1814: Report of Henry, 5 May, 1814.

2. Ibid.: Draft letter of Henry, 26 April, 1814.

III.

How did the Central Commission make its authority visible to the academies of France? What were its means for ruling the new and loosely-organized realm of public education?

The most direct link between the Commission and the recteurs was the inspector-general, that ubiquitous inquisitor who annually made a two-month trip across the rough terrain of provincial France, taking notes on professors, counseling principals, conciliating prefects, bishops and mayors. Racing over the countryside, the aging inspector doggedly pursued his ungrateful task from May to August. Mental and physical exhaustion was his hallmark: "Notre mission exige tant d'activité que souvent nous ne prenons la plume qu'accablés de fatigues," voiced one weary member on being asked to expedite his letters to Paris.¹ Yet Rendu pressed them relentlessly on. In one draft of a letter on behalf of Fontanes, he commanded that they examine the smallest of details, from the hours of meals to the spacing of beds in the dormitories and the surveillance exercised during the night.² The hazards of travel

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2484; Report of Budan and Petitot, 6 May, 1809.

2. Ibid.; Draft letter of Rendu, 26 April, 1809.

added to the complexities of swift reports. At Poitiers, one team excused its delay on the grounds that the roads southward had disappeared with the summer rains.¹ Another turned back after the leading member fell sick under the strain of constant travel, of one-night stays in unknown towns, of eating ill-prepared food.²

The twenty men that composed this much-battered corps represented the same rich variety of political and pedagogical traditions that so marked the corps of recteurs. Their numbers included priests, ex-soldiers, scientists, lettrés, former deputies, ex-members of the teaching corps, even a former constitutional bishop. What a world of contrast between the abbé Daburon, émigré who instinctively shrank before married priests, and the abbé Noël, ecclesiastic à la mode, gay, witty, orator of 1792, tribune of 1800. What a gulf between the scientist Lefevre-Guineau, an excellent scholar, liberal by conviction, wealthy on speculations made during the Revolution, and the former émigré Marignie, companion of Mallet du Pan, contributor to the Journal général de l'Europe. What kind of contact could there be between Castel, professor at the revolutionary Prytanée, and the baron de Coiffier, a faux noble who had fought as an officer in the armies of the Condé. It was an odd collection of individuals, lacking in cohesion

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1616; Report of the inspectors-general of the sixth commission on the Academy of Angers Poitiers, 1810.
 2. Ibid.: F 17 6808; Report of the inspectors-general, June, 1809.

and splintered by political, social and religious backgrounds.¹

A common thread nevertheless ran through the variety of attitudes and beliefs, a thread that linked them with the majority of the recteurs. If any one conviction distinguished this eclectic set of men, it may be said to have been a common loyalty to the cherished ideal of Gallicanism. With the exception of Rendu and Gueneau de Mussy, all had been bred inside the colleges of the eighteenth century; not a few had taught within them; and most had experienced the snug corporatism of the eighteenth century. The Villars, the Jouberts, the Noël, looked back to the days when teaching corps, along with the dioceses, the Parliaments, and the guilds, had their own courts, their own regulations, their own corporate existence. They sought to resurrect this same ideal; they wished an institution in which religion played a vital role, but only under their own aegis. Their great fear was, that the new, young and half-educated clergy, so militantly ultramontane, would bury the classical humanism of the old Sorbonne. "(Ecclesiastics) prennent à la charue un grand enfant qui craint la conscription," warned the inspectors of the Third Commission,

ils lui enseignent en huit ou dix mois à lire, à écrire, à compter, à articuler quelques mots de mauvaise latin, et de là ils l'envoient au grand séminaire, où ils est reçu et bientôt ordonné prêtre avec la même précipitation... En voulant relever et recruter trop vite le clergé,

1. Michaud, Biographie universelle; Articles on Marignie, de Coiffier, Noël; Vauthier, G.; "Fontanes et les nominations universitaires"; Ann. Rev.; T. 4 (1911), pp. 638-653.
- Aulard; Napoléon; pp. 227-238.

they concluded "on achevera de l'avilir et que sous dix ans les prêtres français seront pour l'ignorance au niveau des moines espagnols et napolitains."¹

Like their colleagues in the academies, the inspectors were building in a vacuum, for the Empire imposed a set of conditions that made manifestations of a genuine Gallicanism, free of obsequious subservience to Bonaparte, rare indeed. In 1807, the abbé Emery, superior of Saint-Sulpice, did publish a new collection of the works of Fleury;² At Aix, the archbishop Champion de Cissé, one of the last of his breed, battled both Pope and prefect until his death in 1810.³ But the more common manifestations of Gallicanism were the continuing broadsides of the former constitutional clergy, from the Archbishop Le Coz to parish priests.

The most outspokenly Gallican among the inspectors and simultaneously the most colorful, the most erratic and perhaps the most influential except for Amboise Rendu, was the abbé de Champeaux, 57 years, vicar-general before the Revolution, deputy to the Constituant, and émigré in Germany.⁴ His career serves to illustrate something of the style and

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2484; Considérations Générales sur les Collèges Communaux, Troisième Commission, 1809.

2. Latreille, A.: "Le Gallicanisme Ecclesiastique sous le Premier Empire"; Rev. His., T. 89 (1944):

3. Levy-Schneider, L.: L'application du Concordat par un prélat d'Ancien Régime, Mgr. Champion de Cice, archevêque d'Aix et d'Arles, 1802-1810, (Paris, 1921).

4. Thenard, J-F, "Le Curé de Champeaux député aux Etats-Généraux," Révo. Fran.: T. 25 (1893), pp. 463-470.

actions of the first set of inspectors-general, as well as something of the problems that the Central Commission faced in obtaining information from its agents.

On entering Poitou and the Vendée in 1809, he could send back a confidential report ascribing the success of the illegal clerical schools at MontMorillon and at Chavagnes to the "superstition" and "fanaticism" of the inhabitants.¹

Simultaneously he crossed swords with the all-powerful vicars-general at Poitiers, led by the aristocratic de Maussion, and exchanged sharp words with the Bishop of La Rochelle. This report echoed a dominant opinion among the inspectors-general. On the Commission for the perfectionnement des études, Noël, Castel and Despaulx recommended that the decree requiring ecclesiastical students to pass the diploma of bachelor-of-letters before entering a Grand-Seminary be rigorously enforced in order to insure that they acquired a solid grounding in the Four Articles of 1687.²

De Champeaux's Gallicanism took him a step further than mere hostility towards ecclesiastical establishments. Determined to break the grip of the "ultramontane" clergy over certain public schools, he became the champion of the persecuted assermenté priests, nimbly using them as battering rams against those who had deserted the traditions of the French church.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1616; Confidential report of the Inspectors-general on the Academy of Poitiers, 1809.
2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 12817; Report of the Commission, August, 1810.

For example, in the tournée of 1810, covering the Academies of Cahors, Toulouse, and Montpellier, the inspector discovered that the principal of the College of Figeac was a militant ecclesiastic, bitterly opposed to the Empire and the University. De Champeaux recommended that the abbé be put to pasture as aumônier in the nearby Lycée of Rodez and that an assermenté priest, Domergues, professor in the Lycée, be farmed to the college as principal.¹ The Central Commission agreed. What chaos, what feelings this move stirred: Carrère symbolized the pure clergy, Domergues the Revolution. The mayor had the Comte de Lostange, chamberlain to the Emperor, pay Fontanes a call. The bureau of the college offered a collective resignation. Domergues arrived in town to find the school building locked and shuttered. The abbé Carrère would not budge from his modest apartment to take the post at Rodez.² The inspector had to blow the bugle of retreat, something he rarely did.

The same cycle repeated itself when de Champeaux embarked an assermenté priest to the College of Auch, directed by refractories and émigrés irreconciliably hostile to the University. After a week, the new professor of

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1. Ibid.: F 17 8385; Report of the Inspector and accompanying pieces, May, 1811.
 2. Ibid.: Recteur of Cahors to the Grand-Master, July, 1811.

philosophy and assermenté priest was ignobly chased from the school.¹

Among the members of the Central Commission, the prevailing doctrine was indeed one of Gallicanism against ultramontaniam. On returning to Paris, de Champeaux could successfully plead that the influence of the irascible Bishop of Sées be blocked by naming as principal of the College of Alençon a teacher in a private school with whom he had talked during the inspection. The man whom he recommended was a former revolutionary at Toulouse, a prominent and distinguished administrator who had entered education as something of a refugee.² The inspector saw in him only a man of considerable talent, educated, active, vigilant, and pointedly reminded the Central Commission,

(Benaben) manifeste un extrême dévouement pour l'Université, un grand désir d'adopter et de faire aimer ses principes et la ferme résolution de renoncer à l'exagération de ceux

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8232; Letter of de Champeaux, June, 1811. The abbé Pages gave a wonderful description of his initial reception: "J'arrivai à Auch le 24 fevrier par un temps de pluie, de diege, de vent épouvantables: c'était le dimanche de carnaval; je me rendis chez le principal du Collège; je fis connaître mon nom, ma qualité, je présentai mon titre, il refusa de le voir; je demandai une chambre; il répondit sèchement qu'il n'en avait pas et que j'avais eu tort de ne venir. Il était assis auprès d'un bon feu; il vit sans doute que j'étais mouillé, saisi du froid et il ne daigna pas m'offrir de me chauffer; je sortie de chez cet homme dur et grossier, un poids énorme sur mon couer."
2. See Chapter One: T. Benaben was apparently the brother of cousin of the Benaben who taught in the Lycée of Angers. Both were from Toulouse; both had been revolutionnaires; both remained staunch anti-clericals. The former ended his career in the Lycée of Pontivy, a duning ground for radical universitaires while the latter was purged in 1814.

qu'il a professés par effervescence ou entraînés pendant la Révolution.¹

Devotion to the University, this was the quality that the Commission was looking for. Benaben was named.

From de Champeaux's adventures, we also learn something of how the inspector-general of the Empire operated, we see the amount of leverage accorded him and we can sympathize with the Central Commission at Paris in its difficulties in collecting information and in enforcing its will. The inspectors lived in a world that had as yet no set morality, no defined rules, few bureaucratic controls and no dossiers for the teachers. Moving from town to town, he had to improvise; he had to juggle names and faces in his memory; he had to weigh a man's talent in the course of a brief conversation. The personality of the inspector counted as much if not more than that of the teacher. He left a personal, distinct imprint on whatever department he chanced to cross. De Champeaux could send a Pages into the hostile stronghold of Auch, a Domergues into that of Figeac. Gueneau de Mussy could commit the University to the Bishop of Quimper. Improvisation was the trademark of these men. They were prima donnas following the dictates of their conscience, that highly changeable equation, rather than a set of instructions from Paris.

How effective then were these men, relics of a past age, in dealing with the schools of early nineteenth

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8211; Report of the inspectors on the College of Alençon, 25 March, 1811.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8211; Report of the recteur of Académie to Royer-Collard, 25 May, 1817.

century France? This had been a point that has raised little comment, for no one has studied a particular inspector on his annual tournée. Paul Gerbod, the most knowledgeable of historians on French education, asserts that the inspectors were little more than figureheads, redundant administrators whose stay of one or two days in a town produced a scattering of notes but rarely a coherent or accurate picture.¹ Indeed by the late 1830s, Gerbod points out, the more progressive universitaires were demanding the suppression of these prestigious but essentially formal posts. Certainly the speed with which the inspectors passed over the countryside limited what they saw and understood, and more than one principal of the Empire would have agreed with Gerbod's observation. After a team had spent an afternoon superficially examining his college, one annoyed director wrote, "Jamais, je n'ai vu d'hommes aussi pressés de partir..."²

In reality, the inspector-general played a crucial, irreplaceable role during the Empire, aiding or disciplining recteurs, protecting education from the restless hands of prefects, deciding who was to be promoted or transferred, acting as the eyes and arms of the Central Commission. The recteur of Bordeaux complained of the rigorous handling the inspectors gave his administration each year;³ that of Pau profusely

1. Gerbod, P.; La Condition universitaire en France au XIX siècle, 1965. p. 42; "Les Inspecteurs-Generaux au XIX siècle."; op. cit.

2. Arch. Dept.; Nord; T-865; Principal of the College of Valenciennes to recteur of Douai, 23 June, 1811.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1098; Report of the recteur of Bordeaux to Royer-Collard; 16 May, 1817.

thanked another team for intervening between him and an irate prefect.¹ The town council of Saumur squirmed under the relentless argument of one inspector that the school budget be raised 7,000 francs.² The local authorities of Tours turned to the inspectors of 1809 to resolve an untidy quarrel between the college and a private school; a quarrel that involved the political factions of the town.³ The Grand-Master himself, so lax and tolerant in daily intercourse, was moved to anger by the liberties that his willful inspectors took. "Ils disposent des places avant d'en avoir référé à l'autorité supérieure....," Fontanes scribbled in the margin of one report that had named a new principal somewhere in the East.⁴

The self-effacing role that even the Commission could play before its inspectors may be illustrated by taking another incident out of the remarkable career of the abbé de Champeaux. In 1811, the abbé was able to engineer the removal of an assermenté priest from the College of Compeigne, replace him with a close friend in the emigration and, when town, prefect and recteur protested, could safely retreat behind the united front of the Commission.⁵

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8888; The Gaud Affair, 1812-1814.
 2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-23; Principal of Saumur to Recteur of Angers, 24 July, 1809.
 3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8636; dossier of the Dossier on the College of Tours, 1810.
 4. Ibid.: F 17 8721; Note of Fontanes, January, 1811.
 5. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8338; Report of De Champeaux, 1 December, 1812. Report of the Recteur of Amiens, 3 September, 1813.

In this incident, the abbé de Champeaux was distributing patronage with all the largess and irresponsibility of an archbishop of the Ancien Régime. He was also repudiating his Gallican principles to the extent that he removed an abbé who subscribed to these same ideals. The affair was an astonishing instance of how an inspector could impose his will and of how this will could be so arbitrary.

Under these conditions, the Central Commission could never be more than a club which abided by what a particular inspector might suggest. The initiative that he could assume and the willingness of the Commission to back his word irrespective of the circumstances hinted at an essential weakness of this body in face of the multitude of pressures which came to bear upon it.

as de Champenax, the need to distribute patronage, the inability to find a loyal ally among the members of the Senate, the consequent necessity to convert himself into a clearing house for the failures in education.

IV.

Administrative centralization was nevertheless the hallmark of the Central Commission and it was better represented its

Far from the blind despotism and uninhibited militarism which de Lammenais saw, the Imperial University was a highly informal, loosely organized body where ex-Oratorians and Doctrinaires recreated the practices of the old teaching orders, where the two young associates of Fontanes found ample room to display their political and religious conservatism.

Buried in the recesses of the University, the Central Commission itself epitomized the old-fashioned habits that dominated in Paris, the preference for a club-like spirit, the distaste for bureaucratic paperwork. Here was no modern institution, but a remarkably informal group which put a premium on good fellowship and personal contact. Improvisation had brought about its existence and improvisation became its chief mode for ruling the twenty-five recteurs and their academies. Sitting around a table in the Palais Bourbon, the five members discussed the needs of the colleges and lycées, talked with teachers and principals visiting Paris, and rigorously examined the other inspectors-general. The limits of the Commission's power were manifold: the haphazard, almost careless way in which work was conducted, the slow, faulty communications with the recteurs, the free-wheeling ways of an inspector-general such

as de Champeaux, the need to distribute patronage, the inability to find a loyal clientele among the teachers of France, the consequent necessity to convert itself into a clearing house for the failures in education.

Administrative centralization was nevertheless the hallmark of the Central Commission and no one better represented its autocratic and highhanded ways than the young lawyer and intimate of Fontanes, Amboise Rendu. More than any other, Rendu imposed his special vision on French education, his peculiarly Parisian way of viewing life on the physiognomy of the disorganized school system. Here was a representative of the new generation of administrators bred under the Empire that was to exercise considerable power during the Restoration and July Monarchy. The irony lay in the fact that Rendu, politically conservative and profoundly religious, provoked a deep current of opposition within the departments. His dogmatism, his grasping for control, his use of incompetent teachers grated against the regionalism of early nineteenth century France, angered the principals of municipal colleges and bewildered the professors transferred.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PARIS AND THE ACADEMY OF ANGERS

1810-1814

to be a missionary on behalf of Paris and it was quite normal
that to find a teaching personnel who filled the high standards
that Antoine Baudouin and his colleagues so readily proposed.
The Ecole Normale was producing a procession of intellectual
lecturers known for their aggressive attitudes, but between
1812 and 1814 this group represented no more than fifty stu-
dents per year. The Central Commission in effect faced the
same dilemma as the provinces, that of recruiting a loyal
clientele from among provincial educators distinguished by
their loyalty to a region, their varied political pasts and
their relatively impoverished living conditions.

The teachers of France formed no solid phalanx
from which the Commission could choose devoted footsoldiers.
Rather they mirrored the same diversity that characterized
the principals of provincial France, being drawn from
from the lycees and universities along the same social
ladder of the entire nation. Consequently, the Commission
disgust and horror as they saw the same old faces and
retired administrators joined the ranks of the new teachers.

Latin. And the more disinterested among the professors watched in disapproval as former private teachers entered public education in the belief that money could be made.

I.

revolution in French education with material of such poor, uneven quality? What reason did the formula "advancement by merit alone" make in the light of a teaching personnel torn by quarrel? It was one thing to be an enthusiastic reformer, to be a missionary on behalf of Paris; but it was quite another to find a teaching personnel who fitted the high standards that Amboise Rendu and his colleagues so readily proposed. The Ecole Normale was producing a precocious set of intellectuals known for their aggressive attitudes, but between 1812 and 1814 this group represented no more than fifty students per year. The Central Commission in effect faced the same dilemma as the recteurs; that of recruiting a loyal clientele from among provincial educators distinguished by their loyalty to a region, their varied political pasts and their relatively impoverished living conditions.

The teachers of France formed no solid phalanx from which the Commission could choose devoted footsoldiers. Rather they mirrored the same diversity that characterized the principals of provincial France. Young students fresh from the lycées contemptuously taught alongside ageing ecclesiastics of the Ancien Régime. Ex-Oratorians looked on in disgust and horror as former soldiers, bankrupt merchants and retired administrators joined their ranks in the classes for

Latin. And the more disinterested among the professors watched in disapproval as former private teachers entered public education in the belief that money could be made.

How then was the Central Commission to effect a revolution in French education with material of such poor, uneven quality? What sense did the formula "advancement by merit alone" make in the light of a teaching personnel torn by quarrels and rivalries, demoralized by the grinding conditions of existence and harassed by an often suspicious municipality? This was the dilemma facing Amboise Rendu and his colleagues during the Empire.

This became the hectic period in the life of the Imperial University, the season of intrigues, of appeals, of trips to Paris by hopeful candidates. The Commission seemingly came into its own as a ruling body. It discussed and approved the *tableaux d'organisation* for each of the thirty-six provincial schools; it saw the notes that the inspectors-general gave each professor, the comments of the recteurs and the recommendations of local notables; on the strength of these it decided which teacher would be sent where.

The Commission entered into a much more sweeping program than the mere appointment or promotion of local candidates. The reform of education meant transferring the better professors from the small villages into the larger ones, and from the larger ones into the lycées. The prefect of the Haute-Marne bitterly accused the University of wrecking the College of Chaumont through this policy when the first year

1. Arch. Nat.: F. 17. 2535. Prefect of the Haute-Marne to the Grand-Master, 1815.

II.

The most direct form of contact between the Central Commission and the schools of France was the agonizing process of promoting and demoting teachers, a process that began early in July and ended shortly before November. This became the hectic period in the life of the Imperial University, the moment of intrigues, of appeals, of trips to Paris by hopeful candidates. The Commission seemingly came into its own as a ruling body. It discussed and approved the tableau d'organisation for each of the thirty-six municipal schools; it saw the notes that the inspectors-general gave each professor, the comments of the recteurs and the recommendations of local notables; on the strength of these it decided which teacher would be sent where.

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8235; Prefect of the Haute-Marne to the Grand-Master, 1815.

professors, all veterans of the Ancien Régime or the Ecoles Centrales, received chairs in the Lycées of Besançon, Douai and Nancy. The best principal in the Academy of Angers became professor of rhetoric in the Lycée at the chef-lieu.¹ Throughout France the best teachers were snatched away from the colleges to man the ill-attended lycées, causing one mayor to thunder, "Parce qu'on manque de sujets pour les établissements nationaux, on veut renverser les écoles privées ou communales, les collèges formés à grands frais par les villes."² The process was very much a two-way street. In the house-cleaning of the lycées, the old and the impotent were pawned into the municipal schools. College of Evreux.

The lycées furnished a second contingent as well. Young graduates, fresh from the final course in philosophy, began to filter into the municipal colleges as teachers of the classes of grammar. Products of the imperial lycées where uniforms and drums provided a martial backdrop, these young Bonapartists, teachers upon whom the Commission heavily relied, offended their more conservative, knowledgeable superiors. At Saint-Dizier, a graduate of the Lycée of Limoges quarreled repeatedly with the principal, a crusty priest, until the former was removed.³

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-15; Mayor of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, December, 1809.

2. Arch. Dept.; Morbihan; 183-T-552; Mayor to Recteur, 23 September, 1810.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8566; Report of the inspector-general d'Andrezel, 18 February, 1811.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8641; The Recteur to Grand-Master, 27 June, 1812.

Nevertheless, the Commission bowed, more often than not, to the strongest pressures that came to bear upon it; and here we see how the patronage system that developed as a result offended provincial France.

A small but important portion of the dossiers which crossed the desks of the Commission came from recommendations made by officials in Paris or the departments. The prefects of the Empire put forward a variety of candidates, men who had been their tutors during the Ancien Régime or men with whom they had worked during the Revolution or the Consulate. That of the Eure lobbied for his former mentor, now seventy-three years of age, for principal of the College of Evreux.¹ The prefect of the Nord, the well connected Comte de Brigode, had his ageing and incompetent ex-tutor named principal of the College of Cambrai.² That of the Lot-et-Garonne secured the nomination of a distinguished priest and close friend to the College of Agen, but only after a lengthy conversation with Fontanes.³ The prefect of the Var persuaded Paris to appoint a protégé as professor, although the man was described by the principal as a walking skeleton.⁴

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8380; Report of the Recteur to Grand-Master, 1811.

2. Arch. Dept.: Nord; T-572; Report of the Recteur to Grand-Master, December, 1812. The administrative bureau fiercely opposed the appointment and the principal-to-be pessimistically wrote the recteur, "Au milieu de mes travaux... je pense souvent au lit de ronces et d'épines que me préparent ces MM. de Cambrai.", 15 October, 1812.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8203; Letter of the Prefect of the Lot-et-Garonne to Fontanes, 10 November, 1810.

4. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8643; The Recteur to Grand-Master, 27 June, 1812.

Senators and deputies accounted for a number of recommendations such as a Saint-Jean-d'Angély or a Clément de Ris. One senator, the Comte d'Hedonville, exercised his mighty influence to place his highly social but utterly incompetent nephew as principal of the College of Laon.¹ The Comte de Barthelémy, equally an influential senator, had the tutor of his nephew named to a class in the College of Saint-Quentin.² Political etiquette meant less than the name and the importance of the individual extending his protection; thus the Comte Dupont could have an ageing married priest sent to the school in the Academy of Dijon,³ despite protests from the mayor.

More important than the patronage of imperial functionaries was that of the inspectors-general themselves, men who dispensed positions to their old comrades in the colleges of the Ancien Régime with all the largess that memories can bring. This one fact offers a full measure of the old-fashioned attitudes that dominated in Paris. The scientist Despaulx anxiously shepherded through the nomination of one friend although he freely confessed, "Je ne l'ai pas vu depuis trente ans."⁴ He embarked another acquaintance, a parish priest in his sixties, to the College of Saintes,

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8419; Report of de Champeaux, 10 December, 1812.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8617; Report of de Champeaux, 1812.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8566; Tableau d'organisation, 1812.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1628; Despaulx in a note to the Central Commission.

much to the distress of the principal.¹ De Champeaux could send an intimate from the emigration to the College of Abbeville, a fact that aroused considerable local opposition; Joubert attended to the nomination of his own chosen few;² and Petitot placed an old friend as principal of the important college of Angoulême.

The most important lobby among the inspectors was that of the former Doctrinaires and Oratorians, a network of ties that survived the upheaval of the Revolution. The consideration that the ex-members among the inspectors enjoyed may be gaged from the oft repeated notation, "He is guaranteed by M. Balland" or "by M. Villar".³ Balland recalled one ex-confrère as a superb teacher, discovered that he was a des-servant in a small town, and had him named principal of a college without consulting the man.⁴ He took another friend, seventy-two years old, from a municipal school and made him censeur of the Lycée of Besançon.⁵ The abbé Roman did not lag in scattering his ailing friends across the schools of

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8388; Note of the Central Commission, letters of the abbé Cazes, who encouraged a hostile principal: "En butte à mille traits, exposé à milles attaques sourdement dirigées contre moi, que deviendrai-je?" May-June, 1812.
2. Tessenneau, pp. 319-320.
3. Arch. Nat.: F; Registers of the Personnel; Commission of Colleges, 1810.
4. Arch. Nat.: F 17 9119; Report of the Inspectors-general Petitot and Roger; 1812. "Nous l'avons trouvé en guerre ouverte avec les autorités...Son caractère est turbulent et son ton grossier."
5. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7722; Recteur of Besançon to Grand-Master, 8 September, 1811.

France. One ex-Oratorian complained to the abbé that he was vegetating in a small municipal college and thereupon received a chair in the Lycée of Moulins.¹ The brother of a former Doctrinaire secured a class in the college of Le Puy.²

In deciding the annual promotions, the Central Commission had to sort through an immense number of recommendations. The patronage of inspectors or of officials and dignitaries, represented only a small if important portion. By far, the weight of the material came from letters of principals, mayors, sub-prefects and notables; and it is here that this body seemingly had the opportunity to assuage local feelings.

Promotion within a municipal college was a perfunctory process as long as local authorities concurred. The Commission saw only the notation, "recommended by principal and mayor", with the date of birth and a vague assessment of the teacher's talent, a singularly uninformative document. Considering themselves spokesmen for local interests, the recteurs passed along the recommendations with no elucidating comment, and on occasion the irritated Commission sent back a sharp letter demanding further details.

Only when town officials disagreed was there a surfacing of material that gave the isolated Commission at

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8496; Dossier on Guillebault, 1811; Guillebault had a nervous breakdown at Moulins and was transferred to the College of Nevers.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8532; Report on de Maurin by the Principal of Le Puy, 1813.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8532; Report of Aiz to the Grand-Maître, April, 1810, and subsequent correspondence.

least a partial view. Thus at Autun, the vacancy of the principate split the town into rival factions, each supporting a different candidate; and a mountain of letters piled up in the offices of the Commission.¹ A wholly different category of promotions and demotions existed however that brought the Commission into conflict with local feeling. The colleges of France were in constant turmoil -- teachers quarreling with their principals, professors fighting among themselves, political disputes, questions of morality, occasional bankruptcies among principals, a host of problems that the Commission was called upon to solve each year. ~~The~~^{Trans}fering universitaires from one college to another became the standard procedure for cutting the Gordian knot. And although this approach became a crutch which allowed the Commission to restore discipline and order, it also produced a fresh wave of resentment on the part of these towns which received the men transferred. A professor in a college of the North who spited his principal by taking a room in a disreputable inn soon found himself in a small, backward school of the Vendée.² At Angoulême, the request of the town council that a social-minded young teacher be removed was followed by his nomination elsewhere.³ At Toulon, the bitter quarrel between two former Oratorians ended with the transfer of one.⁴ An ex-soldier at Lunéville who

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8236; Durand Affair, 1812.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8388; Dossier on Monnet-Patrois, 1812.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8217; Principal to the recteur, November, 1811.
 4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8632; Recteur of Aix to the Grand-Master, April, 1810; and subsequent correspondence.

called the principal a foul name before the students suddenly discovered himself in an obscure college of the Academy, with a noticeable drop in salary.¹

In cases of morality, the Commission discreetly put the accused in another school rather than go through the tedious and embarrassing process of a public inquiry to establish guilt. One social-minded young man in the Midi became involved in an affair with another man's wife and soon found himself in a college in the north of France.² When a teacher in the Academy of Bourges fathered a child, he received a convenient nomination to another academy.³ A professor at Saumur was continually inebriated but the Commission only decided to place him under a "chef qui lui inspire la crainte."⁴

The Commission was particularly attentive to those accused of political misdoings. Often a municipality denounced a married or assermenté priest as irreligious, revolutionary, and just as often Amboise Rendu or another inspector had the man sent into a town where his past was not known. Thus a married priest purged from the College of Niort in 1810 was offered a post in the liberally-oriented College of Sainte-

1. Arch. Dept.; Meurthe-et-Moselle; College of Lunéville; Dossier on Ottin. 1812.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8201; Report of de Champeaux, 30 November, 1812.

3. Arch. Dept.; Cher; College of Saint-Amand; Recteur to Grand-Master, 1811.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; Report of the recteur, October, 1811.

Brieuc;¹ a married priest at Saint-Girons was "exiled" to the College of Chaumont.² Indeed the University found its most loyal clientele in this dispossessed class of men, so utterly dependent on the favor of the Grand-Master.

At pains to recapture the Oratorian ideal of a generous paternalism, the Central Commission could show a vast tolerance for the undisciplined and the incompetent among the professorial corps. The Commission pictured itself as an immensely wise father distributing praise where it was due, rebuking those who strayed from the grave, sober path, but rarely using the rod to punish the noisy, the unruly, the indolent. In facing the multiple problems of education, Rendu and the inspectors therefore found it necessary to use as the money of exchange between the schools of France the rootless, the penniless, the troublesome, men with liabilities, those willing to sacrifice ties of family and locality. The Gallican and conservative Commission became a vast clearing-house for all those with particular needs -- adventurers, semi-failures, the insubordinate, bankrupts, political outcasts, aged ex-Oratorians in search of sinecures.

Paris was showing itself benevolent, yet the towns of France flinched at the men transferred into their colleges.

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8497; The married priest refused to leave Niort and opened a private school in the hopes of valling the college.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8575; Notes of the Central Commission, June, 1810.

III.

More so than most academies in the Empire, that of Angers stretched across a strongly insular region, a backwater in the stream of economic progress, the epitome of provincial France where the pulse of life was slow and where the spirit of clericalism isolated the three departments from the more advanced ideas and turmoil of the capital.¹ This was an area where tradition and regional loyalties retained their primitive force, where the towns regarded with suspicion the stranger from beyond, unfamiliar with their way of life and often carrying an intellectual baggage that was suspect.

The groundswell of resentment towards new teachers from outside the region was only a manifestation of a greater grievance, the dislike of the tightening control of Paris over provincial France. The towns of the West, however, liberal or "revolutionary", fiercely resented the near-stranglehold of the central government over municipal finances; they groaned

1. McManners, J.: French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime, 1965. The first chapter contains an excellent description of Anjou at the close of the eighteenth century. The articles of Uzereau in l'Anjou Historique build up the same powerful impression of insularity at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

under the increasing demands of conscription and begrudged the prefects for their new severity. The Central Commission and its policies became one more wound inflicted on regional pride, a wound that cut across the political spectrum.

Although the Maine-et-Loire, the Mayenne, and the Sarthe produced an insufficient number of teachers to fill their own schools, the principals of the municipal colleges shrank back in horror at the idea of Paris sending strangers into their schools. Nowhere was this reflex stronger than at the College of Le Mans, a shelter for ex-revolutionaries who had taught in the Maine and Anjou before the Revolution. "Si vous laissez la place vide," warned the inspector when the third form fell vacant, "on en enverra de Paris qui pourrait bien déplaire à tout le monde: ce qu'il faut éviter avec le plus grand soin."¹

In the Mayenne, the directors of Château-Gontier and Laval outbid each other in the effort to resist the personnel sent by Paris. The abbé Moreau, director of what amounted to a petit séminaire, was incredulous that the University would dare usurp his right to choose his own professors, a right that he had exercised since 1776. Indeed the Central Commission made only one unsuccessful attempt. In 1812, the Commission named an Alsactian to the third form, a timid creature whom F.

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-4; Report of the inspecteur d'académie, June, 1812.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Report of F. Cuvier, 31 January, 1812. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 1-T-2/15; Principal to the recteur, June, 1812.

Cuvier recommended for a "petit ville de province."¹ Within three months of Outhier's arrival, the principal had driven him to resignation.

The reaction of the abbé de Biagult to a stranger placed at Laval was even more explosive. The nomination of a Breton to the sixth form in October 1810 upset his plans to promote a teacher in the class below. To the former Oratorian on the Central Commission, Balland, the principal poured out his griefs: "On dirait que M. Gueneau se croit obligé en conscience à les (professors) traiter de manière à dégouter," he acidly wrote, "Il peut se faire qu'il ne les estime ni les aime; mais assurément c'est qu'il ne les connaît pas."¹ Amboise Rendu handed the blistering letter to Gueneau de Mussy for comment. The latter observed that the head of a school always deserved to be heard no matter his tone.

The principals of the Academy of Angers, while instinctively biased against strangers, were right to be on their guard. The teaching personnel sent by Paris was of ragged quality, the flotsam of public and private education, men who had failed as teachers, men who had quarreled with their superiors, men who lacked roots in one town or region. The currency of exchange between the colleges of the West was generally of inferior quality, dented and warped by broken lives and frustrated ambitions. De Bigault had reason to become excited. The new professor of first form in 1810 was a student of the Ecole Centrale of Saint-Brieuc, a product of the

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8421; Principal of Laval to Balland, October, 1810.

generation of the Revolution who retained the more advanced pedagogy as well as the politics. His presence only contributed to stiffen clerical opposition to the school.¹ In 1812, a professor at the Faculty of Letters in Paris, the *Idéologue* Laromiguière, asked Villar to place an acquaintance in a college. The ex-Doctrinaire embarked a former lawyer to Laval, where he was to teach philosophy.² In 1814, when the class of philosophy was re-instituted, the University named an ex-principal of Blois who had lost 32,000 francs in that establishment and whose removal had been demanded by the mayor.³ That same year, a new professor of mathematics was appointed, a former teacher in the Midi accused of adultery. De Bigault found all three to be detriments to the reputation of the hard-pressed College of Laval.

All but four of the seventeen other colleges remained free of men from beyond the three departments. Two of the exceptions were the Colleges of Mamers and Chateauduloir. In the latter, the appointment of a new professor in 1811 illustrated how the old-fashioned system of patronage fostered resentment of the centralization of the University. The sixty-nine year old Clot had been greffier at the Châteauneuf of Paris

1. Ibid.; Principal of Laval to Recteur of Angers, October, 1815.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8211; Report on Nicole in the documents for the College of Laval, 1812.

3. Ibid.; F 17 8229; Report of Rendu on the Principal of Blois, July, 1811.

Ibid.; F 17 8421; Note on the ex-principal of Blois, October, 1815.

before the Revolution, then commissioner for the Seine in the inventorying of goods confiscated from émigrés. During the Consulate, he had tutored the sons of a future proviseur of the Lycée Impérial, and the latter repaid the debt by seeing him named first to Niort, then to Chateauduloir. Clot was scarcely able to walk, could not keep discipline in a class of seven boys, and, in the words of the principal, was "bien inutile au collège."¹

The one other college in the Academy that received a substantial number of strangers was that of Saumur. Located in the fertile eastern end of the Maine-et-Loire, a town that had a prosperous middle-class, the college promised to become one of the leading establishments in the West. Paris insured its ruin by placing in it a collection of dispossessed maîtres-de-pensions, men of frustrated ambition, failures who entertained exalted visions of their own worth. In 1811, the new professor of the fifth form was a bankrupt maître-de-pension from Paris who cultivated with exaggerated pride his literary pretensions. "Il se regarde comme le premier écrivain, le premier érudit de nos jours," complained an inspector, "Il n'accorde de talent à personne."² Regarding the post of third at Saumur as a bitter exile, he balked the authority of the

1. Ibid.; F 17 8497; Report on Clot for nomination to the College of Niort, 18 October, 1810. Arch. Dept., Maine-et-Loire; TT; Principal of the College of Chateauduloir to Recteur of Angers, 18 November, 1811.

2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-5; Report of the inspecteur d'academie, 16 April, 1813.

principal and discoursed endlessly before the students of his trips, his works and of his grandiose plans for the future. While Chiron was something of a comic figure, his colleagues in the second form had a more legitimate grievance. The fifty-four-year-old Thomas directed a leading private school at Rennes until the competition of the lycée and the ecclesiastical school forced him into closing. Fontanes promised the bankrupt teacher the direction of a college or at least a chair of rhetoric, but offered the second form of Saumur while waiting for a place to open.¹ After two years at Saumur, Thomas suddenly disappeared. "N'ai-je pas fait assez de sacrifices?", he bitterly explained to Mazure, "Le noviciat ou l'essai que j'ai bien voulu faire pour m'attacher à l'Université Impériale me coute trop cher pour le prolonger encore."² On a salary of 800 francs, he had had to transport all his goods from Rennes. In disgust and burdened by new debts, he resigned.

The greatest blunder of the Central Commission was to accept the recommendation of the recteur of Rennes and make a bankrupt maître-de-pension at distant Brest the principal of Saumur. Once the abbé Delande retired in 1812, the recteur was at a loss for someone to direct the school and turned briefly to the former Vendean soldier who was finishing his days in the College of Cholet. The Central Commission named the fifty-one-year-old Laurent, a layman who had been in

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8603; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 18 September, 1813.

2. Ibid.: Professor to the Recteur of Angers, 21 September, 1813.

the minor orders before 1789, instructor on a republican vessel during the Revolution, and for the past ten years maître-de-pension in the port town of Brest.¹ Laurent had an almost Rousseau-like conception of discipline that grated against the stern traditions of a town proud of its former Oratorian college. The municipal council accused him of wasting money on banquets for the students, of feeding them too rich a diet, and of siding with them against the professors.² The inspector too confirmed that Laurent outrageously spoiled the students; "Il les flatte; il les craint; il leur donne toujours raison."³

Through its policies of promotion and demotion, the Central Commission was managing to alienate even a liberal town such as Saumur, a pillar of public education in a religious and royalist region. The backlog of ill-will accumulating against Paris was much more than a nostalgic longing for municipal rights; it was a blunt recognition that a college rarely benefited from the men sent into it. The griefs against the capital were as much social and regional as they were political and religious, although the latter helped dramatize the former. The result was a groundswell of opinion in the Academy of Angers and throughout France against the Imperial University, a groundswell that threatened to carry it off in 1814.

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1435; Tableaux du Personnel, 1813.
 2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-15; Mayor of Saumur to Recteur of Angers, 16 November, 1814.
 3. Ibid.; Report of the inspecteur d'académie; 3 March, 1814.

house for the failures of public education. The kind of man who asked to be transferred was the misfit who had not pleased. And the paternal Commission found itself strengthening France decrepit and senile with IV. years, bankrupt private teachers, quarulous laymen, former revolutionaries in political difficulty, or adventurers looking for greener pastures.

This then was the reality behind the raised outcry. During the Empire, the Central Commission initiated a considerable movement of professors from one department to another. The municipal college would have gladly welcomed a well-trained, competent teacher had they been sent. The system suffering from acute sclerosis. The compartmentalization of education that so distinguished the Consulate and Empire began to break down in the face of teachers from distant parts of France entering once self-contained schools where the protest was not against a centralized machinery for transferring teachers, but against the kind of teachers that were discovered that the power to promote or demote professors at

will evaporated in the face of the Commission's insistence on reviewing each and every case. They found themselves having to deal with strangers in their establishments, men whom they did not know and whom they often felt to be rivals or misfits. Commission could be a courtier at times, ingratiating itself. And teachers began to find that the era of comfortable existence with municipal or departmental authorities. At other times in one town had ended. Orders now arrived commanding that they uproot themselves and their families to move to distant places where names and faces were unfamiliar.

Yet this major development, which historians have frequently remarked, did not mean that the Imperial University and protect those whose loyalty was to itself. On the contrary, the Central Commission had converted itself into a clearing-checked careers.

house for the failures of public education. The kind of man who asked to be transferred was the misfit who had not pleased. And the paternal Commission found itself shepherding across France decrepit and senile professors, bankrupt private teachers, querulous laymen, former revolutionaries in political difficulty, or adventurers looking for greener pastures.

This then was the reality behind the pained outcries of principals and towns as they saw strangers placed in their schools. The municipal college would have gladly welcomed well-trained, competent teachers had they been sent, for the teaching corps as a whole was a pathetic, ill-educated lot. But the towns and principals vastly resented this dropping of the less desirable elements of the corps into their schools. The protest was not against a centralized machinery for transferring teachers, but against the kind of teachers that were sent.

Ultimately the Central Commission had no plans for reforming the teaching corps of France. If there were demotions and transfers, change had no single direction. The Commission could be a courtier at times, ingratiating itself with municipal or departmental authorities. At other times, it was an instrument of patronage, riding roughshod over the needs of a college. It could be a snappish defender of the Gallican tradition or it could cave in before the demands of the more intransigent of the clergy. It could reach down and protect those whose revolutionary past made them open targets or it could send the bolt of lightning which ended their checkered careers.

Yet a new pattern was emerging. The inspectors-general and the Commission were pushing themselves to the center of each affair, however small. They were making themselves the arbiters of each feud, of each problem; their deliberations were the ultimate court of appeal in the magistracy of education. The influence of Paris over the provincial college was growing and expanding, although in no organized fashion. And the inevitable consequence was friction with local authorities from mayor to principal.

CHAPTER EIGHT

UNIVERSITY, MINISTERS AND COUNCIL OF STATE

THE DECREE OF 15 NOVEMBER, 1811

Between 1810 and 1812, a small-scale revolution occurred within French education that made the first years of existence seem but a prelude to the real operation of the Imperial University. A massive upheaval took place during these two years that saw all French children, whether in public or private schools, placed in uniform, that saw ecclesiastical schools subjected to the authority of the Grand-Master, and that saw all students in the private sector of education forced to attend the nearest public school for the upper classes. From its erratic activities of the early days, the Central Commission became a much more disciplined, a much more powerful and a much more feared body.

The origins of this amazing revolution lay in the Decree of 15 November, 1811, which redefined the powers of the Imperial University in explicit fashion. The system of education began to take on a coloration that reflected the increasingly authoritarian temper of the Empire, and historians have generally attributed this remarkable step of legislation to a Napoleon Bonaparte, who had become impatient with the slow progress made by the Grand-Master and who had wished to check the growing power of the clergy. This explanation

subscribed to by Catholics and liberal historians alike, has not only done a great injustice to the role of the Central Commission but mistakes the chief purpose of the measure. The November Decree was nothing less than an attempt by the technocrat I. to bring public education to cor-

rect the ills of the Imperial University, with the Emperor responding. Between 1812 and 1814, a small-scale revolution occurred within French education that made the first years of existence seem but a prelude to the real operation of the Imperial University. A massive upheaval took place during these two years that saw all French children, whether in public or private schools, placed in uniform, that saw ecclesiastical schools subjected to the authority of the Grand-Master, and that saw all students in the private sector of education forced to attend the nearest public school for the upper classes. From its erratic activities of the early days, the Central Commission became a much more disciplined, a much more powerful and a much more feared body.

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subscribed to by Catholic and liberal historians alike, has not only done a great injustice to the role of the Central Commission but mistakes the chief purpose of the measure. The November Decree was nothing less than an attempt by the technicians inside public education to correct the ills of the Imperial University, with the Emperor responding to their appeals only as these fitted his political designs.

After the 1806-1807, the Imperial University was determined to win the adhesion to the Empire of the nobility of the Ancien Régime and shift the weight of government onto the well-entrenched notables of France. The purge of the magistracy in 1808, the creation of the Imperial nobility that same year, the increasing recruitment of prefects from among members of the old nobility, all portended the disappearance of the personnel of the Consulate and the emergence of a conservative-minded if not counter-revolutionary elite.¹

In its first year of operation, the Imperial University demonstrated that it was not out of step with the general movement of institutions. The sinister outlines of a purge, so-ordained in Paris and executed through certain of the provinces, seemed to be necessary and, although the number rejected or expelled during 1808 was small, each of the cases represented a political

1. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* (Paris, 1955), pp. 111-112.

II.

After the dazzling victories over Austria and Russia in 1806-1807, the increasingly conservative Bonaparte determined to win the adhesion to the Empire of the nobility of the Ancien Régime and shift the weight of government onto the well-entrenched notables of France. The purge of the magistracy in 1808, the creation of the imperial nobility that same year, the increasing recruitment of prefects from among members of the old nobility, and all portended the disappearance of the personnel of the Consulate and the emergence of a conservative-minded if not counter-revolutionary elite.¹

In its first year of operation, the Imperial University demonstrated that it was not out of step with the general movement of institutions. The sinister outlines of a purge, co-ordinated in Paris and executed through certain of the recteurs, seemed to be emerging; and, although the number removed or demoted during 1810 was small, each of the cases represented a cause célèbre

1. Lefebvre, G.: Napoléon: (Paris, 1955), pp. 365-400.

for a particular region. The Academy of Toulouse shook under the heated exchange between the recteur and the principal of Saint-Girons, a married priest who had been the former's political enemy during the Directory.¹ In Brittany, the last outspoken champion of the Constitutional Church, principal of the College of Quimper, was excluded on the demand of the Bishop of Quimper.² The Academy of Clermont-Ferrand was turned upside down when Paris acceded to the demands of the prefect and bishop that the assermenté priest in charge of the college be removed.³ The Academy of Poitiers saw two married priests purged,⁴ and that of Angers went through the throes of disgorging the last constitutional bishop of the Mayenne, d'Orlodot, ardent republican who insisted on wearing a tricolor ribbon in his flowing hair.⁵

The purge of 1810, if it may be called that, had three distinct sources: local authorities who saw in the machinery of the new University a change to rid their schools

1. Arch. Nat.: F 12 8575; Reports of the recteur of Toulouse and of the inspector, 1810-1813. The administrative bureau valiantly fought to keep the man and, after he had been dismissed, refused to receive the new principal appointed by Paris.
2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8534; Report of Guaneau de Mussy; June 1809, and subsequent correspondence.
3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8532; Principal of Le Pay to the recteur of Clermont-Ferrand, 24 February, 1810. Report of the recteur, 4 August, 1810.
4. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8330; Principal of Civray to the recteur of Poitiers, June, 1810.
F 17 8889; Briquet Affair; report of the inspector, 1813.
5. See Chapter Four.

the Minister of the Interior in August, 1809, that he was to be the Grand-Master that he must correspond with the Emperor. He came to their new posts determined to carry out a white terror, particularly those of Poitiers and Toulouse; finally, a certain number of inspectors-general, like the young lettré, Gueneau de Mussy, who gave vent during 1809-1810 to their deep-seated prejudices.

The incipient purge did not meet with the Emperor's approval. Bonaparte's conservatism had sharp limits, and in 1810 the sharpest limit of all was his battle with the lower clergy. The annexation of the papal states, the transfer of Pius IX to Avarone, then his own divorce and remarriage were fast pushing the lower clergy into the royalism and the counter-revolution from which the Concordat had detached it. In the conservative West, Bonaparte had become more than ever the Anti-Christ; the Petite Eglise, the most subversive of all movements, made new headway among the pious peasantry.¹ In the southwest, Bonaparte had become the son of the Revolution, and a new royalist conspiracy, the aristocratic Chevaliers de la Foi, sprang up around Bordeaux and Toulouse.²

The purges apparently conducted by Louis Fontanes, coryphée of the "counter-revolutionaries" in Paris, could only strengthen a disloyal clergy. In the climax to the Quimper Affair, Napoleon showed his profound irritation by instructing

1. Billaud, A.: La Petite Eglise dans la Vendée et les Deux-Sèvres; (Paris, 1964), pp. 288-370.

2. Bertier de Sauvigny: Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier et l'Enigme de la Congrégation, 1948; first chapter.

3. Melchior-Bonnet, B.: Savary, pp. 144-209.

the Minister of the Interior in August, 1810, "Tell the Grand-Master that he must correspond with prefects, not bishops, that he must cease making education a matter of coteries and religion."¹

On 15 November, 1811, fourteen months later, a new decree dramatically appeared to limit severely the activity of the petits séminaires of France as well as to reorganize the Imperial University. Who was responsible? A chorus of historians has traditionally replied, Napoleon Bonaparte.² On the surface, the weight of the evidence seems to confirm the unequivocal assertion.

In the wake of the Quimper Affair, Bonaparte initiated three secret inquiries into the life of the University, inquiries which testified to the deceased suspicions within the central government as well as to the clumsy, offensive methods used to probe them. On 17 July, then again on 24 September, 1810, the new Minister of Police, the crude and pretentious Savary,³ demanded that the prefects report on the professors within their departments and on whether the "Glorious History of the Fourth Dynasty" was being taught. Arriving between October and November, the replies confirmed the strong competition of the ecclesiastical establishments; the prefect of Clermont-Ferrand gloomily confessed the petit

1. Ponteil, F.: Histoire de l'Enseignement Secondaire, 1789-1965; (Paris, 1967), p. 148.

2. Lefebvre; Napoléon; p. 420. Ponteil; Histoire de l'Enseignement; p. 150. Schmidt, C.; La réforme de l'Université impériale en 1811; (Paris, 1905), pp. 40-47.

3. Melchoir-Bonnet, B.; Savary, Duc de Rovigo; 1962; pp. 144-209.

séminaire of his department to have 435 students while the lycée, a meager 124. Yet of the 56 responses which survive, 38 reported an excellent political opinion in both public and private schools; 14 expressed a mixed one, while four qualified it as bad.¹ Of the four, at least one was only expressing the resentment of the prefect at the loss of power occasioned by the creation of the Academy, and not surprisingly this disgruntled individual was the prefect of the Sarthe. Auvray vigorously denounced the recteur of Angers for acquiring too much power and for sending questionnaires to the mayors of the Sarthe without his knowledge or authorization; "Ainsi voilà les maires détournés de leur centre naturel pour correspondre sans intermédiaires avec une autorité qui a sa marche et ses agents indépendants de l'autorité administrative," he sputtered.²

The other two surveys initiated by Napoleon revealed no systematic disloyalty on the part of functionaries of the University, although Pelet de la Lazère, director of police charge with investigating the academic councils, emphasized the high proportion of former émigrés as well as illiterate army officers on them. Réal, director of police for the first arrondissement, reported in early 1811 that the petits séminaires were threatening to annihilate certain lycées.³

1. Grimaud, L.; Histoire de la Liberté de l'Enseignement en France. Vol. 3, pp. 328-361.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8111; Prefect of the Sarthe to the Minister of the Interior, 13 October, 1810.

3. Grimaud, op. cit.

three hundred boarding boys (most had around one hundred);

Suspicion of Fontanes and his policies was less and that of creating fifty new lycées throughout the Empire, the cause than the excuse for the Emperor to reform the dis-

organized University, for he had come to see education as the historian Alphonse Aulard and his disciples see the final part of a larger problem, that concerning the French clergy.

The exile of those Cardinals who refused to attend the imperial wedding in April 1810, had signalled the malaise within Paris.

Bonaparte's naming of bishops without the Pope's canonization view as well. At long last, public education received the

witnessed a certain agitation of the part of chapters throughout France. The hostility of the lower clergy to the Empire,

the spread of ultramontane doctrines in ecclesiastical schools, and the flocking of boys into seminaries to escape conscription

increasingly worried an irritable Napoleon. In the diocese of Paris, the ultramontane vicar-general, d'Astros, openly op-

posed the newly appointed Cardinal Maury by circulating two pontifical letters disapproving of Maury's nomination. At the

New Year's Day ceremony, 1 January, 1811, Napoleon made a regulating private schools were no less rigorous. All noisy scene in front of the Chapter of Paris and had d'Astros imprisoned at Vincennes.¹

Desiring to deliver a decisive check to the clergy, Napoleon abruptly summoned the Council of the University before

him on 23 February, 1811. He read a brief note, then departed. The note, entered into the minutes of the Council, instructed

that this body draw up a decree incorporating three basic goals; that of limiting the petits séminaires in France to

only one per diocese, or fifty instead of the present one hundred forty; that of insuring that each lycée have at least

1. Leflon, J.; La Crise Révolutionnaire, (Paris, 1951), p.262.

of law. This then was the authoritarian structure that so three hundred boarding boys (most had around one hundred); staunchly and successfully resisted the numerous attempts to dismantle it until the Second Empire.¹

So antagonistic to the Emperor and his "despotism," the historian Alphonse Aulard and his disciples see the final product, the Decree of 15 November 1811, as the supreme expression of Napoleon's will.² Catholic historians, anxious defenders of freedom of education, have adopted this point of view as well. At long last, public education received the teeth that it so desperately needed, and in the process, a highly centralized, bureaucratic machine was created, a veritable "monster" liberal and Catholic historians have often cried. The section dealing with the petit séminaires not only limited these establishments to one per department but required that their seminarists attend all classes of the nearest public school and that those schools in the countryside move to a town with a lycée or college. The dispositions regulating private schools were no less rigorous: all students had to attend the classes of public schools; the larger ones, the institutions, lost all classes above the fourth form; the smaller ones, the pensions, all above the fifth form; boarding students above the age of nine had to leave the schools until the empty beds in the colleges were filled. In addition to these revolutionary steps, the bulk of the decree spelled out the right of the University to take any member, from private teacher to principal, into the courts

1. Schmidt, C.: La réforme de l'Université impériale en 1811; p. 34.

2. Aulard, A.: Napoléon 1^{er} et le monopole universitaire; (Paris, 1911), pp. 306.

of law. This then was the authoritarian structure that so staunchly and successfully resisted the numerous attempts to dismantle it until the Second Empire.

Who was responsible for the extreme centralization of powers? In reality, the Emperor and the Council of State laid down only the groundwork for the section on the petits séminaires, and this was a small, very small portion of the decree. The greater part of the measure was in fact the brainchild of Amboise Rendu, Georges Cuvier, Gueneau de Mussy, and the Oratorians and Doctrinaires on the Central Commission. The decree was the highest expression of the ideals held by both the professors of the Ancien Régime and the young Parisian administrators among the inspectors-general.

The November Decree was no more than the end point of a series of proposals successively made by a frustrated University since 1809. In the spring of that year, Bonaparte had received an anxious deputation of councilors who presented a plan for strengthening the jurisdiction of the Grand-Master over private teachers, particularly for the non-payment of the school tax. But the suspicious Council of State sidetracked the issue by raising a number of problems on the manner of prosecution.¹ On 29 May, 1810, the University returned to the charge. A report to the Emperor described the daily rebuffs to its authority: the maîtres-de-pension who taught without authority, refused the tax and

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 12818; Minutes of the Council of the University; Project de Mémoire à sa Majeste, 29 May, 1810.

laughed at orders to close their doors, as well as the principals of colleges who refused to send the myriad charts and tables on financial matters. The report suggested that public education be endowed with its own tribunals, its own apparatus for dispensing justice, an idea reminiscent of the eighteenth century corporations.¹ Already an arrêté on 10 October, 1810 had required that all students in private and ecclesiastical schools attend the lycées and colleges, thereby revealing the determination of the Central Commission to educate French youth on the official curriculum of the University and thus re-establish the relationship that had existed under the Ancien Régime between private schools and universities.²

The persistent demands of the Grand-Master for a decree strengthening the jurisdiction of the University were gratified in December, 1810, when the Emperor instructed that a draft measure be prepared for his study. In January, Fontanes presented a bulky project crammed full of dispositions concerning the rights of public education to prosecute wayward members of the University for everything from refusal to pay the school tax to refusal to obey the October arrêté.³ It was this document that provided the bulk of the decree, but Napoleon was less than satisfied. The project did not meet his

1. Ibid.

2. Quicherat, J.; Histoire de Sainte-Barbe; (Paris, 1864), p.95.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 19 3968; Rapports, Projets de Décret et Mémoires; Section de l'Intérieur; Rapporteur, de Régnaud; Première Rédaction, 29 March, 1811.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 12312; Rapport de la Commission de l'Université, 23 February, 1811.

2. Ibid.

desires to deliver a decisive check to the clergy, although ecclesiastical students would have been required to attend the lycées and colleges. In the famous meeting of February, he demanded the limitation of petits séminaires to one per diocese, as well as the creation of several new lycées.

Bonaparte and Napoleon also suggested that the remedy to the ills of the lycée was simply to lower the tuition both for day and boarding students,¹ a recommendation that he had been making since 1802. This brought an explosion of protests and counter-arguments from the councilors who saw it no solution to financial and administrative problems. Instead Amboise Rendu made a short speech on what he thought would "people" the lycées and in the process revealed the somewhat authoritarian cast of his mind; apply rigorously the school tax on private teachers, who attracted students by eluding it; limit the level of teaching in all private schools and require two years of study in a lycée before a student could be admitted for the examination of bachelor-of letters. A truly rigorous program that far exceeded what Napoleon had demanded. In a report to the Emperor some days later, Fontanes incorporated all four ideas.²

In the tug-of-war between the University and the Council of State, from February to November, the successive drafts of the decree, five in all, showed how far the debate was one between rival administrations and not over the basic requirements: the Council insisted on a clause calling for special surveillance by the prefects. The University objected

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 12819; Reports to the council of the University, 28 February, 1811.

2. Ibid.

and carried the day. The University wished to name the boursiers for the new lycées; the Council insisted that the Minister of the Interior had the right; it won. The University proposed two new lycées for Paris; the Council, four.¹ The councilors of the University, such as the abbé Emery, de Bonad, and the Bishop of Alais, were concerned by the limiting of petits séminaires to one for each department. Yet the inspectors-general seemed to have favored the measure. The fiercely Gallican abbé de Champeaux even submitted a draft that would have limited teaching in these schools to theology.² But the disposition that all students throughout France wear a uniform and march to the sound of a drum was accepted only with resignation and no uncertain bitterness. Indeed, Amboise Rendu allowed himself to reflect during the summer of 1811 that the system of endless wars was directly opposed to the interests of education.³ The clause requiring that all private schools be emptied of their boarding students over nine years seems to have been the doing of the Council of State. It was an unnecessarily severe measure that was to have unexpected consequences when applied.

The impatience of Napoleon, whose thinking had raced ahead to greater projects and broader plans, was made

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 19 3968; Rapports, Projects de Decret et Memoires; Successive drafts, March-November, 1811.
 2. Arch. Nat.; AJ 18 1; Project of the abbé de Champeaux for the ecclesiastical schools.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6808; Report to Fontanes, 1811.

painfully clear on 15 November, 1811, the day that he signed the decree. Whereas the final draft read that ecclesiastical schools in excess of one per department would be closed after a lapse of one year, the Emperor set the final date at 1 January, 1812, only 45 days away. He also scratched in the clause requiring that all ecclesiastical schools which had not moved from countryside to town by 1 July be closed and that their furniture and other goods be confiscated. The prefects were to be given special instructions to watch that the University did not flinch from confiscation.¹

Public education had won the powers of jurisdiction that it had been calling for. Napoleon had his measure against the petits séminaires. The period from 1812 to 1814 saw a remarkable centralization within the University and a formidable extension of its authority.

1. Arch. Nat.; AF IV 599-4738; Draft written out for the Emperor, 15 November, 1811. See Schmidt, La réforme de l'université impériale en 1811, pp. 37-39.

area which they had influenced before 1805. The Ministry of the Interior was especially offended by the presence of the ermine-draped Grand-Masters. Free and independent of the while the prefects complained of the Imperial University as a restorer of public education. They saw the University as felt it only right and just that the University be brought into line with the established authorities. The administrative rivalries and jealousies that had followed the November Decree a hectic, bitter period of struggle.

What can be said of the policies and actions of the University during this period?

III.

During 1810 and 1811, the Imperial University found itself under extreme pressure from Bonaparte and his ministers. On the one hand, the Emperor's suspicions were crudely political in nature, for had not Fontanes accorded the Church a special role in education? The circulars and letters of 1809 seemed to confirm this impression and the purges of 1810 offered additional proof. But the ministers of the government had quite different motives in seeking to undermine the juridicial status of the University, for they were determined to recover their de facto authority over an area which they had influenced before 1808. The Minister of the Interior was especially offended by the presence of an ermine-draped Grand-Master, free and independent of his will, while the prefects complained of the impervious ways of the recteurs of public education. Then too the Council of State felt it only right and just that the University be brought into line with the established hierarchy and so it was that administrative rivalries and quarrels made the drafting of the November Decree a hectic, bitter round of negotiations.

What can be said of the political attitudes and actions of the University during this period? It was true

that the inspectors-general as well as the councilors were disposed in favor of a Catholic education, but it was equally true that the purges of 1809-1810 represented an aberration. The initial months were ones of confusion in which the Central Commission was as yet groping for the reins of power; but, with consolidation of its authority, the Commission adopted a politically neutral attitude, for the presence of a socially-diverse personnel and the financial and administrative crisis required no less. Amboise Rendu and his colleagues were pre-occupied with the quest for survival in the face of hostile parents, recalcitrant principals and eccentric recteurs. The only means of remaining solvent was a careful disengagement from the burning issues of the day.

The Decree of 15 November, 1811, represented the work of technicians concerned with reinforcing the vague powers of a loosely-organized body. Young, ambitious and so eminently Parisian, Rendu and Gueneau de Mussy had a vision of imposing a national system of education on the confused topography of French schools. The students of the private schools would at last receive a standard education in the public establishments. The rebellious ways of provincial principals would be at an end. The financial underpinning of the University would be insured by a rigorous enforcement of the school tax. And the threat of Catholic establishments would be deftly parried, while the young seminarists would be forced to learn the treasured maxims of the Gallican faith. The November Decree was nothing less than the work of those passionate nationalists within education who foresaw an end to regional differences. The Central Commission was putting

CHAPTER NINE

PARIS AGAINST THE RECTEURS

THE APPLICATION OF THE NOVEMBER DECREE

1812-1814

1. Schœlcher, G.: *Le décret du 17 novembre 1812*, Paris, 1905, pp. 24-27.
2. Aulard, A.: *Le décret du 17 novembre 1812*, Paris, 1911, pp. 115-124.

I.

Was the Decree of 15 November, 1811, in fact applied?

Whenever the question of Church and State has been raised in French history, personal feelings begin to stir, polemics replace analysis, the politics of the present creeps into the history of the past. The literature surrounding the Decree is a classic example. In 1905, Charles Schmidt, a University professor, published an uncompromising thèse complémentaire that set the stage for later debate.¹ After detailing the origins of the decree, he went on to argue that the Grand-Master never enforced the legislation; that it remained a dead letter. In 1911, Alphonse Aulard applied his literary skills to this argument and produced the provocative thesis that Fontanes was a "traitor to the Emperor," a protector of the clergy, a secret royalist conscientiously working to undermine the rotting timbers of the Empire.² Catholic historians reply the contrary, and in their view the University

1. Schmidt, C.; La Réforme de l'Université Impériale en 1811, 1905, pp. 40-47.

2. Aulard, A.; Napoléon premier et le monopole universitaire; (Paris, 1911), pp. 310-314.

becomes the ogre that stamped out freedom of education; the tyrant that squeezed the life from ecclesiastical education.¹

While pointing out that the number of students in public schools increased from 38,000 in 1810 to 44,000 in 1813,

George Lefebvre argues that the application of the decree remained "incomplete" and that the ambiguous behavior of

Fontanes and his advisors was the prime reason.² Felix Ponteil takes this point of view as well.³

Yet these interpretations seem to miss the point. The more meaningful question is to ask what effect did the November Decree have on the decision-making process inside local authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical. For the first time, the heads of the associations were asked to carry out a policy which would bring them into conflict with local authorities. In what ways was the structure of the University altered by this major reform? These questions lead in turn to a more definite conclusion on the extent to which the decree was enforced during the last two years of the Empire.

1. Mathier, L.; Monseigneur Louis Belmas, ancien évêque constitutionnel de l'Aude, évêque de Cambras, 1757-1841; (Paris, 1934), 2 vol.
2. Lefebvre, G.; Napoléon; p. 420.
3. Ponteil, F.; Histoire de l'Enseignement, 1789-1965; pp. 150-159.

when needed. The various alliances among the university of 1812, the ex-Deputies, former parliamentarians, those seeking a prestigious education, at times, the authorities, flinched at the demands put forward by the Central Commission and the Council of State, precisely because they had no taste for battle with the clergy nor with the directors of private schools within their jurisdictions.

II.

Alexandre The application of the November Decree provoked a crisis in the relationship between the recteurs and Paris. For the first time, the heads of the academies were asked to carry out a policy which would bring them into conflict with local authorities, both civil and ecclesiastic. For the first time, men such as Desèzes, eminent doctor at Bordeaux, de Belissens, the leisurely ecclesiastic, Laporte Lalanne, of the haute bourgeoisie, were being asked to stand up in favor of unpopular measures. The beneficiaries of the patronage system in 1809 suddenly found themselves saddled with responsibilities. These men of wealth and leisure suddenly learned that they were expected to be tough-minded administrators, willing to negotiate where possible, able to coerce and bully when needed. The curious mélange among the universitaires of 1812, the ex-Doctrinaires, former parliamentarians, those seeking a prestigious sinecure, ex-émigrés, the anti-clerical, flinched at the monstrous system conjured up by the Central Commission and the Council of state, precisely because they had no taste for battle with the clergy nor with the network of private schools within their jurisdictions.

Since the disastrous Olitrault affair, the abbé Germe at Rennes had timidly followed a clerical policy and was too old and perhaps a bit senile to use the force necessary for the application of the decree.¹ The aristocratic abbé de Bellssens was too busy leading a full life among Poitevin society, soirées with the prefect, the bishop and members of the nobility, to dirty his hands by applying an unpopular decree.² Likewise the abbé de Champeaux at Orleans and Alexandre of Caen were either too weak or too much a part of the local notables to undertake so disagreeable a task.³

Outside the West, at Clermond-Ferrand, Aix and Amiens for example, the recteurs sent back nebulous reports, complained of the opposition of the clergy or local officials and sometimes entered into collusion with notables to by-pass the rigorous measure.

The most dramatic defiance of Paris occurred only sixty miles from the capital, at Rouen, the old port town of

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8890; Recteur of Rennes to the Grand-Master; June, 1811. Germé opposed the idea, then being voiced in Paris of closing the private schools of Nantes, "Dans la crainte fondée d'occasionner la ruine des maitres" His reports were generally filled with warnings that the measures and decrees of Paris ignored the special character of Brittany. See the register of correspondence of the recteur in the T series of the Departmental Archives of the Ille-et-Vilaine.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8822; In a letter dated 23 January, 1814, a private teacher thanked the recteur for his protection against "ces mesures affreuses dont vous avez tant de fois gémi ensemble d'être obligé de lui faire la tyrannique application..."
3. See Arch. Nat.; F 17 8897; Report of the recteur of Orleans, 27 November, 1812. The recteur of Orleans attempted to shield several maitres-de-pension in that town from Paris but without success.

the Seine. On 31 July, 1812, a circular went out from the capital laying down the line of action to be taken: the Lycée had only 127 boarding students and yet contained space for as many as 300. The private schools would have to disgorge some of their boarding boys as well as to send all of their day students to the classes of the lycée.¹ Yet who was to apply the circular? Certainly not the recteur, Laporte Lalanne, brother of the last intendent of the civil list, from the haute bourgeoisie of the Ancien Régime, and a frequenter of rallié society at Rouen. Nor would it be the inspector, Louis Faucon, protector of the refractory clergy during the Directory, a "dévot" during the Restoration, and himself the most successful private teacher at Rouen until his appointment as inspector.

On the contrary, these two men procrastinated, took obscure half-measures, and threw their weight on the side of the beleaguered private teachers. An adept administrator who knew the forms of the imperial bureaucracy, Laporte proceeded to deluge Paris with a series of rhetorical letters that trumpeted reform.² Instead of forcing students out of these private schools, he decided that the dormitory of the lycée could accommodate only a few more and by November a meager 29 extra boarding students had appeared. Instead of an immediate pressuring of the eighteen schools, Laporte made a great show of

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8891; Reports of the recteur of Rouen to the Grand-Master, September-December, 1812.

2. Ibid.; Laporte assembled the private teachers and, according to him, threatened to close certain

1. Biblio. Rouen. Rouen 1811. Vol. IV. Notice de Laporte. Laporte vividly describes the rivalry between the "revolutionary" school of Bouteiller and the clerical one of Faucon between 1796 and 1799.

closing one, that of a married priest who had been the arch-rival of Faucon and his school during the Directory. Here was an old grudge being worked out through the machinery of the decree.¹ Instead of sending his inspectors on a search of the pensionnaires, Laporte accepted the figures given him by the directors on the student population. Thus the report of September, 1812, showed a precipitious drop in students from the 952 in June, 1811, to 267. Had there in fact been such a dramatic movement? Some students had been withdrawn by worried parents, as was happening throughout France; others had fled to the pensions in smaller towns, out of reach of the University, and in some ways it may be argued that the small towns ringing those with lycées were the real beneficiaries of the November Decree. Yet most of the missing 600 had been hidden in private homes in Rouen itself or had never disappeared from anything but the registers of the school.

By way of contrast, the recteur of Lyon, the abbé Nompère de Champagny, promeneur of the ladies, was a man anxious not to jeopardize his already tenuous position in that intensely religious town. He alone of the recteurs of the Empire openly advocated a relaxing of the decree's dispositions. After receiving the circular of 31 July, Nompère complained that it explained nothing, that he still did not know if the boarding students in the 36 private schools of Lyon itself could remain and if the Grand-Master genuinely wanted to reduce the number of maitres-de-pensions. Moreover, claimed the brother of the

1. Biblio, Muni.; Rouen; MM 131; Vol. IV; Notices de R-Labbé. Labbé vividly describes the rivalry between the "revolutionary" school of Bouteiller and the clerical one of Faucon between 1796 and 1799.

former Minister of the Interior, nine schools had already closed on the announcement of the Decree while the rest were situated on the heights overlooking the town itself, over a kilometer away.¹

Most recteurs proved indifferent to the application of the Decree on the numerous private schools; a few willingly defended the interests of these establishments; but only one, according to the surviving documents, actively worked to defraud the Imperial University.

Brother of the leading vicar-general of Bordeaux, Victor Desézes was much more an intimate part of the conservative notables of his department than a Laporte or a Nompère. Although the lycée had less than two hundred students, he initially opposed the closing of the private schools on the grounds that the students would leave Bordeaux itself for the tiny schools in the nearby villages and communes, a point not altogether unfounded. The Grand-Master insisted the November Decree receive its full application. Desézes then applied himself to a juggling of figures: the number of additional pensionnaires was set at one hundred eighty; from this he subtracted one hundred fifty on the specious argument that these beds had to be kept in reserve for possible boursiers, and presented the shrunken total of thirty. After a second wave of his magic wand over these figures, the thirty became eleven. Then Desézes and several of the leading private teachers raised a sum of money to pay for the education of the eleven students, the largest contribution coming from none other than a brother of the inspector of the

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8874; Report of the recteur of Lyon to the Grand-Master, 14 October, 1812.

Academy, 2,000 francs. With this sum, the unofficial committee began recruiting boys not from their own school but from the lowest classes in Bordeaux; "C'est véritablement le repas d l'Evangile," an inspector-general sarcastically remarked, "Ils ont pris tout ce qui s'est présenté tout ce qui en a voulu, en frappant à toutes les portes et descendant dans les classes les plus vulgaires d'artisans, ouvriers et autres."¹

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6880; Report of the inspectors-general, 1814.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2374; Note scribbled by Gueneau de Mussy on the report of Gueneau, October, 1814.

At Rouen, the man was almost entirely unknown. He was the one person with a direct interest in the abolition of the November Decree, the proprietor of the *Journal de Rouen*, a tough-minded ecclesiastic, the one to whom the Central Commission resorted in its step of writing III. In effect, the Commission was the first authority of the department. Paris decided to intervene. The Central Commission was fully aware of the opposition that it faced in the twenty-six academies. Indications of its low opinion on many recteurs were already in evidence; the constant proddings, the gently-phrased reprimands, the ill-concealed impatience of the inspectors-general, especially Amboise Rendu, always driven on by a bold vision of a symmetrical, rational system of education. The November Decree provided the extra weight which brought relations between Paris and some recteurs to the breaking-point. In late 1812, Paris decided to intervene.

For Lyon, the Central Commission took accurate soundings: the number of clandestine pensions was estimated to be at least one hundred, the highest of any city in France. Over Nompère's protest, five of the larger maitres-de-pension were closed for refusing to pay the school tax, while six others received the order to confine their teaching to the primary level.¹ For Bordeaux, the inspectors-general closed 25 of the 135 private instructors.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8874; Note scribbled by Gueneau de Mussy on the report of recteur, October, 1812.

At Rouen, the man who dispelled the smokescreen was the one person with a direct interest in the success of the November Decree, the proviseur of the Lycée. A stern, tough-minded ecclesiastic, the abbé Le Priol took the unprecedented step of writing directly to the prefect of the Seine-Inférieure, in effect denouncing his superior to the first authority of the department.¹ Paris quickly dispatched Guneau de Mussy; and after the inspector's lengthy report, the Commission upheld the proviseur, decreeing that the eighteen schools were to be closed.²

Moving across France on the annual tournées, in the summer of 1812, the inspectors-general showed themselves aggressive, relentless, unchangeable in their determination to effect a revolution in education. Of the twelve, none was more committed to this end than the young Amboise Rendu, architect of the decree, ardent apostle of centralization, a firm believer in the cultural mission of Paris.

It was he who assaulted the insular province of Brittany, ruthlessly subjecting it to the Imperial University. In the Côtes-du-Nord, the inspector closed schools at Plougumant, Gouarec, Ploubalay, and the ecclesiastical one at Saint-Brieuc; in the Finistère, one in the tiny commune of Meylaud.³ At

1. Arch. Dept.; Seine-Inférieure; T Series; Correspondence of the prefect. Proviseur of the Lycée of Rouen to the prefect, 11 November, 1812.

2. Biblio. Muni.; Rouen; MM Series; Notice de R-L Labbé.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8832; Report of A. Rendu to the Grand-Master, 10 June, 1812.

1. Ibid.; Letter of A. Rendu to the Grand-Master, 15 June, 1812. Letter to the procureur-general of the Illé-et-Vilaine. No Date.

Vannes, the maîtres-de-pension existed only as dormitories to the college, but Rendu dogmatically insisted that all boarding boys over nine be excluded, thereby weakening a beneficial relationship rooted in the eighteenth century. At Dinan, the inspector overrode the objections of Germé, and the bishop to establish the one petit séminaire of the department in that town and force the ecclesiastical students to attend the college under J. Sergent, the anti-clerical ex-artillery officer.¹

The town of Nantes offered the one area where the November Decree could do what it was intended, suppress surplus pensions; and it was here that Rendu chose to make an example. By the time of Rendu's arrival in May, 1811, only two of the fifteen maîtres-de-pension still refused to send their students to the lycée, objecting that one kilometer was too much to ask the students to traverse four times a day, especially through muddy or ice-covered streets. To the Grand-Master, Rendu explained,

Nous avons en consequence invité MM. Carcani et Delepronière à se trouver au lycée ce matin. Nous les avons vu l'un et l'autre et nous leurs avons signifié qu'ils ne pouvaient, sous aucun prétexte, se refuser plus longtemps à obéir aux décrets de Sa Majesté.²

Irritated by this presumptuous inspector, Carcani refused. Rendu riposted with a letter to the procureur-général instructing that he be closed and in a detailed letter to Fontanes begged him to give full support. To install the reign of Paris, the inspector then assembled the thirty other maîtres-de-pension as well as their students in the courtyard of the

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.; Letter of A. Rendu to the Grand-Master, 15 June, 1812. Letter to the procureur-general of the Ille-et-Vilaine. No Date.

was bringing into the municipal colleges a new set of teachers, lycée and spoke a few words on the "benevolent aims" of the man who had long directed their own schools, who were university. The results were dramatic. By September, two bitter at losing them yet who looked to the university for private teachers were limited to primary instruction; two compensation. Ambroise Rendu used this argument and then once voluntarily closed the doors of their schools, and five others in the debates on the Central Commission a million-franc petitioned for chairs in a college or lycée.

Even the principals of the municipal colleges shook when Rendu had so severely chastized in June, 1813. In the Academy of Poitiers, private teachers became the directors of establishments. The inspector firmly believed in the necessity of rerouting the student population to the lycées and as a consequence, the college of Fourères lost the classes of rhetoric and of third form; those of Guingamp and Lambelle the same.¹

The College of Josselin was reduced to the third form. Fifteen of the sixty students deserted to continue their studies at nearby Vannes, causing the abbé Caradec to unburden his anger to the recteur: "Cette perte m'afflige, m'afflige grandement et j'aurais beaucoup de peine à la supporter."²

The effects of the November Decree were concrete. The number of students in the College of Dinan jumped from 70 to 135; at Saint-Brieuc from 130 to 260.³ The lycées, particularly that of Rennes, increased their number by several dozen.

Throughout France, the November Decree was having a third effect in addition to limiting the number of ecclesiastical schools and emptying the pensions of their students. It

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8412; 8403; 8391; Tableaux for the Colleges of Guimamp, Lamballe and Fourgères.

2. Arch. Dept.; Morbihan; 183-T-55; Principal of Josselin to the recteur of Rennes, 14 October, 1813.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8560; 8359; Charts on the student population for the Colleges of Dinan and Saint-Brieuc.

was bringing into the municipal colleges a new set of teachers, men who had long directed their own establishments, who were bitter at losing them yet who looked to the University for compensation. Amboise Rendu used this argument more than once in the debates on the Central Commission. A maître-de-pension of Nantes who entered the University was one of the two men whom Rendu had so severely chastized in June, 1812.¹ In the Academy of Poitiers, private teachers became the directors of the important colleges of Fontenay-le-Comte, Chateauroux, and Civray.²

In the larger towns of the North and of the Southwest, of France, we find important examples of maîtres-de-pension entering colleges, men who became the new clientele of the University. At Rouen, four private teachers received appointment to public schools, one becoming principal of the College of Aumale, another, censeur of the Lycée of Rouen.³ The Academy of Amiens presented no less striking cases. At Amiens, the Lycée had faced for years the competition of a pension. The recteur forced the owner to close and gave him a chair in the College of Abbeville. He later became its principal, but bitterly remarked some years later, "Cette place, loin de compenser la perte immense que j'ai faite par le suppression de mon établissement, a consommé ma ruine et celle

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8509; Report of the recteur of Rennes, 21 May, 1820.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8129; F 17 8330; F 17 8497; Correspondence of the private teachers and the recteur, 1811-1812.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8201; Report of the recteur of Rouen, 2 September, 1813.

de ma famille."¹ At Soissons, the abbé de Champeaux ended the resistance of two maîtres-de-pension by forcing them to accept posts in the college.² In the Academies of Toulouse, Pau and Cahors, the November Decree chased a number of disconsolate maîtres-de-pension into the municipal colleges. On bringing a private teacher from the small bourg of Caussade to the College of Montauban, the recteur of Toulouse remarked, "On fait disparaître par ce moyen un pension nombreux qu'il attirait sans doute presque entièrement à Montauban..."³ In this rather harsh way, the University was recruiting the best and the most successful of the laymen in French education.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8201; Principal of Abbeville to the recteur of Amiens, 4 November, 1815.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8617; Report of the abbé de Champeaux, 18 November, 1812.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8473; Report of the recteur of Toulouse, 12 July, 1812.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8201; Principal of Abbeville to the recteur of Amiens, 4 November, 1815.

that of Dijon, Jacotot, youthful assistant to the Commission of Public Education during the Directory. In Dijon itself, Jacotot shut three of the six gillivardians and at Auxerre, two of the three.¹ The rest of this group must be sought among the inspectors of academies and the proviseurs -- de Lisle at Orleans, Boinvilliers at Caen, and even Victor de Bonald, at Montpellier, son of the great philosopher of the ultra-royalists after 1814.

IV.

Only when monographs have been worked out on the application of the November Decree within the academies of France will we know to what extent a revolution took place in public and private education. How typical were Desèze and Nompère de Champagny? A more common attitude seems to have been represented by a Germé or a de Belissens, who did nothing to apply the decree but equally placed no obstacle to its enforcement. On the other hand, there did exist an ambitious set of recteurs and inspectors d'académie, an uncompromising dogmatic group, who welcomed the extra power which the decree conferred.

This latter group of men may be broken down into two different sets. On the one hand there were the youthful administrators who were making their careers within the University, and on the other there were the old universitaires of the eighteenth century to whom regulation and centralization seemed the natural order of things. Of the former group, three recteurs can be counted: F. Mazure of Angers, that of Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire, professor in the Ecole Centrales, strongly nationalistic and anti-clerical,¹ and

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8895; Reports of the recteur of Besançon, 1812-1814.

University, as well as to introduce uniform and dress, that of Dijon, Jacotot, youthful assistant to the Commission of Public Education during the Directory. In Dijon itself, including the most successful at Angers during the Directory, Jacotot shut three of the six maitres-de-pension and at Beaune, two of the three.¹ The rest of this group must be sought among the inspectors of academies and the proviseurs -- de Lisle at Besançon, refused to send its students to the classes of the Orlean, Boinvilliers at Douai, and even Victor de Bonald, at Montpellier, son of the genial philosopher of the ultra-royalists after 1814.

In undertaking what was to be a small revolution, Frédérique Mazure was to show himself representative of this new generation of administrators emerging inside the University, the technicians, the professional educators devoted exclusively to the interests of public education, willing to apply the force necessary to accomplish its good. Like Amboise Rendu, the recteur accepted the dictum that the student population should be rerouted into the lycées, that the municipal schools were inferior establishments which must serve the interests of the Lycée and that the ecclesiastical schools should be intimately linked with public education. The efforts of persuasion from 1810 to 1812 changed into those of coercion.

The first establishments to feel the heavy hand of the rectorate were the several private schools, four at Angers, five at Le Mans, and a few others scattered across the three departments. In December, 1811, the maitres-de-pension of Angers found themselves stripped of all Latin studies, ordered to send all students to the classes of the Lycée, and forced to adopt the rules and disciplines of the

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8870: Reports of the recteur of Dijon to the Grand-Master, 21 November, 1812.

University, as well as to introduce uniform and drums.¹

Angered and humiliated by these measures, two of the maîtres, including the most successful at Angers during the Directory, closed their doors and left the former provincial capital.²

At LeMans, the one real private school, that of Bedeau, refused to send its students to the classes of the college, although adopting the books and rules of the University; and on 12 April, Mazure admitted to Paris that the married priest "ne paraît pas très disposé à obéir."³ His resistance led to a tug-of-war that ended with the closing of his establishment in 1813. At Chateau-Gontier, the rectorate threatened to shut the school of the ex-revolutionary Huchêdé when an inspector discovered that he was secretly teaching Latin after having declared himself a primary instructor.⁴ At Saumur, Mazure was less successful. In 1813, the principal of the college thundered that the unauthorized teachers were a veritable plague: "Ils nous paralysent; ils se paralysent les uns les autres. La loi qui les défend ou les réduit est sans vigueur."⁵

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Recteur of Angers to the maîtres-de-pension, 27 December, 1811, and the replies. A recently arrived private teacher was found to be teaching the third form; Fourcas promptly ordered him to cease as well as to rid the school of the boarding students.
2. Ibid.; 416-T-33; Register of Correspondence, 1811-1812.
3. Arch. Dept. Sarthe; 1-TT-49; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 20 April, 1812.
4. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 34-T-1; Report of the inspector, 13 August, 1813.
5. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-23; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 18 December, 1812.

The private schools for which F. Mazure showed such an Olympian disdain were too small, weak and scattered to be more than a minor problem. A more important result of the November Decree was the new tension between the recteur and the principals of the colleges, a tension that became a major grievance in the reckoning that took place in 1814.

On returning from Brittany in July, 1812, Amboise Rendu had inspected the faltering Lycée of Angers, which labored under such an appalling reputation that it had less students than three of the municipal colleges. To Fontanes the councilor pleaded,

Un des points les plus importants...est, nous ne saurions trop le répéter, de coordonner l'instruction dans les diverses écoles de manière à bien marquer et à bien assurer la prééminence des lycées.¹

So it was that the municipal schools of the Academy were sacrificed in studies as well as in personnel to the lycée, a program to which the recteur of Angers wholeheartedly subscribed. And Mazure had the means to do so; suppression of the classes of philosophy, rhetoric and even the second form in most of the municipal colleges, forcing students who finished their humanities to continue the last two years in the sparsely-populated Lycée of Angers. In 1812, Laval lost its class of philosophy as did Chateau-Gontier; Mayenne, its class of rhetoric and of the second form; Chateauduloir, Cholet, Baugé, Evron and Chalonnnes, the second form.

The side-effects of this rather arbitrary operation made the advantage of increasing the students in the lycée by

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7687; Report of Amboise Rendu to the Grand-Master, 11 July, 1812.

a handful look pale, very pale, in comparison. The College of Cholet, under the ex-Vendean, collapsed. With the top classes gone, the students moved en masse into the ecclesiastical school of Beaupréau, twelve miles away.¹ At Mayenne, the sub-prefect warned the recteur that if the professor of rhetoric, the well-born Gallery de la Trembaye, was removed along with his class, the first families of the town would protest.² At Chateau-Gontier, the principal flatly refused to consider dismissing the students of philosophy; the recteur threatened to close the entire school; the sub-prefect hurriedly intervened to smooth the ruffled feathers and secure observance of the new order.³ The bureau at Mamers, including curé and mayor, protested that the town council in the last three years had bought and restored spacious buildings while increasing the annual grant from 3,000 to 4,000 francs. In the middle of this growth had come the arrêté robbing the school of its two most prestigious classes: "Nous ne cherchons par à dissimuler que cet ordre nous a vraiment affectés et presque découragés."⁴

Here was the heart of the problem. Paris had devised a strict hierarchy of studies that accorded with the relative worth of each institution but ignored the more material

1. Labarre, R.; "Le Collège Municipal de Cholet, 1805-1835;" Soc. Lettres Cholet; T 22; (1937) pp. 65-109.
2. Arch Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1-511-G; Sub-prefect to the recteur of Angers, 4 October, 1812.
3. Ibid.; 1-T-11; Recteur of Angers to the principal of Chateau-Gontier, 20 September, 1813: "Je regrette sincèrement M. Le Principal, d'être contraint à une mesure aussi sévère...Mais je ne puis trahir mes devoirs ni le serment que j'ai prêté entre les mains de S. Ex."
4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8449; The administrative bureau of Mamers to the recteur of Angers, 7 October, 1812.

factors. The students of Mamers did not in fact depart to the Lycée of Angers to finish their studies. Coming from artisanal and petit bourgeois families, they could hardly afford the long trek to the capital of Anjou and the costs of living once there. Writing for the absent recteur Fourcas advised the University to ignore the petition on the grounds that it was a manufacturing town that needed little more than primary education, concluding that the families with sons training for the bar or medicine had enough sense to send them to the cities. It was precisely this form of favoritism that made the municipal colleges feel the ugly sister of public education.

The real fear, the veritable nightmare of the rectorate, was neither the private schools nor the municipal colleges but the militant clergy of Anjou and the Maine, now returned to the royalism and the counter-revolution from which the Concordat had detached it. If the prefect of the Sarthe could report in 1812 that his curés were quiet if disaffected, those of the Mayenne and the Maine-et-Loire warned that the curés of their departments were increasingly reluctant to read the bulletins of the Grand Army in the pulpit and seemed to be fueling the agitation against conscription.¹ The Petite Eglise was growing in numbers, particularly in Southern Anjou, around Mamers, and in the north of the Mayenne.

For the Mayenne and the Sarthe, there was only one petit séminaire, that of La Saturne, eight miles from Le Mans,

1. Berenger, H. de; "La Police générale dans la Sarthe sous le consulat et sous l'Empire;" Rev. His. Maine; T. 80-86 (1934-1940), pp. 28-38, 157-182, 18-27, 216-225, 130-134, 79-92, 85-98, 90-101, 16-31.

3. Arch. Dept. Maine-et-Loire; 391-1-13; 10 January, 1819.

containing 36 students, since the real citadel of clerical influence was very much inside the University, the College of Chateau-Gontier with 330 boys.¹ In the Maine-et-Loire, the petit séminaire at Angers had 160, while the school of Beaupréau contained another 175, and the curé of Saumur taught about 40 boys.

On 5 December, 1811, the recteur wrote the prefects of the Sarthe and the Maine-et-Loire to inform them of the Decree and of the dispositions relating to the ecclesiastical schools. The vicars-general of Le Mans immediately began a campaign to obtain exemption from the obligation to transfer the petit séminaire from La Saturne to Le Mans, through letters to the Grand-Master, the recteur, the prefect, and even to the ministries. On 31 January, 1812, Mazure gave the aged bishop until 1 July to dismantle the small establishment, and pointedly wrote the procureur-général of the Sarthe to enlist his aid, an act that caused Mgr. de Pidoll to protest that there was no building at Le Mans capable of being converted into a petit séminaire.² Pushed on by an intransigent vicar-general, the bishop of Angers threatened to close the petit séminaire of his diocese rather than send the 162 students to the classes of the lycée where the former terrorist Benaben dispensed a heavy-handed anti-clericalism as well as the rudiments of mathematics. At Saumur, the curé of Saint-Pierre, instructor of 40 boys, gave every sign that he would not send these to the college of the town.³ Only the abbé Loir-Mongazon

1. Calendini, L.; "Les séminaires dans le diocèse du Mans au début du 19 ieme siècle;" Rev. His. Eccl. T. 45 (1925), pp.

2. Sifflet, J.; Les Evêques Concordataires du Mans; (Le Mans, 1914), p. 104.

3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 14 January, 1814. A long letter detailing the curé's resistance.

of Beaupréau showed a spirit of compromise, although he too feared that the new decree would force him to accept Jewish and Protestant students.¹

On 1 July, the petits-séminaires showed no signs of obeying and in answer to an inquiry from Paris on the state of things, Mazure gave a discouraging reply. The ecclesiastical students did not seem disposed to attend the public schools; parents and curés were talking of open resistance if force was applied. "L'opposition doit être plutôt dirigée que heurtée," he advised, "Des mesures prohibitives inspireraient la défiance."²

This gentle diplomacy paid a handsome dividend. In October the bishop of Angers allowed the ecclesiastical students to attend the lycée along with the students of rhetoric from Beaupréau. After considerable procrastination, the bishop of Le Mans reluctantly closed Sainte-Saturne, and on 1 December, Mazure arrived at the chef-lieu to examine the graduating class for the diploma of bachelor-of-letters, necessary to enter the grand-seminary. The urbane Niortais was stunned to find that many of these could not so much as explain the first verses of the first epilogue of Virgil:

J'y ai vu des hommes de 35 ans qui a étudié la philosophie et la théologie et...qui n'avaient jamais entendu prononcé le nom de Cicéron. Les Grands-Vicaires étaient aussi humiliés que j'étais embarrassé moi-même de leur ignorance."³

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1. Ibid; 44-T-1; Recteur of Angers to the principal of Beaupréau, 1 February, 1812.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8864; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 22 July, 1812.
 3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 20 November, 1813.

One ecclesiastic, however, waged a successful battle against the Decree, the abbé Forest, curé of Saumur.¹ This former émigré in Spain, a doctor-of-theology at the old University of Angers, promised to send his students to the college in January, 1812, then reneged. The procureur visited the curé twice that next fall. Again promises; but no results. Forest had the support of much of Saumur because of his austere habits and his supposed erudition, yet when he proposed in pulpit to abolish classical studies for ecclesiastics, the stunned Mazure denounced him to Paris: "Il a un système particulier qui ramenerait le clergé à la barbarie, si l'enseignement ecclésiastique pouvait être indépendant du Gouvernement."² For Mazure as for most recteurs, herein lay the heart of the November Decree; the defense of the intellectual heritage of Bossuet.

Despite the half-hearted cooperation of the bishops of Le Mans and Angers, relations between rectorate and clergy remained precarious for the duration of the Empire. In November, 1812, Mazure reprimanded several of the principals who were requiring of the students a monthly billet de confession.³ In February, 1813, he at long last required the oath of loyalty to the Grand-Master and the Emperor, an oath that threatened to arouse the resistance of a clergy well known for its prickly

1. Maupoint, A. R.; Vie de J-F Forest, curé de Saint-Pierre de Saumur, (Angers, 1864).

2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 14 January, 1814.

3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 17 November, 1812.

conscience over the succession of oaths demanded since 1791. By an odd quirk, the only member of the Academy to refuse was a layman, nephew of the mayor of Mamers and professor in the college of that town. After allowing one month for reflection, the Central Commission removed him.¹ Throughout 1813, Mazure remained the dedicated champion of the ideal of a Gallicanism dispensed through the Imperial University. The country curés who sought authorizations to teach Latin usually met with refusals; "L'expérience facheuse que j'ai acquise de la nullité absolue des études faites chez les curés de campagnes," he told the Grand-Master, "me fait tenir en garde contre toutes les demandes de ce genre..."²

By the same token, the young recteur struggled to infuse a pious demeanor in the indifferent laymen who taught at the Lycée. In December, 1813, the director of the petit séminaire denounced to the recteur the professor of the fourth form as an anti-clerical and possibly an atheist. The long-awaited explosion seemed near. Hourdin, the professor in question, was no Angevin but one of the first graduates of the Ecole Normale. Not only could he not keep discipline in the classroom but rambled on about the gospels, and, according to the director, called confession a silly practice. One morning shortly afterward, Hourdin had the disagreeable surprise of striding up to his podium only to see the recteur himself rigidly sitting on the back row of the classroom. When the professor failed to open the class with prayer, Mazure delivered

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8449; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master and note of the Central Commission, 13 February, 1813.
2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-13; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 20 November, 1813.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1007; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 15 January, 1814.

a severe reprimand.¹

Despite the recteur's hopes and plans, the November Decree sealed the identification of public education with the Empire and its militaristic spirit. In a region where conscription provoked violent opposition, where the Imperial armies were loathed and the never-ending wars cursed, the students of the Academy had to wear a dark blue uniform and march to the sound of a drum. At Le Mans, Saumur, Chateau-Gontier, Laval, the ecclesiastics who directed the establishment colleges had to swallow their feelings and accept the new discipline. This one step, more than any other, paved the way for the popular reaction against the University in the West after March, 1814.

The other half of those recteurs who welcomed the November Decree were perhaps the most colorful, the most controversial of those imperial functionaries. They were men who had been bred inside the regulatory atmosphere of eighteenth century universities and carried into their new posts a desire to resurrect the old discipline, the old style of administration. Authoritarian by nature, disdainful and proud, these men were to plunge the University into a number of controversies and contributed not a little to give it its reputation for "despotism" during the Empire. The high-handed Taranget at Douai, professor in the old university, and the opinionated abbé Eliçargarcay at Pau, equally professor in the former university, brooked no authority contrary to their own.

Typically, Taranget was as interested in imposing a stringent morality on the directors of private schools as he

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1687; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master. 15 January. 1814.

was in sending their students to the colleges of the Academy. In one pension, an inspector ordered the wives of the teachers and their six children to leave.¹ At another, he found a governess of twenty-three years looking after the students; it was rumored that the director had been seen putting his arms around her. Taranget promptly wrote, "Je vous déclare qu'il faut que ce scandale cesse sur le champ."² At Cambrai, a married priest was closed for being a drunkard.³ Here in its purest essence was the smug, heavy-handed moralism that so characterized the Imperial University, the overwhelming impulse to regulate the last detail of all schools, whether public or private.

In at least one case, the terms of the problem between Paris and the academies were reversed. The recteur became the one who stretched the Decree to its fullest meaning and Paris the one who anxiously and confusedly attempted to moderate and arbitrate between the contending parties. The recteurs of the Empire may have been spokesmen of local interest before Paris; they may have tolerated a motely teaching personnel; yet they could act with all the severity and arbitrariness of a prefect or a commander. And no recteur was more autocratic and dictatorial than the head of the Academy of Pau, friend of the Duc d'Angoulême and royalist by conviction, leading the life of an archbishop of the Ancien Régime,

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1. Arch. Dept.: Nord; T-403; Inspector of Douai, 31 January, 1813.
 2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8888; F. Gaud to the Grand-Master, 11 July, 1812.
 3. Ibid.; Recteur of Pau to an inspector-general, 3 April, 1813.

treating the three departments of his jurisdiction as a private reserve, a veritable fief.

The abbé saw in the Decree of 15 November, 1811, purely and simply the machinery to crush his greatest enemy, an assermenté priest who had denounced him in 1792 and who now held a medium-sized school in competition with the lycée. An old rivalry was to be worked out within a new set of institutions. As the ex-Benedictine and private teacher described it, he was being persecuted for the "tort de ne pas avoir émigré."¹ As Eliçargarcay described it, to his protector, an inspector-general in Paris, "C'est Jérusalem et Samarie et les Samaritans ne veut pas sacrifier dans le temple de la Sainte-Cité."² An expiation, a sacrifice, the bended knee, a bowed head, this was what the recteur was demanding so that with outstretched hands he could bestow forgiveness with all the arrogance of an Old Testament Prophet. The inspectors-general proved tough and unrelenting.

The denunciations and counter-denunciations that flooded into the bureau of Paris left the Central Commission confused, misinformed and illustrated how susceptible to personal influence, how unsure of itself and how indecisive it could be. First the Commission ordered the ex-Benedictine closed, then it reprieved the man; shortly it countermanded the second missive; and in this vein the affair dragged on until January, 1814, when the Commission finally applied the November Decree against the school to close it definitively.³

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8888; F. Gaud to the Grand-Master, 11 July, 1812.

2. Ibid.; Recteur of Pau to an inspector-general, 3 April, 1813.

3. Ibid.; Notes of the Central Commission

was being effected in French education, a revolution that left a deep if ragged mark on the nineteenth century. The definitive split between Church and State schools was consummated; the University monopoly received a water-tight legal basis; Paris became V. The system of the educational system and the official philosophy became one of an ubiquitous paternalism.

The application of the November Decree greatly accelerated the process by which the Central Commission concentrated power within its own hands to the detriment of the twenty-five recteurs. Autocratic and unbending, the cliquish Commission imposed a massive closing of maitres-de-pension, rerouted their students into public schools, forced the petit séminaires to move from the religious countryside to the larger towns, and ruthlessly lopped off the upper classes of municipal colleges. The inspectors-general proved tough and unrelenting, men of the Ancien Régime determined to re-establish the system of the old universities, and men of the Empire determined to impose a rational system of education. In Brittany, Amboise Rendu bullied private teachers, forced the petits séminaires into the costly trek from the smaller towns to the chef-lieu, and brought students from the colleges into the nearly deserted lycées. In Poitiers, the Commission shut the major private schools; in Lyon, it closed nine of their number; in Bordeaux, twenty-five of the one-hundred thirty-five; in Rouen, all eighteen. A major revolution

was being effected in French education, a revolution that left a deep if ragged mark on the nineteenth century. The definitive split between Church and State schools was consummated; the University monopoly received a water-tight legal basis; Paris became the supreme arbiter over the educational system and the official philosophy became one of an ubiquitous paternalism.

In revolutionizing French education, the November Decree antagonized the majority of Frenchmen, from parents and private teachers to priests and prefects, and nowhere was this more true than in the Academy of Angers, a bastion of royalism and counter-revolution, an enclave of insularity and tradition. For Anjou and the Maine, the decree ripped away the veil of parochialism that had so long sheltered its schools; the students abandoned their colorful clothes for the drab blue uniform of the Empire; they now marched at recreation to the sound of the drum, even at the clerical school of Beaupréau; ecclesiastical students now filled the classrooms of the College of Le Mans and of the Lycée of Angers; the private teachers of Angers discovered that they could no longer offer certain classes; and the principals could barely contain their indignation at losing their most prestigious classes. The schools of the Academy, private, clerical and municipal, were being sacrificed in the name of the lycée and of Paris, and it was this burning realization that set the stage for the reaction of the First Restoration.

CHAPTER TEN

PARIS AND ANGERS DURING THE FIRST RESTORATION the issue

of how the University was to be governed and by whom.

In 1808, Napoleon had intended to impose a system of education that would produce citizens and administrators for his expanding Empire. The initial organisation by the Grand-Master, with his reliance on the patronage system, threatened, however, to negate the designs of the Emperor, and leave education in the hands of impetuous or profit-minded principals. The Central Commission did assert the long arm of Paris, but not in the direction that Napoleon had intended. Composed of ex-Oratorians and Doctrinaires, as well as the self-righteous but remarkably able Anboise Bandu, the Commission made a fetish of being a powerful but secretive body anonymously deciding the fate of many a teacher, peremptorily shaping the rules of public education, casually disposing of places and positions.

In increasing the Commission's powers, the November Decrees brought into the open the latent contradiction between weak rector¹ on one hand and overly-powerful inspectors-general on the other. The measure succeeded in provoking a telegraphic of a political gathering in Angers, which signified the purely technical question of the University.

crisis in the relationship between the University and the recteurs, most of whom privately favoured the large conditions to be imposed on the royal system. Then, too, it provoked the principals into the first rushings of revolt

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and accentuated the resentment of parents and students alike. The Decree meant administrative centralization, but centralization of a very special kind. Power was to be concentrated in the hands of a small elite, four or five in

of how the University was to be governed and by whom. number, a group that operated independently of the Grand-

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In increasing the Commission's powers, the November Central Commission. Now long this body could intervene in Decree brought into the open the latent contradiction between stolid countenance, its members were, however, a question weak recteurs on one hand and overly-powerful inspectors-that overshadowed other developments. The measure succeeded in provoking a general on the other. The measure succeeded in provoking a that had served this body as well during the period of the

tolerance of a politically-mixed personnel. The measure was a deviation on the purely technical questions of administration.

crisis in the relationship between the Commission and the recteurs, most of whom privately eschewed the harsh conditions to be imposed on the school system. Then, too, it provoked the principals into the first rumblings of revolt and accentuated the resentment of parents and students alike. The Decree meant administrative centralization, but centralization of a very special kind. Power was to be concentrated in the hands of a small elite, four or five in number, a group that operated independently of the Grand-Master and the other administrators, and one that forced its proud will onto a resentful set of recteurs and a mutinous block of principals.

These tensions and contradictions within the Imperial University came boiling to the surface in the cauldron of politics that the First Restoration brought in its train. Parents, priests, and local officials indignantly demanded a return of their stolen rights, while in Paris, de Lammenais and Chateaubriand stirred popular sentiment with their highly emotional condemnations of the University as the mother and mistress of corruption. In the process, the thin bonds that had bound principal to recteur and recteur to Paris began to come unglued.

Throughout 1814, pressure was building up on the Central Commission. How long this body could maintain its stoic countenance, its stubborn pride, became a question that overshadowed other developments. The set of attitudes that had served this body so well during the Empire -- its tolerance of a politically-mixed personnel, its concentration on the purely technical questions of administration,

its search for financial stability -- all of these became major liabilities. Then, too, the recteurs had to find ways to pacify the members of their academies and in the case of Frédérique Mazure had to master a series of rebellions on the part of students, principals, mayors and ecclesiastics, a concoction that threatened to sweep away his remaining powers.

The major problem throughout 1814 was whether the University commanded enough loyalty from its own members to fend off the numerous assaults from various quarters. Its past history, mirror of the colorful mosaic of provincial France, indicated that it did not.

After the first hectic weeks of the restoration, the twenty inspectors-general of education fearfully watched the every move of the new Minister of the Interior, Jean-Baptiste Montesquieu, a genial but old-fashioned ecclesiastic with a penchant for the Ancien Régime and its institutions. While Montesquieu had given the University a reprieve in the form of the Ordinance of 22 June, upholding its organization on a provisional basis, he let drop his intention of giving the

1. Bartier de Sauvigny, G. de: La Restauration: (Paris, 1955), pp. 75-87.
- Thirp, J.: La première Restauration: (Paris, 1941).
- Durand, C.: La fin du Conseil d'Etat Napoléon: (Paris, 1949).
2. Simon, P.: L'élaboration de la Charte constitutionnelle de 1814: (Paris, 1906).

II.

In the confusion of the First Restoration, the unstable Tallyrand-Montesquiou government gave the impression of a disorganized but nonetheless certain return to the institutions of the Ancien Régime. Throughout April, the multiple celebrations of mass for Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette threw an intensely religious mantle over public life, while the extreme statements made by the truculent nobility portended sweeping reaction. As early as May, the imperial army was dismantled, and a wave of returning émigrés was promoted to the commanding positions.¹

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1. Bertier de Sauvigny, G. de; La Restauration; (Paris, 1955), pp. 75-87.
- Thiry, J.; La première Restauration; (Paris, 1941).
- Durand, C.; La fin du Conseil d'Etat Napoléonien; (Zix, 1949).
- Simon, P.; L'élaboration de la Charte constitutionnelle de 1814; (Paris, 1906).

former Imperial University a more "liberal" direction, in conformity with the new spirit of government.¹ That same month, he formed a commission composed of two professors of the Sorbonne, Royer-Collard and the young Guizot, to draft a new statute for education that would end the "despotism" of the Empire and break the monopoly hold of the Central Commission.²

The fear of Fontanes and his inspectors mounted during the summer as Montesquiou repeatedly refused to come to the aid of public education in the face of the offensive launched by the French clergy. In April and May, the bishops throughout France ceased sending their seminarists to the lycées and colleges as required by law. When the petit séminaire of Poitiers moved back into the countryside, from where it had been so rudely uprooted in 1812, the Minister turned a deaf ear to the demands of the Grand-Master that he prosecute. In September and November, the bishop of La Rochelle moved his petits séminaires into the municipal colleges of Luçon and Saint-Jean-d'Angé with the complicity of local officials and again the Minister refused to come to the aid of the Academy.³ The Gallican rectorate warned

1. Grimaud, L.; Histoire de la Liberté de l'Enseignement; Vol. 5; La Restauration: (Paris, 1955), pp. 13-16.

2. Poirier, J.; "L'Université provisoire, 1814-1821," Rev. His. Mod.; T. 1 (1926), pp. 241-279.
Also by Poirier, "L'Opinion public et l'Université pendant la première Restauration," Revo. Fran.; T. 56 (1909), pp. 85-115.

3. Ibid.

Fontanes, "Il ne faut pas le dissimuler, Mgr., on fait en ce moment une guerre à mort au corps enseignant,"¹ a commentary that applied to several academies throughout France. In part, Montesquiou dared not take a stand at a moment when a series of ministerial intrigues were being laid by the truculent Grand-Aumônier of France, Tallyrand-Périgord, uncle to the diplomat and one of the fifteen prelates of the Ancien Régime who refused to resign in 1802.

With the Ordinance of 5 October, the abbé Montesquiou answered the insistent demands of the French clergy by relaxing, though not abolishing, the rules concerning the petits séminaires.² Henceforth, they were to be independent of public education, free of the obligation to send their seminarists to the lycées and of the obligation to pay the school tax, although the limit of one petit séminaire per department was maintained, while only boarding students were to be admitted to these establishments. The King retained ultimate control; yet henceforth two monopolies existed, one public, one Catholic.

The expected reform of the University came with the Ordinance of 17 February, 1815, and with it the government at

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8822; Inspector of Poitiers to the Grand-Master 4 September, 1814. The Academy of Poitiers threatened to disintegrate under the uncertainty that the Restoration produced: "Il serait à désirer que le Roi se prononcat d'une manière positive pour le maintien de l'Université. L'état de l'incertitude et de langueur où nous sommes plongés donne lieu de craindre de voir naître à la rentrée des classes beaucoup de scandales."

2. Pouthas, C.; Guizot pendant la Restauration; (Paris, 1923), pp. 51-67.

last acceded to the demands for greater local control of education. Both Charles Pouthas and Douglas Johnson have pointed out that the Ordinance, drafted by Royer-Collard and Guizot, was designed to prevent the abuses of the overly-centralized system of the Empire by restoring education into local hands, all while preserving its secular character.¹ In place of the complex apparatus in Paris were to be seventeen regional universities. Yet the greatest beneficiary of the new system was not the towns, the departments, and the private teachers as they have argued, but the recteur, that much abused administrator of the Empire who had lacked the ability to determine the decisions of Paris and to coerce municipalities. As heads of the seventeen regional universities, the recteurs would now possess the extensive power once held by the inspectors-general: they would enjoy the right to authorize as many or as few private schools as they saw fit, a regulation that appalled both Catholic and liberal opinion. They were to enforce the legislation requiring that the students of private schools attend the classes of the nearest lycée or college.² The architects of the Ordinance were answering the plea that the recteurs of the Empire had so often made, in the words of Raynal of Bourges, "qu'il serait très utile de ne contrarier les recteurs autant qu'ils se trompent et de leur mettre un peu la bride sur le cou."³

1. Pouthas, Ibid.; Johnson, D.; Guizot; 1963; pp. 107-109.

2. Beauchamp, A. de; Recueil des lois et règlements, sur l'enseignement supérieur; (Paris, 1880), T. 1, pp. 374-382.

3. Arch. Dept.; Cher; 2-F-5; Recteur of Bourges to Joubert, 21 June, 1810.

4. Arch. Nat. 2-12-843; Professor of Rochefort to the Grand-Master; November, 1814.

Throughout the First Restoration, The Central Commission was not only helpless before the rising tide of opposition, but remained temperamentally incapable of understanding its predicament. Living inside a self-contained world, smug in its sense of mission, the Commission had few concessions to offer an aroused France. The controversial school tax, perhaps the sorest point with an angry public, was resolutely maintained in all its severity.¹ The Grand-Master hastened to apply all the prickly regulations that were to come into effect 1 January, 1815, especially the necessity that all private teachers pay sixty francs for the diploma of bachelor-of-letters.² A more delicate problem occurred with the chaotic return of the professors and administrators from the former departments of Belgium, Germany and Italy, men who had left France to bring its civilization to the people along the periphery, and who now filed back into France with their pathetic wagonloads of furniture. Always driven by a strong sense of responsibility, Amboise Rendu established the principle that these men would have precedence over all others in the annual promotion;³ and the result was a fresh wave of resentment against Paris on the part of principals and mayors who looked on these strangers with suspicion and dislike. The principal of Rochefort accused his new professor of being a "spy" for the despised University.⁴

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1456; Circular to the recteurs, April-December, 1814.

2. Ibid.

3. Arch. Nat. F 17 12821; Note of Amboise Rendu; February, 1814.

4. Arch. Nat. F 17 8543; Professor of Rochefort to the Grand-Master; November, 1814.

Instead of conciliating the Minister, the inspectors-general pressed on him angry demands that he strictly enforce University legislation.¹ When the Minister set up a commission under Guizot to draft a new system of education, Fontanes replied in kind by organizing his own private committee of which Rendu was predictably the driving force.² When the abbé refused to act against clerical encroachments, the Grand-Master returned to the charge with sermonizing letters demanding the letter of the law. A week before the Ordinance of 5 October was promulgated, the Gallican abbé de Champeaux wrote a confidential letter on behalf of his colleagues blithely asking that Montesquiou tighten the legislation concerning the petits séminaires.³ He argued in favor of suppressing all classes within the seminaries, except philosophy classes, so that the University could educate the seminarists in her lycées and thereby prevent from entering the priesthood, "des hommes de la classe la plus grossière et souvent la plus infirme," rustics and peasants, men without "honor." The answer of the abbé Montesquiou to this pressuring from the Grand-Master and the inspectors was, of course, the Ordinance of 17 February, 1815.

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1. Arch. Nat. F 17 8822; Correspondence of the Central Commission to the Minister of the Interior. A. Rendu drafted the pleading letters to the prefects, procureurs and bishops; Gueneau de Mussy, those to the Minister of the Interior.
 2. Poirier, op. cit.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 9087; The abbé de Champeaux to the Minister, Confidential letter, 28 September, 1814.

The inspectors-general were showing a remarkably unrealistic and dogmatic point of view in the topsy-turvy world of Restoration politics. These men of the Ancien Régime and these ambitious administrators of the Empire had no sense of public opinion, no conception of the new role of the press, no awareness of the strength of the demands for decentralization.

During the First Restoration, the inexperienced Montesquieu and the inexperienced Talleyrand never really set in motion the administrative machinery: the prefects were left to themselves; the Council of State merely met; dissension and confusion paralyzed the execution of laws and the rearming of the army. The government floundered in a welter of dissensions: Montesquieu against Blacas, Blacas against Talleyrand, Talleyrand against all, all against Vitrolles. The centralized machinery that had pulled France together during the Empire was crumbling both from popular hostility and from conflicting ambitions of its own personnel.¹

In the departments, the same process of decay that occurred at Paris was everywhere apparent, a process through which regionalism swept back into a new responsibility, further weakening the tottering institutions left by the Empire. The threat was as much financial and administrative as political, and the combination of these factors accounted for the swift and complete collapse of the Empire at the Restoration.

1. Sources: *Annales*, pp. 34-71.

III.

During the First Restoration, the incompetent Montesquiou and the inexperienced Guizot never really set in motion the administrative machinery: the rudderless prefects were left to themselves; the Council of State rarely met; dissension and confusion paralyzed the collection of taxes and the remaking of the army. The government floundered in a welter of dissensions: Montesquiou against Blacas, Beugnot against Montesquiou, Tallyrand against all, all against Vitrolles. The centralized machinery that had pulled France together during the Empire was crumbling both from popular hostility and from conflicting ambitions of its own personnel.¹

In the departments, the same process of decay that occurred at Paris was everywhere apparent, a process through which regionalism crept back into a new respectability, further undermining the tottering institutions left by the Empire. The threat was as much financial and administrative as political, and the combination of these factors accounted for the moribund character of the Academy of Angers throughout the Restoration.

1. Pouthas; Guizot; pp. 34-71.

that a for Desperately wishing to break the Academy's identification with the Empire, Frédérique Mazure assiduously attended the various masses for Louis XVI during April and affixed his handsome signature to the multiple protestations of loyalty sent by the prefect.¹ But the students of the Lycée at Angers reacted differently. At a moment when royalist Anjou was wildly celebrating the return of the Bourbon family, when the Vendéans were putting away their arms, and when a new prefect, de Toqueville, was carrying out a mild purge of the departmental administration, the military-minded lyceans, bent on becoming young officers and espousing an extreme nationalism, covered the walls of the school with seditious slogans, "Down with Louis XVIII," "Long live the Emperor." When Mazure paid a surprise visit at a Thursday mass, the students refused to sing the Domine Salvum fac Regem, a fact that scandalized Angevin opinion, and on 22 May they broke ranks during recreation to escape into the woods.² Parents began withdrawing their sons; the bishop ceased sending his seminarists to the classes; royalists opinion was shocked by the openly Bonapartist and anti-clerical attitudes of the students and severely judged the fact

1. Uzereau, F.; "La Restauration en Maine-et-Loire, Avril, 1814." Anj. His.; T. 13 (1913), pp. 67-71.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2687; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 4 May, 6 June, 1814. The breakdown in discipline at the Lycée had actually occurred a few days before the Restoration. On 27 March, after the recteur took away the Easter vacation of several boys, the entire student body went on a rampage, overturning chairs and breaking windows. One class barricaded itself in a dormitory and was dislodged only when the servants chopped away the door.

2-1-14 Principal of Angers to the Minister of Angers, 2 July, 1814.

that a former terrorist and an ex-priest could continue to teach in that suspect institution. "Le lycée est en horreur," the recteur wearily wrote, "et, qui pis est, méprisé des amis et des ennemis,"¹ a fact that strengthened clergy, towns and principals in their revolt against the University.

A second factor weakening the recteur was the financial collapse of several municipal colleges. The impoverished condition of secondary education had long been a festering wound; but the food crisis of 1811-1812, the general inflation which accompanied the last years of the Empire, and the economic dislocation of the Restoration provided the extra weight which caused revenue to drop below the minimum point. The College of Laval stood over six thousand francs in debt, due partly to the abbé de Bigault's lax administration and partly to the high price of wheat.² At tiny Evron, the school was deep in debt and the teachers unpaid,³ while those of Le Mans, Mamers and Beaufort complained of the lack of revenue. But the major crisis came in the long tormented College of Saumur. The amiable but incompetent principal had multiplied expenditures for wood and food, bought on credit, and by 1814 owed over nine thousand francs. The sudden inflation in grain

1. Uzereau; "Le Lycée et l'Ecole Ecclesiastique d'Angers, 1814"; Anj. His.: T. 36 (1926), p. 122.

2. Sinoir, C.; "Histoire du Lycée de Laval"; Com. His. May.: T. 51 (1931), pp. 199-253. The recteur shared local opinion: "Je dois répéter que l'administration morale en est détestable."

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8381; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 27 June, 1814; Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 2-T-1; Principal of Evrons to the recteur of Angers, 8 July, 1814.

prices in the West aggravated the problem:¹ In January, the recteur and bureau had attempted to salvage the confused morass by taking a careful inventory and then outlining a set of rules which included the naming of a professor as guardian of the strongbox, but the measures were never implemented and the debt continued to mount.² The teachers began to murmur over unpaid salaries: "Ils n'ont pas de quoi payer le blanchissage de leur linge," wrote one sympathetic notable.³

Meanwhile, the towns of the Academy, from the largest to the smallest, interpreted the Restoration as a return to local self-government after the tight centralization of the Empire; and if they failed to roll back the financial squeeze of the government, they found education to be one domain in which their newly-found muscle could be felt. The mayor of Beaufort instructed the principal to cease all correspondence with the Academy, renamed the school the "Royal College," and accusingly wrote the recteur, "L'institution fiscale, connue sous le nom de L'Université, n'a produit aucun avantage pour cette branche de l'administration."⁴ The sub-prefect of Chateau-Gontier petitioned the commissioner of

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; Laurent to the recteur of Angers, January, 1815.
 2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-15; Report of F. Mazure before the Academic Council, 17 June, 1814; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 18 May, 1814. Laurent lost a total of six thousand francs; at Brest, he had lost the enormous figure of seventy thousand francs.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; A curé to the recteur of Angers; 8 May, 1814.
 4. Uzereau, F.; "Le Collège Municipal de Bauge;" Anj. His.; T. 13 (1913), p. 55.

first moments of the Restoration, a continuity to the lack of the king to give the college of his locality its full and plans, the lack of political action in the wake of entire independence¹ while the townfathers of Beaupréau asked the same in a letter addressed to the king.²

That the recteur had lost control was brought home in early May when the town council of Saumur, as liberal a body as any in the Maine-et-Loire, dispossessed the principal and substituted a man of its own choosing. Sent by Paris in 1812, Laurent had never pleased, and in April, several families circulated a petition asking for his removal and the appointment of a local curé, former married priest who had re-entered the ministry. The recteur hurriedly recalled Laurent for consultations on 1 May, but a week later the bureau picked a quarrel with the father of twelve, then voted his dismissal.³

Piece by piece, the edifice that F. Mazure had so painstakingly built during the Empire was being hacked away and no one group undertook this task with more enthusiasm and energy than the clergy of the Maine-et-Loire and the Mayenne. The clerical offensive against the Academy did not in fact begin before July, a testimony to the flux and confusion of the

1. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 1-T-11; Sub-prefect to the special commissioner of the king, the Comte Osmond, 12 June, 1814.
2. Uzereau, F.; "Le Collège de Beaupréau sous la Restauration;" T. 25 (1925), p. 62.
3. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-15; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 6 May, 1814. The influential Aubert family, a member of whom taught in the college, seemed to be the driving force behind the campaign. Laurent voiced, "Il suffit de déplaire à un seul pour être en butte à tous: une seule famille régit tout dans cette ville."

2. Ibid.: Mazure arranged with the director of the Collège d'Angers that the curé, who would be dispensed with attending the lycée for 1815 but would remain doing so the following year. The bishop wished to approve but the intransigent vicar-general vetoed the compromise.

first moments of the Restoration, a testimony to the lack of plans, the lack of any political activity in the wake of Bonapart's defeat. During July, the appearance of the Duc d'Angoulême, nephew of the king and son of the intractable d'Artois, in the Maine-et-Loire, galvanized the inert priests of the department and signalled the beginning of a general assault on public education.¹ As he entered Beaupréau, the Vendéans turned out in enthusiastic masses, and the abbé Mongazon received assurances from the duke's entourage that his school was henceforth free and independent of the Academy. At Angers, the entourage repeated the same soothing assurances to the director of the petit séminaire, and, although the prince refrained from political comment, his very presence sparked an underground literature which painted the University as the mother and mistress of corruption, a cesspool of irreligion and immorality. Mazure was particularly disgusted to read one such pamphlet that presented the teachers of the Academy as married priests and former revolutionaries who never approached the sacraments. Paris urged on the recteur in an effort to enforce the November Decree, but the latter wisely replied that the moment was hardly favorable for negotiations.²

The beneficiaries of the general breakdown in administration were the principals, those independent-minded men

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1. Uzereau, F.; "Le Duc d'Angoulême en Maine-et-Loire, (1814)"; T. 28 (1938), p. 182.
Guichen, E. de; Le Duc d'Angoulême; (Paris, 1909), pp. 127-159.
 2. Ibid.; Mazure arranged with the director of the petit séminaire that the seminarists would be dispensed with attending the lycée for 1814 but would resume doing so the following year. The bishop wished to approve but the intransigent vicars-general vetoed the compromise.

who had chafed under the financial and administrative obligations imposed by the University. The once liberal abbé de Bigault ceased corresponding with the recteur until the latter dispatched a first-hand report.¹ The principal of Ernée petitioned the Grand-Master that he be allowed to recruit his teachers from the Seminary of Le Mans as he had done before 1789 and, when this ploy failed, simply dismissed the two laymen who taught in the college.² In the Maine-et-Loire, the new head of Saumur scarcely concealed his contempt for the "foreign" rectorate; that of Beaufort followed the stringent injunctions of his mayor; and the abbé Mongazon at Beaupréau set up his private school as a petit séminaire.

The most determined bid for independence came from the principal who had most suffered under the tutelage of Angers, the crusty head of the College of Chateau-Gôntier, Horeau. Having seen a copy of the pro-University Coup d'Oeil sur l'Université written by the director of studies at the Ecole Normale, Horeau felt moved to send a list of indictments against public education, and his grievances were far from lacking in substance.³ As for the aid promised by the Imperial University, the recteur had only deluged him with

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8421; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 17 May, 1814. One private teacher told the recteur that de Bigault informed him the University tax was no longer valid. De Bigault indulged his penchant for poetry with the publication of Odes sacrées:....sur le rétablissement des Bourbons; (Le Mans, 1814).

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8383; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 14 June, 1814. "Il regrette surtout l'heureux privilège d'avoir des régents à 40 ecus..."

3. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1; Principal of Chateau-Gôntier to the recteur of Angers, 20 August, 1814.

circulars, the Grand-Master, with obligations. In reply to his demand for repairs to the crumbling wing of the college, a pair of inspectors-general had appeared and took notes, but nothing was done, and he himself had to finance the cost. As for the Grand-Master's pronouncements that he would chase the riff-raff from education, Horeau reminded that he had denounced an instructor in the countryside as corrupt, but a reply never came. As for Basset's argument that the school tax did not weigh on the poor, this was the unpardonable error of a man who had never been outside Paris. And how could Basset dare call the professors of the University religious when he, Horeau, had one in his college at that very moment who never approached the sacraments? For the patriarch of Manceau education, the conclusion seemed inescapable: the University was building on quicksand and would soon collapse.

The abbé Horeau acted accordingly. From September to November he successfully worked to expell the two teachers in the college sent from Angers:¹ In October, Horeau took concrete steps to convert the school into a petit séminaire, and as a result a lengthy correspondence grew up between him and Duperrier-Dumourier, vicar-general of Le Mans, determined opponent of the Academy. The town council approved the negotiations, but the sub-prefect began to have his doubts. A forceful letter came from the persuasive Duperrier on 13 November. Did not the best ecclesiastics of the diocese come from this

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-11; Principal of Chateau-Gôntier to the recteur of Angers, 30 July, 2 September, 19 September, 23 October, 1 November, 1814. When Paris attempted to send a Normalian in one of their places, Horeau rose up like a wounded lion.

college? The king had proclaimed a moral education as the new aim, and it was well known that the public schools were centers of vice and irreligion. "Je sais avec certitude," he concluded, "que dans la seule ville de Tours plusieurs jeunes gens sont muets d'excès de débauches capable de faire périr les hommes les plus vigoureux."¹ Destournelles chose, however, to make a trip to Angers for a confrontation with the recteur. The plan to "kidnap" a University school ended with that conversation, Mazure reported to Paris.

The dilemma of F. Mazure before the new government of France was the dilemma of most fonctionnaires in provincial administration. This young recteur of a backwater academy deserted the Empire with alacrity and hastened to raise the flag of royalism and religion over the Lycée and the colleges. Not only was the spirit of survival strong, but Mazure saw in the returning Bourbon family the guarantee of peace in Europe, and the end of the long wars that had snatched so many young professors from their schools, and the end as well to the odious drum and uniform in the classroom, these symbols of conscription in a region where counter-revolution and religion were so entrenched. "Le régime militaire était ce qui offensait le plus les familles," he later reported.² At the literary exercises in September, F. Mazure set forth before the students and the assembled authorities of the department his essential grief against the Empire: not the centralization, not the

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 1-T-11; Vicar-general of Le Mans to sub-prefect of Chateau-Gontier, 13 November, 1814.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2687; Recteur of Angers to Paris, 1 April, 1815. The principals of the colleges had not waited for official authorization to abandon drums and uniform.

arbitrariness, not the charge of irreligion, but war, the death that it brought to so many homes, the distortion of studies that followed. With no uncertain passion, he held up the world of antiquity as the one beacon of light against degradation, both individual and national.¹

Administrator in a royalist and counter-revolutionary region, Mazure showed a much greater appreciation of local feeling and sentiment than did the impervious and unbending Central Commission, isolated in Paris. Constantly the recteur reminded his superiors that Anjou and the Maine, center of the Civil War, still bore the wounds and the memories of these troubled years. In April, he saw that the last vestiges of militarism within the schools were eradicated and through the summer introduced a number of religious practices. During the summer and fall, he used his friendship with the proprietor of the Journal du Maine-et-Loire to insert anonymous articles favorable to the Academy, a tactic that the uncompromising Commission failed to appreciate.²

The greatest reform that Mazure hoped to make, the centerpiece of his efforts, was the overhauling of the semi-deserted lycée, center of studies which more than any other institution identified the academy with the irreligion and

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-14; Recteur of Angers, Entry of 2 September, 1814.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8864; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 4 October, 1814. F. Mazure was one of the few recteurs to have a sense of the importance of public opinion; "Il faudrait avoir discrècement des amis parmi les journalistes. Les jésuites faisaient ainsi. Des pensions adroitement distribuées produiraient un effet insensible mais sur. J'ai à disposition nos deux journaux. Tous les recteurs devraient se ménager ce moyen."

political disloyalty that Horeau professed to see. The first to disappear was the most controversial figure, T. Benaben, professor of mathematics who had been president of the Club de l'Ouest, the more radical of the Popular Societies, Commissioner to the army of the West, witness to the noyades at Nantes.¹ In July, the recteur demanded the retirement of the censeur, the ex-priest Moulin, who until April wore a bright blue waistcoat with gold buttons and a fashionable pair of pointed shoes, much to the scandal of the clergy. Above all, he wished the transfer of Armand de Jossey, the ex-army officer whose lax direction of the lycée had so contributed to its bad reputation.² The Central Commission received a confidential letter suggesting that the sumônier, respected by all shades of clerical opinion, become proviseur and that the director of the petit séminaire become the censeur.³ The Academy was decidedly to change with the times.

In the first week of September, the Commission selected an ecclesiastic, but one that was foreign to the West and its peculiar traditions; all the long hours of negotiating, of cajoling, of arguing with the abbé Gourden had gone for naught. The bridge between diocese and academy was

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7687; Tableau de Personnel, 1814.
2. Uzereau, F.; "Le Lycée et l'Ecole Ecclesiastique d'Angers, 1814" Anj. His.; T. 26 (1926), p. 122. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7687; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 4 May, 1814. The recteur was carrying on a personal feud with the proviseur and was only too happy to see the ex-army officer compromised in the riots of the lyceans; "Il se croit aimé des élèves; et ill se moquent de lui."
3. Ibid.

not to be built. The five inspectors-general who composed the Commission had once again succumbed to their incurable weakness of seeing education in terms of Paris and of Parisian personalities. Rendu and Gueneau de Mussy fell over themselves to accommodate the influential abbé de Bausset, eminent spokesman of the French clergy and future Cardinal, when he requested that an abbé Guairard be given the Lycée of Angers.¹

Mazure was more than startled to see a dust-covered priest trembling with rage brusquely enter his bureau on the afternoon of 3 October. Guairard had alighted from the coach for the Royal University. The flow of events does not suggest and made his way to the lycée to find that the ex-colonel de Jossey still occupied the apartment of the proviseur, refusing to budge until he saw the arrêté dismissing him. The recteur shamefacedly admitted that the arrêté had not yet reached Angers, whereupon Guairard placed his bags on the next coach to Paris. Only the intervention of Portalis, son of Napoleon's Minister of Cults, prevented the abbé's departure.²

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7687; Dossier of the abbé Guairard, 1814. Guairard was a highly talented individual: superior of a Doctrinaire College before the Revolution; émigré priest, chef de bureau in the Ministry of Cults until exiled from Paris in 1811 for his role in the d'Astros affair; principal of the tiny College of Tarascon.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7687; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 4 October, 1814.

1. Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration*: pp. 86, 115-116.

over their schools; lay principals sought greater freedom; provincial powers were being overthrown; and when parents refused to pay the school tax. These strongly-articulated sentiments were an ultimatum for greater participation in government and, as such, constituted an expression of regional spirit. But, at the same time, a dangerous vacuum had been created, a vacuum that allowed the political extremes at least some room for maneuver.

IV.

For Frédérique Mazure and for Paris, the year 1814 seemed much more than a strange interlude in the transition from Empire to monarchy. The year portended troubled times for the Royal University. The flow of events does not suggest doubt. The remarkable aspect was that the Central Commission, the thesis of Bertier de Sauvigny -- that France was settling into the new order with relative ease, that the events of the summer were part of a momentary outburst, that the return of the Emperor reversed this course to split the country into antagonistic blocks, thereby setting the course for the remainder of the nineteenth century.¹

Instead France was experiencing a gradual breakdown of administration that provided local interest groups with an ideal opportunity for coming to the fore. The clergy in Anjou and the Maine began to stir after the appearances of the Duc d'Angoulême. Plans for new petit séminaires were made; students ceased attending the public schools; those principals who were priests demanded their independence from the University; and a vicious underground literature sprang up defaming public education. Mayors demanded greater control

1. Bertier de Sauvigny, La Restauration; pp. 86, 115-116.

The rest, so much closer to the realities of over their schools; lay principals sought greater freedom; provincial France, were doing everything in their power to parents refused to pay the school tax. These strongly-articulated sentiments were an ultimatum for greater participation in government and, as such, constituted an expression of regional spirit. But, at the same time, a dangerous vacuum had been created, a vacuum that allowed the political extremes at least one ex-revolutionary to severe discipline for the ample room for manoeuvre.

Hostilities only lurked a shade below the surface. Anjou and the Maine were silently boiling in anger, and over local authorities a greater role. Even so, the whole of the University hung an air of uncertainty and doubt. The remarkable aspect was that the Central Commission, composed of such pragmatic men, failed to sense the changing temper of the population, the new conditions for existence. At the beginning of 1815, the University was in a state of suspense. The Decree of 17 February dictated sweeping change and few pretended to know the outcome. Certainly, Rendu and Fontanes made a few concessions: the military facade was stripped from the lycée, and new regulations governing religious exercises were introduced. But aside from these token steps, the Commission clung to a curiously uncompromising tact that revealed in it a proud, stubborn spirit isolated from the realities of 1814. The inspectors-general were above all else technicians anxious to extend the state's power, administrators who viewed the task of domesticating the departments to the rule of Paris as eminently non-political. Thus Rendu continued to insist on the school tax, to demand that provincial colleges accept returning professors from the dismantled empire and peremptorily called for the maintenance of the regulations of the November Decree. The Commission showed no appreciation for the outburst of regional sentiment that was effectively paralyzing its administration.

The recteurs, so much closer to the realities of provincial France, were doing everything in their power to stay this tide. Like sailors on a storm-tossed sea, they were prepared to jettison much of the cargo to save the floundering ship. Frédérique Mazure was careful to give the suspected lycée a thorough overhauling, from removal of at least one ex-revolutionary to severe discipline for the nationalistic students. He entered into lengthy negotiations with the ecclesiastics of the two dioceses and he promised local authorities a greater role. Even so, Mazure fought back: many of the regulations of the November Decree were maintained, while the recteur had articles favorable to his cause published in the journal at Angers.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

DISINTEGRATION OF THE OLD ORDER

1815

The Hundred Days was a political phenomenon. Although Napoleon publicly claimed to popularize the sentiment of the nation and to bring about a social revolution as his goal, he in fact spent the months of April and May skimming with the National Assembly in an attempt to consolidate his own personal power. The dynastic intrigues within Paris pre-occupied the new government, in particular the maneuvers of Fouché, who was corresponding with Metternich and Talleyrand at Vienna, and the deal with the liberal deputies over the sweeping Additional Act to the new Constitution. Outside the capital, the Bonapartist prefects contended with rumors of insurrection, and in the West of France, over fifty thousand insurgents held the countryside, although more to protest conscription than out of loyalty to the monarchy.

Yet it would be a mistake to view the turmoil inside the Imperial University as a purely political phenomenon, for the Hundred Days struck at the very foundation of this scarcely established institution. The return of Napoleon called into question the delicate social equilibrium that characterized the University at each and every level, and in the process

threatened to bring about an internal explosion whose consequences went far beyond the question of Bonapartism and royalism.

I.

The Hundred Days was pre-eminently a political phenomenon. Although Napoleon initially appealed to popular resentment of the nobility and clergy by proclaiming social revolution as his goal, he in fact spent the months of April and May skirmishing with the National Assembly in an attempt to consolidate his own personal power. The byzantine intrigues within Paris pre-occupied the new government, in particular the manoeuvres of Fouché, who was corresponding with Metternich and Talleyrand at Vienna, and the duel with the liberal deputies over the sweeping Additional Act to the new Constitution. Outside the capital, the Bonapartist prefects contended with rumors of insurrection, and in the West of France, over fifty thousand insurgents held the countryside, although more to protest conscription than out of loyalty to the monarchy.

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The Hundred Days caught the University in the first stages of elaborating the Ordinance of 17 February, 1815, in what was a moment of transition and uncertainty, a moment of doubt and disillusionment. The newly-named president of the Royal Council of Public Instruction was conscientiously consulting the officials of his new domain but still had no firm grasp over the reins of power when, on 22 March, Napoleon Bonaparte entered a Paris which mirrored the anxious and dilemma of the bourgeoisie over the prospect of class war.¹

The Decree of 30 March re-established the Imperial University in its old form but change was nonetheless overtaking its governing organs and with it the high degree of centralized power. With both Fontanes and de Bassett eliminated, the indefatigable Carnot² chose as director of education a close friend, the republican leader Armand, an appointment that illustrated the initial tendency of the new government to give places to the old revolutionary personnel.³ Then in April,

1. Grimaud, L.: Histoire de la liberté de l'enseignement: Vol. 5: La Restauration: (Paris, 1955), pp. 44-47. Garnier, A.: Éducation: son rôle dans l'Université sous la Restauration: (Grenoble, 1925), pp. 221-223. Le Gall, P.: Les Centa-jours: (Paris, 1925).

2. Reinhard, M.: Le Grand Carnot l'organisateur de la victoire, 1792-1823: (Paris, 1952), 111 pp. 310-326.

Bonaparte showed his anti-liberal leanings by naming as the new Grand-Master, first Lacépède, then Lebrun, former Consul and non-entity who represented conservative opinion. That Lebrun allowed himself to be led around by the old hands of the Imperial University II. to be reflected in the statement of George Cuvier to another inspector-general during the fall of 1815:

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2. Reinhard, M.; Le Grand Carnot l'organisateur de la victoire, 1792-1823; (Paris, 1952), 11: pp. 310-326.

3. Ibid.

sur, a measure of his implacable hatred for Rendu.¹ In the Bonaparte showed his anti-liberal leanings by naming as the nominations for the new Council of the Imperial University, the new Grand-Master, first Lapepède, then Lebrun, former Consul Cuvier faction saw to the exclusion of the former dictator of and non-entity who represented conservative opinion. That public education, Rendu retaining only his post of inspector-general. That this resentment of Fontanes' old protégé was the Imperial University seems to be reflected in the statement of George Cuvier to another inspector-general during the fall of 1815:

Je dirai toujours hautement que pendant le peu de temps qu'il a été chef de l'Instruction publique, il a déployé des lumières et une modération admirable.¹

More significantly there was a fierce reshuffling at the top which saw the Central Commission, so long the arbiter of education, knocked from its position of pre-eminence, then dismantled. The personnel of this body had already been badly hit during the first two months of 1815. Villar and Roman were retiring in February, the former because of his past as a constitutional bishop;² Daburon and Petitot resigned on 30 March in protest against the new government;³ only Amboise Rendu and Gueneau de Mussy remained. A movement began to unseat this pair who had so aroused resentment among the other inspectors-general. In a note to the Grand-Master, Cuvier denounced the monopoly of the Commission and demanded a new series of smaller bodies, each concerned with a specialized subject, bodies whose members would be "à la fois plus noble et plus

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; Fonds Cuvier; No. 2389; Cuvier to the inspector-general d'Andrezel, 15 November, 1815.
2. Almanach de France, 1815.
3. Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève; 1004; Papers of Petitot; Notes of Public Education, May, 1815.

sur," a measure of his implacable hatred for Rendu.¹ In the nominations for the new Council of the Imperial University, the Cuvier faction saw to the exclusion of the former dictator of public education, Rendu retaining only his post of inspector-general.² That this resentment of Fontanes' old protégé was a commonly shared one seems to be indicated by an anonymous note on a candidate for the provisorate of the Lycée of Versailles; "C'est une créature de la faction Rendu, et l'on se rappelle combien de plaintes se sont élevées, même sous les Bourbons, contre ce faiseur."³ So it was that the one body which had given unity and direction to the confused structure of the old University disappeared in a cloud of recriminations. The inspectors-general were also discovering that the Hundred Days, far from restoring the old lines of authority, were accelerating the anarchy which had paralyzed the University during the First Restoration.⁴ The drama of oath-taking to the new Empire, the return to the military regime in the

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; Fonds Cuivier; No. 270; Rapport sur le régime à établir dans l'Université, 1815. This unusual document outlined a new hierarchy as well as a new policy for the University. Like Guizot and Royer-Collard, Cuvier had been appalled at the inefficiencies and discrimination which had resulted from the over-centralization of authority during the Empire, but unlike them felt that the solution lay in a better distribution of power within Paris itself.

2. Arch. Nat.; AJ 16; Papers of the University; appointments to posts in the University, F 17 2628; Minister of the Interior to Napoleon, 30 March, 1815.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7613; Anonymous letter to the Grand-Master, 17 May, 1815.

4. For the attitude of the students, see Dupond-Ferrier; Trois Siècles de la vie d'un collège, (Paris, 1920); Vol. 2. The history of the Lycée Louis-le-Grand. Bary, E.; Cahiers d'un rhétoricien de 1815, (Paris, 1873).

lycées, the action of the Bonapartist prefects and the pressures of the fédérés caused the rectorates to slip even further from the control of Paris.

Only one of the twenty-five recteurs was actually dismissed for political reasons and the universitaires in Paris did everything in their power to resist, a testimony to the tenacity with which the restored University sought to defend its political neutrality in the face of multiple attempts to purge the corps in favor of Bonapartists. At the town of Nancy, the special commissioner for the twelfth military commission, the Comte Rampon, showed an unusual activity in purging the administrations in the Meurthe-et-Moselle and one of his chief victims was the recteur of that academy, d'Régel, former émigré priest.¹ Although Carnot forced the University to sanction his removal, Cuvier and Lebrun refused to touch the man elevated into the post by the commissioner, a penniless printer who set about organizing the fédérés. The Academy dissolved into chaos when the University sent the destitute Italian politician, Carlo Botta, who arrived at the moment that the Bourbons were returning.²

At the heart of the disorganization which beset the University were, however, the recteurs themselves, some of whom discreetly retired to their homes, and still others who

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1622; Reports of the inspector of the Academy, April-May, 1815.

2. Ibid. Correspondence of Carlo Botta; June, 1815. Botta restored the Academy to the old recteur in early July, after having participated in the official welcome of the Allied army to Nancy. Also, Botta, S.; Vie Privée de Carlo Botta; (Turin, 1878), pp. 15-20.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1622; Report of the inspector of the Academy, 31 July, 1815. The principals of the Academy refused the new recteur's demand for the oath of alliance.

raised the flag of the Bonapartist revolution over their academies. The social and political diversity that the patronage of 1809 had built into the framework of the University was at last bearing its poisonous fruit.

Four recteurs resigned within the first two weeks of April, and not surprisingly three of these came from the southwest portion of France where the larger towns from Toulouse to Bordeaux were active centers of opposition to the Empire. The head of Pau, the ultra-royalist abbé Elicagaray, fled to Spain to rejoin the Duc d'Angoulême at Pamplona "où il use de toute son influence," reported Boissy d'Anglas, special commissioner, "pour exciter les Espanols contre nous et pour donner la guerre à son ancienne patrie."¹ The recteur of Bordeaux, whose brother had defended Louis XVI, ignored the successive arrêtés sent by Arnault; the use of the drum in the lycée, the collection of the school tax, the oath of allegiance. Denounced by the new prefect of the Gironde as an ardent royalist, he and the proviseur fled Bordeaux.² Only the presence of an inspector-general prevented the collapse of the lycée, if not the Academy. His neighbor at Toulouse, Jammes, former parliamentarian and Girondin, resigned in April and was replaced by an assermenté priest, thereby sealing the identification of the Academy with the revolutionary party.³

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1625; Boissy d'Anglas; to the Duc de Plaisance, 20 May, 1815. Boissy placed as interim recteur a professor in the Lycée of Pau, a former married priest.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2484; Prefect of the Gironde to the Grand-Master; 24 May, 1815.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8047; Recteur of Toulouse to Villaret, 31 July, 1815. The principals of the colleges ignored the new recteur's demand for the oath of allegiance.

The principals of the municipal schools in the Academy ignored the new recteur's demand for the oath of allegiance. At the other end of France, in the Academy of Strasbourg, the recteur, scion of a noble family, attempted to raise a volunteer force for the defense of the king, then on learning of Louis's flight turned over the reins of administration to his loyal inspector.¹

An undetermined number of recteurs simply disappeared from their offices at the first convenient moment. At Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire, republican during the Directory, withdrew to his farm in the Doubs while the économe of the lycée, a leading fédéré, preached the gospel according to Carnot.² At Poitiers, the former émigré de Belissens announced that his chest ailment necessitated a trip to the waters and gave the rectorate to an inspector.³ At Caen, the crusty lawyer who had been expelled from the old Faculty of Law in 1792 for refusing the oath to the Civil Constitution stubbornly withheld the new oath as did sixteen other members of the Academy. Carnot demanded that the new Grand-Master remove the entire seventeen. "Cette liste est effrayante," Lebrun confessed to the Minister, but declared that there were no candidates with which to replace them.⁴

1. Arch. Nat.; AJ 18 145; Registre de Correspondence; 23 March, 1815. In the AJ series, one finds the entire set of registers for the Academy of Strasbourg, transferred to the National Archives in 1870.

2. Arch. Nat. F 17 7722; Report of the recteur on the state of the Lycée of Besançon, 1 September, 1815.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1625; Correspondence of the inspector of the Academy of Poitiers; March-June, 1815.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1433; Duc de Plaisance to Carnot, 19 June, 1815; in reply to a letter citing the unfavorable reports of the prefects.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1612; Extrait des Registres de l'Académie de Caen; Thibaudon, May, 1815.

Most recteurs seem to have perfunctorily given the oath but did little more than sit complacently in their offices as the academies fell into an administrative anarchy. In the Academy of Nîmes, the ex-abbé Tendénat collected the signatures of those professors of the lycée who gave the oath but lost all contact with the principals of the colleges: "Mon bureau est entièrement désorganisé," Tedénat pleaded, "Je suis sans inspecteur sans secrétaire, sans commis écrivain."¹

Those few recteurs who had taken part in the Revolution not unnaturally welcomed the return of the Emperor as an end to the pressures that had made their lives so uncomfortable during the First Restoration, but the only recteur to have pronounced with gusto for the new Empire was that of Dijon, Jacotot, the young Normalian of '95 and an outrider of the scientific community in Paris during the Directory. If in 1809 he had momentarily allied himself with the dévots in the Côte-d'Or, by 1815 he was a leading representative of the liberal bourgeoisie. While his brother was elected to the new Chamber of Deputies in May, Jacotot enthusiastically aided the special commissioner, Thibaudeau, in the purging of the Academy.² Of the sixteen members of the lycée, they removed seven who refused the oath of loyalty. The censeur, a future administrator in the Academy of Angers, fled on foot into the countryside while the proviseur boarded a coach for his home in Angers.³

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1623; Recteur of Nîmes to the Grand-Master, 4 May, 1815.

2. Savowsdy, A.; "La Crise et le Relevement des Collèges en Côte-d'Or sous la Restauration," Ann. Bourgogne; T. 32 (1960), pp. 35-59.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1619; Extraits des rapports du Comte Thibaudeau, May, 1815.

The variety of responses during the Hundred Days among the twenty-five recteurs markedly revealed the diversity, the conflicting points-of-view, the widely varying social origins that characterized this piebald corps. Far from a neutral group of men, far from the ideal of administrators above political allegiance, the recteurs were in reality local notables who represented particular factions, particular interests.

In the summer of 1815, the University faced the gravest crisis of its short existence. The threat was not so much that of a legal dismantling of public education as it was of a loss of effective authority to local officials. The pressures for self-government within education found ample room for asserting themselves in the vacuum of July and August. The highly independent recteur of Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire, ceased corresponding with Paris and called his administration the University of Besançon.¹ The recteur of Aix followed suit.² At the end of the month, the acting director of the University, the abbé Villaret, figurehead in the old imperial administration, wrote to the Minister pleading for a decision that would draw the school system from anarchy. "Plusieurs principaux de collèges et les maîtres-de-pension ne sont plus affiliés à aucune académie," he stated, "les ressources affectées à l'entretien du corps enseignant ont

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2622; Villaret to the Minister of the Interior, 1 September, 1815.

2. Nicollet, F.N.: L'Académie d'Aix pendant les Cents-Jours, (Aix, 1913).

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2622; Report to the King by the Minister of the Interior, 15 August, 1815.

cessé tout-à-coup; tous les liens de la subordination sont détruits ou relâchés."¹

Already the Minister of the Interior, Pasquier, prefect of Police during the Empire, had set about to maintain the control of the government in the face of the reaction and anarchy in the Midi and elsewhere.² On 15 August, he presented a report to the king arguing that circumstances commanded the preservation of the old University with its convenient centralization, but minus its heavy superstructures at Paris. The former student of the Oratorians proposed a new Commission of five members drawn neither from the old imperial council nor the royalist one created in February but entirely new, "uniquement composé d'hommes laborieux, désigné par les places qu'ils occupent dans l'Instruction Publique."³ Those associated with the moderate brand of royalism, friends of the Minister, were placed in the Commission.

Who were these men associated with the constitutional brand of royalism and why was each chosen? Essentially Pasquier was looking for a group of administrators loyal to the hard-pressed ministry, yet diverse enough in origin to satisfy

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2628; Villaret to the Minister of the Interior, 1 August, 1815. The letter concluded, "Les principaux de collège et les maîtres-de-pension ne reconnaissent plus les ordres des Recteurs. A Toulouse, à Nîmes, à Montpellier les écoles sont dans le trouble et la confusion." Villaret's picture was not an exaggerated one. The Academy of Nîmes dissolved into chaos as Protestants and Catholics attempted purges and counter-purges in the schools of the Gard and the Vauclauze. At least two principals were arrested as fédérés.

2. Pouthas, C.; Guizot pendant la Restauration, 1923, pp. 71-104.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2628; Report to the King by the Minister of the Interior, 15 August, 1815.

as many interests as possible. Four of the five came from the margin of education, men who were attached to the University but were not an active part of the clique that had ruled it during the Empire. Royer-Collard, professor of the Sorbonne, director of the Librairie during the Restoration, a moderate royalist whose home had served as the meeting place for Pasquier and Guizot during the Hundred Days, soon to be deputy of the Marnes, became the president of the Commission.¹ Georges Cuvier, councilor of state, one of Napoleon's special commissioners in 1814, renowned scientist as well as inspector-general of the University, secured his revenge for the eclipse that he had suffered during the Empire at the hands of Amboise Rendu.² Indeed Cuvier became the lobbyist of the Commission with the Richelieu-Decazes Ministry. The third and fourth members were the distinguished Orientalist, Silvestre de Sacy, who knew little of public education and of its problems, and the abbé Frayssinous, spokesman of the Gallican wing of the French Church, one time inspector of the Academy of Paris and future Grand-Master of the University during the 1820's.

In the last two weeks of August, Pasquier faced a particularly delicate question, one that concerned the relationship of the new Commission of Public Education to both local and national government. From all corners of France came insistent demands for purge. Prefects, mayors, bishops, royalist committees, all deluged the Commission with angry demands

1. Langeron, R.; Royer-Collard, un conseiller secret de Louis XVIII; (Paris, 1956), pp. 108-130.

2. Vienet, J.; Georges Cuvier, 1769-1832; (Paris, 1932), pp. 180-230.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1617; Royer-Collard to the Prefect of the Cher, 30 August, 1815.

Pasquier tried to stem the purge

that the fédérés and revolutionaries, the married priests and the assermentés, be rooted out of education. In the face of local authorities who wished to carry out their own witch-hunts, Pasquier acted to save the autonomy of the University by refusing their demands. When the mayor of Douai denounced the proviseur of the Royal college, the Minister wrote to Royer-Collard:

Cette manière de procéder est vicieuse...
Je m'en rapporte à vous et à la Commission
à qui l'affaire sera soumise pour ne faire
de destitution que dans le cas d'une
nécessité reconnue.¹

To forestall the demands of prefects and mayors for a relentless purge, Royer-Collard decided to strike at the most visible portion of the iceberg: the recteurs. In September, over one-third of the academies were decapitated. Nine out of twenty-five recteurs lost their place.

On 30 August, the Commission sent a confidential letter to several prefects asking for comments of the behavior of certain recteurs: "La Commission repousse toute idée de réaction," the letter concluded, "mais elle doit à la morale publique...de ne conserver désormais que des hommes justement considérés..."² At least two of the accused men journeyed to Paris to see the terrible Royer-Collard. The Recteur of Rouen spoke with him on 21 August and wrote the following day in fear that the facts had not come fully to light, "dans une aussi courte explication entre deux hommes qui se voient pour la

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7800; Minister of the Interior to Royer-Collard, 5 September, 1815.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1617; Royer-Collard to the Prefect of the Cher, 30 August, 1815.

première fois."¹ Peroelat believed himself to have been judged and condemned before the interview, which suggests that the material before the Commission between 15 and 21 August was decisive. When Raynal, recteur of Bourges and former terrorist of the Cher, came to Paris in late August, he had a private conversation not only with Royer-Collard but with Amboise Rendu as well.² Others, such as the recteur of Nîmes, passed on notes justifying their behavior.³ The inspectors-general seemed to have contributed their impressions on those involved, and one can imagine that Rendu, with his encyclopedic knowledge of men and places, played the leading role despite his semi-disgrace.

Who were the nine men removed and what criteria did the Commission choose in establishing their guilt? Royer-Collard, very much the pragmatist despite his future role as theoretician of the Doctrinaires, sacrificed the men of the Revolution less for what they did during the Hundred Days than for what they had been before 1800. At the moment when public education was under heavy attack, he sought to offer a gage of loyalty to the new government and to the exacerbated opinion that had just elected the Chambre Introuvable.

In the seven academies of the Midi, two recteurs were purged, Paulin at Cahors and Dumas at Montpellier. The

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Dossier de Peroelat; Peroelat to Royer-Collard, 22 August, 1815.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1617; Ex-Recteur of Bourges to Royer-Collard, 7 September, 1815.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1623; Note transmitted to the Commission by Tédénat; 12 September, 1815.

1. Paumes, B. La Collège Royal et les origines du lycée de Cahors (Paris, 1907), pp. 250-257.

former's past as a leading clubiste at Toulouse was overtaking him, for during the Hundred Days he and his inspector refused to remove those principals who refused the oath of loyalty.¹ As for the latter, his anticlericalism during the Revolution and his continuing difficulties as a medical doctor who subscribed to the empiricism of Cabanis sufficed as an excuse for dismissal.

The center and the center-east of France were hardest hit by the purge. In the Academy of Grenoble, where the lycée and the Faculty of Law had demonstrated enthusiastically for the Emperor during his passage, the recteur was compromised by his role as dean of the Faculty of Law. At Clermont-Férrand, the recteur lost his place because he had acceded to the post only through his connections in the Corps Legislatif. At Orléans, the abbé de Champeaux had never pleased, despite his background as an aumônier in the army of the Condé. On re-entering France he ceased saying mass and was too closely identified with imperial society in the town of Orléans. The recteur of Dijon, Jacotot, was purged for his collaboration with Thibaudeau, although he vehemently denied that he had been a fédéré.

The case of the recteur of Bourges was more dramatic. Raynal was one of the few competent administrators in education, a relatively young man at 48. He had taught in an illustrious congregation, that of the Doctrine; had been professor in the lycée; then proviseur; and he had powerful backing among the more influential inspectors-general. Yet someone of influence at Bourges, whom Raynal suspected of being his old rival

1. Paumes, B. Le Collège Royal et les origines du Lycées de Cahors; (Paris, 1907), pp. 250-257.

in the lycée, reminded the Commission that he had given a ball on the night of the execution of Louis XVI and that he had served as one of Laplanche's agents in the dechristianizing movement in the Cher. The fact that Raynal made a trip to Paris for the ceremonies of the Champ de Mai provided the excuse for his removal on 2 September. "Me voilà condamné de nouveau à une vie d'amertume et d'humiliation...", he wrote Royer-Collard five days later, "ce qui m'afflige et me désespère ...c'est la crainte de passer pour opposé à un gouvernement auquel je m'étais franchement voué..."¹

In removing the nine recteurs, the Commission was striking a blow not only at the men of the Revolution. It was firing the opening round against the beneficiaries of the imperial patronage system. All of these men, with the exception of Raynal and Percelat, were weak, ineffectual administrators who had looked upon their posts as sinecures for past services. A measure of the Commission's realism and flexibility was the reappearance of Percelat as inspector of the Academy of Strasbourg in 1818, and that of Raynal as an inspector-general in 1819.

1. Arch. Nat. F 17 1617; Dossier of Raynal, letters of September, 1815.

An active, decisive man, the recteur of Angers spent the last days of March rushing from Paris to Angers in the futile attempt to organize resistance. News of Bonaparte's landing and of the taking of Grenoble found him at the capital discussing plans for the coming year with the new head of the University, the abbé de Beaussat, future cardinal of France.¹ On 11 March, the recteur wrote the terrible protest

III.

One of the few men to emerge with an enhanced reputation from the Hundred Days and the purges that followed was the 36-year-old recteur of the Academy of Angers.

The role of F. Mazure was emblematic of the generation of young administrators who had forged ahead under the Empire and who now detached themselves from Napoleon Bonaparte while remaining loyal to his institutions. Mazure had been too young to have taken part in the Revolution: indeed, he was educated in one of the finest of its schools, the Ecole Centrale of Niort, and remained genuinely dedicated to the ideal of legal equality and political liberty, the twin credo of the nineteenth-century liberal. The return of Bonaparte deeply shook this young recteur who foresaw a return to conscription and militarism, a return to a despotic mode of government, and, above all, a return to the days of '93, a vision that haunted the middle classes of 1815. More simply, he saw in the Bonapartist Revolution a threat to his attempt to make the University's monopoly acceptable within Anjou and the Maine, so strongly counter-revolutionary and royalist.

2. Ibid., entry for 22 March.

An active, decisive man, the recteur of Angers spent the last days of March rushing from Paris to Angers in the futile attempt to organize resistance. News of Bonaparte's landing and of the taking of Grenoble found him at the capital discussing plans for the coming year with the new head of the University, the abbé de Bausset, future cardinal of France.¹ On 11 March, the recteur wrote the harried prefect de Toqueville, to offer his services in any volunteer formation. After a final interview on the eighteenth, he sped back to the academy and learned, while preparing for bed on the night of the nineteenth, the disagreeable news of the king's flight. The next morning at six thirty, Mazure rushed to see the Comte de Toqueville, then Portalis, first president of the royal court, the young councilor whom Napoleon had exiled from Paris in 1811. "Le premier nous a conseillé de ne pas agir," the recteur wrote with a certain disillusionment.²

Indeed, matters could not have been more confused at Angers. Since 14 March, the Duc de Bourbon, last of the grand Condés, had been in town attempting to raise and command the royalist forces of Brittany and the Vendée, but his weak character and lack of decision only compounded the chaos. On 23 March, the Comte d'Autichamp, realizing the futility of resistance, persuaded the aged duke to quit Angers for the Royalist town of Beaupréau; and at three in the morning the

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-14; Actes du Recteur; Entry for 21 March, 1815. The recteur discussed with de Bausset the composition of the new Academic Council, a purged body consisting of only members of the Academy.

2. Ibid., Entry for 22 March.

duke mounted his horse and rode into the heart of the Vendée militaire.¹ That same day, the recteur sternly threatened his professors that anyone betraying the oath to the king would be suspended.²

During this troubled time, Angers itself remained remarkably calm; the soldiers had changed the white cocarde for the tricolor; "Des patrouilles à pied à cheval font un service de surveillance très actif."³ Yet Mazure hopefully clung to the rumors that sped across the town: d'Autichamp was sparking a new Vendée; the Duchess of Angoulême, at the head of 25,000 men, held Bordeaux. However, reality brutally shouldered its way in. On 26 March, the bishop said Easter mass chanting the Domine Salvum fac Imperatus for the first time. Three days later came a letter from the new director of public education, Arnault, announcing that the Decrees of 1808 and 1811 were once again in force and that the Ordinance of 5 October, 1814, giving the petits séminaires their freedom, no longer was valid. Mazure immediately communicated the letter to Montault des Isles.⁴

1. Le Gallo; Les Cents-Jours; pp. 143-149.

2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-14; Entry for 22 March; Mazure scribbled that sovereignty cannot be conferred by an army, "que nos serments ne peuvent être anéantis que par le Roi qui les a reçus..."

3. Ibid.; Entry for 24 March.

4. Joubert; "Les Cents-Jours en Maine-et-Loire." Rev. Bret. Anj.; T. 24 (1891), pp. 61-69.

The impact of the March Revolution on the recteur can be measured by the intensity of the emotions which break through his notes after the twenty-second. The Registre des Actes du Recteur had until then been a perfunctory jotting down of minor bureaucratic decisions. Suddenly, for a seven-day period, the pages come to life. Astonishment, shock, disbelief leap out from the writings. Certainly Frédérique Mazure wished to keep a record of his activities in case of a later explanation. The notes began on 22 March with the pious observation that sovereignty could never be conferred by an army; they end with the statement that he was accepting the Empire because "nulle société ne peut subsister sans un ordre public." Yet in between, what anguish, what indecision! The prefect counseling not to act; d'Autichamp preparing for insurrection; regiments in movement outside the walls of the town; rumors of insurrection from the Vendée; the National Guard patrolling the streets; the proviseurs asking whether to strike the white flag over the lycée. "Une des révolutions les plus mémorables de l'histoire moderne s'est consommée en un petit nombre de jours," Mazure cried in disbelief.¹

The unequivocal support that he gave the royalist party brought him an unfavorable comment from one inspector-general, but Mazure, pleading the need to support his wife,

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1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 391-T-14; Entry for 31 March; "Considérant que nulle société ne peut subsister sans un ordre public; que la soumission à la puissance est un devoir; qu'il reste toujours aux français la cause de la Patrie à défendre ou à servir, nous déclarons qu'ayant été religieusement fidèle au Roi jusqu'au dernier moment de sa présence en France, nous croyons pouvoir continuer nos fonctions dans l'ordre prescrit par l'autorité."

family, an aged aunt and two nieces, asked to continue.¹

Although the recteur promised verbal allegiance to the new Empire, he fought to prevent the Bonapartist revolution from sweeping into the colleges of the Academy and wrecking the new discipline imposed during the First Restoration. On 24 March, the abbé Guairard prudently struck the white flag over the Lycée of Angers, where the students, mostly sons of army officers, were threatening rebellion, and began saying prayers for the Emperor, the first establishment in Angers to do so.² When the lyceans threatened to mutiny over the interdiction of all newspapers, their one link to the outside world, the recteur gave way to the extent of allowing one boy to come to his office each afternoon to read the journals, then communicate the news to the others.³

From 1 April to 20 April, Mazure repeatedly warned Paris that the re-establishment of the military regime would complete the ruin of the progressively deserted lycée. "Nous serions une ville étrangère au milieu d'une autre ville; nous le sommes presque déjà...", he told Arnault;⁴ yet Carnot's circular of 20 April prescribed the system of the old Empire and neither the recteur nor the proviseur challenged it. The students received the drum and the uniform.

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6868; Inspector-general to the Grand-Master, 1815. The inspector said of Mazure, "Se serait voué à la défense du Gouvernement du Roi, si le roi fut resté sur le territoire français."
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1616; Proviseur of the Lycée of Angers to the Recteur of Angers, 31 March, 1815.
3. Ibid.; The recteur of Angers to the director-general of education, 1 April, 1815.
4. Ibid.

Mazure's second encounter with the Bonapartist revolution revealed in the man a profound distaste for the political antics that accompanied the new Empire and a not uncertain hostility to the "people." At the College of Saumur, one of the younger professors became active in the noisy demonstrations that greeted the return of Bonaparte. The principal denounced him to the rectorate after Rémy led a street procession into the college at 1 a.m. where it shouted anti-royalist slogans. This piece of news decided Mazure, who asked Paris to remove the teacher as rapidly as possible.¹

The appearance of the fédérés, those pseudo-revolutionaries of the New Empire, presented an even more delicate problem. On 4 May, a call was addressed to the Angevins for the formation of a federation on the same model as that in Brittany to insure social reform as well as the defense of the new order.² The students of the lycée clamored to enlist and the new prefect, Galeazzini, pressured the rector to give his blessing to their enrollment, as well as to insist that he personally become a member. Mazure refused. "L'état du pays, les opinions et l'influence que je veux conserver sur les établissements qui n'obéissent que passivement aux status de l'Université," he explained to Paris, "exigent que je paraisse avoir une indépendance absolue de toute impulsion étrangère."³

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8603; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 3 April, 1815; Rémy to the recteur, 3 April, 1815; Recteur to the director, 5 April, 1815.

2. Le Gallo; op. cit.: pp. 298-300.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7687; Recteur of Angers to the Director-General of education, 11 May, 1815.

legal "terror," a thorough purging of the administrations,

Events nevertheless were disorganizing the Academy. The petit séminaire of Beaupréau shut its doors as the Vendéans began searching for their arms, hidden since the previous year. On 15 May, the principal of Cholet, former Calais, were retired. A large number of soldiers and police commissioners. nine days later, d'Autichamp seized Cholet and seemed on the point of doing battle with General Lamarque and his troops stationed along the Loire. The College of Chateau-Gôntier closed as well over fifty students slipped away to fight for d'Autichamp; Horeau shut the school in fear of reprisals from the new departmental administrators.¹ At Evron, the new principal was preaching a militant Bonapartism to his students while at Le Mans two of the maîtres d'études left to fight for the royalists.²

Then came June and the end of the refurbished Empire and its much decried Constitution. On 26 June, the Treaty of Cholet brought peace to the Maine-et-Loire while d'Andigné marched into Laval two weeks later. The royalists burned for revenge. Already in the Midi, a White Terror had broken loose as old rivalries and tensions came bubbling to the surface in the turmoil generated by the Hundred Days.³ Within the West, no such terror developed as the population, weary of civil strife, sank back into its essential apathy. Yet if there was little in the way of popular reaction, a

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-28; Principal of Chateau-Gôntier to the recteur of Angers, December, 1815.
2. Ibid.; 2-T-1; Sub-prefect to the prefect of the Mayenne; 7 December, 1815.
3. Bertier de Sauvigny, G. de; La Restauration; pp. 115-124.

legal "terror," a thorough purging of the administrations, was soon under way. The prefects and mayors introduced by the Hundred Days were dismissed. Those mayors who had shown a certain enthusiasm for the Empire, such as that of Saint-Calais, were retired.¹ A large turnover occurred among the police commissioners.

If Mazure was concerned to preserve the colleges of the Academy from the taint of Bonapartism during the Hundred Days, he was equally concerned to save them from the excesses of the "White Terror" during the summer of 1815, an attitude that best revealed itself when the recteur returned to Niort in August for the election of deputies to the new chamber. Mazure was elected secretary of the electoral college while his benefactor, the former Grand-Master Fontanes, was named president. When his former mentor Fontanes spoke to the college in terms of reconciliation and peace, Mazure gave his wholehearted approval and applauded as Fontanes skillfully drew the assembly from uproar when General Chabot prefaced his vote with, "I swear fidelity to the Emperor..."

Of the 71 members of the Academy, only two were excluded, a married and a defrocked priest, seven were transferred and two left education voluntarily, a remarkably lenient record. At Saumur, the professor of mathematics had displeased the royalist party and discreetly retired from the college on the pretext of a broken arm. He was merely sent to the College of Le Mans, where a higher salary and a larger

1. Berrenger, H. de; "Les Cents-Jours dans la Sarthe et la chouannerie de 1815 dans le Maine"; Soc. Arts Sarthe; T. 56 (1937-1938), pp. 49-96; 204-225.

Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 21-22-23; Inspector to Recteur of Angers, 21 July, 1815.

class awaited him.¹ For the Lycée of Angers, an elementary teacher whose enthusiasm for the "Usurpateur" made his further stay impossible went to the College of Saumur to succeed Chiron.² The one individual purged in the Maine-et-Loire was the censeur of the lycée, the ex-priest Moulin. During the Restoration, he had forsaken his blue waistcoat with gold buttons for the soutane. "Malheuresment," the recteur noted, "au retour de l'Ex-Empereur il se conduisit comme un enfant et cessa les fonctions sacerdotales."³ The married priest teaching in the College of Beaufort continued undisturbed despite the national policy of excluding this category of men.

The towns of the Sarthe had remained inert and passive throughout the Hundred Days. Only the eastern communes, traditionally republican and anti-clerical, greeted 20 March with something approaching enthusiasm. The one inspector of the Academy, Fourcas, reached Le Mans on 21 July, the very moment that the first detachment of Prussian cavalry, 550 strong, entered town. "On n'a pas à se plaindre d'eux," he told the recteur in relief. "Il paraît y avoir une discipline sévère. On nourrit bêtes et gens, mais sans vexation."⁴ Fourcas noted as well, "Il n'y a ici d'autres troupes que des Royalistes, connus sous le nom de chouans. Au reste le drapeau blanc est aboré partout et un est parfaitement tranquille." The chouans had marched on Le Mans to take it from

1. Arch. Nat. F 17 8603; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 25 June, 1815.

2. Ibid., Tableau de Mutation, 1816.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7688; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard, 6 October, 1815.

4. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; 1-TT-4; Inspector to Recteur of Angers, 21 July, 1815.

the soldiers of Davost, but were greeted instead by the notables of the town who announced that the last units of the army had departed.¹

Despite the peaceful transition, the College of Le Mans passed through a troubled period. The two maîtres d'études had deserted the school to join the royalist troops; then the recteur further disrupted things by inexplicably purging the professor of mathematics, Pôté, the ex-Doctrinaire who had taught at La Flèche during the 1780's, and a married priest who had remained politically neutral during the Hundred Days. The other incident that marred the tranquility of the college came from the bizarre attempts of the ex-Oratorian who taught the class of Fourth form, Poussard, to publish two anti-bonapartist tracts in July. He rhetorically proclaimed before the inquisitive prefect that the greatest honor was martyrdom for the king, but Pasquier, brother of the minister, gently pointed out that the time for martyrs had passed and that the task of all Frenchmen was to seek reconciliation.²

Elsewhere in the department, the mayor of Mamers demanded the exclusion of a talented young teacher, Duhamel, but the recteur saw that the man became professor several months later in the larger, more important College of Laval.³ The married priest who directed the College of Saint-Calais escaped purge because of the support he enjoyed in that formerly republican commune.⁴

1. H. de Berrenger, op. cit.

2. Arch. Dept; Sarthe; Series T, 47/2; prefect to Poussard, 20 July, 1815. Poussard to Prefect, 26 July.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8444; Tableau de Mutation, 1816.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8561; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard, 3 September, 1818.

into the If the schools of the Maine-et-Loire and the Sarthe remained on a more or less even footing in 1815, those of the Mayenne escaped from the control of the rectorate.

The Department itself had remained relatively quiet during the Hundred Days, and by the end of June, d'Andigné could unite only 6,000 chouans in contrast to his 20,000 of 1799. The lack of religious persecution, the conciliatory attitudes of the prefect, a friend of Fouché and former director of police in Holland, and the confinement of the fédérés to the maintenance of public order did little to stir the peasants out of their lethargy. With the fall of the Empire, d'Andigné made the gesture of reconciliation: he entered Laval, 16 July, with only a few officers.¹

Two professors of the College of Laval had indulged in the politics of the moment. Strangers to the department, they had taken out their resentment of the hostility with which the principal and mayor had greeted their arrival. Both the principals and the mayor roundly denounced "ces Brutus de faux-bourg Saint-Marceau,"² and in October, Mazure had the two transferred to academies outside the West.

The autumn of 1815 brought the downfall of the abbé de Bigault as well, the one semi-loyal universitaire in this intensely clerical department. On 30 September, a group of anonymous "parents" accused the principal of corrupting the morals of the students, although the mayor admitted that the letter was a gross distortion. On 1 October, the abbé played

1. Berrenger, H. de; op. cit.; Grand, D.; La Chouannerie en 1815; (Vannes, 1943), pp. 20-100.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8421; Recteur to Royer-Collard, 15 October, 1815; Mayor to Recteur, 7 October, 1815; Principal to Recteur, 9 September, 1815.

into the hands of his enemies by defaulting payment to his many creditors. "Enfin depuis quinze jours, j'apprends de tous parts que les élèves désertent le Collège," Mazure warned Royer-Collard on 2 October, "que les fournisseurs du Pensionnat sont inquiets et menaçants, que les maîtres-d'études et les régents ne sont point payés et que le Principal est obéré des dettes." The abbé also faced the new school year with no professor in three of the classes.¹

In the last week of October, de Bigault disappeared. The resulting disorganization left Mazure with little choice but to bow to the demands of the mayor that an abbé Tréquais, ex-Doctrinaire, be named principal. The academy had lost control of its only foothold among the hostile colleges of the Mayenne.

The confusion of the political events, the commercial crisis, the appearance of Prussian troops in all three departments, and the opposition of the clergy combined to paralyze the rectorate during the summer and fall of 1815. By the beginning of the school year, the student population had fallen by one half, from approximately 1,500 to 750. The one source of revenue, the school tax, plummeted from 50,000 francs to 25,000.² The colleges of the Mayenne were in open revolt against the recteur. In the Sarthe, the College of Le Mans was disorganized. In the Maine-et-Loire, that of Saumur was in debt for 13,000 francs and the salaries of the professors were four months behind. The Academy of Angers faced the year 1816 exhausted and demoralized.

1. Sinoir; "Le Lycée de Laval"; op. cit.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1616; Report of Recteur on state of Academy, June 1816.

IV.

As Georges Cuvier remarked in a letter to a friend, the Hundred Days ironically saved public education from major reform. In the face of the general breakdown of authority throughout the land, the government of the Second Restoration dared not rescind the measure reestablishing the University along the lines of the 1808 Decree. Royalist committees had sprung up to mete out a crude justice; a "White Terror" was gripping the towns of the Midi; and local officials ceased taking orders from Paris to implement their own plans and prejudices. In this context, strengthening the control of the capital took precedent over the plans of 1814. Pasquier, pleading that the state's finances did not permit the creation of seventeen regional universities, convinced the king to accept the discredited system of Napoleon Bonaparte.

This interpretation, accepted by most historians, bypasses however the most important facet of the period. The Hundred Days and its chaotic aftermath exposed with brutal frankness the multiple contradictions that underlaid the structure of the University and in so doing brought about an internal explosion which threatened to carry off that body. For one, the recteurs of the twenty-five academies were shown in their true colors as a piebald collection of

local notables and lettrés, of ex-revolutionaries and former émigrés, men who shared no common loyalties or goals. The head of the Academy of Pau could flee to Spain and join the armies of the king, while the head of Dijon enthusiastically participated in the night-time procession of the fédérés in the town. In this fashion, the haphazard patronage system of 1809 was being revealed for what it was: a machine for elevating friends and protégés into position of influence rather than for creating a disciplined body of administrators. The political reactions of the recteurs in 1815 were no more than the climax of the diverse, contradictory policies that had been pursued during the Empire.

Then too, the Hundred Days brought to a head the politics surrounding the controversial Central Commission. Amboise Rendu had made too many enemies among the inspectors-general as well as other administrators to remain unchallenged as the "dictator" of public education. His chief rival, the scientist Georges Cuvier, used the pliable Lebrun to execute a behind-the-scenes coup against the Commission, and the summer of that troubled year found the University without a firm, sure hand guiding its destinies.

Nowhere were the contradictions that plagued education more starkly revealed than on the local level, where personal feuds and rivalries cloaked themselves in the politics of the moment. The young teachers who so resented the arbitrary hand of inflexible principals used the occasion to vent their hostilities. At Saumur, the young Bonapartist

professor found the highest expression of his sentiments in the banging on a drum under the window of his director at one in the morning. Likewise, two teachers at Laval who were strangers to the region and who resented the cold treatment that they had received proved equally obnoxious in their conduct to principal and to mayor. Old feuds could not help but break out in the bitter mood of that terrible spring. In one college, the rivalry between two middle-aged men who both sought to control the school became particularly out-throat. In another, the principal took advantage of the moment to denounce a teacher whom he intensely disliked. At the lycée of Angers, the ex-priest who served as censeur took revenge of sorts on his superiors by proudly returning to his old costume of a bright blue waistcoat and gold-buttoned shoes. The grievances of men who came from so many different backgrounds found ample room for display.

What was happening to the great administration that Napoleon had created in 1808? The rules and regulations remained more or less the same; the school tax stood on the books; the massive superstructure that had provoked such hostility continued to exist; only the name had changed from the Imperial to the Royal University while the lycées became royal colleges. Or so most historians have remarked. In reality, the once-powerful system was sorely hurt, a bleeding hulk incapable of movement, demoralized to the extreme.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

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A NEW GENERATION OF RECTEURS

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intellectual development of certain educators. Not enough attention has been paid to what was taking place in the departments and in the hierarchy of public education itself; for here was where the major battles were taking place and In the winter of 1815-1816, the question for Boyer-Collard was whether the University could win the support of the new Richelieu-Decazes government in the face of vigorous attacks from a Parliament dominated by ultra-royalists.

Historians have studied at great length the relation between the Commission of Public Education and the government during these years, and from this work has emerged the realization that the Royal University was indeed in danger of being dismantled. Jacques Poitier in particular has carefully examined the sequence of events -- the reaction to the threatening speech of the deputy Saint-Romain, the gloomy atmosphere among the top rank of inspectors, the parliamentary commission set up to investigate education, the drafts for a new law by Lainé during the late summer and fall of 1816. In addition, Charles Pouthas and Douglas Johnson have assessed the role of Guizot in defending the University and in the process explain how this young professor at the Ecole Normale backed away from his ideas of 1814.

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intellectual development of certain educators. Not enough attention has been paid to what was taking place in the departments and in the hierarchy of public education itself; for here was where the major battles were taking place and here was where the Commission made its most telling defense.

The August, 1815 elections, which Fouché and Pasquier believed they controlled through the presidents of the electoral colleges, ironically produced the ungovernable Chambre Introuvable, populated by militant ultra-royalists thirsting for revenge. The first deputies arriving in Paris affirmed that they would never tolerate the regicide Fouché on the bench for the ministers; and the difficult negotiations of the second Treaty of Paris sealed the exit of Talleyrand. Then on 23 September, the king charged the formation of a new government to a man whose character and ability had earned the friendship of the Tsar, the high-minded but inexperienced Duc de Richelieu. The gage to the new Chamber was to be the Minister of the Interior, Louis Vauclan, an energetic, indefatigable man, but vain beyond measure, former prefect of the Empire who sought to bury his past with an excess of ultra-royalist zeal.

On 7 October, the parliamentary session began and the new Chamber promptly showed its temperament in an

1. Bartier de Chevigny, N.: La Restauration (Paris, 1935), pp. 115-124. Pouthas, C.: Le Duc de Richelieu (Paris, 1923), pp. 102-120.

II.

The August, 1815 elections, which Fouché and Pasquier believed they controlled through the presidents of the electoral colleges, ironically produced the ungovernable Chambre Introuvable, populated by militant ultra-royalists thirsting for revenge. The first deputies arriving in Paris affirmed that they would never tolerate the regicide Fouché on the bench for the ministers; and the difficult negotiations of the second Treaty of Paris sealed the exit of Talleyrand. Then on 23 September, the king charged the formation of a new government to a man whose character and ability had earned the friendship of the Tsar, the high-minded but inexperienced Duc de Richelieu. The gage to the new Chamber was to be the Minister of the Interior, Louis Vaublanc, an energetic, indefatigable man, but vain beyond measure, former prefect of the Empire who sought to bury his past with an excess of ultra-royalist zeal.¹

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1. Bertier de Sauvigny, F.: La Restauration; (Paris, 1955), pp. 115-124. Pouthas, C.: Guizot pendant la Restauration; (Paris, 1923), pp. 102-120.

The counter-attack of the Commission was immediate, address to the king asking that all who were guilty of it, and it is here we first see the new awareness within having conspired for the return of Bonaparte be punished the University of the need to influence and shape public and that the land be purged of its revolutionary elements. opinion in the battle for survival. The speech of Saint-Romain went on to vote the laws of repression in December, attempted to proscribe additional politicians and soldiers, and blocked the budget of the government on the legislature. On the tenth, Royer-Collard and Rendu privately debated the pros and cons of employing funds of public education for printing a formal reply. In late February, Rendu

On 23 January, 1816, the ultra-royalist deputy of the Ain, Comte Murand de Saint-Romain, raised the question of the continued existence of the University.¹ The number, distributing them to members of the Council of State, long expected offensive against public education had begun. Fautouer, denounced as a "creature of Rendu" in 1815, now Saint-Romain, whose speech had been drafted by the abbé proviseur of Louis-le-Grand, produced a speech, as did Liautard, head of the leading Catholic school in France, Desèzes, recteur of Bordeaux, brother of the lawyer who defended Louis XVI, and whose wife was a close friend of de Bonald. The most important of these replies, however, was an education that bred irreligion and revolution, for operation of Guizot, *Essai sur l'Instruction Publique*, a pamphlet that marked the retreat squeezed the life out of the lesser establishments. He envisioned a reformed education in which bishops had the power to dismiss teachers, as well as the right to open as many

ecclesiastical schools as they saw fit, and in which the Minister of the Interior had authority over all public establishments.

1. Johnson, D.: Guizot; (London, 1963), pp. 110-111. De Saint-Romain was not a well-known deputy and perhaps had been chosen to make the speech because he came from a department that had no faculty or lycées.

The counter-attack of the Commission was immediate, and it is here we first see the new awareness within the University of the need to influence and shape public opinion in the battle for survival. The speech of Saint-Romain was printed on 3 February, and by the fifth an anonymous reply by Rendu had been distributed to members of the legislature. On the tenth, Royer-Collard and Rendu privately debated the pros and cons of employing funds of public education for printing a formal reply. In late February, Rendu came out with a weighty 250 page brochure, Systeme de l'Université de France of which the Commission bought a number, distributing them to members of the Council of State. Taillefer, denounced as a "créature de Rendu" in 1815, now proviseur of Louis-le-Grand, produced a tract, as did Desèzes, recteur of Bordeaux, brother of the lawyer who defended Louis XVI, and whose wife was a close friend of de Bonald. The most important of these replies, however, was that of Guizot, Essai sur l'histoire et l'état actuel de l'Instruction Publique, a pamphlet that marked his retreat from the ideas of 1814 and the Ordinance of 17 February, 1815.¹

1. Poirier, J.; "L'Université Provisoire, 1814-1821." Rev. His. Mod.; T. 2 (1927), pp. 3-25, 261-306. Poirier conjectures that Royer-Collard was less than satisfied with Rendu's lengthy exposition, too cluttered with religious matters, too concerned to justify the old Grand-Master, and too literal a refutation. Interestingly, much of Guizot's pamphlet seems to have been an almost textual reproduction of the essay that Georges Cuvier submitted to him in the preparation of the work.

In July, 1816, Frédérique Mazure reported that while the war of pamphlets was being waged in Paris during February and March, 1816, the twenty-six academies in France all but ceased functioning. This was the reality that the Commission had to face: paralysis of the administrative hierarchy. Parents and maîtres-de-pension refused to pay the school tax; instructors opened illicit pensionnats with the encouragement of local authorities; municipalities governed their own colleges. The school tax in the Academy of Besançon went from 35,000 to 8,000 francs; at Pau, it dropped from 26,000 to 11,000 francs and the recteur of Aix predicted that given the rate at which the revenue was diminishing, no one would be paying the tax by the end of the year.¹ The discouragement of the teachers increased apace and the recteur of the Academy of Bordeaux declared, "Tous les maîtres qui trouvent dans quel qu'autre carrière des moyens de vivre plus assurés abandonnent celle de l'éducation..."²

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6809; Reports by the recteurs of Besançon, Pau and Aix to Royer-Collard, June, 1817. In the spring of 1817, the Commission had the recteurs of France prepare a systematic report on the state of their academies. The surviving documents offer a precious insight into public education at a critical moment. The recteur of Besançon related the almost total paralysis of his Academy because local and departmental officials regarded "comme tombées en désuétude les lois qui régissent le corps enseignant..."
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6809; Report of the recteur of Bordeaux, 1 May, 1817.

2. Berranger, B. de; "Les Cent-Jours dans la Sarthe et la chouannerie de 1815 dans le Maine;" Ann. Arch. Sarthe, T. 56 (1937-1938), pp. 49-25, 204-225.

3. Mazure, F.; "Les Prussiens en Maine-et-Loire en 1815." T. 15 (1915), pp. 36-40.

In July, 1816, Frédérique Mazure reported that the fiery speech of Saint-Romain had brought a profound discouragement into the schools of the Academy of Angers, from Le Mans to Saumur, from Laval to Mayenne.

Enfin les divisions intestines, l'occupation Prussienne, l'opposition intéressée du clergé au système actuel, les prétendues écoles ecclésiastiques et les petites écoles irrégulières qui se forment dans tous les presbytères, telles sont les causes de la langueur des études

he pessimistically concluded.¹ The disastrous effects of the Prussian occupation cannot be underestimated. A number of towns either reduced or defaulted on the payment of salaries to the professors such as that of Saumur. The Department of the Sarthe, in addition to feeding and clothing 12,000 soldiers, had to pay a four million franc indemnity.² In the Maine-et-Loire, the opposition of the prefect to the Prussian raids on the departmental caisse ended with his being expelled from the department. The arrondissement of Baugé, whose harvests of grapes and wheat were confiscated, bore the heaviest burden.³

As a result, the town of Saumur refused to underwrite the four thousand franc debt left by the old principal; and in February, 1816, the new director, Maillet, formerly

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1616; Report of the Recteur of Angers on the state of the Academy, 1 July, 1816. Missionaries recently arrived in the Maine-et-Loire repeated before large crowds of the faithful the speech of Saint-Romain.

2. Berrenger, H. de; "Les Cents-Jours dans la Sarthe et la chouannerie de 1815 dans le Maine;" Soc. Arts Sarthe; T. 56 (1937-1938), pp. 49-96, 204-225.

3. Nzereau, F.; "Les Prussiens en Maine-et-Loire en 1815." T. 15 (1915), pp. 36-40.

The recteurs of France waited impatiently for some head of Chateauduloir, arrived to find the professors unpaid, the debt placed at his own account, the bureau ill-disposed to second his efforts and the curé of Saint-Pierre stealing away students from the dormitory. "Si j'avais prévu tous ce que je vois, je serais encore à Chateauduloir," he moaned a month later.¹ The principal of Baugé resigned in August, 1815, on the grounds that the "Baugeois ne veulent faire aucun sacrifice pour l'instruction de leurs enfants,"² and his successor, a professor in the College of Saumur, had to grapple with the financial mess resulting from the town's paltry grant of nine hundred francs, barely enough to pay the director much less his two teachers.³ At Beaufort, the mayor publicly announced his intention of reducing the school's budget.⁴ In the fall of 1815, the great question at Laval was whether the chair of philosophy should be suppressed.⁵

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1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-1; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 15 April, 1816. Layman and a student of the Doctrinaires, Maillet went on to become a pillar of the Academy. He wrote, "Si l'on est envoyé ici un principal sans argent, ce Collège serait fondu, et les régents dispersés..."
 2. Ibid.; 28-T-1; Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 29 August, 1815.
 3. Ibid.; Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, November, 1815.
 4. Ibid.; 29-T-8; Principal of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 26 April, 1816.
 5. Sinoir; "L'Histoire de Lycée de Laval," Com. His. May.; T. 51 (1931), pp. 199-253. Moreover, the Jesuits established a house near Laval and began attracting students of the college.

The recteurs of France waited impatiently for some law, some action by the Commission that would reaffirm the legality of the University and draw their academies from a profound demoralization. "Il y a dans mon académie," warned the recteur of Douai, "une espèce de langueur et de découragement qu'il importe de rechauffer par quelques dispositions positives." The new recteur of Rouen found his Academy "dans un état de langueur et d'affaissement."¹ At Bordeaux, Desèzes despairingly warned, "Si dans le cours de 1817, le gouvernement ne met la main à cet edifice, il tombe inévitablement, L'Académie est sans force."²

Although the academies of France were dissolving into a state of anarchy, the Commission of Public Education did little to restore order. The pleas of Taranget and Desèzes went unanswered, for Royer-Collard and his associates found it necessary to devote their full energies to the intrigues that were unfolding inside the government itself.

The historian Poirier, whose excellent work on the politics of the University between 1814 and 1820 has served as the basis for most studies, sets the date of the first draft law concerning education in June, 1816, a project designed by

1. Arch. Nat. F 17 6809; Report of the recteur of Douai, May, 1816. Report of the recteur of Rouen, June, 1816. The recteur also noted that the Protestants of the Seine-Inferieure were fleeing the department, that the Academy had effectively ceased existing in face of Catholic attacks.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1098; Report of the recteur of Bordeaux, May 1, 1817. The religious fanaticism of the missionaries and of certain ultras led Desèzes to reflect,..."je crains qu'on ne substitue à une religion raisonnable mais générale une religion exaltée jusqu'à la mysticité, mais particulieres, main concentrée dans des associations secrètes..."

various officials on the future of education are to be found here.

Lainé, the moderately inclined successor to Vaublanc.¹ Yet further research shows that Vaublanc had already put his hand to shaping a new system as early as March.

By the beginning of 1816, Vaublanc had become the gadfly of the government.² On the question of the budget, debated in the latter part of March and throughout April, the colorless but effective Minister of Finance proposed to pay the debts of the state by selling 400,000 hectares of national lands once belonging to the Church. The Minister of the Interior joined in the outcry of the ultra-royalists that this would be immoral and so blocked the budget until the government agreed to renounce the sale.

On 8 April, the quixotic Vaublanc, firmly wedded to the parliamentary majority, began circulating a draft for the reorganization of public education that combined elements of Saint-Romain's speech with the Ordinance of 17 February, 1815.³ The Minister of the Interior was to become the dictator of education from the primary to the highest level. Simultaneously, the idea of regional universities reappeared. If the February Ordinance established seventeen, it created nine. Moreover, the financial tyranny of the University, a principal target of all parties, was lightened although not destroyed: the school tax dropped from one-twentieth of the tuition to one-thirtieth.

1. Poirier, "L'Université provisoire;" op. cit.; pp. 293-343.

2. Bertier de Sauvigny, op. cit.

3. Arch. Nat. F 17 2503: Project d'Ordannance du Roi, 8 April, 1816. This liasse contains a number of documents concerning the work of the Ministry of the Interior in 1816-1817. The soundings that Lainé, Vaublanc's successor, took among various officials on the future of education are to be found here.

The desire that the state disassociate itself from education was most strongly seen in the ending of subsidies for the lycées, renamed royal colleges, and their being placed on a footing equal to that of municipal schools. The proviseur himself or the town, not the state, now had to underwrite the expenses.

The draft of Vaublanc, an amalgam of several strands of thought, died a quick death in the councils of the government.

Eliminated from the government in Early June, Vaublanc fired a parting shot at Royer-Collard and the Commission by aiding in the nomination of an ultra-royalist as a member of the Commission, but here again the threat was more apparent than real.

In May, or perhaps in late April, the Duc d'Angoulême, nephew of the king, and son of the Comte d'Artois, approached one of the five members of the Commission, the abbé Frayssinous, to ask him to resign in favor of his own candidate.¹ The spokesman of the Gallican wing of the clergy and renowned orator of Saint-Sulpice during the Empire, a gracious and tolerant individual, respectful of the king and his family, agreed on the condition that he keep the title of honorary member of the Commission as well as have a pension equal to one-half his present salary. The Prince passed on the resignation to Vaublanc and

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2628; Report to Lainé; Affair Frayssinous. No date, Garnier in his Frayssinous, Grand-Maitre de l'Université, gives as the reason for his resignation the desire to return to preaching.

and instructed that none of the other members of the Commission were to know of his withdrawal nor of his successor until the affair was concluded.

The Duc d'Angoulême, a man of moderate intentions devoted to the king, was at the same time a naive individual who served as a tool of the ultra-royalists, particularly of his father, the truculent d'Artois.¹ In February, 1814, he had followed Wellington's army into Bordeaux and lent his prestige to the machinations of the mayor and the Chevaliers de la Foi. In August, 1815, he set up a "Royaume de Languedoc" at Toulouse, which refused to allow the prefect, Charles Rémusat, to take his post and which initiated, unknown to him, a particularly odious terror.² Now, in November, 1816, his personal friendships and the interests of his father combined to lead the Prince to work for the nomination of the recteur of Pau, the abbé Eliçagaray, as a member of the Commission.

Eliçagaray, former professor of the University of Pau, had spent the emigration in Spain with the Duc d'Angoulême and returned to France in 1807 to become recteur two years later. Having fled to Toulouse before the advancing English armies, in April, 1814, he renewed his contact with the Prince, and, when Amboise Rendu ordered him back to Pau, Eliçagaray refused. "Je désirais prendre ses ordres (those of d'Angoulême) avant de reprendre mes fonctions," he explained.³ During the

1. Guichen, E. de; Le Duc d'Angoulême; (Paris, 1909), pp.159-287.

2. Brochard, A. F.; "Le Gouvernement du Duc d'Angoulême a Toulouse, 1815;" Revo. Franc.; T. 36 (1913).

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8812; Recteur of Pau to the mayor of Pau, 5 May, 1814.

Hundred Days, the abbé joined the nephew of the king at Pamplona.

Now in May, 1816, Eliçagaray had left his post of recteur to come to Paris to shepherd his candidacy, with the aid of the Bishop of la Rochelle and a deputy from Bordeaux, de Marcellus, as well as of the Prince. The affair was still hanging in midair when Lainé, president of the old Chamber, became Minister of the Interior. One of his first acts was to accept the resignation of Frayssinous and name the recteur to his place.¹

What kind of man was this abbé who had so suddenly come to sit beside the eminently Parisian Royer-Collard, the Jansenist Gueneau de Mussy, the Orientalist Silvestre de Saoy, and the imposing Georges Cuvier, scientist and administrator of awesome talent? According to the prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées during the Hundred Days, the Béarnais was, "sans ordre, criblé de dettes, ayant la triste réputation d'un abbé de ruelle et d'intrigue, tel est le portrait fidèle de M. l'abbé Eliçagaray."² According to the abbé's protector among the inspectors-general, he was a vigilant and indefatigable worker who had valiantly fought against "d'étranges et monstreux rapprochements" between liberals and ultras in the backward Academy of Pau.³

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2628; op. cit.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7938; Prefect of the Bassess-Pyrénées to the Grand-Master, 9 May, 1815.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8817; Inspector-general, Marignie, to the Grand-Master, 1 June, 1814.

Eliçagaray was in fact an old-fashioned ecclesiastic bred in the regulatory atmosphere of eighteenth-century institutions who believed in ruling education, both public and private, with a despotic hand. If most ecclesiastics favored decentralization, he believed in firm control in order to impose a strict moral order. At the same time, he was a passionate man who carried a hatred of the Revolution and its men deep in his breast. In 1810, Eliçagaray succeeded in removing the principal of the tiny college of Arglès, an assermenté priest, in spite of opposition from the mayor, curé and prefect. To Paris, he damned the man as a drunkard and a "Philosophe moderne."¹ When the University attempted to send a second assermenté, he thundered in indignation, "Je frémis de l'idée de lui livrer l'intéressante jeunesse..."

As a member of the Commission of Public Education, Eliçagaray was to become a center around which revolved petty intrigue and endless disputes.

The first hopeful sign for the embattled Commission in 1816 was the elimination of Vaublanc from the government on 30 May and his replacement by a moderate royalist, Lainé, president of the Chamber, former Bordelais lawyer and member of the Corps législatif who had answered Napoleon's demand for more troops in December, 1813, with a plea for peace.²

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8205; Dossier on the College of Arglès, 1811.

2. Perceval, E. de; Un adversaire de Napoléon, le vicomte Lainé; (Paris, 1926), pp. 200-250.

Reacting to his seven months at the head of the opinion in the summer of 1816, but Laine seemed to have a tumultuous Chamber, Laine recognized in the Royal University corded it a genuine interest initially. Predictably enough, a buttress of the monarchy and on 7 July issued a circular to the deliberations of this assembly and ill-patched set of the prefects demanding that the rebel private schools be subdued as well as the tiny écoles latines, which Mazure had so bitterly accused of sapping the colleges in the Academy of Angers. A note in the Moniteur tardily appeared on 31 July, informing the public that the dispositions of the Decree of 15 November, 1811, were to be reapplied.¹

The effect was immediate. In the Academy of Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire triumphantly wrote to the Commission that on receiving a copy of the circular, he had turned out the "Jesuit" in the College of Dôle, a long-time rebel to his authority.² At Toulouse, Amboise Rendu and J. Ampère conferred with the prefect, who then issued an arrêté decreeing that all pensionnats were to submit to the University and thereby ended the competition to the royal college.

Yet the movement of the government towards public education was an ambitious one, for in July, the Minister set up a special Commission that included, alongside Royer-Collard and Fontanes, the now militant Chateaubriand, whose pamphlet of 1814 had done so much to discredit the University, as well as two bishops.³ In part, the Commission was a decoy for

1. Poirier, op. cit.; Laine also moved to save the financial health of the University. The budget of 1817 restored much of what had been cut by Vaublanc.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6809; Report of the recteur of Besançon on the state of the Academy, 1 May, 1817. the Laine Commission, August, 1816.

3. Poirier; op. cit.

opinion in the summer of 1816; but Lainé seems to have accorded it a genuine interest initially. Predictably enough, the deliberations of this eclectic and ill-matched set of men broke down on the question of who should rule the schools of France. Chateaubriand and de Bausset, Bishop of Alais, insisted that the new Grand-Master should be a moral force who would rise above the pettiness of politics, and then ingenuously pointed to the Duc d'Angoulême, whose views were sufficiently clear after the appointment of Eliçagaray, and to the Grand-Aumônier of France, the irascible Tallyrand-Périgord, who had bought the Jesuits into the Academy of Poitiers in 1814.¹

The sessions of the Lainé Commission were interrupted by a spectacular event that broke on France with a thunderclap and gave the Royal University a new lease on its administration. On 5 September, 1816, the king gave way to the entreaties of Decazes and the pressure of the Allies to issue an ordinance dissolving the ultra-royalist Chamber and ordering new elections. The Constitutionals and the Liberals were delighted; Royer-Collard, appointed president of the electoral college of the Marne, declared that a statue should be erected to Decazes. It was a victory for the power of the central government against Parliament and against the forces seeking to disorganize education. Rendu wrote joyously to the recteur of Douai, "L'Ordannance du 5/7 a dissipé beaucoup

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2628; Recommendations of the Lainé Commission, August, 1815.

de nuages et prévenu bien des tempêtes. Vive le Roi, mille fois!!"¹

The Ordinance allowed Lainé to abandon the work of his Commission and in late September, he began a new round of consultations with prefects, ecclesiastics and fonctionnaires. In October, the Minister convoked a second Commission; and the project that emerged from its deliberations, which Lainé forwarded to Royer-Collard on 18 November, maintained the essentials of the University while giving the clergy a larger role.

Confidence began to return to the members of the Commission and on 28 November, Rendu enthusiastically predicted to the recteur of Douai:

La grande question s'agitera décidément dans cette session et suivant toute apparence, il n'y aura plus de Saint-Romain. L'Université Royale de France demeurera et Louis XVIII aura ce titre de plus à la reconnaissance de la postérité.²

1. Biblio, Muni. de Douai: 419; Amboise Rendu to the recteur of Douai, 11 September, 1816. Throughout this period, the recteur kept in close touch with Rendu, fearing that his post was in jeopardy through intrigues being laid in Paris.

2. Ibd.: Rendu to the recteur of Douai, 28 November, 1816.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17: Personal dossier of the abbé 1^{er} Priol.

careless tutelage of a semi-retired ecclesiastic who preferred the "seminars" to his office.¹ A second inspector at Poitiers became recteur of much-troubled Limoges.² A former professor of mathematics, then prov III. of the Lycée of Nantes and

Di jon, received the wealthy Academy of Angers, until then mismanaged by a layman who had no prior knowledge of education.³

At the moment that the University was on the defensive, the Commission of Public Education was performing a silent revolution among the personnel of the academies, a revolution that was to enable the University to deliver its own counter-attack. During 1815 and 1816, Royer-Collard and Amboise Rendu, both authoritarian by nature and passionately devoted to a national system of education, installed a new generation of universitaires, a generation of technicians and professional administrators. No longer were former parliamentarians, ex-legislators and medical doctors to take the reins of an academy. A professional elite, bred within the University, rose to power in the turnover of personnel occasioned by the purge of 1815 and the subsequent transfers.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17; Personal dossier of Bellin de La Libor.
Unlike their predecessors, the new recteurs came from inside public education, either as inspectors of the academies or proviseurs, men devoted to the University, administrators who had proven themselves before 1814. The combative proviseur of the Lycée of Rouen became recteur of Rennes, replacing the senile abbé Germé.¹ The new recteur of Poitiers was the inspector who had held the Academy together under the

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17; Personal dossier of Ferrand-Furquier.
1. Arch. Nat.: F 17; Personal dossier of the abbé lé Priol.

careless tutelage of a semi-retired ecclesiastic who preferred the "waters" to his office.¹ A second inspector at Poitiers became recteur of much-troubled Limoges.² A former professor of mathematics, then proviseur of the Lycées of Nantes and Dijon, received the wealthy Academy of Amiens, until then badly mismanaged by a layman who had had no prior knowledge of education.³ And the proviseur of the Lycée of Angers became recteur at Clermont-Ferrand where an aggressive and uncompromising clergy had paralyzed the administration of his predecessor, a former deputy of the Corps Législatif.⁴

Unlike 1808, when no administration existed, when names and faces were unknown, Royer-Collard's Commission had the experience and knowledge of six years to draw upon. Thus, a talented inspector of Caen became head of the Academy of Grenoble;⁵ an inspector of Toulouse, who had held the Academy together during the indifferent, careless administration of Jammes, former parliamentarian, rightly acceded to the first post.⁶ The era of outright patronage was passing; and the

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of Bellin de la Libororlière.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of La Laurencie.
 3. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of Lespin. Lespin had been professor of mathematics in the Lycée of Poitiers. As proviseur of Nantes, he had clashed with the recteur over respective rights; at Dijon, he had clashed with the Bonapartist recteur and fled the department.
 4. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of the abbé Guairard.
 5. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of Sordes.
 6. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of Ferrand-Perugier.

old collection of local notables, men of widely varying backgrounds and loyalties, was disappearing; the arrival of the nineteenth-century administrator, bred within a closed institutional framework, had begun.

This new generation of administrators showed markedly different qualities than its predecessor, and not the least was in an unquestioned loyalty to public education. While a Desèze or a Laporte or a Nompère had busily attempted to undermine the application of the controversial November Decree, these men were associated with its rigorous enforcement. The proviseur at Rouen had been the one to expose the subterfuge of Laporte, denouncing him to the prefect.¹ The inspector at Orleans earned a sour reputation among the notables of the Indre-et-Loire for his bullying the maîtres-de-pension at Tours.²

Another marked difference between the two generations lay in attitudes toward regional spirit, toward local insularity. While the notables of the Empire had been long established in an area, with extensive family ties, and a recognized social position, the new generation was generally mobile from a geographic point-of-view and of lower social rank. They were men who willingly gave themselves to public education, unhindered by other loyalties. The abbé le Priol, the replacement for the senile Germé at Rennes, had spent a good deal of his personal money in traveling about from post to post, first to the Lycée of Strasbourg, next to that of Napoléonville deep in

1. See Chapter Nine.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8879; Report of de Lisle, 8 March, 1813.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8621; Report on the College of Tarbes, April, 1814.

Brittany, and then to the town of Rouen, capital of Haute-Normandie. Upon receiving several months of back salary in 1814, he sent most to his old colleague in the College of Vannes, Géanno: "Tu es le premier et le plus fort de mes créanciers et c'est un des plus complaisants."¹ The rest went to a canon of the Cathedral of Vannes and to a printer at Rouen. Delisle had spent his entire career in public education, first as professor in the Lycée of Orleans, then as inspector of the Academy. He lacked a fortune and perhaps this helps explain his firm devotion to the University even during the 1820's. The new head of Clermont-Ferrand had had to sell his personal library while principal at Tarascon in order to pay for the salaries of his two teachers.²

The most notable characteristic of this group was precisely its mobility, its willingness to be shunted back and forth across the contrasting regions of France. The new recteur of Grenoble had come all the way from the Academy of Caen; and to reach Caen he had left the town of Pau in the Basses-Pyrénées. Guairard had left the tiny College of Tarascon in Aix to be proviseur at Angers, and then packed his meager belongings to go directly to the Academy of Clermont-Ferrand. Gone were the days when Fontanes had cocked his ear to the deluge of petitions and recommendations on behalf of well-placed notables, the days when a Champion de Cicé could recommend his old friends, when a Desèzes could recommend a brother and a Fouché his old comrades-in-arms.

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1. Arch. Dept.; G-12; Géanno Papers; The recteur of Rennes to the principal of Vannes, 22 February, 1814.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8621; Report on the College of Tarascon, April, 1814.

Politically, the new administrators were a much more homogeneous group than their predecessors, who had ranged from former terrorists to ultra-royalists. The promotion of 1815 and the two years thereafter brought forward ministerials, partisans of the Richelieu-Decazes Government. Men of the golden means who sought to pass between the extremes, they looked to the "constitutionals" within the government, that vague grouping of center-right deputies such as Lainé with the deputies of the center-left such as Guizot and Royer-Collard. Preservation of the system of administration evolved under the Empire seemed to be the common denominator.

The recteur of Rennes typified this new breed of politically aware administrators. Emigré during the Revolution, servant of the Empire, the abbé Le Priol was an ascetic, intensely religious man, yet a passionate nationalist who supported the Napoleonic wars until 1811.¹ By 1816, he was a firm partisan of constitutional government and of Decazes.² The fact that placed Le Priol beyond the pale of the Breton clergy was his theological as well as political viewpoint, a viewpoint that his contemporaries damned as "Jansenist." A strong believer in the Gallican Church, the new recteur read only the immortals of French Gallicanism, Fleury and Bossuet,

1. Rio, A. F.; L'Épilogue à l'Art Chrétien; (Paris, 1870), pp. 203-206. An art historian of note during the July monarchy, Rio had studied at the College of Vannes and gives an excellent description of this "Jansenist" recteur.

2. Arch. Dept.; Morbihan; G-12; Géanno Papers, Recteur of Rennes to the Principal of Vannes, 12 May, 1817.

3. Arch. Nat.; F. 17 6802; Report of the Inspector-general.

4. Parlement de Vannes de Cahorn; (Paris, 1902), pp. 214-257.

with a concession made only to the ministerial paper Journal des Débats, a habit that limited his friends to the prefect, several magistrates and a few of the functionaries.¹ Severe and uncompromising, the abbé had an overbearing sense of superiority, an inflexible sense of righteousness and a missionary zeal that frequently turned against the ultramontane elements within Brittany. He was an administrator who placed his loyalty to Paris and Royer-Collard before his friendships.

Of the ten men who became recteurs during the period 1815-1817, at least six had undergone the same evolution as the abbé Le Priol: from victim of the Revolution to conscientious administrators during the Empire, to ministerials of the Second Restoration. They were conservative men who strongly believed in the necessity of strong central government. The new recteur of Clermont-Ferrand, the abbé Guairard, had been an émigré, administrator in the Ministry of Cults, protector of Portalis and exiled from Paris in 1812 for his role in the d'Astros Affair.² His Gallican tendencies aroused so serious an opposition that the Commission elevated the abbé to the inspectorate-general in 1819 to give his talents a freer field.³ A kindred spirit was to be found in La Laurencie, officer in the royal navy from 1786 until the Revolution, émigré, then, on assuming a fictitious name, professor in the republican Ecole Centrale of the Lot-et-Garonne.⁴

1. La Martinière, J. de; "Le Plus Ancien Manoir de Vannes, Château-Gaillard;" Bull. Soc. Morbihan; T. 52 (1912), pp. 137-148.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7687; Dossier of the abbé Guairard, September, 1814.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6809; Report of the inspector-general.

4. Paumes, H.; Le Lycée de Cahors; (Paris, 1907), pp. 214-257.

From there, he had directed the municipal college of Agen and graduated to the inspectorate of Cahors in 1809. The University sentiments that he displayed as recteur of Limoges earned his retirement in 1824 with the arrival of the new bishop of Limoges, a Grand-Seigneur of the Ancien Régime returning with the wave of reaction during the 1820's.¹

Simultaneously, the Commission did not hesitate to promote to the highest position in provincial education men who had been active during the Revolution, priests who had left the Church. This fact, more than any other, bit deeply into the ultra-royalist deputies who felt the very purpose of the Restoration to be jeopardized. The Commission elevated a defrocked Benedictine to the direction of the Academy of Grenoble, long a center of liberalism and increasingly a stronghold of republicanism. Sordes had been a member of the revolutionary committee at Pau; in 1809 he left the Basses-Pyrénées for Caen and a post as inspector. Paris also made an excellent choice for the Academy of Bourges in early 1817 by elevating the proviseur of the Lycée of Pau into the rectorate. The abbé Begat, former Oratorian, had retracted his marriage of 1799 to re-enter the ministry. Indeed, he was the same man whom the special commissioner of May, 1815, had chosen to be recteur in Eliçagaray's place.²

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17; Personal dossier of La Laurencie, letter to the Grand-Master, 14 March, 1824.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6808; Special Commissioner to the Grand-Master, 18 June, 1815.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7223; Observations sur la mission de M. Bourdin de Saint-Romain, 6 February, 1815.

4. Arch. Nat.: F 17 5517; Recteur of Besançon to the Commission, 1 July, 1815.

While the process of installing this generation of recteurs was underway, certain of the old guard, of the beneficiaries of 1809, showed signs of stirring out of their protracted lethargy to defend the rights of public education in the face of clerical and popular attacks. This group began to react to the encroachments of the petits séminaires as well as to the rebellion of private teachers in the realization that their own positions were threatened, that the very concept of public education was under attack. At Douai, Taranget found new room for displaying his dogmatic views, his autocratic bent, his "morgue" and love of flattery, a fact that alienated many of the local and departmental officials as well as the independent-minded clergy. At Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire had accomplished little during the Empire, but with the warmer days of the Richelieu-Decazes Ministry, he now reacted with all the aggressiveness and determination that his strongly Gallican views commanded. He actively campaigned for ministerial candidates in the electoral college of the Doubs, a fact that was to be remembered when Frayssinous became Grand-Master.¹ In 1817, Ordinaire entered the lists against the prefect of the Doubs because of his crass favoritism for the petit séminaire of Ornans and dared to send a petition directly to the Ministry of the Interior, complaining of the prefect's clericalism.² The reports of Ordinaire to Paris were habitually marked by dark references to "Jesuits" and "agents of secret societies."

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1616; Report of the inspector-general Daburon on the Academy of Besançon, 13 June, 1823. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7723; Observations sur la motion de M. Maurain de Saint-Romain, 6 February, 1816.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8817; Recteur of Besançon to the Commission, 1 July, 1818.

Another example of this change in personality may be found in Aix where d'Eymar passed from the socially-minded parliamentarian of the Empire to a determined defender of the University's prerogatives during the Second Restoration. He battled with the long-independent maîtres-de-pension at Marseilles and opposed the plan for a petit séminaire that the Archbishop of Aix wished to establish at Aix itself in competition with the college. D'Régal, who passed from the Academy of Nancy to the prestigious one of Lyon, governed it with a firmness that the inspectors-general praised, while lamenting his tendency to rule alone. The recteur rarely consulted his inspectors, and never convened the Academic Council: "A joutons que la grande taille, le verbe haut, les yeux hors de la tête, les coups de poings sur la table du Conseil," observed the inspectors, "intimidant, glacent paralysent, et...que tous tremble, inspecteurs, proviseurs, etc."¹

A generation of combative administrators had at last appeared: a new style marked the life of the rectorates after 1816. The heads of private schools began receiving circulars demanding payment of the school tax and observance of the obligation for their students to attend the classes of the nearest public schools. The mayors found themselves face to face with these grimly determined men who began making their own personal tournées. Principals were heartened to see the heads of the academies devote a genuine attention to their schools, so long neglected in favor of the lycées.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6809; Report of the inspector-general, May, 1817.

The recteurs began to show a desire to rule and govern, even at the price of ruffling local officials. The common complaint against Le Priol was that he showed himself severe and arrogant, or, as one friend phrased it, he displayed an overwhelming sense of his unworthiness before God and of his dignity before man. The nomination of Guairard to Clermont-Ferrand had done much to appease public opinion, so hostile to the University during the Empire, but the former Doctrinaire soon strained his credit in feuds with civil and ecclesiastical authorities, in quarrels with his two inspectors, with his staff conduct towards the cantonal committees for primary education.¹ The new recteur of Dijon, Barthot, former professor in the Lycée, ruled his Academy with an iron hand that offended both ultras and liberals alike. When the town of Autun proposed a number of changes in personnel, he objected that this system would reduce the recteurs to ignoble clerks of the municipalities.² The inspectors-general admired his toughness, but as in the case of Guairard, regretted that he seemed "fort disposé à gouverner tout seul."³

At Angers, Frédérique Mazure in many ways typified the new generation of recteurs: a young man, energetic, enthusiastic, devoted to the philosophy behind the November Decree, someone who had come to the rectorate by way of the post of

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7687; Report of the abbé Guairard, 1814-1819.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6809; Report of the Recteur of Dijon to Royer-Collard, May, 1817.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6807; Report of the inspector-general June, 1817.

inspector. In May, 1817, the forceful and articulate ruler of Anjou and the Maine was named inspector-general of the Royal University, an invaluable addition to the much depleted ranks of this body.

The Academy of Angers received as successor a leading member of the new generation, Poulet de Lisle, inspector of Orleans during the Empire, recteur of Bourges after 1815. Like his predecessor, Poulet combined the qualities that went to make up the ideal universitaire of the nineteenth century: an innate political conservatism, a knack for administration, an undivided loyalty to Paris, a somewhat colorless and dry personality. In 1806, this 28-year-old layman had been named to a chair of mathematics in the Lycée of Orleans, where a bizarre collection of former revolutionaries, émigrés, professors of the eighteenth century and of the Ecoles Centrales came together to give the school a colorful flavor.¹ In 1809, he became an inspector of the Academy under the ex-priest de Champeaux and distinguished himself for his vigorous application of the November Decree, particularly at Tours, where the four or five private schools had given such competition to the faltering college.² The fact that de Champeaux was such a weak and flabby administrator meant that much of the daily work fell to de Lisle. On 7 September, 1815, de Lisle received a letter from Paris naming him recteur of the Academy

1. Tranchau, L-H; *Le College et le Lycée d'Orléans*, (Orleans, 1893), pp. 206-207.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8879; Miton Affair, 1813. Miton had a Senator visit the Grand-Master, but the University refused to budge and had him shut his school. As compensation, Miton was named principal of the tiny College of Loches where he died a year later.

of Bourges for the purged Raynal and his first act on arriving in the capital of the Berri was to ask that the ex-terrorist of the Cher be granted the title of recteur emeritus as a means of easing his disgrace.¹

How did de Lisle face the challenge of the clergy in the months following the Hundred Days? Here was the cutting edge that revealed the character and attitudes of many a recteur. The problem for him focused on the College of Nevers, which the petit-séminaire had all but destroyed through intensive recruitment of students and a vicious campaign of slander.² In December, 1815, de Lisle made a special trip to Nevers where he upheld the principal by publicly denouncing the various rumors set loose by ecclesiastics; he attacked the petit séminaire by threatening to apply the Ordinance of October, 1814, and he rallied the prefect to the side of the college in a series of conversations.³ The result was the salvation of the school.

Throughout 1816, the energies of the recteur were directed not only towards defeating the ambitions of the

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1616; Recteur of Bourges to Royer-Collard, December, 1815.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8866; Dossier on the College of Nevers, 1815. In part, the abbé Henriot was the victim of diocesan politics. Certain ecclesiastics never forgave him for leaving the direction of the petit séminaire for that of the college and hence used the events of 1815 as a means of working off their resentment.

3. Ibid.; Recteur of Bourges to Royer-Collard, 14 December, 1815.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8436; Recteur of Bourges to Royer-Collard, letters of 4 and 19 November, 1816.

ecclesiastics of Nevers, but towards limiting the pretensions of the prefect to control the college. In December, 1815, Desvaines wished to "save" the school by purging its members. The recteur turned aside the plan. Throughout 1816, the prefect corresponded directly with the Commission in Paris and studiously avoided consulting de Lisle. During the fall, he printed and distributed a circular announcing that he had reorganized the college and placed it under his surveillance. In a letter to the prefect, the recteur curtly reminded that the school was foreign to his powers and in a letter to Royer-Collard, he denounced this official "qui tend évidemment à s'emparer des attributions rectorales dans son département." When Desvaines removed a young Normalian, apparently a Fédéré during the Hundred Days, de Lisle was beside himself with anger and upheld the Normalian's right to keep his chair until Paris took a formal decision.¹ Perhaps the greatest regret of the recteur was to realize how little support Royer-Collard and the Commission were giving him in his battle in the Nièvre, a fact suggested by the tendency of the Commission to correspond directly with the prefect.

From June, 1817, until October, 1824, when he was called to be inspector-general, de Lisle was to show the same determination to resist the encroachments of ecclesiastics and prefects, yet simultaneously a willingness to work with them as long as they accepted the basic rights of

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8436; Recteur of Bourges to Royer-Collard, Letters of 4 and 19 November, 1816.

the University. His first reaction to education in the three departments, still recovering from the Prussian occupation, from a lack of students, from the upheaval and disruption of the Hundred Days and from the ambitions of ecclesiastical schools, was one of shock and surprise: "Je trouve presque tout à faire dans l'Académie d'Angers," he told Royer-Collard, and with that comment, rolled up his sleeves and plunged into the politics of the Royal College, the sixteen municipal colleges, the two ecclesiastical schools, and the twenty-five pensionnats.¹

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard, 5 May, 1817.

In January, 1817, Royer-Collard and the Commission, jubilant at the victories of the government in the Chamber and sure of the support of laïcs, decided to make a major test of their authority in that most clerical of regions, Brittany, land of *chanoines* during the Revolution and scene of two bloody engagements during the Hundred Days.¹ Throughout France, ecclesiastical schools had sprung into being since 1815, sometimes more than one per department in violation of the Ordinance of October, 1814, and openly if illegally and of recteurs such as de Lisle.

IV.

After September, 1816, political events moved decisively in favor of the Commission of Public Education and of recteurs such as de Lisle.

The most visible sign of the changed setting was the new alliance in the Chamber of Deputies between the ministerials and the center-left. While the moderate Pasquier of Royer-Collard through his political beliefs as well as his intimate knowledge of French education, was dispatched to become vice-president, and together the two guided through Rennes for the purpose of offering a variety of concessions three months of intense and often elevated debate on electoral law that consolidated the hold of the government. The law of 8 February, 1817, kept power out of the hands of the provincial nobility and ecclesiastics by creating a single electoral college in the chef-lieu of the department, a college whose president would be named by the king. The law itself was the work of a small group of distinguished men who met regularly at Pasquier's; and from their sessions emerged in final edition that rarified set of intellectuals known as the Doctrinaires: Camille Jordan, Guizot, the Comte de Serre, the Duc de Broglie, Charles de Rémusat, and their theoretician, Royer-Collard.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6592; Anchoise Rendu to the Bishop of Rennes, 21 January, 1817.

In January, 1817, Royer-Collard and the Commission, jubilant at the victories of the government in the Chamber and sure of the support of Lainé, decided to make a major test of their authority in that most clerical of regions, Brittany, land of chouannerie during the Revolution and scene of two bloody engagements during the Hundred Days.¹ Throughout France, ecclesiastical schools had sprung into being since 1815, sometimes more than one per department in violation of the Ordinance of October, 1814, and openly if illegally accepting day students, boys who had no intention of entering the priesthood.

The ubiquitous Amboise Rendu, restored to the graces of Royer-Collard through his political beliefs as well as his intimate knowledge of French education, was dispatched to Rennes for the purpose of offering a variety of concessions to the bishop that would preserve the nominal rights of the University while giving the seminary a de facto freedom. On 23 January, 1817, Rendu made a last appeal in a four-page letter to the bishop.² The missive made clear what was at stake in the affair, the august will of the king: "Dans la circonstance, elle est claire, cette volonté: elle est hautement et constamment manifestée," he dogmatically affirmed. Yet the young inspector-general passed quickly to a more conciliatory tone and declared that religion must come before

1. Poirier, J.; "L'Université provisoire, (1814-1821)"; Rev. His. Mod.: T. 2 (1927), pp. 3-35, 261-306.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6809; Amboise Rendu to the Bishop of Rennes, 21 January, 1817.

all and that the clergy must renew itself. Out of these two considerations, he saw a simple solution that would spare both diocese and University an embarrassing moment: either the petit séminaire would remain an ecclesiastical school and observe the October Ordinance or it could become officially a "private school," keep all its rights, its own professors, its own curriculum and be free of all but nominal control of the University. Enoch refused either way out. In a white heat of anger, the excitable and self-righteous Rendu wrote the prefect on the twenty-third, "Qui ne se conforme pas à l'autorité du roi doit s'y briser," a statement that shocked the more amenable D'Allonville.¹

The affair soon blossomed into a local cause célèbre that rallied the ultra-royalists of the department and threatened the very credibility of the national government. When the University brought the director of the seminary before a local court of law, the latter freely admitted violating the restrictive legislation on the grounds that the Charter guaranteed the rights of all Frenchmen to freedom of education and that the Richelieu ministry was in effect usurping these same rights. This line of attack, calling into question the continuing legality of the Napoleonic system, found a ready echo among the royalist judges who refused to convict the priest. The recteur of the Academy, Le Priol, was quick to see the full implications of this judgment which called into question the legal foundations of the University.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8823; Prefect of the Ille-et-Vilaine to the Minister of the Interior, 25 January, 1817.

The prefect and the Minister of the Interior took the same point of view, and on April 24, d'Allonville had a long conference with the bishop in which he made it imminently clear that the government would not tolerate the insubordination of the director of the petit séminaire nor the spirit of opposition that possessed the diocesan clergy.¹

The Richelieu-Decazes Ministry decided on extreme measures to end this situation which threatened the authority of the government. Lainé wrote the Bishop of Rennes on 1 May, that the king had declared he would order the closing of the petit séminaire if the bishop had not sent away the day students within a week's time. The deadline was set for 8 May. The director of the school announced his intention of not obeying. The terrified Enoch spent seven days being bullied by departmental officials and by his own vicars-general. The doors of the petit séminaire opened on 8 May at 7:30 a.m. The day students entered. Then at 6:00 p.m., two hours before the final deadline, the abbé Desrieux and the vicars-general capitulated. The day students were sent home with instructions not to return.²

1. Arch. Nat.; BB 18 971; Report to the Garde des Sceaux, Bourdeau, procureur general of the Ille-et-Vilaine, 30 April, 1817. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1626; Conclusions du Procureur-General dans l'affaire du Petit Séminaire de Rennes, 19 April, 1817. Arch. Nat.; F 1c; Ille-et-Vilaine; Report of the Prefect of the Ille-et-Vilaine, 27 April, 1817.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 1c III-Ille-et-Vilaine; Minister of the Interior to the Bishop of Tennes, 1 May, 1817; Prefect to the Minister of the Interior, 1 May, 1817; Vicar-general to the Bishop, 28 April, 1817.

3. Ibid.; Report of Antoine Leclerc, 17 July, 1817. The report concluded with an urgent plea that the government seek a law consolidating the University.

The partial victory at Rennes went a long way towards rejuvenating the flagging spirits of Royer-Collard's Commission, particularly at a moment when fresh evidence was appearing that public opinion was softening in its attitude towards the University. The main factor contributing to this welcomed thaw in hostility was the changed political climate during the spring of 1817: the new Chamber dominated by the constitutionals, the electoral law of February, the law regulating the press, the purge of the prefectorial corps in June, the ministerial press that Decazes so assiduously fed. In late March, the Chamber voted a budget that maintained the school tax.¹ The recteurs too noted a changing disposition on the part of the public. At Douai, Taranget spoke of the rapprochement of opinion with the Academy. At Besançon, where the year before the recteur had predicted the collapse of public education, Ordinaire could not affirm that opinion was turning in favor of the University.² "L'Université réussit-elle enfin?" asked Amboise Rendu after an inspection of the academies of the East during July, 1817.

Telle a été partout la première question que nous sommes proposé d'examiner, en interrogeant tout ce qui pouvait nous répondre, hommes et choses, espérances et souvenirs -- et partout, il nous est démontré que les préventions tombent; que les choses et les hommes s'améliorent ou se perfectionnent et que l'on le reconnaît...³ e/

1. Poirier, op. cit.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6809; Reports of the recteurs of Douai and Besançon, June, 1817.

3. Ibid.; Report of Amboise Rendu, 17 July, 1817. The report concluded with an urgent plea that the Commission seek a law consolidating the University.

Yet throughout 1817, all was not in fact progressing well inside the administration of public education. The recteurs, the inspectors, the members of the Commission remained divided by the Hundred Days and the bitter politics of 1816. If they presented a solid front to the government and to the public in the defense of the University, there were nonetheless ominous signs of discontent, of mutual jealousies and of professional rivalries.

For many administrators, a vague uncertainty hung over their careers. In December, 1816, the recteur of Douai, Taranget, the universitaire of the eighteenth century who had debated with Carnot and Robespierre at Arras, was thunderstruck to receive a letter from a complete stranger writing to say that he had been given the Academy. The man was briefly recteur at Grenoble and apparently enjoyed patronage from someone on the Commission. Losing his usual aplomb and firmness, Taragent had a disheartening interview with this individual, and cried to Paris for aid. Private letters from Amboise Rendu and Gueneau de Mussy, friends from the Empire, assured the veteran of the Ancien Régime that there was no foundation to the rumors of his replacement. "Il faudrait que l'Université fit égarée par un désespoir suicide," Gueneau declared and went on to point out that the same kind of rumor was undermining other recteurs. "Que ne puissions-nous découvrir la boutique où s'est forgée cette sottise et quelques autres de meme nature qui nous reviennent de plusieurs académies," he fumed.¹

1. Biblio. Muni. de Douai; 1419; letters of Rendu and Gueneau de Mussy to the recteur, 1816-1817. The papers of Taranget are deposited in the municipal library and offer an excellent basis for a study of an administrator whose career spanned the Ancien Régime, the Empire, and the Restoration.

Even within the Commission, there were members who opposed the very nature of the University. The abbé Eliçagaray remained an ultra-royalist, although one held in isolation by the other four members, and only came into the exercise of real power during 1821 and 1822. A more serious threat was the fact that the secretary-general of the Commission, Petitot, a playwright of the Directory, and inspector-general of the Empire, had evolved into an ultra himself who campaigned in the electoral college of Paris against public education: Petitot, author of a celebrated collection of documents on French history, had resigned as inspector during the Hundred Days and returned as secretary-general in August.¹ In May, 1817, he prepared a vitriolic attack on the University, written on the stationery of the Commission, accusing it of spreading anti-Catholic doctrines and of seeking its own conservation rather than of seeking to educate French youth. There was a strong element of truth in the latter statement and Petitot was speaking with the wisdom of the insider when he declared:

La Commission cache au ministre les abus dont il n'est averti que par les préfets: les recteurs et les doyens de facultés étouffent tout ce qui peut nuire aux établissements qu'ils dirigent; et n'en rendent pas compte à la Commission: les Provisours des Collèges Royaux agissent de meme à l'égard des recteurs...

His most damning indictment was quite the opposite of the position taken by most ultra-royalists. The University, far from being the highly centralized monster described by

1. Michaud; Biographie Universelle, (Paris, 1842), article

2. "Petitot." P. 12, 2021; P. Mazure to Minister of the Interior, 7 July, 1817.

Lamennais, was an anarchic assembly of schools over which the central administration had no control: it was composed "d'établissements isolés constamment en défiance de leurs supérieurs, ne pensant qu'à se maintenir, nullement à s'améliorer..."¹

The rivalries within the Commission itself threatened the budding career of the new inspector-general, one of the first of the young technicians in the University, Frédérique Mazure, promoted from recteur of Angers in May, 1817. During his first tournee, Mazure was given the unpleasant task of investigating the finances of the Academy of Pau under the Empire with the design of exposing the abbé Eliçagaray as corrupt and incompetent. This intrigue seems to have been the end point of a long series of quarrels and feuds between the abbé and other administrators, particularly Amboise Rendu, the fierce Gallican who suspected every ecclesiastic who did not swear by the Four Articles of 1684. Before he left for his cherished Pyrénées in April, Eliçagaray denounced Rendu to the Minister of the Interior himself. The new inspector was to find the abbé glumly waiting for him at Pau and was terrified at the prospect of investigating his friend of the Duc d'Angoulême.²

In late May, he reached Pau. With his habitual tact and diplomacy, Mazure handled the situation to the

1. Biblio. de Saint-Genevieve; 1009; Papiers de Petitot. Notes on Public Education, May, 1817. Although this document offers an exceptional interest, most of the papers concern his literary productions.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 9088; F. Mazure to Minister of the Interior, 7 July, 1817.

satisfaction of both Eliçagaray and Royer-Collard, if not of Amboise Rendu. The finances of the Academy during the Empire were found to be in hopeless disorder but the former recteur of Angers diplomatically ascribed this to the inflation of prices in 1812, the invasion of the English armies in 1814, and to the fact that officials had never enforced the collection of the school tax. Eliçagaray, having got wind of the intrigue of Rendu beforehand, wrote a number of recteurs asking what sort of a man this new inspector was. All replied that he was an excellent person, loyal and full of integrity.¹ After the investigation, the abbé joined the chorus and praised Mazure's sense of justice, his moderation and his impartiality. He even gave the inspector a letter for the Minister of the Interior denouncing Rendu in odious terms, but the inspector handed back the missive and forthrightly requested that he soften the accusations and not mention Rendu by name. The abbé complied. Yet on returning to Paris, Mazure felt sure that he had been denounced and on 7 July sent a self-effacing letter to Lainé, "...Je pris la résolution de me retirer et de me réfugier dans ma tranquille pauvreté..." Mazure was to remain inspector-general until his death in 1828.²

A more disturbing omen during that year was the role of the Minister of Police, Decazes, in the selection of a new recteur for the Academy of Rouen. Fresh from the purge of

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6809; F. Mazure to Royer-Collard, 15 June, 1817.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6809; op. cit.

the prefectorial corps in June 1817, the former Chamberlain to the king of Holland placed a destitute Italian politician, of liberal origins, in that academy. The nomination of Carlo Botta as recteur on 7 November was the unique example of interference from the omnipresent Minister, but in the troubled fall of 1817, seemed to portend further appointments of a political nature.

Once again Paris was indulging in a patronage that ignored realities within a provincial town. A former revolutionary, a partisan of Bonaparte, and a functionary of the Hundred Days was deposited in a city where the archbishop, the clergy and the local nobility were pushing aside the more liberal elements of the bourgeoisie. As a medical doctor at Turin in his early twenties, Botta was imprisoned for his adherence to the French Revolution and exiled from Piedmont and, after an episodic career in the armies of Bonaparte, he was briefly part of the triumvirate which ruled Piedmont until its annexation in 1803.¹

At Rouln, Botta imported the social world that he had known in Paris and gave his sons subscriptions to the Grand Theatre of the town, held musical concerts and read long, windy papers on Italian history before the local Société Savante.² Yet the flexible administrator, so willing to adopt the prevailing regime in the era of rapid

1. Michaud, Biographie Universelle, article Botta.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7895; Dossier of Botta; June-July, 1815. Botta, Scipion, Vie Privée de Carlo Botta; Turin, 1878.

change, kept his political sentiments discreetly neutral and became a figurehead for his inspector, a native Rouennais, the clerical Faucon.

By 1817, the Royal University had at last assumed a combative stance in the face of the multiple attacks from both the right and left wings of Parliament and from the clergy in the departments. A wave of pamphlets in defence of public education suddenly appeared, authored by the luminaries of education from Guizot to Randa, Cuvier and Tallifer. The universitaires discreetly petitioned and pressured the more influential members of government and of Parliament. Richelieu received Royer-Collard on a number of special occasions; Cuvier energetically lobbied among the counsellors of state; while Anboise Randa predictably set to work to stiffen the backbone of the recteurs in the face of bishops and prefects. The battle was not as easy one. The truculent Vaublanc at one point managed to suppress a special emergency fund instituted by Peugeot the previous summer, but the Commission succeeded in having the money restored.

The most significant victory of the Commission, however, was the significant holding operation that prevented the government from issuing a new statute for education.

After the September, 1816 elections, Georges Cuvier integrated himself into the great group of leaders and from then until 1818 exerted a dominant influence over the course of the successive projects voted by the Minister and his subordinates. This

VI.

defensive work, carried on in the back halls of the Palais Bourbon, enabled Royer-Collard and his most trusted assistant,

Amboise Rendu, to open an offensive of sorts against the French clergy and simultaneously to counter the influence of a combative stance in the face of the multiple attacks from such administrators as the erratic Bignon or the ultra-royalist recteur of Poitiers, Bellen de la Libellière, both the right and left wings of Parliament and from the clergy in the departments. A wave of pamphlets in defense

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After the September, 1816 elections, Georges Cuvier insinuated himself into the good graces of Lainé and from then until 1818 exerted a dominant influence over the shape of the successive projects mooted by the Minister and his subordinates. This defensive work, carried on in the back halls of the Palais Bourbon, enabled Royer-Collard and his most trusted assistant, Amboise Rendu, to open an offensive of sorts against the French clergy and simultaneously to counter the influence of such administrators as the erratic Elicargaray or the ultra-royalist recteur of Poitiers, Bellin de la Liborlière.

But the real significance of the work accomplished by these two administrators lay in the fact that a new generation of recteurs, loyal to the University and determined to uphold its writ, was installed in several key academies. No longer the ineffective and weak administrators of the Empire; no longer the petty feuds and squabbles of provincial lettres; no longer the ignorance and indifference of men bred outside a new institution. In their place stood a set of combative recteurs, veterans of education, committed to Paris, attuned to the needs of efficient administration. The Academy of Rennes passed from a senile priest to a strong-armed supporter of the Decazes-Richelieu government. The Academy of Amiens went from the hands of a scion of a noble to a humble but well-trained proviseur.

The administrator of the nineteenth-century was at last appearing inside public education and from this point

of view it may be argued that the Liberal Restoration rather than the Empire did more to further the process of centralization, of bringing the patchwork of regions making up France under one authority, one jurisdiction. The Empire created the University. The Second Restoration provided it with its personnel.

THE ACADEMY OF AMIENS DURING THE
DECAZIS-RICHIELISU MINISTRY, 1815-1819

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ACADEMY OF ANGERS DURING THE DECAZES-RICHELIEU MINISTRY, 1816-1819

The events of 1814-1815 had had a catastrophic effect on the school system; and any reversal of this state of affairs would require as well a massive effort to break the abuses that had flourished in the days before 1814. The obstacles were formidable for the France of the Second Restoration was still an agricultural society, uninterested in the classical tradition, too splintered into regions to accept with ease a truly national system of education.

For all their aggressiveness, for all their energy and devotion, the new generation of recteurs faced sharply constraining limits to their power. Their social position, their geographic mobility, and their role as agents of Paris -- all these marked them in the eyes of the suspicious notables. They were bureaucrats in provincial France, not loyal to Paris, willing to challenge the vested interest of municipalities and the clergy. For another, public education within their jurisdictions remained relatively politicized, although more discreetly so than in 1814-1815. And behind the political and social problems lay the miserably low level of the municipal colleges, the

pathetic conditions that had only grown worse since the Empire: the lack of funds, the agony of the smaller schools under incompetent teachers, the absurd system of using examiners as professors, the general indifference of town councils.

How far did the new generation of recteurs touch the sores that lay beneath the surface? To what extent did these technicians deal with the conditions that had to be changed to save the Royal University? But was it enough to redeem French education? The events of 1814-1815 had had a catastrophic effect on the school system; and any reversal of this state of affairs would require as well a massive effort to break the abuses that had flourished in the days before 1814. The obstacles were formidable for the France of the Second Restoration was still an agricultural society, uninterested in the classical tradition, too splintered into regions to accept with ease a truly national system of education.

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pathetic conditions that had only grown worse since the Empire: the lack of funds, the agony of the smaller schools under incompetent teachers, the expanded system of using seminarists as professors, the general indifference of town councils.

How far did the new generation of recteurs touch the sores that lay beneath the surface? To what extent did these technicians deal with the conditions that had so frust-
 deeply shocked the state of the country? They were not as deeply shocked as their predecessors, men such as Frédérique Mazure? The work of Foulet de Lisle in Angers offers a full measure of the dilemma that confronted the recteurs in provincial France. He was not as critical of F. Mazure's administration, but the biting edge of his analysis left no doubt. An educational school at Angers still operated although a *collège* was officially established at Beaupréau. The College of Angers had to compete with the curé of the town. In all the schools directed by ecclesiastics, the professors came from the seminaries of Angers and regarded themselves as delegates of the bishop rather than members of the University. Municipal colleges lavished too much money and effort on primary education. Professors of these schools abused the privilege of teaching boys outside the college, some converting their homes into veritable dormitories. "Mais qu'il en soit, je trouve presque tout à faire dans l'éducation d'Angers," he concluded.

1. Arch. Nat., F. 17. 1034: Recteur of Angers to Boyer-Collard, 15 May, 1817.

II.

On arriving in May, 1817, P. de Lisle had been deeply shocked by the state of the Academy of Angers. "En me présentant dans une de vos lettres cette académie comme difficile à régir," he warned Royer-Collard, "vous étiez loin de m'en donner une idée exagérée."¹ The new recteur wished not to be critical of F. Mazure's administration, but the biting edge of his analysis left no doubt. An ecclesiastical school at Angers still operated although a petit séminaire was officially established at Beaupréau. The College of Saumur had to compete with the curé of the town. In all the schools directed by ecclesiastics, the professors came from the seminaries of Angers and Le Mans and regarded themselves as delegates of the bishops rather than members of the University. Municipal colleges lavished too much money and effort on primary education. Professors of these schools abused the privilege of teaching boys outside the college, some converting their homes into veritable dormitories. "Quoi qu'il en soit, je trouve presque tout à faire dans l'académie d'Angers," he concluded.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1616: Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard, 18 May, 1817.

In the recteur's first letter to the principal of Doué, 4 June, de Lisle thanked the abbé Théard for his note of congratulations, expressed his pleasure at being in the Academy, then reminded him that he had not paid the school tax for the last part of 1816.¹ This was to be the tone for the next seven years: blunt, insistent and bureaucratic.

The municipal colleges under ecclesiastics, at Laval, Mayenne, Château-Gontier, and Doué, discovered that the conciliatory attitude of Mazure, still shaken by the Hundred Days, was replaced by the impervious one of de Lisle. The convenient practice of drawing on the seminaries of Angers and Le Mans for professors became more difficult. To both Paris and the principals, de Lisle set forth the case against their use: of the three years that ecclesiastics taught before entering the ministry, the first was totally lost as student and professor came to know each other, the second began to be useful, then with the third, the moment that they were "broken in", these left and novices replaced them.² The annual turnover in the colleges sealed the mediocrity not to say nullity of studies.

The rectorate began a campaign of harassment against the practice by reactivating the old rules. On 30 June, de Lisle reminded the principal of Doué that his school was not a petit séminaire and insisted that the young ecclesiastics

1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 33-T-3; Recteur of Angers to the principal of Doué, June, 1817.
2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8218; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Colbard; Report on the College of Château-Gontier, 1821.

come to Angers to be examined for the diploma of bachelor-of letters.¹ He promised that the Commission in Paris would automatically brevet them. This, he explained, would at least prevent the annual turnover. From June, 1817, to August, 1818, when Théard resigned in anger, successive letters of the recteur maintained the harsh, condescending tone. "Vous agissez sans cesse," de Lisle said in one,

comme si l'établissement que vous dirigez était indépendant de l'Université et il est pénible pour moi de vous remettre continuellement sous les yeux vos obligations envers l'autorité qui seule vous a nommé.²

The College of Chateau-Gontier, described by F. Mazure as the capital of anti-University schools, received a like treatment. On 20 July, the recteur declared that henceforth the teachers could not leave education to enter the ministry, but must first obtain an exeat from him. Nor could any of the professors take up their posts that fall unless they made the trek to Angers for the examinations for the bachelor-of-letters. In August, he called Horeau's attention to the deplorable weakness of Greek in the college, pointing his finger on the continual change of teachers as the cause.³

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 33-T-8; Recteur of Angers to the principal of Doué, 30 June, 1817.

2. Ibid.; Recteur of Angers to the principal of Doué, 16 February, 1818. On quitting in 1818, Théard wrote the recteur that he was sick of his constant recriminations, that the Academy was demanding too much, that the young ecclesiastics had no wealth, received little salary, and could not be expected to learn Greek overnight to please his whims.

3. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 1-T-11; The recteur of Anger to the principal of Chateau-Gontier, 20 July, August 14, 1817.

At Laval and Mayenne, only a few of the teachers were younger ecclesiastics, and these were committed to public education rather than the ministry. At Ernée and Evron, Mazure had in fact placed laymen for professors, so the problem was not so dark as the recteur liked to pretend. Yet the College of Château-Gontier, in the southern part of the Mayenne, remained the great redoubt of clericalism, an independent fief within the Academy; and hence de Lisle attached a great importance to bringing its teachers into the system of public education. In July, 1818, the recteur journeyed by coach to Château-Gontier in the company of the ageing inspector-general, Daburon, ex-Oratorian and native of Angers, for this purpose. The former used his blunt method of argument; the latter, his immense moral credit to convince Horeau of the inherent evils of changing professors every year or so and of burdening them with the duties of maître-d'étude, a practice that even the young ecclesiastics bitterly criticized. "Le principal disait que depuis cents ans le collège marche de cette manière et qu'il ne faut rien déranger," de Lisle reported.¹ When the recteur promised to secure the official nomination of all the teachers by Paris if they would only come to Angers for the bachelor-of-letters, Horeau flatly refused. Nor would he accept the formality of each professor asking for an exéat before leaving the college. From 1818 to 1824, the seventy-year-old patriarch of Manceau education

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8318; Report on the recteur of Angers, 21 September, 1820.

never sent a single instructor or a financial account to Angers. In 1820, de Lisle confessed to the Commission his humiliating impotence to pressure him:

Un cri général se serait fait entendre; toutes les puissances de la terre auraient été soulevées contre l'Université. Un acte de juste sévérité se serait transformé en une horrible injustice."¹

Public opinion in the Mayenne, solidly behind the clergy, checkmated the Academy. De Lisle was no more successful in the Sarthe where he and Daburon journeyed after the unsuccessful negotiations.² The vicar-general Duperrier-Dumourier, old enemy of the University who had clashed with F. Mazure over the closure of a married priest's school at Le Mans, and who had attempted to convert Chateau-Gontier into a petit séminaire in 1814, refused to be more flexible in 1818, particularly at a moment when the liberal party of the Sarthe was making astonishing gains.³ The recteur argued that the ecclesiastics sent to Chateau-Gontier should have the diaconate or at least the sub-diaconate. The vicar-general was horrified. The diocese would be drained of badly needed priests. When de Lisle retorted that the 100 ecclesiastical students and 230 others of Chateau-Gontier were a grand investment for the future, Duperrier did agree to send two diaconates to Angers for the baccalauréat. These appeared in September, but none ever followed.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Guignon, M.: "Le parti libéral dans la Sarthe sous la Restauration"; Comité Sarthe Reve.; T. 20 (1927), pp. 5-84.

So resolute and determined in 1817, the recteur was a beaten man twelve months later. That same summer, Horeau subsidized the creation of a tiny ecclesiastical school in the Sarthe, at Precigné, sent one of his own professors to direct it, and three years later secured its erection into a petit séminaire.¹ In 1820, the professor of rhetoric left the mother college to open a similar establishment at Lassay, a small commune in the northeasmost tip of the Mayenne.² The network of schools over which the dioceses of Angers and Le Mans exercised greater control than the recteur had expanded by 1820 to include over one-half of the student population of the Academy. Nearly 200 at Beaupreau, 90 at Chateau-Gontier, 222 at Laval; Precigné, Doué and Lassay counted 150 together while that of Colombe, still a pensionnat officially, in the northwest of the Maine-et-Loire, had grown to over 100. Under the Empire the figure had stood at one-third.

The priests who directed municipal colleges were not the only ones to kick against the harness imposed by the University. The layman well resisted the multiple obligations placed on them. The necessity of monthly financial sheets, of student rosters, of details on the school tax, and

1. Calendini, L.: "Le Collège de Precigné"; Soc. His. Maine; T. 38 (1936); pp. 58-64; 105-111; 159-163.

2. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T-1; 492, B; Huet Affair, 1819-1826; A copious correspondence in which the recteur repeatedly and ineffectively attempted to apply the University's authority.

the fact that professors were changed frequently grated on the habits of these men who taught twenty to fifty boys and had to shepherd them through every movement of the day. Ironically, there were more laymen as heads of colleges than before the Empire. But these were limited for the most part ^{of} the small, obscure outposts of education within the Academy in the Maine-et-Loire, at Baugé, Beaufort, Chalonnes and Cholet, although Maillet directed that of Saumur; in the Sarthe, at Sablé, La Suze, Sillé, Saint-Calais, Chateau-duloir, and Mamers; in the Mayenne, at Evron and soon at Ernée. The College of Le Mans, the only genuine one in the Sarthe, was to have a succession of ecclesiastics as directors, a policy that the rectorate considered indispensable to its success.¹

De Lisle had no more success than Mazure in reforming these stricken schools, vegetating on the borderline of misery, rebuffed by public opinion and threatened with financial collapse. By 1820, the former Vendean soldier who directed the College of Cholet had no more than 14 students and although Raimbault blamed his condition on the "misery" of the inhabitants in this manufacturing town, it was well known that his own lack of knowledge of Latin as well as his lax ways were the real cause. At Chalonnes, the small port-town on the embouchure of the Layon into the Loire, the inspector was astonished that the school was called a college, for only two students were studying Latin. When the municipal council

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8451; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard; 8 January, 1816.

voted nineteen to eighteen to close the establishment, the mayor held a second ballot which he insured was favorable, but only because he felt sorry for the impoverished Barillat family. In July, the town converted it into a primary school.¹

In the more prosperous eastern end of the department, matters had reached an equally crucial stage. The young socialite from Saumur, Aubert, soured quickly under the strain of directing a school that many of the town of Baugé did not want, particularly after the commune forced him to invest 6,000 francs of his own funds in the furniture. The appearance of the école mutuelle threatened to compete for his thirty-four students, while the petit séminaire of Beaupréau drained away the older boys.² Then too the municipal council emitted periodic rumblings to the effect that the budget would be slashed, a threat that kept Aubert quaking with fright.³ His neighbor at Beaufort, Edeline, did not suffer from the same hostility of the curés and other ecclesiastics, since he had been a soldier in the Vendean army. When the recteur queried why his establishment was foundering with only thirteen boys, Edeline retorted that the liberal bourgeois of the commune had ostracized him, and reported that one of their number confided that his sympathies for the nobility and their sons were well known, a statement which made Edeline swell with

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 412-T-1; Report of the inspector on the College of Chalonnnes, 1 January, 1818.

2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-3; Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 14 June, 21 September, 1818; 14 January, 1820.

3. Ibid., 1820.

pride, vain at his acceptance by the "first" families.¹ De Lisle found the cause however in his careless administration and his reluctance to discipline the students for fear of losing them.²

In the Sarthe, the five "colleges" outside of Le Mans, all directed by laymen, presented substantially the same picture as the lesser ones of the Maine-et-Loire: the lack of students, the competition of primary schools, the low quality of men, the indifference or hostility of mayors. At Saint-Calais, in the east, the recteur discreetly retired the married priest, Lhermite, who had only a handful of students. A young man of 24 replaced him.³ The principal of Mamers, Launay, had once been head of the tiny school of Chalonnes, and before that, an obscure maître-de-pension. The recteur found him "less than mediocre".⁴ At Chateauduloir, the town was unable to find a principal to replace Maillet, promoted to Saumur. A private instructor contracted to come, but when F. Mazure saw the agreement with the town, he refused to approve and the matter ended after the curé denounced the man as irreligious. The administrative bureau then proposed a maître-de-pension at Le Mans whom the prefect and Moissenet recommended, but on further inquiries Mazure discovered to

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1. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-8; Principal of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 22 October, 1822.
 2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8257; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard; Tableau d'organisation, June, 1817.
 3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8561; Tableau d'organisation, 1818.
 4. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8449; Report of the recteur of Angers, 5 June, 1820.

his horror that the man was a former tobacco seller and a dismissed percepteur of taxes. The young ex-principal of Evron, removed for personal reasons, was named principal in the spring of 1817.

At Sablé, a center of the clothe-industry in the western Sarthe, the fifty-one year old Guéranger, soldier during the Revolution, was convinced that the town was plotting his removal to place a "black robe" and cried out in successive letters of his impending martyrdom.² The town council answered the recteur's inquiries by protesting that students were deserting, that the school was foul with trash and mismanaged, and that the few remaining students were making no progress, an accusation that Edeline countered with the observation that it was no fault of his if the sons of the bourgeoisie lacked brains.³

In the Department of the Mayenne, the one layman who directed a college, that of Evron, only confirmed local opinion in the belief that ecclesiastics alone could be entrusted with education. The twenty-six year old Langlois was oft seen jumping the wall separating the school from a private home to see the wife of a friend, although Langlois claimed he had been involved in several violent disputes in that house,

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8329; Report of the recteur of Angers, 3 February, 1817.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8553; Principal of Sablé to the recteur of Angers, 5 October, 1816.
 3. Ibid.; Mayor of Sablé to the recteur of Angers, 22 October, 1816.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8553; Principal of Sablé to the recteur of Angers, 21 September, 1816.

only over a question of money.¹ De Lisle climbed upon his pulpit to denounce the principal for setting the youth of Evron an example of "à troubler le repos de familles et à violer avec scandale les lois divines et humaines."²

This substrata of principals, this underbelly of functionaries, was only too aware of its own impoverished, humiliating position. An almost unanimous cry parted from the lips of these men demanding a better post, a position where their self-respect would not be so bruised and torn. Guéranger, pleading that the College of Laval and Chateau-Gontier would always keep his establishment on a hopeless level, asked for a class in the Royal college of Angers.³ In 1818, the principal of Baugé, Aubert, demanded the direction of a large college: "J'éprouve dans ce moment un très grand ennui à me voir à mon âge chef d'un aussi petit collège."⁴ At Beaufort, Edeline made the same complaint; the college offered no hope. In January, 1817, he announced the firm intention of quitting. By November, he was blaming the Academy's limitations of studies to the fourth form as the reason for its decline, and in January, of the following year, sent a blistering letter of complaint to de Lisle. "Les plaints que vous m'adressez... n'ont aucun fondement réel," accused the recteur, pointing

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-19; Principal of Evron to the recteur of Angers, 1818-1819.

2. Ibid.; Recteur of Angers to the principal of Evron, 10 March, 1819.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8553; Principal of Evron to the recteur of Angers, October, 1816.

4. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-3; Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 21 September, 1818.

out that if he was overworked it was because he put too much time and energy into the primary school, a private "speculation".¹ Even the principal of the relatively well endowed College of Saumur, L. Maillet, was crying for his change. The town devoted an adequate sum; the old debt was paid by 1818; the professors were of good quality; yet the school had only 74 students. In 1820, he attempted to resign on the grounds that he was morally crushed by four years of battles with the teachers, with the bureau and the mayor, and with the curé of Saint-Pierre.² De Lisle made a strenuous and successful effort to convince this student of the Doctrinaires to continue.

In the midst of this crisis within the seventeen municipal colleges, Poulet de Lisle had to devote increasing attention to a deadly but silent war with the proviseur of the Royal College, the ultra-royalist abbé Farby. To find the two leading figures in an academy dire enemies was not an uncommon event. Their respective positions, their differing points-of-view inevitably generated an administrative rivalry. Indeed until this day, the recteur in France is pictured as a bureaucratic hack meddling in scholastic affairs on behalf of the long-armed ministry in Paris.

1. Ibid. 29-T-8; Principal of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 5 January, 1818.

2. Arch. Dept.: 416-T-1; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 28 August, 1820.

3. Ibid.; Recteur of Angers to Bayard-Collard, 1 July, 1817. The letter was a rebuttal to a denunciation which Farby had sent to Paris.

At Angers, the battle was particularly tragic. Since 1815, the personnel of the Lycée had considerably gained in public opinion as the former revolutionaries disappeared.¹ The fact that the Missionaries of France, led by the aristocratic de Jansen, gave a retreat inside the school during January, 1816, seemed to signal the ultimate purification.² But the political excesses of Tarby, his autocratic outlook, his suspicions and jealousies of the professors and his personal dishonesty threatened to wreck the harmony of the college and keep a cloud over its reputation.³

Twelve months after Tarby's arrival, in April, 1818, de Lisle formally accused the old émigré from England and one-time censeur of the Lycée of Dijon of giving his nephew a gratuitous education, of lighting his apartment with expensive olive oil, of ordering cases of Bourgandy wine at the expense of the College and of buying his own furniture with the money of the University.⁴ On 20 April, the recteur delivered a stinging reprimand to Tarby for the tone of a recent note; and in August de Lisle was unsparing in a report to Paris: "peu de jugement", "son désir de domination", "son peu d'égard pour les fonctionnaires du collège" were several

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7688; Tableau du Personnel, 1817-1818.

2. Sevrin, E.: Les missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration: (Paris, 1948), T. 1, 2; pp.

3. Ibid.: Dossier of letters concerning the abbé Tarby. He had been censeur of the Lycée of Dijon and when the Hundred Days came fled on foot into the surrounding forests. After the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, Tarby brought a white terror into the school, dismissing all the maîtres d'études and denouncing several professors.

4. Ibid.: Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard, 1 July, 1819. The letter was a rebuttal to a denunciation which Tarby had sent to Paris.

of the criticisms.¹

Political events brought to a head the crisis. In December, 1818, Decazes formed a center-left government that included the leading Doctrinaires from Guizot to Royer-Collard and the Duc de Broglie. The extreme left had made astonishing strides in the elections of November. In December, 1818, and January, 1819, the students of the Parisian Royal Colleges went on a rampage of riots that had distinctly political overtones and those of Nantes and Rennes soon followed suit. The revolutionary fervor, as Tarby conceived it, had poisoned the students of France; and, for him, it was only a question of time before those of Angers broke loose.

On 14 February, the aumônier warned Tarby that the students were repeating a chant "biscat Bbscando" during recreation as well as other unintelligible sayings that might have been passwords. The proviseur called in the censeur: "Mon ami, c'est fini; c'est aujourd'hui notre tour; les élèves sont en révolte." Collet retorted he had seen nothing. Tarby shouted that he planned to seize the seven ringleaders, tie their hands and feet together, throw them in the cellars and call the gendarmerie to escort them to their parents. The censeur managed to calm him by swearing to take full responsibility for whatever happened.

Five days later, the chef de gendarmerie, the chevalier de Bancourt, appeared in the office of the rectorate and startled de Lisle with a demand for information on a

1. Ibid.: Tableau du Personnel, 1819.

supposed riot at the Royal College. The recteur was thunder-struck. He had heard of no disorder. The two hurried to the College to find that Tarby had indeed readied the school for a state of siege, locked the various gates and doors and forbidden the boarding boys to leave the premises. Rumors had spread in Angers that the College was in rebellion. Before de Rancourt, the recteur praised the measures of Tarby but later in private severely reprimanded him for his unseemly panic and for contacting the chef de gendarmerie rather than the head of the Academy.¹

In June, the proviseur ended all possibility of remaining in the Royal College by denouncing the censeur, Collet, young protégé of de Lisle and F. Mazure, who had kept the school together in the face of Tarby's erratic behavior. The ex-Doctrinaire slipped a secret denunciation into the hands of the inspectors-general of 1819, a fact that infuriated the recteur when he learned of the ruse.² The imputation that Collet was a homosexual, for which no evidence existed, shocked the inspectors as much as de Lisle. From then until Tarby's removal in October, the recteur ceased meeting him, communicating by letter only.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard, 24 February, 1819.

1. Computed from the birth dates given in the Tableau d'Administration.

2. Arch. Nat.: F. 17 522; Tableau d'Administration.

Oratorians in the French form was retained in favor of a student of the College during the Empire. At the eight professors in 1818, all were between the ages of thirty and thirty-eight, with the exception of one, who was over forty.

III.

and two, students of the same college.

The Academy of Angers was not entirely exempt, however, from the upheavals of the Revolution, part of the

The most notable change in the Academy of Angers since the Empire was not in the composition of the principals of the municipal colleges but in that of the teaching personnel. The immense diversity which had characterized the professors before 1814, from former Oratorians and Doctrinaires to ex-revolutionaries, émigrés assermentés, refractories, men tossed out of other careers, gave way to the young graduates of the municipal colleges. The Academy was acquiring a new face, one that reflected the nineteenth century rather than the eighteenth. The average age of the professors fell under thirty years.¹

The College of Le Mans epitomized the dramatic nature of this changing of generations.² The eighty-one year old abbé Le Mercier, the blind and almost deaf ex-Oratorian who taught philosophy, gave way to the abbé Guyard, only twenty-two years, a former répétiteur of philosophy at the Seminary of Le Mans. The ex-private instructor of Paris during the Revolution and disciple of Moissenet, Renvoisée was made sub-principal and his class given to a thirty-year-old man. The ex-

1. Computed from the birth dates given on the various Tableau d'organization.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8451: Tableau d'organization, 1817-1818.

Oratorian in the fourth form was retired in favor of a student of the College during the Empire. Of the eight professors in 1818, all were between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-eight, with the exception of M. Boyer. One was a Normalian, and two, students of the Royal College.

The Academy of Angers was not entirely exempt, however, from the appearance of middle-aged men, part of the motley collection that had populated its schools during the Empire. In 1816, the abbé Moissenet persuaded Mazure to name as professor of sixth form in the college an ex-Oratorian and old friend of his, a man whose business had gone bankrupt. Lepellitier was soon sent to Saumur, but his quarrels with the principal necessitated his transfer to the College of Fontenay-le-Comte in the Vendée where, unfortunately for him, a regiment of chasseurs of the Sarthe was stationed and quickly recognized him as the man imprisoned at Le Mans for financial misdoings. The recteur of Poitiers gave him a year's leave of absence.¹ In 1817, the College of Saumur received a former principal of the College of Loches who had been pressured to resign after his wife left for another town and an attractive young cousin appeared in her place.² In hearly Beaufort, the new professor was equally a former maître-de-pension who had become principal during the Empire. The bureau of his old

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8388; Recteur of Angers to Royer-Collard; 7 December, 1816.
2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8436; Recteur of Orleans to Royer-Collard; 13 September, 1817.

3. Arch. Dep't.; Maine-et-Loire; 30-T-2; Principal of Chalonnes to the Recteur of Angers, 4 January, 1817.

college had denounced him as unable to discipline the students;¹ Amboise Rendu agreed that he was a man of coarse and vulgar habits, "tous ce qui convient à un mauvais soldat."²

The essential problem among the teaching personnel had not changed despite the drop in age. The professor of the Restoration, like that of the Empire, remained willful, insubordinate, and contemptuous of the principal whom he served. Hampered by a low salary, 1000 francs in the largest colleges, 800 francs in the smaller, he was more interested in financial gain through tutoring students privately than in accepting the duties of maître-d'étude which the principal imposed. He complained, like his predecessor, of the poor food in the college, of the cramped, dark quarters which he was generally assigned and of the domineering habits of his superior.

The six colleges of the Maine-et-Loire threatened to fall apart from the constant quarrels and mutual accusations which rent their interior. Indeed, that of Charlonnes shut down in 1818 not only because there were so few students but because the primary teacher, who also instructed grammar, refused to acknowledge the principal's authority over the boys on the primary level. The director angrily reported that his assistant stole older boys for private lessons by bribing them with promises of milk and sweets!³ At Baugé,

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8320; Administrative Bureau to the Grand-Master, 2 May, 1815.

2. Ibid.; Note of Amboise Rendu, 1815.

3. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 30-T-2; Principal of Chalonnès to the recteur of Angers, 4 January, 1817.

Aubert quarreled with one young teacher over the fact that he was stocking his private library with novels confiscated from the students. He complained of two others that they treated the house like an inn, coming and going as they pleased, while the two retorted that Aubert never served fruit for dessert, gave them dismal quarters and spied on their least activities.¹

These feuds represented the usual bones of contention. Within the College of Beaufort however, personal animosity was wrecking the school; for Edeline had always resented the married priest whom the recteur had imposed on him in 1812. In 1817 the recteur had Houdet retired, but Edeline began to regret the change as soon as his successor arrived, the ex-principal of Chateauroux. The crusty Tapray refused to act as maître-d'études, would not attend daily mass, and complained of the poor food and of his low salary. "Il est facheux pour lui," the mayor said in reply to an inquiry by the recteur, "qu'il n'ait pas de goûts plus simples, analogues à sa position", and went on to cite the inordinate amount of time that he spent in the cafés.² In January, 1818, de Lisle secured his removal.

The only leading college in the Academy that a layman directed, that of Saumur, suffered from a malady similar to its smaller neighbors in the Maine-et-Loire. The six teachers gave private lessons to students in order to

1. Ibid.; 28-T-1; Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 27 May, 1816.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8237; Mayor of Beaufort to the recteur of Angers, 3 September, 1817.

supplement their meager incomes. L. Maillet put his foot down in October, 1816, after two began accepting boys in their rooms in town. When the sympathetic de Lisle issued an arrêté forbidding teachers to accept pensionnaires or to tutor more than two boys at a time,¹ one of the professors boarded a coach for Angers in a great fury; another flatly refused to obey. Maillet declared to the recteur that he was determined to quit rather than go to war with the professors: "L'éducation n'est plus qu'un brigandage et les principaux sont malheureux; puisque leurs moyens d'existence ne sont pas garanties et que leur autorité est méconnue," he whined.²

Within the Sarthe, the five colleges outside Le Mans contained few professors. The repetitious quarrels and feuds that divided the schools of the Maine-et-Loire found less of a duplication. Unfortunately for the rectorate, however, the College of Le Mans, the most important establishment within the Academy that was universitaire, gradually declined as the old guard passed away. The re-creation of the old Oratorian tradition evaporated under the corrosive influence of time. Of the seven professors in 1818, all were between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-eight, with the exception of the last remaining Oratorian, M. Boyer.

The sixty-five-year-old Père Moissenet, gout-ridden and confined to his bed, could no longer control the college

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1616; Arrêté of the recteur of Angers, 23 October, 1816.

2. Arch. Dept.: Maine-et-Loire; 416-T-1; Principal of Saumur to the recteur of Angers, 24 November, 1816.

and since 1816 had plaintively reiterated his desire to step down. After a number of disorders, F. Mazure made a personal inspection in the spring of 1817. Arriving in the evening, he had scarcely put his foot in the principal's study when a domestic breathlessly entered to cry that a maître-d'étude was being murdered. The recteur rushed to the dormitory to discover the lights extinguished and a great noise and tumult. A boy close to the door recognized Mazure's imposing figure and passed the word along. A silence soon fell:

Je fais venir des flambeaux et je vois tous les élèves pêle-mêle, le maître-d'étude réfugié dans une embrasure de fenêtre et entouré des débris de sa chaire, de planches, de livres et de tout ce qui peut servir d'arme offensive à des écoliers mutines.

The senile principal broke down and cried.¹

The principal who finally replaced Moissenet was an ecclesiastic of Normandy, the abbé Noel, forty-eight years, an educator with a rare talent for administration and a proprietor at Caen enjoying a revenue sufficient to restore the college.²

The reports of de Lisle in 1818 called him more esteemed than loved, for the young teachers deeply resented his iron discipline, particularly when this brought the expulsion of the dancing and music masters who instructed them

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8651; F. Mazure to Royer-Collard, 24 April, 1817. Tableau d'organisation, 1817.

2. Ibid.: Dossier of Lucot. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; TT-18; Principal of Le Mans to the recteur of Angers, 9 July, 1819.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8651; Report of the inspector-general Raynal, 25 August, 1819.

in their rooms. Aumolle, twenty-four years, stooped to a despicable and incredibly callous means to obtain revenge for an apparent slight. Mysteriously finding a letter from a woman who controlled certain of Noel's possessions at Caen, a letter that betrayed a more than platonic relationship, the teacher publicized its contents, and gave a copy to the local commissaire de police. The latter ~~secretly~~ ignored the matter but Aumolle nevertheless gave another copy to Fourcas; and from there the matter quickly passed into the hands of the ex-terrorist of the Cher, Raynal, named to his new position in June, 1819.¹

As soon as the principal learned what was about, he caught a coach for Angers to offer his resignation. Raynal arrived on his return: "Nous avons trouvé le principal abîmé de douleur, avouant et n'avouant pas, s'excusant et ne s'excusant pas." The inspectors-general were sympathetic with Noel but decided that the only alternative was to remove him.

Between 1817 and 1820, Poulet de Lisle was an active participant in the life of each college. On the literary exercises in September of each year, he generally spoke at one of the colleges: at Chateau-Gontier in his first year, he blamed all the evils of France on the prevailing spirit of irreligion. The other eleven months of the year, de Lisle dispensed a rough sort of justice. He could bully the principal of Doué for failing to send the school tax, reprimand

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8451; Report of the inspector-general Raynal, 25 August, 1819.

that of Beaufort for his "ridiculous" behavior, tell that of Evron he was a scandal to all honest men and unsympathetically accuse that of Bauge of being the author of his own woes. The professors, too, often felt his stern hand, particularly on questions involving a dispute with the principal. The autocratic paternalism of de Lisle, so typical of the provincial recteur, led him to inquire into the least details of the personal lives of these young men. Thus in 1820, he could forbid a teacher in the college of Saumur to marry a young lady of that town. De Lisle sent an inspector to find out the details of the marriage contract and on learning that these would reduce the teacher to a state of "slavery", slapped an interdiction on him. After a tearful explanation by the distraught Saulnier, the recteur softened, "J'avoue que je n'ai pu résister à ses larmes et à ses sollicitations, et que je lui ai promis de ne plus insister contre son mariage."¹ This was the essence of his philosophy: a paternal if interfering hand in the least details of education.

Yet Poulet de Lisle failed to make any significant reform. Like most recteurs of the Restoration, he was defeated by a combination of circumstances -- political, social and economic: the strength of the clergy, the low quality of the principals, the refusal of towns to support education.

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; Recteur of Angers to the President of the Commission, 14 August, 1820.

IV.

What of the quality of studies in the colleges of France during the early part of the Second Restoration? How did the appearance of new recteurs, men such as de Lisle, affect the curriculum of the municipal schools? The answer is stark in its simplicity. On the question of curriculum, the relationship between Paris and the departments had little bearing, for neither the Imperial nor the Royal University succeeded in imposing a uniform program on the colleges of France. The nineteenth century boast that the head of public education knew what line of what book the students of France were reading at any given moment applied neither to the period of the Empire nor to that of the Restoration.

The greatest failure of the University was to impose a higher standard of studies in both the Royal and Municipal colleges. In 1809, the Council had drawn up a list of books from which a professor could choose his texts. In 1814, a statute was issued that gave a new list and established a strict regime for life inside the school. Five years later, Amboise Rendu could report that the statute was almost unknown in most

3. *Annuaire de l'Université*, Special report on the state of studies in the several Parisian schools of 1821.

schools of France and in those where it was known was rarely followed.¹

The reasons for the deficiencies of secondary education were radically different between colleges in Paris and those elsewhere. In the capital, the vicious but exhilarating competition known as the Grand Concours, where students from all schools participated against one another, grossly denatured studies.² The brighter students were carefully prepared by their teachers all too anxious to have one of their own win a much coveted laureat. The classes were divided into strong and weak sections, with the latter dragging along "sans honneur" in the words of one skeptical inspector. Then, too, the professors of the Parisians limited their efforts to the program of the Grand Concours and in the process peripheral subjects such as history and geography fell by the wayside.

Yet even in Paris, seat of the University, studies were on a remarkably low level.³ The vast majority of boys not caught up in the grueling process of the concours perfunctorily recited their devoirs and just as perfunctorily received their baccalaureat. Amboise Rendu, always the stern, demanding educator, had time and again denounced the vicious

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1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2504; Modifications au plan actuel des études proposées par les inspecteurs-généraux Ampère et Rendu; October, 1819. Rendu drew up a detailed list of changes to be made to the prescribed regime.
 2. Venzac; G.; Les premières maîtres de Victor Hugo; (Paris, 1955), p. 281.
 3. Arch. Nat.; AJ 126 50; Special report on the level of studies in the several Parisian schools, 17 January, 1821.

system before Royer-Collard documenting his charge with personal observations. On the examination for the prized baccalauréat, he boldly wrote:

Quelque passage des Coniones millefois expliqué ou traduit dans le cours des classes, quelques vers de Virgile et des plus connus, deux ou trois points cent fois rebattus de logique, de métaphysique ou de morale, le plus souvent point de grec: Voilà ce qu'on appelle un exam pour le baccalauréat-es-lettres...

Qu'il réponde bien ou nul, les boules blanches brûlent de s'échapper des mains officiles qui les tiennent et c'est merveille si une boule noir vient quelquefois atterre le triomphe du jeune homme, étonner la complaisance de la majorité des juges.

Nous sommes, tous les ans, et presque tous lieux, témoins de ces grossière et dérisives parodies. Chacun année, nous les dénonçons; nous les retrouvons chaque année, et nous entendons avec autant de honte que de douleur répéter d'un bout de la France à l'autre que ces grades ne sont qu'une manière de battre monnaie; cela grossit toujours le trésor universitaire."¹

In provincial France, the precarious financial existence of the public schools continued to condition the quality of studies. The towns accorded little to education, and each year the question of whether the college would open its doors hung in balance. Under this perpetual and terrifying menace the principals felt constrained to realize a profit.² They continued to assign their subordinates two, sometimes

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2485; Report on the Faculties; A. Rendu and Ampere; 5 August, 1818.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 1621; The inspection of the Academy of Limoges, 1824. The principals "marchandent les régents, les prennent au rabais et les surchargent de classes...". "Ces établissements ne subsistent donc que d'une manière précaire, uniquement dépendant de la confiance qui inspire le chef, du nombre des élèves qu'il attira et chaque jour existence est remise en question."

three, classes. As for exams, both principal and teacher were only too anxious to please the parents by demonstrating that their precious sons were making rapid progress. In the process, Latin composition was neglected; classroom discussions were nil; the teachers preferred to dictate lessons in a monotone voice, then briefly correct the devoirs. Students spoke only to recite memorized passages and when they stumbled over a word generally stopped altogether as they struggled to remember the succeeding phrase. History and geography received almost no attention. Philosophy continued to be a question of dictating the well-worn logic of Aquinas as expounded in the eighteenth century Philosophie de Lyon. Mathematics had little place in the curriculum of the smaller colleges of France, and were being increasingly eliminated. Georges Cuvier reacted with unusual anger on learning that four schools in the Academy of Aix had abandoned the discipline on the pretext of too few students. "Comment veut-on qu'il y ait des élèves," he told Corbière, "quand il n'y a pas de professeurs. Il me semble que cet état de choses tient bien plutôt à l'avarice de principaux."¹ The impecunious state of education thus pinned studies to a uniformly miserable level.²

1. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8109; Note of Georges Cuvier, 1821.

2. The two most detailed studies of the curriculum in the nineteenth century French school must be faulted for concentrating too exclusively on the official program rather than on the reality inside the colleges. See Vial, F.: Trois Siècles de d'Enseignement Secondaire; (Paris, 1936). Falcucci, C.: L'Humanisme dans l'enseignement secondaire en France au XIX siècle; (Paris, 1939).

V.

In his seven years at Angers, from 1817 to 1824, P. de Lisle showed a prickly insistence on the observance of the University rules, a passion for exact discipline among the professors, an Olympian scorn for ecclesiastics as professors, and a willingness to skirmish with the clergy. These qualities obtained for him the position of inspector-general in 1824. Yet in that latter year, the Academy of Angers was far from having changed since the storm-tossed days of the Empire. If the traces of the Civil War had been effaced to a large extent, if the number of laymen as principals had actually increased and if the teachers were a younger, more homogenous group than their elders of the Empire, the Academy of Angers remained the same miserable collection of small schools, rent by internal dissention, isolated by a hostile public, governed by a non-professional collection of laymen and priests. The principals had become more discouraged, bitter and undisciplined. The professors continued to flaunt the authority of their superiors. Ecclesiastics continued to make inroads.

What difference then had eight years of centralized administration made in the life of the average municipal college in France? What difference had the pyramid of recteurs, in-

spectors, inspectors-general, as well as the plethora of rules, made in the existence of the University?

An air of hopelessness, almost of despair, continued to hang heavy over these establishments that attracted as teachers only the very young or older men made desperate by their precarious situation. The principal frantically wondered where the necessary funds were to be found. He saw his teachers primarily as rivals out to take away his income by offering students extra tutorials and room and board. He fiercely resented the mayor and other notables who had their own ideas on how a school should be operated yet who refused to vote the necessary money. Above all, he suffered keenly from the knowledge that he was a contemptible figure from a social point of view. Likewise the professors found themselves reduced to competing with each other and with their director in the unedifying scramble for supplementing their pathetic salaries. They disliked the principals sent from other towns and suspected the recteur of playing favorites when it came to promotion.

How then had education changed from the Empire? While the vicious cycle of the maitre-de-pension-turned-principal continued to plague the rectorate, the Academy was now recruiting from its own ranks in those few cases where vacancies occurred. And if the problem of the ambitious, dissatisfied teacher remained a dominant factor, the professors were younger than they had been during the Empire for the older

generation, relics of the Ancien Régime, had all but passed from the scene. Then too it may be argued that an administrative unity had been imposed on the confusing topography of education, and a generation of administrators as well as teachers was rising from within the University. Public education was slowly acquiring a more professional allure.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The THE UNIVERSITY DURING THE 1820S

The recteurs between 1816 and 1819 were not obscured by the rising din of political battle. The relative calm of 1817-1818 began to crack under the heat of a liberal offensive, and most Frenchmen, royalist or otherwise, believed that the University had moved into the rapidly growing camp of the liberal faction, a faction led by provocative pamphleteers such as Paul-Louis Courier, by stirring orators such as Benjamin Constant, and by ageing military leaders of the Napoleonic era like General Foy.

The reforms undertaken by Royer-Collard, the student riots of 1819-1820, the pressure of an increasingly rightist government, these facts have been described by Adrien Garnier in the *Revue de la Restauration* and by Louis Trépo in the fifth volume, *La Restauration*. Yet the nature of the purges undertaken in the academies has not been studied, nor has the emergence of a new set of recteurs, now often drawn from obscure posts in provincial France.

1.

The social and financial problems encountered by the recteurs between 1816 and 1819 were soon obscured by the rising din of political battle. The relative calm of 1817-1818 began to crack under the heat of a liberal offensive; and most Frenchmen, royalist or otherwise, believed that the University had moved into the rapidly growing camp of the liberal faction, a faction led by provocative pamphleteers such as Paul-Louis Courier, by stirring orators such as Benjamin Constant, and by ageing military leaders of the Napoleonic era like General Foy.

The defense undertaken by Royer-Collard, the student riots of 1819-1820, the pressure of an increasingly rightist government, these facets have been chronicled by Adrien Garnier in the Frayssinous and by Louis Grimaud in his fifth volume, La Restauration. Yet the nature of the purges undertaken in the academies has not been studied, nor has the emergence of a new set of recteurs, men often drawn from obscure posts in provincial France.

II.

After forcing the Duc de Richelieu out of the government during the autumn of 1818, Decazes unequivocally allied himself with the center-left and undertook a series of liberal measures that electrified the politically conscious elites of France. Sixteen prefects and forty sub-prefects of "ultra" vintage were retired; the Council of State was purged of several members; former émigrés who had succeeded to positions of high command in the army were dismissed, and a new press law allowed the appearance of thirty-odd journals, most of them outspokenly political.¹

The gains of the liberals in the National Assembly and the reforms of the government effectively politicized the students of the Royal Colleges and the professors and students of the various faculties although the teachers and students of the municipal colleges seemed to have remained neutral. In January, 1819, the collegians of Louis-le-Grand

1. Bertier de Sauvigny, F.; La Restauration; 1964; Chapter IV; "Decazes et l'Expérience Libérale", pp. 156-165. Pouthas, C-H; Guizot; pp. 231-241. Collins, Irene; The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881; (London, 1959), pp. Fizaine, S.; La Vie politique dans la Côte-d'Or sous Louis XVIII; (Dijon, 1931), pp. 152-155.

touched off a series of riots and disorders in the former lycées of France when they refused to obey the minute religious regulations of their establishment and vowed to die collectively in defense of their barricaded dormitory. Notes were surreptitiously passed from school to school and revolts soon occurred at Nantes, Rennes, Caen, Toulouse and Bordeaux, thereby leading the timorous abbé Tarby at Angers to suspect that his establishment would be the next target.¹ More serious than these essentially schoolboyish pranks was the wave of agitation that swept the Faculties of Medicine and law, training grounds for the professional bourgeoisie and civil service. A professor of law at Paris dared profess from his podium the philosophy of Benjamin Constant, and when the Dean suspended the course, marched at the head of his enthusiastic students to the National Assembly. The law students of Grenoble forwarded a statement of solidarity, but the Commission of Public Education promptly and energetically intervened to suppress this movement, one which Royer-Collard unequivocally denounced as an "odious corruption".² The University hierarchy had no intention of abandoning the political neutrality that it had so assiduously cultivated since the days of the Empire.

1. Dupont-Ferrier, G.; Du Collège Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand; (Paris, 1925), Vol. 2, pp. 492-495.

2. Garnier, A.; Frayssinous, son rôle dans l'Université sous la Restauration 1822-1828; pp. 46-64. Rémusat, C.; Correspondence de M. de Rémusat pendant les premières années de la Restauration...1883-1886; Vol. 1, pp. 392-393.

Pressure on Royer-Collard nonetheless mounted. His role as spokesman of the center-left in the National Assembly and as a major figure in the reforms of the administration exposed him to the hostility of an increasingly united right. His refusal to countenance a more complete shift of the government's political base towards the left alienated from him such figures as Constant and Casimir Périer. Finally his role in suppressing the political movement within the faculties created a host of enemies in the University itself. When Decazes became fearful of his allies on the left and began to backpedal furiously towards the right during the fall of 1819, Royer-Collard found his own position compromised. In October, he resigned as president of the Commission.¹ The government named his colleague and long-time universitaire, Georges Cuvier, as provisional head, an appointment that assured a continuity of policies.

But the University hierarchy was unable to maintain that discrete, almost amoral neutrality which had proved so effective since the time of Napoleon. The events of 1820 proved too great for the technicians of education. The election of October, 1819, not only gave the liberals a remarkable numerical victory, thirty-five out of fifty-five seats, but returned to the National Assembly the controversial abbé Grégoire, one of the pillars of the Constitutional clergy, a revolutionary of sincere and noble principles. France was

1. Rémusat; op. cit.: pp. 392-394; Garnier; op. cit.: Langeron, Royer-Collard: 1955: pp. 166-169.

dividing once more into a left and right wing; the liberals seemed on the verge of new triumphs. In the midst of the ensuing parliamentary realignment came the tragic assassination by a mentally deranged individual of the son of Louis XVIII, the Duc de Berry. The event brought the return of Richelieu in place of the hated Decazes and set the stage for a bitter confrontation between left and right.

The new ministry began a vigorous campaign to pass three bills designed to halt what was thought to be a revolutionary tide. That permitting the government to detain for three months anyone accused of plotting against the throne and that limiting freedom of the press succeeded after sharp debate, but the bill reworking the electoral system in favor of the right not only met a stiff resistance from liberal deputies but brought the students of Paris into the streets. At the end of each debate, a crowd of would-be lawyers and doctors pressed around the Palais Bourbon to applaud the exit of Constant, General Foy and the ageing revolutionary Manuel. Their demonstrations, punctuated by cries of Vive la Charte, brought police intervention; and when one luckless scholar was killed a funeral cortège of several thousand snaked its way through the streets of Paris in an impressive display of solidarity.

Pressure on the Commission mounted. Its riposte was prompt. On 5 June, Georges Cuvier declared that any student caught demonstrating would be dismissed. At the Ecole Normale, he suspended Victor Cousin and three others after a hurried exchange of letters revealed that they had no intention of

altering their suspect teachings.¹ When the Faculty of Law at Grenoble held a public meeting in sympathy with the slain Parisian, the University temporarily closed that body.

These harsh counter-measures failed to stem the inevitable reaction, for the notables of France, voting under the new electoral law in October, returned an Assembly that reduced the left to a meager eighty seats, expanded those of the ultra-royalists to 160 and gave the government a generous 190. Before the new and surprising power of the extreme-right, the Richelieu ministry had to make concessions, but the means were unclear. Negotiations produced a compromise of sorts. Villère and Corbière, as well as Lainé, became ministers without portfolios, enjoying the advantages of power without the responsibilities. In addition, Corbière, deputy from the Ille-et-Vilaine and Dean of the Faculty of Law at Rennes, was named president of the Royal Council of Public Education.

The nomination of Corbière marked a turning point in the life of the University, for heretofore the heads of public education, despite their differences, had worked for the centralization of power in the hands of Paris. A despotic opinionated man, ruthless in action and doggedly ambitious,

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; Fonds Cuvier; 273: Affaire Cousin; 1820. Six months later, Cousin accused Georges Cuvier of having broken his promise to allow him to keep his title of suppléant in the Faculty of Letters: "M'en dépouiller, c'est détruire avec les fruits du passé mes espérances pour l'avenir, et fermer une carrière à laquelle j'avais tout sacrifier. Encore une fois, est-ce là ce que vous m'aviez promis?".

Corbière ironically initiated the process of decentralization. His main work, the celebrated Decree of 27 February, 1821, was primarily intended to rally the parliamentary right rather than institute far-reaching reform.¹ Bishops were accorded the right of surveillance over secondary schools, with authority to make impromptu inspections and to give opinions on the teaching personnel. Latin was proclaimed the language of the classroom and made mandatory in that of philosophy. Moreover the dominance of the suspect Ecole Normale was to be undermined by the creation of a series of secondary teaching schools throughout France while the petits séminaires received the right to become full colleges teaching the curriculum of the public schools; a clause that Georges Cuvier strenuously opposed.² In reality, the Decree had little direct impact on French education other than that of setting an ominous tone for the rest of the 1820s. More to the point was the fact that Corbière refused to counter the encroachments of the clergy on public schools, turning a deaf ear to the pleas of the aroused inspectors, most notably F. Mazure, for a new law clarifying the confused tangle of statutes and decrees

1. Garnier; op. cit.; pp. 33-36.

2. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; Fonds Cuvier; 285; Annotations on the proposed ordinance. Cuvier vigorously but unsuccessfully attempted to have restated the rules imposed on the petits séminaires by the Ordinance of 5 October, 1814: that the teaching of these schools be limited, that only boarding students could attend.

2. Garnier; op. cit.; pp. 67-71.

regulating the relationship between Church and University.¹

1819 the Faculty had been closed for the last time. Despite the argument that the 1820s saw increased centralization over the affairs of education, the University was in many ways returning to the state of disorganization that had prevailed during the Empire. Far from an organized house-cleaning directed by Paris, from the traditional picture of an insidious alliance between throne and altar, we find an era where personal rivalries and ambitions had a new, uncluttered field for action.

An early example of the disorganized purges that began under Corbière and continued with his successor came with the 1821 tournée of the abbé Eliçargary, former recteur of Pau, now released from his semi-imprisonment within the once moderate Royal Council. Corbière sent the rambunctious abbé, counter-revolutionary par excellence, on a rambling tour of the Academy of Grenoble and those of the Midi, academies whose schools had long evinced liberal and republican sympathies.² The Law School of Grenoble had traditionally been a center of political activism and in the aftermath of the Hundred Days, two professors and several students were suspended for having signed a document proclaiming their

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6809; F. Mazure and Poinot, Report on the Academy of Rennes, 25 June, 1821. Mazure began his plea with the observation, "Il semble que, par les soins meme que nous avons pris depuis six ans de faire fleurir à la fois la religion, les mœurs et les bonnes études, cette opposition du clergé que devait tomber d'elle-même, n'ait fait que prendre une nouvelle force."

2. Garnier; op. cit.: pp. 69-71.

adherence to "democratic" ideas and social revolution.¹ In 1819 the Faculty had been closed for its avowed support for the philosophy of Benjamin Constant. Then the following year, a crowd of students assembled in the Grande Place on rumors that the tricolor had been raised over Lyon. The vigorous intervention of the ultra-royalist prefect, the Baron d'Haussez, punctured the demonstration. But the subsequent investigation, conducted with a brutal disregard for the facts, brought to the surface the long-simmering feud between d'Haussez and the recteur of the Academy, the abbé Sordes, Benedictine in the pre-revolutionary College of Pau, none other than ^{W/} the leader of the Popular Society which had so persecuted Eliçargaray in 1792.² The impulsive d'Haussez, who tended to see republicans under every bed, bluntly accused the recteur of not only opposing his efforts of repression but of actively encouraging a teaching corps which professed according to him, "la libéralisme le plus outré."³

Eliçargary found the situation tailored to his tastes. The revolutionary who had chased him from France in 1792, the ex-priest who had participated in the dechristianizing movement of the Basses-Pyrénées, the private teacher

1. Dumolard, H.; Jean-Paul Didier et la conspiration de Grenoble, (Grenoble, 1928), pp. 15-101.

2. Annot, P.; Les Sociétés populaires des Basses-Pyrénées; (Pau, 1940).

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 4277; Report of the Baron d'Haussez, 24 March, 1821. Also see the Mémoires of the Baron d'Haussez. The prefect described Sordes as having "un caractere dur, un esprit contrariant, des formes hautaines."

who had competed with the abbé's school during the Empire, in short the personification of all the evils that had beset the country for the previous thirty years, this was the man whom he found at the head of the Academy of Grenoble. The spirit of vengeance burned deep within this victim of the Revolution who had maintained so painful a silence during the days of Royer-Collard. Restraint was now gone. And the abbé's prose foamed with hatred as he rashly declared to Paris that the recteur "ne fréquente que ce qu'il ya a de plus taré, de plus Jacobin," that he was irreligious and anti-royalist.¹ Although Georges Cuvier dared write a special report for the Minister of the Interior pointing out that the Basque priest had lost all perspective, the government successfully pressured the Council to remove the unfortunate Sordes, an administrator whose greatest sin lay in his past.²

The liberal press in France was quick to pick up and parody the antics of Elicargaray as he passed into the Midi. At Marseilles, one paper obliquely referred to the approach of an obscurantist "Chinese Mandarin" and later printed an alleged speech that the abbé made before the students of the Royal College, a speech that contained the phrase, "le roi n'a pas besoin de savants", only for religious and faithful subjects. The Parisian press quickly picked up so

1. Ibid.; Report of the abbé Elicargaray, 31 May, 1821.

2. Ibid.; 1821; Cuvier wrote a long and detailed report to the Minister in an attempt to salvage as many of the professors in the Faculty of Law as possible.

outrageous a statement and added other supposed comments degrading the Charter. Whether the abbé in fact uttered these words is in doubt. Charles Schmidt thinks he did;¹ yet the proviseur of the Royal College of Marseille wrote a confidential report to his recteur formally denying the purported speech.² In any case the tournee of Eliçargaray was ruined and once again the impulsive abbé had provoked a minor crisis which placed Paris in the embarrassing position of either sustaining or disavowing him.³

1. Schmidt, C.; "Le roi n'a pas besoin de savants." Rev. Etudes Nap.; (1908).

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1615; Proviseur of the Royal College of Marseille to the recteur of Aix, 24 June, 1821: "On a été jusqu'à faire dire à M. Eliçargaray que les enfants des libéraux devaient être traités plus sévèrement que ceux des Royalistes..."

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 1620; At Montpellier, the medical students hissed the abbé, 27 June, 1821.

scored a major victory.

But not quite. For the Villèle government had chosen as Grand-Master someone intimately involved with public education since the days of the Empire, someone who knew and appreciated men such as Ambrose Rendu and Georges Cuvier. The abbé Frayssinous had been an inspector of Paris before 1814, was named to the Commission in 1815, and had resigned only so that the Duc d'Angoulême could place his favorite on that body. Frayssinous had been made Grand-Master because he was a priest who espoused a moderate

Gallicanism, because he was an educator of repute and, not the least of the reasons, because he was a capable, experienced for the royalist viewpoint. Although the liberal press denounced him as an agent of the much feared Government, the militant clergy and ultra had in fact accepted the candidacy of a man uncompromising royalist.

From the summer of 1821 to June, 1822, the University treaded water. More interested in politics than in education, Corbière seems not to have actively participated on the Royal Council; Eliçargaray, in his seventies, sickened and died early the next year; while Cuvier and Rendu found themselves shunted into an administrative cul-de-sac. The period of drifting abruptly ended in June with the re-creation of the post of Grand-Master and the nomination of the abbé Frayssinous, bishop of Hermenopolis, as the new head of the University. The clergy and ultra-royalists had seemingly scored a major victory.

But not quite. For the Villèle government had chosen as Grand-Master someone intimately involved with public education since the days of the Empire, someone who knew and appreciated men such as Amboise Rendu and Georges Cuvier. The abbé Frayssinous had been an inspector of Paris before 1814, was named to the Commission in 1815, and had resigned only so that the Duc d'Angoulême could place his favorite on that body. Frayssinous had been made Grand-Master because he was a priest who espoused a moderate

Gallicanism, because he was an educator of repute and, not the least of the reasons, because he was a capable spokesman for the royalist viewpoint.¹ Although the liberal press denounced him as an agent of the much feared Congregation, the militant clergy and ultras had in fact advanced the candidacy of a more uncompromising royalist. Indeed Frayssinous spurned the dogmatism of the extreme right. While he believed that religious orders, including the Jesuits, had the right to open schools, he denied that the Church should have a monopoly over education. If any one trait characterized Frayssinous's administration, it was precisely his utter lack of a program. The abbé possessed a compliant, even weak character that could ill resist the countless pressures, the patronage, the politics that provincial France brought to bear. In this sense, the new Grand-Master shared the failings of his predecessor, the genial but feckless Louis Fontanes. ^{u/}

~~ultra-royal~~ In the fall of 1822, the faculties of the University still espoused political opinions that enraged an otherwise triumphant right, and Frayssinous, in his initial dealings with these bodies, showed a resolution and firmness that contrasted with his later weakness. On 6 September, the Ecole Normale was suppressed and its students scattered across the smaller colleges of the more distant departments. Since most of the professors of the Ecole taught at the Faculty of Letters of Paris, the new Grand-Master did not hesitate

1. Garnier, op. cit.; Chap. IV; "Frayssinous et la Grand-Maîtrise de l'Université".

to suspend their courses as well.¹

The only voice that was raised against this wave of arbitrary purges was that of the irrepressible Amboise Rendu.² On 15 November, 1822, the former protégé of Fontanes protested with all his strength the blatant disregard for the rights of all teachers. Did not the Decrees of 1808 and 1811 guarantee that no professor could be expelled without a proper hearing? Rendu confessed his shock and surprise at the attitude of certain of his colleagues and argued that the Ordinance of 1 June, creating the post of Grand-Master, in no way abrogated the formalities prescribed for trying a member of the University accused of a misdeed. Falling on deaf ears, the plea merely signalled the eclipse of the one man willing to oppose the arbitrary acts of a politically motivated administration. The new tone on the Royal Council was confirmed later that year by the appointment of three ultra-royalists and the forced resignation of the Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy.

Although the corps of inspectors-general remained intact between 1822 and 1824, Frayssinous added two military ultra-royalists, the abbé Payet and a pamphleteer, Lauentie,

1. Dubois, P.; Cousin, Jouffroy, Damiron; 1902; pp. 42-51.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 2628; Report of Amboise Rendu to the Grand-Master, 15 November, 1822; "La dernière séance du Conseil m'a offert l'occasion de rappeler un principe que je ne croyais pas susceptible de contradiction...que nul ne peut être jugé sans avoir été entendu...Il m'a paru cependant que l'acquiescement de MM les Conseillers n'était pas unanime..."

Thus setting the tone for the purge of 1824. Fayet was typical of one type of ecclesiastic promoted during the 1820s: the young, eloquent and socially agreeable priest, the frequenter of court life in Paris. He was a student of the fashionable Saint-Sulpice and had been sent to Rouen where Bernier made him honorary vicar-general at the young age of thirty-three, a fact that awoke the resentment of the local clergy who thought the new appointee shallow, lazy and conceited.¹

The Ordinance of August, 1824, creating a joint Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction, testified to the will of the government that religion and education be intimately linked and that a central agency in Paris regulate both.² The measure was followed that September by a thorough purge of the inspectors-general so that a new body, more clerical and royalist, could execute the commands of the Grand-Master. The abbé Guairard, former Doctrinaire, opponent of Napoleon, resigned in protest despite the pleas of Frayssinous.³ De Coffier, Budan and Daburan henceforth adopted the new politics, while Mazure and Ampère turned themselves into non-political "techniciens" as did two other laymen whom Royer-Collard had named recteurs during the reforms of 1815, Poulet de Lisle and Blanquet du Chayla, both

1. Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen; MM 131; Vol. IV; Notices de R-L A Labbe.

2. Garnier; op. cit.; p. 100.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17; Personal dossier of the abbé Guairard; Letter of

laymen whose professional zeal had incurred the animosity of the local clergy.

Despite the ordinances and decrees that bestowed new power on the Grand-Master, despite the careful house-cleaning of the inspectors-general, the Royal University was plunged headlong into a period of administrative confusion. The rule of Frayssinous was not the rule of Paris but the rule of the departments, of local authorities. Indeed, it may be argued that the 1820s witnessed the last great flowering on a political level of provincial France and that the University was one of the chief institutions to feel this renaissance. The question of clericalism versus liberalism which so dominated the debates of the National Assembly, was primarily a vehicle for the perennial struggle between administrators loyal to Paris and local authorities. The old battle of the Empire between centralization and regionalism was being refought, but this time the victor was the latter.

The whole of France's institutional structure, while remaining more or less the same in legal terms, was shifting onto a new foundation. The army had been broken into departmental legions, becoming more than ever local units. Prefects gained a new independence from Paris. Mayors gained new authority in the administration of their communes. Bishops emerged as active spokesmen for the interest groups that they lead; and some, such as the Archbishop of Toulouse, the Grand-Seigneur of the Ancien Régime, Clermont-Tonnerre,

(Toulouse, 1941).

exercised considerable influence over provincial politics.¹ The clergy too began to expand its activities and in the process all the subsurface divisions and rivalries within it came into view, particularly those between the missionaries from Paris bearing aristocratic names like de Jansen, and parish priests, jealous of their territories. In education, towns returned to their attitudes during the Empire, refusing to finance the luckless schools. Teachers stranger to a locality were abruptly turned out in favor of local candidates, sometimes tobaccoists, ex-soldiers, relatives of notables. The fact that the recteur was given power to appoint professors simply exposed him to the irresistible pressures of mayors, prefects, landowners, officers and the clergy, thus ending the comfortable practice of ascribing unpopular decisions to far-off Paris.

The new Arc The purge of the corps of recteurs during the course of 1822-1824 offers a partial measure of the disorganization that beset the University. No coherent rationale was adopted. Rather Frayssinous eliminated heads of academies according to the strength of local pressures. The outspokenly Gallican recteur of Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire, had offended the ultra-royalists by his open lobbying in the electoral college for ministerial candidates between 1816 and 1820. He had long been the sworn enemy of the militant clergy and the protector of certain of the former constitutional priests. In 1823,

1. Genevray, P.; L'Administration et la vie ecclésiastique dans le Grand Diocèse de Toulouse sous la Restauration; (Toulouse, 1941).

the inspectors-general praised his undeniable talent and devotion to the University, but reluctantly asked for Ordinaire's removal.¹ The leading ecclesiastic in the University to suffer for his politics was the energetic recteur of Brittany, the abbé (Le Priol, former émigré who had supported the Empire and its institutions. Very much a Gallican, Le Priol had vigorously prosecuted the petit séminaire of the Ille-et-Vilaine in 1817 and that next year allowed three young men expelled from the Seminary of Vannes for "Jansenist" principles to teach in the college of that town. To seal his unpopularity, the abbé consistently opposed the projects of J.-M. de Lammenais at Saint-Brieuc. In July, 1822, Frayssinous called him to Paris ostensibly for consultations, then informed him of his "retirement."²

Other recteurs fell victim to clerical pressures. The new Archbishop of Limoges, Grand-Seigneur of the Ancien Régime, requested the removal of the layman who directed the Academy, despite the fact that this man had been an officer in Louis XVI's navy and an émigré.³ At Aix, certain magistrates worked hand-in-glove with the influential clergy of that ancient town to secure the removal of the ageing ex-

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 2724; Report of the inspectors-general, June, 1823; F 17 8896; Reports of the inspectors of the Academy of Besançon to Paris, 1822-1823. Villat, L.: "Le premier recteur de l'Académie de Besançon;" op. cit.
 2. Rio, A. F.: Epilogue à l'Art Chrétien, (Paris, 1875); pp. 203-206; Martinière, J. de; "Le plus ancien manoir de Vannes"; Bull. Soc. Poly. Morbihan; T. 37 (1912).
 3. Arch. Nat.: F 17; Personal Dossier of Laurencie.

Parliamentarian d'Eymar, accused of being an enemy of priests. Although two inspectors-general of conservative reputation came to his defense, the recteur was retired.¹

In a few academies, the heads were compromised by their pasts and hence made easy prey for intrigues and rivalries within public education itself. At Rouen, Carlo Botta labored under the burden of having once been an Italian revolutionary, a legislator during the Empire, and an appointee of the University during the Hundred Days. Despite his assiduous efforts to conciliate a domineering inspector, Botta found himself progressively undermined by the clerical Faucon, who had valuable allies in the proviseur of the Royal College and in the principal of Evreux. The recteur's position became untenable when his son, involved in the revolutionary Carbonari at Milan, fled across France to Rouen to hide in a backroom of his father's apartment.² A not dissimilar situation occurred at Bourges. The recteur, long beset by rivals in the lycée, had not been able to suppress the fact that he had been a married priest during the Revolution.³ Both he and his colleagues at Rouen were removed.

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8834; Note for the inspectors-general, 1820: "M. le Recteur paraît extrêmement opposé aux établissements dirigés par des ecclésiastiques..."

2. Botta, S.: La Vie privée de Carlo Botta; 1871. In a desperate attempt to "save" his son, he contracted with a ship's captain to take the boy to Brazil.

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17; Personal Dossier of the abbé Bégat; correspondence of 1824.

A full measure of the disorganization that was overtaking the Royal University is to be found in the selection of new recteurs. The Grand-Master turned not to men whom he knew and trusted but acceded to local pressures. The game of patronage and politics played with such ill effect in 1809 was being repeated. The academies received as their new heads men who represented a region, a locality, men who mistrusted Paris and its works, men who enjoyed the protection of prominent notables and hence a certain independence from the capital. Most of the new recteurs were priests. Some of these were counter-revolutionaries par excellence. Others were pleasant, old-fashioned ecclesiastics who still clung to a relatively tolerant viewpoint. But all had long lived in the same town; all had long been prominent in local society; and all firmly believed in the rights of communes to rule their schools. Writing to a new recteur in 1822, Georges Cuvier defined the one rationale that the Royal Council applied to each choice: "Il faut un homme," he affirmed, "qui se répande dans la haute société, qui puisse prendre de l'influence sur l'opinion et principalement sur le clergé."¹

Of those selected, almost all came from humble backgrounds, but each had protection in what Cuvier termed

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut; Fonds Cuvier; 270; Instructions to the Recteur of the Academy of Grenoble, 1822: "Attachez vous à bien faire comprendre (to the ecclesiastics) que votre but est le meme que le leur, cherchez comme eux à donner à l'Etat des citoyens religieux et moraux...et que l'intérêt commun...les uns surs les autres..."

2. Revue de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris (Paris, 1910); pp. 309-311.

"la haute société". At Angers, the Comte de Maquille had his former tutor, the abbé Morice, curé at Mamers, named recteur. Here was a not untypical example of the appointees: a small town priest, an ageing man, ignorant of administration, indifferent to paperwork.¹ His new inspector, replacing the purged Pourcas, came from a leading ultra-royalist family at Saumur, the La Roussière-Pontbevoye.² At Caen, the bishop and several notables secured the nomination of a native of the town, a priest who had been educated in the pre-revolutionary colleges, had opened a school during the Empire and was intimately linked to and involved in clerical education of the region.³ The same process repeated itself in Brittany. Local notables lobbied for the appointment of the proviseur of the Royal College, the abbé Blanchard, a pillar of the moderate wing within the diocese and a champion of eighteenth century pedagogical methods.⁴ Blanchard had been a professor in the pre-revolutionary Eudiste College, then vicar-general during the Directory and Consulate, and finally head of a private school until the Decree of 15

1. Sorin, E.; Histoire du Lycée d'Angers; 1873. Papers of the Academy; Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1; Principal of Château-Gontier to the recteur of Angers; 18 October, 1824; "Quel admirable changement! Le Seigneur nous a envoyé son ange pour nous éclairer et nous tirer des ténèbres ou nous étions ensevelis depuis si longtemps".
2. Port, C.; Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire, (Paris, 1874-1878), 3 vol.; Article on La Roussière-Pontbevoye family.
3. Simon, G-A; L'abbé P-F Jamet, 1762-1841; (Caen, 1935); pp. 221-319.
4. Dauphin, J.; L'abbé Blanchardé, Les Eudistes du diocèse de Rennes; (Rennes, 1910); pp. 309-311.

November, 1811. He entered the Royal College in 1815 primarily to spite his enemies in the seminary of Rennes, militant ecclesiastics bent on open war with the University.

The two laymen who became recteurs in this turnover represented separate currents within the University during the 1820s. In one case, the new appointee represented the "old tradition" being re-enthroned, as it had been at Angers and Rennes. The inspector of the Academy of Rouen, Faucon, was a conservative, if not a reactionary educator: head of a private school in that town during the Directory which had sheltered refractory priests, a dévot whose hunched shoulders, tilted head and beetle-like eyebrows belied his intelligence.¹ As recteur, Faucon conducted no purge. On the contrary, he allowed the Royal College to become a refuge for those Normalians chased from other academies, all because they were friends of his nephew, a Normalian of 1817.²

The second layman was an uncompromising ultra-royalist whose Parisian protection propelled him up the administrative ladder of the University. Laborie had been an émigré in Spain and was captured in 1809 fighting French troops. Although technically a prisoner-of-war, he became principal of the College of Périgueux thanks to the local notables. From there Laborie became proviseur of Toulouse, then at Angers in 1819. In 1822, his royalist protectors

1. Bibliothèque Municipale; Rouen; MM 131; Vol. IV. Les Notes de R-L Labbé.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7895; Report of the inspectors-general June, 1828.

secured for him the liberal Academy of Strasbourg and in his first letter to Frayssinous, the Meridional boasted of his desire to conduct a thorough purge, concluding, "Le Grand-Maitre peut se reposer sur mon zèle, pour lui designer tous les fonctionnaires indignés sur mon zèle, pour lui designer tous les fonctionnaires indignés d'être employés dans l'instruction publique."¹

The inevitable consequence of allowing local candidates or those with protection to become recteurs was a breakdown in administration. The same lax behavior, the same careless indifference that had characterized the appointees of 1809 reappeared in precisely the same form. Neither set of men were professional functionaries; both came from other careers and hence looked on their posts as rewards for past services. At Caen, the abbé Jammes divided his time between the direction of a large convent, an insane asylum, an establishment for the deaf and dumb and a school for girls as well as public education. What became of one of the best academies in France, an inspector mournfully asked? It was treated as a purely secondary matter. He wrote

L'administration est remise à la direction des subalternes en sorte que le véritable recteur est de fait le secrétaire de l'Académie, n'ayant ni les lumières, ni l'instruction nécessaire.²

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8035; Recteur of Strasbourg to the Grand-Master, 11 June, 1822.
2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 6810; Report of the inspectors-general Fayet and Letronne, July, 1826.

At Rennes, exactly the same process occurred. The abbé Blanchard divided his time between the Academy and an ecclesiastical school. Eventually he moved his belongings into the latter establishment and came to the office of the rectorate only to retrieve his mail.¹

A few of the recteurs pursued a leisurely round of soirées and dinners instead of tending to the more mundane problems of education. The abbé Mourre, at Aix, apparently spent an inordinate amount of time ingratiating himself with the clergy, as well as the old magistracy and nobility.² At Angers, the abbé Morice preferred the existence of a rentier to that of a harassed administrator and even then constantly complained of all the "paperasse" that besieged him. Moreover the abbé detested his inspector, de la Roussière, who resided at Nantes and rarely appeared to perform his duties, but, when he did, regularly opposed the recteur in his choice of candidates. "A quoi me servira sa présence" declared Morice to the Grand-Master, "si dans toutes les occasions où nous ne serons pas de même avis M. de la Roussière témoigne de l'humeur et refuse de me seconder....!"⁴

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1. Dauphin; op. cit.; as well as the liasses concerning the Academy of Rennes from 1809 to 1830.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 6810; Report of F. Mazure, 1826.
 3. Sorin, op. cit.; Arch. Nat.; F 17 6810; Report of the inspector-general de Luyanes, 1826.
 4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; The recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master; July 7, 1828.

Under the Morices, the Mourres, the Jammes and the Blanchards, the municipal colleges of France regained much of the autonomy that they had lost during the reign of the "technicians."

Between 1889 and 1894, the liberal movement within the Royal University was not as strong as it was within the rank and file of the teaching corps. Although professors and students of the faculties at Paris, Grenoble and Montpellier did form the forward phalanx of the political left in France, it is hard to discover men who were politically engaged beyond this rather limited circle. The unrest within the Royal Colleges had much to do with the minute religious practices imposed from above and there were occasional references to "republicanism"; yet the colleges were by and large getting their traditional grievances -- the poor quality of food and the poor living conditions. Academies such as that of Angers showed a generally apathetic spirit politically, for the colleges were too involved with their own particular problems to engage in discussion of relatively distant events. Therefore, the restorers of the Liberal Reformation were pushed more by local politics than for the fact that they had attempted to oppose universal suffrage legislation, a fact which progressively narrowed their base of support. Such was the case of Le Lisle at Angers, where the removal came through promotion to the inspectorate.

The most interesting feature of the 18th century was not so much the offensive of the clergy, but the popular reaction to the feuds and quarrels between the great political parties of the day. The most complete example of this was the case of the

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Between 1819 and 1824, the liberal movement within the Royal University was not a major force within the rank and file of the teaching corps. Although professors and students of the faculties at Paris, Grenoble and Montpellier did form the forward phalanx of the political left in France, it is hard to discover men who were politically engaged beyond this rather limited circle. The unrest within the Royal Colleges had much to do with the minute religious practices imposed from above and there were occasional references to "republicanism"; yet the collegians were by and large venting their traditional grievances -- the poor quality of food and the grim living conditions. Academies such as that of Angers showed a generally apathetic spirit politically, for the laymen were too involved with their own particular problems to engage in discussions of relatively distant events. Thenceforward, the recteurs of the Liberal Reformation were purged less for their politics than for the fact that they had attempted to apply unpopular University legislation, a fact which progressively narrowed their base of support. Such was the case of de Lisle at Angers, although his removal came through promotion to the inspectorate general.

The most interesting feature of the 1820s was not so much the offensive of the clergy, but the manner in which old feuds and quarrels surfaced under the guise of political intrigue. The best example occurred at Grenoble where the abbé Eliçargary took great delight in purging the rectorate of the very man who had chased him from France thirty years earlier. The recteur of Rennes lost his post because of his stridently Gallican views and his imprudent involvement in diocesan politics, while at Rouen an inspector who wished to be head of the Academy helped discredit the Italian-born recteur. The result was that administration during the reign of Charles X was not wholly dissimilar from administration during the Napoleonic era. Local notables, more intent on finding a comfortable sinecure, returned to the direction of the academies, and in Paris the informality of earlier days reappeared in the office of the Grand-Master. The heads of the academies of Angers, Rennes, Caen and Rouen all spent more time with outside activities and did not hesitate to show their profound distaste for the annoying demands of paperwork. Once again, the hierarchy of public education had become a mirror of provincial life.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE ACADEMY OF ANGERS DURING

THE 1820S

From a statistical point of view, the clerical offensive of the 1820s may be readily ascertained. Of the thirteen proviseurs named between 1820 and 1823, eleven were priests; in the principal schools, the principals out of 100 were the cloth, while 90 of the 180 masters of the teaching corps were ecclesiastics.¹ Clearly the Church had a preponderant voice in matters of public education.

But the French Church has never possessed a single voice and the 1820s were no exception. When historians speak of a "clerical offensive," one must know the point of reference: the abbé Frayssinous and his entourage? the heads of the academies? the principals of the colleges? or the bishops and the many allies within their dioceses? Each group had its own interests, its own ambitions.

In this light then, what sense does the formula, "alliance between throne and altar", contain? The Academy of Angers furnished us with a partial answer.

1. Ponteil, Y.: Histoire de l'enseignement secondaire. (Paris, 1966), p. 181.

I.

From a statistical point of view, the clerical offensive of the 1820s may be readily defined. Of the thirteen proviseurs named between 1822 and 1825, eleven were priests; in the municipal schools, 144 principals out of 309 wore the cloth, while 500 of the 1800 members of the teaching corps were ecclesiastics.¹ Clearly the Church had won a preponderant voice in matters of public education.

But the French Church has never possessed a single voice and the 1820s were no exception. When historians speak of a "clerical offensive," one must know the point of reference: the abbé Frayssinous and his entourage?, the heads of the academies?; the principals of the colleges?; or the bishops and the many cliques within their dioceses? Each group had its own interests, its own ambitions.

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1. Ponteil, F.: Histoire de l'enseignement secondaire, (Paris, 1966), p. 161.

II.

Prior to 1823, the clerical problems in former Anjou and the Maine was a question of the long-established principals attempting to gain their independence from University rules and obligations. The old guard was straining hard against the tenuous control of the rectorate, continuing a skirmish that had flared intermittently since the days of the Empire.

In this phase, power gradually slipped out of the recteur's hands. At Château-Gontier, the intractable Horeau, now seventy-four, ceased corresponding with Angers and appointed and dismissed his teachers without informing either the Academy or Paris.¹ Then the abbé demanded a class of philosophy, so far denied to the college, but de Lisle declined to entertain a suggestion that would create a rival to the course in the Royal College. The Bishop of Le Mans and local authorities deluged Paris with appeals and the Royal Council approved, thereby helping to undermine

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8111; Recteur of Angers to Grand-Master; 20 August, 1822. De Lisle wearily reported that studies at Château-Gontier were "vieux sous plusieurs rapports, mais essayer de convaincre M. Horeau est une entreprise absolument chimérique."

the beleaguered recteur.¹ At nearby Laval, the abbé Tréquier, a somewhat narrow-minded individual, ran an establishment that even the inspectors-general admitted to be less universitaire than those at Le Mans and Saumur.²

In the Maine-et-Loire, the main point of friction was the College of Doué, where the recteur maintained a running battle with the ecclesiastic in charge. In 1821, de Lisle bluntly asked the abbé if he ever read the letters sent him.³ A year later he admitted to Paris that none of the teachers had been formally appointed by the University and that the principal repeatedly contravened the rules, most recently by printing an elaborate prospectus without authorization. In 1823, it was discovered that the abbé Tréard had established a fifth form despite a formal interdiction.⁴

Not all the ecclesiastics in education sought to buck the authority of de Lisle, for a handful genuinely accepted the premise that cooperation with the rectorate could be beneficial. At Ernée, the young abbé Huet, twenty-five years, displayed a loyal attitude. And at Le Mans, a former professor of Château-Gontier showed that not everyone

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1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 1-T-11; Recteur of Angers to the sub-prefect, 16 January, 1821.
 2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Report of the inspector-general, 1823.
 3. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 33-T-3; Recteur of Angers to principal of Doué, 1 March, 1820.
 4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Annual report of the recteur of Angers, 1823.

from that establishment was anti-university. The abbé Dubreuil had hesitated a long while before accepting the post, but agreed under pressure from the vicars-general.¹ The inspectors-general called him intelligent, poised and zealous, raptuously observing, "L'esprit de la maison est religieux et monarchique."²

Nevertheless, the authority of Poulet de Lisle was being undermined in an unlikely corner of the Academy. In 1820, the system of Château-Gontier received a fresh extension with the semi-legal appearance of a college in the small town of Lassay, on the northern tip of the Mayenne. A professor from Château-Gontier, pretending to be the bishop's agent, contracted with the municipal council to create a school that was to be operated at his own risks and perils in return for the spacious building used by the école mutuelle.³ The system of the abbé Horeau received a full duplication: teachers were chosen from the Seminary of Le Mans, "apprentis professeurs" de Lisle scornfully called them; multiple holidays were accorded to the detriment of studies; an excessively high price for tuition was charged and a prospectus was issued without the recteur's approval. The purpose of the school in the eyes

1. Arch. Dept.; Sarthe; TT-18; Principal of Le Mans to recteur of Angers; 18 June, 1820.

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Report of the inspectors-general; 1823.

3. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1-492-B; Recteur of Angers to the Commission of Public Education; 3 December, 1819; to mayor of Lassay; 11 January, 1820; Mayor of Lassay to recteur of Angers; 24 September, 1820.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Report sur le personnel des collèges communaux de l'Académie d'Angers, Exercice 1823-1824.

of Chauvigné was to inoculate the students of the Mayenne against the "doctrines funestes dont le poison circule aujourd'hui dans la société comme une lave impure et brûlante."¹

The direct friction between Angers and the abbé led to a half-victory for the former. Chauvigné sent incomplete charts of the number of students, of the amount of the school tax, attempted to call several boarding boys "gratuitous" when they were paying 400 francs in tuition, and never replied to several of the recteur's letters.² Despite the opposition of the town, who pointed out that the abbé was too busy organizing the college to correspond, de Lisle used his disobedience as the excuse for introducing a layman in the fourth form as well as an abbé from the College of Laval to the second. Within a year, even the municipal council of Lassay was taking sides with the Academy against Chauvigné, now accused "d'un despotisme révoltant."³

In 1822, ecclesiastics may have directed only seven of the seventeen colleges, but these were the largest, most prosperous schools, almost the only ones that offered the fifth and sixth forms: Château-Gontier with 300 students, Laval with 171; Le Mans with 187; and Doué with 157.⁴ And in

1. Ibid.; Prospectus, 1820.

2. Ibid.; Recteur of Angers to principal; 24 February, 1821; Report of the inspector; 11 July, 1821; Mayor to the recteur of Angers, 12 February, 1821.

3. Ibid.; Town council to the recteur of Angers, 28 July, 1821.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8111; Rapport sur le personnel des collèges communaux de l'académie d'Angers, Exercice 1823-1824.

each case, the principal considered himself the servant of the bishop rather than of the recteur.

Laymen headed only the smaller, unremunerative schools that annually teetered on the brink of insolvency. The director of Mamers had forty-one students; that of Saint-Calais forty-three; that of Chateauduloir twenty-five. The pathetic establishment at La Suze disappeared, while that at Beaufort shrunk to a miserable seven. Baugé contained thirty-seven boys.¹ Only in the Maine-et-Loire did the rectorate seem to have the loyalty of a coherent, reasonable school system. The Royal College sheltered over 150 students; the proviseur was a cousin of Poulet de Lisle as well as a veteran of the imperial lycées. At Saumur, the ageing student of the Doctrinaires and of the École Normale of 1795, L. Maillet, still held forth with eighty boys, and at Baugé an honorable but luckless member of the respected Aubert family directed that school. The Colleges of Cholet and Beaufort were equally under laymen; and both directors, although veterans of the Vendean armies, inspired little confidence from the clergy.

Through the use of the poisonous half-truth, ecclesiastics planted doubts about these laymen and thereby prepared the way for their removal. The first to disappear was the fifty year old principal of Saumur, L. Maillet, former private teacher and head of Chateauduloir, a professional educator wearied by the partisan strife of running a

1. Ibid.

school -- opposition of the teachers, the indifference of the mayor, the active hostility of the former émigré priest who served as curé. In 1823, the latter caught the ear of two inspectors-general and these in turn reported Maillet as a "dangerous" man ostracized by "respectable" people.¹ Had not they found in his library a conspicuously displayed copy of Dupin's pantheistic Sur l'Origine de tous les cultes, a place where parents and students could easily see the book? The recteur had under his hand several letters of Maillet asking for a transfer and, when the curé of Saint-Pierre formally denounced the religious and political principles of the director these provided the excuse for his removal. Despite an interview with the Grand-Master by a notable of the Sarthe, the director was abruptly placed en congé in 1823.²

The same techniques of slander were applied with equal effect at nearby Baugé. The forty-eight year old Aubert came from a leading family of Saumur, but one that had been in the forefront of the Angevin Revolution. The militant curé of nearby Pontigné had long opposed the college and openly recruited its students for his own small school. The local landowners were by and large hostile to the idea of public education; the wealthy few who took an interest

1. Ibid.; Report of the inspectors-general, 1823. The College of Saumur was, according to them, "dirigé par un homme de mauvaises opinions, sans capacité, sans consistance, dans la ville ne jouissant d'aucune confiance..."

2. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; Thébault to the abbé Frayssinous; 11 September, 1823.

sent their sons to Saumur or Angers, while the influential Jarrès brothers gave their protection to the curé. In desperation, Aubert offered to make the curé aumônier of the college; but the latter refused, leading the moderate sub-prefect to castigate "ce rigorisme, cette exaltation sombre et farouche qui, aujourd'hui, domine presque tous les jeunes prêtres..."¹ In January, 1823, the curé did not hesitate to accuse the college of irreligion before an audience of three hundred that included Aubert and his bewildered students: "Oui," he finished, "Je sais que c'est pour se mettre à la hauteur du siècle qu'on en agit ainsi; et bien moi, je mets le siècle sous mes pieds; Le Dieu nous jugera!"²

In this clerical age, when the presence of a priest seemed the only means of securing social acceptance, the leading establishment of the Academy was populated entirely by laymen. The difference between the Royal College of 1822 and the Lycée of the Empire was that a younger, non-political set of men had risen in the places of the former revolutionaries.³ Three of the professors were products of the Ecole Normale; the others came from municipal colleges or the establishment itself. This one fact explains the violence with which the royalists of Angers attacked the young

1. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 28-T-11; Sub-prefect of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 14 February, 1821.

2. Ibid.; 28-T-3; Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers; 22 January, 1823.

3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7688; Tableau du Personnel; 1820-1823.

4. Arch. Nat.; F 17 7688; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 20 September, 1822.

censeur, a veteran of the school since 1809. Collet had saved the college from the disastrous administration of the abbé Tarby, but his marriage in 1819 to the daughter of a leading liberal family involved him in the politics of that turbulent year. Despite the ardent pleas of the recteur, Corbière sent the man into exile as inspector of the Academy of Limoges while Frayssinous peremptorily retired him two years later.¹

When the proviseur was called to the Academy of Strasbourg in 1821, de Lisle managed to replace him with a cousin, Grallet du Plessis, a good royalist, but an indifferent administrator. For the next three years, bishop and clergy struggled might and main to replace him with an ecclesiastic. The defense of Grallet proved costly to the recteur. When a student revolt occurred in 1823, the Bishop of Angers complained that "immoral" boys were allowed to remain and that dangerous books were being smuggled into the school.² Frayssinous refused the demand that he name the aumônier as head of the school, but invited the bishop to designate any other in the diocese. Surprisingly, Mgr. Montault des Iles reacted with displeasure at this small contretemps and in turn refused to name someone else.³

1. Ibid.: Recteur of Angers to the Royal Council, 4 July, 1821.

2. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8111: Report of the inspectors-general, 1823. The inspectors cleared de Lisle of any blame, describing him as "un homme habile, fort bon administrateur, défendant constamment les droits de l'Université...".

3. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7688: Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 20 September, 1822.

For the Departments of the Mayenne and the Sarthe, a layman disappeared in each. At Evron, the principal was proven dishonest, a vile "speculator" and was dismissed.¹ At Chateauduloir, the event was another of the interminable feuds between a lay principal and a curé. The diocesan clergy engineered the removal of the director, a long-time veteran of the Academy, but the latter, with the aid of the mayor, opened a private school in opposition to the college. "On ne se contente plus de m'injurier publiquement," cried the new principal after several painful weeks, "et de vomir contre moi mille saquesmes...de composer et de chanter dans les rues des chansons odieuses et diffamantes...on menace mon existence!"²

By 1823 the new aspect that the Academy presented was less the emergence of the clergy inside public education than the appearance of a young, militant generation within that clergy.³ The new breed of youthful priests was no friend of the old guard, those aged relics of the Ancien Régime where religious orthodoxy contained an element of

1. Arch. Dept.: Mayenne; 2-T-1; Recteur of Angers to Principal of Evron, 26 November, 1821. "La meilleure assurance qu'un régent puisse me donner de son bon caractère est d'avoir passé un an ou deux au Collège d'Evron sans se plaindre ou sans que vous soyez plaint de lui."
2. Arch. Dept.: Sarthe; TT; College of Chateauduloir, Principal of Chateauduloir to the recteur of Angers, 29 October, 6 December, 1825.
3. Bottinelli, E.P.: Souvenirs d'A. Cournot, 1760-1860; (Paris, 1913), pp. 64-66.

overweening sense of independence not only from secular authority but from their own superiors. It was they and not the older generation of priests who set the tone of the Academy during the 1820s.

The leading figure was the principal of Lassay, then of Mayenne, a young man of twenty-eight raised in the fervent and reactionary atmosphere of Château-Gontier. On accepting the direction of the College of Mayenne in 1821, Chauvigné issued a prospectus proclaiming a curriculum that even the Bishop of Le Mans frowned upon: not only Greek, Latin, French, history and geography were included, but music, dancing and drawing figured prominently, a replica of the Jesuit program of the eighteenth century.¹ Moreover, the principal steadfastly refused to send the cumbersome and annoying charts of the numbers of students, the records of the school tax and the accounts of the school. Letter after letter went from the recteur to this the most disobedient of principals; the intervention of the sub-prefect, the procureur-général and the mayor had no effect, and in the words of de Lisle, "le mot de subordination n'a de sens, suivant lui, qu'à l'égard de ses inférieurs."² Indeed, Chauvigné peremptorily dismissed two laymen who taught in the school replacing them with ecclesiastics drawn from the Seminary of Le Mans.

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-1-492-B; Prospectus of the College of Mayenne, 1821. Recteur of Angers to the Royal Council, 11 January, 19 October, 1820.
2. Ibid.; Recteur of Angers to the sub-prefect, 8 December, 1821.

The downfall of Chauvigné came, predictably enough, from his clash with the diocesan authority. The principal not only underpaid but persecuted the young seminairies sent to teach under him to the point that the vicar-general felt constrained to support the latter.¹ The twenty-six year old professor of rhetoric denounced Chauvigné for withholding parts of their salary in order to discipline the teachers, for reading his mail, and for imposing extreme punishments for minute infractions. The principal demanded that the Academy remove this "insubordinate" teacher; the diocese demanded that the latter be maintained. With this new development, the abbé Morice re-assessed his much eroded authority and had the Grand-Master secure the dismissal of the fractious Chauvigné.² The self-confident but austere qualities of the principal, his enthusiastic launching of an ecclesiastical school on his own, and his absolute refusal to make even a nominal bow to the rectorate, his haughty, even defiant correspondence with the bishop, these were hallmarks of the new generation of priests, throughout France.

The same qualities were eminently apparent in the new principal of Bangé, the curé of the town whom the sub-

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. The Affair of the College of Mayenne involved the rectorate from 1824 until 1828. The documents concerning the duel between the impetuous principal and the timid recteur dominate the archives for this period. The fact that mayor, sub-prefect, notables and bishop were involved meant that these documents offer an important sampling of local opinion.

prefect had taken to task for an uncompromising "rigorisme" in theology and political questions. The recteur warned Frayssinous of his "ardent" character and the abbé quickly proved the accuracy of this description by dismissing the two lay teachers within the school on the vague grounds that these did not suit local "tastes"; on writing that any dismissal must be through regular channels, the recteur learned that the one charge against them was that of "atheism", brought by a young vicar whom the bishop had recently exiled into the countryside because of his exaggerated principles. Even Frayssinous came to the defense of the two young universitaires beginning their careers, but the adamant attitude of the abbé who threatened to return to his curé and from there insure the destruction of the college, persuaded him to transfer the teachers into another academy.¹

As de Lisle pointed out repeatedly, the very quality of being a layman was considered by this new generation to be inherently dangerous. Almost as dangerous from the point of view of this excitable breed was the doctrine of Gallicanism, once the cherished maxim of the French Church, now almost an obscene word that conjured up visions of the guillotine and of the constitutional clergy.² The one

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8251; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master, 25 November, 1823. Principal of Baugé to the recteur of Angers, 22 October, 1823; Grand-Master to the principal, 7 November, 1823.
2. For a description of the tension between Gallicans and non-Gallicans, see Genevray, La Vie Ecclesiastique...dans le Grand-Doicèse de Toulouse; (Toulouse, 1926); Leflon, Eugene de Maxenod.

representative of this dwindling tradition seems to have been the principal of Saumur, an abbé of thirty-one years who had long taught in the schools of the Academy and served as principal of Ernée for five years. Although the Bishop of Le Mans highly recommended him, the young clergy of Saumur, led by the ageing ex-émigré from Spain, the abbé Forest, closed ranks against the young man. The curé of Saint-Pierre not only expanded his ecclesiastical school but began accepting a subsidy from the Bishop of Angers as well as receiving seminarists to act as teachers.¹ Moreover the new inspector, an ultra-royalist, happened to be a cousin of the leading royalist family in the region and on his visits gleaned his information about the college at dinners which the curé of Saint-Pierre attended.² In 1826, the Grand-Master acquiesced to the repeated demands of the curé that the abbé Huet be removed. A local priest was named principal.

1827, the recteur called the king of France. He pointed

The 1820s brought an almost complete paralysis to

1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 8603; Principal of Saumur to the Grand-Master; 1827. The principal accused the curé of stealing not only his students, but his domestic help. He too accused the recteur of basing his unflattering reports on the curé's gossip.

2. Arch. Dept.: 416-T-16; Anonymous letter of 21 September, 1827. The writer informed the abbé Moissenet that any information obtained by the ultra-royalist inspector was highly suspect: "Un inspecteur s'est présentée à Saumur, non pour opérer le bien mais pour jouer l'odieux rôle d'espion. Parent du commandant lui et dans un repas où était le curé de Saint-Pierre" that he obtained his "facts".

the functioning of the rectorate at Angers. After 1821, the recteur became a helpless spectator turning out a not inconsiderable amount of paperwork but lacking real influence in the affairs of public education. The young priests who directed Laval, Le Mans, Mayenne, Doué and Saumur grandly ignored the Academy and its minute regulations.¹ The laymen who headed the small, outlying schools fully realized that they could expect little protection from the rectorate and were in fact content to be free of the intruding hand from Angers, free of the constant inquiries into the least detail of their hapless administration.

The essential cause of this collapse of power was the refusal of Paris to intervene on behalf of its agent. De Lisle threatened time and again to prosecute the wayward principal of Mayenne in the courts of law, but each time the Grand-Master refused his approbation. In August, 1824, the recteur called the hand of Frayssinous. He pointed out that further procrastination in the face of the principal's insubordination would be fatal and insisted on prompt action.² Two months later he was conveniently elevated to the benign post of inspector-general, away from the rough and tumble

1. The liasses in both the National and departmental archives contain a scattering of letters that confirms the observations of Elie Sorin concerning the importance of the recteur. The mocking correspondence of the abbé Chauvigné, revolté of the College of Mayenne, illustrated the problem well enough.

2. Arch. Dept.; 2-T-1-511-F; Correspondence of the recteur of Angers with the Grand-Master, January - August, 1824.

1. Garnier: PROVINCIAL p. 126.

of local intrigue. Throughout France, Paris was refusing to be drawn into a confrontation with its principals. The centralization of the period 1816-1819 was being undone. Provincial France was being given its freedom by default.

In his Frayssinous, Garnier argues that the 1820s were in part a period of consolidating the control of the government over education, a period in which the University structure became ever more concentrated in Paris.¹ The Villèle government reached out to impose its rule. Yet this observation is true only in terms of the legal arrangements, particularly the creation of a Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs. In practice the 1820s were a period of abdication on the part of the central authority in favor of regionalism. Here was no plot of the Congregation, no alliance of throne and altar; rather Paris declined to resist the intrigues of a Chauvigné, a Horeau. The Academy of Angers, first under de Lisle, then under the representative of the local clergy, the abbé Morice, fell apart as an administrative unit. The struggle that had pitted the principals against the recteur since the days of the Empire was merely coming to a climax.

The spirit of localism reigned triumphant during these years. For one, the rules dispossessing the municipal colleges of the prestigious upper classes fell into disuse. In 1821, the towns of Mayenne demanded a fifth form. De Lisle peremptorily refused; but the municipality threatened

1. Garnier: Frayssinous; p. 128.

to cut off all funds to the school and thereby won its point.¹ The town of Doué obtained the same class for its school after similar pressure;² the College of Laval and Château-Gontier won the right to have the philosophy class despite the diehard resistance of the rectorate. For another, towns began to extend a more direct control. That of Saumur enacted a series of regulations in 1826 that made the principal responsible to the town council rather than to the rectorate.³ The head of the college was now to make a monthly report before the council; he was to submit the curriculum for its approval; he was to apply a minute discipline drawn up by the council. Moreover the towns of the Academy fiercely and successfully resisted the imposition of strangers as principals of their schools. When the recteur named a veteran of sixteen years in public education as head of the College of Beaufort, the mayor and curé let the new

1. Arch. Dept.; Mayenne; 2-T-511-F; Mayor of Mayenne to the recteur of Angers; 8 October, 1821; recteur of Angers to Paris; 20 October, 1821.
2. Arch. Dept.; Maine-et-Loire; 33-T-3; Recteur of Angers to the Grand-Master; 20 June, 1822; One reason that the recteur had opposed so strenuously the addition of a class of rhetoric at Doué was the weak level of studies. When he asked one student who was the first emperor of Rome, the boy replied without hesitation, Romulus; a second identified Rouen as situated on the Rhone river.
3. Arch. Nat.; F 17 8603; 1826; Draft of a new set of rules for the College of Saumur; comments by the recteur and by Gueneau de Mussy. On the article creating a prize for the most religious student, Gueneau tartly observed, "Il n'est pas au pouvoir des hommes de donner un prix de Religion... Cette denomination me paraît insolite, defecteuse et choquante."

arrival spend twenty two days living in a classroom before admitting him to the regular apartment. They sustained the two teachers in a revolt against his authority and eventually succeeded in driving the man to a humiliating resignation.¹

By 1830, the Academy was a thoroughly demoralized body that lacked anything more than a paper unity made visible by the forebom recteur sitting in his small office at Angers. The abbé Morice abruptly resigned in 1828 over the Ordinances of May, which Frayssinous had reluctantly issued to counter the illegal presence of Jesuit schools.² In his place, Paris sent the director of a private school in the capital, a colorless, ineffective individual, Andrieu d'Alban, who knew nothing of Anjou and the Maine and who apparently spent most of his time socializing with the royalist elements of the region.

The July Revolution marked an attempt to retake the work that Amboise Rendu had carried on under the Empire and that Royer-Collard continued during the Second Restoration, although the commitment of the initially liberal government to a freer system of education injected an element

① Notes mms

of ambiguity into the attempts.¹ Old faces reappeared in the academies of France. At Angers, Louis Collet, who had been purged in 1824, became recteur. At Bourges, the ageing terrorist of the Cher, Raynal, returned to the post from which he had been purged in 1815; while a new body of inspectors-general appeared marking the retirement of the last of the inspectors appointed in 1809. The centralizing current had regained the upper hand and once more the colleges of Anjou and the Maine re-entered a tight and hateful discipline.

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1. Arch. Nat.: F 17 7689; Correspondence of July-August, 1830. The flight of Charles X and the appearance of the July Monarchy precipitated a scandal of the first order in the Royal College of Angers, one that marked the establishment as an outpost of Orleanism and "Bonapartism" in a legitimist region. The legitimist recteur barred all parents from the distribution of prizes; the mayor countered by insisting that not only should they be present but that the National Guard would provide appropriate music. On the day of the distribution, the recteur learned that a tricolor had been smuggled into the establishment and rushed outside the college to inform the just arriving bishop. The latter hastily disappeared. The royalist proviseur resigned on the spot.

III.

Despite the clerical inroads, the Royal University of the 1820s resembled in many ways the University of the Empire, that curious institution which housed so many conflicting tendencies, so many interest groups, so many imponderable obstacles to administrative unity. Certainly, the clergy dominated public education. But who was this clergy, this Church militant that conducted purges and distributed patronage with such vengeance and largess?

Here was no monolithic body, no solidly massed phalanx of black robes, but a proliferation of factions and interests whose quarrels were spilling over into the arena of education. Young priests, militant and ultramontane, were pushing to the fore. Aging ecclesiastics, careless and indifferent to administrative work, sought sinecures inside the rectorates in much the same way as the notables of the Empire once had. Gallicans still raised their voice, though in diminished volume. Haughty ecclesiastics from Paris snubbed their peers in the provinces, as Fayat did at Rouen. Some ecclesiastics brought the curriculum of the Jesuits into the schools, with an emphasis on dance and music, while others imposed the masochistic discipline of the cloister.

Where was the unity in all this, the contrived formula of an alliance between throne and altar? The reality showed no alliances but a scramble for power among the various interest groups, an unseemly scramble that took place in the political sphere and in diocesan life as well as in education. The 1820s saw the latent divisions within the clergy spring into a larger field of action as the missionaries of Paris attempted to force their will down the throats of local bishops, as Grand-Seigneurs of the Ancien Régime attempted to impose their fading entourages onto local dioceses, as hot-headed devotees of Lamennais carried his suspect Gospel into the seminaries to convert these institutions into centers of opposition to the bishop.

The conflict between Church and University is not to be ignored in all of this. At the top of public education, Amboise Rendu and Georges Cuvier suffered an ignoble eclipse. The rectorates were purged of the generation of technicians; the principals and professors suffered equally. But the battles between the clericals and anti-clericals, between Gallicans and non-Gallicans, which dominated the debates of the National Assembly, have been so well documented and discussed as to distort other of the underlying tensions. And for the University this meant the tension between Paris and the departments, between the rectorate and the communes, between parents and the University. The conflicts that had been so prevalent during the Empire were resurfacing in somewhat different form. a/

The remarkable achievement was that the Royal University in fact did survive them to regroup for the renewed process of centralization that began in earnest with the July Monarchy. Amboise Rendu, creator of the University during the Empire, became once more a decisive voice in the administration of public education, a living illustration of the powerful forces of continuity at work in French life.

CONCLUSION

In studying the history of French education during the nineteenth century, there is a pressing need to move beyond questions of Church and state and beyond problems concerning the legal evolution of the school system. The development of a corps of educators after 1800 raises a crucial but neglected issue: how France made the difficult transition from an agricultural country splintered into a patchwork of regions and cultures to a major industrial power possessing a highly centralized and relatively efficient bureaucracy. During these years, the transition posed a deep crisis in values, a crisis that was often obscured beneath political and religious issues, but one that nonetheless provoked an undercurrent of tension lasting well into the Third Republic.

Part of the problem involved the emergence of a corps of teachers and bureaucrats who owed their loyalty not to a town or a region but to Paris and to an abstract ideal of what education should be. In the early 1800s, the professor and the principal of a school were very much part of the local scene, either because of their political past as revolutionaries or émigrés, or as native sons who perhaps had failed at another trade or were too unlucky to find a

more lucrative profession. By the middle 1800s, the picture had radically changed. A professional set of teachers, trained on a standard curriculum, had emerged; and stern administrators imposed decisions taken by a distant Grand-Master or Minister of Education. This evolution was a traumatic one, for at stake was the cultural autonomy of what had been the proud and stubborn provinces of the Ancien Régime.

In effect we have asked how far regional spirit during the Empire and Restoration effected the shape and scope of one of the several bureaucracies centered in Paris. The inner workings of the machinery that formed public education, the life of the various layers of personnel that made up this body, point to the fact that the administration took its form and direction from the countless traditions and practices of each of the regions.

The nature of administration in the Imperial University was nowhere better illustrated than in the initial choice of the corps of twenty-five recteurs.

The Academy of Angers covered a land known for its intensely religious spirit and its counter-revolutionary politics, a region that had risen in the name of the king only to be defeated in bloody Civil War. And yet the recteur of the Academy for the greater part of the Empire was an urbane, young layman, educated at Niort by married priests, active on two departmental journals known for their "scepticism", a passionate nationalist who could declare before the Angevin

authorities that France had made more progress in the past twenty years than in the preceeding twenty centuries. His appointment came not at the behest of local officials, but on the direct intervention of the Grand-Master himself, who wished to reward a promising administrator whom he had known briefly during the Directory. Fortunately for the Academy, Frédérique Mazure proved to be one of the few real administrators whose career lay before him and who gave public education a degree of loyalty and enthusiasm that his colleagues could rarely generate.

But the choice of the twenty-four other recteurs effectively insured the malfunctioning of the hierarchy as outlined in the Decree of March, 1808. Napoleon had intended a professional corps of laymen, disinterested in spirit, ascetic in manner, devoted to the interests and needs of the state. Instead Fontanes and his advisors placed in the upper levels of public education a ragged collection of local notables, a bewildering variety of lawyers, priests, ex-legislators, and medical doctors, as well as educators who represented a number of conflicting scholastic traditions. Ideological and political considerations had less to do with the selection than did the social system of imperial France, for this was an age of informal, ad hoc arrangements where friendships and patronage counted more than the needs of some abstract entity called the state. The whole constellation of imperial society from prefects and generals to ministers and senators, showered the scarcely organized offices of the

Grand-Master with petitions.

The backgrounds of the twenty-five recteurs made clear that no one policy, no one credo was to be imposed on French education. Ex-terrorists mingled with émigré priests; former revolutionaries with victims of the Revolution; representatives of the Ecoles Centrales with those of the schools of the Ancien Régime. In effect, the regional and social diversity of early nineteenth century France was invading a hierarchy intended to impose the will of Paris. The recteurs became the very mirror of provincial life with all its idiosyncrasies.

Only to a small extent did these administrators, most of them weak and indecisive, succeed in infusing the rectorates with a life of their own. At the end of their careers, they were men who found paperwork distasteful, administration painful and their subordinates too ambitious. Only a handful overcame the numerous obstacles posed by provincial France to enforce their own reforms; and these were the strongwilled few, the more opinionated notables with an axe to grind. At Besançon, J.-J. Ordinaire brought a Gallicanism that bordered on the anti-clerical into the daily life of his administration, and at distant Pau, the abbé Eliçagaray, royalist par excellence, deliberately set about to convert his academy into a private fief. It was impossible to expect two such opposed men to share the same vision of a reformed system of education or to carry out in the same mechanical fashion the directives which began to stream from the capital.

Revolution. The corps of principals and proviseurs presented the same demoralizing diversity. To speak of a school system in the three departments of the Maine-et-Loire, the Mayenne and the Sarthe, would have stretched the credulity of the most naive functionary. Here was no single teaching corps, no unique system bound together by common goals and standards. Rather Mazure found an odd collection of teachers, principals and proviseurs who represented particular interests and factions within a town, special traditions and heritages; he discovered men who represented the rich and varied life of the eighteenth century provinces and of the revolutionary era.

One has only to look at the seven ecclesiastics serving as principals to see the rich diversity of social gradations, the odd assortment of personalities. In the Department of the Sarthe, more commercial and liberal than its two neighbors, the principal of the large College of Le Mans was a staunchly Gallican priest and former Oratorian who retained the urbanity and tolerance of another age. In the intensely clerical Mayenne, his counterpart was a stern, militant ecclesiastic bred in the tradition of the eighteenth century "pious school", someone for whom religious orthodoxy meant a thorough-going ultramontane viewpoint. Even in the strongly royalist region of Southern Anjou, there were differing traditions. What a world of contrast between the cultured principal of Beaupréau, part of the aristocratic world that dominated this land, and the head of the College of Doué, a rough-hewn, crude artisan who had become a priest during the

Revolution. Likewise, the suave abbé at Laval, scion of a noble family, fencer and poet, could only feel a certain contempt and scorn for his ill-educated brothers in the northern part of the Mayenne.

Reinforcing this amazing social diversity was the financial and economic condition of secondary education, an aspect that has received surprisingly little attention in studies such as Aulard's Napoléon Ier et le monopole universitaire or Ponteil's Histoire de l'enseignement. The skirmishes with the Catholic seminaries, the competition of the private schools, the political attitudes of certain recteurs, these were not the only causes for the pathetic floundering which characterized the Imperial University during its first days. Rather the explanation must be sought in the fact that the recteurs, and in particular Frédérique Mazure, failed to alter the basic fabric of provincial education: the pernicious cycle of the maitre-de-pension-turned principal. Here was perhaps the greatest stumbling block to French education during the early part of the nineteenth century, for the ex-private teacher, that seedy entrepreneur, remained indispensable to the life of the municipal college. No other source offered the necessary combination of personal means, long experience and the desire to remain inside education.

When the town of Saumur sought a principal in 1810, it solicited bids from local private teachers and the heads of outlying colleges. The highest bidders agreed to accept a sizable reduction in the municipality's grant, but the mayor

was quick to regret his auctioneering. The new principal directed the establishment with the mentality of a peasant, who tenaciously exploits a small tract of land, collecting posts as if they were sinecures and introducing six of his relatives into the school. In this fashion, a ragged collection of priests, ex-revolutionaries, laymen of little formal training, soldiers, ex-merchants continued to surface into the municipal colleges, bringing with them the habits and ideas of small-scale entrepreneurs.

The teaching corps in provincial France was in itself a major obstacle to reform, for there were no common loyalties, no common goals that the new administration could instill. Instead, regional peculiarities found an accurate reflection in this group of men. The Academy of Angers was typical of the problem. With an unusually complex social and geographical configuration, mirrored in the two rings of mutually hostile schools, it possessed a personnel thrown up by the various currents that had crossed and recrossed the three departments since the 1780s. Diversity and disunity characterized the professors: teachers of the Ancien Régime, former maîtres-de-pension, young boys fresh from the lycées, ex-soldiers, retired doctors, ecclesiastics, men from a variety of careers and backgrounds. Each group had its own outlook, its own traditions, its own ambitions. Each jealously sought to assert its independence, to secure its rights. Whether at clerical Château-Gontier or at liberal Saumur, the atmosphere was charged with suspicion, hostility and resentment.

and rigorously examined the other inspectors-general.

Between 1809 and 1812, the one body that initiated effective reform lay in Paris, yet it too reflected the inability of the rules and regulations to impose a streamlined bureaucracy on French education. The March Decree had called into being an elaborate superstructure which included a Council of thirty men, a corps of inspectors-general, a Grand-Master and a Chancellor and Treasurer; but the real work of the Imperial University was never carried on within this stately facade. Certain of the more influential inspectors-general, appalled at the disorganization of the first months, persuaded the Grand-Master to create a small, inner council of his "true" friends; and by 1810, this group had become the governing organ of public education, known eventually as the Central Commission. Except for a passing reference in one of Jacques Poirier's excellent articles, historians have not been aware of this body's existence.

Buried in the recesses of the University, the Commission epitomized the old-fashioned habits that dominated in Paris, the preference for a club-like spirit, the distaste for bureaucratic paperwork. Here was no modern institution, but a remarkably informal group which put a premium on good fellowship and personal contact. Improvisation brought about its existence and improvisation became its chief mode for ruling the twenty-five recteurs and their academies. Sitting around a table in the Palais Bourbon, the five members, led by the self-righteous Amboise Rendu, discussed the needs of the colleges and lycées, talked with teachers and principals visiting Paris and rigorously examined the other inspectors-general.

In reality however, the many limits to the Commission's power were a testimony to the forces encouraging regional autonomy: the haphazard, almost careless way in which work was conducted; the slow, faulty communications with the recteurs; the need to distribute patronage to the protégés of prefects, generals and ministers; above all the practice of merely transferring those teachers who were in trouble for moral, political or disciplinary reasons. Then too, we can sympathize with the Commission in its dependence on the information collected by the inspectors-general who roamed across France for two or three months of the year. The inspector lived in a world that had as yet no set morality, no defined rules, few bureaucratic controls and no dossiers for the teachers. Moving from town to town, he had to improvise; he had to weigh a man's talent in the course of a brief conversation. Improvisation was the trademark of these men. The abbé de Champeaux could send an assermenté priest into a school taught by émigrés; or he could dispossess the principal of a major college such as that of Abbeville for the simple purpose of placing a friend from the emigration. The inspectors were indeed prima donnas following the dictates of their conscience, that highly changeable equation, rather than a set of instructions from Paris.

The quality of the teaching personnel sent by Paris from school to school reflected the strength of the patronage system and the lack of capable men willing to leave their homes. The Gallican and conservative Commission became a vast clearinghouse for all those with particular needs -- adventurers, semi-failures, the insubordinate, bankrupts, political

outcasts, aged ex-Oratorians in search of sinecures. The principals of the Academy of Angers, while instinctively biased against strangers, were right to be on their guard. The teaching personnel sent by Paris was of ragged quality, the flotsam of public and private education, men who had failed as teachers, men who had quarreled with their superiors, men who lacked roots in one town or region.

What though of the political and religious problems that historians of public education have traditionally studied during this period? Far from the favoritism towards the clergy and towards the private schools that Aulard, Grimaud, and Le Flon see, the Commission repeatedly petitioned Bonaparte after 1808 for some measure, some law, that would add teeth to the frail structure created by the March Decree and allow public education to organize in effective fashion. Historians have seen the final product, the Decree of 15 November, 1811, as the exclusive work of an Emperor preoccupied by his struggle with the clergy. The famous meeting of 23 February, 1811, in which Napoleon berated the councilors for their poor performance has been offered as proof. Yet the University had in fact been asking for a series of measures that far exceeded in harshness what was demanded of them; and the bulk of the law was drawn from the draft measure prepared by Rendu and Fontanes as early as December, 1810.

The Decree of 15 November, 1811, represented not only the intervention of the Emperor, as historians have traditionally argued, but the labor of technicians concerned with re-

enforcing the vague powers of a loosely organized body. It was nothing less than the work of those passionate nationalists within education who foresaw an end to regional differences. The Commission was putting into legislation a vision that was to govern French education throughout the nineteenth century, with centralization and regulation as the key components. The irony was that a jealous Council of State delayed this measure until Napoleon's struggle with the Church undermined its position.

Alphonse Aulard and Charles Schmidt argue vehemently that Fontanes betrayed the Emperor and sought every means to sabotage the harsher clauses of the November Decree. Georges Lefebvre and Felix Ponteil, who represent more recent points of view, agree that if the legislation was partially enforced, the Grand-Master and his advisors did not have their hearts in the matter. But this approach overlooks the basic significance of the Decree in terms of the structure of the Imperial University. In effect, the application of this measure greatly accelerated the process by which the Central Commission concentrated power within its own hands to the detriment of the twenty-five recteurs. Autocratic and unbending, the cliquish Commission imposed a massive closing of maitres-de-pension, rerouted their students into public schools, forced the petit séminaires to move from the religious countryside to larger towns, and ruthlessly lopped off the upper classes of municipal colleges.

Then too, the petits séminaires at Angers and La Flèche were

In revolutionizing French education, the November Decree antagonized the majority of Frenchmen, from parents and private teachers to priests and prefects, and nowhere was this more true than in the Academy of Angers, a bastion of royalism and counter-revolution, an enclave of insularity and tradition. In Anjou and the Maine, the decree ripped away the veil of parochialism that had so long sheltered its schools. For Frédérique Mazure, the efforts of persuasion changed into those of coercion.

In December, 1811, the six private teachers of the town of Angers found themselves stripped of all Latin studies, ordered to send all students to the classes of the Lycée and forced to adopt the rules of and discipline of the University, as well as to introduce uniform and drum. Angered and humiliated by these measures, two of their number closed their doors and left the former provincial capital. A more important result of the November Decree was the new tension between the recteur and the principals of the colleges, who now lost their fifth and in some cases fourth forms. The side effects of this rather arbitrary operation made the advantage of increasing the students in the lycée by a handful look pale in comparison. The College of Cholet all but collapsed; the principal of Château-Gontier dismissed his students of the sixth form only under duress from the local procureur; and the administrative bureau at Mamers calculated that the measure cost the school over one thousand francs in lost revenues. Then too, the petits séminaires at Angers and La Sarthe were

forced to send their older students to the Lycée and the College of Le Mans, while the private school of Beaupréau lost its fifth form. The schools of the Academy, private, clerical and municipal, were being sacrificed in the name of the lycée and of Paris; and it was this burning realization that set the stage for the reaction of the First Restoration.

The tensions and contradictions within the Imperial University came boiling to the surface in the political turmoil that the First Restoration brought in its train. Parents, priests, and local officials indignantly demanded a return of their "stolen" rights; and in the process the thin bonds that had bound principal to recteur and recteur to Paris began to come unglued.

During this troubled period, the Central Commission was not only helpless before the rising tide of opposition, but remained temperamentally incapable of understanding its predicament. Living inside a self-contained world, the Commission had few concessions to offer an aroused France, and instead of conciliating the Minister of the Interior, pressed on him angry demands that he strictly enforce University legislation.

While Montesquiou was preparing an ordinance to free the petits séminaires from the Grand-Master's control, one inspector-general could write insisting that the University be allowed to educate the seminarists in her own lycées.

The dilemma of F. Mazure at Angers was the dilemma of most functionaries in provincial administration. This young

recteur of a backwater academy deserted the Empire with alacrity and hastened to raise the flag of royalism and religion over the lycée and the seventeen colleges. Not only was the spirit of survival strong, but he saw in the returning Bourbon family the guarantee of peace in Europe, the end of the long wars that had snatched so many young professors from his schools and the end as well to the odious drum and uniform in the classroom, these symbols of conscription in a region where counter-revolution and religion were so entrenched. Administrator in a royalist land, Mazure showed much greater appreciation of local feeling and sentiment than did the impervious and unbending Central Commission, isolated in Paris. Constantly he reminded his superiors that Anjou and the Maine, center of the Civil War, still bore the wounds and memories of these troubled years. In April, he saw that the last vestiges of militarism within the schools were eradicated and through the summer introduced a number of religious practices. Then during the Hundred Days, Mazure fought to maintain the political neutrality of his Academy, first by preventing the Bonapartist Revolution from sweeping into the schools, then by outwitting the demands for purge from the ultra-royalists.

Nevertheless the Hundred Days and its chaotic aftermath exposed with brutal frankness the multiple contradictions that underlaid the structure of the University and in so doing brought about an internal explosion which threatened to carry off that body. The curious concentration of power in the hands of the autocratic Central Commission came to an inglorious end. The result was the loss of a sure, guiding hand

during the troubled spring of 1815 and a consequent vacuum in Paris which allowed recteurs, principals and townships the occasion to display their particular politics. At the heart of the disorganization were the recteurs themselves, some of whom resigned, others of whom discreetly retired to their homes, and still others who raised the flag of the Bonapartist revolution over their academies. The patronage system of 1809 stood revealed for what it had been: a machine for elevating friends and protégés into positions of influence rather than for creating a disciplined body of administrators. The head of the Academy of Pau could flee to Spain and join the armies of the king while that of Dijon enthusiastically donned the tricolor and marched in the nightly processions of the revolutionary fédérés. In this manner, the little progress that had been made toward building up a set of loyal lieutenants, a set of professional functionaries, evaporated overnight and left the University a committed political force in a divided France.

The year 1815-1816 brought public education dangerously close to radical change as ultra-royalists in the National Assembly, enemies in the government and popular resentment throughout France threatened its powers. Historians have studied at great length the relation between the Commission of Public Education and the government during these years; but their focus has been too exclusively on the manoeuvring in Paris and on the intellectual development of certain educators. Not enough attention has been paid to what was taking place in the departments and in the hierarchy of public education.

for here was where the major battle was taking place and here was where the Commission made its most telling defense.

At the moment that public education was on the defensive, the Commission was performing a silent revolution that was to enable the University to deliver its own counter-attack. During 1815 and 1816, Royer-Collard and Amboise Rendu, both authoritarian by temperament and passionately devoted to a national system of education, installed in several key academies a new generation of universitaires, a generation of technicians and professional administrators. No longer were former parliamentarians, ex-legislators and medical doctors to take the reins of an academy; no longer the petty feuds and squabbles of provincial lettrés; no longer the ignorance and indifference of men bred outside a new institution. A professional elite, trained within the University, rose to power in the turnover of personnel occasioned by the purge of 1815 and the subsequent transfers. The Academy of Rennes passed from a senile priest to a strong-armed supporter of the Decazes, Richelieu government; the Academy of Amiens went from the hands of a scion of a noble to a humble but well trained proviseur. At Angers, the former professor of a lycée, de Lisle, brought an autocratic hand.

While the notables of the Empire had been long established in an area, with extensive family ties and a recognized social position, the new generation was generally mobile from a geographic point of view and of lower social rank. These were men who willingly gave themselves to public education,

Academy despite his autocratic bent. If the traces of the

unhindered by other loyalties. The administrator of the nineteenth century was at last appearing inside public education and from this point of view it may be argued that the Liberal Restoration rather than the Empire did more to further the process of centralization, of bringing the patchwork of regions making up France under one authority, one jurisdiction. The Empire created the University. The Second Restoration provided it with its personnel.

The purges of the 1820s brought into education a steady flow of priests, some survivors of the Ancien Régime, others young militant and scarcely educated, and indeed it looked as if the work accomplished by the technicians of 1816 was to be undone. A bishop took over the recreated post of Grand-Master; almost every academy passed into the hands of an ecclesiastic; and a large number of "black robes" appeared inside the colleges and lycées. But to view this phenomenon as another example of clericalism on the move is to miss an essential point; regional spirit was once more triumphing over the centralization imposed during the Empire. Almost without exception, the new recteurs were natives of the area under their jurisdictions, familiar with the temperament and eccentricities of the land.

The major defeat suffered by the technicians of the 1816 era was not the clerical victory of the 1820s, but the failure to bring substantial reform to the municipal schools and lycées prior to that period. In his seven years at Angers, the aggressive P. de Lisle failed to cure the ills of the Academy despite his autocratic bent. If the traces of the

Civil War were effaced to a large extent, if the number of laymen as principals actually increased, and if the teachers, were a younger, more homogenous group than their elders of the Empire, the Academy remained the same miserable collection of small schools, rent by internal dissension, isolated by a hostile public, governed by a non-professional collection of laymen and priests. In short, the social and financial problems of education remained impenetrable to the efforts of the University. Administration in provincial France could do no more than reflect regional peculiarities.

Despite the trials and tribulations of the period 1809-1810, public education was slowly and painfully building up a corps of professional administrators who placed service to a system ahead of loyalty to a region or to an individual. This is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of these years, for the possibility of reform depended less on the plethora of rules manufactured during the Empire and Restoration, than on the men chosen to enforce them. Alongside the local notables who came to occupy the majority of places inside the University, there was emerging a layer of younger men, of technicians and professional administrators devoted exclusively to the interests of public education. It is here that we see the makings of a national elite, of a uniform corps that was to give education a remarkable continuity throughout the nineteenth century. In this sense we are also seeing something of how other administrations appeared in France -- the differ-

culties of recruitment, the mixed loyalties, the role of local notables, the problems posed by geographic mobility.

The fact that Parisian bureaucracies came to exercise considerable power over provincial France during the nineteenth century may seem something of an inevitable development demanded by the logic of French history. Improved communications meant tighter control over the once free-wheeling prefects. Better ways of collecting taxes brought more detailed supervision of the life of municipalities and communes. The imposition of a standard system of education put an end to many local traditions and customs, while enabling the minister to know at any moment of the day what each schoolboy in the country was dutifully reading. The process was nevertheless much more difficult, much more laborious, much more uncertain than is commonly supposed. The Consulate and Empire may have reworked the administrative framework of France into a mould that still remains much the same today, but the operation of this hierarchy, the way in which it functioned, was hardly a certain matter. The slow communications, the tenacity of local customs, the erratic behavior of certain bureaucrats, these were forces that worked at contre-variance with the new system.

Historians of French education have studied the development of the Imperial University as a function of the changing political environment in early nineteenth century France. Yet their preoccupation with

Napoleon's motives and with Restoration politics has obscured a second and more profound reality. Beneath the surface of parliamentary battles, of the skirmishing between clericals and anti-clericals, another problem was working itself out in less dramatic fashion: whether a modern administration could be imposed on an agricultural country, whether national unity could be forced onto a patchwork of regions and localities, on a land still divided by a maze of traditions and customs.

Proviseur:

The administrative head of the lycée, responsible for all questions of discipline, health and maintenance.

Censeur:

An official in the proviseur's service, responsible for disciplinary matters, especially for the students and teachers. The censeur was also responsible for the maintenance of the lycée and for the health of the students. **APPENDIX** The lycée was a part of the provincial lycée.

Aumônier:

A clergyman who served in the lycée as chaplain.

Municipal College:

The college municipal was a secondary school by the province and lycée was subject to a local council, the conseil municipal. The conseil municipal was the body which was responsible for the lycée. The conseil municipal was composed of members of the lycée. The conseil municipal was responsible for the lycée and for the health of the students. The conseil municipal was composed of members of the lycée and of the conseil municipal.

Institutions and Pensions:

The private schools, other than Catholic ones, were officially divided into two categories. The institutions could teach all the Latin classes; the pension was limited to the fourth form. In practice this distinction had little meaning.

Petits Séminaires:

In the early 1800s, bishops began establishing secondary schools to prepare students for the priesthood. These schools were called petits séminaires. They were usually located in the diocese and were run by the bishop. They were responsible for the education of the students and for the health of the students.

Lycee:

The lycée was a secondary school by the province. It was responsible for the education of the students and for the health of the students. The lycée was a part of the provincial lycée. The lycée was responsible for the education of the students and for the health of the students. The lycée was a part of the provincial lycée. The lycée was responsible for the education of the students and for the health of the students.

- Proviseur: The administrative head of the lycee, responsible for all questions of discipline, finance and curriculum.
- Censeur: An assistant to the proviseur, responsible for disciplinary matters concerning both students and teacher. The authority of the censeur was in fact ill-defined and tended to overlap with that of the proviseur, a source of much friction in both Parisian and provincial lycees.
- Aumonier: A clergyman who served in the lycee as chaplain.
- Municipal College: The college communal was supported financially by the commune and hence was subject to greater local control than was the lycee. Typically the top class was the fifth or in some cases the fourth form. The level of education was considerably lower than the lycee. The influence of the town was institutionalized in the form of an administrative bureau, composed of mayor and local notables.
- Institutions and Pensions: The private schools, other than Catholic ones, were officially divided into two categories. The institutions could teach all the Latin classes; the pension was limited to the fourth form. In practice this distinction had little meaning.
- Petits Seminaires: In the early 1800s, bishops began establishing secondary schools in an attempt to prepare students for the seminaries and simultaneously to recruit boys for the desperately undermined dioceses.
- Lycee: Those institutions controlled directly by the University. There were thirty-six to forty lycees during the Empire and Restoration, with nine to fourteen professors and 150 to 300 boys. The seat of each academy was located in those towns having lycees so that each would reinforce the authority of the other.

University:

The term refers not to a university or college in the Anglo-Saxon sense, but to the ministry of public education. The academies, the recteurs and the bureaucracy of Paris were collectively named the Universite Imperiale.

Academy:

The Decree of 17 March, 1808, carved France into twenty-six units or jurisdictions, usually containing three to four departments. All schools within the area were placed under the authority of the Academy. The name of the jurisdiction was taken from the town in which its seat was located: hence the Academy of Angers.

Recteur:

The recteur was the ruler of the academy, the administrative head who acted as an intermediary between Paris and local schools. His primary function was to execute the circulars and instructions sent by the Grand-Master. He possessed the power to suspend temporarily a teacher or functionary until the capital had acted.

Academic Council:

A body of ten notables that was intended to advise the recteur in the governing of the academy. In practice, most recteurs were desirous of minimizing the role of these bodies for fear of their potential interference.

Grand-Master:

At the apex of the University stood the Grand-Master, a sort of minister of education who possessed the authority to name all the teachers, to grant all diplomas, to establish all the regulations pertaining to discipline; teaching and administration, and to handle all receipts and expenses.

Inspector-General:

The twenty inspectors-general during the Empire and Restoration were chosen by the Grand-Master. Each year they divided into groups of two or more to visit a particular set of academies, to inspect the lycees, municipal colleges, private schools, and to report on their curriculum, administration and financial position.

PART ONE

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PART ONE

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F 17 1398, 1399

Pièces diverses, relatives à l'instruction publique, classées par département, 1790-1816.

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1344-26 Sarthe.

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Pièces diverses, provenant de triages, classés par départements. 1790-1816.

1398 Aisne to Meurthe.

1399 Meuse to Yonne.

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Rapports au Grand-Maitre de l'Université sur des objets de comptabilité. 1809-1810.

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Engagements imposés aux membres de l'Université par le décret du 17 septembre 1808.

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Déclarations de n'appartenir à aucune congrégation religieuse non autorisée, conformément à l'article II de l'ordonnance du 16 juin 1828; dossiers classés par académies.

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Exemptions du service militaire au titre de l'Université. 1809-1826.

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Demandes de décorations dans l'ordre de la Légion d'honneurs. 1808-1870.

F 17 1422 to 1424

Officiers de l'université et d'académie: demandes de titres et nominations, classées par académies. 1815-1836.

1422 Aix-Caen.

1423 Cahors-Montpellier.

1424 Nancy-Toulouse.

F 17 1425 to 1432

Tableaux du personnel placé sous l'autorité des recteurs (académies, facultés, lycées, collèges, écoles secondaires ecclésiastiques, institutions, et pensions), classés par académies. 1812-1814.

1425 Angers-Bruxelles.

1426 Caen-Dijon.

1427 Douai-Genes.

1428 Grenoble-Limoges.

1429 Lyon-Montpellier.

1430 Nancy-Orleans.

1431 Paris-Poitiers.

1432 Rennes-Toulouse.

F 17 1433

Etats du personnel de l'instruction publique; bulletins individuels envoyés par les préfets conformément à la circulaire n. 49 du 5 mai 1815.

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Etats emargés des traitements payés aux fonctionnaires des académies et facultés, classés chronologiquement. 1809-1820.

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Traitements des fonctionnaires de l'Université: correspondance classée par académies. 1810-1828.

1445 Aix-Besançon.

1446 Bordeaux-Dijon.

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Traitements des fonctionnaires des académies et des facultés: états généraux arrêtés par l'administration centrale. 1811-1834.

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Pièces diverses provenant: du secretariat général du Ministère de l'Intérieur, an VIII-1830; du cabinet du Ministre, 1809-1812.

F 17 1456

Pièces officielles concernant divers membres de l'Université. 1739-1814.

F 17 1458 to 1480

Collection des circulaires du Grand-Maitre de l'Université et du Ministre de l'instruction publique.

1458 Années 1809-1812.

1459 Années 1813-1816.

1460 Années 1817-1821.

1461 Années 1822-1829.

F 17 1482, 1483

Etats, certifiés par les recteurs, des sommes dues pour amendes de police et pour frais de poursuites et actes judiciaires dans les ressorts académiques. 1820-1826.

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1483 Lyon-Toulouse.

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Comptabilité des biens et domaines de l'Université. 1808-1850.

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Pièces antérieures à 1838, provenant de la division des Sciences et Lettres, et classés par ordre alphabétique de noms de personnes.

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<u>F 17 1615 to 1628</u>	Personnel et affaires diverses des Academies.
<u>F 17 1615</u>	1615 Aix-Amiens, 1810-1820.
<u>F 17 1616</u>	1616 Angers-Besançon. 1809-1832.
<u>F 17 1617</u>	1617 Bordeaux-Caen. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1618</u>	1618. Cahors-Clermont. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1619</u>	1619 Dijon-Grenoble. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1620</u>	1620 Limoges-Lyon. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1621</u>	1621 Metz-Montpellier. 1810-1826.
<u>F 17 1622</u>	1622 Nancy. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1623</u>	1623 Nîmes-Orleans. 1810-1826.
<u>F 17 1624</u>	1624 Paris. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1625</u>	1625 Pau-Poitiers. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1626</u>	1626 Rennes-Rouen. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1627</u>	1627 Strasbourg. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1628</u>	1628 Toulouse. 1809-1826.
<u>F 17 1629 to 1635</u>	Personnel des conseils académiques. 1821; 1827-1846.
<u>F 17 1645 to 1644</u>	Frais de premier établissements des Facultés; logement des recteurs. 1810-1826.
<u>F 17 1648</u>	Affaires générales et collectives des Facultés. 1809-1838.
<u>F 17 1666 to 1676</u>	Etats, classés par académies, des inscriptions dans les Facultés. 1810-1839.
<u>F 17 1677 to 1703</u>	Deamandes, classés par academies, de grades universitaires. An XIV-1830.
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F 17 1713 to 1912

Facultés des lettres: affaires diverses, dossiers classés par académies. 1809-1849.

1719, 1729 Angers.

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Inspection générale des Ecoles et Facultés de droit. 1809-1810.

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Exécution de l'ordonnance du 2 avril 1821, portant suppression de la faculté de droit de Grenoble.

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Inspection générale des lycées et collèges dossiers classés par années. 1809-1831.

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Inspection générale des collèges royaux. 1832-1845.

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Ecoles secondaires communales: rapports, tableaux des maîtres de pension et affaires diverses. An XI-1813.

F 17 2495, 2496

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Règlementation de l'instruction publique: textes et projets. 1790-1866.

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Arrêtés ministériels: suppléments à la collection enregistre. Amplifications. 1815-1829. Arrêtés originaux de Frayssinous, 1822-1826.

F 17 2628 to 2646

Organisation de l'administration centrale de l'instruction publique, régime du personnel, service intérieur. 1808-1903.

F 17 2668 to 2675

Tableaux individuels de renseignements sur les fonctionnaires de l'administration académique, de l'enseignement supérieur et de l'enseignement secondaire, 1810-1835.

2668 Aix to Angers

2669 Besançon to Bourges

2670 Cahors to Dijon

- 2671 Douai to Metz.
- 2672 Montpellier to Orleans.
- 2673 Paris.
- 2674 Pau to Rennes.
- 2675 Rouen to Strasbourg.
- F 17 2686 to 2694 Biens et domaines de l'Université. 1791-1834.
- F 17 4149 to 4163 Ecole Normale supprimée par l'ordonnance du 27 février, 6 septembre 1822, 1809-1822.
- F 17 4274 to 4276 Conseil royal de l'Université et conseils académiques: jugements et décisions antérieurs à 1824, dossiers classés par académies.
- 4274 Aix-Douai.
- 4275 Grenoble-Paris.
- 4276 Poitiers-Toulouse.
- F 17 4279 to 4291 Administration académique: affaires générales et collectives. 1823-1901.
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- F 17 4687 to 4691 Demandes et collations de grades. 1809-1833.
- F 17 4692 to 4704 Equivalences: correspondance. 1809-1833.
- F 17 4705 to 6500 Collection des certificats d'aptitude aux grades universitaires. 1809-1905.
- F 17 6706 to 6721 Papiers de l'ancien "bureau des Académies": domaines de l'Université, titres de propriété rentes, lycées et collèges supprimés (dossiers classés par académies). 1808-1874.

<u>F 17 2387 to 2415</u>	6707 Aix.
<u>F 17 2431 to 2472</u>	6707 Besançon.
<u>F 17 2481 to 2502</u>	6708 Bordeaux.
<u>F 17 2503 to 2522</u>	6709 Caen.
<u>F 17 2523 to 2532</u>	6710 Clermont and Grenoble.
<u>F 17 2533 to 2542</u>	6711 Douai.
<u>F 17 2543 to 2552</u>	6718 Poitiers.
<u>F 17 2553 to 2562</u>	6719 Rennes.
<u>F 17 2563 to 2572</u>	6721 Toulouse.
<u>F 17 6808 to 6816</u>	Rapports des inspecteurs-généraux de l'enseignement secondaire. 1810-1873.
<u>F 17 6870, 6871</u>	Retribution universitaire et droit annuel. 1808-1832.
<u>F 17 6881 to 6887</u>	Commission d'examen des livres classiques. 1809-1880.
<u>F 17 7139</u>	Compositions sur la naissance du Roi du Rome. 1811.
<u>F 17 7234 to 7286</u>	Concours general et concours académiques. 1809-1900.
<u>F 17 7287 to 7293</u>	Eleves des lycées et collèges. Affaires disciplinaires. 1818-1902.
<u>F 17 7320 to 7392</u>	Papiers provenant du service de l'Instruction publique au Ministère de l'intérieur et se rapportant principalement aux bourses dans les lycées, dans les écoles secondaires communales et dans les séminaires catholiques. An VIII-1816.
<u>F 17 7393 to 7430</u>	Papiers du service de l'Instruction publique: élèves du Gouvernement nommés dans les lycées des départements. Consulat et Empire.
	7395 Angers.
	7401 Caen.
	7421 Poitiers.

	7424	Rennes.
<u>F 17 7447, 7448</u>		Bourses de l'Etat dans les collèges royaux: dossiers classés par établissements. 1818-1845.
<u>F 17 7451 to 7470</u>		Bourses départementales et communales dans les lycées et collèges royaux. 1810-1878.
<u>F 17 7504 to 7527</u>		Affaires générales et collectives des lycées et collèges royaux. An XI-1892.
<u>F 17 7532, 7533</u>		Collèges royaux et lycées: règlements d'études et régime intérieur. An VIII-1868.
<u>F 17 7593 to 7598</u>		Population scolaire des lycées et collèges royaux. 1808-1890.
<u>F 17 7601 to 8100</u>		Lycées et collèges royaux: personnel et affaires diverses, dossiers classés par établissements. XIX siècle.
	7687	Angers.
	7688	Besançon.
	7740	Bourges.
	7751	Caen.
	7779	Clermont-Ferrand.
	7792	Dijon.
	7799	Douai.
	7812	Grenoble
	7839	Lyon.
	7855	Marseille.
	7877	Montpellier.
	7903	Nantes.
	7916	Nîmes.
	7929	Orléans.
	7938	Pau.

7950 Poitiers.
 7959 Pontivy.
 7981 Rennes.
 8009 Rouen.
 8034 Strasbourg.
 8047 Toulouse.

F 17 8101 to 8185

Collèges communaux; affaires générales.
 An VIII-1879.

F 17 8201 to 8700

Collèges communaux: personnel et affaires diverses: dossiers classés par établissements, XIX siècle. (The material for the thesis came in large part from this series of liasses and I have chosen to cite the more important boxes. The correspondence of the principals with the recteurs and that of the recteurs with Paris is contained in this series).

8201 Abbeville.
 8207 Aix.
 8211 Alençon.
 8217. Angoulême.
 8222 Argles.
 8247 Auxerre.
 8250 Baugé.
 8257 Beaufort.
 8260 Beaune.
 8265 Bergerac.
 8274 Blois.
 8294 Cambrai.
 8295 Carcassonne.
 8306 Chalonne.
 8316 Chateau-du-Loir.

- 8318 Château-Gontier.
 8321 Château-Thierry.
 8326 Chatellerault.
 8328 Chinon.
 8330 Civray.
 8359 Dinan.
 8364 Doué.
 8365 Draguignon.
 8373. Ernée.
 8380 Evreux.
 8388 Fontenay-le-Comte.
 8420 Lassay.
 8421 Laval.
 8429 Lille.
 8449 Mamers.
 8451 Le Mans.
 8459 Mayenne.
 8473 Montauban.
 8476 Mont-de-Marsan.
 8481 Montulugon.
 8496 Nevers.
 8497 Niort.
 8513 Périgueux.
 8534 Quimper.
 8543 Rochefort.
 8553 Sablé.
 8560 Saint-Brieuc.

8569 Saintes.

8603 Saumur.

8615 Sillé-le-Guillaume.

8620 Suze (La).

8627 Thouars.

8648 Vannes.

F 17 8815 to 8824

Petits séminaires et écoles ecclésiastiques: dossiers classés par académies. 1809-1849.

8816 Alger to Angers.

F 17 8826 to 8827

Petits séminaires et écoles ecclésiastiques: statistique et réglementation. 1809-1931.

F 17 8828

Petits séminaires et écoles ecclésiastiques: exécution des ordonnances de 1828.

F 17 8831

Collèges mixtes formés par la réunion d'un collège communal et d'une école ecclésiastique et réglementé par l'arrêté de la Commission d'instruction publique du 17 octobre 1815. 1822-1831.

F 17 8833 to 8861

Enseignement et pensions: autorisations antérieures au renouvellement des diplômes en 1825: dossiers classés par académies.

8864 Angers, Besançon.

F 17 9895 to 9083

Institutions et pensions. Dossiers des établissements. XIX siècle.

F 17 9096 to 9108

Mélanges.

F 17 10142 to 10341

Ecoles primaires: personnel et affaires diverses. 1807-1864.

10148, 10149 Angers.

F 17 10368 to 10394

Statistique générale et états de situation des écoles primaires: documents classés par années; de 1808 à 1835, et dans chaque année par académies; sont représentées par plusieurs articles less années ci-apres.

- 10372 Année 1817. Aix to Clermont.
- 10377 Année 1819. Angers to Lyon.
- 10381 Année 1821. Aix to Douai.
- 10387 Année 1829. Aix to Cahors.
- F 17 11752 to 11780 Enseignement mutuel. 1815-1824.
Affaires générales et dossiers classés
par académies.
11757. Angers.
- F 17 12998 Papiers du secrétariat générale de l'
Université. 1808-1809.
- F 17 12999 Secrétariat du Conseil supérieur: note
diverses. 1808-1904.
- F 17 13001 Extraits du délibérations. 1808-1809.
- 27-1-1 1811-1812 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-2 1812-1813 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-3 1813-1814 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-4 1814-1815 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-5 1815-1816 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-6 1816-1817 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-7 1817-1818 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-8 1818-1819 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-9 1819-1820 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-10 1820-1821 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-11 1821-1822 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-12 1822-1823 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-13 1823-1824 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-14 1824-1825 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-15 1825-1826 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-16 1826-1827 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-17 1827-1828 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-18 1828-1829 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-19 1829-1830 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-20 1830-1831 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-21 1831-1832 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-22 1832-1833 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-23 1833-1834 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-24 1834-1835 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-25 1835-1836 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-26 1836-1837 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-27 1837-1838 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-28 1838-1839 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-29 1839-1840 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-30 1840-1841 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-31 1841-1842 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-32 1842-1843 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-33 1843-1844 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-34 1844-1845 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-35 1845-1846 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-36 1846-1847 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-37 1847-1848 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-38 1848-1849 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-39 1849-1850 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-40 1850-1851 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-41 1851-1852 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-42 1852-1853 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-43 1853-1854 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-44 1854-1855 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-45 1855-1856 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-46 1856-1857 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-47 1857-1858 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-48 1858-1859 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-49 1859-1860 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-50 1860-1861 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-51 1861-1862 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-52 1862-1863 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-53 1863-1864 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-54 1864-1865 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-55 1865-1866 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-56 1866-1867 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-57 1867-1868 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-58 1868-1869 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-59 1869-1870 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-60 1870-1871 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-61 1871-1872 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-62 1872-1873 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-63 1873-1874 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-64 1874-1875 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-65 1875-1876 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-66 1876-1877 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-67 1877-1878 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-68 1878-1879 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-69 1879-1880 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-70 1880-1881 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-71 1881-1882 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-72 1882-1883 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-73 1883-1884 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-74 1884-1885 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-75 1885-1886 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-76 1886-1887 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-77 1887-1888 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-78 1888-1889 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-79 1889-1890 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-80 1890-1891 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-81 1891-1892 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-82 1892-1893 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-83 1893-1894 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-84 1894-1895 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-85 1895-1896 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-86 1896-1897 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-87 1897-1898 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-88 1898-1899 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-89 1899-1900 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-90 1900-1901 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-91 1901-1902 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-92 1902-1903 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-93 1903-1904 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-94 1904-1905 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-95 1905-1906 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-96 1906-1907 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-97 1907-1908 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-98 1908-1909 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-99 1909-1910 Correspondances avec le Ministre.
- 27-1-100 1910-1911 Correspondances avec le Ministre.

DEPARTMENTAL ARCHIVES OF THE MAINE-ET-LOIRE

CATALOGUE OF THE T SERIES

PUBLIC EDUCATION

(Donated by the Prefecture in 1945)

GENERALITIES

1-T-1	1812-1838	Local
1-T-2	1810-1840	Nominations de recteurs; correspondance relative au personnel, traitements, etc.
1-T-3	1810-1835	Propositions budgétaires
1-T-4	1831-1852	Conseil académique. Nominations des membres. Fonctionnement.

HIGHER EDUCATION

3-T Ecole de Médecine d'Angers

3-T-1	An XI-1806	Correspondance
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4-T Enseignement du Droit

4-T-1	An XI-1818	Correspondance. - Demande de rétablissement de l'ancienne Faculté. Cours privés de droit.
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SECONDARY EDUCATION

25-T Généralités

25-T-1	1811-1882	Budgets et comptes.
25-T-11	1823-1838	Retraites et pensions.
27-T-1	An VIII-1806	Etablissement du Lycée.
27-T	Lycée de Garçons d'Angers	
27-T-2	An X-1850	Circulaires et instructions.
27-T-1	An VIII-1806	Etablissement du Lycée.
27-T-5	1806-1844	Correspondance avec le ministère.
27-T-2	An X-1850	Circulaires et instructions.
27-T-8	1812-1849	Correspondance avec le Recteur.

27-T-5	1806-1844	Correspondance avec le ministère.
27-T-8	1812-1848	Correspondance avec le Recteur.
27-T-10	An XIII-1820	Correspondance du Proviseur avec le Préfet.
27-T-13	An XII-1862	Correspondance diverse.
27-T-16	1806-1848	Conseil d'administration.
27-T-19	An XI-1894	Personnel.
27-T-26	An XI-1825	Recettes et dépenses.
27-T-27	1810-1837	Budgets.
27-T-29	1807-1848	Batiments.
27-T-34	1805-1842	Prospectus.
27-T-46	1810-1819	Bourses.

28-T Collège de Baugé

28-T-1	An IX-1812	Fondation. Correspondance.
28-T-2	1807-1833	Correspondance avec le ministère.
28-T-3	1812-1840	Correspondance avec le Recteur d'Académie.
28-T-4	1805-1839	Correspondance avec les mairies et le bureau d'administration du collège.
28-T-5	1808	Correspondance diverse.
28-T-7	1807-1840	Personnel.
28-T-8	1815	Prestation de serment des fonctionnaires du college.
28-T-11	An X-1830	Prospectus.
28-T-14	1811-1853	Comptes.

29-T Collège de Beaufort

29-T-1	An VIII-1808	Fondation du collège.
29-T-2	1807-1913	Rapports avec la municipalité.
29-T-13	1810-1831	Comptes et budgets.
29-T-20	1811-1832	Comptes et budgets.

29-T-5	1810-1913	Correspondance avec le ministère de l'Instruction publique.
29-T-8	1809-1909	Correspondance avec le Recteur d'Académie.
29-T-11	1810-1893	Personnel.
29-T-15	1810-1832	Statistique des élèves.
29-T-19	1808-1830	Programme des exercices; prospectus.
29-T-26		Comptes; budgets.

30-T Collège de Chalonnès.

30-T-1	1809-1818	Correspondance avec le ministre de l'Instruction publique.
30-T-2	1811-1813	Correspondance avec le Recteur d'Académie.
30-T-3	1810-1818	Rapports avec la municipalité.
30-T-4	1810-1817	Personnel.
30-T-5	1810-1818	Etats de situation des élèves.
30-T-6	1811-1829	Budgets et comptes. 111
30-T-7	1811-1812	Indemnité accordée au principal du collège.
30-T-9	1818	Conversion du collège en école primaire.

31-T Collège de Cholet.

31-T-1	1812-1833	Fondation et transformation.
31-T-2	1810-1900	Correspondance générale.
31-T-5	1815-1826	Commission de surveillance; nominations.
31-T-8	1810-1898	Personnel.
31-T-11	1815	Personnel: serment à la monarchie.
31-T-12	1830	Personnel: affaire Planet.
31-T-13	1811-1839	Programme des cours.
31-T-15	1810-1831	Etat des élèves.
31-T-20	1811-1832	Comptes et budgets.

33-T Collège de Doue

33-T-1	1806-1810	Fondation du collège.
33-T-2	1810-1844	Correspondance avec le ministère de l'Instruction publique.
33-T-3	1810-1848	Correspondance avec le Recteur d'Académie.
33-T-4	1810-1844	Correspondance diverse.
33-T-6	1810-1848	Personnel.
33-T-8	1811-1852	Comptabilité.
33-T-9	1810-1839	Etats de présence des élèves.
33-T-11	1805-1843	Rapports avec la municipalité et le bureau d'administration du collège.
33-T-15	1822-1847	Prospectus.

34-T Collège de Saumur

34-T-1	An IX-1850	Correspondance. Rapports avec les municipalités.
34-T-7	1809-1820	Budgets et comptes.
34-T-10	An XII-1902	Batiments.
34-T-14	An XII-1896	Personnel.
34-T-23	An IX-XIII	Prospectus.

PRIVATE SECONDARY EDUCATION36-T Garçons

36-T-1	1810	Tableau des maisons d'instructions.
36-T-2	1825-1829	Tableau des maisons d'instructions.
36-T-7	1830	Ecole clandestine de latinité de Saumur.
36-T-11	An X-1847	Dossiers individuels de chefs de pension.

ECCLESIASTICAL SECONDARY EDUCATION40-T Généralités

40-T-1 1812-1838 Circulaires et instructions.
 40-T-5 1811-1838 Correspondance.
 40-T-8 1820-1828 Statistiques.

42-T Dossiers d'Etablissements

42-T-1 1810-1812 Angers: établissements divers.
 43-T-1 An X-1860 Angers: Saint-Julien.
 44-T-1 An X-1902 Beaupreau: Petit Séminaire.
 45-T-1 1811-1841 Combrée.

PRIMARY EDUCATION50-T Circulaires et Instructions

50-T-1 An VII-1835 Circulaires et instructions.
 Correspondance.

52-T Etats de Situation Adressés aux Préfets.

52-T-1-16 1807 Arrondissements d'Angers, Baugé, Saumur, Beaupreau.

509-T-11 1813-1817 Maîtres d'école et surveillants.

509-T-13 1813-1817 Personnel administratif.

509-T-14 1813-1817 Archives.

509-T-20 1813-1817 Bureau d'administration.

509-T-21 1811-1839 Rapports.

509-T-22 1813-1815 Règles, discipline.

511-T Collège de Beaupreau

511-T-3 1810-1813 Rapports annuels.

SECOND PART

(FROM THE ACADEMY OF RENNES: 1939)

GENERALITIES391-T Administration des Bureaux

391-T-1	1800-1830	Circulaires et instructions.
391-T-6	1822-1829	Correspondance générale.
391-T-7	1822-1829	Correspondance générale.
391-T-13	1810-1813	Copie-lettres (enregistrements).
391-T-14	1810-1816	Registre des actes du Recteur.
391-T-18	1815	Note sur l'ancienne Université d'Angers.
391-T-30	1818-1827	Dossiers du personnel enseignant.

SECONDARY EDUCATION409-T Collège, puis Lycée d'Angers

409-T-1	1809-1871	Registre du personnel.
409-T-2	1809-1831	Personnel de direction et personnel enseignant.
409-T-11	1813-1887	Maîtres d'étude et surveillants.
409-T-13	1815-1907	Personnel administratif.
409-T-15	1810-1871	Aumôniers.
409-T-20	1810-1824	Bureau d'administration.
409-T-21	1811-1839	Rapports.
409-T-31	1814-1918	Elèves, disciplines.

411-T Collège de Beaufort

411-T-5	1810-1889	Rapports annuels.
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412-T Collège de Chalonnès

412-T-1 1810-1818 Renseignements et rapports d'Inspection.

413-T Collège de Cholet

413-T-6 1810-1910 Rapports.

416-T Collège de Saumur

416-T-1 1816-1919 Correspondance générale; affaires diverses.

416-T-3 1810-1914 Bureau d'administration du collège.

416-T-5 1810-1840 Rapports.

416-T-11 1809-1910 Relations avec la municipalité.

416-T-15 1810-1826 Personnel.

416-T-16 1827-1836 Personnel.

416-T-21 1810-1919 Elèves.

416-T-23 1809-1919 Enseignement.

416-T-25-28 1809-1870 Correspondance du Collège de Saumur, délibérations du bureau administratif, rapports de l'Inspection.

416-T-29 1809-1837 Correspondance du Collège de Saint-Colaise.

416-T-33-35 1809-1820 Correspondance du Collège de Saint-Le-Guilhaume, arrêtés des maires.

416-T-47-1 1791-48 KI Documents du collège révolutionnaire du Mans et de l'École Centrale.

416-T-1 An XIII-1893 L'enseignement privé au Mans.

416-T-2 1810-1831 L'Inspection de l'enseignement privé.

III. ARCHIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MAYENNE

1-T-1 An VIII-18 THE T SERIES

(PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION)

1-T-2 An XI-1829

1-T-3 1809-1832

I. L'Enseignement secondaire public

Dossiers communaux

1-T-11 An IX-1819

2-T-1 1809-1831 Collège de Château-Gontier: correspondance diverse.

1-T-12 1816-1824

2-T-2 1810-1832 Collège de Château-Gontier: comptes de et budgets.

1-T-13 1825-1833

3-T-5 1821-1832 Collège de d'Ernée: correspondance générale.

1-T-43 1820

3-T-6 1820-1832 Collège d'Ernée: rapports des principaux.

3-T-75-61 1810-1832 Collège d'Evron: correspondance generale.

3-T-8 1820-1829 Collège de Lassay: rapports et correspondance.

3-T-9 1821-1825 Collège de Lassey: état du personnel enseignement.

3-T-13 1809-1821 Collège de Mayenne: correspondance générale.

3-T-14 1821-1825 Collège de Mayenne: comptes et bodgets.

3-T-15 1826-1832 Collège de Mayenne: rapports et correspondance.

II. L'Enseignement primaire public

2-T-21 1811-1829 Rapports des inspecteurs primaires.

2-T-23 1816-1819 Comités cantonaux: affaires diverses.

2-T-25 1816-1822 Comités cantonaux: arrondissement de Château-Gontier.

III. Prefecture

1-T-1	An VIII-1816	Circulaires et instructions antérieures à 1833.
1-T-2	An XI-1828	Correspondance générale.
1-T-3	1805-1806	Etats des écoles secondaires dans la Mayenne.
1-T-4	1807-1813	Etats des écoles secondaires.
1-T-11	An IX-1815	Collège de Château-Gontier: correspondance.
1-T-12	1816-1824	College de Château-Gontier: rapports.
1-T-13	1825-1833	Projets de transformation du collège en petit séminaire.
1-T-43	1820	Enquête sur les écoles clandestines.
1-T-44	1811	Rapport de l'inspection d'academie sur les pensions.
1-T-45-61	1810-1822	Rapports sur les écoles de l'enseignement secondaire.
	1810-1831	Collège de Lillo.
	1811-1849	Collège de Saint-Amand.
	1810-1901	Collège de Tourcoing.
	1811-1900	Collège de Valenciennes.

ARCHIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NORDTHE T SERIES

(PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION)

Fonds du Rectorat

60 - 70	1810-1898	Conseil académique: rapports.
255	1821-1842	Aggrégation. Concours.
260 - 254	1823-1801	Lycées et collèges: correspondance générale.
344	1811-1845	Bureau d'administration.
349	1811-1829	Renseignements sur le personnel.
403	1812-1813	Rapports d'inspection en execution du 15 novembre 1811.
572	1810-1838	Collège de Cambrai.
714	1810-1831	Collège de Lille.
769	1811-1849	Collège de Saint-Amand.
845	1810-1901	Collège de Tourcoing.
865	1811-1900	Collège de Valenciennes.

THE DEPARTMENTAL ARCHIVES OF THE CHER

THE T SERIES

(PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION)

provided previous material. That of the Archives contains the correspondence of a principal of the College of Vannes.

Papiers Raynal

2-F-3-8 The Papiers Raynal. (The Raynal family donated the papers of the first recteur of Bourges to the departmental archives in 1948. Most of the material pertains to Raynal's administration during the 1830s, but there are ten important letters addressed to the inspector-general Joubert dated 1809-1810. The descendants of Joubert returned them after his death.)

recteur, and prefect. For the Loiret-Cher, there are a large

The T Series

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|---------|-----------|--|
| 1-T-44 | 1810-1845 | Lycée de Bourges. |
| 1-T-61 | 1817-1855 | Lettres du Recteur. |
| 1-T-109 | 1810-1854 | Correspondance au recteur de Ministre de l'Instruction publique, du Proviseur. |
| 1-T-141 | 1809-1854 | Collège de Saint-Amand. |
| 1-T-144 | 1809-1854 | Collège de Sancerre. |

OTHER DEPARTMENTAL ARCHIVES

FONDS SUITE

The archives of departments in the West of France provided precious material. That of the Morbihan contained the correspondence of a principal of the College of Vannes with the recteur of the Academy of Rennes from 1816 until 1824. The documents for the schools of the department are also of interest. In the Ille-et-Vilaine, one finds the registers for the correspondence of the recteur. The archives of the Seine-Atlantique contain correspondence between proviseur, recteur, and prefect. For the Loir-et-Cher, there are a large number of liasses but the material offers little. Outside the West, I found excellent documents in the archives of the Department of the Nord and in the municipal library of Douai. The latter contains the correspondence of the first recteur of Douai.

271

Mémoires relatives aux Facultés.

1. Ecoles étrangères.

2. Lettre au ministre sur le projet d'ordonnance sur la discipline dans les Facultés.

11. Réponses sur les rapports des Facultés de droit et de médecine avec l'Université impériale.

273

Personnel.

1. Affaire Canale. 1829.

2. Affaire de Miranget. 1832.

276-277

Carnet de notes prises par Canale lors des conférences données relatives à l'organisation de l'Université en 1829 et en 1830.

279

Documents relatifs à l'organisation facultaire pendant le Consulat.

BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'INSTITUT

220

Pièces détachées.

FONDS CUVIER

1. Rapport de Cuvier sur les universités impériales, 1803.

2. Notes sur les universités de France, 1803.

267-269

Carnets de notes sur le personnel de l'enseignement en France.

270

Travaux de Cuvier sur l'Université

1. Dispositions législatives (1812?)

2. Lettre sur le régime à établir dans l'Université.

3. Fragment sur l'Université. 1815. collationné.

4. Perfectionnement de l'Université. 1818.

5. Notes remises à Guizot. 1820.

6. Notice sur l'Université. 1820.

7. Instructions générales pour les inspecteurs-généraux.

8. Instructions au recteur de l'Académie de Grenoble, Mourre, 1822.

271

Mémoires relatives aux Facultés.

1. Ecoles étrangères.

2. Lettre au ministre sur un projet d'ordonnance sur la discipline dans les facultés.

11. Mémoires sur les rapports des facultés de droit et de médecine avec l'Université impériale.

273

Personnel.

1. Affaire Cousin. 1820

2. Affaire de Béranger. 1820.

276-277

Carnet de notes prises par Cuvier lors des premiers travaux relatifs à l'organisation de l'université en l'an X et en l'an XI.

279

Documents relatifs à l'Instruction publique pendant le Consulat.

280 Pièces variées.

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2. Notes sur les bourses de Paris. 1818.
3. Note sur les étudiants non-catholique des collèges. 1820.

285.. Documents concernant le clergé.

1. Lettre à l'évêque de Poitiers. 1820.
2. Abus des petits séminaires. 1820.
3. Projet d'ordonnance sur l'instruction religieuse. 1820.
4. Lettre sur l'instruction religieuse. 1820.

286 Projets de lois.

1. Projets de loi sur l'Instruction publique.

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