

A Spiritual Crucible: The Life of Mlle de Lamourous During the French Revolution

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Abstract: In 1789, a series of events began to unfold which, over the course of 10 years, would deconstruct the feudal kingdom of France. At the same time, the Revolutionary government passed a series laws which increasingly proscribed the Catholic church and its priests and bishops. In Bordeaux, a lay woman, Marie Thérèse Charlotte de Lamourous, courageously worked with the Catholic underground to sustain the faithful and continue the work of the Church. When she was forced to move out of Bordeaux into the countryside, she continued to serve the Church there by teaching catechism to peasants and children, arranging clandestine sacraments, and serving as a spiritual leader to the local population. This paper traces the remarkable life of Marie Thérèse through the Revolutionary years.

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The Significance of a Historical Account of the Life of Marie Thérèse

To console the friends of this generous woman [Thérèse] who grieve her loss, to hold fast the memories of the miracles of God, which slide irrevocably into oblivion day by day, to edify the faithful who wish to know of the fruits of holiness which this epoch produced, it was necessary to collect with care the circumstances of a life so precious in the eyes of God, so beautiful in the eyes of men and women, and to recount said circumstances with a simplicity concordant with the actions themselves, without, as it were, the need for a vain ruckus of words.¹

These words, written in 1844 by Firmin Pouget, SJ, glide effortlessly through the decades and speak to the modern student of the life of Marie Thérèse Charlotte de Lamourous with as much force and fervor as they must have to the early readers of his seminal work. The loss of Thérèse, called the Saint of Bordeaux, was deeply felt by the entire city, as is amply attested to by the surviving accounts of her funeral.

For Marianists, lay and religious, the life of Thérèse holds special significance. She was one of Father Chaminade's first disciples; she experienced the beautiful mysteries of the spiritual life under his guidance.² She was a unique collaborator of Father Chaminade upon his return from exile in Spain.³ Just before his return from exile, Father Chaminade had written to her, "There is question now of starting for good and of doing something for the glory of Jesus, our good Master. Think it over for yourself; I will do the same."⁴ The astute student of the life of Father Chaminade cannot help but notice the significant role he intended for Thérèse in his work.⁵

The great focus of most works on Thérèse has been her founding and sustaining of the Miséricorde. This apostolate certainly took up much of her life, and would be her legacy for many decades after her death. However, before she founded the Miséricorde, Thérèse was an active member of the Catholic underground in Bordeaux during the Revolution. Her truly heroic actions saved the lives of many proscribed priests, provided inspiration to other members of the faithful, and allowed a fervent remnant of the Church to thrive under the noses of Revolutionary officials. Her efforts on behalf of the Church made her a target of the Revolutionary government, and even got her arrested. She courageously carried out her clandestine ministry at the risk of her own life.

¹ Firmin Pouget, SJ, *Vie de Mademoiselle de Lamourous, Dite la Bonne Mère, Fondatrice et Première Supérieure de la Maison de la Miséricorde de Bordeaux* (Lyon and Paris: Librairie Catholique de Perisse Frères, 1844), *Préface*.

² Just before leaving Bordeaux to go into exile in Spain, Father Chaminade wrote to Marie Thérèse, "In any case, my dear Daughter, may nothing cause you to turn away from the advice which your spiritual father has just given you and which he explained to you on various occasions. I have complete confidence that with the help of God, in whose presence I have written this letter, I have included in it only what would be agreeable to Him and useful to you. I promise to remember you expressly in my prayers. I shall not cease to consider myself your spiritual father who ought to be the more concerned about you, the farther he sees himself removed from his children at the very time when they need his presence most." Chaminade, Letters, no. 10 to de Lamourous, September 15, 1797; vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 50.

³ See Vincent Vasey, SM, *Chaminade: Another Portrait* (Dayton: MRC, 1987), p. 139.

⁴ Chaminade, Letters, no. 22 to de Lamourous, August 26, 1800; vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 60.

⁵ See Joseph Simler, SM, *William Joseph Chaminade: Founder of the Marianists* (Dayton: MRC, 1986), pp. 61-65, 99-100, 117, 226, and 339. See also Vasey, *Chaminade*, p. 82.

Her story is our story; unfortunately, for Anglophones, it has remained hidden far too long. The courage, wisdom, prudence, kindness, and generosity of Thérèse are threads woven in the fabric of Marianist life that stretch back to our very foundation. Whether directing the young women's Sodality, assisting Chaminade in his business deals, or managing the Miséricorde, Thérèse acted always out of a deep spiritual font fed by her profound love for God.

Darkness Descends

The French Revolution while appealing to the very best parts of human nature (liberty, equality, and fraternity), manifested the very worst parts of that same nature in the torrent of violence that marked these bloody years. Perceived enemies from within and actual enemies from without kept tensions high as the country was gripped by anxiety for the future. Nor was this period without opportunists, who saw in the Revolution a chance to increase their own power and wealth.

The Catholic Church and the French monarchy had been so closely wedded in the *ancien régime* that the Church fell under the immediate suspicion of the Revolutionary powers. It was difficult not to notice that the sum total of Church holdings in France was roughly equal to the large national debt France carried at this time (a debt which precipitated the convoking of the Estates General by Louis XVI, which in its turn led to the Revolution, and a debt which had been incurred on account of the vital assistance the French gave to the American colonies during their Revolutionary War against England). So it was no great surprise when the Revolutionary government claimed the right to use the goods of the Church as it saw fit (November 2, 1789), or when it voted to sell a portion of those goods on December 19.

But a proverbial line in the sand was drawn on July 12, 1790, when the National Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. This law restructured the Church of France geographically and represented the definitive subordination of the Church to the State.⁶ It also provided for the election of bishops and pastors by the laity.⁷ In so doing, it created a schism. As Simon Schama wrote, "The Civil Constitution was not simply another piece of institutional legislation. It was the beginning of a holy war."⁸

The law was promulgated on August 24, and on October 30 the bishop-deputies published *L'exposition des principes sur la constitution* (An Exposition of Principles Concerning the Constitution), which pointed out the parts of the law that were unacceptable. On November 27, a decree was issued which required all bishops, former bishops, pastors, and other ecclesiastical functionaries to swear an oath of allegiance to the Nation and its laws (including the Civil Constitution of the Clergy). Priests who tried to continue to exercise their functions without swearing the oath were to be prosecuted as "disturbers of public tranquility." Louis XVI sanctioned this decree with a heavy heart on December 26. Those who swore the oath were called jurors (or juring priests), and those who refused were called non-jurors (or non-juring priests).

⁶ For a more detailed description of the geographical implications of this restructuring, see Appendix II.

⁷ For an analysis of this aspect of the decree, see Malcolm Crook, "Citizen Bishops: Episcopal Elections in the French Revolution", *The Historical Journal*, vol. 43, no. 4 (Dec. 2000), pp. 955-76.

⁸ Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 491.

Thérèse's position with regard to the oath is summed up well by Stefanelli:

Despite the confusion and uncertainty even among clerics relative to the implications of the Civil Constitution, Marie Thérèse early on took her position: the jurors [those swearing the oath] were "schismatics"; they were servants of the state and public functionaries rather than pastors authorized by the Holy See, and she would not attend their services or share in their liturgies.⁹

Pope Pius VI condemned the Civil Constitution on March 10, 1791, and on April 13 forbade the faithful to receive sacraments from the schismatic priests. It was not until May 4 that the faithful of France became aware of the Pope's position. All of this forced the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Champion de Cicé, into exile in London. Pierre Pacareau (a juror) was installed as Archbishop of Bordeaux under the Civil Constitution. The intrusion of a juring bishop created unease in Bordeaux, and many of the faithful refused to receive sacraments from the juring priests. In 1791, non-juring priests were also forbidden from using the few oratories which had been left open to them.

In 1792, the Girondists became the most powerful party in Paris in the National Assembly and declared war on Austria.¹⁰ France suffered heavy losses in its offences against the Austrians. The uncertainties of the time are expressed well by Rosalie Le Tellier (living in Bordeaux) in a letter to her brother, written on May 26:

I do not know how calm things are where you are. For us, matters are constantly in flux. Non-juring priests especially are being bothered. They have all assumed disguises; all are in secular garb. A few days go, five or six were put in prison for having said Mass in homes. They hear Confessions and bring the good God secretly. So far none has been punished, but that will certainly come soon.¹¹

In fact, the very next day (May 27), the National Assembly passed a decree sentencing to deportation any priest denounced by 20 citizens of his department. With the country in a state of panic and desperation, non-juring priests became the scapegoats for the losing war efforts. Violence gripped the country, and on July 15, 1792, it came to Bordeaux. A roving band of drunkards found Fathers Louis Dupuy, Simon Pannetier, and Jean Simon Langoiran (vicar general of the Archdiocese of Bordeaux and outspoken opponent of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy) in the suburb of Caudéran. Seizing them, the drunkards took them back to the city and taking them before the local magistrate attempted to charge them. Although no charge could be made against them, they were imprisoned, and taken to the former residence of the archbishop. A mob had followed the escort from the prison to the archbishop's residence; at that same moment, a messenger arrived from Paris carrying the news that the Assembly had declared a national state of emergency on account of the losses suffered in the war against Austria. Upon hearing this, two men drew swords and murdered Fathers Dupuy and Langoiran. Father Langoiran was still alive when someone from the mob began to cut his head from his body; it was placed on a pike and

⁹ Joseph Stefanelli, SM, *Mlle de Lamourous* (Dayton: NACMS, 1998), p. 52.

¹⁰ The official declaration came on April 20, 1792.

¹¹ *Revue philomathique*, Apr.-Jun. 1920, Bordeaux, quoted in Verrier, *Jalons* (Dayton: NACMS, 2001), vol. 1, p. 156.

paraded through the streets of Bordeaux. Both priests, Dupuy and Langoiran, were friends of Thérèse, and it can be easily imagined how deeply their violent deaths affected her.

Thus began a period of intense persecution of the Church throughout France. Not only were the lives of non-juring priests at stake, but anyone hiding or even associating with non-jurors would be arrested and in some cases guillotined. It was a dark time when citizens lived in fear of their lives, while reckless violence swept the nation. The radicals knew only excess as the streets ran red with the blood of moderates and the innocent. Thérèse was known to say as she passed the place where the guillotine in Bordeaux had stood, “Let us raise our hearts to God, for it is here that the blood of martyrs ran so copiously.”

Courageously Carrying the Torch of Faith

Father Bouet, a young cleric during the revolution, later wrote:

I take the liberty of naming here some of those highly-motivated and generous women who, like the holy women of Jerusalem, whole-heartedly followed the bloody trail to Calvary in the person of the ministers of Jesus Christ. They were...Mlle de Lamourous, who died as superior of the Miséricorde, whose name is so highly praised and whose life, so full of good and holy deeds, inspires and edifies.... All these women distinguished themselves during the revolutionary violence, both by receiving priests into their homes and by holding secret meetings there of faithful Christians.¹²

It was in the Fall of 1792 that Father Noël Lacroix, Thérèse’s spiritual director, went into exile in Portugal. Although without a spiritual director, her work as a member of the Catholic underground kept her in constant contact with many remarkable priests, who gave her competent spiritual guidance. It was also at this time that Father Boyer was named vicar general of the Archdiocese of Bordeaux following the death of Father Langoiran. Boyer and Thérèse worked closely together in the underground during the Revolution, and would remain friends until his death in 1819.

Father Boyer organized an association in honor of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph to pray for the conversion of sinners.¹³ This group also formed the elite branch of the Catholic underground, who risked their lives every day organizing secret Masses, Baptisms, Marriages, and Confessions. It was at this time also that Thérèse first offered herself to God as a victim for the sins of the country.¹⁴

The year of 1793 saw the execution of Louis XVI on January 21, and the Girondists’ loss of power to the Mountain Party. Power in the National Convention (which succeeded the National

¹² Joseph Bouet, notebook 1, pp. 30-31, quoted in Verrier, *Jalons*, vol. 3, pp. 273-74.

¹³ “Among the members of the association of the Sacred Hearts, Marie Thérèse held a high place.” Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, p. 61.

¹⁴ The exact text of the offering was: “Receive now, O my God, the offering which I make to you of myself and of whatever I possess. I offer myself to you as a victim; do with me whatever you wish, and use according to your own will whatever I might merit through your grace. I hold back nothing for myself; I seek only your greater glory; and I accept for myself whatever it shall please you to give me.” Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, p. 61. Cf. Verrier, *Jalons*, vol. 1, pp. 226-28. Also cf. Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, pp. 459-460.

Assembly on September 21, 1792) didn't change overnight, but the poor management of the war by the Girondists combined with discontent throughout France about economic conditions set the stage for the political losses the Girondists would suffer.¹⁵

With the rise to power of the Mountain Party, a period of intense violence ensued. Punishment was particularly fierce against those cities which resisted. In the department of Vendée, for example, approximately 90,000 citizens fled for the coast in an attempt to escape to England; only 4,000 survived. Some 8,000 citizens in the region were forcibly drowned to save gunpowder. The city of Bordeaux surrendered to republican forces on October 17, 1793, and on October 23 the first head rolled from the guillotine. Jean Baptiste Lacombe was elected president of the "military commission", which oversaw the "trials" of those accused of opposing the Revolution.¹⁶

In the nine months and nine days Lacombe presided over the "military commission", 302 of the 878 persons brought before the commission were guillotined (roughly one-third). Of those 302 guillotined, 92¹⁷ were members of the faithful. Although it is impossible to know exactly how many executions Thérèse witnessed, we know that she saw the carnage of the Place de la Nation (now Place Gambetta), and she surely knew some of the 92 members of the faithful who were executed. She herself knew that if she were ever caught by the commission, that her own fate would be the guillotine; her heroic actions during the revolution are even more ennobled by the fact that she performed them in the shadow of the guillotine that could very easily have been the instrument of her death. We also know that she saw Lacombe, for later, when asked if he had seemed mean, Thérèse responded with pity, "He always seemed unhappy."

A few specific stories from this time of her life are known to us. They demonstrate her courage, faith, and cleverness.

Once, Thérèse became aware of a devout Catholic woman who was very sick, and whose husband was a radical revolutionary. He would not allow a priest to give her the sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick. Thérèse found a priest, and disguising him as a doctor, came in the middle of the night to the house of the devote woman. When the husband answered the door, she told him that she had heard his wife was very sick, and had brought a well known doctor to see her. After he let them into her bedroom, Thérèse got the husband out of the room and distracted him

¹⁵ The establishment of the Committee of Public Safety on April 5-6, 1793, signaled a rise in the power of the Mountain Party. The nine-person committee had pseudo-dictatorial powers, and to those who were troubled by this, Marat replied, "It is by means of violence that liberty must be established, and the moment has come for organizing instantaneously the despotism of liberty in order to crush the despotism of kings." Albert Soboul, *The French Revolution 1787-1799* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), p. 305.

¹⁶ Two passages give some idea of how these tribunals operated: "...they [the Commune] had demanded, and had got from the Legislative, extensive police powers to detain, interrogate and incarcerate suspects without anything resembling due process of law." (Schama, *Citizens*, p. 624); Tribunals were "to condemn to death those rebels taken prisoner with arms on their person; they did so summarily once the identity of the accused had been established. In Nantes, the representative on mission, Carrier, allowed executions to be carried out without trial by drowning the victims in the Loire; in this way some two to three thousand people died in the months of December and January alone, mostly refractory priests, suspects and brigands, as well as those condemned for common-law offences." (Soboul, *French Revolution*, p. 342)

¹⁷ 20 priests, 17 nuns, and 55 lay persons (25 of those 55 were murdered solely for their loyalty to the Church); Roger Guitraud, *Mademoiselle de Lamourous et la Miséricorde* (Libourne: Typed Version, 1964), p. 108.

long enough for the priest to administer the sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick to the woman. Leaving behind a placebo, the priest gave the husband instructions to administer the “medicine” to his wife twice a day; leaving hastily, Thérèse urged the husband not to forget the medicine. The woman died shortly thereafter having received the consolations of religion.

At one point during the Revolution, Thérèse began sneaking into the offices of the Committee of Surveillance. She would pretend to empty wastebaskets and clean desks so that she could read the lists of people the police were going to be arresting. Then she would warn them to go into hiding or to leave town before they could be caught. It is impossible to know how many innocent and holy lives she saved acting as a spy for the underground. Had she been caught, she surely would have been guillotined. Playing up her role, she often chatted with the secretaries to make them less suspicious.

One day in the offices of the committee, a few of the men were bragging about how many anti-revolutionaries they had executed that day. Thérèse, being overcome with grief at the loss of her friends, began to cry. One of the men noticed her crying and said, “Citizen, why do you bother yourself with crying? They are only worthless rascals!” Without skipping a beat she simply replied, “You men are made of tougher stuff than we women.”

She herself was arrested one day and brought before a municipal court. The “trials” that were held in these courts bore little resemblance to what we in the United States understand as a trial. In most cases, the accused was brought before magistrates, a charge was read, and the accused was convicted and sentenced either to jail or death. In many cases, to be brought before a judge was the same as being guilty. Thérèse was accused of associating with non-juring priests and being noble. Not wanting to respond to the charge, she requested permission to ask the judge a question. When he granted her request, she asked him what that mark on his cheek was. He replied, “Why it’s a mole.” She questioned further, “Where did you get it from?” “From my mother, of course,” he replied. Thérèse said, “So it is with my nobility, I got it from my mother too! And it’s no fault of mine.” The whole court, including the judge, broke into laughter, and the judge said, “You are a good woman! Leave, and do not be bothered.”

The Pastor of Pian

Thérèse’s sister, Catherine Anne had a husband, René de Maignol, who had emigrated to Spain briefly during the Terror out of fear for his life. He had returned without permission, and was thus wanted by the police.¹⁸ He was living in hiding at his home with his wife Catherine Anne. Often Thérèse would stay with them at their house and answer the door acting as a portress of sorts. Using her wit, charm, and pure force of character, she would fend off inquiries from official and less than official sources, protecting her brother-in-law and sister.

On April 16, 1794, a decree was passed expelling all former nobles (for nobility had been abolished) from Paris, all fortified cities, seaports, and coastal towns. The de Lamourous family

¹⁸ The Convention was in constant fear of a monarchist conspiracy, and had issued decrees making it illegal to be a noble who had left and since returned to the country. They were very afraid that nobles sympathetic to a new monarchy might be secretly infiltrating the country in an attempt to mass a force large enough to defeat the Revolutionary forces from within.

had been part of the nobility under the *ancien régime*. So, Thérèse moved her family in Bordeaux (i.e. her father, Louis Marc Antoine, and her sister, Catherine Anne and Anne's year old infant) to their country estate in Pian en Médoc.¹⁹ Another of Thérèse's sisters, Marguerite Félicité (widowed a year prior), was already living in Pian with her two children, Louis and Barthélémy (ages two years and two months, respectively).

Although from this point on Thérèse's primary ministry would be with the locals of Pian, she continued to work with the Catholic underground in Bordeaux, traveling nine miles one way to do various tasks. One trip in particular has been well recorded. Father Simon Pannetier (who had been captured previously with Fathers Dupuy and Langoiran), who had been active in the underground as well, was arrested on July 20, 1794, just days before the Thermidor revolt. He was charged with possessing pamphlets supporting the association of the Sacred Hearts and sentenced to death. While he was in prison awaiting his execution, Thérèse risked her own life to visit him. After exchanging some consoling words, the priest offered her a final piece of spiritual advice and gave her his last blessing. As she was leaving he urged her, "Take courage, and serve God as a man and not as a woman!"²⁰ The next day he was guillotined.

The next six and a half years of Thérèse's life would be filled with challenges and joys, and not without some of the danger to which Bordeaux had accustomed her. The peaceful forests of her family's estate would be a harbor for her soul as she grew spiritually. Through her tireless service to the inhabitants of the village she would earn the cognomen *Mamizelle*, which would be spoken with reverence and affection decades after her death.

Upon her arrival in 1794, the local parish of Saint Seurin was being administered by a juror, François Andrieu.²¹ Thérèse, of course, refused to attend any of his services, and began to gather the faithful in the open under a large tree for catechesis and prayer. Her thorough knowledge of the catechism²² and her spiritual wisdom drew many people to her, most of whom were peasants and children. And in fact, Andrieu would often visit Thérèse in her hermitage.

Andrieu's conscience was troubled by his schismatic actions, and Thérèse repeatedly counseled him to retract his oath and rejoin the Church. It seems that he had taken the oath mostly out of a desire for economic security; for with the oath came a pension from the government; without that pension he would have been destitute. Her openness to this juror and her strong desire to bring

¹⁹ The family's 250 acre estate was approximately 15 kilometers (or 9.3 miles) from Bordeaux. The population of Pian at this time was between six and seven hundred. Most people lived on farms spread throughout the countryside. Eventually René, Catherine's husband, would move out to the estate as well, because it was easier for him to hide in the country. Thérèse took up residence in a small shepherd's cottage about 150 yards from the main residence to seek solitude and silence; she called this her "hermitage." According to Stefanelli, others lived with the de Lamourous family in Pian during the revolution at various times including Mlle Bédouret, Sophie and Adèle de Lacroix (cousins of Thérèse), and a priest, Prior Charles. Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, p. 70.

²⁰ Although this exhortation is very sexist, it must be taken in the context of the time in which it was given. In the late 18th century, this was a very great compliment. It is a telling remark on Thérèse's actions and character that Pannetier would think her capable of serving God as a man.

²¹ A former Benedictine in Bordeaux from the Abbey of Saint Croix, Andrieu chose to take the oath in March of 1791 (his name actually appears on the list of the Constitutional clergy in August), after the government closed Saint Croix. He was elected pastor of Saint Seurin in April of 1792.

²² "The catechism at her disposal had been published in 1704 under the authorization of Armand Bazin de Bezons, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and was still the official catechism of the diocese [sic]." Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, p. 52.

him back to the fold of the faithful is a strong testament to her character; particularly in light of the fact that other priests (friends of Thérèse) were being murdered for not having taken the oath.

On June 18, 1794, Andrieu resigned as the pastor of Saint Seurin; Thérèse had arranged a secret benefactor to assure his material needs.²³ With his departure, Saint Seurin closed, and Thérèse effectively became the pastor of the region for the next six years. She tended her flock with great care offering spiritual guidance, resolving disputes, counseling couples, giving religious instruction, preparing the souls of the dying to meet their God, and leading prayer.²⁴ She was the first person the locals sought when they had a problem; and years later, after a legitimate priest had been appointed to the region, the peasants would seek her out for confession or spiritual assistance, and she would gently but firmly refer them to the local priest.²⁵

One evening, Thérèse was praying outside the Church; having finished her prayers she began to walk home, and noticed two men coming toward her. Although they appeared disreputable to her, she decided to offer her best charity, and greeted them warmly offering them dinner and a place to rest for the night. She took them back to her house, and after having served them dinner, they asked her if she knew why they had come. “Looking for work, perhaps,” she offered. “No. Here, read this,” one said as he slid a piece of paper across the table. Picking it up, Thérèse saw that it was a warrant for her arrest. Calmly she said, “Oh, is that all? Well, you shall stay here tonight, and we shall go to the magistrate in the morning.” The men replied, “No, you are a kind woman, we cannot harm you. We will tell them that you were not here.” And they left.

Thérèse had a small space in her hermitage that served as a chapel, and when she was able, she would arrange for a priest to say Mass there in secret. There were other such places where secret Masses would be arranged. On one occasion, Thérèse was attending one of these secret Masses, when, in a period of fervent prayer, she heard a voice say to her, “Count three!” She did not know what to make of it, but was convinced that it was the voice of the Holy Spirit. She informed the priest, who questioned her about it and had her write down the account, which they both signed and dated. Three days later, Lacombe was arrested and the worst of the Terror came to an end.²⁶

The excessive violence of the Terror had finally become unpalatable to the masses. On July 27, 1794 (9 Thermidor II), Robespierre, the political orchestrator of the Terror, was arrested, and on July 28 he was beheaded without a trial. In Bordeaux, Lacombe was arrested on July 31, and on

²³ Stefanelli speculates that the benefactor was Thérèse herself. Andrieu would retract his oath on October 1, 1795, and when the laws against non-jurors went back into effect, he would suffer arrest and imprisonment for his retraction. He remained faithful to the Church for the remainder of his life.

²⁴ Giraudin tells of a woman from Pian, who claimed that she saw her mother and father confess to Thérèse (pp. 47-48). Auguste Giraudin, *Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lamourous Fondatrice de la Miséricorde de Bordeaux (1754-1836)* (Bordeaux: Delbrel et C^{ie}, 1912). See also Pouget, *Vie*, p. 48. It is likely, in the absence of priests, that some people would tell Thérèse their sins, and she would probably give them some spiritual counsel, reassure them of God’s mercy, and encourage them to perform some kind of penance. Although there was no unified code of Canon law in the early 18th century, there were plenty of Canonical regulations which would prohibit a lay person from administering the sacrament of Reconciliation. With certitude, we know that she provided great consolation to many people in a difficult time when priests were not commonly available.

²⁵ “Years later, in 1847, eleven years after her death, Archbishop Donnet of Bordeaux wrote in his personal journal that Pian was a region ‘blessed by the presence of Mlle de Lamourous.’” Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, p. 74.

²⁶ Pouget, *Vie*, p. 397.

August 14 he became the last victim of the guillotine which he had used so liberally. In December the decree that had forced the de Lamourous family to Pian was rescinded, and priests could now come out of hiding.

During her time in Pian, Thérèse worked closely with a local protestant to teach catechism to local children and peasants. In the 18th century, Catholic-Protestant relations in France were in poor condition. A deep rift still existed between the two, and the memory of the 30 Years' War was still fresh in the minds of many. Thus it is quite remarkable that Thérèse was willing to set aside her feelings on the matter and work harmoniously with a protestant in Pian. The only stipulation of their teaching arrangement was that on matters pertaining particularly to Catholicism, Thérèse always gave the instruction. Ecumenism, as such, did not exist in those days, but surely in this 21st century, we can learn something from this wondrous example of two people, who, by the mores of their time, should have been enemies, reaching out a hand of cooperation and unity to one another to serve a population thirsty for Christianity.

Sometime in 1794 Thérèse met Father William Joseph Chaminade, another member of the underground Church of Bordeaux.²⁷ He became her spiritual director, and would remain so for the rest of her life. Upon his return from exile, they would become intimate collaborators. In the wake of the Thermidor revolt, the Church was able to operate more openly. And so, in 1795, Chaminade was appointed penitentiary of the Archdiocese of Bordeaux.²⁸ This position laid upon him the responsibility of receiving the retractions of priests who had taken the oath, and of reconciling them to the Church.

Father Andrieu, the former juring pastor of Saint Seurin, whom Thérèse convinced to abdicate his position, was one of the priests Chaminade reconciled during this time. In a draft of Andrieu's public statement of retraction, he wrote, "God, in his overwhelming love, sent a charitable person to help save me from the precipice over which I had plunged."²⁹ This obvious reference to Thérèse was altered before he read his statement in front of a congregation. Nonetheless, it is a powerful testament to her edifying influence.

On October 25 (3 Brumaire, Year IV), just a few weeks after Andrieu made his public retraction, a new decree from Paris arrived proscribing non-juring priests again. Chaminade went back into hiding, and Andrieu was arrested. The Church went back to operating underground; however, the laws against former nobles were not resurrected, and so Thérèse was free to come and go from Bordeaux as she pleased. This allowed her to be of continued service to the underground Church. She took to arranging clandestine Masses, Baptisms, Marriages, etc. again, sometimes in the oratory she had setup in her hermitage.

²⁷ History, lamentably, has not retained the exact date of this providential meeting. It is possible that they met as collaborators of Boyer in the underground Church. What we can be certain of is that Chaminade had been her spiritual director for some time by May 27, 1796, the date of the earliest extant letter from Chaminade to Thérèse. Giraudin actually suspects that they met in 1795 rather than 1794. Giraudin, *Lamourous*, p. 40.

²⁸ In fact, according to Verrier, Chaminade was the penitentiary for the Archdiocese of Bordeaux and the Diocese of Bazas (which had been suppressed in 1790 by the Civil Constitution, but was still a diocese recognized by the Holy See, and perhaps, in light of a letter from the Committee on Legislation of June 17, 1795, recognized also by the French government). Verrier, *Jalons*, vol. 1, p. 197. For information on the letter of June 17, see Verrier, *Jalons*, vol. 1, p. 188.

²⁹ Pouget, *Vie* (Bordeaux: 1884), 2nd edition, p. 27.

A Spiritual Director in Exile

In 1797, just as the political situation of France seemed to be returning to a more moderate state, Paris was occupied by the military on September 4 (18 Fructidor Year V), and emergency legislation was passed during the night of September 4-5. This legislation (the decree of 19 Fructidor) gave émigrés (those who had left France and returned) two weeks from the posting of the decree to depart France, or else be executed. Although Father Chaminade had never left France, his name had been placed on the list of émigrés; he had hidden so well that the Bordeaux police assumed he must have left the country.

News of the Fructidor revolution reached Bordeaux on September 9 or 10, and on September 11 Chaminade received a passport to leave the country. On September 15, he wrote Thérèse a farewell letter encouraging her to remain faithful to her personal rule, to pray for him, and to look after his temporal affairs. Finally, the two met for the last time in the afternoon of September 22. The details of the meeting are not known to us, but in his letter of September 15, Chaminade, in mentioning a possible new spiritual director for Thérèse, wrote, “Another idea has just come into my mind; I shall pass it on to you.”³⁰ It is likely that they discussed Chaminade’s “idea” on September 22; the idea could have been for them to continue Thérèse’s spiritual direction via correspondence, which is precisely what happened over the next three years.

Although we do not have an exact departure date from Bordeaux for Chaminade, it could not have been long after his meeting with Thérèse. He arrived in Saragossa on October 11, where he would remain for the next three years. Over the course of those 37 months, Chaminade wrote 33 letters to Thérèse.³¹ Because of the political climate of Bordeaux, Thérèse copied sections of Chaminade’s letters that she considered pertinent to her spiritual life into a notebook, and then destroyed the original letters. Unfortunately, two pages of that notebook are lost to us.

What remains of Thérèse’s notebook is kept in the archives of the General Administration of the Society of Mary in Rome. The text of the notebook was included in the *Letters of Father Chaminade* (vol. 1, pt. 1, letters 10b-24). Although we have lost the excerpts of the letters written between October 1799 and July 1800 (the missing letters fall between numbers 19 and 20), what remains is a vivid insight to the spiritual direction that Chaminade gave Thérèse, and a testament to the deep faith and great love both had for God. Whether suggesting spiritual reading (like the life of Saint Vincent de Paul), offering encouraging words, or exhorting Thérèse to leave behind her old self and embrace God alone, Chaminade shared his valuable experience in spiritual development with her. For her part, Thérèse only copied into her notebook that from the letters which seemed to her spiritually pertinent. There were at least three occasions when Thérèse wrote the date and serial number of the letter, and chose not to copy any of the letter at all, because, as she herself wrote, the letter contained, “nothing for my soul.”³²

Doubtless, in the course of this intrepid correspondence, letters were lost; but they continued to write one another, undeterred. We have no record of the letters Thérèse sent Chaminade. But we

³⁰ Chaminade, *Letters*, no. 10 to de Lamourous, Sept. 15, 1797; vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 50.

³¹ See Appendix III for a list of the known letters and their dates.

³² Chaminade, *Letters*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 60.

know that occasionally, Chaminade was writing a response to something Thérèse had written him. The volume of correspondence between these two (Chaminade wrote to Thérèse almost once a month, and it is likely that Thérèse wrote back on a similar schedule) during a period of such uncertainty and danger gives some indication of the close relationship they had formed in Bordeaux fighting alongside one another against the de-Christianizing forces of the Revolution.

Thérèse and the Sacraments of the Church

As was the case with many French Catholics in the 18th century, Thérèse had been strongly influenced by Jansenism.³³ In this time period, it was not common for the laity to receive the Eucharist weekly; although the faithful attended Mass every Sunday (and often during the week as well), the reception of the Eucharist occurred less frequently depending on the individual and the advice of her or his confessor.

For Thérèse, the sacraments were the route by which the soul ascended to God through the Holy Catholic Church; the spiritual life had no meaning outside of the Church. Thérèse was very well versed in Catholic doctrine, and as has been previously noted, she knew her catechism well. She was steadfastly attached to the Church, and would never have done anything to separate herself from it.

It was with great consternation that Thérèse went through a period of 16 months without receiving either the sacrament of Reconciliation or Eucharist.³⁴ During this time she developed several rituals that helped her remain connected to the Church. Every Saturday evening, she would kneel in her hermitage and confess to a portrait of Saint Vincent de Paul (one of her favorite spiritual authors). She would also set the altar in her oratory for Mass with an altar cloth, candles, etc, and then offer the customary prayers. Then she would receive communion spiritually.

One late summer day, a great thunderstorm loomed on the horizon; in wine country, a bad thunderstorm so late in the growing season could wipe out an entire summer's work. The locals, in great distress, went to their Mamizelle, and asked her to pray to God to avert the storm. Thérèse knew that there was a ritual for such an occasion, and hastened to her hermitage where a priest had left a ritual book. Finding the proper page, she performed the ritual, reciting the prayers in Latin and making the sign of the cross at the proper times. The storm went in a different direction, and the harvest was saved.³⁵

Thérèse received an excellent education from her mother, who had attended a convent school. She learned astronomy, mathematics, physics, grammar, etc. She was also quite skilled at healing, possessing a knowledge of medicinal herbs. She served as a doctor of sorts for the

³³ In the 18th century, many French Catholics could be classified as “quasi-Jansenists”, who, while staying strictly within orthodox teachings of the Church, nonetheless leaned heavily toward Jansenist sentiments. Their theology was dominated by the fallen nature of humanity, and the great unworthiness of humans to receive God’s grace. See “Jansenism”, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1981), vol. 7, pp. 820-824).

³⁴ As Stefanelli points out, this was likely during Chaminade’s period of exile.

³⁵ Concerned that she had gone too far, Thérèse recounted the event to Fr. Boyer, the vicar general; he assured her that she had done no wrong. (Guitraud, *Lamourous*, p. 22)

peasants of Pian, and even later when Pian had official doctors, the sick and dying would ask for Mamizelle rather than for a priest or doctor. When no priest was available, she often prepared those dying to enter God's eternal embrace; Stefanelli writes, "She...even 'heard deathbed Confessions.'"³⁶

In July of 1800, Napoleon began his rise to power, and the Revolution was near its end. Chaminade began to make plans to return, and he and Thérèse had intentions of beginning a great work together. The Holy Spirit had plans for Thérèse too; she was about to found the Miséricorde, the house for repentant prostitutes, a work which would occupy the remainder of her life.

What Can Be Learned from Thérèse

In the 21st century, we in the United States find ourselves in a situation rather different, in many respects, from Thérèse's milieu during the Revolution. In the course of our daily experiences, and the living of our faith, we are not typically called to risk our lives. Our friends are not being hauled before a judge on account of their religion and being sentenced to public execution. In short, there is quite a bit more security for most of us on a day-to-day basis. So, what implications can be drawn from her life for our modern experience of being Catholic Marianists in the United States today?

Faith was at the heart of everything Thérèse did; it was the root of her life, from which all her actions grew. It was her faith that gave her the strength to continue on, even when things seemed hopeless, even when it meant possibly dying. When considering a course of action her first question wasn't, "How dangerous is this?" or "How much will this cost?" or "What will people think of me?" but rather "Is this God's will?" She acted as one who has known God face-to-face, and, having met this supremely loving God, desired nothing more than to serve and make this God known and loved.

Thérèse balanced the delicate interplay of the contemplative and active dimensions of her life masterfully. She was a woman deeply devoted to mental prayer, contemplation, solitude, silence, and stillness; it is no surprise that she called her small shack in Pian her "hermitage." But woven into those threads were active apostolates like teaching catechism, visiting the sick and dying, visiting those in prison, arranging secret sacraments, and giving spiritual guidance. These active and contemplative threads intertwined to weave the richly decorated tapestry of her character. Her contemplative side carved a deep well within her, into which God poured the Spirit; all her activity and zeal welled up from that deep font.

She understood her role as a member of her family in the light of her efforts to build the kingdom of God on Earth. In Bordeaux, Thérèse was taking care of her elderly father, helping her sister hide René, and carrying secret messages for the underground and arranging clandestine Masses. She understood what it meant to be a Christian daughter, and a Christian sister, and a Christian in the underground; she balanced all those facets of her life knowing that they were all important and all valid expressions of her faith.

³⁶ Stefanelli, *Lamorous*, p. 82. See note 24.

Throughout the Revolution, Thérèse's life prepared her for the servant leadership she would be called to exercise from the end of the Revolution to the end of her life. In the Catholic underground of Bordeaux, it is difficult to say how much leadership she exercised. Certainly we know that she made arrangements for the sacraments to be given in secret, and Stefanelli pointed out in *Mlle de Lamourous*, "Among the members of the association of the Sacred Hearts, Marie Thérèse held a high place."³⁷ It seems likely that she was one of the leaders of this proscribed association.

Also, in reading about Thérèse and her family during this period, one gathers that she handled most (if not all) the family business affairs.³⁸ There is ample evidence of her business acumen and her financial prowess. Finally, her strong leadership qualities shone forth during her time in Pian. She had no official position of authority, but her kindness, generosity, and holiness drew people to her; she was sought for her wisdom and knowledge (both in the natural and supernatural orders). She exercised broad leadership in service to the people of Pian (e.g. helping them find work, guiding them spiritually, resolving family disputes, etc.).

These dangerous and uncertain years of Thérèse's life were marked by her profound faith, her balance of the contemplative and active dimensions of life, and servant leadership to her family and the communities to which she belonged. This heroine of Bordeaux is not just an obscure historical figure; she is one of us, a spiritual daughter of Father Chaminade, a Marianist; let us make her story our own, and never forget those in our history who have answered God's call to be a light in a time of darkness.

Many of Thérèse's biographers have focused on her remarkable work in founding and sustaining the Miséricorde; this paper has attempted to provide a historical and biographical sketch of Thérèse during the years leading up to her founding the Miséricorde. These years were the crucible that purified her soul and prepared her for the work for which she would become so well known.

³⁷ p. 61

³⁸ See Stefanelli, *Lamourous*, pp. 69-70, 78.

Appendix I: Dioceses of the *Ancien Régime* in 1789

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 list the 144 dioceses of France in 1789, prior to the enacting of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 12, 1790). Table 1.1 lists them alphabetically, noting archdioceses with “(Arch)”. Table 1.2 lists them geographically, after each archdiocese are the dioceses that depended upon that archdiocese.

Included in the list are the Archdiocese of Avignon, and the Dioceses of Vaison, Carpentras, and Cavaillon, which became the department of Vaucluse in 1793, but in 1789 were actually part of the Papal States.³⁹ Also included are the Dioceses of Ypres (one half of which was territorially in France, and which depended upon the Archdiocese of Mechelen), Tournai (one half of which was territorially in France, and which depended upon the Archdiocese of Cambrai), Geneva (one sixth of which was territorially in France), and Basel (one half of which was territorially in France, and which depended upon Besançon). Finally, also included was the non-territorial Diocese of Bethléem, which depended upon Sens.

To compile this list, it was necessary to compare Appendix IV from Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 367-67,⁴⁰ Carte 1: “Les Diocèse à la Veille de la Révolution de 1789” from *Atlas de la Révolution française* (Paris: Éditions de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1989), vol. 5, both of which are based on the work of Dom J. Dubois, and *Atlas*, vol. 9, p. 60.

NB: Tackett’s Appendix IV lists 137 dioceses (he excludes Bethléem and Avignon, as well as all five Corsican dioceses: Nebbio, Mariana, Aléria, Ajaccio, and Sagone);⁴¹ the article from *Atlas*, vol. 9, p. 60, mentions 136 dioceses, but does not list them, so it is unclear how they arrived at that number.⁴² Finally, in André Latreille, *L’Église catholique et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1970), vol. 1, p. 106, Latreille notes that 4 of the 139 diocesan bishops and archbishops of the *ancien régime* took the oath.⁴³

³⁹ The Constituent Assembly issued a decree on September 14, 1791 making these dioceses part of France, but it wasn’t recognized by the Pope until May 30, 1814.

⁴⁰ For Tackett’s own description of his methodology, see Tackett, *Religion*, ch. 5, n. 5, p. 100.

⁴¹ It is unclear why Tackett excludes Avignon, but includes Vaison, Carpentras, and Cavaillon.

⁴² One way to arrive at 136 dioceses is to take away from the 144 dioceses the four dioceses whose episcopal cities were actually foreign (Basel, Ypres, Tournai, and Geneva), and the four sees that would become the department of Vaucluse in 1793 (Avignon, Vaison, Carpentras, and Cavaillon).

⁴³ Although it is impossible to know exactly which five dioceses he excluded, two possible explanations for the number 139 are: 1) Latreille was a source for Tackett, and so perhaps he excluded the Dioceses of Nebbio, Mariana, Ajaccio, Aléria, and Sagone (the Corsican dioceses), just as Tackett did or, 2) perhaps he excluded the four sees with foreign episcopal cities and Avignon (which Tackett also excluded).

Appendix II: The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the Reorganization of the Dioceses of France

On July 12, 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was passed by the National Assembly; it was ratified by Louis XVI on July 22, and promulgated on August 24. Some of the bishops who were also deputies to the National Assembly objected to certain elements of the law (particularly, how the law provided for the election of pastors and bishops by regional assemblies rather than an appointment from the Holy See or local ordinary); on October 30, they released a paper entitled “L’exposition des principes sur la constitution” (An exposition of principles concerning the constitution), which outlined their objections. On November 27, a decree was issued requiring all bishops, former bishops, pastors, and others who carried out duties within the Church to swear an oath of allegiance to the Nation and its laws (including the Civil Constitution of the Clergy). The decree was sanctioned by Louis XVI on December 26.

Geographic/Jurisdictional Effects

Under the *ancien régime*, there were 144 dioceses. Dioceses were organized into ecclesiastical provinces, and each ecclesiastical province had an archdiocese.⁴⁴ A diocese within an ecclesiastical province was said to “depend” upon the archdiocese of the province. There were some irregularities in the system (particularly along borders); some dioceses had territories in more than one country, and the seat of the archdioceses were actually not in France.⁴⁵

The law reorganized the Church of France according to the departments, the 83 geographic regions into which the National Assembly had divided France for governing purposes. Eight bishoprics were created, because eight departments had no former episcopal city in their boundaries.⁴⁶ For the other 75 departments, they chose from the 136⁴⁷ existing episcopal cities (except for Seine-et-Oise and Corse, which had episcopal cities of Versailles and Bastia respectively); this meant that 63 episcopal cities were suppressed. Each department had a capitol, which was the city that functioned as the center of local government for its department. The capitol of the department was also the seat of the diocese in all but 26 departments.⁴⁸ Ten sees were chosen as metropolitan bishoprics (or archbishoprics), and each had a list of subordinate sees.⁴⁹

Historical View by the Church and the Nation

The Holy See never recognized the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and thus, as far as the pope was concerned, the structure of the Church in France remained unchanged. The pope continued to administer the dioceses of the *ancien régime* through his bishops and archbishops as he always had. As for the French nation, with the enactment of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, it

⁴⁴ See Table 1.1 (alphabetic listing of dioceses) and Table 1.2 (geographic listing of dioceses)

⁴⁵ See Appendix I

⁴⁶ See Table 2

⁴⁷ They had 136 dioceses to choose from because from the 144 dioceses of the *ancien régime*, they certainly weren't going to retain any of the four dioceses with foreign episcopal cities, and the four dioceses that would later become the department of Vaucluse were still part of the Papal States in 1790.

⁴⁸ See Table 3

⁴⁹ See Table 4

ceased to recognize the former bishoprics and archbishoprics that existed under the *ancien régime*, and was solely concerned with the dioceses it had created. Although freedom of religion was restored by the Convention on February 21, 1795, and on June 17 of the same year, the Committee on Legislation issued a letter declaring the Civil Constitution of the Clergy null and void, the French nation and the Catholic church would not reconcile the schism of the Civil Constitution until the Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII.

Appendix III: Important Dates in the Life of Thérèse During the Revolution

1789	
July 14	Parisians storm the Bastille
November 2	National Assembly decrees that the goods and property of the Church are at the disposal of the Nation
December 19	National Assembly votes to sell 400,000 livres worth of Church goods
1790	
July 12	National Assembly passes the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
July 22	Louis XVI ratifies the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
August 24	The Civil Constitution of the Clergy is promulgated
October 30	Bishop-deputies of the National Assembly release a paper titled “L’exposition des principes sur la constitution”
November 27	National Assembly decrees that all bishops, former bishops, pastors, and others who carry out duties within the Church must swear an oath of allegiance to the Nation and its laws (including the Civil Constitution of the Clergy); the deadline for taking said oath is the end of the year
December 26	Louis XVI ratifies the decree of November 27
1791	
March 10	Pope Pius VI condemns the Civil Constitution
April 13	Pope Pius VI forbids the faithful to receive sacraments from priests who took the oath
May 4	The French faithful become aware of Pius VI’s condemnation
May 27	National Assembly decrees that any priest denounced by at least 20 citizens of his department must be deported
1792	
September 21	National Convention succeeds the National Assembly
1793	
January 21	Louis XVI guillotined
October 17	Bordeaux surrenders to the republican forces sent by the Convention
October 23	The first execution in Bordeaux occurs
1794	
April 16	The National Convention decrees that all former nobles are forbidden to live in Paris, a fortified city, a seaport, or a costal town (this decree forces Thérèse and her family to move to Pian)
June 18	François Andrieu resigns as the constitutional pastor of Saint Seurin (in Pian)
July 28	Robespierre guillotined in Paris (10 Thermidor II)
July 31	Lacombe arrested in Bordeaux
August 14	Lacombe guillotined in Bordeaux
1795	
February 21	Freedom of Religion restored by the Convention
June 17	The Committee on Legislation issues a letter declaring the Civil Constitution of the Clergy to be null and void
October 25	The laws of 1792-93 against priests are reinstated (Decree of 3 Brumaire, IV)
1796	

May 27	Date of the first extant letter from Chaminade to Thérèse
1797	
September 4	Paris occupied by the military (18 Fructidor, Year V); the coup d'état of Fructidor
September 5	The laws of 19 Fructidor, which, among other things, reinstate the laws of 1792-93 against priests, are enacted.
September 11	Chaminade receives his passport to leave France
September 15	Date of the last letter Chaminade wrote to Thérèse before leaving Bordeaux
September 22	Last meeting of Chaminade and Thérèse before his exile
October 11	Chaminade arrives in Saragossa
1798	
June 3	Letter from Chaminade
October 20	Tenth letter from Chaminade
December 8	Eleventh letter from Chaminade
December 28	Twelfth letter from Chaminade
1799	
January 15	Thirteenth letter from Chaminade
February 1	Fourteenth letter from Chaminade
March 2	Fifteenth letter from Chaminade
April 13	Sixteenth letter from Chaminade
April 27	Seventeenth letter from Chaminade
May 21	Eighteenth letter from Chaminade
July 19	Nineteenth letter from Chaminade
September 23	Twentieth letter from Chaminade
1800	
July 5	Twenty-eighth letter from Chaminade
July 26	Twenty-ninth letter from Chaminade
August 26	Thirtieth letter from Chaminade
September 6	Thirty-first letter from Chaminade
October 11	Thirty-second letter from Chaminade
October or November	Thirty-third letter from Chaminade (undated; also the last letter)

Appendix IV: A Resource for Documents Concern Marie Thérèse Charlotte de Lamourous
(Arranged Alphabetically by Author's Last Name)

Auguste Giraudin. *Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lamourous: Fondatrice de la Miséricorde de Bordeaux (1754-1836)* (Bordeaux: Delbrel et Cie, 1912).

This French text, also available in the NACMS library, begins with a letter from Cardinal Andrieu of Bordeaux. It breaks down as follows:

Introduction, pp. 9-10

Chapter 1: Childhood and Youth (1754-1789), pp. 11-32

Chapter 2: The Revolution (1789-1801), pp. 33-56

Chapter 3: The Miséricorde – Foundation and Early Years (1801-1813), pp. 57-109

Chapter 4: The Miséricorde – Development and the Last Years of Marie Thérèse (1813-1836), pp. 110-135

Chapter 5: The Woman and the Saint, pp. 136-160

Chapter 6: The Work (L'Œuvre), pp. 161-183

Roger Guitraud. *Mademoiselle de Lamourous* (Bouchon-Libourne, 1971).

The NACMS library contains three copies of this text, and each of the three was a different printing; each is slightly (approx. 1/4") shorter than the previous. Thus in descending height I label them copies A (tallest), B (middle), and C (shortest). The text was given its *Nihil Obstat* in 1971, and all three copies bear that mark. In copies A and C it is printed on the verso page against the Preface. In copy B it is printed at the end of the Preface on the verso against the Introduction. Copy B has a picture of Marie Thérèse along with a note concerning her declaration as venerable on the verso page against the Preface; since she was declared venerable in 1989, we can be sure that copy B was printed post 1989. The text is in French. The preface was written by Archbishop Maziers of Bordeaux. The author does a fine job of situating Marie Thérèse in the context of the events going on during her life. What follows is an elemental breakdown of the chapters of the text:

Preface (pp. 1-2)

Introduction (pp. 3-4)

Chapter 1 (pp. 5-7): Birth/Family/Infancy

Chapter 2 (pp. 7-10): Youth/Mother as Teacher/Jansenism/Father LaCroix

Chapter 3 (pp. 10-13): Revolution

Chapter 4 (pp. 13-16): Revolution: Catholic Resistance/The Terror

Chapter 5 (pp. 16-22): Revolution in Pian/Marie Thérèse Arrested/Teaching and Other Ministry

Chapter 6 (pp. 22-25): Chaminade: Spanish Letters/Vincent de Paul/Theresa of Avila

Chapter 7 (pp. 25-27): Chaminade Returns/Remaining with the *Filles*

Chapter 8 (pp. 27-30): Foundation of the Miséricorde

Chapter 9 (pp. 30-33): Development of the Miséricorde/The *Filles*

Chapter 10 (pp. 33-36): Moving to the Annunciation

Chapter 11 (pp. 36-38): A Gift from Napoleon

Chapter 12 (pp. 38-41): Freedom of the *Filles*

Chapter 13 (pp. 41-42): The Community
 Chapter 14 (pp. 42-46): Cigars/1813
 Chapter 15 (pp. 46-49): Paris/The Statutes
 Chapter 16 (pp. 49-52): The Statutes of 1813
 Chapter 17 (pp. 52-54): Marie Thérèse helps Adèle found the convent of the Daughters of Mary
 Chapter 18 (pp. 54-58): Daily Life: Work, Prayer, and Celebrations
 Chapter 19 (pp. 58-61): Laval
 Chapter 20 (pp. 62-63): Rondeau
 Chapter 21 (pp. 63-68): Pierre Noailles/The Last Years/Virtues/Happiness
 Chapter 22 (pp. 68-73): Last Words/Death/Burial/Eulogy/Miracles/Her Cause
 Epilogue (pp. 74-75)

Charles Parra. *Une Sainte Bordelaise, Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lamourous : Fondatrice de la Miséricorde (1754-1836)* (Bordeaux : Maison de la Miséricorde, 1924).

This short pamphlet about Marie Thérèse includes many of the well known stories about her life. The text is in French, and can be found in the NACMS library. What follows is an elemental breakdown of the sections of the text:

pp. 7-8: Luke 7:36-50
 pp. 8-12: Introduction/Stories about Marie Thérèse with her Mother
 pp. 12-16: Revolution/Death of her Mother/Father Chaminade/Remaining with the *filles*
 pp. 16-25: Stories of the Miséricorde
 pp. 25-29: Methods of Maintaining Order and Discipline in the House
 pp. 29-33: Foundation of the Soeurs de la Miséricorde/Death of Marie Thérèse

Firmin Pouget, SJ. *Vie de Mademoiselle de Lamourous, Dite la Bonne Mère, Fondatrice et première Supérieure de la maison de la Miséricorde de Bordeaux* (Lyon and Paris: Librairie Catholique de Perisse Frères, 1844).

This was the first biography of Marie Thérèse; it was written in consultation with her niece and nephew. In the "Documenta Addita" on pages 26-28 of the *Positio* there is an excellent table of correspondence between Laure's notes, Pouget's biography, and the brief biography of her presented in the *Positio*. What follows is a translation of the Table of Contents in the back of Pouget's biography:

- Book One: The Early Years of Mlle de Lamourous
 - Chapter I: Birth, Early Education, Early Signs of Virtue, Her Parents' Affection for Her (p. 1)
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 - Chapter VI: How the Bonne Mère Thought About Miséricordes [i.e. other houses of mercy] (p. 244)
- Book Eleven: New Accounts of Providence
 - Chapter I: Stockings, Socks, and Shoes Provided by Providence (p. 248)
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 - Chapter III: The Sack of Flour, The Sack of Artichokes, Frequent Illness of the Bonne Mère (p. 255)
 - Chapter IV: The Black Madonna, The Clean Sleeves, Sickness Healed and Clothing Provided by the Blessed Virgin (p. 259)
 - Chapter V: History of the Little Bonaventure (p. 264)
- Book Twelve: Virtues of the Bonne Mère
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 - Chapter III: Her Love for God, Acts of Theological Virtues, Love of Solitude, She Appreciated the Favor of Seeing God, Creatures Elevated Toward the Creator, Image of the Child Jesus, Devotion to the Holy Sacrament, Her Interior Dispositions (p. 283)
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 - Chapter IV: There Is No Need for Surprise at Supernatural Presence in Her Life, Examples of Prediction (p. 395)
 - Chapter V: Terrible Punishments Announced or Known in Advance, A Happy Death Because of Her Intercession (p. 398)
 - Chapter VI: The Bedroom of the Bonne Mère Since Her Death (p. 403)
- Book Sixteen: The State of the Miséricorde After the Death of the Bonne Mère
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 - Chapter III: Other Kinds of Need, New Requests to Mary (p. 415)

- Chapter IV: New Needs of the House, and New Gifts from Providence, A Sense of the Times Which Followed (p. 417)
- Chapter V: The Miséricorde increases in size and fodder. (p. 420)
- Eulogy of the Bonne Mère given by Father Barrès, Vicar General of Bodeaux, *Sede Vacante*

Joseph Stefanelli, SM. *Marie Thérèse de Lamourous: Firm of Hand, Loving of Heart* (Dayton: NACMS, 2001).

This brief biography (30 pages) of Marie Thérèse, written in English, is an excellent starting point for those wishing to know more about this remarkable woman. Copies can be purchased through the NACMS website.

Joseph Stefanelli, SM. *Mlle de Lamourous* (Dayton: NACMS, 1998).

This extensive biography of Marie Thérèse is without a doubt, the most complete resource on the life of Marie Thérèse available in English. Copies can be purchased through the NACMS website.

Joseph Verrier, SM. *Burdigalen Canonizationis Servae Dei Mariae Teresiae Carolae de Lamourous Fundatricis Instituti Sororum a Misericordia, Positio Super Virtutibus* (Rome: Guerra, 1982).

This text compiled by Father Verrier is, without a doubt, the most comprehensive resource available on Marie Thérèse. Written in both Latin and French, there are two slightly different versions available in the NACMS library; one is hardbound while the other is softbound. The first page of the softbound copy corresponds to roman numeral I of the hardbound copy. In the back of the hardbound copy, there is a page 1112, and everything which follows that page is absent in the softbound copy. I shall here attempt to breakdown the contents on the *Positio* to the best of my ability according to the hardbound copy (with notations for the beginning and end of the softbound copy):

Informatio (Information) – pp. 1-121: Written predominately in Latin (with quotes in Italian and French), these pages serve to introduce and outline the cause and Marie Thérèse.

- Synopsis of Her Life (pp. 2-16):
 - 1) Her Youth (1754-1767) – pp. 2-3
 - 2) Life Before the Gallican Schism (1768-1789) – pp. 3-4
 - 3) Life During the Gallican Schism (1790-1800) – pp. 4-5
 - 4) Founding of the Miséricorde and the Early Years (1801-1813) – pp. 5-7
 - 5) Founding of the Sisters of the Miséricorde – pp. 7-8
 - 6) Assisting in the Founding of the Daughters of Mary Immaculate – p. 9
 - 7) Development of the Sisters of the Miséricorde – pp. 9-10
 - 8) Working at the Foundation of a Miséricorde in Laval – pp. 10-13
 - 9) Her Holy Death – pp. 13-14
 - 10) Her Funeral – p. 14
- Timeline of Her Life – p. 14-16

- Concerning the Testing of Her Cause (pp. 17-45):
 - Introduction (pp. 17-24)
 - Challenges and Responses Concerning Her History (A: pp. 17-35; B: pp. 35-38; C:38-42; D: 42-45)
- Concerning Her Virtues (pp. 46-95)
 - Her Natural Qualities (pp. 46-47)
 - Her Virtues in General (pp. 47-50)
 - Her Specific Virtues (pp. 51-95)
 - Theological Virtues (pp. 51-75)
 - Faith (pp. 51-58)
 - Hope (pp. 58-63)
 - Charity/Love (pp. 63-75)
 - Cardinal Moral Virtues (pp. 75-95)
 - Prudence (pp. 75-82)
 - Justice (pp. 82-87)
 - Fortitude (pp. 87-92)
 - Temperance (pp. 92-95)
 - Evangelical Counsels (pp. 95-110)
 - Poverty (pp. 96-99)
 - Chastity (pp. 99-102)
 - Obedience (pp. 102-104)
 - Humility (pp. 104-110)
- Her Death (pp. 110-112)
- Her Funeral (pp. 112-114)
- Her Holy Reputation in Life (pp. 114-115)
- Her Holy Reputation After Death (pp. 115-116)
- Her Divine (Supernis) Gifts (pp. 116-117)
- Miracles Accomplished by God on Account of Her Intercession (pp. 117-120)
 - Miracles During Her Life (pp. 117-118)
 - Miracles After Her Death (pp. 118-120)
- Conclusion (pp. 120-121)

Documenta Informationi Addita[Adnexa, in the Index] (Additional Information Concerning the Documents) – pp. 1-72:

- Document I (pp. 3-28): There is a helpful appendix on pages 26-28, which is a table of correspondence between the *Notes* (by L de Labordère), the *Vie* (by Pouget, SJ), and the *Positio* (by Verrier, SM)
- Document II (pp. 29-72): Notes on Marie Thérèse made by her niece and nephew (de Labordère and Fr. de Maignol)

Decretum Super Validitate Processum (Decree on the Validity of the Process)

Positio Super Virtutibus ex Officio Concinnata – pp. I-1112: This begins the softbound text, and is written in French.

- Informatio Relatoris Generalis (General Information) – pp. I-XXIV:
 - Her Life, Personality, and Work (pp. III-XI)

- History of Her Cause (pp. XI-XII)
- Work on the Historical Section (pp. XII-XIX)
- Brief Review of the Documents (pp. XIX-XXIII)
- Questions to Which the Historical Consulters Must Respond (pp. XXIII-XXIV)
- Summarium (Summary of Her Life) – pp. XXVII-CXVIII:
- Documenta (Documents) – pp. 1-1036
 - Part One: Her Life, Work, and Death (pp. 5-666)
 - Document I: Family, Birth, and Baptism (pp. 5-13)
 - Document II: Childhood in Barsac (1754-1767) (pp. 14-28)
 - Document III: In Bordeaux Before the Revolution (1767-1789) (pp. 29-45)
 - Document IV: During the Revolution (1789-1800) (pp. 46-65)
 - Document V: Under Fr. Chaminade's Direction (1795-1800) (pp. 66-101)
 - Document VI: Foundation and First Years of the Miséricorde (pp. 102-130)
 - Document VII: First Relations with the Civil Authorities (1805-1808) (pp. 131-166)
 - Document VIII: Dealing with Challenges (1809-1813) (pp. 167-223)
 - Document IX: Foundation of the Sisters of the Miséricorde (pp. 224-247)
 - Document X: Constitutions (pp. 248-326)
 - Document XI: Supplements to the Constitutions (pp. 327-354)
 - Document XII: Foundation of the Daughters of Mary (1816) (pp. 355-376)
 - Document XIII: Missionaries (pp. 377-393)
 - Document XIV: The Miséricorde in Laval (pp. 394-511)
 - Document XV: Her Holiness During Her Life (p. 512-549)
 - Document XVI: Her Writings (p. 550-638)
 - Document XVII: Her Last Years and Death (pp. 639-666)
 - Part Two: Her Reputation After Her Death
 - Document XVIII: Witness Offered in Memory of Her at Her Death (pp. 667-716)
 - Document XIX: Pouget, *Vie de Mademoiselle de Lamourous*, Lyon-Paris 1843 (pp. 717-903)
 - Document XX: Reports of Her Holiness from 1836 to 1911, in Manuscripts (pp. 904-948)
 - Document XXI: Her Reputation After Reports Printed from 1844 to 1912 (pp. 949-980)
 - Document XXII: Her Body from 1836 to Today (pp. 981-986)
 - Document XXIII: Her Cause (pp. 987-1035)
- Bibliographia (Bibliography) – pp. 1037-1068: There are ten pages (numbered Tab. I-X) between pages 1064 and 1065 of pictures, maps, and drawings.
- Indices – pp. 1069-1112
 - Alphabetic Table of Proper Names (pp. 1069-1095)
 - Table of Contents (pp. 1097-1110)
 - Images Outside the Text (pp. 1111-1112) [This is the end of the softbound copy.]

Relatio et Vota – pp. 1-37: Written in Italian

Positio Super Scriptis – pp. 1-7: Written in Latin; this is an overview of the documents contained in the *Positio*.

Decretum Super Revisione Scriptorum

Positio Super Scriptis Nuper Inventis (Findings on the Writings Recently Discovered) – pp. 1-20: Written in French

Decretum Super Revisione Scriptorum Nuper Inventorum

Contained in the Vertical Files in the NACMS library, filed under “Lamourous”, are a variety of items worth noting here by their file number.

1. Emilio Ortega, SM. *Along the Path of the Miséricorde*. An unpublished translation from the Spanish into English by Elmer Dunsky, SM and Joseph Stefanelli, SM. pp. 71. Dated Fall 2005.

2. A file titled “L’Année Lamourous” (Year of Lamourous) contains:

- an e-mail from Charles-Henri Moulin (Provincial of France) dated February 23, 2004, translated by Art Cherrier, SM.
- an e-mail from Teresa Trimboli to John Samaha, SM on October 16, 2003 asking about the event.
- an 2 e-mails from John to Teresa in response.
- an e-mail from Teresa Trimboli to John Samaha in response.

3. A file titled “La Bonne Mère Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lamourous...Pensées” (Thoughts) contains three copies of a document with the same title which is a collection of quotes arranged topically compiled by a Sister of Mary and Joseph and of the Miséricorde. The booklet is in French, but an English translation is available at <http://mlnna.com/ReflectionsDeLamourousWritings.pdf>.

4. A fourth copy of the booklet in #3 without the end matter.

5. *Copie des Autographes de la Bonne Mère Marie Thérèse Charlotte de Lamourous. Papiers intimes*. This document in French is laid out in the following six sections:

1. Her Progress in Holiness
2. Her Spiritual Life Shared with the Directresses
3. Money? It is a work of Providence.
4. Retreats and the Conversation of the *Filles*
5. Notes on the Spirit of the Foundation and the Work
6. The Daily Rule Presented by the *Bonne Mère*

6. Lamourous and the Vincentians. This document in English connects Marie Thérèse to the Vincentians.

7. Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lamourous. Written in French, this is an illustrated biography of Marie Thérèse. Targeted at a younger audience.

8. Marie Thérèse Charlotte de Lamourous. Written in English, this is a 51 page biography of Marie Thérèse written by Sr. Mary Saula, OLM. With the following chapters:

1. Family Background
2. The French Revolution
3. The Development of the Miséricorde in Bordeaux
4. Mercy House: The Early Years
5. Thérèse's Charism of Mercy and Love
6. Mercy House: 1810-1813
7. Mercy House Becomes a Religious Congregation
8. The Daughters of Mary (1816)
9. Thérèse Rondeau Begins Mercy House in Laval
10. The Last Years of Mother de Lamourous' Life
11. The Years after Mother de Lamourous' Death

9. Information on Charlotte Mary Yonge and the Yonge Abridgement of Pouget. This folder contains an e-mail from Carol Ramey to Teresa Trimboli forwarded from Brian Halderman, SM, and printed copies of the following web pages:

- <http://www.dur.ac.uk/c.e.schultze/home.html>
- <http://www.dur.ac.uk/c.e.schultze/context/obituary.html>
- <http://www.dur.ac.uk/c.e.schultze/context/life.html>
- <http://www.menorot.com/cmyonge.htm>
- http://www.dur.ac.uk/c.e.schultze/works/marie_therese_de_lamourous.html

10. Temps de Prière. Mariale. A prayer service in French put together by the Marianists for July 28, 2005.

11. Prayer Service in Remembrance of Marie Thérèse de Lamourous. Written in English by Ray and Joanne McCracken (2006).

Table 1.1: The Dioceses of France under the *Ancien Régime* in 1789 (Alphabetic)

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Agde	X	
Agen		
Aire	X	
Aix (Arch)		
Ajaccio	X	Corsican; depended on Pisa
Albi (Arch)		
Aléria	X	Corsican; depended on Pisa
Alès	X	
Alet	X	
Amiens		
Angers		
Angoulême		
Apt	X	
Arles (Arch)	X	
Arras	X	
Auch (Arch)		
Autun		
Auxerre	X	
Avignon (Arch)		Department of Vaucluse created in 1793; formerly part of the Papal States
Avranches	X	
Basel		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, half the diocese was in French territory.
Bayeux		
Bayonne	X	
Bazas	X	
Beauvais		
Belley		
Besançon (Arch)		
Bethléem	X	This was a non-territorial diocese with its residence in Clamecy; not on Tackett's list.
Béziers		
Blois		
Bordeaux (Arch)		
Boulogne	X	
Bourges (Arch)		
Cahors		

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Cambrai (Arch)		
Carcassonne	X	
Carpentras	X	Vaucluse
Castres	X	
Cavaillon	X	Vaucluse
Châlons	X	
Chalon-sur-Saône	X	
Chartres		
Clermont-Ferrand		
Condom	X	
Couserans	X	
Coutances		
Dax		
Die	X	
Digne		
Dijon		
Dol	X	
Embrun (Arch)		
Entrevaux	X	Previously Glandèves
Évreux		
Fréjus		
Gap	X	
Geneva		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, one-sixth of the diocese was in French territory.
Grasse	X	
Grenoble		
La Rochelle	X	
Langres		
Laon	X	
Lavaur	X	
Le Mans		
Le Puy		
Lectoure	X	
Lescar	X	
Limoges		
Lisieux	X	
Lodève	X	
Lombez	X	
Luçon		
Lyon (Arch)		
Mâcon	X	

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Mariana	X	Corsican; depended on Genoa; episcopal residence of Bastia became the capital and episcopal city in 1790
Marseille	X	
Meaux		
Mende		
Metz		Depended on Trèves
Mirepoix	X	
Montauban	X	
Montpellier	X	
Nancy		Depended on Trèves
Nantes		
Narbonne (Arch)		
Nebbio	X	Corsican; depended on Genoa
Nevers		
Nîmes		
Noyon	X	
Oloron		
Orange	X	
Orléans		
Pamiers		
Paris (Arch)		
Périgueux		
Perpignan		
Poitiers		
Quimper		
Reims (Arch)		
Rennes		
Rieux	X	
Riez	X	
Rodez		
Rouen (Arch)		
Sagone	X	Corsican; depended on Pisa
Saintes		
Sarlat	X	
Sées		
Senez	X	
Senlis	X	
Sens (Arch)		
Sisteron	X	
Soissons		
St. Briec		

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
St. Claude		
St. Dié		Depended on Trèves
St. Flour		
St. Malo	X	
St. Omer		
St. Papoul	X	
St-Bertrand-de-Comminges	X	
St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux	X	
St-Pol-de-Léon	X	
St-Pons-de-Thomières	X	
Strasbourg		Depended on Mainz (Mayence)
Tarbes		
Toul	X	Depended on Trèves
Toulon	X	
Toulouse (Arch)		
Tournai		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, half the diocese was in French territory.
Tours (Arch)		
Tréguier	X	
Troyes		
Tulle		
Uzès	X	
Vabres	X	
Vaison	X	Vaucluse
Valence		
Vannes		
Vence	X	
Verdun		Depended on Trèves
Vienne (Arch)	X	
Viviers		
Ypres		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, half the diocese was in French territory; depended on Mechelen.

Table 1.2: The Dioceses of France under the *Ancien Régime* in 1789 (Geographic)

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Auch (Arch)		
Bazas	X	
Aire	X	
Dax		
Bayonne	X	
Oloron		
Lescar	X	
Tarbes		
St-Bertrand-de-Comminges	X	
Lectoure	X	
Couserans	X	
Toulouse (Arch)		
Montauban	X	
Lombez	X	
Rieux	X	
Pamiers		
Mirepoix	X	
St. Papoul	X	
Lavaur	X	
Narbonne (Arch)		
Perpignan		
Alet	X	
Carcassonne	X	
St-Pons-de-Thomières	X	
Béziers		
Agde	X	
Lodève	X	
Montpellier	X	
Alès	X	
Uzès	X	
Nîmes		
Arles (Arch)	X	
St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux	X	
Orange	X	
Marseille	X	
Toulon	X	
Aix (Arch)		
Fréjus		
Riez	X	
Apt	X	
Sisteron	X	
Gap	X	

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Embrun (Arch)		
Digne		
Senez	X	
Entrevaux	X	Previously Glandèves
Grasse	X	
Vence	X	
Vienne (Arch)	X	
Grenoble		
Die	X	
Valence		
Viviers		
Albi (Arch)		
Castres	X	
Vabres	X	
Mende		
Rodez		
Cahors		
Bordeaux (Arch)		
Condom	X	
Agen		
Sarlat	X	
Périgueux		
Angoulême		
Saintes		
Poitiers		
La Rochelle	X	
Luçon		
Bourges (Arch)		
Limoges		
Tulle		
St. Flour		
Le Puy		
Clermont-Ferrand		
Lyon (Arch)		
Mâcon	X	
St. Claude		
Chalon-sur-Saône	X	
Autun		
Dijon		
Langres		
Besançon (Arch)		
Belley		

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Basel		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, half the diocese was in French territory.
Sens (Arch)		
Nevers		
Bethléem	X	This was a non-territorial diocese with its residence in Clamecy; not on Tackett's list.
Auxerre	X	
Troyes		
Reims (Arch)		
Châlons	X	
Laon	X	
Soissons		
Noyon	X	
Amiens		
Senlis	X	
Beauvais		
Cambrai (Arch)		
Tournai		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, half the diocese was in French territory.
Arras	X	
St. Omer		
Boulogne	X	
Rouen (Arch)		
Évreux		
Lisieux	X	
Sées		
Bayeux		
Avranches	X	
Coutances		
Paris (Arch)		
Orléans		
Blois		
Chartres		
Meaux		
Tours (Arch)		
Le Mans		
Angers		
Nantes		

Episcopal City	Suppressed in 1790	Notes
Rennes		
Vannes		
Quimper		
St-Pol-de-Léon	X	
Tréguier	X	
St. Briec		
St. Malo	X	
Dol	X	
Verdun		Depended on Trèves
Toul	X	Depended on Trèves
Metz		Depended on Trèves
Nancy		Depended on Trèves
St. Dié		Depended on Trèves
Strasbourg		Depended on Mainz (Mayence)
Avignon (Arch)		Department of Vaucluse created in 1793; formerly part of the Papal States
Vaison	X	Vaucluse
Carpentras	X	Vaucluse
Cavaillon	X	Vaucluse
Nebbio	X	Corsican; depended on Genoa
Mariana	X	Corsican; depended on Genoa; episcopal residence of Bastia became the capital and episcopal city in 1790
Aléria	X	Corsican; depended on Pisa
Ajaccio	X	Corsican; depended on Pisa
Sagone	X	Corsican; depended on Pisa
Ypres		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, half the diocese was in French territory; depended on Mechelen.
Geneva		Although the episcopal city was outside French territory, one-sixth of the diocese was in French territory.

Table 2: The Eight Sees Created by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790
(Arranged Alphabetically by Episcopal City)

Episcopal City	Capitol	Department
Châteauroux	Châteauroux	Indre
Colmar	Colmar	Haut-Rhin
Guéret	Guéret	Creuse
Laval	Laval	Mayenne
Moulins	Moulins	Allier
Sedan	Mézières	Ardennes
St. Maixent	Niort	Deux-Sèvres
Vesoul	Vesoul	Haute-Saône

Table 3: The 26 Departments Where the Capitol Was Not the Episcopal City
(Arranged Alphabetically by Episcopal City)

Episcopal City	Capitol	Department
Albi	Castres	Tarn
Autun	Mâcon	Saône-et-Loire
Bayeux	Caen	Calvados
Belley	Bourg-en-Bresse	Ain
Béziers	Montpellier	Hérault
Cambrai	Douai	Nord
Dax	Mont-de-Marsan	Landes
Embrun	Gap	Hautes-Alpes
Fréjus	Toulon	Var
Langres	Chaumont	Haute-Marne
Luçon	Fontenay-le-Comte	Vendée
Meaux	Melun	Seine-et-Marne
Narbonne	Carcassonne	Aude
Oloron	Pau	Basses-Pyrénées
Pamiers	Foix	Ariège
Reims	Châlons	Marne
Sedan	Mézières	Ardennes
Sées	Alençon	Orne
Sens	Auxerre	Yonne
Soissons	Laon	Aisne
St. Claude	Lons-le-Saunier	Jura
St. Dié	Épinal	Vosges
St. Maixent	Niort	Deux-Sèvres
St. Omer	Arras	Pas-de-Calais
Verdun	Bar-le-Duc	Meuse
Viviers	Privas	Ardèche

Table 4: A List of the Metropolitan Districts and Their Departments Established in Chapter I, Articles 2 and 3 of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy

The episcopal city of Rouen (in the department of Seine-Inférieure) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Channel Coasts (Côtes de la Manche); it included the following departments: Calvados, Manche, Orne, Eure, Oise, Somme, and Pas-de-Calais.

The episcopal city of Reims (in the department of Marne) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Northeast (Norde-Est); it included the following departments: Meuse, Meurthe, Moselle, Ardennes, Aisne, and Nord.

The episcopal city of Besançon (in the department of Doubs) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the East (Est); it included the following departments: Haut-Rhin, Bas-Rhin, Vosges, Haute-Saône, Haute-Marne, Côte-d'Or, and Jura.

The episcopal city of Rennes (in the department of Ille-et-Vilaine) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Northwest (Nord-Ouest); it included the following departments: Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Morbihan, Loire-Inférieure, Maine-et-Loire, Sarthe, and Mayenne.

The episcopal city of Paris (in the department of Paris) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Paris (Paris); it included the following departments: Seine-et-Oise, Eure-et-Loir, Loiret, Yonne, Aube, and Seine-et-Marne.

The episcopal city of Bourges (in the department of Cher) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Center (Centre); it included the following departments: Loir-et-Cher, Indre-et-Loire, Vienne, Indre, Creuse, Allier, and Nièvre.

The episcopal city of Bordeaux (in the department of Gironde) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Southwest (Sud-Ouest); it included the following departments: Vendée, Charente-Inférieure, Landes, Lot-et-Garonne, Dordogne, Corrèze, Haute-Vienne, Charente, and Deux-Sèvres.

The episcopal city of Toulouse (in the department of Haute-Garonne) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the South (Sud); it included the following departments: Gers, Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Ariège, Pyrénées-Orientales, Aude, Aveyron, Lot, and Tarn.

The episcopal city of Aix (in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Mediterranean Coasts (Côtes de la Méditerranée); it included the following departments: Corse, Var, Basses-Alpes, Hautes-Alpes, Drôme, Lozère, Gard, and Hérault.

The episcopal city of Lyon (in the department of Rhône-et-Loire) was the seat of the metropolitan district of the Southeast (Sud-Est); it included the following departments: Puy-de-Dôme, Cantal, Haute-Loire, Ardèche, Isère, Ain, and Saône-et-Loire.

Table 5: A List of the Revolutionary Departments, their Capitols, and their Episcopal Cities
(Arranged Alphabetically by Department)

Department	Capitol	Episcopal City	Episcopal City Created in 1790
Ain	Bourg-en-Bresse	Belley	
Aisne	Laon	Soissons	
Allier	Moulins	Moulins	X ⁵⁰
Ardèche	Privas	Viviers	
Ardennes	Mézières	Sedan	X ⁵¹
Ariège	Foix	Pamiers	
Aube	Troyes	Troyes	
Aude	Carcassonne	Narbonne	
Aveyron	Rodez	Rodez	
Bas-Rhin	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	
Basses-Alpes	Digne	Digne	
Basses-Pyrénées	Pau	Oloron	
Bouches-du-Rhône	Aix	Aix	
Calvados	Caen	Bayeux	
Cantal	St. Flour	St. Flour	
Charente	Angoulême	Angoulême	
Charente-Inférieure	Saintes	Saintes	
Cher	Bourges	Bourges	
Corrèze	Tulle	Tulle	
Corse	Bastia	Bastia	X ⁵²
Côte-d'Or	Dijon	Dijon	
Côtes-du-Nord	St. Brieuc	St. Brieuc	
Creuse	Guérêt	Guérêt	X ⁵³
Deux-Sèvres	Niort	St. Maixent	X ⁵⁴
Dordogne	Périgueux	Périgueux	
Doubs	Besançon	Besançon	
Drôme	Valence	Valence	
Eure	Évreux	Évreux	
Eure-et-Loir	Chartres	Chartres	
Finistère	Quimper	Quimper	
Gard	Nîmes	Nîmes	
Gers	Auch	Auch	
Gironde	Bordeaux	Bordeaux	
Haute-Garonne	Toulouse	Toulouse	

⁵⁰ Allier had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵¹ Ardennes had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵² Although Bastia (on the island of Corsica) was not a diocese before 1790, it was the residence of the Bishop of Mariana.

⁵³ Creuse had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵⁴ Deux-Sèvres had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

Department	Capitol	Episcopal City	Episcopal City Created in 1790
Haute-Loire	Le Puy	Le Puy	
Haute-Marne	Chaumont	Langres	
Hautes-Alpes	Gap	Embrun	
Haute-Saône	Vesoul	Vesoul	X ⁵⁵
Hautes-Pyrénées	Tarbes	Tarbes	
Haute-Vienne	Limoges	Limoges	
Haut-Rhin	Colmar	Colmar	X ⁵⁶
Hérault	Montpellier	Béziers	
Ille-et-Vilaine	Rennes	Rennes	
Indre	Châteauroux	Châteauroux	X ⁵⁷
Indre-et-Loire	Tours	Tours	
Isère	Grenoble	Grenoble	
Jura	Lons-le-Saunier	St. Claude	
Landes	Mont-de-Marsan	Dax	
Loire-Inférieure	Nantes	Nantes	
Loiret	Orléans	Orléans	
Loir-et-Cher	Blois	Blois	
Lot	Cahors	Cahors	
Lot-et-Garonne	Agen	Agen	
Lozère	Mende	Mende	
Maine-et-Loire	Angers	Angers	
Manche	Coutances	Coutances	
Marne	Châlons	Reims	
Mayenne	Laval	Laval	X ⁵⁸
Meurthe	Nancy	Nancy	
Meuse	Bar-le-Duc	Verdun	
Morbihan	Vannes	Vannes	
Moselle	Metz	Metz	
Nièvre	Nevers	Nevers	
Nord	Douai	Cambrai	
Oise	Beauvais	Beauvais	
Orne	Alençon	Sées	
Pas-de-Calais	Arras	St. Omer	
Puy-de-Dôme	Clermont-Ferrand	Clermont-Ferrand ⁵⁹	
Pyrénées-Orientales	Perpignan	Perpignan	
Rhône-et-Loire	Lyon	Lyon	
Saône-et-Loire	Mâcon	Autun	
Sarthe	Le Mans	Le Mans	

⁵⁵ Haute-Saône had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵⁶ Colmar had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵⁷ Indre had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵⁸ Mayenne had no former episcopal city in its boundaries.

⁵⁹ Under the *ancien régime* it was just the Diocese of Clermont, not Clermont-Ferrand.

Department	Capitol	Episcopal City	Episcopal City Created in 1790
Paris	Paris	Paris	
Seine-et-Marne	Melun	Meaux	
Seine-et-Oise	Versailles	Versailles	X
Seine-Inférieure	Rouen	Rouen	
Somme	Amiens	Amiens	
Tarn	Castres	Albi	
Var	Toulon	Fréjus	
Vaucluse ⁶⁰	Avignon	Avignon	
Vendée	Fontenay-le-Comte	Luçon	
Vienne	Poitiers	Poitiers	
Vosges	Épinal	St. Dié	
Yonne	Auxerre	Sens	

⁶⁰ The *département* of Vaucluse was not added until 1793. Prior to that, Avignon was part of the Papal States, not France. But Avignon was an archdiocese before it was annexed in 1793 and made the episcopal city of the *département* of Vaucluse.

Map 1: The Revolutionary Departments of France



Carte 5: “Les Départements, Districts et Cantons en 1790” from *Atlas de la Révolution française* (Paris: Éditions de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1989), vol. 5.

Map 2: The Bishoprics of France (1789)



Map 2. The bishoprics of France, 1789.

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