

Saint EUGENE de MAZENOD

# ROMAN DIARY

1825 - 1826,  
1845, 1854





Collection *Oblate Writings* 17

**Saint EUGENE de MAZENOD**

**ROME DIARY**  
**(1825-1826, 1845, 1854)**

Translated by  
Ronald Zimmer, O.M.I.

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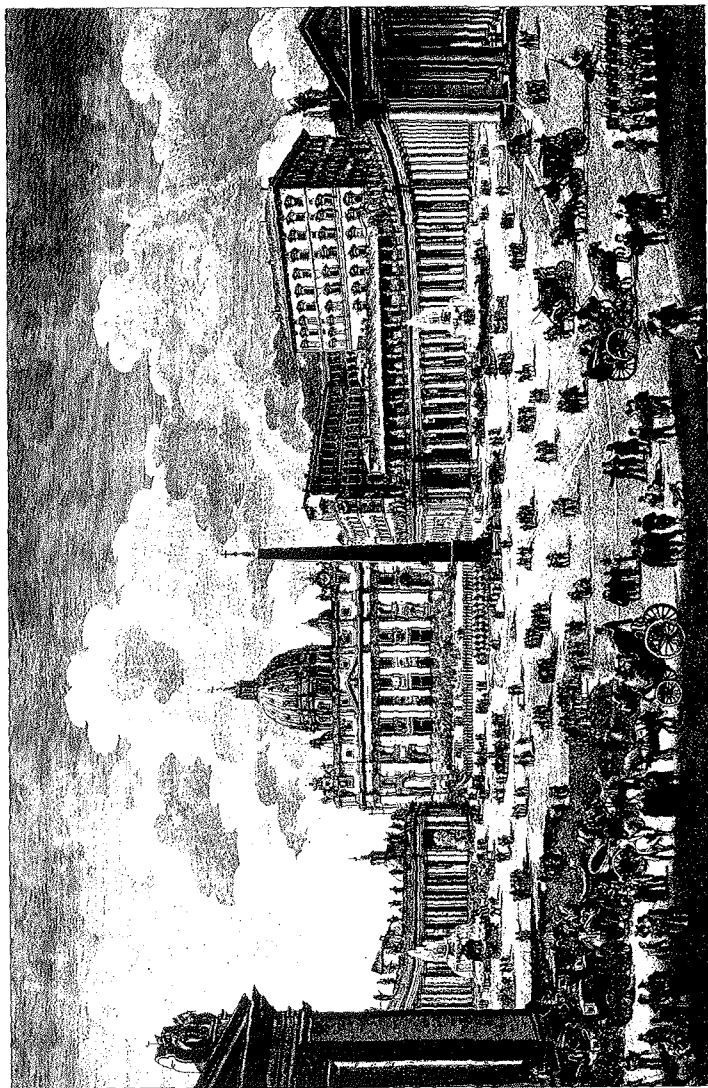
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These reproductions are found in works of Giuseppe Vasi: *Vedute di Roma nel '700: chiese, conventi, ville, giardini*; Idem: *Vedute di Roma nel '700: porte, piazze, palazzi, basiliche, ponti*; and of Luigi Rossini, *Vedute di Roma nel '800*. Dino Audino editore Collana: *Vedute d'Italia*, vol, 6, 7, 8. No page numbers or date.

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**St. Peter's Basilica and Square**

*Father de Mazenod often went to St. Peter's Basilica. On April 28, 1826, he went up into the dome and as far as "the ball which crowns it".*





## ROMAN DIARY

### INTRODUCTION

*As we continue publishing the parts of Eugene de Mazenod's diary that have been preserved, we have gathered into a single volume the pages which concern his trips to Rome. He went there six times. First in 1825-1826 in order to obtain approval of the Rules and Congregation. He left Aix on October 30, 1825 and took the land route through Fréjus, Nice, Turin and Genoa. He arrived in Rome on November 26 and left again on May 4, 1826. He went through Loretto on the Adriatic, to Bologna, Milan, Turin, Mont-Cenis, Chambéry, Grenoble, Gap and Aix. He arrived back in Marseilles on about July 7, 1826.*

*He made the second trip in 1832 at the time of his promotion to the episcopate. He left Marseilles near the end of July, passed through Aix where he named Father Courtès Vicar General of the Congregation, stopped at Gap and at Notre Dame du Laus on July 30 and August 1, then by the overland route he headed for Rome where he arrived shortly after August 15. Father Tempier, who was waiting for him, left a few days later. Ordained Bishop on Sunday, October 14, he left the city on November 4. He left Civitavecchia aboard the Henry IV on the 6th. From Livorno to Genoa he travelled on the Colombo and on the Sully from Genoa to Marseilles where he arrived on November 16.*

*The French Government protested to the Holy See about his elevation to the episcopate since it was without its authorization. Pope Gregory XVI urgently recalled to himself the Bishop of Icosia who left immediately in the first days of August, 1833. He went first by land route*

*with the mail coach from Marseilles to Nice, and by private carriage from Nice to Genoa. He continued by boat from Genoa to Livorno, then from Livorno to Civitavecchia where he arrived in the late afternoon of August 15. He was still fasting but was too late to be able to celebrate Mass. He stayed at Rome from August 16 to the beginning of December. He returned by boat from Civitavecchia to Marseilles with a stopover at Genoa. He went first to Aix and returned to the Bishop's house at Marseilles only on December 11, 1833.*

*The fourth trip, in 1845, was to bless the marriage of his only niece, Césarie de Boisgelin, to the Marquis Charles de Damas, residing at Albano near Rome. Accompanied by Canon Jacques Jeancard, he traveled there by sea from July 11 to 14, and returned from August 8 to 11 or 12.*

*In 1851, Bishop de Mazenod made a fifth trip, with Father Tempier, to obtain approval of the additions to the Rules made at the General Chapter of 1850. They traveled by boat. They left on January 21 and returned to Marseilles at the beginning of April. Pope Pius IX conferred the privilege of the Sacred Pallium on the Bishop of Marseilles, a distinction reserved for Metropolitan Bishops (brief of April 1, 1851). During this trip, the Founder and Father Tempier spent "five days" at Naples and surrounding area (Rey II, 484) but didn't have time to go to Palermo<sup>1</sup>.*

*The sixth and final trip to Rome took place from October 23, 1854 to January 4, 1855, to take part in the ceremonies for the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Bishop de Mazenod and Canon Jacques Jeancard made the outgoing voyage on the Requin, from Toulouse to Civitavecchia, October 25 to 27. After leaving Rome on December 31, the travelers boarded a government boat at Civitavecchia*

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop de Mazenod's letter to Bertrand Talbot, adopted son of Lord Shrewsbury, May-June, 1851 (*Oblate Writings*, Vol. 3, p. 71): "I would well have wished to go and surprise you in Sicily at the castle I saw being built and wherein dwelt a worthy person of your name who loved me as a son, for then I was as young as you are today. It was the Countess of Vintimille, mother-in-law of the Prince of Belmonte-Vintimiglia, who built the house of Arencilla in which you are staying. This Countess of Vintimille was born Talbot-Tyrconnel. But I had only five days to spend in Naples, so I was only able to greet you from a distance..."

*on January 1, 1855 and arrived at Toulouse, then at Marseilles on January 4. During this trip, Pope Pius IX named the Bishop of Marseilles assistant to the Pontifical Throne.*

*Bishop de Mazenod wrote many letters from Rome in 1832 and 1833, but did not keep a diary<sup>2</sup>. We have no details of his stay with Father Tempier in 1851. The diary, which was interrupted before his trip to England in August, 1850 was not continued (Rey II, 375).*

*In this Volume 17 of Oblate Writings, we are publishing the diary of the trips of 1825-1826, 1845 and 1854. There will be an introduction to each of these three sections of the Roman Journal.*

### **Value of this publication**

*We already know rather well the Founder's trips to Rome through the letters he wrote at that time, especially to the Oblates in France. It was also for the Oblates and his friends that he kept a diary during three of the six trips.*

*This parallel reading of the letters rounds out our knowledge. Actually, we find there some complementary aspects which will be underlined in the introduction to each section of the Roman Diary. Here, it suffices to mention his love for the Church and devotion to the Pope, his interest in liturgical ceremonies and religious monuments, his administrative measures and his business or friendly relations with several cardinals, members of the clergy and Roman aristocracy, his astonishment in regards to the discipline of the Roman people and the participation of men in religious ceremonies, etc.*

*We have often indicated how well aware Bishop de Mazenod was of being founder and father. He knew there would be a posterity which he wanted to be faithful to its origins, which resulted in the Constitutions and Rules he composed, the registers he wanted in every house, his numerous letters and his Diary. For example, he wrote on December 5,*

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<sup>2</sup> However, we do have his retreat notes written from October 7 to 14, 1832 in preparation for his episcopal ordination, cf. *Oblate Writings*, Vol. 15, pp. 234-242.

*1854: "These notes are destined for those whom the good Lord has given me as sons, and I see it important that they know what their father thought and did in this so glorious moment for our Immaculate Mother".*

Yvon Beaudoin, O.M.I.

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## DIARY

**of the Most Reverend Father Charles-Joseph-Eugene  
de Mazenod  
during his stay in Rome**

**(1825-1826)<sup>3</sup>**

### INTRODUCTION

Father de Mazenod made his first trip to Rome from the end of November, 1825 to the beginning of May, 1826. To assure the future of his Society of Missionaries of Provence, whose very existence was compromised by the canonical requirements of Bishops, he sought the approval of the Rules from the Holy See. For his stay of more than five months in Rome, we have available two sources of information: his frequent letters to this brother Oblates in Aix-en-Provence and his diary.

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<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is kept at the OMI General Archives, Postulation Section: JM 1825-1826. The manuscript has no title. We are using the one which appeared at the head of the text published in *Missions OMI*, 1872, pp. 335-472.

On the dark-green cover of the manuscript, Father Tempier had pasted a white sheet with this inscription: "Diary of our venerable Founder and Father, during the time he spent at Rome in 1825-1826, to obtain approval for our Constitutions and Rules from Our Most [Holy] Father, Leo XII. Note: Often he rapidly skimmed over some important questions in his diary, but after that he wrote long letters. See the letters of 1825-1826" (*Oblate Writings*, vol. 6 & 7).

The notebook begins with 18 sheets left blank. The Founder began to write on sheet 19. He numbered his pages 1 to 110. There then follow 14 empty sheets at the end of the notebook. On the front side of sheet 18, Father Tempier pasted another white paper with this text: "Diary of our venerated and dearly-beloved Founder and Father, during his stay in Rome, when he was there to request the approval of our Rules and Constitutions. Begun on November 26, 1825 and closed on May 1, 1826".

In his letters<sup>4</sup>, in a personal and lively manner, he gave almost a daily description of his trip going and coming, of his walks and meetings, giving the reasons for his efforts, hiding nothing from Father Tempier, “his intimate friend” and prime collaborator, of his concerns and even his fears, faced with the slowness of the procedure, his hopes and, finally, his joy on learning, on February 15, that the Cardinals had unanimously voted in favor of approving the Rules and that, two days later, Pope Leo XII had approved and confirmed the decision of the Congregation of Cardinals.

The diary we are now publishing deals only with the stay in Rome from November 26 to May 4. It adds very little about the efforts made to obtain the approval of the Rules. The Founder points out, as if in passing, some major events, such as the two audiences with the Pope<sup>5</sup>, his visits to those mainly responsible in the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars<sup>6</sup>, to Bishop Capaccini of the Secretariate for Briefs<sup>7</sup>, or again, on March 2, to Father Antonetti to verify the copy of the Rules according to the manuscript approved by the Pope. However, he goes into few details and always says simply that these steps and interviews concern “our business”. At the end, he gives a financial account of his expenses. His diary gives rather an inventory of the discoveries he made at Rome; essentially, it is a pilgrim’s journal. Thus, a simultaneous reading of his letters remains indispensable for anyone who may want to accompany him.

One could ask for whom this diary was intended. We believe that it was, first of all, a personal reminder of one of the great moments in Father de Mazenod’s life and in that of the Congregation. Besides that, there is undoubtedly the habit of remaining faithful to his own and his father’s principles: “Of what use would trips be, if you didn’t express reflections on the different interesting objects you so frequently meet”

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<sup>4</sup> Published in *Oblate Writings*, vol. 6 & 7.

<sup>5</sup> December 5, 1825 and April 15, 1826.

<sup>6</sup> December 22, 29 and 30, 1825, January 8, 16, 19, 20, 28 and February 9, 14, 15, 18, 1826, etc.

<sup>7</sup> At the end of February and often in March.

he wrote during his trip to Paris in 1805<sup>8</sup>. But, he also considered future readers, that is, his family and his brother Oblates whom he always kept in mind, as discreet allusions<sup>9</sup> indicate.

### A pilgrim's diary

So, this is a pilgrim's diary. It seems that Father de Mazenod deliberately chose to clearly distinguish the content of the diary from that of his letters, and in these two sources he does not mix the types. Nor is it surprising that he would also want to recount in great detail his activities as a "Roman"<sup>10</sup> or a pilgrim. He certainly did not make the voyage to Rome to ask for light from above about his future, as others had done before him, such as Charles de Forbin-Janson<sup>11</sup> in 1814 or Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort in 1706<sup>12</sup>. But he knew his powerlessness in the difficult enterprise on which he was working. Thus, he relied above all on the assistance of Divine Providence, through the intercession of the saints he visited and fervently invoked<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, he was quickly

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Oblate Writings*, vol. 16, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> For example, on Holy Thursday, March 23, he spent the day at the Vatican to see all the ceremonies. He wrote: "People would make fun of me, being at Rome, if I had not seen what strangers come to seek...from so far". On Easter Sunday, he added: "I would have to write a book to do justice to it all (the ceremony). There is one printed which I will buy to explain it to anyone interested". On April 16, he said again: "Here I am on the point of leaving Rome and I have not seen a single Villa...In order not to be reproached too much, I will make some effort to do so..."

<sup>10</sup> Medieval pilgrims, who, after the long, tiring and dangerous trip to Rome, in a spirit of faith and repentance, were happy to see their homeland again, keeping the glorious surname of Roman, Cf. Noëlle Maurice-Denis and Robert Boulet, *Romé*, Paris, 2nd Edition, 1948, p. XI.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Philpin de Rivière, *Vie de mgr de Forbin-Janson*, Paris, 1891 pp. 68, 73-74.

<sup>12</sup> Louis Le Crom, *Un apôtre mariale, Saint Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort (1637-1716)*. Tourcoing, 1946, pp. 152-167. When Louis-Marie saw the dome of St. Peter's from a distance, his emotions broke forth: "Large tear drops ran down his emaciated cheeks; he prostrated himself face to the ground. When he got up, he took off his shoes and covered the last distance which separated him from Rome in bare feet". *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>13</sup> For example, he wrote on December 21: "Up to now the good Lord has prepared the way everywhere I go. I am far from taking the credit for this advantage; I thank God alone for it, who is the master of hearts, and the holy angels and saints, whom I invoke daily for this purpose."

captured by the richness of the churches, the majesty of the liturgical ceremonies at Saint Peter's and the Sistine Chapel, the fervor of the Roman people and the Holy Year pilgrims, the beauty of the illuminations at the Forty-hours devotion, etc. Like a true southerner, he could not stop talking or, for lack of someone in whom to confide, recounting what he saw and experienced.

### **The churches**

On the very day of his arrival, November 26, he went to receive the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at the Gesù. The next day he started with a visit to Saint Peter's where he took part in the Divine Office, then in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament on the occasion of the Forty Hours devotion. From there, he set out for the Trinità-dei-Monti, then Saint Mary Major's and Saint John Lateran. He returned by way of the Coliseum and the Capitol to the Lazarists who were giving him hospitality. At least a three-hour walk!

On December 4, after stopping six times, he wrote: "I went to a great number of churches, all vying with each other in beauty. In truth, a single one of these beautiful temples would decorate a city!" He saw about fifty churches in five months. He multiplied visits to some of them. Thus, he went to Saint Mary Major's, Saint Peter's and the Sistine Chapel ten times. He usually wrote a brief historical account, sometimes with anecdotes or even legends of each one, and described the architecture, the paintings and art works he found there<sup>14</sup>.

Sometimes, he stopped simply because he was passing such or such a church by chance on his walks. Often he went there to say Mass, to take part in a religious ceremony along with a sermon, to adore the Blessed Sacrament during the Forty Hours devotion, or to gain the Jubilee indulgences.

### **Celebrating Mass at the tombs of saints**

Father de Mazenod celebrated Mass about thirty times in the rooms or in the churches where saints or future saints he venerated had lived

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<sup>14</sup> Apparently he was following a work or city guide book.



or were buried: Jesuits: Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Borgia, Aloysius Gonzaga, John Berchmans and Stanislaus Kostka, then Saint Joseph Calasactius, Saint Philip Neri, Saint Frances of Rome, Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice, Paul of the Cross, etc.<sup>15</sup> We notice that he had a special devotion to the apostolic laborers who had anticipated his own missionary vocation. He often mentioned Blessed Alphonsus Maria de Ligouri of whom he had obtained relics without having time to go and pray at his tomb at Nocera de' Pagani<sup>16</sup>. He celebrated Mass three times at St. Peter's tomb<sup>17</sup>. On January 16 he wrote: "...I noticed, now that I take stock of my feelings, that without intending to exclude Saint Paul, my devotion imperceptibly tended mainly to the Prince of the Apostles, who graciously obtained for me a few drops of that interior consolation which gives a vague notion of heaven's joy. It seemed to me that I would have been willing to die at that time, but it was only a momentary glimmer, which nevertheless left a trace during my thanksgiving. Receiving such favors is not everything, we have to profit from them and cooperate with God's mercy, which is truly incomprehensible when directed to poor miserable sinners like us..."

On March 4, he celebrated in the room at the Gesù where Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Borgia died. At that time, he only described the place but some thirty years later, after again celebrating at the same altar on November 27, 1854, he wrote: "...I always pray with a deep feeling of devotion in this holy place; I can not forget the grace I received during my first trip to Rome when I so greatly needed protection from all the saints whom I was going to invoke in each of their shrines. What a Mass that was! I can count only four or five in my life where I experienced that kind of grace; we do not ask for it, but when we receive it, we are overwhelmed and give thanks for it with greatly felt gratitude".

### **Forty hours devotion**

Father de Mazenod's faith and devotion in the real presence of Christ in the Most Blessed Sacrament are well known. He will write, on

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<sup>15</sup> One can easily find the dates in the Index of Names.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Oblate Writings*, vol. 7, pp. 67 and 72.

<sup>17</sup> December 21, the anniversary of his ordination, January 13 and 16.

March 17, 1839, that he had had special graces in this regard for a long time. At Rome, often preoccupied with the slowness of the procedure and the difficulties that arose, he felt the need for heart-to-heart talks with Our Lord. On at least fifteen occasions, he went to adore him and call on him during the Forty hours devotion<sup>18</sup>. He was astonished every time to see the churches filled with pious people and admired the splendid candlelighting. For example, he wrote on February 2: "I went ...to Saint Lawrence in Damaso to adore Our Lord exposed for the Forty hours devotion. The lighting was truly magnificent. I am convinced that there were over four hundred candles burning on the altar and in the church. The decoration of the altar included the entire back of the church and one could say that it was a flaming wall. The Blessed Sacrament, placed at a very great height, hovered majestically over this torrent of lights. It was superb and imposing. And, even though the church was full of people, there was no one without an attitude of deepest respect, kneeling with both knees on the floor in recollection, which edified me immensely...Regretfully, I had to leave this holy place where Our Lord was King in the midst of his people".<sup>19</sup>

## Preachers

Father de Mazenod also went quite often to listen to the more outstanding preachers. Every time, he could not help making observations about the material and style of the sermons he heard, since preaching was at the core of his personal pastoral work and his Congregation.

On December 26, on the occasion of the triduum prescribed by the Pope in thanksgiving for the blessings of the Holy Year, he went to hear the sermon of Archbishop Marchetti at San Carlo al Corso, then, on the 27 and 28, to that of Father Jabalot, O.P. at the Minerva. He found the first "too familiar," even though he had "a great facility with words" and used "good expressions". As to the second, he "was excellent from

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<sup>18</sup> November 27, December 11 and 31, January 2 and 28, February 2, 4, 5, 12, 26, 27, 28, March 1, April 4 and 6.

<sup>19</sup> The Founder kept a nostalgic feeling for these lightings and this cult rendered to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. During his whole life he wanted to establish this practice of perpetual adoration at Marseilles. He succeeded at the end of 1859. Then he went for adoration to the churches where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed and in his diary of 1860, as in 1825-1826, he repeated his joy at seeing Our Lord worthily honored among his people.

every point of view, filled with doctrine set forth with precision and admirable clarity ...”

During Lent, he attended several sermons. On February 14, he did not give the preacher’s name at the Gesù who “pleased him greatly; [the latter] did not at all give a flowery discourse, not an affected phrase, but what he said was solid and instructive”. On March 5, in the church of Saint Mary’s in Trastevere, he took part in the catechism lesson of a Passionist Father. It was, he wrote, “a missionary who, it seemed to me, didn’t put much order in his instruction, during which it was impossible several times to keep from laughing, as did all the listeners. What he said was good, but he said too much and especially too light-heartedly; true, it was for the benefit of the transtiberians.”

On March 7, he stopped at Saint Lawrence *in Damaso* to hear a preacher held to be renowned. “His talk on the Last Judgment,” he noted, “was the most ordinary thing in the world, relieved by a few emphatic expressions and a ridiculously theatrical delivery. He was the only one present to shed tears at the account of the upheaval of all the elements”. On the 12, he was “enchanted” with the instruction of the Abbé Spada at the church of Saint Louis of the French: with his “noble delivery, purity of style, precision, exactitude, order, piety, feeling, always at the level of the most simple of his listeners, whom he instructed and encouraged to do good”. He found the preacher, whom he heard at the church of the Reformed Fathers on March 15, less to his liking, and also the one at the Gesù on March 24.

### Jubilee Services

Father de Mazenod arrived in Rome before the end of 1825, the Holy Year<sup>20</sup>. He made the various prescribed exercises which allowed him to “gain the jubilee indulgence”<sup>21</sup> seven times. On December 22,

<sup>20</sup> The jubilee for the Holy Year consisted in a plenary indulgence granted under certain conditions by the Holy Father, with special faculties given to confessors. The first Holy Year was celebrated in 1300 during the Pontificate of Boniface VIII. Pope Paul II, in 1470, determined that there be a Holy Year every 25 years. Due to political situations, there was only one Holy Year in the XIX Century, in 1825.

<sup>21</sup> On December 9 and 15 at Saint Lawrence *in Damaso* (confession, fasting, visit to three altars). On the 18 and 24 at Saint Peter’s (procession, closing the Holy Door). On the 22 (visit to Saint Mary Major’s and the church of Saints Vincent and Anastasius) On the 30 by the visit to the four major basilicas and on the 31 to Saint Mary Major’s.

after his fourth jubilee, he wrote: “We couldn’t be too avid for spiritual riches, especially when we are as poor as I am in this respect”<sup>22</sup>.

### Major liturgical ceremonies

Father de Mazenod’s filial piety towards the Pope and his interest in liturgical ceremonies did not allow him to miss any of the liturgies in St. Peter’s Basilica or in the Sistine Chapel: the beatification of Angelo d’Acri on December 18, closing the Holy Door on the 24th, and the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, Christmas, Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Holy Week and Easter, etc.

Each time his narrative indicates that he was attentive to the least ceremonial details, “in order to profit by them at Marseilles”, he noted on December 8. “These remarks are not trifles for rubricists” he commented on Palm Sunday. Contrasting the Pope’s piety to that of many curious people on Holy Thursday, he wrote: “[The Pope] does not lose sight of the main object as do almost all those attracted by curiosity.” That day, he spent the day at the Vatican “more to comply with the custom than by curiosity”. He did not like the washing of the feet in a room filled with visitors where there was a “disgusting confusion”, nor the Cardinals’ public banquet which, in his opinion, was “too fine a dinner...for the day and an occasion for publicity”. He then added, “now that I know what it is, I would spend thirty years in Rome without taking another step to see it again”.

On March 26, the solemn Easter Mass at St. Peter’s, enthusiasm. That day he did not find himself beside non-Catholic tourists, mostly English, “idle spectators who profane our holy mysteries”, but beside “good Catholics with whom,” he added, “we could mutually share sentiments inspired in us by the view of such a magnificent spectacle, such a ravishing ceremony. I would have to write a book to do justice to it all. There is one printed which I will buy to explain it to anyone interested; but I will never be able to express my heart’s emotions, the delicious impressions communicated to my soul during the whole course of that

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<sup>22</sup> Father de Mazenod highly regarded indulgences and often made requests for them from Rome: for the youth organization at Aix in 1814 (Cf. *Oblate Writings*, vol. 16 p. 148, for the shrine at Notre Dame du Laus, the Calvaire at Marseilles, the Missionaries of Provence, in 1820-1822 (cf. *Missions OMI*, 1952, pp.73-95), for the Congregation of Oblates of Mary Immaculate (cf. *Oblate Writings*, vol. 7, p. 90).

heavenly scene. It is impossible, absolutely impossible, to imagine what took place without having seen it. The Pontiff seemed to be raised above the human condition, but the greater he was, the greater divinity of the sacrifice, which he had just offered in all that splendor, became visible to one's eyes and penetrated through them to the soul's deepest recesses; the more the homage rendered to the adorable Sacrament, which was the unique object of so great a ceremony, of such majestic cult, in the only temple in the whole world worthy of Him, became evident and imposed itself on every earthly power, which was here eclipsed before Him and reduced to nothing. How often I prostrated myself in spirit! How often did tears run involuntarily from my eyes! My soul was ravished to see my God honored in such a manner. I was deeply grateful and glad to belong to Him, to unite my feeble adoration, all my sentiments and all my heart's emotions, to the great invocation, to the sublime sacrifice of the Supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, Father and Pastor of the Universal Church”.

Therein he expressed the secret of his love for liturgical ceremonies and his interest in rubrics: “the homage rendered to the adorable Sacrament which was the object of so great a ceremony, of such majestic cult...”

Finally we note that, during Forty hours devotion or Lenten sermons, Father de Mazenod was always astonished to see the churches filled with the faithful, especially men. He was edified by the devotion and religiosity of the Roman people<sup>23</sup>, as well as by their discipline and docility<sup>24</sup>.

### **Religious Institutions**

The Founder was likewise interested in religious institutions. He visited several, especially those where French people were living: the Roman College (November 26), the Cistercian monastery at the Holy Cross of Jerusalem (November 30), the convent of the Ladies of Saint Denis (December 2 and March 12), the welcoming house of the Trinity of pilgrims (December 3), the Cistercian convent at Our Lady of the Angels (December 4), the Jesuit Caravita oratory (December 5), the

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. December 27, February 26 and 27, March 5 and 7, etc.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. February 7, at carnival time.

Redemptorist House to meet the Postulator of Blessed Alphonsus Ligouri's cause (December 29, January 6 and 14), the St. Clare Sisters of Saint Lawrence in Panisperna (January 23 and March 5), the Passionists of Saint John and Paul (February 12 and April 20), the Franciscan retreat house of Saint Bonaventure (February 28), the Ladies of Saint Frances of Rome at the Convent of Tor de' Specchi (March 9), the Lazarist novitiate (December 31) and that of the Jesuits (February 18), etc.

He always kept his freedom of judgment. For example, he noted that the Cistercian and Chartreuse monasteries were almost empty; on the other hand, he was edified by communities of more recent Congregations that he visited, especially that of the Lazarists which he knew better. On December 16, he spent some recreation time with two old Fathers of the house, one of whom was ill. Afterward, he wrote: "They are great examples of virtue, and I no less admired the concern, charity and care that the other gentlemen of the house rendered to this poor sick man, than for the attention they showed the other one. I was also happy to notice everyone's fidelity to the Rule ..."

### **Monuments and Villas**

Father de Mazenod often mentioned in his diary the monuments, squares, and "palazzi" which he happened upon during his excursions: the Coliseum, the Roman Forum, the Arches of Triumph, the Capitol and hills of Rome, the Appian Way and the Corso where he attended the horse races during the carnival, the fountains, the Saint Paul quarter and the pyramid of Caius Cestius, the Quirinal and the Vatican museum, etc.

Nevertheless, he wrote on April 16: "I hardly dare to admit that being uniquely occupied with my affairs at Rome, I made very little effort to see the curiosities that attract so many foreigners to this superb city. Being careful to search out only the monuments of which the piety of every age has left so many traces, I was satisfied when I visited a basilica, prayed on the tomb of a saint, contemplated several of their works and the places they especially visited. Here I am on the point of leaving Rome and have not seen a single villa. I have not had the time or perhaps a strong desire to go to Tivoli, or it's so-renowned vicinity. In order not to be reproached too much, I will put forth some effort to do so..."

He kept his word. That same day, he went through the Doria

Pamphili villa with two Lazarists. On the 17 and 18, he went to Tivoli where he visited the Villa d'Este, the temple of the Sybils, the grotto of Neptune, Horace's summer house and the Hadrian's villa. On April 28, he paid his last visit to St. Peter's. Passing the door which leads to the cupola, he was "tempted to see it" and gave in. He climbed the 590 steps "rather to be able to say he had entered the ball which crowns it than out of real curiosity". He admired "the prodigious height of this church" and added: "I was awestruck from the top of the cupola".

The next day, he suffered from "sciatica" which made walking very difficult. He had to give up any more walks. It even made him put off his departure for several days and he left on May 4.

### **Father de Mazenod's humour**

In all of his writings, the Founder didn't often make pleasantries, but in his diary and letters from Rome, you notice that, especially after the middle of February, he is relaxed and in good humour. On every occasion, he is able to laugh, to see and recount the amusing side of whatever happened to him.

On February 11, he was not able to enter Cardinal Pallotta's house because of his "glaciale" chamberlain. Three times he went to the home of this "invisible" Cardinal who was still in bed at noon and reluctant to have anyone see him in his "night cap". On the third visit, the 12, the chamberlain continued to reply: "He will see you on Tuesday", the 14, eve of the commission's meeting. "This bizarre manner of proceeding," wrote the Founder, "did not upset me at all; I descended the stairs laughing up my sleeve"<sup>25</sup>. On March 5, he "couldn't refrain from laughing several times" as he attended a catechism lesson of a Passionist Father, and two days later, he took pleasure in once more telling about another preacher at Saint Lawrence in Damaso who was "the only one in the room to shed tears" during an account of the Last Judgment. On March 19, Palm Sunday, he ate with several dignitaries at Count Ciorani's home and notes that, through inadvertance, Cardinal Caccia Piatti arrived when the meal was finished. He met him the same evening at the

<sup>25</sup> Mazenod to Tempier, February 11 and 12, 1826, in *Oblate Writings*, 7, pp. 25-26, 28-29.

Minister of Sardinia's place and "was tempted to ask him if he had eaten well!"

In the long account he gave of the ceremonies on Holy Thursday, the true southerner comes out, talkative and even fun loving, who commented and made tall stories about the least incident. "There is nothing unusual in these various ceremonies," he wrote at the beginning, "except the pushing of sightseers". After that he mentioned that in front of the crowd which was hurrying to enter the room where the Pope was to wash the feet of twelve priests, "the Swiss with their halberds and staffs dealt out blows to right and left in the politest way in the world..." A few moments later, he noticed the priests whose feet the Pope had washed; they were so strangely dressed, he added, that "I could scarcely keep from bursting out laughing when I saw them". In the room where the Cardinals were enjoying their "soup and five very tasty dishes...", he himself ate "a piece of bread" which he had brought. "I only took the precaution of covering my face a little with my hat, as if I were talking in the ear of the person beside me", he confided. At the end of the Cardinals' meal, a preacher came to deliver "a so-called discourse on the Eucharist...and stopped soon enough so that no one in the august assembly had the time to be bored. Actually, some of them, so as not to run the risk, took the precaution of falling asleep as soon as he mounted the pulpit". After that, the Founder went down to the Sistine Chapel for afternoon office. The door was still locked; he slipped in, "without saying anything, by way of a little stairway, well-known to me," he added, "which leads to the salon of the prelates behind the altar. I passed in front of the guard with such assurance that he could scarcely doubt that anything could be done without me there!"

He visited the little temple of the goddess Toux at Tivoli: "Colds must have been dangerous in those past centuries," he commented. "I saw only one devotee in this temple... worthy of the deity whom they used to worship there: it was an old donkey munching on a few blades of grass"<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> See the diary on those dates, and other similar reflexions in his letters to Father Tempier, *Oblate Writings*, 7, pp. 83 and 89.



The Founder's many pilgrimages at Rome, his meetings with a great number of people, the hours spent in composing requests, in recopying the text of the Rule, keeping up his daily diary and correspondence, explain why he could write to Father Tempier on January 5, 1826: "I run, I am always on the run, I am running to the Post Office".<sup>27</sup>

If he worked and prayed a lot, he also more than ever felt help from above and often expressed his gratitude, as in this text of January 10: "The good God aids me with everything in so tangible a manner that I cannot see how it would be possible not to keep in my soul a constant feeling of gratitude which prompts me to praise, bless, and thank God, Our Lord Jesus Christ and, in due proportion, the holy Virgin, the holy Angels and the Saints, to whom I believe myself indebted for the protection and consolation that are mine"<sup>28</sup>.

*Father Yvon Beaudoin O.M.I.*

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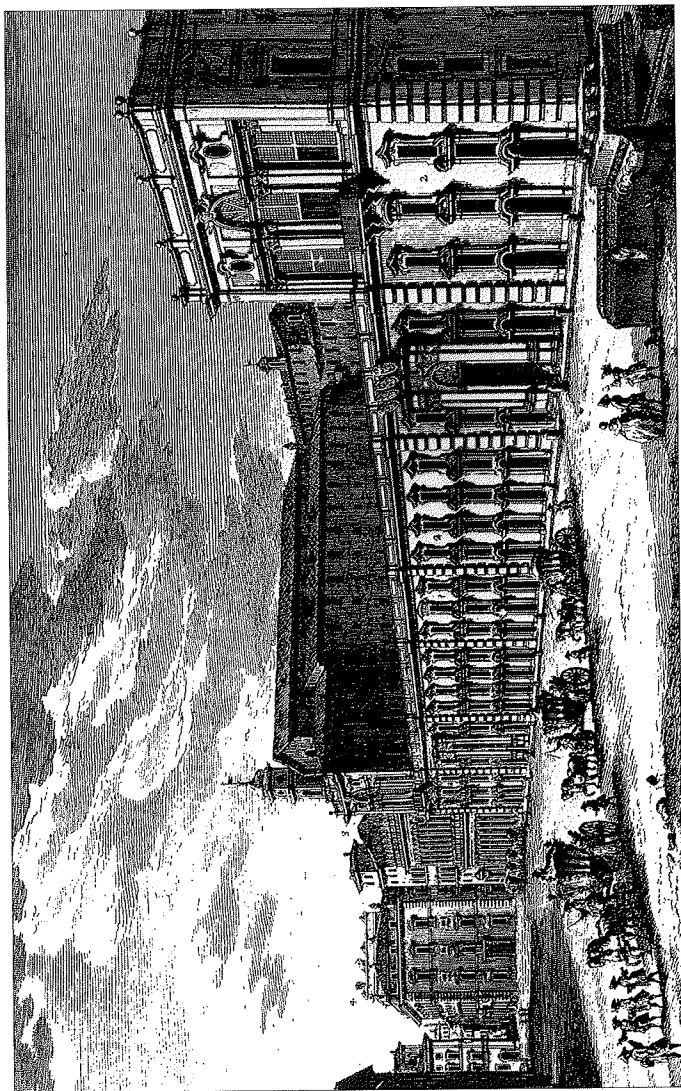
<sup>27</sup> *Oblate Writings*, 7, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Mazenod to Tempier, January 10, 1826, in *Oblate Writings*, 7, p. 10-11.



**Basilica of St. Mary Major**

Father de Mazenod often visited this basilica in 1825-1826. cf. Diary: December 2, 1825.



Basilica of the Holy Apostles  
cf. Diary: December 7, 1825



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[p.1] **November 26**<sup>2</sup>; Got off at the Roman College<sup>3</sup> at one in the afternoon. Saw Father Taparelli<sup>4</sup>, the rector, and Father Dumouchel<sup>5</sup>. Called on Monsignor d'Isoard<sup>6</sup>, received benediction at the Gesù<sup>7</sup>. Dined at the Monsignor's. Lodged at Saint Sylvester of Monte Cavallo, the house of the Mission of France<sup>8</sup>.

**Sunday, November 27:** Went to Saint Peter's. Attended the service in the chapel. All the Cardinals present, the Pope absent. The Blessed

<sup>1</sup> In *Missions OMI* of 1872, there were several omissions and a rather great number of corrections in style. We are now publishing the text of the manuscript. We are completing abbreviations, correcting printing errors and removing many capital letters, etc. In the notes, we will not give historical details about churches mentioned; one can find that in all the Guides to Rome. On the other hand, we will give short biographical notes on Cardinals and other important people that the Founder met, when we are able to find these names in the *Encyclopedia Cattolica* (Citta del Vaticano, 1948-1954, 12 vol.), the *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastico* of G. Moroni (Venezia, 1840-1861, 103 vol. or in the *Hierarchia catholica* of C. Eubel (Monasterii, ed. altera, 1913-1978, 8 vol.)

<sup>2</sup> Father de Mazenod began his letter to Father Tempier on November 26, 1825, with these words: "My very dear friend, I arrived this morning at Rome". In his letters of November 26 and December 3, he described his trip, cf. *Oblate Writings*, vol. 6, pp. 199-205.

<sup>3</sup> Founded in 1551 by the Jesuits; it was a house for secondary school and ecclesiastical studies, open to secular and religious clergy. After the Society was suppressed in 1773, the building became the seat of the Roman seminary, and was returned to the Society on May 17, 1824 by a brief of Leo XII. After 1870, the Italian government turned it into a secondary school, now the famous Visconti.

<sup>4</sup> Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio S.J. (1793-1862): the first rector after the college was returned to Jesuit hands in 1824.

<sup>5</sup> Etienne Dumouchel S.J. was made director of the observatory of the Roman college a few years before this.

<sup>6</sup> J.J. Xavier d'Isoard, then dean of the Rota, was born at Aix on October 23, 1766. He was named an assessor to the Rota for France in 1803, ordained a priest in 1825, elevated to the cardinalate in 1827, and named Archbishop of Auch in 1828. He died on October 7, 1839, shortly after being named Archbishop of Lyons.

<sup>7</sup> The Founder wrote it like that in French. It is the Gesù, the church built from 1568 to 1587 where the body of Saint Ignatius and the arm of Saint Francis Xavier are found.

<sup>8</sup> Novitiate and house of studies for the "Gentlemen of Saint Vincent de Paul", near the Quirinal (cf. *Oblate Writings* 6, page 202). Founded in 1617 and installed at the Saint Lazarus priory at Paris in 1632, which is the source of the name Lazarists given to the Priests of the Mission. In France, especially at Marseilles, they were also called Priests of the Mission of France, cf. J. Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod II*, p. 601, note 18.

Sacrament carried in procession to the Pauline chapel for the adoration of the Forty Hours. The illumination of the chapel according to the design of..., with a huge number of candles. After dinner, visited the Church of the Trinità dei Monti, met the Father Abbot of the Trappists<sup>9</sup>, Saint Mary Major, Saint John Lateran, returned by way of the Coliseum and the Capitol.

**Monday 28:** Visits to the Marquis of Croza<sup>10</sup>, chargé d'affaires of Sardinia, to Ferrucci<sup>11</sup>, to Father Rozaven<sup>12</sup>, to the French Ambassador<sup>13</sup>.

**29:** Left with the Bishop of Fossombrone<sup>14</sup> to visit the church of Saint Sebastian and the cemetery of Saint Calixtus. Went by the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, perfectly preserved and fully excavated during the Pontificate of Pius VII. It is situated at the foot of the Capitol in the Campo Vaccino where there are still to be found an infinity of fine remains such as entire columns, portions of the temples of Peace, of Concord, of Faustina, of Romulus and Remus. The arch of triumph of Titus, where one sees, among the trophies, the golden lampstand of the Temple of Jerusalem, very clearly sculptured on the stone and well preserved. The churches of Saints Cosmas and Damian and Saint Mary *La Nuova* are found on this same Campo Vaccino. People think that the Forum used to be in this place.

We continued on our way, leaving the Coliseum on the right and the arch of Constantine on the left<sup>15</sup>. This arch was erected by the Senate

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<sup>9</sup> Dom Augustin de Lestrangle (1754-1827). He is considered to be the restorer of his Order in France after the revolution. On March 28, 1817, he spent a few days at Aix, at the Mission of Provence, and celebrated Mass for the members of the Society of Christian Youth in Aix.

<sup>10</sup> Manuscript: Crosa. The Marquis de Croza was the chargé d'affaires for the King of Sardinia-Piedmont at Rome. No doubt the Founder knew him at the College of Nobles at Turin; he wrote him a letter in 1829, cf. *Oblate Writings* 13, p. 90-91.

<sup>11</sup> Father de Mazenod often refers to Jules Ferrucci who was, it seems, the agent of the Bishop of Marseilles with the Roman Congregations.

<sup>12</sup> Jean-Louis de Leissègues de Rozaven, S.J. (1772-1851) was the Jesuit Assistant General for France since 1820.

<sup>13</sup> Anne-Adrien, Duke of Montmorency-Laval.

<sup>14</sup> At that time, the Bishop of Fossombrone was Bishop Luigi Ugolini.

<sup>15</sup> This description is a surprise. When you leave the city centre as the Founder did here, the Coliseum is on the left and Constantine's arch is on the right.

and Roman people at the time of Constantine's victory over Maxentius through the power of the cross, *instinctu divinitatis*, as the pagans wrote. We passed by the church of Saints John and Paul on our left, and that of Saint Gregory the Great, built over his own house. We passed in front of the church of Saint Balbina, and somewhat further on in front of that of Saints Nereus and Achilles which they open only once a year, I think. The latter was built during early Church times on a temple of Isis; they called it *in fasciola*, tradition having it that Saint Peter dropped here a bandage from the wound made by the irons on his feet. You can see the remains of the magnificent baths of Caracalla; under these ruins the Bull and the Farnese Hercules were found.

All this part of the ancient city, which included so much magnificence, where a person can find no remains of a house or anything besides these churches and ruins I spoke about, was completely burnt by Robert Guiscard in 1084, when he came to relieve Gregory VII who was besieged by Emperor Henry<sup>16</sup>; [p. 2] so, everything between Saint John Lateran and the Capitol was destroyed. It was due to the piety of the faithful that the churches were preserved or rebuilt, the only buildings which remain here now. In his turn, Totila destroyed everything between the baths of Caracalla and the Latin Gate. You can still see the church of Saint Caesar or Caesarius before arriving at the Capena gate, or that of Saint Sebastian. The Appian Way, paved by Claudius Appius as far as Capua, began [from]<sup>17</sup> this Capena gate (from the forest and Camenian temple, built by Numa, or because you went that way to reach Capena built by Italus, near Alba).

At a little distance outside the gate, on your left you find the small church called *Domine, quo vadis*. Tradition has it that it was there that Our Lord appeared to Saint Peter, carrying his cross. Surprised, Saint Peter asked him in these words: *Domine, quo vadis*<sup>18</sup>? and the Saviour, who wished to make him understand, etc., replied: *Eo Romam iterum crucifigi*<sup>19</sup>, and leaving the imprint of his feet on the stone, disappeared.

This stone is found in the church of Saint Sebastian which was built

<sup>16</sup> This last line of the manuscript's first page continues with "in the f". The corner of the sheet has disappeared; we don't know what word completed the sentence. Already in 1872, the editor couldn't decipher the word and omitted "in the f".

<sup>17</sup> Manuscript: "par" — through.

<sup>18</sup> Lord, where are you going?

<sup>19</sup> I am going to Rome to be crucified again.

by Constantine above the renowned cemetery of Pope Saint Calixtus and is situated on that same via Appia. This church was dedicated to Saint Sebastian because this saint's body was placed there by Saint Lucina, a Roman matron. They say that when Saint Gregory was saying Mass on the altar over the body of Saint Sebastian, he had a vision during which an angel informed him that every time the Holy Sacrifice was offered on this altar a soul would be delivered from purgatory. A superb statue of Saint Sebastian lying dead has been placed under the altar. It is the work of Antonio Georgetti, following Bernini's style.

After hearing Mass (*I had said mine before leaving so as not to hold up the Bishop too long in church*), we went down into the catacombs, seized with reverent fear at the sight of those underground caves where so many martyrs lived and were buried after their death. They estimate that there were a hundred and seventy thousand, among whom were eighteen sovereign Pontiffs. The bodies of Saints Peter and Paul were laid here for some time. You can see the altar on which the sovereign Pontiffs used to celebrate Mass and another one somewhat further on in the catacombs where Saint Philip Neri used to spend nights in prayer. We recognized the spot where Saint Cecilia's body had been and the one which Pope Saint Maxim had occupied. When we had made several tours in these underground passages, following a guide, and all of us carrying a small candle which we were very careful not to let go out, we went out through the church, as we had entered, and regained the via Appia to the Circus of Caracalla and the tomb of Cecilia Maetella. A person can see only the remains of the Circus but can still capture somewhat its grandeur.

**30:** I chose this day to visit the basilica of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem. It was constructed by Constantine at the request of St. Helena, his mother, in her Sessorian Palace, in order to place in it the wood of the Holy Cross which she had brought from Jerusalem. Sixtus III and later Symmachus held two Councils there. Benedict VII restored it as well as the monastery occupied by the Cistercian monks. Benedict XIV endowed it with the magnificence it has now. The relic of the Holy Cross and a few other famous ones, such as the finger of Saint Thomas the apostle, have been placed in an alcove on the epistle side where they are shown to the faithful on the feast day. The Blessed Sacrament is also placed at a one-storey height at the end of the Church. There is also an underground chapel dedicated to Saint Helena where she had placed some holy ground brought from Jerusalem. [p.3]



The solitude of this church, so beautiful and imposing, where I was alone with my server, coupled with the reflections I had made along the way from Saint Mary Major to the Holy Cross, at the sight of this immense stretch of land once inhabited and now changed into vast vegetable gardens, filled me with a sadness that the monastery's beauty could not at all erase. On the contrary, I was even more afflicted as I passed through it, since this vast house is now nothing more than a desert inhabited by four religious. And as their one hope, they see only four young professed students, but since one is sixteen years old, one seventeen, and two eighteen, it really does not seem that they will be in a state to replace the elders when they die. The abbot is a worn-out old man who almost never comes out of his room any more, and the vicar, alas, I knew well from the trip we just made together from Genoa to Rome, is undoubtedly a holy religious, but possibly the most insignificant man I have ever met in my life<sup>20</sup>.

Returning to my monastery, I couldn't resist the impulse of going into the basilica of Saint Mary Major again. I roamed through it for half an hour without dwelling on any particular object precisely. I enjoyed the beauty of this building and, as I was going about, I was greatly edified by the great number of zealous pilgrims crowded around the penitential tribunals where the Dominican Fathers, seated in those spacious confessionals, listened charitably to them, and from time to time, extended the long cane fixed in front of them, like a pavilion standard, to touch the head or shoulders of those who knelt before them for this very purpose. The entire sight both edified and touched me. I stopped to ponder it for some time. It was noon. All these good people had been fasting till then, since they were going to devoutly receive Holy Communion to gain the jubilee indulgence after they left the tribunal. A multitude of thoughts ran through my mind. It would take too long to write them all down. The Church truly calls this great crowd of faithful to receive the jubilee indulgence. Vast shelters are open to receive them. They may stay there only three days and on the second day they are to present written proof that they have gone to confession. I don't imagine that the Sovereign Pontiffs give such powers to those confessors on the supposition that they will have to absolve only innocent people. And

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<sup>20</sup> The Founder spoke of this Cistercian monk in his letter to Father Tempier on December 3, 1825, without naming him, cf. *Oblate Writings* 6, pp. 203-204.

among the guilty ones, can we presume that many of them have examined themselves before coming to the Jubilee? Nevertheless, the Church knows that such people cannot be sent away without absolution, unless if they have restitution to make, etc. So what has happened to the period of testing? Apparently they consider that the sacrifices that these sinners impose on themselves in coming to Rome and confessing their sins in hope of having them forgiven are sufficient proof of their good will and the interior disposition of their heart. Besides, I presume that habitual sinners are admitted cautiously.

On my return to Saint Sylvestre's *de Monte cavallo* where I am residing, I found an invitation to dinner at six o'clock at our [p.4] ambassador's home. I went with the usual repugnance that I have for that kind of meal. In the meantime, before going to the ambassador's, I met the Vicar General of the Lazarists<sup>21</sup>, who went into some detail with me concerning his position in regard to their members in France whose Vicar General<sup>22</sup> did not even reply to his letters. He assured me that he had nothing to do with the Pope's decision to name a Vicar General other than the one from France for all other countries. He would be ready to hand in his resignation. But I perceived that his brothers had the very clear plan of calling their generalate to Rome, following the custom of every other group. I beg the Lord that all these men who are equally well-intentioned come to some agreement.

Since it was time for supper, I went to the embassy; the Swiss, whom I asked the way to the stairs, was about to turn me away saying that the ambassador was sick. I had so little desire to go up that I was on the point of profiting by the misunderstanding and returning home. However, I did not play such a trick so as not to compromise the good Swiss, who took me by the arm, begging me to say nothing about it when I informed him that I had been invited to dine with His Excellency. The Duke of Montmorency was actually indisposed and did not show up, so that, interestingly enough, I still do not know him even to see him. That did not stop us from eating at his home in such a way as to satisfy the most gluttonous, or if you wish, the most delicate, since the meal was plentiful and very good. We were eleven or twelve at table.

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<sup>21</sup> Father Francesco Baccari, named Vicar General of the Priests of the Mission for the houses outside France by a brief of Pope Pius VII on May 22, 1821.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Vincent de Paul Boujard.

I did not know anyone there. Fortunately, I found myself placed between the chargé d'affaires of the Netherlands, whose name I do not know, and the abbé Fea<sup>23</sup>. I spoke with only these two men, rather more with the latter who spoke Italian and seemed pleased to find someone who answered him in his own language. He is a very learned man to whom the arts owe a great deal. He has a perfect knowledge of his country's history and was appointed superintendent of monuments by Pius VII, an office he still holds today. He is the one who had excavated to its very foundation the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus and the road on which it was placed which leads to the Capitol. From there he established the truth of the tradition of the prison of Saint Peter on this street, at the foot of the Capitol. Today it is the church of [Saint Joseph the Carpenter]<sup>24</sup>, which I am going to visit one of these days.

**December 1st:** I spent almost the whole morning in my room organizing what I must do during my stay in Rome. I visited several churches, stopped at the Ambassador's home, saw Father Antommarchi, ex-general of the Servites<sup>25</sup>, and on the way back admired the superb Trevi fountain which so abundantly supplies water to all the lower portion of the city. Its source is eight miles from Rome. Marcus Agrippa, the brother-in-law of Octavian Augustus [p. 5]. built it for his magnificent baths which no longer exist. Nicholas V brought these fine waters back to Rome. Clement XII spent an enormous amount to embellish this fountain with statues, sea-horses, etc., and Clement XIII completed it by installing the marble bas-reliefs. The middle statue is gigantic; it, as well as the tritons, etc., is by the best artists.

2. I had the devotion to go and offer the holy sacrifice on the tomb of Saint Bibiana whose feast the Church celebrates today. This church is situated between Saint Mary Major and Holy Cross of Jerusalem in the middle of the fields where we can no longer find any traces of the magnificent palaces which adorned these places in Roman times. It was originally built by Saint Olympia, close to the Licinian palace where Saint Bibiana used to live and where she buried Saint Dafrosa, her

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<sup>23</sup> The abbé Carlo Fea (1753-1836), an archeologist, named commissioner for antiquities by Pius VII.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscript left a blank, which we filled in.

<sup>25</sup> Ms: Antommarchi. Father Stefano Antommarchi was not the Servite General but Vicar General from 1814 to 1823.

mother, and Saint Demetria, her sister, both martyrs. Her body was subsequently taken away during the time of Julian the Apostate. A priest, named John, made this transfer in 362, bringing her from the place called the *forum Tauri*. Pope Simplicius consecrated this church and Honorius III rebuilt it. Urban VIII restored it again and had Bernini make a statue of the saint in it. The saint's body, and those of her sister and mother, were placed under the main altar in a superb urn of oriental alabaster as large as the altar. At the lower end of the church, one sees the column to which Saint Bibiana was attached and scourged to death. The cemetery of Pope Saint Anastasius in which were buried three thousand two hundred and sixty martyrs, not counting women and children, is located below the church. What memories, what respect, what devotion do not these objects inspire! The canons of Saint Mary Major were supposed to come as usual to sing high mass but bad weather hindered them which pleased me immensely since my mass would otherwise have been set back very late.

While passing once again in front of Saint Mary Major, I entered it for the fourth time and stayed there more than an hour. I will not attempt to describe all that a person sees in these large basilicas which would be too long and incomplete. This one is situated on the top of the Esquiline Hill, where the temple of Juno Lucina used to be. The large column which stands in the square is the only one preserved in its entirety of all those which supported the great temple of Peace, the ruins of which can be seen in the Campo Vaccino. Pope Paul V had it transported here and placed the statue of the Blessed Virgin on top of it.

They also call this basilica Saint Mary *ad Nives* from the miracle of the snow; it is also named the Liberian basilica from Pope Liberius who consecrated it and had it built at the expense and insistence of the Roman Patrician John; still again, it is called Saint Mary *ad Prasesepe* since the crib of Our Lord is kept there. But it was not then as we see it now. Sixtus III had it magnificently rebuilt in 432. It is supported by forty ancient columns and adorned with mosaics. A great number of other popes have vied in decorating and enriching it with immense treasures: Gregory III, Adrian I, Leo III, Pascal I, Gregory IV. Clement III added the palace to it in 1188 and Gregory X constructed the bell tower. Nicholas IV restored the palace in 1286 and lived in it. Finally, Benedict XIV reworked the facade, the portico and restored the church and palace.

It is impossible to go into detail about the beauty of the main altar and the two large side chapels. I have never seen such beautiful marble forms as those which adorn the Blessed Virgin's chapel; the eye could never have its fill of them. [p. 6] The statues, the bas-reliefs and paintings are all in keeping. Paul V had the Blessed Virgin's chapel built wherein is laid so much beautiful marble and so many precious stones such as the lapis-lazuli, agate, etc. Sixtus V built the opposite chapel. The statues and tombs of these popes are in these chapels, as well as those of Saint Pius V and Clement VIII.

On my return, I visited the convent of the Basilian nuns, whose superior is Madam Baudemont<sup>26</sup>. Their religious habit designed, I believe, by the good abbé Sambucy<sup>27</sup>, their founder, seemed to me to be to be as ridiculous as it was ugly. I fear that these poor ladies have great difficulty in supporting themselves; they admitted that they had only sixteen boarders.

I spent the rest of the day reading the entire life of Saint Joseph of Calasanz<sup>28</sup>, of whom I had up to present only an imperfect idea. This reading brought about some reflections which were too painful and

<sup>26</sup> Anne de Baudemont (1764-1834) was a Sister of St. Clare before the Revolution. In 1802, she joined Madame Barat to found the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. She was Superior of the Ladies at Amiens when the Founder celebrated his first Mass in their chapel on December 25, 1811. Along with the Abbé Sambucy, the convent's chaplain, she prepared the Constitutions which were not accepted by Father Varin S.J. and Mother Barat. She left the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in 1816 and joined, at Rome, two ex-Ursulines and ex-Ladies of the Sacred Heart who had opened at Rome the year before a school in the convent of Saint Denis at the *Quatro Fontane*, occupied by the French Trinitarians before 1793 and property of France since then. The Abbé Sambucy composed a rule for them inspired by that of Saint Basil. That is why the Founder here calls them the Basilian Ladies and, on March 12, referred to them as the Ladies of Saint Denis. Poor and few in number, in 1834 they joined the Notre Dame Order of the future Saint Jeanne de Lestonnac. Cf. Jeanne de Charry R.S.C.J., *Histoire des constitutions de la Société du Sacré-Coeur. La formation de l'Institut*, 1974, 2 vols.

<sup>27</sup> Eugene had already known the Abbé J.B. Louis-Etienne de Sambucy-Saint-Estève at Paris and Amiens in 1811, cf. *Oblate Writings* 14, p. 230 and J. Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod* I, p. 381. In 1814, this Abbé left Amiens where he was chaplain at the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and became secretary to Monsignor de Pressigny, the French Ambassador to Rome. In 1825, after having displeased the Holy See, he had to leave Rome and return to France.

<sup>28</sup> Ms.: Calasance. Father de Mazenod spoke about him in his letters to Father Tempier on December 3 and 6, 1825, and on January 3 and 5, 1826. cf. *Oblate Writings* 6, pp. 202 and 207; 7, pp. 4 and 8.

some judgements too unfavorable regarding those who allowed this saint to be persecuted as he was to allow myself to commit them to writing.

**3:** I had planned on going to say mass at the Gesù for the feast of Saint Francis Xavier, but I changed mind, considering that today there would be too great a number of priests. I made several other morning calls, to Archbishop Mazio<sup>29</sup>, assessor of the Holy Office, whom I did not find. I visited five or six churches and, among others, Saint Andrew *della Valle*, a superb church of the Theatine Fathers. I was going to the house of these Fathers to see the renowned Father Ventura<sup>30</sup>; he was just going to sit down to eat. I came home very tired because of the fast that they keep in Rome on Fridays and Saturdays during Advent. The meal was enough to put me back on my feet.

After dinner, we went to visit the Gesù; from there we went to the Trinity of the Pilgrims<sup>31</sup>, to witness one of the most touching spectacles that a person can see. A thousand to twelve hundred pilgrims daily receive hospitality in this hospice, where they are kept for three days. When they arrive, they are received in a vast hall where they are seated on a raised bench which extends all around the room. Their feet rest on a step; beneath the bench are installed hot and cold water pipes, which allow water to run through two taps placed under each pilgrim's seat into a small tub at the feet of each one of them. At a given signal as many members of the confraternity appear as there are pilgrims. Dressed in sackcloth, with an apron tied around their neck, they come and kneel before these poor of Jesus Christ, washing their feet while they recite out loud and have the pilgrims repeat the *Pater, Ave, Gloria* and the Apostles' Creed in Italian and, while drying and kissing their feet, they

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<sup>29</sup> Mgr Raffaele Mazio (1765-1832), named assessor to the Holy Office by Leo XII in 1824 and cardinal by Pius VIII in 1830. Later on, the Founder added in the margin of the manuscript: "died a cardinal".

<sup>30</sup> Gioacchino Ventura (1792-1861), speaker and writer, who in 1825 was a professor of church law at the University of Rome. He was Superior General of the Theatines from 1830 to 1833.

<sup>31</sup> Soon after his arrival in Rome, Philip Neri founded the "Archconfraternity of Pilgrims and Convalescents", to receive pilgrims especially during Holy Years. In 1588, Pope Paul IV gave the society Saint Benedict's church *in Arenula*, which took the name Trinity of the Pilgrims, along with the adjacent hospice, not far from the *ponte Sisto* at the entrance to the *via dei Pettinari*.

repeat several times these words: *Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria, vi dono il cuore e l'anima mia*<sup>32</sup>. What enhances the edification and emotion afforded by this initial ceremony is the fact that princes, prelates, bishops, cardinals and even the Pope make it a duty to perform this act of charity, which has sometimes been enough to bring about the conversion of sinners and the return of several heretics to the Church.

The people whose feet have been washed in this way enter the dining room, where the same brothers, headed by the Patriarch Mattei<sup>33</sup>, serve them at the table. This evening [p. 7] they gave them a good soup, a copious serving of codfish very well prepared, two eggs, salad, cheese and fruit. After that they go into the dormitories where they find a bed to rest from the journey's fatigue.

Besides the great edification of this admirable work, I admired the cleanliness and abundance, but especially the good order which reign-[ed] overall and in the details of this entire ceremony. Envious at seeing so much charity performed before my eyes, I expressed the desire to share in it by serving some of these poor people myself, but for that it was necessary to be received as a member of the Company which they graciously offered to do for me. I was held back by the fear of being constrained into doing something contrary to poverty, a virtue to which my duty obliges me to sacrifice whatever might merely be agreeable to me and of secondary merit.

Any pilgrim who comes must bear a ticket from his parish priest to prove his intention to gain the jubilee indulgence. The great reception hall is set up for this verification, done orderly and quietly. They exchange his ticket for another one for him to enter first into the hall where they wash feet, then into the dining room. The next day the pilgrim must bring a ticket from a confessor to prove that he has been to confession, otherwise he would not be allowed in. The first ladies of Rome perform the same service for women in separate locales. This year they have received about a hundred thousand pilgrims like that. I forgot to mention that they consider people to be pilgrims only if they come from sixty miles away or more.

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<sup>32</sup> Jesus, Joseph and Mary, I give you my heart and my soul.

<sup>33</sup> Lorenzo Mattei (1748-1833). Patriarch of Antioch *in partibus*, was secretary for the "Holy Visits" to the churches of Rome. Named Cardinal in 1833, he died the same year. Following that, the Founder wrote in the margin: "died as a Cardinal in".

**4:** Today I had intended to return to the papal chapel with the hope of seeing the Pope take part in the Office; but since Monsignor d'Isoard was not going, I dispensed myself from making this trip, all the more so since they assured us that the Holy Father would not appear. Instead, I went to a great number of churches, each more beautiful than the other. In truth, a single one of these beautiful temples would decorate a city. The church of Saint Peter in Chains is as beautiful as it is renowned. There they preserve the chains with which the Prince of the Apostles was bound both in Jerusalem and at Rome. Tradition has it that he celebrated there the Holy Sacrifice. It was at Empress Eudoxia's expense that they built the beautiful temple which we see today, all adorned with superb columns, remains of the baths of Trajan who had added on to the ones built<sup>34</sup> by Titus. Pelagius II placed the bodies of seven Maccabean brothers under the main altar in 555 and, in 1073, Gregory VII was chosen Pope in this church. You can see at the monument of Julius II the famous huge statue of Moses, which is considered the most beautiful piece of sculpture there is. They claim that Buonarrotti, after he had completed it, was so ravished by it himself that he struck the statue's knee with a great hammer blow, shouting: "Now speak!" He did not do the rest of the monument. [p. 8]

*Saint Martin ai Monti* is of rare elegance. Gold and the most precious marble render it brilliant. It has a particular style, as imposing as it is agreeable. This church was originally built by Constantine amidst the baths of Trajan at the request of Saint Sylvester who celebrated a council there with two hundred and eighty-six bishops. Today it is in the underground church; in it you can see a piece of his marble chair. Symmacus dedicated it to Saints Martin and Sylvestre about the year 500. Sergius II restored it and enriched it with the bodies of saints. Leo IV adorned it with beautiful columns which people admire. Saint Charles Borromeo had the ceiling<sup>35</sup> gilded when he was titular of the church. Cardinal Paleotto<sup>36</sup> made the superb choir behind the rich main altar where the Carmelites chant the office. Everywhere you can see

<sup>34</sup> Ms.: has the feminine form instead of the masculine.

<sup>35</sup> Ms.: the floor.

<sup>36</sup> Ms.: Palleoti. It is Gabriel Peleotto, Cardinal in 1565, with the title of *San Martino ai Monti*.



paintings of the greatest masters, Poussin, Dominichino, etc. The bodies of popes Saint Sylvester and Saint Martin are in the beautiful crypt held up by columns which are the artwork of the celebrated Peter of Cortona. Cardinal Zelada, the present titular<sup>37</sup>, contributed in further decorating this beautiful edifice.

Saint Suzanna is a church built first in the house of Gabinius, the saint's father and a brother to Pope Saint Caius who secretly consecrated it in 290 since Saint Suzanna was martyred there. Saint Leo III was crowned Pope there and embellished it. There is [a] portion of Saint Felicity's body in this church.

The church of Saint Bernard *alle terme* faces the church of Saint Suzanna. It is an admirable part of the remains of Diocletian's baths. Other ruins from them can be seen in the form of a theatre in the garden of the Cistercian monastery where they have made a chapel from them, dedicated to Saint Catherine.

These magnificent baths which occupied an immense space gave the locality its name which is now corrupted to *Termini*. These baths were started by Diocletian and Maximianus who made forty thousand christians, all subsequently martyred, work on them. They<sup>38</sup> were continued and completed by Constantius and Maximinus, adopted sons of Diocletian, who adorned them with statues, porticos, etc. and made of them a marvel comparable in beauty to whatever had existed. Of all that magnificence, there remains nothing any more except some ruins which however witness to what this place must have been. The eight columns alone of Egyptian granite, which support the church of Saint Mary of the Angels, suffice to give some idea of it. It is one of the most beautiful churches of Rome, at least one of those which struck me most by its imposing beauty. It is a Greek cross, immense in its dimensions, the work of the great Buonarotti. Benedict XIV had placed it in the originals of the mozaic tableaux which are in Saint Peter's. Among so many beautiful paintings, you can not help but notice the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian by Dominichino. I was insatiable in contemplating it; I

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<sup>37</sup> There was a Cardinal Francesco Saverio Zelada, titular of Saint Martin, but he was no longer alive in 1825, having died in 1801, at age 84.

<sup>38</sup> Ms.: *The feminine form in French.*

remained in front of it for half an hour without having seen enough of it. The cloister of the Carthusian religious is supported by a hundred columns, but that dwelling seemed gloomy to me; possibly it is the effect of an uninhabited solitude, since there are almost no religious at all, four or five at the most.

In the *Termini* square you can see the beautiful fountain by this name. Sixtus V brought the ancient *Aqua Martia* to Rome which abundantly supplies it. The four lions, two of which are in white porphyry and two in black granite, were brought there from the Pantheon.

I also visited the church of Saint Mary of Victory which overlooks the square. It is all inlaid with marble, gildings, paintings, and sculptures of the foremost masters. The Porta [p. 9] Pia, formerly the *Nomentana* and Figuleuse is only a very short distance away. It is called Pia since Pope Pius IV adorned it according to the design of Buonarrotti.

It would be too long to mention all the other churches I visit[ed]. Retracing my steps, I contemplated only from outside the beautiful Barberini palace built on the ruins of the palace of Numa. Urban VIII had it built following Bernini's design. The Triton fountain is seen in the Barberini square. Those who work in antiques say that it is here that was found the Tiburtine foundation and the temple to Quirinus, built by Augustus.

I would have too much to say if I wished to speak of the various palaces that I met in my walks since they are infinite in number. Most of them are exceedingly beautiful. I will not even mention them for fear of making people jealous.

I finished the day by visiting His Eminence Cardinal Zurla<sup>39</sup>, Vicar of His Holiness who received me with great kindness and gladly personally wrote and signed the permission which we call the *celebret* in France.

**5:** Today I attended to some business matters and made several visits, especially to His Eminence Cardinal de Gregorio<sup>40</sup> who very gra-

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<sup>39</sup> Placido Zurla (1769-1834), Cardinal in 1823, Vicar to His Holiness for the diocese of Rome in 1824.

<sup>40</sup> Emanuele De Gregorio (1758-1839), named Cardinal in 1816.

ciously received me and invited me to dinner tomorrow. This evening I attended the devotion at the Oratory by Father Caravita, which my Jesuit travelling companion<sup>41</sup> had enthusiastically spoken about as being the creation of one of his brother Jesuits and continued by them; but I admit that I was deceived in my expectations. The service seemed rather insignificant. It was a litany of Pater and Ave Maria's with another thirty Ave Maria's besides. Lastly, I did not like the short instruction which actually had very little merit. The chapel was full of men who seemed very recollected and devout; they take the discipline two or three times a week. There are five other chapels or oratories in Rome like this one, as well attended. God is certainly glorified by them.

6: I spent the morning in writing. Before visiting His Eminence Cardinal De Gregorio, I went to the Quirinal Palace to meet the renowned Archbishop Marchetti of Ancyra<sup>42</sup>. He is a remarkable prelate for knowledge and zeal of which he has given constant proof. During the time of Pius VII he was one of the missionaries who preached in public squares. He translated the pastoral letters of the French Bishops, written at the time of the schism of '92. He is the author of several works and, even though he is seventy-four or seventy-five years old, continues to work, mainly on the controversy with the Gallicans whose opinions he does not like.

Cardinal De Gregorio treated me with rare kindness and cordiality. He recalled having seen me often [p. 10] at Paris during the time of the exile of the Roman prelates. I had actually seen him although he was not one of those to whom I rendered service, as were Cardinals Mattei, Ruffo, Archbishop of Naples, Gabrielli, Brancadoro, Canon Muzzarelli<sup>43</sup> and others. After dinner, we discussed in familiar terms at length on important matters, after which he was kind enough to describe to me in detail the work of the congregations of Cardinals. He certainly has more than his share to do and conscientiously performs all his duties.

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<sup>41</sup> The Founder had made the trip from Genoa to Rome with Father Pizzi S.J., cf. *Oblate Writings* 6, pp. 195, 199, 203. The Caravita oratory had been built in 1633 by Father Gravita whose name had been misspelled.

<sup>42</sup> Giovanni Marchetti (1753-1832), Archbishop of Ancyra in 1814, named Secretary for the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars at the beginning of 1826.

<sup>43</sup> Luigi Ruffo Scilla (1750-1832), Giulio Gabrielli (1748-1822), Cesare Brancadoro (1755-1837) and Alfonso Muzzarelli (1749-1813).

**7:** Visit to Bishop Caprano<sup>44</sup>, secretary of the Propaganda, to alert him of the favors I must ask and dispose him not to refuse them. This prelate received me very well and promised me his assistance. At the moment he is occupied with formulating a reply to the questions we put to the Congregation of the Propaganda concerning our Greeks<sup>45</sup>. Yesterday, at Cardinal De Gregorio's home, I saw all the details of this matter printed out and the decisions given by the full Congregation.

Visit to Monsignor d'Argenteau<sup>46</sup>. I ended the day with a visit to the church of the Holy Apostles for the last day of the novena for the Immaculate Conception. Ordinarily the Pope gives the blessing but the Cardinal Dean replaced him. The Church of the Twelve Apostles was constructed by Constantine near one of his palaces. It has been renovated through the interest of several cardinals and sovereign Pontiffs.

**8:** I had chosen today to profit from the Pope's concession and gain the jubilee indulgence by visiting the church of Saint Lawrence *in Damaso* but it rained so hard all day that I put it off until tomorrow, since the Pope extended his indult for the whole octave. This morning I took advantage of Monsignor d'Isoard's carriage to visit the Sistine Chapel a second time. This Pope was not there. The office is so beautiful and imposing in this chapel that I had no regret whatsoever at having been there. Today, the cardinals were in red *cappa magna* for the feast, and a cardinal officiated. At the Introit, they all recited, two by two, in their place the psalm *Judica*, the *Confiteor*, etc. The procurators general of Orders do likewise, and all those who attend, be they bishops or inferior clerics. I noticed they do not say the *Confiteor* together as we do at Marseilles, but one after the other, devoutly and slightly inclined toward each other. They also say the *Gloria*, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei*, in the same way, two by two. [p. 11] At the Offertory, the deacon comes to incense the cardinals, prelates and procurators general

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<sup>44</sup> Pietro Caprano (1759-1834), named Secretary of Propaganda in 1823 and Prefect in 1826. Cardinal in 1828.

<sup>45</sup> At Marseilles there was a small community of Eastern Rite Catholics. They attended Saint Nicholas de Myre church. The Patriarch of Lebanon changed the pastors without informing Bishop Fortuné. He found them ignorant and asked advice from the Congregation of the Propaganda on how to deal with them, cf. Eugene's letter of April 25, 1827 to Bishop Caprano.

<sup>46</sup> Charles Joseph Benoît d'Argenteau (1787-1870), named titular Bishop of Tyre in 1826. He was the Nuncio in Bavaria.

of the Orders, one after the other. Then they stand up and take off their birettas and skull caps. Immediately before receiving the incensing, they bow to the one coming after as if to alert him. They do the same at the kiss of peace. I made note of these ceremonial details so as to use them at Marseilles.

During the day, I was busy preparing the petition to present to the Pope on the day he grants me an audience.

**9:** This morning I visited the church of Saint Lawrence *in Damaso*. A person has to go to confession, fast and visit three altars of this church to gain the jubilee indulgence, as the Pope has dispensed with any other visits, etc. This church had originally been built by Saint Damasus in honor of Saint Lawrence in 380. It was demolished when Cardinal Riario<sup>47</sup> built the palace of the apostolic chancellery and he rebuilt it, dedicating it to the two saints during the pontificate of Leo X. One can see some very beautiful paintings in it and people there venerate the crucifix in front of which Saint Bridget used to pray and which, according to tradition, spoke to her several times. The famous poet Annibal Caro<sup>48</sup>, is buried in this church. His tomb can be seen against the pillar, facing the main altar.

Our ambassador's room valet came in to invite me to dine with his master today. It was past two o'clock, and since<sup>49</sup> I do not wait till then to eat on a fast day, I thanked him, not being in the habit of dining twice, least of all on fast-days. This manner of inviting someone in the afternoon to dine that very evening is peculiar to our ambassador. It must often expose him to misunderstandings.

Wrote to the Archbishop of Reims<sup>50</sup> to congratulate him on being named Cardinal. The Pope will publish him at the next consistory.

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<sup>47</sup> Rafaele Riario, Cardinal in 1477 at 17 years of age.

<sup>48</sup> Annibale Caro (1507-1566).

<sup>49</sup> Ms.: "and since this would be (or is known to be) a fast day"

<sup>50</sup> Bishop J.B.M. Antoine de Latil, Archbishop of Reims from 1824 to 1839.

**10:** The Cardinal Dean, Secretary of State<sup>51</sup>, sent to inform me that he would receive me at nine o'clock. I was there at the Vatican on time and had the honor of offering him my respects. His Eminence received me very kindly with amiable politeness, but he had completely forgotten me and all that I had done for the cardinals at Paris during their exile. I had to remind him that I had often gone to his house, had sometimes even taken meals there, that I had presented him with the *Vie de la vénérable Agnès*<sup>52</sup> (bound at my expense). At that time we were catechists at the Major Catechetical Program of Saint Sulpice. I served him when he came to say Mass at the German chapel. I was designated to find out from him, Cardinal Della Somaglia, the needs of the cardinals at the fatal moment of their disgrace. I recalled to him that he [p. 12] had replied that he would need nothing for two years but had pointed out those who would have need of help. So many things have happened since then that a person could easily have forgotten past events. The Cardinal was no less polite; but, on my part, I reflected that it would be very foolish to do good in order to gain a good reputation among men. God alone knows how to reward what we have done for him. So, we must do everything to please him.

The Cardinal spoke to me about the infamous Girard<sup>53</sup>. He told me that they were going to send him back to us, that he had retracted all his errors, but that we should not trust him for all that. He was quite convinced that he was never mad. A queer fellow that I met going from Saint Peter's to Saint Mary's in *Trastevere* would have liked to persuade me otherwise. I recognized the fellow without his suspecting. He was a certain Father Chabrier, a French conventual, a confessor<sup>54</sup> and great

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<sup>51</sup> Giulio Maria Della Somaglia (1744-1830), Secretary of State from 1823 to 1828.

<sup>52</sup> Undoubtedly Agnes of Jesus of Langeac (1602-1634), a Dominican nun whose virtues were declared heroic in 1808 by Pope Pius VII, beatified on November 20, 1994.

<sup>53</sup> Joseph Girard, a priest of the Clermont diocese. He had spent several months at Marseilles. On May 5, 1825, Bishop Fortuné de Mazenod, on learning that he was leaving for Rome, had written to the Cardinal Vicar of His Holiness that "this priest is a visionary, given to the greatest illusions in matters of doctrine and mysticism, and possibly even is guilty in moral matters". On June 13, 1825, Father Tempier clearly stated that Girard was the father of a child born to one of the religious women who lived with him. Cf. Register of Administrative Letters, Archives of the Archbishop's house in Marseilles.

<sup>54</sup> Bernard Chabrier (1743-1827), OFM Conv. official French confessor in Saint Peter's.

talker, who recognized me to be French from my dress, and stopped me in the middle of the street almost under the windows of the madhouse where Girard is being kept. Monsignor d'Isoard's room valet, who was with me, gave me away by naming me and mentioning my attributes, otherwise I would have rather enjoyed allowing him to prattle away<sup>55</sup> on my account. I knew that he had voiced several opinions at the time of the Girard affair. This poor religious who seemed very arrogant now kept a certain reserve and strongly tried to convince me that his protégé was mad. I did not think I should judge him rashly by considering him to be a liar. He soon turned back, no doubt to warn Girard that I had arrived. He would have given him a bad moment for no reason, since I never thought of troubling myself with the unfortunate man. Had he been from our diocese, it would have been different.

Even though I was exhausted (I hadn't eaten for twenty-four hours; in Rome, Fridays and Saturdays in Advent are fast-days), I had to go to the Ambassador's whom I was fortunate enough to meet this time. He also spoke to me about Girard. They have decided to send the scoundrel back to France. The French seemed to be in a hurry to see him placed under the protection of the secular arm in order to save him from being taken to task by his Ordinary, the Bishop of Clermont<sup>56</sup>. About this matter, that insipid monk poured forth some principles which would merit [p. 13] being examined by the Holy Office. The Ambassador was almost tempted to present him to me as a worthy person, but it took no more than an interview of five minutes to judge that he was nothing but a poor fellow. Such is not the case with Father Monteinard<sup>57</sup>, a Minim religious; I am in accord with the good opinion the Ambassador has formed of him.

Before leaving the Vatican, I went up to the Holy Father's apartments to find out if Archbishop Barberini<sup>58</sup> had requested an audience for me. He had quite simply forgotten the matter. I could have been

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<sup>55</sup> Dégoiser: means to talk or speak excessively.

<sup>56</sup> Bishop C.A. Henry Duval de Dampierre, Bishop of Clermont from 1802 to 1833.

<sup>57</sup> Ms.: Monténard. Bruno Monteinard, the Minime in charge of the church Trinità-dei-Monti, cf. April 4 and 6, 1826.

<sup>58</sup> Benedetto Barberini, Chamberlain for Popes Pius VII and Leo XII, named Cardinal in 1826.

admitted today, since no one was expected, but I assure you that I was not concerned about it. Taken unawares, I did not have with me the papers I must present to His Holiness, and besides I preferred that Cardinal De Gregorio and some others speak about me to the Pope before I see him.

**11: Third Sunday of Advent:** I have an insatiable appetite for seeing Church ceremonies when they are carried out with dignity. That's why I gladly returned to the papal chapel. The Sovereign Pontiff did not attend so a Cardinal officiated once more and nothing is more majestic than to see this noble assembly. After the gospel, an Augustinian Father preached in Latin. This sermon did not please me nearly as much as the one I had heard on the first Sunday of Advent. I found that this monk allowed himself to make entirely misplaced and disrespectful remarks by the allusions one could make by applying his words to the cardinals before whom he was preaching. I had two monks behind me who proved me right by their foolish laugh at each allusion<sup>59</sup>. They remove the skull cap from the presiding cardinal when he begins the Preface. He also removed it while they sing the gospel.

I was accosted in the chapel by the abbé Conti<sup>60</sup>, now become a Monsignor *de mantellone*<sup>61</sup>. This is a second order of prelates. I knew him at Paris when he was Cardinal Despuig's<sup>62</sup> chaplain. Later he attached himself to Archbishop Della Genga, who became the present Pope; he told me that he was his confessor during the stay in France.

I finally presented the letter I had for Cardinal Pacca<sup>63</sup>. This Eminence received me very politely and spoke to me about the abbé Taillé<sup>64</sup> with great interest and veneration. I was entrusted with a rosary the Pope kindly wished to send him.

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<sup>59</sup> We are omitting the rather vague ending of this sentence: "which they were apparently making on their seats".

<sup>60</sup> This is the only time that Father de Mazenod mentions him in his writings.

<sup>61</sup> A clerical dignity. Prelates who have the right to wear a red cloak on certain occasions.

<sup>62</sup> Antonio Despuig y Dameto (+1813), born at Palma de Maiorca.

<sup>63</sup> Bartolomeo Pacca (1756-1844), then Pro-Datary and Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars.

<sup>64</sup> Father de Mazenod met this Abbé again on December 20. From the context, this priest must have been from Marseilles or Aix; there is no mention of his name in the necrology of the clergy of Marseilles in the last century.



I saw Cardinal De Gregorio again and delivered the letter from Mister de Césolles to Madame Countess de la Tour du Pin. I also saw the Father Abbot of the Trappists and Father Monteinard. I ended the day by going to adore the Blessed Sacrament at Saint Andrew *della Valle* where they are holding the Forty Hours.

I noticed that at the papal chapel, the Deacon bows to the choir before he goes to sing the gospel; and at the Pontifical High Mass, when the presiding prelate does not use the precious mitre, he uses the white one which he wears, for example, during the sermon and at the *Gloria* and *Credo*. [p. 14]

**12:** I was busy at home all morning. After dinner, I went to the Colonna palace to see Cardinal Ercolani<sup>65</sup>, laid out in death on an ornamental bier. I expected to see a brilliant chapel, something magnificent. I saw only a large canopy on which was placed, at a great height, the body of the deceased cardinal in soutane, surplice and *mantelletta* with a red biretta on his head. The bier on which the body was placed was very vast, covered with a large golden cloth. Only four candles were burning around it. Many people filed past to see this spectacle which grieved me more than satisfied my curiosity, since, apart from the lack-eyes' indifference which I noticed while passing through the first antechamber, I felt a kind of horror at seeing a number of flies devouring the eyes, nose and mouth of the deceased, an outrage from which his high rank did not exempt him no more than it will protect him from the voracity of the worms which will soon take charge of these remains as of a prey surrendered to them.

I came out of the palace with these reflections and went to the home of Archbishop Mazio, assessor of the Holy Office, who received me with open arms, showed immense interest, and offered his services with which we agreed that on Sunday I will have him called to Saint Peter's so that he can arrange for me to offer mass on the confession of the Prince of the Apostles, and after that, to get me a good place to observe the beatification ceremony for the venerable [Angelo d'Acrid]<sup>66</sup> which is to take place that day. I no doubt owe this fine welcome to the letter of recommendation which was given me for this prelate by the Archbishop

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<sup>65</sup> Luigi Ercolani (1758-1825), named cardinal in 1816.

<sup>66</sup> Angelo d'Acrid, (+1739) a capuchin. This name is omitted in the manuscript.

of Genoa<sup>67</sup> who showed me such courtesy when I passed through his archiepiscopal city.

**13:** I have nothing to note down today. I am delighted with the beautiful scene I see from my window, from which I look out over the whole city, seeing in front of me, below the garden of the house where I am living, the gardens of the Colonna palace; just opposite, at a short distance, the domes of the Gesù and other churches; Saint Andrew's *della Valle* is a little further on; Trajan's column is on the left and the Capitol is a short distance from there; Saint Ignatius, the Roman College and the observatory are on the right. Beyond them, are the column of Antoninus, *Montecitorio*, the Piazza del Popolo and so many other outstanding buildings; but, above all, the beautiful Vatican and Saint Peter's incomparable dome, in a word, the whole city. I went out for only a moment to see our dear Dean of the Rota, who, [p. 15] I hope, will soon be cardinal. He was going to dine with the French Ambassador who had invited today, the feast of Saint Lucy, all the canons of Saint John Lateran and other prelates. Since he did not honor me with an invitation, I dispensed myself from going to see him officiate this morning at that basilica of Saint John Lateran. Representing the King of France who is a canon of this basilica, he was present at the office on a stand placed in the midst of the choir stalls, higher even than the thrones of the cardinals. He was incensed immediately after them and before the canons. He did everything but intone the *Deus in adiutorium*. This has been a custom since the time of Henry IV.

**14:** I did not bother going to the funeral for Cardinal Ercolani, which all the cardinals were to attend. I went instead to visit Bishop Caprano, secretary of Propaganda, who informed me with satisfaction that the Supreme Pontiff had granted all the favors I had requested, and that he had used these exact words when speaking of my uncle: "Oh! The Bishop of Marseilles is a worthy man." And the Bishop kindly added that his nephew was worthy of him. Without dwelling on Bishop Caprano's reflection, which may nevertheless be useful in view of the good I hope for, I was greatly consoled that the Head of the Church thought so well of an uncle whom I so rightly cherish.

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<sup>67</sup> Luigi Lambruschini (1776-1854), Archbishop of Genoa from 1819 to 1827, then Nuncio at Paris from 1827 to 1831, Cardinal in 1831, Secretary of State in 1836.

During the day, I was introduced to Cardinal Guerrieri-Gonzaga<sup>68</sup>, who received me in the way I am accustomed to being received everywhere. At this Eminence's place, I met Reverend Father Fortis<sup>69</sup>, the Jesuit General, a very respectable man, but who appeared stricken with age and infirmities.

**15:** Today again I fulfilled what is prescribed to gain the jubilee indulgence for the holy souls in purgatory, according to the indult granted to this effect by the Supreme Pontiff. I visited the church of Saint Lawrence *in Damaso* and the designated altars. May God render profitable to the holy souls, especially the souls of my dear relatives, the suffrages I applied to them. My father, who died so saintly in my arms, my dear grandmother [p. 16] whom I so tenderly loved, my grandfathers, my great uncle, my aunt, who assuredly came to mind as they are always present with me at mass. I don't know why I also mentioned my sister who died so young; but it is out of affection that my dear little niece Caroline also daily appears in this picture, since she certainly doesn't need my prayers. But, that is what my heart is like, it can not forget anyone it loves, living or dead.

**16:** Immediately after my mass, I went to the Vatican to see His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State. This time, we conversed in Italian. He was kind enough to tell the Holy Father of my desire to kiss his feet and have an audience with him. The Holy Father gladly granted this favor. The Cardinal gave me some instructions on what to do. When I am ready, he will present me himself, if I so desire. After leaving His Eminence, I went into Saint Peter's where, for more than an hour, I admired the beautiful artworks in that church, which I could never get tired of seeing. They were working hard to prepare the beatification of the servant of God, Venerable Angelo d'Acri. That ceremony is to take place on Sunday.

I spent my recreation with Mister Collucci<sup>70</sup>, one of our Lazarists, seventy-four years old. I would not have given him more than sixty. I can not express how much I admired his beautiful simplicity, the beauty

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<sup>68</sup> Cesare Guerrieri-Gonzaga (1742-1832), named Cardinal in 1819, was Pro-secretary of the "*Memoriali*" at that time.

<sup>69</sup> Luigi Fortis (1749-1829), Jesuit General, elected in 1820.

<sup>70</sup> Bartolomeo Antonio Collucci (1753-1830).

of his soul and the sentiments he expressed with admirable kindness. He is almost totally infirm although it isn't noticeable; however, that still did not stop him from travelling to give missions this year, but serious sickness obliged him to turn back, or rather his doctor's orders, since he was all ready to keep on going. He told me that what always sustained him was peace of soul which he had always been lucky enough to enjoy in his holy state, and that he thanked God every day for his vocation. I had already noticed the charity he showed in always being ready to go to the confessional and how respectfully he treated everyone. I consider this holy priest to be a great servant of God. He told me again that what contributed most to his happiness was receiving everything from God's hands.

There is also another invalid in the house who had not been out of his room for eight years. He was a great missionary but now is half paralyzed. In this state, he still hears confessions and is always happy and resigned. They are great models of virtue, and I equally admire the concern, charity, and care that the other members of the house render this poor [p. 17] sick man, and the attention they pay the first one. I also gladly observed how they all faithfully followed the house rules. Everything functions well on its own. I am grateful to God for having placed me in a situation where I could marvel at such sustained good conduct. There is only one thing that really bothers me, that, even though I am far behind them in virtue, they all smother me with every sort of consideration and treat me with respect I certainly do not merit.

Besides living with such holy people, there is another remarkable circumstance which often during the day furnishes me with some good thoughts; that is, that Blessed Tomasi<sup>71</sup> lived forty years in this same house, which seems to be completely imbued with the good odor of his virtues, and that my venerable master, venerable Dom Bartolo Zinelli<sup>72</sup> died here in the odor of sanctity, since they attribute several miracles and various prophecies to him; I came across the plaster mold that retraced his features, and his body rests in the church where I have the daily good fortune of celebrating holy mass.

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<sup>71</sup> Ms.: Tommasi. Giuseppe Maria Tomasi, of the Theatine Regular clergy (1649-1713), cardinal, beatified in 1803, canonized on October 12, 1986.

<sup>72</sup> Don Bartolo Zinelli, born in 1772, entered the Society of Faith in 1799. Died in 1802 in the Saint Sylvestre house at the Quirinal which belonged to that Society for a few years before its dissolution in 1806.

**17:** I have nothing to report on today. The Abbé Bourdet, a priest from the Avignon diocese, who is called by a consistent vocation to the missions among unbelievers, took up my morning from thanksgiving after mass until dinner time. He made me read all his letters and shared his dispositions which could not be more edifying, since he longs for martyrdom as others do for rest. I spoke very favorably about him to the Cardinal Secretary of State, and gave him other signs of my good will to help him advance his cause here. In return, this holy priest will give me a small share in his prayers and good works. In the afternoon, another priest, less interesting but to whom charity made it my duty to listen, likewise took up time that I had planned to spend more usefully, or at least more agreeably, since I had to write to our family.

**18:** This was a memorable day. I went to Saint Peter's where Archbishop Mazio had me placed in a privileged spot, where I was able to see and hear everything marvelously. First of all, I saw the entire part of Saint Peter's church from the confession to the far end where Saint Peter's chair is, held up by four Doctors of the Church, two Latin and two Greek, lit up by a prodigious number of candles, for the day of the beatification of Blessed Angelo d'Acri, priest and Capuchin missionary, whose covered image was hung up at a great height, all surrounded with torches. When the time [p. 18] for the ceremony arrived, the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and all the other members of that Congregation took their places on the gospel side benches, with the Chapter of Saint Peter, and Cardinal Galleffi<sup>73</sup>, archpriest, at the head, facing them on the Epistle side. The Vice-regent Bishop officiated pontifically. The Capuchin General approached the Cardinal Dean who put on his biretta while the religious spoke to him in Latin, a speech no one was able to hear. When that was over, the Cardinal handed the decree of beatification to a cleric dressed in surplice, who mounted the pulpit and read it aloud. As he completed reading the decree, the veil covering the saint's image was lowered and the officiating Prelate intoned the *Te Deum*. Then he said high mass of the Blessed. The sung music at this mass, accompanied only by the organ, was superb. The clergy left after mass, but we carefully kept our places, aware that the Supreme Pontiff would soon come to pray before the saint's image. While we were wait-

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<sup>73</sup> Ms.: Galeffi. Pietro Francesco Galleffi (1770-1837), made Cardinal in 1803. At that time he was Camerlengo.

ing, Archbishop Mazio was thoughtful enough to offer me the life and image of the newly beatified which they had distributed to all the cardinals and prelates. When I noticed that the Duke of Blacas<sup>74</sup> was there, I could not resist going over to him for a moment; but when the Pope arrived, accompanied by several cardinals, I took my place again, which a young French writer had kept for me. I was able to leisurely savor the Holy Pontiff who prayed with angelic fervor at his kneeler. I united my prayers to his and was enjoying contemplating him, when Monsignor d'Isoard's chaplain came and brought me out of ecstasy, telling me that the Monsignor had been waiting for me in his carriage more than three quarters of an hour. At that moment, the Pope rose, so I was consoled for being obliged to leave. I glanced at the whole audience. I saw many who were looking with curiosity and even with interest; but did not recognize any others who shared the sentiments of profound veneration, mixed with kindly affection, which filled my soul. Such is the result of a faithfilled habit of regarding this object.

We returned to the Mattei palace where Monsignor d'Isoard stays; we had a light lunch and quickly got back into the carriage to go in procession to Saint Peter's, where a confraternity had arranged to gain the jubilee indulgence by making a station at Saint Peter's. The Monsignor Dean of the Rota, in his prelate's garb, carried the crucifix, I was beside wearing my soutane and long coat. As we went along, we sang the litany of the saints and I felt a real pleasure [p. 19] in making the streets of the christian world re-echo my voice, singing the praises of God. When we arrived at Saint Peter's we were presented for veneration by the faithful the famous relics of the Passion, such as the wood of the true cross, the holy lance, etc. I was deeply moved by the profound silence which reigned in that entire basilica during this ceremony. Everyone was kneeling in the most pious prayer. Nevertheless, it was an immense crowd. I should remark in this regard, what I have noticed ever since I came to Rome, continually making the rounds of churches; that I have noticed always and everywhere there has been the greatest respect, and that the piety of the faithful, who are however all ordinary people, poor peasants, most of them in rags, always edifies me more and more. At

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<sup>74</sup> Pierre-Louis-Jean-Casimir de Blacas d'Aulps (1771-1839), Ambassador to Naples at that time.

night, we came back singing the *Te Deum*. The ceremony concluded with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament given by the Monsignor Dean of the Rota.

**19:** The Abbé Bourdet took up my morning; I went with him to the Propaganda to act as his interpreter with Bishop Caprano. I would never have believed that I would be an influence at Rome. Nevertheless, I was glad to be able to help out this holy priest. We straightened out his problem. The Prefect of the Propaganda will give him a letter: I will grant him certain faculties and he will leave for Paris, from where he will continue on to be among the non-believers and there possibly shed his blood for Jesus Christ. I took the opportunity of making an agreement with him to pray for each other, from which I will benefit the most.

**20:** At nine o'clock this morning, I got into the Dean Monsignor's carriage and went to the Vatican. It was the day to present myself to His Holiness. The Cardinal Secretary of State had already informed him of my desire to present to him the homage of my respectful devotion. Bishop Caprano had spoken to him about me. He was kind enough to reply to Archbishop Mazio, who had told him the most positive things in my regard, that he had replied to the Cardinal Secretary of State that he would be most happy to receive me; that I had only to present myself for an audience. Cardinal Della Somaglia was kind enough to tell me, however Monseigneur Chamberlain did not take the trouble to let me know, as he had agreed with Monsignor d'Isoard. When I saw this good master, Monseigneur Barbarini, I was not surprised at his carelessness; he is as useless as one can imagine; which does not stop him from being a good priest. I told him politely that, seeing he had forgotten [p. 20] me and not being able to defer any longer my appearance before His Holiness without incurring some reproach, I had come without any notice to beg the Monseigneur to kindly alert the Holy Father, as soon as the ministers had left, that I was in his antechamber. There is total order in this admirable Court. The audiences are planned on a daily basis, as I hear from those who work with the Supreme Pontiff. To inform everyone, there is a printed timetable hung up in the antechamber nearest the office of His Holiness. I waited in that one, in my role of Grand Vicar, a sort of prelature in Italy; they call us Monseigneur. Waiting until those who work with the Holy Father had gone through (today, Tuesday, is was the Secretary of Briefs, Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, the Pope's Bishop *elemosynarius* and the Master of the Sacred Palace), I met the Archbishop of

Siena<sup>75</sup>, who recognized from my dress that I was French and came over to me to chat a little about France where he had been exiled during Napoleon's time. He could not get enough of praising the welcome he had received and all the kindness people had shown him. Cardinal Pacca also spoke to me and invited me to come and see him again. He had read more carefully, according to what he told me, the letter of Mister Taillé who had recommended me to him, and added other very high praise, and was called to the Holy Father as he was talking with me.

I was the first to go in among those who had no set audience time, which astonished the Dominican Reverend Father General<sup>76</sup>, who felt sure that his turn would come before mine; but since the Holy Father had called me first, I obeyed without excusing myself. His Holiness was in his small bedroom; it seemed not very spacious to me. Near the alcove, closed off by drapes of crimson damask, the Pope was seated on a couch, leaning on a desk in front of him. People usually make three genuflections, whereas I could make only one; the Pope graciously motioned me to advance; I knelt at his feet and prostrated myself, but was unable to kiss his feet, since he apparently did not want to move them forward. He immediately told me to get up again; I did not want to; he insisted, but I begged him to allow me to remain kneeling since the posture suited me fine. He seemed to give in reluctantly; his face told me that as well as his words, full of charity and kindness. I will not begin to transcribe [p. 21] everything that happened during that precious audience which lasted for more than half an hour, to the undoubted regret of the Dominican Father who had not had lunch, nor more than I who had been fasting. The Pope showered me with indescribable kindness. He talked for a long time and listened very attentively when it was my turn to speak. We talked in Italian and he always referred to me in the third person, the most polite form. He gave me very detailed explanations where he could have abbreviated things. He granted me with a word everything I requested. Having the consideration himself of indicating a special person<sup>77</sup> to whom I should speak for a certain matter,

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<sup>75</sup> Giuseppe Mancini, Archbishop of Siena from 1824 to 1856.

<sup>76</sup> Joachim Briz O.P., 67th Master of the Order from 1825 to 1831, named Bishop of Segovia in 1832.

<sup>77</sup> The Founder wrote in the margin: the Archpriest Adinolfi, Pro-Secretary of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars.



he took the trouble of trying to recall where the person lived; he at least told me where he worked and where I would be sure to find him; but since he was afraid I would not remember his name, the Holy Father pressed his kindness so far as to take a square piece of paper from his desk, himself moved the inkwell over to me and handed me the pen for me to write it down. I must confess that I was so confused and I was deeply moved; and I kept that address, written with the Pope's pen, out of respect and at the same time a souvenir of his boundless goodness. I am only sorry that, having written it while kneeling and at the edge of the Holy Father's desk on which there was a pile of papers, it is only a scribble. Before I got up to go, he told me: do not leave right away, I hope we will see each other again. I still could not kiss his feet as I was leaving, but asked at least for his blessing which I received with a deep bow, my heart full of consolation and joy.

**21:** I had chosen this anniversary day of my priesthood to go and offer the holy sacrifice on the Confession of Saint Peter. The Abbé Bourdet came to get me very early in the morning and we made our way as devoutly as possible to the basilica. We were immediately given assistance. A person can not descend into the crypt without feeling emotions of respect and devotion. I said the mass of Saint Thomas over the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, one of which rests under this altar, near those of the holy Roman pontiffs [p. 22] from the first centuries of the Church. My mass must have been long since I wanted to console myself in recalling to mind individually, at the memento, all those whose salvation is especially dear to me. It was an act of communion rendered very fitting by the place and the occasion. I served the mass of my companion who had done the same for me, and the thought that this holy priest came to this tomb of the Holy Apostles to draw strength to confess the faith in the midst of torments in pagan lands and to receive from them in some way his first mission, inspired me with great veneration for him and some kind sentiments, in as much as I am capable.

I found Archbishop Mazio in the sacristy. He had recommended me to the head sacristan. I attended Matins and Lauds, and during Prime he wanted me to take cup of cocoa with him, in the room for this purpose in the beautiful living quarters of the sacristy, built by Pope Pius VI.

I noticed at this Office, which was not bad: 1 - that the main stalls were reserved for the canons, the secondary ones for someone who holds a benefice; 2 - that the lessons of the first and second nocturns are

sung by those holding benefices, those of the third nocturn by the canons; 3 - that the assigned weekly leader wears the cope for Lauds, as do the two beneficiary cantors; 4 - that the one presiding goes to his own stall, even though he's wearing the cope, his place is the first one on the gospel side; 5 - that they incense every canon and everyone with a benefice. I had noted the same thing at the Papal chapels. The Prelate who is saying the mass waits and only starts the Preface near the end of the incensing; 6 - that they incense the canons before the choristers even though the latter are in cope; I have always been shocked at Marseilles by the contrary; that must absolutely be changed; 7 - that at the *Benedictus*, when the one presiding comes to incense the altar, two canons, dressed in choir robes, come forward to assist him, that is to say, they come forward and take their places at the foot of the altar steps; 8 - here, as well as at the Papal chapel, whether at the time of incensing or at the sign of peace, the canons bow to each other in turn, as if to alert each other; 9 - at the *Introit*, as in the Papal chapel, the canons recite it two by two, alternating, up to and including the *Oremus*, as well as the *Gloria*, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*.

I had really wanted to spend this day on retreat, but I had to go to see the person indicated to me by the Holy Father. I was very pleased with it and, certainly, he could have found my visit most inopportune, since it was his dinner time [p. 23] and a holiday. But right up to the present, the good Lord has prepared the way, everywhere I have gone; I give thanks for it only to God, who is the master of hearts, and the holy angels and saints whom I daily invoke for this purpose.

**22:** It is impossible to be too avid for spiritual riches, especially when someone is as poor as I am in this respect. So, I gladly seized the opportunity of gaining the Jubilee indulgence again. The Pope has granted to all associates of the Sacred Heart that they may gain the indulgence by visiting one of the four basilicas and another church where they venerate the image of the Sacred Heart. For that reason, I went to Saint Mary Major, the basilica closest to my residence, and to the parish church, where the Popes go when they live in the Quirinal. It is dedicated to Saints Vincent and Anastasius, and every Pope who had died at the Quirinal has left part of his body to this church. Their names are inscribed on two marble tables on the right and left of the sanctuary.

Cardinal De Gregorio had invited me to dinner. There, I met two new secretaries: that of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars,

Archbishop Marchetti *in partibus*, and Bishop Sala<sup>78</sup>, that of the Council. These are positions for the cardinals. The brother of Father Taparelli, Rector of the Roman College, son of the Marquis d'Azeglio, my friend<sup>79</sup>, was also at this dinner, and a unique character, called the Count<sup>80</sup>, who was planning to form a colony in Mexico, of which I will certainly not be the chaplain.

**23:** It rained all day; I did not go out. However, I received an interesting visit from a true lackey, who was the twentieth like that to come and ask for a handout. I asked him for what reason? would anyone guess? A friend, going to his master, had written my name at the door. I found the pleasantry too much and sent him away empty handed. This fine fellow was astonished and said: "But, Your Excellency, the serviette?" "I didn't touch any serviette at your master's place since I didn't even see him. Be gone in peace and don't come back." Something similar happened to me a few days ago. As I was leaving the home of the Cardinal Secretary of State, I was going up to the Holy Father's apartments; at the landing, Monsignor d'Isoard's chamberlain, who was with me, said to me clearly: "Possibly the Bishop Chamberlain has come home". "Yes, my master is up there", replied a lackey who just happened to be present. That was enough for him to be at my door two hours later asking for a tip for the Bishop Chamberlain's family. [p. 24] I was afraid that he would have made fun of me with other bums<sup>81</sup> like himself, if I had been naive enough to give him even a penny. Actually, they are satisfied with very little. The tax they demand for anyone who sets foot in their master's home is 36 sous; but this little tribute is collected by many tax gatherers. I rightly refused 3 *paoli* to such impertinent valets with whom I had nothing to do; however, I willingly gave 30 to the servants of Monsignor d'Isoard where I go every day.

**24:** I went to see the archpriest, Monsignor Adinolfi, very early this morning. His account of what took place during his audience with the Pope last night redoubled my gratitude and love for this holy Pontiff who, in giving me new signs of his protection for a work that eminently

<sup>78</sup> Antonio Sala (1762-1839) who will be named Cardinal in 1831.

<sup>79</sup> It seems he knew him during his seminary in Paris, cf. Rey I, 110 and 381.

<sup>80</sup> The Founder did not write the name.

<sup>81</sup> A man without dignity.

interests religion, proves how dear it is to him and how worthy he is to be its head<sup>82</sup>. Coming home, I visited the church of Saint Pantaleon, where lies the body of Saint Joseph Calasanctius, to whom I fervently recommended myself.

In the evening, I went to get a seat near the Holy Door to see the Pope close it with the customary ceremony. It was not easy; even though I was armed with a note from the ambassador, I had to get assistance from Cardinal De Gregorio to get into the enclosure, and even there I had to use my elbows to get a place. I had to force myself, with pressing and serious arguments, to get into the tribunal entrance which they had carefully decorated as a colonnade: English people were blocking the way, even though I could see empty places in the back. I got there with some difficulty. Those who tried to keep their place near the colonnade were unpitiously chased away when the Pope arrived.

Waiting for the ceremony to start, I had time to observe all the preparations. The whole makeshift colonnade on the side of the Holy Door was covered by a crimson colored cloth with golden fringes, that is, imitation gold. There was a two-tiered seating gallery all along, the upper level for the women, the lower for the men. The Supreme Pontiff's throne was situated to the right of the Holy Door, to the sides, and in front of which, were benches for the cardinals. To the left of the Door, there was a large credence table, on which they had placed three golden bricks and all the tools for building, that is, a gold-plated trowel, two silver-plated basins, cement, etc. Behind the credence table were seats for the confessors of Saint Peter's and the Heads of Orders; a little further behind was a large seating area for musicians.

When the signal was given, the procession left the Vatican palace, with all the prelates, cardinals, etc. carrying lighted candles. They were all vested according to the custom of their order, wearing white mitres. The Pope came last, with a golden mitre on his head [p. 25], preceded by the senate and leaders of his guards. As he passed through the basilica, he venerated relics of the Passion, such as the wood of the true cross, the lance, etc., then, he stopped at the Blessed Sacrament altar to

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<sup>82</sup> Monsignor Adinolfi had concluded his report to the Pope saying that he should praise the rules. The Holy Father replied: "My intention is not only to praise these rules, but to approve them", cf. *Oblate Writings* 6, p. 223.

adore the One to whom the cult rendered to the holy relics pertained. The procession continued through the Holy Door itself and everyone took his place. The Pope sat on his throne. He descended from it to bless the bricks and cement, holding in his hand the lighted candle he had carried in procession. Then the Pope knelt down in front of the Holy Door, wearing his mitre and, taking the trowel, he spread out the cement three times, saying a short prayer each time. He then placed the three bricks in the same way and concluded by making the Sign of the Cross three times. While the Pope was carrying out this procedure, the choir sang the hymn: *Coelestis Urbs Jerusalem*. The Pope ascended his throne again and washed his hands in a bowl presented him by a Roman prince. He recited several verses, to which the choir replied and a prayer. After the cardinals and prelates had extinguished their candles, the Pope intoned the *Te Deum*, and after it was finished, the Supreme Pontiff, standing before the cross, consequently bareheaded, gave the solemn blessing to which he attached the plenary indulgence, *in forma jubilaei*, which the two assisting Cardinal deacons proclaimed immediately after, one in Latin and the other in Italian. The cardinals accompanied the Pope to a little sacristy, set up especially for this occasion with colored drapes, and then they all left. I went out also with Monsignor d'Isoard who, in his role as Dean of the rota, carried the Pope's mitre for this ceremony.

**25:** Everything considered, I preferred to follow the program of the house where I was staying rather than go and run to some basilica to attend midnight mass. Since it is forbidden to give Communion at this mass, the members in our house did not start the Office until after two o'clock; in this way, mass was hardly said before dawn and the community could satisfy its devotion by receiving Communion at it. I took part in the Office and said my first mass during High mass, and the two others immediately following the first. I usually do not do it that way, but I had to adjust myself to the circumstances; I was not sorry I had done so.

At ten o'clock I went to the Sistine Chapel to attend Mass offered by Cardinal Pacca; the Cardinal Deacons received Communion at this mass. After the mass, the Pope went in his portable chair to the room which had been prepared in the upper part of the facade of Saint Peter's, where there is a great balcony from which the Pope gave that Solemn Blessing of which everyone justifiably speaks. The prelates and cardinals had gone there first; I threaded my way through to get a glimpse of

the square which presented a superb spectacle, since it was jammed with an enormous crowd of people, all looking up toward the balcony where the [p. 26] Supreme Pontiff was to appear and solemnly bless the city and the world. The whole garrison was arranged in battle formation, and behind the troops several rows of carriages and still another crowd of people put the finishing touches to this living and truly imposing image. Once I had seen this spectacle, I was undecided whether to go down into the crowd to get a panoramic view of the great balcony, from which the Pope was to appear, raised on the high portable chair, surrounded by his attendants, or whether I should stay in the Pope's path to get a closer look at him, to examine his vestments, his tiara, the chair on which he was raised, the two great plumed fans, etc. I decided to stay, but think I made a mistake.

While the Pope was giving the blessing, everyone's eyes were fixed on the Pontiff and the devotion of all those present were truly remarkable. He had scarcely stopped singing, when joyful shouts, the fanfare and the troop's music, the canon on the Angel Castle and the sound of all the bells, all at once produced a sort of confusion which stirred my soul and proclaimed the solemnity of this act and the feelings it inspired. The Pope removed his vestments, and reascended his portable seat to return to his apartments where we followed him, after once more receiving his blessing as he passed.

**26:** The Pope has prolonged the Jubilee till the last day of the month. He recommended a *triduo* in several churches out of gratitude for the favours received from God during the Holy Year. The most outstanding preachers have been selected to rouse by their preaching grateful feelings we owe to the Lord. Archbishop Marchetti of Ancyra *in partibus* is, during these three days, preaching in the church of Saint Charles *al Corso*. I really wanted to hear this prelate who has preached in all the missions given in Rome for the past forty years. In the down-to-earth talk he gave, I noticed great ease and use of appropriate language. Nevertheless, I found it far too familiar. You could call it a conversation in which the prelate recalled all the missions in which he taken part, pointing out the state of people at each of those times. He wanted to highlight God's favors etc. He concluded with a meditation on Jesus our Lord, giving us an example of scorn for riches, pleasures and honors. That was good.

**27:** Today, I did not go back to Saint Charles but was at the

Minerva<sup>83</sup> to hear Father Jablot<sup>84</sup>, a Dominican. I was really moved by his talk, excellent from every point of view, full of doctrine set forth precisely and admirably clear, even though he treated lofty topics, such as the nature of the Word through whom all things were made. Whatever was dogmatic in his discourse did not prohibit movements [p. 27] of most touching piety. As he recalled God's favors, he brought out the majesty of this sovereign Being with admirable elegance, and knew how to mix the pathetic with it, by using the example of the text from scripture where David commanded that his son Absalon be spared. God, who wanted to provide means for sinners to return home to him during this holy time, commanded nature, illnesses, angels and death, to spare them, etc. It was superb. Referring then everything to Jesus Christ, he brought out the gift of the Incarnation, which raised human beings above the angels. He showed that, through the Incarnation and the application of the merits of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins, the situation of fallen man was preferable to that of man in the state of innocence. He compared the weakness of Adam giving in to a mere suggestion, while an innumerable crowd of faithful, though the Redeemer's strength, daily resist both the most unbridled passions and every kind of temptation, while thousands of martyrs suffered death amidst most frightening torments and shed their blood to the very last drop rather than sin. He was beautiful and rich in every aspect of his discourse. Nor did he forget to point out again that in the state of innocence, the man who should fall could not have had the same help as the sinner who finds in the Redeemers' merits the remedy for his iniquity, etc. He was just as exact and clear in the explanation he gave on indulgences; and the meditation was just as fine as the rest of the instruction.

The church was crammed with people and at Rome, three quarters of a congregation are formed<sup>85</sup> by men; for, they can say what they like, the immense majority of the inhabitants of these regions are truly religious, and since my arrival in Italy, but especially at Rome, I have been greatly edified by everything I have seen.

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<sup>83</sup> Church of Saint Mary of the Minerva, served by the Dominican Fathers.

<sup>84</sup> Francesco Ferdinando Jablot, at that time Vice-Procurator for the Dominicans. He was Master General of the Order from 1832 to his death in 1834.

<sup>85</sup> Ms.: has the singular of form.

**28:** I was so pleased with Father Jabalot that I could not resist going back to the Minerva today. His instruction was of a totally different nature, but excellent nevertheless. He explained the meaning of a Jubilee indulgence and what a person had to do to gain it, from which he concluded that many of those who thought they had received it, in fact, did not. It was a solid, clear instruction. The purpose of the meditation was to encourage the faithful to give up sin. It came from a true missionary, strong and touching. Father Jabalot began by showing from Scripture that there was a limit to sin after which there is no pardon to hope for, that is, after which God withdraws himself. First, he quoted God's promise to Abraham to give him the country of the [p. 28] Amorrheans when those people had filled up the measure of their iniquities. Then he quoted Hosea and two other prophets: I will pardon, says the Lord, up to the third sin; but not the fourth, etc. It would take too long to analyse these good instructions; I will note only that the preacher did not shout or make outlandish gestures, as people in France seem to think that Italian preachers do. Everything was noble and perfectly in accord with dignified preaching.

**29:** My first visit was to the Archpriest Adinolfi whom I found in bed. Then, I went to the Holy Office to see Archbishop Mazio who gave me a little booklet written by the same Father Jabalot about the Jews in their relations with Christian countries. This little gift came just at the right time: since I had to dine this evening at the Dean of the Rota's place, along with Father Jabalot, Cardinal Turriozzi<sup>86</sup>, the suffragan Bishop of Olmutz and others, I hurriedly read the booklet as I walked along in order to be able to speak about it to the author, beside whom I intended to take my place. He is a most distinguished man in learning and regularity; he is a French son and brother; Archbishop Turchi<sup>87</sup> of Parma introduced him to preaching and ordained him to the priesthood. He is a great admirer of our Lamennais and well acquainted with our literature. I was very happy to have met him and will not let him leave for Bologna, where he is going to preach Lenten missions, without seeing him again.

<sup>86</sup> Fabrizio Turriozzi (1755-1826), Cardinal since 1823.

<sup>87</sup> Adeodato Turchi (1724-1803) Franciscan Conventual, Archbishop of Parma from 1788 to 1803.



This morning, I saw Cardinal Pacca again, with whom I had a long conversation about our business matter. He is the Prefect of the Congregation which must decide on it.

At last I found the Redemptorist Fathers' house. I stopped there for quite a while. It was lucky that I went there today. The person with whom I spoke the most freely is leaving this evening for Naples with several of his companions who just finished giving missions in the Velletri diocese for the past five months. He urgently invited me to go and visit the tomb of Blessed Alphonsus. I admit that I am strongly tempted to make this pilgrimage before leaving Italy. I will beg the Blessed to enlighten me as to what I should do. The cause of his canonisation is going forward, possibly within a year we will have the consolation of seeing him declared a saint<sup>88</sup>. I gave this Father two copies of our litanies which he really liked and begged him to ask Father General for some relics of the Blessed for the Church in Marseilles and for the Mission House. While I was waiting, I picked up some holy cards with his image. I will go back to these Fathers, even though I am not happy with the Procurator General<sup>89</sup>, who lives in the guest house. Actually, it is only his appearance which is against him; down deep, he is a good man, even though rather poorly educated, but strongly committed to his blessed Father, whom he knew, since he had received him into the Congregation. [p. 29]

**30:** Visited Archbishop Marchetti, who has become secretary of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, to bring him up to date on our business matter. Visit to the French Ambassador to ask pardon for not having responded to his invitation yesterday; it was the third time I have had to refuse.

I made use of the Pope's indult which grants me a plenary indulgence to those who visit the four basilicas; I visited them with Monsignor d'Isoard and, God willing, we will end up tomorrow gaining the last jubilee indulgence which the Pope grants to anyone who visits one of the four basilicas.

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<sup>88</sup> Brief of beatification: September 6, 1816; canonisation: May 26, 1839.

<sup>89</sup> Giuseppe Mautone (1765-1845).

**31:** Visited Cardinal Pedicini<sup>90</sup>, to inform him about the matter on which he is to report. Forty hours devotion in our church. The last jubilee indulgence which I hoped to gain by going to visit Saint Mary Major, the closest basilica to our dwelling.

I visited the noviciate of our hosts on the occasion of the feast. A novice gave us a sermon near the delightful crib they had lit up. I was pleased with his talk. In their noviciate they have the room in which the Blessed Cardinal Joseph Marie Tomasi lived for forty years; they made it into a chapel. I entered it with the respect which must necessarily be linked with the memory of the humble virtues the holy religious constantly, I could even say assiduously, practiced in this same place. I usually make my thanksgiving in the little gallery where he habitually made his, but with what confusion due to the difference in our sentiments! In spite of that, I was glad to be there, it is an added support; when someone is poor, he does not neglect anything which would lift him even a little out of his profound misery.

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<sup>90</sup> Carlo Pedicini (1769-1843), Cardinal in 1823: at that time he was Prefect of the Congregation for Church Immunity. He had been named Ponent or Reporter of the commission of cardinals assigned to study the rules.





**Santa Maria In Campitelli**

The Founder visited this church on January 8, 1826. On February 15 following, he assisted at nine Masses during the time that the Cardinals were meeting.



**The Corso**

The Founder speaks of it on January 28. On February 7, 1826, he attended the horse races on the occasion of the carnival.



## January 1826

**January 1, 1826:** After completing the duty of piety at our Saint Sylvester Church, I went to attend mass in the Sistine Chapel as usual. The Pope did not come down. Cardinal Pedicini celebrated mass. After High Mass, Cardinal Castiglioni<sup>1</sup>, Grand Penitentiary, had requested me to meet him in the hallway; he manifested the deepest desire to meet me, saying that he was the good servant of my uncle, the Bishop of Marseilles, etc. He arranged for us to meet at his home tomorrow at nine o'clock. In passing, I wished a Happy New Year to Cardinal Della Somaglia, Secretary of State, and to Cardinal Guerrieri. This evening I visited the body of Blessed Tomasi which rests under the altar dedicated to him in the church of Saint Martin *ai Monti*. It was in this convent of the great Carmelites that Father Pouillard<sup>2</sup> composed his famous work on the Pope's slipper. [p. 30]

**January 2:** I spent an hour at the home of the Cardinal Grand Penitentiary. New assurances from him of his devotion to the Bishop of Marseilles. I do not think I will forget our conversation for a long time. Then, I hurried to Cardinal Pedicini's place where I left immediately so as not to miss, as I did yesterday, the procession of the Blessed Sacrament during which they had asked me to carry one of the poles of the canopy. This procession took place both at the beginning and end of the Forty hours devotion. I recalled the foolishness of our scholars who had once maintained, at the time of our procession of the Sacred Heart, that it was unheard of to ever have a procession of the Blessed Sacrament outside the Octave of *Corpus Christi*. When someone has never left his back water and seen nothing else, he should be a little more cautious.

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<sup>1</sup> Ms.: Castiglione. Francesco Saverio Castiglioni (1761-1830), created cardinal in 1816, elected Pope in 1829. He took the name of Pius VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Ms.: Ponyard. Jacques Gabriel Pouillard (1751-1819), a Carmelite. During his stay in Rome, at the time of the revolution, he wrote in Italian: *Dissertazione sopra l'antieriorità del baccio de' piedi de'sommi Pontefici, all'introduzione della croce sulle loro scarpe*. Rome, 1807.

Tonight I went back to the Liguorian Fathers. The Procurator General gave me a rather sizeable piece of the lining of one of the soutanes of Blessed Liguori; he also showed me the handwritten manuscript of his Moral Theology. He had a small careful handwriting. The manuscript is very neat and orderly. You can see that the writing has been done with care; all the letters are separate; it is a final draft. With some emotion, I respectfully kissed this precious manuscript, and took the opportunity to hazard a request for some example of any handwritten text, even only the saint's signature; but Father Mautone was not able to fulfill my desire; anyone, who would give away or lend even the least thing contained in these Fathers' house or hospice, is subject to excommunication.

The person I was talking to is presently the Postulator of the Cause for canonization and had been received into the Society by the Blessed one himself: he told that there are still some forty who knew him personally. He also told me a very remarkable thing that I did not read in the *Life* that was given to me, that the Blessed had to suffer severe agony in his own Congregation and possibly even greater pain from Pope Pius VI. They declared him a rebel and separated him from the body of his Congregation. They named another Major Superior and he died under this sort of anathema. The Father Procurator General compared him to Saint Joseph Calasactius when he said: "They wanted to chisel him into a saint".

Two of his Fathers who took his place at the head of the Congregation gave him all these miseries with Papal authority. Father Mautone knew all [p. 31] these details for certain since they happened during his lifetime; but they are also noted in a three-volume *Life* no longer in print, so I plan to go and read it in the Redemptorist library, since they can not lend the least thing.

**3:** Nothing to report on today.

**4:** I left late to go to see Archbishop Marchetti where I hardly had time to sit down, since Cardinal Castiglioni arrived almost at the same time and I did not want to be at the Archbishop's place with him. I went from there to Ferrucci's whom I did not find home last night, to have him put an important paper in order. After that, I went to see the Cardinal ... by way of the beautiful Navona Square which I had not yet seen. It astonished me by its grandeur, the beauty of its buildings, its superb fountain and the great flow of water coming from it. In ancient



times it was the site of the so-called Agonal<sup>3</sup> circus. It was too late for me to go into the magnificent Saint Agnes church built in this square. It is situated on the very spot where prostitution was practiced in pagan times; they say that people built this church where the virgin Saint Agnes was exposed and miraculously preserved by an angel from every outrage. *This church was very small at that time, but received new renown at the time of Saint Frances of Rome's baptism.* Innocent X had the church built in the beautiful proportions that we admire at the present. This Pope's tomb, the work of Bernini, is placed above the church door. They say that the sacristy treasures are very rich, and there you could see a monstrance worth 130,000 Roman crowns. Innocent X also built the Pamphili palace where people could see paintings of the great masters. This Pontiff as well had the famous Bernini carve the superb fountain representing the ocean, in the midst of which arise the rocks which support the four great rivers, portrayed by four huge marble statues. They are: the Danube, Ganges, Nile and Argentine<sup>4</sup>. You can also see in this fountain a horse, a lion, and some palm trees, etc. carved by the Knight Bernini's own hand, and above the rocks there stands an Egyptian obelisk found in the ruins of Caracalla's circus.

**5:** My first outing early this morning was to go to Saint Pantaleon church to offer the holy sacrifice at the tomb of Saint Joseph Calasanctius. There were several favors I had to ask of God through this great saint's intercession. There I saw the Archpriest Adinolfi and discussed business matters with him. After that, I went to the Quirinal Palace to see Archbishop Marchetti of Ancyra on business also; finally to Cardinal Pedicini's. After dinner, a visit to the Marquis Antici, husband of one of the Cardinal Mattei's nieces, who lent me the booklet which the Abbé Lamennais has just written about the famous lawyer at the Paris Court. I ended the day by going to dine with our Ambassador. [p. 32]

**6: Feast of the Epiphany:** At the usual time, I went to the Sistine Chapel with the hope of seeing the Supreme Pontiff take part in the divine office. I was not disappointed in my expectation. When all the cardinals had taken their places, with the officiating Cardinal seated

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<sup>3</sup> Place Navona or Agonal circus., former stadium of Domitian.

<sup>4</sup> Argentano: Rio de la Plata of the Argentina republic.

beside the credence table, the Pope came in, followed by some assistant bishops to the throne and some prelates. He was wearing a cope and the tiara on his head. The officiating Cardinal, the Deacon and Sub-Deacon came to the Pope's left who, after a moment of prayer, began the *Introit* at the bottom of the sanctuary steps, at a rather great distance from the altar. The bishops and prelates behind him said it among themselves at the same time and the cardinals on their benches did the same, two by two, according to custom, as well as the other prelates and procurators general of various Orders, and finally, all those present in the chapel. After the *Introit*, the Pope put on the mitre, which was carried all through the ceremony by the Dean of the Rota, and sat down on his throne, with two cardinal deacons beside him in *cappa magna*. He read the *Introit* and then the cardinals came one at a time for the obedience, that is, they came up the centre of the chapel to the Supreme Pontiff's throne, training their *cappa magna*, went up to him to kiss the Pope's hand which he presented to them without taking it from under the immense cope in which he was vested. When the cardinals had returned to their places, the most elderly, today it was Cardinal Fesch<sup>5</sup>, came back to the throne to have the Pope bless the incense. After the one officiating had incensed the altar and had been himself incensed, the Deacon carried the censor to the Cardinal Priest who knelt before the throne to incense the Pope, who remains seated, wearing his mitre. The cardinals came down from their places to form a circle around the Pope and recite the *Gloria in excelsis* with him. An assistant bishop to the throne held the book for the Pope, another bishop, whom I recognized as the *Elyemosynarius*, held the candle holder. The Pope stood up for the prayers. He remained seated to read the epistle and gospel.

The Sub-deacon, after singing the epistle, went up to him; two masters of ceremony moved the cope aside and lifted a sort of great trailing robe of white silk up over his feet so that the Sub-deacon could prostrate himself and kiss the Supreme Pontiff's feet. The Cardinal-priest had him bless the incense before the gospel. The Pope stood up without the mitre to listen to [p. 33] the gospel. After the gospel, which the Sub-deacon came to have him kiss, he was incensed by the Cardinal-priest who remained standing this time while he incensed him. When the Deacon

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<sup>5</sup> Joseph Fesch (1763-1839), uncle of Napoleon I. Named Archbishop of Lyons in 1802, he retired to Rome after the fall of the Emperor. He stayed there till he died, all the while as Archbishop of Lyons.

had said the *Munda cor meum*, he came to kiss the Pope's feet, as the Sub-deacon had done after singing the epistle. Each time the Pope blessed the person who came to prostrate himself. The preacher came to perform the same ceremony before preaching. After the sermon, he announced the indulgences and then the deacon came to take his place at the foot of the throne where he chanted the *Confiteor*. The Pope, standing up without the mitre since they had just placed the crucifix in front of him, chanted the *Misereatur*, the *Indulgentiam* and the formula for the blessing to apply the indulgence. The celebrating Cardinal intoned the *Credo*, which the cardinals came to recite in a circle, as they had said the *Gloria*. At the Offertory, it was again the Cardinal Priest who came to have the incense blessed and who incensed the Pope after the altar and celebrant had been incensed. Since the Pope was seated with his mitre on, the cardinal knelt down to incense him. After that the Deacon incensed the choir as usual. The Pope stood up for the Preface and the cardinals formed a circle to say the *Sanctus*.

The Pope came down from the throne to kneel at the bottom of the sanctuary steps on a cushion before the *faldistorium* on which he leaned. After the elevation, he returned to his throne and remained standing until after the Precious Blood had been received. The cardinals came to form a circle to say the *Agnus Dei* with the Pope who blessed them every time before they left. At the kiss of peace, the Cardinal Priest went to receive it at the altar from the Cardinal presiding. During that time, the assistant priest went to stand below the place that the Cardinal priest occupied in the choir. The latter, after receiving the kiss of peace at the altar, came to give it to the Pope who gave it to the two Cardinal Deacons assisting him. The Cardinal Priest returned to his place in the choir (the place he had taken each time after they had to form a circle); there he gave the kiss of peace to the assistant priest, who went to give it to the Cardinal Dean, then to the cardinal standing next to the Cardinal Priest who had given it to him, then to the eldest Cardinal Deacon on the opposite side, then to the eldest assistant Bishop, to the first Prelate and the first Procurator General of the religious Orders. After the final prayer, the Pope gave the solemn blessing. He read the last gospel and left, accompanied as he had arrived.

Up to now, I have seen nothing at Rome [p. 34] as this ceremony. What would it be like if the Pope were presiding! But there is no hope for that till Easter.

I spent more than two hours at the Redemptorists to read their saint's *Life*, which it is forbidden under pain of excommunication to be taken out of the house, just as it is for every other article that is there.

What were they doing at Marseilles during this time? The Bishop, surrounded by his clergy, officiated pontifically at the cathedral: Father Tempier had my place beside him; Cailhol directed and guided the ceremonies in an orderly and majestic fashion! At Nîmes, our good Fathers were giving a mission. Each one was working in his own way to give glory to God.

**7:** Detained at home by the Reverend Father Abbot of the Trappists; went out a little later to the Dataria where I was supposed to meet Cardinal Pacca who was not there, but whom I went to look for at his residence and told him what I had to say to him. The rest of the day was taken up with writing. Last night was tarnished by an atrocious crime: a prelate was killed in his bed by his servant. That scoundrel did not feel compelled to flee from the punishment awaiting him; he thought he could avoid suspicion by showing a brave face. He was arrested; but his execution will not bring his unfortunate master back to life.

**8:** Sang the high mass in our church since there was no papal service today. Carried my little memorandum to Cardinal Pacca who had invited me to dinner today. Received benediction in the charming church of Saint Mary in *Campitelli*, served by the Fathers *della Madre di Dio*, where they venerate an image of the Blessed Virgin, sculptured on a granite stone about a palm<sup>6</sup> length in size. You can also see there a very valuable transparent column of alabaster which is stationed in front of a window of the cupola.

**9:** Went to the Alexis workshop, saw Cardinal Pedicini and Father Monteinard.

**10:** Who would ever say that, after spending almost two months in Rome, I had never been to see the Pantheon? I must say that, now that I have seen this extraordinary temple, I am ashamed at having waited so long to go and admire its beauty. Some people say that it is the most beautiful piece of architecture in existence; I can not judge that. All I

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<sup>6</sup> An ancient Roman measurement of length, equivalent to 7.3 cm.

can speak of is the impression I got on entering that magnificent rotunda. I spent half an hour in a sort of ecstatic admiration; I could not get enough of contemplating the proportions, elegance, size and magnificence of this building, unique of its kind. The rotunda is preceded [p. 35] by a portico held up by sixteen superb columns of oriental granite, which are 66 palms in height and 6 in diameter; the ceiling beams are of metal. No one knows who had the Pantheon built, named as such since it is dedicated to all the gods; but it was Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, who had the portico built. Pope Boniface IV dedicated this temple to the Blessed Virgin and to all the martyrs on May 14, 607. They brought twenty-eight cartloads of holy martyrs' bones to be placed under the main altar, and the church was named Saint Mary *ad Martyres*. Eugene IV restored this temple, but Urban VIII removed all the metal pieces from the portico to use them at Saint Peter's. Alexander VII, Clement IX and Benedict XIV restored both the church and portico. Everyone knows that this temple gets daylight only from the top of the cupola that is open, which means that it is terribly cold in the church, where it rains as in the street. Some windowpanes would overcome this inconvenience. I do not know the reason that has hindered them from choosing this possibility.

**11:** Rain disrupted all my plans today. I spent part of the afternoon at the Fathers of the Holy Redeemer reading the *Life* of their holy founder, since it is forbidden under pain of excommunication to take anything at all out of that house. Even though I was invited to spend the evening with the Ambassador, I thought it better to stay at home. I did not come to Rome to attend worldly company, I who never do so, even in France. That is also why I have not gone to see the Duke of Torlonia, in spite of his pressing invitation.

**12:** It kept on raining today; but this time it did not stop me from going out to tend to my business matters. That is why I went to see, one after another, the commissary Colonna, Cardinal Pedicini, Archbishop Caprano of Icone at the Propaganda, Cardinal De Gregorio, Bishop d'Argenteau, Cardinal Pacca and lastly, as every day, Monsignor d'Isoard, Dean of the Rota.

**13:** Since I had to go to the Vatican to see the Cardinal Secretary of State, I took the opportunity of consoling myself by saying holy mass at the confession of Saint Peter for the second time. I will say nothing of this church, there would be too much to say about it.

**14:** Business with Cardinal Pacca. Read part of the day at the Liguorians.

**15:** I went to see the Cardinal Secretary of State. From there to Archbishop Mazio at the Holy Office, then to the Gesù to hear an exposée of Holy Scripture and finally to the Duke of Bracciano to dine there with Cardinals Spina<sup>7</sup>, De Gregorio and Vidoni<sup>8</sup>. The Sicilian Prince Nisceni was at this splendid dinner, he knew all my family well in Sicily which offered us the opportunity to speak a little about that country. I was accompanied to the very door of the Duke of Torlonia by the Count de Milerio, a Milanese Lord whom I had met at the Sistine Chapel about two weeks ago. He was kind enough to remind me that I had promised to go and see him when I passed through Milan. That convinced me that this invitation was not just [p. 36] a simple compliment, and I propose to go and actually visit him if I go to Milan, so much the more since people have told me that he is an excellent Christian.

**16:** I went for the third time to say holy mass at the confession of Saint Peter, always with new consolation. Oh! Did I ever feel at home in that crypt! My mass was a little long, I was counting on the good grace of my server who knew his time would be well rewarded. How many things there are to ask from God when you are offering the holy sacrifice over the body of an apostle like Saint Peter! The next time I go, I will give more time to Saint Paul; today Saint Peter's faith, his love for Jesus Christ, his sorrow at having offended him, Our Lord's feelings for him, the prerogatives with which he enriched him, the ardent desire to share in all those beautiful virtues, to draw from that source, to cling to and attach myself irrevocably to that foundation stone, etc., took up all my attention. It was only at the *Confiteor*, while twice naming the apostle Saint Paul, at the prayers, at the canon, I also recommended myself to that great apostle, but I noticed, after taking account of my feelings, that without intending to exclude Saint Paul, and without being aware of it, my devotion focused mainly on the Prince of the Apostles, who certainly obtained for me some drops of that interior consolation which

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<sup>7</sup> Giuseppe Spina (1756-1828), cardinal in 1802, Archbishop of Genoa from 1802 to 1819.

<sup>8</sup> Pietro Vidoni Soresina (1759-1830), made cardinal in 1816.

gives a hint of heaven's joy. It seemed to me that I would have agreed to die at that moment, but it was only a passing fancy, which nevertheless still lingered on during my thanksgiving. That's not the end of it to receive such favors, but you have to profit from and cooperate with God's mercy which is truly incomprehensible in regard to poor miserable sinners like ourselves. This time I certainly did not forget to recommend by name everyone whose salvation is of special concern to me; they will surely repay me by their prayers and the share they give me in all their merits.

After my thanksgiving, I went up to see the Cardinal Secretary of State. General Bracci was with him and I noticed he had been there for some time; no doubt, he gave the Cardinal an account of all his campaigns. He finally left and thanks to the gracious thoughtfulness of his Eminence, I went in after him, even though the waiting room was full of people hoping for the same favor. But [p. 37] the chamberlain had been notified that I was to come. As usual, the Cardinal could not have been more polite to me. I told him all that I had to say to him; we agreed on everything. What is very gratifying is that to oblige me, he will have the good Father Procurator of the Liguorians make the trip to Saint Peters; he sent him there to get authorization to lend me the *Life* of Blessed Liguori that I had been forced to go and read at the guest house where he lives, due to the excommunication leveled against anyone who might take away or lend the least thing from that house.

After I left the Vatican, I went to Cardinal Pacca's, for my business matter as always; I hope he will decide to go to see the Pope tomorrow, in spite of the cold, unless the doctor comes again and forbids it. I went back to see Cardinal Pedicini to inform him of Cardinal Pacca's frame of mind. If things are not going any faster, it is not my fault.

**17:** Nothing noteworthy today except that I went to dine with Archbishop Mazio. At this dinner, I found myself with the secretary of the Nuncio at Paris who had desperately wanted to see me, even though nothing came of it; I knew where this idea came from, but did not want to bite into that matter which might have led me too far, since I would have been forced to tell him that he had put me in a situation of giving a rather negative compliment to his Superior, by telling him that the French bishops do not give an account of their administration to Nuncios, much less to their secretaries. Only the respect we profess for His Holiness was able to spare them this lesson that they well deserved,

by becoming involved in a matter that did not concern them<sup>9</sup>.

**18:** I made the mistake today of not going to Saint Peter's where the Pope had come down to attend the service. I ate at the chargé d'affaires of Sardinia with Father Orioli, a Franciscan Conventual, one of the most distinguished men of his Order<sup>10</sup>, he had been exiled to France with his General and prided himself on being an admirer of Lamennais, from which I concluded that the most outstanding men in Rome belong to the school of this great philosopher, since I was in a position to hear Father Ventura, the Theatine, Father Jabalot, the Dominican, the Marquis Antici and several others.[p. 38]

**19:** I learnt that Cardinal Pacca had obtained what I wanted from the Pope<sup>11</sup>. I immediately went to Cardinal Pedicini to inform him about it and arrange something with him on this matter. From there, I went to dine with the Cardinal; we were eighteen at table. Bishop Muzi<sup>12</sup>, who had been sent to Chile but whose mission was not successful, was at this meal. I was not surprised that he was deceived by the schemer who had come to Rome to begin negotiations of which he considered himself to be the hero. When his hope was shattered, he tried to play around with the Holy See's envoy, who was obliged to return from there as he had gone.

**20:** Went out early to see Archbishop Marchetti before he went to the Congregation. I did not find him. I went back later and told him what I considered helpful for our business matters. Went from there to the home of the Duke of Montmorency, our Ambassador, then to Saint Mary in *Monterone*, and then to the Liguorians to read the *Memoirs* and *Life* of their blessed Founder.

**21:** After my mass, I went to the French church of Saint Louis to take part in the service for Louis XVI<sup>13</sup>. There I found myself beside

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<sup>9</sup> Allusion to the dismissal of the Missionaries of France from Marseilles in August 1823, and the intervention in this matter of Archbishop Macchi, the nuncio at Paris, Cf. Jean Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod*, II, p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> Anton Francesco Oriolo (1778-1852), made cardinal in 1838.

<sup>11</sup> That the Rule be examined by a commission of three cardinals.

<sup>12</sup> Ms.: Macchio. Most likely it is Bishop Giovanni Muzi, sent on mission to Chile in 1822.

<sup>13</sup> The anniversary of the execution of King Louis XVI in 1793.



Dom Augustin de Lestrange, the Abbot of the Trappists, whom I had already met this morning at my place. The mass was sung by the Superior of the Saint Louis community. The Ambassador, the Dean of the Rota, a Greek Bishop, well-known to us, Bishop d'Argenteau and some French people were present. That ceremony could not have been more insignificant; there was no sermon, no testament reading, nor music. As compensation for us, the dear Superior very solemnly sang the Preface for the Dead in the Easter and Christmas tone.

Nor was I any more happy with my visit to the church of Saint Agnes. It was too late so I was not able to admire the beauty in the building, but I was able to clearly see, with the help of lighted candles, the crypt to which we descended after we had adored God in the upper church. Never have I seen a devotion more disgusting or worthy of censure. Tradition holds that these underground caves are the brothel where Saint Agnes was handed over. First of all, I believe nothing of the sort, since this place is frightful and resembles rather a dungeon than a place of that kind. In spite of that, they want at all costs to convince you that it is so and so you [p. 39] do not forget it, the first thing you notice as you go down the steps is that beautiful inscription which was supposed to have given us so much edification as we recited the Office: *Ingressa Agnes turpitudinis locum*. So great did the idea of entering a *turpitudinis locum* horrify me that I was tempted to turn around and leave. But no, you had to be edified to the very end. In a first chapel on the left as you enter this infamous place, there is an altar, in place of a painting a bas-relief which at first glance seemed to me very well done. I say at first glance, since I immediately turned away from that horror. The bas-relief shows the saint completely naked, with only her hair for clothing, between two soldiers who were leading her to what place and for what purpose? History, or rather tradition says enough about it. I still can not contain my anger and the two Lazarists, who this evening wanted to take the side of that outrage, will long remember what feelings can move me and how energetically I know how to refute the poor arguments they had the courage to bring up in such a scandalous cause. The Benedictine noviciate had come to be edified in this holy place before I went in and I do not know which clerical college went in after me. The Novice Master and Rector of the college deserve both to be whipped<sup>14</sup>, and then interdicted so as to give them time to learn their duty.

<sup>14</sup> Give the leather: give a whipping, correct.

**22:** Went out late in order to leave time for writing. I went to *Ripa Grande*, which is the port where ships dock. I wanted to know when the captain, who came here to load, would be leaving for Marseilles; I wanted to ask him to take along a bust of the present Pope for the Bishop. It depends on whether he will still have room in his little boat which is already quite full. I came back in a bit of a hurry in order to have another meal with the Duke of Bracciano.

**23:** Visits to Cardinal Pedicini, Archbishop Marchetti and Cardinal Pacca on my business matters. A visit to the Claretian Sisters<sup>15</sup> of Saint Lawrence in *Panisperna*. After they had talked with me at length about the interior of their house, the happiness they share in it, and the unity and peace which reigns among them, these women wanted to show me their garden. They had obtained beforehand the required permission. The [p. 40] big door was opened and there I was at the garden entrance; the Abbess, the Mother Vicar and two little pupils, charming for their innocence and virtue, dressed like the nuns inside as a reward, with only the doorstep separating us. They delightfully showed me the remains of the little separating walls, the shelters and fountains that each religious had for her own private use, before they made the supreme effort to join in community life. They were happy they achieved that before the Pope obliged them to do so; but after they told me what the Abbess gives them, the sacrifice did not seem all that demanding. Actually, the Claretian Sisters can enjoy soup, three choices of food and dessert. Besides that, it is a regular house; the religious sisters are happy there, that is the most important. After that, the Sisters had me go into what they call the sacristy, and from there I entered the church to adore the Blessed Sacrament. People claim that this church had been built over the Olympic baths where the Deacon Saint Lawrence was roasted; but that pious tradition does not seem to be founded on any solid proof.

I ended the day with the Ambassador where I dined with the Sardinian chargé d'affaires and the Castellane family who came to spend a few months in Italy.

**24:** Today I was at *Ripa Grande* on the bank of the Tiber to load the bust of the Pope that I am sending to my uncle. I had time to admire the river banks while Monsignor d'Isoard's chamberlain went to get some

<sup>15</sup> Ms.: The Founder usually wrote "Claristes" instead of Clarisses.

information from the customs office concerning the formalities that had to be followed. The boat still can not set sail since it needs almost another 50 centimeters<sup>16</sup> of water to navigate. If the water does not rise, they will have to unload part of the merchandise to lighten the ship. On this *Ripa Grande*, which could serve as a promenade, if only to get to it you did not have to cross the worst part of the city, there is the Saint Michael hospice, a superb establishment where there are several charitable works together, excellently directed by an administration of cardinals and other notable people.

**25:** Nothing noteworthy today except my usual trips to see cardinals. Today they executed the criminal who, during the night of the 6th to 7th of this month, assassinated his young master, Bishop Traetto, to steal a sum of money the prelate had received but had already spent. This young villain, only nineteen years old, suffered the penalty that they call here *del maglio*, that means he was stunned by a [p. 40] blow of a club, his throat cut, and finally dismembered. Even though there were not any witnesses to the crime and he consistently denied committing it, the judges were convinced and condemned him. The Pope refused the pardon they had asked for, rightly angered by a crime that was atrocious because of the circumstances. The scoundrel had convinced himself that they would not condemn him if he did not admit it; so he was not bothered very much by the sentence they pronounced on him at midnight; but, at eight o'clock, when he saw they were getting ready to take him to execution, he asked for his confessor and after a long conversation with him, resigned himself to death and no longer spoke of his innocence. That silence was like an admission they dispensed of demanding from him, even though he went to confession and received communion before he died.

**26:** Visits to Archbishop Marchetti and Cardinal Pacca for our business matters, to Archbishop Mazio, a courtesy call, as well as to the Count of Castellane whom I did not find at home; however, the trip was worth the trouble, since he is living at the *del Popolo* square at the other end of the city. Yesterday's execution was held in that square; today, they were setting up benches like in an amphitheatre for the horse races that will be held on different days during the carnival.

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<sup>16</sup> Pan: a former measure of length in use in southern France, equivalent to about 24 cm.

**27:** During the trips I had to make which had me running around half the city, I went into the church of Saint John the Baptist for the Florentines which is at the end of the beautiful Giulia street. In this church you can see a superb painting of the martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian, done by Salvator Rosa. I was not that impressed with the coloring since the overall effect of the image seemed too sombre. You can also see in this church, among other things, two mausoleums of rare and exquisite marble. Florentines prefer to be buried in this church near which there is also a hospital for the people of this nation.

**28:** Went out early to go to Cardinal Pacca who always receives me very well but does not proceed any faster even though he told me again this morning that the Pope had recommended that he hurry me through<sup>17</sup>. Went from there to the Holy Office, that is, made the trip to Saint Peter's to speak of our business matter with Archbishop Mazio, Assessor of the Holy Office. Before going in to see him, I spent an hour in Saint Peter's church, admiring with renewed pleasure what I have already admired ten times before. I came back with the Prelate as far as the Stigmata<sup>18</sup>, from where I continued on my way to come and eat at Saint Sylvestre while people in masks did their stunts; from there I heard the bell at the Capitol warn them to get off the streets, as this same sound had allowed them outside three hours earlier. The horses came out after them [p. 42] and gave the spectacle of a brilliant race from the *del Popolo* Square to that of Venice or Saint Mark which is at the other end *del Corso*, that is that beautiful street, with superb churches and magnificent palaces on each side, which runs from the *del Popolo* Gate directly to this point of the city. The prize-winning horses win, besides a sum of money which amounts to, I think, a sum of 30 Roman crowns, a flag of cloth, of silk, velvet, gold or silver material, according to the prize. These goods are provided by the Jews as a sort of tax. The leaders of those people had to come before the Roman Senator today to pay him their respect, kneeling humbly at his feet. They concluded their talk by requesting that his Excellence ask the Holy Father to continue his

<sup>17</sup> Hurry me through: move my business ahead quickly.

<sup>18</sup> The church situated near the Argentina square where the Founder had to pass when he went from Saint Sylvester's to Saint Peter's. On the church's facade there is a statue of Saint Francis of Assisi receiving the stigmata.

high protection. The Senator, sticking out his foot, as if dismissing them with a kick, told them solemnly: "You will be heard". I was very sorry I did not attend that farcical scene.

I ended my day by going to make my adoration at the Forty Hours devotion which was held not far from where I live. The altar was delightfully lit up. The two hundred candles burning in front of the Blessed Sacrament were so well distributed that they did not bother the eyes as they sometimes do.

**29:** Since I sang the high mass in our church, I did not go out this morning. After dinner, I went to make the station of Saint Paul Outside the Walls. How sad it was to see such a beautiful basilica become the prey to flames! The fire was so hot that even the columns which held up the building, broken by the falling roof framework, were reduced to ruins; the Pope has placed the highest value on rebuilding this temple; he set aside the sum of... Roman crowns to be taken yearly from the treasury; he has invited the cardinals and all the other colleges to contribute according to their means. There have been donations from every region of christianity to share in this reconstruction; but where could anyone find columns like the ones that perished? Originally, they were *della mole* of Hadrian, which is now the Angel Castle, the quality of marble and beauty of the pieces were surprising.

The church, built over Saint Paul's tomb, first by Constantine the Great, but enlarged and rendered magnificent by Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, Honorius and Eudoxius, and embellished by several supreme Pontiffs, was formed into five aisles with four rows of columns; those on the inner aisle were of precious marble, those on the side aisles were of Egyptian granite, the twenty-eight which adorned the chapels were of porphyry; there were a hundred and fifty-eight in all. The church was 355 palmes long and 203 wide. The three doors were of metal wrought [p. 43] at Constantinople.

In one of the side chapels not destroyed by the fire, they have preserved the miraculous crucifix they say spoke to Saint Bridget. In the same chapel they showed me Saint Paul's handcuffs. Actually, it is a piece of chain which is similar to the chains on our suitcases. The fire also respected the portraits of the Popes, from Saint Peter to Clement XIV, which are painted on the wall in the nave behind the main altar.

At first, ordinary priests had served this basilica, then religious who

took turns day and night in singing God's praises. In 936, Saint Odon of Cluny took up residence there with his religious, and Martin V ended up placing the Benedictines there whose Abbot was made cardinal by Eugene IV. Pope Pius VII had been a religious in that house for which he has always kept a great affection. They carefully hid the terrible event from him in his last days which would have overly afflicted him.

On returning to the city, I noticed first a little chapel dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul at the place where they claim these two holy Apostles said their last goodbye on the way to martyrdom. St. Denis the Areopagite relates the words of this greeting which he could well have invented to designate each apostle: *Vade in pace*, says St. Peter to St. Paul, *praedicator bonorum, mediator salutis et dux justorum*; and St. Paul replies to him: *Pax tibi, fundamentum ecclesiarum, et pater agnorum et ovium Christi*.

Quite close by is the vineyard or field of St. Frances Romana. There is to be seen a little closer to the city on the same road, which is the ancient Via Ostiensis, a little church dedicated to the Saviour. It is there that St. Plautilla, mother of St. Flavia and disciple of the Apostles, waited to see them pass when they were taken to execution. They claim that St. Paul asked for her veil in order to cover his eyes at the moment they would cut off his head, promising to return it to her; which he did after his martyrdom.

Finally quite close to the gate of the city, is to be seen the pyramid tomb of Caius Sextius, prefect of the Epulons. It is formed of blocks of marble; at its base it measures 130 *palmes* on all sides, and 160 in height. This pyramid is still perfectly preserved although by its position it should have been destroyed a thousand times by the many barbarians who have ravaged Rome repeatedly, obliterating almost everything ancient.

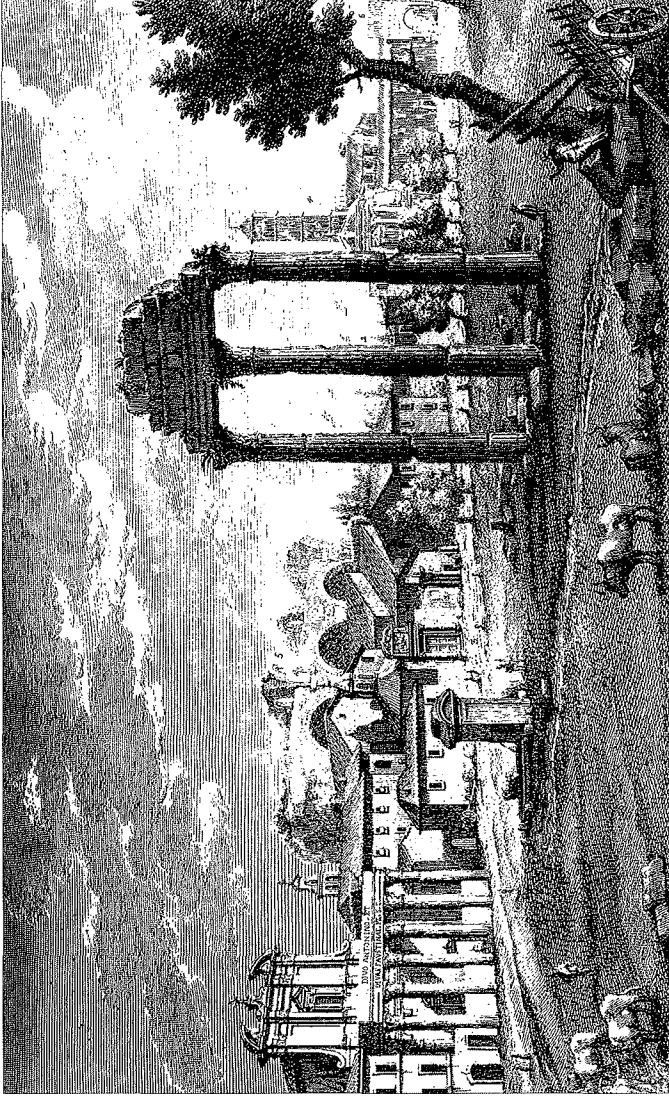
On my way back I entered the pretty church of St. Martina in the *Campo Vaccino*. In order to reach it from the Ostian gate, I went over very historic ground, but there is no longer a trace of anything to be seen; here were the temple of Faunus and Diana, the palace of Trajan, the baths of Decius, Mount Aventine, one of the seven hills added to Rome by A. Martius, the house of Vitellius, emperor, the temple of Hercules, and that of the good Goddess whose priests were solely women. There is no longer anything to be found in this vast area other than some scattered churches which, if not abandoned, are at least very

little frequented, such as the church of St. Saba. In the neighboring monastery was the cell of St. Sylvia, mother of St. Gregory the Great, who sent every day from there a water-pot of vegetables to her son, then a religious in the convent which he had made of his own house on the slope of Mount Coelius, called in ancient times *Clivus Scauri*. I also entered the church of Saint Prisca, which was formerly the house of the holy spouses Aquila and Priscilla who received St. Peter the first time he came to Rome, and were baptized by him. Saint Prisca, at the time two years old, had the same happiness, as did her father, then consul. Thus it is believed that there the holy sacrifice was offered and the gospel preached for the first time in Rome. They also claim that St. Paul stopped there when he returned the second time to Rome, since he writes to the Corinthians that, having met Aquila and Priscilla, he lodged with them. The body of saints Aquila, Priscilla and Prisca rest in this church rebuilt by Adrian I and Calixtus III.

I came back to Saint Martina. Today was the vigil of her feast. The underground church was open, it is charming in its various compartments. The body of this saint, who was martyred here, rests there under a superb altar. A priest, assigned for this, has everyone kiss the silver head placed on a basin of the same metal, which contains the skull of the saint whom they greatly venerate at Rome, which she has protected on several occasions.

**30:** I went out late; I was in only two churches to adore the Blessed Sacrament, and to Cardinal Pacca's to hand over to him the extract of the letters I received about the mission at Nîmes, which he wants to read to our Holy Father, the Pope.

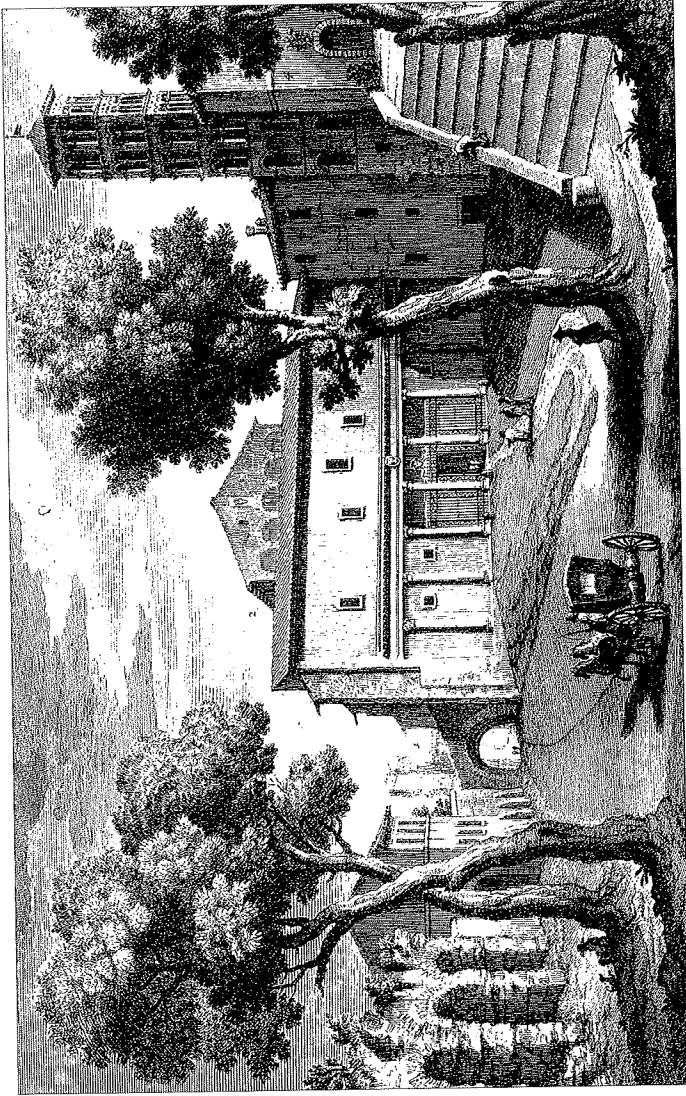
**31:** When you have business matters, you have to attend to them. So, today again, visits to Cardinal Pedicini, Archbishop Marchetti, Bishop Caprano and Cardinal De Gregorio whom I did not find at home.



**Campo Vaccino (Roman Forum)**

The church of San Lorenzo in Miranda, the church and monastery of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, the church of Santa Maria Nuova with the triumphal arch of Titus in the back: the Founder passed here on November 29, 1825 and on 29 January 1826.





**The Church of Saints John and Paul on the Caelian Hill**  
Father de Mazenod speaks of visiting this church and the Passionists on February 12 and April 20, 1826.

## February

1: Studied all day. Obligatory fast day; a vow made over a hundred-years ago.

2: I said the first mass so as to be on time at the Sistine chapel where the Holy Father was to bless and distribute candles. A great number of distinguished foreign visitors had come for the same reason. The Pope did in fact come down and all the cardinals present were vested according to their order, that is, cardinal bishops in cope, cardinal priests in chasuble, and cardinal deacons with the chasuble folded in front, since it was Sexagesima. They each held their mitre of white damask in their hands. When the Pope had blessed the candles, the Cardinal Dean came to present him with three of them which he received and kissed, seated on his throne. Each Cardinal also came forward in turn to receive a large candle of 3 to 4 pounds from the Pope's hands. When they received it, they first kissed the candle, then the Supreme Pontiff's hand and knees, but knelt before him whereas the Cardinals had remained standing. After the bishops, the prelates and all those in the chapel came in order, but all of them, after genuflecting, prostrated themselves to kiss the Pope's foot, then the candle which they received from his hand. The Generals of the Orders, the Procurators General; and the German College [p. 45] also presented themselves.

After these gentlemen, I went forward, the first of all the foreign people present, who followed my most honored personage. I was wearing my soutane with a long coat; following our French custom, I allowed the train of my soutane to trail behind which must have had a rather good effect when I went up the throne steps. I prostrated myself before the Holy Father's feet and kissed his foot with sincere devotion, that is, his velvet slipper decorated with a golden cross. Then, I respectfully received from his hands the candle he had blessed, and after humbly genuflecting, returned to my place, carefully protecting my candle, which I plan on taking back to France with me as a souvenir of the ceremony and of the Pontiff who graciously gave it to me.

When the distribution was over, the procession began. The Pope came to take his seat on the *sedia gestoria* on which he is carried, very

close to me, and his first blessing, when he had been lifted onto the shoulders of the bearers, was for me alone because there was no one else there at the time, since the prelates and Procurators of Orders were already in the procession. The Pope held his candle in his left hand and gave his blessing with the right. The Procession left the Sistine Chapel and circled the large hall preceding the Chapel. When the procession had returned, the cardinals removed their vestments and put on their *cappas* or ermine-lined coats, and the Pope changed from the cope and began Mass as usual, over which Cardinal Pedicini presided, on the left, with the two Cardinal Deacons, Assistants to the throne, on the right.

After mass, the Pope intoned the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving, fulfilling the vow made at the time of an earthquake; after the *Te Deum*, he sang a large number of verses before the prayers; lastly, he gave the Solemn Blessing and the Officiating Cardinal announced the indulgences. It was almost one o'clock before the ceremony ended and the Pope must certainly have been tired.

During the day, I went into the Gesù for a moment and then to the Minerva where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed to say some Office. From there, since today was a holy day of obligation, I went to Saint Lawrence *in Damaso* to adore Our Lord exposed for the Forty Hours Devotion. The lighting was truly magnificent. I am convinced that more than four hundred candles were burning on the altar and in the church. The altar decoration took up the entire back of the church and you could say it was a flaming wall. The Blessed Sacrament, set up very high, majestically dominated this torrent of light; it was superb and imposing, and even though the church was full of people, there was not a soul that did not have an attitude of deepest respect, kneeling on both knees, on the floor, in recollection — which edified me greatly. Scarcely a half-hour after I arrived, they sang a few hymns accompanied by violins, cellos and other instruments. I found it hard to leave that holy place where Our Lord was king [p. 46] among his people.

During the day, when I was with Monsignor d'Isouard with whom I had been at the Vatican, the Superior of Saint Louis came to present him with the customary candle. He showed us the one he was taking to the Pope. It was a special work of art; it was taller than I, and wide in proportion to its height, a truly pascal candle of enormous size; it weighed 16 pounds. All the basilicas and other main churches offer the same gift to the Pope who receives them from the hands of the heads of

those churches who come to present them to him, kissing his feet at the same time. The Cardinal Vicar receives the same gift from an even greater number of churches, since every parish, every monastery, and all the confraternities come to present their candles to him. I could hardly enumerate them. This tribute seems to me very proper and I do not know why this custom is not followed everywhere in France.

Today is what they call Shrove Tuesday; but at Rome they are christian. Because of the feast, everything is done as on the most solemn Sundays; no masks, no races, in short, no dissipation. This respect for religion, at a time and on a day especially when everyone in Europe is insane, gave me the greatest satisfaction. Yesterday, there was nothing either because of the fast. Actually, here the carnival is limited to six days determined by the police, during which there is a certain hour when people can wear masks, a certain time when carriages are allowed on the *Corso*, and another time when they have to leave to make room for the horse races, and after they have finished, the carriages can continue on their way; but after twelve o'clock, that is when night begins, no one is allowed out with a mask on their face. That is the least they can tolerate, and a State is very fortunate when it can overcome human passions in this manner. Since today's feast and yesterday's vigil cut off two days from the carnival, the conservators (the municipal governors) had requested that the Pope make it up to the public by allowing the carnival to start two days earlier. the Holy Father apparently considered it a chance to conquer evil and refused that favor, and did well even though they allegedly gave an opposite example of Pius VI.

**3:** Of all the people I went to see, I met only Father Antommarchi, ex-General of the Servites, uncle to Antonio Antommarchi, that excellent young man whom I directed a great deal when he was studying law at Aix. He is also the uncle of a different type of Antommarchi, Bonaparte's physician, who just published his memoirs entitled: *Napoleon's last moments*, 2 vol. in-8. This good religious lent me this work which I read [p. 47] in one sitting. When I give it back to him I will not be able to resist telling this good Father that his nephew is a shameless imp, who does little honor to his hero by describing him when he was not dressed. It was not enough to portray himself as an atheist and revolutionary, but he had besides to note several characteristics of that great man which he brought out to prove that he scorned ministers of religion; that he gave signs of favoring Catholicism only for political reasons, and that he was basically only a hardened deist and

remorseless scoundrel, since he was not ashamed to have him say that, if it were to be done over, he would still assassinate the Duke of Enghien<sup>19</sup>.

**4:** I went out only to go and spend a delightful hour at Saint Lawrence *in Damaso*, where the Blessed Sacrament was again exposed as magnificently as yesterday and the day before; the same crowd, the same recollection, the same respect. Once again they played a little music, but softly, touching, suitable to inspire piety. I tore myself away from that holy place where I would willingly have said as did Saint Peter: *Bonum est nos hic esse*.

**5:** I had to make a choice today, if I did not want to have two dinners at the same time. The Cardinal<sup>20</sup> had invited me two days ago; the Ambassador, as usual, didn't think of it until today; I chose the Cardinal at whose place I dined with several Generals of Orders and some prelates.

This morning I was at *Santi Apostoli* to visit Father Orioli<sup>21</sup>, one of the Order's outstanding men, who has a reputation of learning, etc. He is the same one that I dined with at the Minister of Sardinia's place, whose manners and conversation pleased me as I noted at that date. As I left the church of the Twelve Apostles, I happened to be at the square of the Gesù at exactly the time that the Pope was coming out of the church where he had spent a good half-hour in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, magnificently exposed for Shrove Sunday. It is not that this is a day of dissipation at Rome; at least until nightfall, there is nothing to be seen foretelling the carnival; that is due to the holiness of Sunday, I think, nevertheless, that masks are allowed at theatre time, and I actually met a few as I was coming back from the Gesù where I had gone to make my adoration; but since I went a little late, I did not get a good view of the lighting. I will be on time tomorrow and after that. [p. 47]

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<sup>19</sup> Duke Louis-Antoine d'Enghien (1772-1804). He was the last male descendant of the Condé family, a collateral branch of the royal Bourbon family. This political assassination is still regarded as a serious error of Bonaparte.

<sup>20</sup> The Founder doesn't name this cardinal, but left a space to do so.

<sup>21</sup> Ms.: Auriol. Father Anton Orioli (v. supra, January 18). The Conventuals serve the church of the Twelve Apostles.

**6:** During the time that people in the city were busy with masca-  
rades and horse races, I went to the Coliseum to attend a religious exer-  
cise of which the Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice was, if not the  
Founder, as I however believe, at least the very zealous promoter. We  
know that the Coliseum was an immense theatre which could hold  
87,000 people. It was built by Flavius Vespasian and completed by his  
son Titus, who dedicated it to him. Thirty thousand Jews were employed  
in this work. On the day they dedicated this immense edifice, they killed  
5,000 wild animals and for a hundred days they celebrated superb feasts  
and overly cruel spectacles, since a great number of Christians were  
offered up there. They called it Coliseum from a colossal statue of 120  
feet, portraying Nero, his head surrounded by rays of light, since that  
tyrant pretended to look like the sun. Now, they have built [some]<sup>22</sup>  
small chapels in the Coliseum, and on certain days, people come there  
to make the stations of the *via crucis*. The Pope himself is guardian of  
this enterprize; he names a Cardinal as permanent director. Such was  
Cardinal Mattei when he was alive; now it is Cardinal Fesch who never  
fails to go there, on days set aside for that purpose, to make the stations  
himself along with the penitential Confraternity. I arrived a little late,  
after the stations were finished and was only able to receive the last  
blessing which the Cardinal gave with the large processional cross  
which he continued to hold; he carried it at the head of the procession,  
during a very touching hymn about the cross, as far as the church of  
Saint Cosmas and Damian, where we all attended an instruction given  
by a priest of the Confraternity, which was followed by a meditation  
given by one of the Fathers of Saint Bonaventure, a retreat house of the  
Recollect Fathers where the Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice died. That  
service was concluded with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament,  
given to us by the Archbishop of Myre who is everywhere.

While on my way back to Monsignor d'Isoard's where I was to  
have dinner, I went into the Gesù for a moment of adoration and to see  
the beautiful lighting which everyone is praising so highly. It would  
have taken a great deal more for it to have struck me as much as that of  
Saint Lawrence *in Damaso*. No doubt that is because this church is  
much larger. There were possibly more candles but less effect, I  
thought, and the overall impression had a lesser effect. [p. 48]

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<sup>22</sup> The Founder wrote: " small oratories", leaving a blank to add a number.

7: Today was the last day of the carnival; but everything was quiet here until noon, when the large Capitol bell informed fools that they could run through the streets. I went out intending to go and say mass at Saint Gregory's, for the feast of Saint Romuald; but there was no one at home, since all the monks were at Saint Romuald, a little hospice near Piazza Venetia, to which the religious who was taking the key to Saint Gregory's monastery kindly offered to lead me; but when we got to the church, we found six priests waiting to say mass on two free altars of the three in the church. I did not have the patience to wait that long and went straight to the Gesù where I offered the holy sacrifice over the body of Saint Ignatius in the magnificent chapel dedicated to this saint in that church.

I was invited to have dinner with the Marquis of Croza, the Sardinian Minister. After dinner, Monsignor d'Isoard sent me his servant to ask me not to disappoint the lawyer, Malacria, who had invited me to observe from his windows the view of the *Corso*, which people at Rome consider to be a unique spectacle of its kind. I did not think I could refuse to go, and took some side streets to get to this gentleman's home who really had the kindness to strongly insist that I go to his place on this day. I do not know what is more astonishing, either the beauty of the spectacle which one receives from that unending and beautiful street called the *Corso*, crowded from one end to the other with an immense number of people, hurrying and pushing, that crowd of people filling every balcony, and all the windows of those beautiful houses and a great number of palaces which adorn that street and which are today, so to say, all tapestried from top to bottom in red damask with a golden fringe, or the extravagant number of clowns who do all kinds of crazy things, jumping, shouting, exerting themselves and who finally disappear, as do all those filling the streets, at the simple invitation of the soldiers to make way for the horses which will run by to win the prize of the race. That docility of a multitude drunk with joy is truly admirable and deserves to be mentioned. Once the horses have gone by, the crowd again took charge of the street, but this time carriages too had the right to travel. They did so most peacefully, so that nothing unfortunate happened, even though pedestrians surrounded them on every side, and exchanged sugar-coated candies with the men and women in the carriages, which were mostly open for the pleasure and convenience of the passengers. [p. 49]

But it was the last day of this carnival which gave people so much

fun, and it was soon going to die; so it had to be buried; I do not know if it was for that reason, or if it was just to have a little more pleasure, that it is customary at nightfall, that everyone procures a little candle called a *moccoletto*; those sitting on the sidewalks that were built in front of the houses, the people travelling in carriages, and all the curious people in the windows hold in their hands their lighted *moccoletti* which admittedly produces a charming effect and provides another amusement as a game between those who want to keep them lit and those who want to catch them and put them out. But it must be said to the credit of this people that all these games, which everywhere else would be occasions for dissension and disputes, happen here without any disorder as good clean fun. An hour after nightfall<sup>23</sup>, they command all the *moccoletti* to be put out, and they are all extinguished as if by one breath. Everyone leaves. Some go to what they call the *festin*, which is a masked ball in the theatre, others scatter to their own particular groups, so that no one is bothered in the streets, even though I did not notice many patrols; I did not meet any. At ten o'clock sharp, they leave the *festin* with like docility and go home to have supper before midnight; because at that hour, the great clock will ring to inform everyone that Lent has started; the fun is over after that. Everything is finished and everyone returns to normal. The bell rings from eleven o'clock until midnight so that all are alerted to take the necessary precautions that they finish their meal before Lent starts.

People can say whatever they like about Italians and the Roman people, but one can not help admiring the docility of these people, and the good grace so to say with which they submit to very wise police directives, but which you could hardly find among a nation less religious than this one.

**8:** Today, I hurried to get to the Sistine chapel to participate in the service and receive the ashes from the Pope's hands, since I attach an infinite value to everything which draws me closer to the head of the Church. After the Pope had come down, he proceeded with the blessing according to the pontifical which is [p. 50] followed very precisely in his chapel. Thus, the Sub-deacon came and knelt to hold the container

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<sup>23</sup> An hour after sunset, that is, about seven o'clock in the evening at the beginning of February.



with the ashes while the Pope blessed them. Not the Cardinal Dean but the Officiating Cardinal gave the ashes to the Pope and was the first of all to receive them from him. After him, the Cardinal Dean, the whole Sacred College, Bishops, Prelates and the entire Chapel. My turn came also, and even though a great number of foreigners with braided uniforms, officers and others had already lined up, I recalled my dignity and went first, and after kissing the Pope's slipper, I received from his hand the ashes on my head, that is, as we do in France as well as they do here in the chapel, on the tonsure. They place ashes on the forehead for lay people.

The mass was as usual. The Theatine Procurator General was to give the Latin sermon; his memory failed him and he abbreviated it a great deal. Nevertheless, it was half-past twelve noon when we left from the service.

At Rome, there is always the unpleasant situation of finding yourself beside some English people. One of them was beside me today who really annoyed me. At first I thought he was a Catholic but he soon corrected me by saying that they also have the ashes ceremony today but do not make such a fuss as they prefer to go to the heart. I held back my anger and replied only that since, as things are<sup>24</sup>, human beings are not pure spirits but made up of body and soul, we go to the heart through the senses, and I took up my book to pray again. They should keep these people on the sidelines; they disturb our ceremonies with their irreverence and chatter. There would be no wrong in having them see the holiness of our mysteries as long as they blaspheme them a little further away; there would be less desecration.

It was time to come home for dinner. Immediately after that, I went to meet the Father Confessor of the Papal household who had suggested to me this morning at the chapel that we make the Station of Saint Sabina together after dinner. He is a man of great merit; he is from the Servite Order and enjoys a wide reputation. He led the way. First we went to the church of Saint Mary *in Cosmedin* where they show the marble chair on which it is said that Saint Augustine used to teach. It is more certain that this church was built on the very spot of an ancient temple of which several columns still remain. They say it was the tem-

<sup>24</sup> "As things are": it's hard to read the words in the manuscript.

ple of modesty. It is a very ancient church; you can see two marble reading stands as well as the altar, set apart in the Greek manner, under a canopy [p. 51], held up by red granite columns. People venerate a number of martyrs' relics in the sanctuary. Now it is a collegiate church. We went up the Aventine hill, one of seven hills, added to Rome by Ancus Martius. On our way back we noticed several sections of wall, remains of the ancient papal palace, where several popes signed bulls from this dwelling, *apud Sanctam Sabinam*, adjoining Saint Sabina's. The church was built in 425 over the paternal house of that saint, or on the ruins of Diana's temple. Ever since Saint Gregory the Great granted this church the station of the first day in Lent, the Supreme Pontiffs have come to distribute ashes on that day. It was possibly then that they built a palace for them. Honorius III gave the church and a part of the palace to Saint Dominic who received Saint Francis of Assisi in it as well as Saint Angelus of the Carmelite Order. I saw the saint's room there, as well as that of Saint Pius V, both of them transformed into chapels. All the greatest saints of the Dominican Order lived in this house. In the garden they show a very beautiful lemon tree, planted by Saint Dominic himself. There was one planted by Saint Thomas which died after the house was abandoned. You can see in the back of the church one of those big stones they used to put on the neck of christians when they threw them into the Tiber. It is a beautiful church; it is held up by twenty-two marble columns; but the memory of all the saints, who for six hundred years have spent time in this house touched and greatly edified me. This house has been influenced as have others by the evils of the time, there are only six novices in the noviciate.

The church and monastery of Saint Alexis is close to Saint Sabina's. Euphemian, the father of Saint Alexis, had built his palace on the ruins of the temple of Hercules. We know that Saint Alexis spent seventeen years under the steps of his father's palace, as a poor nobody. They transformed the palace into a church; they point out the house cistern in the church itself, and a section of the stairway. King Charles IV of Spain used to enjoy this resting place very much; he built himself a lodging in the convent and gave the church some very beautiful gifts.

On the same field there is another church called Saint Mary *in pri-orato*; it was the priory Church of Saint John of Jerusalem. It is really beautiful. But the view of all the places we just passed through is delightful; you see Rome directly and from the side, from an elevation that brings out some very picturesque scenes; the Tiber runs below the

hill and opposite shows the boats which come up this river to load merchandise at *Ripa Grande*. It seems that this site did not escape the good taste of the Romans, because you can still see remains of terrasses which held up the ground on the hillside, where there must have been some charming gardens. [p. 52]

**9:** Today, I went out only for my own business matters; for that I made my usual stops at the homes of Archbishop Marchetti, Cardinal Pedicini and Cardinal Pacca. Archbishop Marchetti was with Cardinal Pacca when I presented myself to His Eminence; I took the opportunity to have a pressing note passed to him, requesting that he give his instructions to the Bishop-Secretary. It seemed like my guardian angel was guiding my steps. The orders were given for my business matter to be set in motion. It had been idle for a month, certainly not due to the Cardinal's ill-will, of which I gladly testify to the contrary, but to a little slowness brought about either by other business matters, or the arrival of his entire family, with whom he had to spend some time during the carnival.

I also saw Cardinal Spina today. I made haste to return to his home because I knew that he had asked for my address to come and see me, something I wanted to foresee and avoid. I was received in the customary way that I have been received by all the cardinals and bishops I have had a chance to meet in Rome, that is, most politely and cordially. Finally, I made a courtesy call on Cardinal De Gregorio and ended my day by taking to Ferrucci the indulgence note that Suzanne had requested of me for Notre-Dame de Bon-Secours<sup>25</sup>.

**10:** I went out to speak with Cardinal Pedicini who was to a sermon in the Papal apartments. This sermon is given every Wednesday and Friday in Lent. I went to the home of the Ambassador who absolutely wanted to invite me to dine. In spite of some repugnance I feel at accepting this kind of invitation during Lent, I could not refuse. From there I went to see the Cardinal Vicar, where I did not leave till half-past one, overcome with hunger. I went to Monsignor d'Isoard's home to take a piece of bread which served as a lunch, and since I had to wait till seven o'clock to go and eat, I took some extracts from the *Life* of

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<sup>25</sup> The church of the Calvary at Marseilles, dedicated to Our Lady of Good Help, where Father Marius Suzanne was rector.

Blessed Alphonsus into the Monterone hospice. The Ambassador's dinner was splendid as I had expected. Lord and Lady de La Tour du Pin, the French Ambassador at Turin, had been invited, as well as a German princess, an English lady, Bishop d'Argenteau, the great-nephew of the famous Fox and several other people among whom I knew only the Marquis de Prié.

**11:** An exhausting day for me, because of the useless trips I had to make.

**12:** Went out late to go and adore the Blessed Sacrament at the Forty Hours Devotion. They were in the church of Saints John and Paul, beyond the Coliseum. I made my way to this rather distant church by crossing the Peace Temple of which there remain only three arches dispoiled of all ornament; nevertheless, it was one of the most beautiful buildings in Ancient Rome, begun by Claudius and completed by Vespasian who stored in it the vases he had taken in Jersuaelem. Of the eight columns that held up the central nave, only one remains which Paul V had erected in the square of Saint Mary Major. As I left these arches, I passed under the famous Triumphal Arch of Titus where you can see the bas-relief which portrays the seven-branch candlestick from the temple in Jerusalem. I entered the church called Santa Maria Nuova, served by the Olivetan monks. It was built near the vestibule of Nero's Domus aurea, [p. 53] in memory of the Holy Apostles since they believe that it was in this place that Saint Peter knelt down to obtain from God that Simon the Magician, who at that time was esteemed by everyone and even by Nero himself, be thrown down. They show the rock, on which the holy apostle knelt, embedded in the church wall, but there are no other proofs of the identity of that rock, where the place of the knees is noted, except the pious belief of the faithful. Making my way toward the Arch of Constantine, which is only a stone's throw<sup>26</sup> from the Coliseum, I continued on to the church of Saints John and Paul, in the middle of an enormous crowd which was going the same way as I was. It was a perfect day and everyone decided to go for a walk to the church where the Forty Hours Devotion was being held. Once I got to the church square, I was content to adore the Blessed Sacrament from the outer portico since it would have been too difficult to get inside the

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<sup>26</sup> A stone's throw: close to.

church. I had the good inspiration to knock at the door of the monastery where the Passionist Fathers live; those Fathers were kind enough to show me the small interior gallery in their house, from where I was able to make my adoration at leisure. When I had finished, a brother most graciously went with me to see the whole house which I found very neat, inspiring piety and recollection. He really wanted me to go into a little office where they offered me a cup of coffee, which I, however, refused so as not to presume on the hospitality that these dear Fathers wished to shower on me. As we went through the house and gardens, I met several of these Fathers, among others the Father Superior and the Father General; both of them were very polite and considerate. Just as I was about to leave, I was noticed by Bishop Brignole, brother to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Turin; this Prelate hastened to greet me with the title with which they usually address Grand Vicars in this country; I enjoyed the impression this made on my charitable Brother who no doubt congratulated himself for having been so kind to a stranger whom he discovered to be nothing less than a prelate. The Father Superior made me promise to come back and, since I had shown a desire to say mass in the room of their venerable Founder, Father Paul<sup>27</sup>, he asked me to stay that day for dinner with the community which would be happy to meet me. I left that holy house very edified and touched by the kind charity of the people living in it. [p. 54]

**13:** Some unavoidable errands. Nothing special, except the account I heard of the degrading of an Archbishop who had fooled the Holy See into ordaining him. The sacriligious unfortunate fellow was condemned to death, but the Pope who had consecrated him commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. His is an extraordinary story in the sense that a young man of twenty [years], now only twenty-two, was sharp enough, deceitful enough to convince so many wise people, including the Pope himself, that the Pasha of Egypt was waiting only for his arrival to show the most favorable dispositions to Christians; but that he wanted to be a bishop because only he was acceptable to him. So, this imposter was consecrated and left for Cairo accompanied by a religious that they took the precaution of giving him as a counselor. The latter soon discovered they had been taken in by a scoundrel and there was not a word of truth in all he had set before them.

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<sup>27</sup> Saint Paul of the Cross (Paul-François Danei, 1694-1775), beatified in 1852, canonized in 1867.

**14:** Since the business matters I have in Rome usually take me from ten o'clock until noon, I have not yet been able, since the beginning of Lent, to attend a single sermon which takes place precisely during that time. Today I went to hear the preacher at the Gesù and was very pleased with him; he did not give a flowery sermon, there was not a single pretentious phrase, but what he said was solid and instructive. He showed that the law of Jesus Christ was most reasonable, being only a development and perfection of natural law; that it was easy to observe and lighter than laws of the world. I have always thought about giving an instruction to prove the second part of his discourse.

After dinner, I went to see Cardinal Pallotta<sup>28</sup> who had given me an appointment for that time. He welcomed me warmly and with me went through all the details of the matter that had brought me to him, gladly accepted the observations I gave him, was moved by the account of edifying things I told him, and did not let me leave without giving me marks of esteem, I dare say, of affection, since he tapped me gently on the cheek. Cardinal Pedicini had done the same thing, from which I concluded that I must seem younger than I am, since people only give these signs of kindness and care to someone whom they believe to be much younger than they are. All that does not reduce in any way my forty-three years. [p. 55]

**15:** This morning, my first concern after saying holy mass was to pay a visit to Cardinal Pedicini to inform him about the conversation I had yesterday with Cardinal Pallotta, and give him the notes that I had written out in reply to some observations he had made to me. From there, I rushed to get to Cardinal Pacca in time to tell him a few things before the other cardinals gathered at his place. I informed his Eminence that I would stay in the church of Campitelli<sup>29</sup> during their meeting so that, if they should need me, they could get a hold of me quickly, since that church is right across from the Cardinal's palace. As I was going out, I requested that they let me know as soon as the meet-

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<sup>28</sup> Ms.: Pallota. Antonio Pallotta (1770-1834), made Cardinal in 1823. A friend of Cardinal Pedicini and a member of the commission of three cardinals entrusted with studying the Rules.

<sup>29</sup> In this church, built between 1662 and 1667 to make a place for the miraculous image of *santa Maria in Portico* (c.f. March 20), there is the tomb of Saint John Leonard (1541-1609), Founder of the Order of Regular Clergy of the Mother of God.

ing was over. That is exactly what they forgot to do, so that I was able to hear nine masses, one after the other, entirely at peace without being disturbed. Well! Can I say it? I have never felt more at home in a church. I had made the decision on entering that I would pray wholeheartedly while the cardinals were discussing our business matters. The time seemed short to me. I left the church at one o'clock since I knew they had forgotten me, because I could not presume that the cardinals would put off their lunch that long on a fast day. I came home to have mine, gobbled it down quickly and spent two hours this evening working with the Archbishop Secretary<sup>30</sup> on what they had decided this morning at their meeting.

**16:** Today, I continued with the work started yesterday with the Archbishop of Ancyra. This work is completed.

**17:** Before going to see Bishop Gamberini<sup>31</sup> of Orvieto who had given me an appointment for this morning, I went to the Roman College to say mass in the room where Saint Aloysius Gonzaga<sup>32</sup> used to live. It is on the third floor of the house and overlooks the courtyard. It seems that it was transformed into a chapel at the time of the saint's beatification. The same door and window are still there; but now people go in through a different door, since the old one is condemned, even though it is still there and in good condition, except slightly worm-eaten as are the window shutters. It is a large room; it looks as if two scholastics used to live in it. It is tapestried in crimson damask, with golden borders. There is a wooden altar; below the altar is the casket wherein the saint's body lay for fifty years. [p. 56] Hanging from the walls, you can see several paintings depicting events in the saint's life and his holy death. These paintings used to be in the apartments of the venerable Cardinal Bellarmine<sup>33</sup>. The room that you see today is not the one in which the saint died; I believe the infirmary was situated where the present church is, which was not yet built at that time.

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<sup>30</sup> Archbishop Marchetti.

<sup>31</sup> Antonio Domenico Gamberini (1760-1841), named Bishop of Orvieto in 1825.

<sup>32</sup> Aloysius Gonzaga S.J. (1568-1591), beatified in 1605 and canonized on December 31, 1726.

<sup>33</sup> Robert Bellarmine S.J. (1542-1621), beatified in 1923, canonized in 1930.

Not far from that room is the one in which the Venerable Berchmans used to live<sup>34</sup>, and beyond that the one used by a martyr whose name I have forgotten. Near the room of Saint Aloysius you can see a rather nice, very well decorated chapel, where the saint made his vows. I stopped there for a moment to pray. In the sacristy of this chapel they show an image of our Lord crucified that the saint used to take with him on trips. Now it has a silver frame as do two of his handwritten letters that they preserve. I am not sure that these frames were in silver; they seemed to me to be of this metal, but since I was taken up with the main object, I could be wrong. Time was running out on me, so I said goodbye to Father Taparelli, the college rector, and hurried to Bishop Gamberini who received me correctly. He is one of the most outstanding men of the Roman Court; before being named Bishop of Orvieto, he had occupied extremely important posts; he will quite likely be a cardinal and I do not think he will be among the last named.

**18:** For a long time I have wanted to offer the holy sacrifice in the room where Saint Stanislas Kostka<sup>35</sup> died, all the more so since Saint Sylvester's where I am living is only a stone's throw from Saint Andrew's, the Jesuit noviciate, where Saint Stanislas lived and went on to a better life. Since I did not want to leave this area this morning so as to be on time at Archbishop Marchetti's, who lives at the Quirinal directly opposite the noviciate, I decided to make my short pilgrimage. I rang lightly at the door; a Brother immediately came to welcome me. After asking the purpose of my visit, he led me to the parlor where I waited while he took my calling card to the rector. There were books on the table for interested visitors which seemed to encourage them not to waste their time; I took up the first one at hand, it was the Rule of the Society, probably put out as an attraction to men of good will.

The directions were given while I was reading to satisfy my devotion. The Brother came to get me and went with me to the chapel door where I found everything layed out: two sacristans to serve me, candles lit, and a third novice, a French priest, to do [p. 57] the honors of the house. They had recognized from my dress that I was French; besides that, I had announced myself. The Father Superior, who is novice-mas-

<sup>34</sup> John Berchmans S.J. (1599-1621), beatified in 1865, canonized in 1888.

<sup>35</sup> Stanislas Kostka S.J. (1550-1568), canonized on December 31, 1726.



ter at the same time, had seen to everything without having to be disturbed himself. However, since I was hoping to meet him, after I had prayed a moment in front of the saint's statue, placed precisely where his bed had been, I asked the French priest-novice if it would be improper to request to see the Father Superior; he assured me of the contrary, and immediately went to let him know of my desire to meet him. We went up to his room together and I was pleased with both his welcome and himself. After talking with him for a quarter of an hour, I left him, promising myself that I would come back to visit him again before leaving Rome. Returning to the chapel, I said holy mass on the altar placed appropriately on the very spot that the saint had had himself layed on the floor and where he died. After making my thanksgiving, when I went back into the sacristy to get my coat, the priest novice presented me on a plate a small book containing the saint's life and an image of him, and the two novice sacristans at the chapel promptly took it upon themselves to show me all the relics and explain all the paintings in the various small cells, which used to be the infirmary and are now made over into chapels. I greatly thanked them for their kindness, recommended myself to their prayers and, once more following the French novice, I visited with him a part of the house and the gardens, without naturally going into that part where the three kinds of novices live in that house, that is, priests, clerical students, and brothers who have no communication among themselves. At present, there are seven priests in the noviciate; I did not ask how many clerics there were, but I know they are a rather large number, which is not surprising since the Roman noviciate accepts novices from every country to supply, I imagine, the Roman College, after they have made their vows. The priest novice whom the Father Superior had had the good inspiration to offer me to serve as a guide was, as I have said, French and had come to Rome on the same ship as the Abbé Julien Giraud, the enlightened Gérard and his simple-minded companion.

As I left Saint Andrew's, I went into the Quirinal palace where Archbishop Marchetti gave me that good news that last night the Pope had approved and confirmed the decision of the Congregation regarding our matter. *Te Deum laudamus. Per singulos dies benedicimus te, et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum saeculi.* [p. 58]

**19:** Wrote all morning; went out a moment to look for a copyist.

**20:** Went out early to look for a copyist but did not find one, at least

not the kind I needed. I went to say mass on the altar over the body of Saint Philip Neri<sup>36</sup>, in the *Nuova* church. I do not have time to outline all the beautiful things in that church in terms of paintings and sculpture. I saw there Caravaggio's painting of which I have a print at Aix portraying Our Lord's burial. After that, I went to Saint Andrew's *della Valle* for two reasons. Father Ventura was coming out and once again I only had time to greet him in passing. Even though he is an outstanding man, I do not plan to see him again since it is too hard to find him home. I also wanted to see the Archpriest Adinolfi for he was not at the secretariate. Shortly after that, I met him in the street. We stopped to chat a minute. He again remarked on his great surprise at the success of our undertaking. "We never saw anything like it," he said, "the Pope himself wanted the Brief of Approval expedited; he himself dedicated some things he wanted them to insert in it, etc." Actually, the Archpriest, under-secretary of the Congregation, could not get over it. I concluded from his look and surprise that, if things had depended on him, we would not have reason to be so content.

From there I went to the Archbishop of Ancyra who handed me the papers, even his report, which he was quite willing to have me read, and which I was very pleased to be able to copy. Finally, I went on my way to thank Cardinal Pedicini. It is a good thing that I did not put off any longer. He had already remarked with some surprise that I had deprived him of the pleasure of seeing me again, after he had gone through so much trouble for me. My visit straightened everything out, but I admit I am all played out; all these errands weigh me down, and the idea that, without a copyist, I must transcribe two hundred pages in small format, certainly is not something to give me any great courage.

**21:** Copied all day long since I did not find a copyist willing to do this work in a week. They would have kept the manuscript at least three weeks and it would have cost me 30 Roman crowns, if not more. I will do it in three days and it will cost only my trouble which is actually no small matter, since I wrote for twelve hours today.

**22, 23, 24:** I spent three days and half a night, that is, till three o'clock, busy with copying.

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<sup>36</sup> Philip Neri, Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory (1515-1595), canonized on March 12, 1622.

**25:** Most of the day was again spent in writing. Petitions had to be made in two original copies, etc. I hope it will end there, since my arms are numb.

**26:** A meeting with Archbishop Marchetti; carried a letter from him to Bishop Capaccini<sup>37</sup> whom I did not find at home. After dinner, I had to take a little diversion after the week such as the one I just spent. I decided to head for the church of Saint Lawrence-outside-the-walls, [p. 59] where they were holding Forty Hours Devotion. There was a large crowd, since it is custom at Rome, when the Forty Hours are outside the gate on Sunday and the weather is nice, people take a walk in that direction. What seemed praiseworthy, and I can not repeat that enough, is that the crowd does not hinder recollection at all. When you go into the church, it is filled with people, kneeling with both knees on the floor, in profound respect; some of them keep on with their adoration for a quarter of an hour or more. Not a sound, not a word; I am continually more edified. As I was going along, I think I met young people out only for a walk, without intending to go to the church which is a mile from the city gate; but I saw nothing unbecoming, and people's respect for clerics is so deep that I was often greeted by someone I did not know. The church of Saint Lawrence-outside-the-walls is one of the basilicas; you can see marble pulpits as in ancient churches; the altar is very high, and very old. They think that the saint's body is buried in the lower level below the altar, and that Saint Stephen's body, brought from Jerusalem, has been placed beside his. This basilica is served by Canons Regular.

**27:** I made my usual rounds today to Archbishop Marchetti and from there to the Chancery for Bishops and Regulars. Archbishop Marchetti told me that Bishop Capaccini had replied to him, and that they would have a meeting this evening to discuss our business matters. At the same time, I took the opportunity of going to make my adoration at the Forty Hours Devotion being held at Saint Pudentiana's, where they say that Saint Peter used to live. Even though this church is in a remote area, I found a lot of people there, when I arrived and when I departed — it was almost two hours after sunset when I left — people

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<sup>37</sup> Ms.: Capacini. Francesco Capaccini (1784-1845), at that time Substitute for the Secretariate of Briefs. In 1831, he became Substitute for the Secretariate of State where the Founder met him during the Icosia affair. Named Cardinal on April 21, 1845 and died in June of the same year.

coming and going, but everyone in a dignified manner. I did not see anyone who showed a comportment or appearance of being obnoxious. What a difference from what we see in France where all the beggars gather at the church doors or where the least religious service attracts all the bad eggs from the area. [p. 60]

**28:** Another edifying experience today. I went to say mass at Saint Bonaventure's retreat (*ritiro*) house, run by the Franciscan Fathers. Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice<sup>38</sup> died in this holy house. There are five *ritiri* houses, which are a kind of reform movement; even though they are not separated from the Order, they are somewhat independent; the Guardian of Saint Bonaventure's acts like a Provincial for the other houses; he determines who will go where, etc. Popes have ordered other Franciscan groups not to come and disturb the religious men who understand and practice the rule of Saint Francis better than they do.

I said mass at the main altar under which the body of Blessed Leonard rests, dressed in religious garb. It is not at all unpleasant to look at, since the head, hands and feet are covered with a wax coating, which looks like flesh. The sight of this holy body inspired deep veneration in me; I recalled all he had suffered in difficult mission ministry, and recommended myself to the saint that he obtain for me, and for all of ours, a full share in the spirit which inspired him all his life. In the sanctuary, you can see several marble slabs recalling the names of several religious who died in this *ritiro* in the odor of sanctity. After my thanksgiving, I had them take me to the Father Vicar who is also the postulator of the cause. I was astonished at the poverty and cleanliness of the house I went through. The Father Vicar was very polite; right away he led me to the room where they keep the mattress, the boards and the blocks of the bed on which the saint died. The boards are starting to be worm-eaten, but that dust has cured several sick people. After that we went to see the room where the saint rendered his soul to God; it has been changed into a chapel. Now you see a small cell, opposite the door is the altar they built there, on the right a small credence table containing the vestments, to the left the place where the saint's bed was. They have placed two large reliquaries on either side of the door; in one you find the soutane in which he died, his belt and the terrible discipline made up of sharp iron blades; in the other is the banner he raised in his missions and a box of his relics. Around

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<sup>38</sup> Leonard of Port Maurice (Paul-Jerome Casanova, 1676-1751), beatified in 1796, canonized in 1867.

the cell, in small paintings, are portrayed various miracles obtained through the intercession of the Blessed one. [p. 61]

The good Father Vicar spoke emotionally to me about some traits in the life of this great servant of God. He had lived among those who had seen the Blessed one, and the Father Vicar's professor had described to him what he had learnt from Brother Diego who had been with him to the last moment. A few moments before dying, the Blessed one asked him to leave his cell and close the door. He had scarcely gone out when, having stationed himself opposite the door, in the very narrow corridor into which opened all the doors to the infirmary, he was dazzled by the great light, which however reached him only through the three small holes in those doors where the string is passed which is attached to the wooden latch. At the same time he heard talking with joyful expressions. When he went back into the cell, the saint had just died.

The Father Guardian came just as we were leaving that precious room. Father Vicar left us after he had made me promise to come back and say mass in the chapel; at that time he will give me some of those relics. We went through the rest of the house with the venerable Guardian who gave me the information I mentioned above. He had me look at some very thick walls which are remains of Nero's palace. Who would have told that monster that earthly angels would come and live on the ruins of his palace? They have set aside a section of the monastery for people who want to come and make a retreat. There are some there now, among them Cardinal Galleffi's brother. I left enthralled just as the religious were going into the choir to recite Sexte, Nones and Vespers. I ruminated on the good thoughts this holy place had inspired in me as I made my way to the Quirinal palace to find out from the Archbishop of Ancyra if anything had been decided following the meeting at his home last night. Everything is going perfectly; together with Bishop Capaccini, they tried to find the shortest and quickest route; I hope that the Brief will be written up not later than next week.

After dinner, I went to see Ferrucci, Father Monteinard, the Trappist Father Abbot whose business matters, alas, are not going as well as mine<sup>39</sup>, and I ended the evening with a visit to the Forty Hours devotion, where I was just as edified as yesterday.

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<sup>39</sup> Accused before the Holy See of authoritarianism and administration errors in his reports on Trappist monasteries, the Abbé Augustin de Lestrangé (see November 27) was called to Rome in 1825 and stayed there two years. He died after he returned to France.

## March

**March 1st:** I knew that Bishop Capaccini was to have a papal audience yesterday and would certainly have received his directives for the Brief that he was to draw up. So, I was in a hurry to get to his place this morning. He received me most graciously and remembered to tell me that the Holy Father had spoken very favorably about me, and recommended that he speed up my business matter, that is to place it before all others. Consequently, Bishop Capaccini offered to send me the person designated to draw up the Brief, but I refused, thanking the Bishop for his too great attention. I asked him for the address of that gentleman in order to go myself to his place, which I promptly did. I found Father Barluzzi and spoke with him about the matter at hand. I believe that the Brief will be drawn on Saturday; this work demands some diligence.

Forty Hours Devotion was being held at Saints Cosmas and Damian, a church built on the former temple of Remus and Romulus; I made my adoration, and even though it was already late at night when I left, I saw only edifying things.

**2:** I did not expect such a tiring day. After putting in a short appearance at the home of Father Jules Barluzzi, I went to see Father Antonetti, the Under-Secretary of the Chancellery for Bishops and Regulars, who was to go over my enormous manuscript with me. Who would have guessed that this good man would have the dedication to examine every word of it, from first to last! Nevertheless, that is what he did. He had in advance placed a cushioned chair in front of a table so that I would be seated comfortably; he sat beside me and while I read out loud, he followed the copy I had made with his eyes and you could even say with his nose. This good priest had very poor eyesight and, it seemed to me very poor insight as well. This reading lasted nearly four and a half hours without interruption. Though I read quickly and even very fast, yet it took no less than that amount of time to complete that monumental work. The cruel fellow did not spare me one *iota*; it was something that I got away with not announcing the articles; I could not do more than that; and without the help of a glass of water which I drank drop by drop so to say during the course of our long session, I would not have been able to speak. I give him the credit at being edified and

not bored. I considered myself lucky to finish in one sitting, no matter how killing it was for me. Nevertheless, I will always remember the foolishness of that good Abbé Antonetti. Anyone else would have completed this task in a quarter of an hour. Actually, all that was needed [p. 63] was to verify the corrections, and he was so simple that, if I had wanted, I could have made him cross a mountain as easily as crossing a single line. To soften the boredom of the morning, which had left me with a sore throat, I went to buy a map of Rome, the interior of Saint Peter's basilica, Saint Peter's square and two other sketches for my uncle's gallery.

**3:** Another trip to Father Giulio Barluzzi, then to the chancellery for Bishops and Regulars where I found out that I had to make a third copy of my petition. Praise the Lord! I brought the manuscript back home and resigned myself to being submissive. I did it as quickly as possible. When will I end being a scribe? When will my trips ever end?

**4:** For a long time I have wanted to say mass in the interior chapel of the Gesù, in the very room where Saint Ignatius<sup>40</sup> and Saint Francis Borgia<sup>41</sup> died. I had that consolation today. They had the good sense to respect such a precious apartment when they built the beautiful Gesù house. You go up there on a small stairway which leads into one of the large corridors of the house; the door is still the same one that Saint Ignatius opened and closed when he went into his room. This apartment is made up of four very low rooms; the first one is dark since the only light is from the stairway, I believe, and the corridor; maybe it was an antechamber; now it is used as a passageway and a sacristy for the chapel which is opposite the door. The saint lived in that room, he composed his constitutions there; Laynez, the Order's second General, died there. You can see a life-size statue, or more correctly, a model portraying Saint Ignatius clothed in priestly vestments. The alb, chasuble and square biretta are the same ones that the saint used. He had several visions there, at least that is what is written on the wall. The window of this room opens onto a small courtyard. Coming back from that first room, you go to the other chapel. This room is a little larger; the window looks over the street from the first floor. I imagine that the present

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<sup>40</sup> Ignatius of Loyola S.J. (1491-1556), canonized in 1622.

<sup>41</sup> Francis Borgia S.J. (1510-1572), canonized in 1671.

door by which one enters is not the one of the saint's time, since it is on this very spot that the bed stands, on which both he and Saint Francis Borgia died. Just a little in front of it is the altar on which Saint Ignatius used to say mass. [p. 64] Saint Charles Borromeo said his second mass on this same altar. I presume that many other saints have celebrated the holy sacrifice on this altar, before the Blessed Virgin's image, which was already there at the time of Saint Ignatius. Saint Philip Neri came as well to this place several times to talk with Saint Ignatius. They have marked the place where the saint used to pray and the one where Saint Francis Borgia welcomed Saint Aloysius Gonzaga and Saint Stanislaus. The door, that opens into the next room which is now a sacristy for this chapel, is the same as in the saint's time. Over it is written that the saint used to open it when he called the Brother who served him, and who lived in it at the time. You can see a cabinet where they keep some items that belonged to the venerable Cardinal Bellarmine, among other things an old pair of trousers which seemed to be torn, a large red skull-cap, and a metal chain exactly like the ones they make these days, but it is fully attached and sewn on a piece of cloth, apparently so that the shirt would not be damaged.

I had the good fortune of saying mass on the altar where all those saints celebrated before me, and made my thanksgiving on the spot where they say Saint Ignatius used to pray; so much for the *resemblance*; but I would have to create a much longer song than the one from which I borrowed this word, if I had to note the *difference*. However, all these precious memorabilia give me the greatest pleasure, and such locations are too much to my liking for me not to be deeply moved at having come across the ones in this place.

**5:** I could not put off any more going to say mass at Saint Lawrence in *Panisperna*. I had long ago promised it to the dear Sisters of Saint Claire, who were anxiously waiting for me. There was nothing too good for me. I could hardly keep from laughing when I saw myself being treated like a prelate, with the six large candles lit, the reading candle etc. I would not [p. 65] have allowed it, had I noticed it before getting to the altar. I will not say anything about the attention I received after mass; everyone knows what Sisters do. What really pleased me was the regular program I noticed in that convent and every Sister seemed happy, especially glad that they had, after many difficulties, formed a perfect community life. They think that Saint Lawrence was martyred under the church of this convent.



After dinner, I went to visit San Pietro in Montorio, situated on the highest part of the city, opposite the place where I am staying. Saint Peter was crucified there. They built a chapel on the very spot where they show the hole in which the cross was placed. This chapel, as well as the convent and church have considerably deteriorated; still, the reformed Friars Minor have a foothold all over that place, but their living quarters are a picture of poverty. Raphael's famous painting of the Transfiguration is no longer to be seen in the church; now it has been placed in the museum after being returned from Paris. There is a magnificent view; from the square in front of the church, you can see the whole city of Rome stretched out before you, the valley of the Tiber and the countryside as far as Frascati, beyond the city and to the side, as far as the eye can see. You stand amazed in front of this imposing panorama. I reluctantly came down from this little mountain, actually the Janiculum, but the bells were calling me to church.

Today, the catechism lessons were starting which are given for eight days in some thirty churches designated by the Cardinal Vicar. I stopped at the closest one: it was the basilica of Saint Mary *in Trastevere*. It was full of people, just like all the others. I admit I was not very pleased with the Passionist Father called on to teach catechism in that church. He is a missionary who, it seemed to me, did not plan his instruction very well, during which I could not help laughing several times, like everyone else. What he said was good, but he said too much and especially too light heartedly; it must be said that it was for the benefit of the Transtiberians.

The Queen of Sardinia and her daughters came to hear the instruction in the gallery of our church. These instructions are all to centre on the Sacrament of Penance, to prepare the faithful to worthily celebrate their Easter duties. This custom was started through the concern of Pope Benedict XIV. They start with the rosary and conclude with acts of the theological virtues that a catechist has everyone recite, word by word. [p. 66]

**6:** I went to say mass over the body of Saint Aloysius Gonzaga in the superb church of Saint Ignatius. From there I made an appearance at Saint Andrew *della Valle*, in hope of being hurried through to the Chancellery of Bishops and Regulars; not at all, something was still missing and I had to go and look for it this evening at Archbishop Marchetti's after I had supper with Cardinal Pacca.

**7:** A useless appearance at Bishop Capaccini's; visit to Father Jules Barluzzi to verify something in the Brief. Together we visited his uncle, the Canon, hoping he would know some helpful information. Stopped by the Chancellery for Bishops and Regulars to speed up the sending of the Brief which will be ready only on Saturday. Returned to Saint Lawrence *in Damaso* to hear a reputed renowned preacher. His talk on Judgment Day was the most ordinary thing in the world, interspersed with a few emphatic expressions and a ridiculously theatrical delivery. He was the only one in the crowd to weep at the recital of the disruption of all the elements, etc. As I have noticed here everywhere, those attending were mostly men; you could see only a few women scattered at the edge of the crowd. This is not the only thing that really edifies me in Rome, namely the great number of men at all the religious services and they behave much differently than do our men in France.

This evening, I attended the catechism lesson in the church of the house where I am living. The Queen of Sardinia and her two daughters, who are staying at the Quirinal Palace, come faithfully to take part. This service, repeated in thirty Roman churches for eight consecutive days, must be very helpful to the faithful who come to them in great numbers from all over. Today, our missionary spoke in his catechism lesson about the sins of scandal. The Lazarists have this same service every day in their missions.

**8:** Some usual errands. Since the Holy Father had the kindness to lift for me the excommunication levelled at everyone who removed books from the libraries of religious, I took the three volumes of the life of Blessed Alphonsus home with me. At Saint Mary's *in Monterone* I met two *Ligourini*, one of whom had just been consecrated Bishop of a diocese in Calabria<sup>42</sup>; I think that had the choice been mine, I would have preferred his brother, an Assistant to the Superior General. We discussed at length their manner of giving missions, etc. They calculated that they need two missionaries for every thousand people, including children. Today I met several people at the *Ligourini*, among them a priest who was still furious about that poor Apostolic Prefect we saw at Marseilles. He accused him of every kind of disgrace. Fortunately, I was

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<sup>42</sup> Bishop Andrea Rispoli of Squillace, and his brother Pietro, cf. *Oblate Writings* 7, p. 78 note 46.

there to set him straight. As far as this priest was concerned, one could accuse the Apostolic Prefect of imprudence; I would not even swear to that, since I did not trust this priest very much. [p. 67]

**9:** Went out early to see Bishop Capaccini and Father Jules Barluzzi; from there to the convent *di Torre di Specchio*, to say mass in the room of Saint Frances of Rome<sup>43</sup>, the Foundress of that Order of Women who live according to Saint Benedict's rule, without making vows. They are going to make their oblation over the tomb of the saint which is kept in the church of Saint Frances of Rome, at Campo Vaccino; they are buried there as well. They may go into the city, but do not do it very often. During this whole octave, everyone comes to the convent, and I was welcomed in the room of one of the nieces of Cardinal Mattei. They admit only women into this congregation. Very rarely does anyone, who had made their oblation, which consists in a simple promise of obedience and stability, leave the house; they can cite only a few examples; they must have been long ago, since Madame Mattei told me there were no instances of such inconsistencies. I had barely sat down when a lay-sister came to offer me a cup of chocolate and a glass of lemonade: I refused both of them to the great dismay of the poor sister to whom I explained that, since I was just visiting Rome, I was following the usual French manner of fasting, which is to take nothing in the morning. Those women invited me to come back this afternoon for a panegyric of their holy mother; that was not part of my plans, but since I had thought about coming to see Cardinal Pacca who lives very near the convent, I came, not however for the sermon but for the Benediction for which I waited an hour and a half, in the nice little inside chapel of those women where the Blessed Sacrament had been exposed all day among more than two hundred candles.

**10, 11:** A few errands for our business matters.

**12:** I said mass at the home of the Ladies of Saint Denis whose Superior, Madam Baudemont, was Superior; Madam Baudemont, was Superior of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at Amiens when I said my first mass in their church on Christmas Eve 1811. A useless visit to Bishop Capaccini. This afternoon, I attended an instruction in the

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<sup>43</sup> Frances of Rome (Francesca Bussa de'Leoni, widow Ponziani, (1384-1436), canonized in 1608.

French church of Saint Louis, given by the Abbé Spada. I was very pleased with it. Noble delivery, purity of style, precision, exactitude, order, piety, emotion, continually at the level of the least instructed of his listeners, whom he taught and encouraged to do good. I very much regret that this is the last of the preparatory talks for Easter; I would certainly have gone back to Saint Louis. [p. 68]

**13:** The usual outings, as useless as yesterday, with the exception that I got back my manuscript with the decrees, signatures and seals, but everything concerning the Brief has been held up by the inertia of Bishop Capaccini, whom nothing can move. This way of doing things will be the dark part of my painting of Rome.

Today a consistory was held in which four cardinals were promoted, two foreigners and two Romans. The Romans were the General of the Capuchins<sup>44</sup>, Apostolic Preacher, an outstanding man, and the Father Abbot of the Camaldolites<sup>45</sup>. The Archbishops of Reims<sup>46</sup> and Valencia<sup>47</sup> were the two foreigners. This evening there was a grand reception at the French Ambassador's for the promotion of Cardinal de Latil. The Spanish Ambassador kept his door closed, it costs less that way. The two Roman cardinals each received people in their own monasteries. There was a real confusion of carriages running from one cardinal to the other; fortunately, the street lights and fires of rejoicing provided enough light to prevent the danger of being crushed. I stayed only a minute at our Ambassador's to honor our cardinal since I never go out in the evenings to these large gatherings. I soon left to return to my monastery, saddened to see with my own eyes a great number of people, even priests, applying ice-cream to their consciences, in spite of the Lenten fast; it is possible that ice-cream can be considered a liquid which does not break the fast, for it melts in one's mouth; in my opinion, it cruelly offends the spirit of mortification, from which a person should not dispense oneself so easily during this holy time. I admit that

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<sup>44</sup> Luigi Micara (1775-1847).

<sup>45</sup> Mauro Cappellari (1765-1846), elected Pope (Gregory XVI) in 1831.

<sup>46</sup> Jean-Baptiste-M.-A.-A. de Latil (1761-1839), named Archbishop of Reims in 1824.

<sup>47</sup> François Xavier de Cienfuegos y Jovellanos, Archbishop not of Valence but Seville.

fasting would cost me less if I took a good cup of chocolate in the morning, a cup of coffee after dinner, an ice-cream in the evening preceded, an hour before, by a glass of lemonade, and finally a lunch. Actually, I would not take as much on a feast day, even on Easter Sunday.

**14:** At home, kept on reading for a long time the admirable life of Blessed Alphonsus Ligouri. Visits to Bishop Capaccini, Archbishop Marchetti, Father Jules, and to the Secretary of Briefs.

**15:** As I went out, I stopped at Father Jules and Archbishop Marchetti. Then, I kept on my way to Saint Bonaventure's *ritiro* where I said holy mass in the room where Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice died; I felt consolation during my thanksgiving on the very spot where his poor bed had stood. As [p. 69] I did not have a reliquary, they could not give me any relics of the blessed. Next time I will go back with everything I need so my hopes will not be shattered again. Coming home, I went into the church of the Reform Fathers to hear the sermon. There was almost no one there. Lenten preachers are to be pitied when they are not in demand. I was not disappointed in this one, even though his gestures were a bit overdone in his delivery. He preached on predestination with some good basic principles. It would not be out of place to note here that, during the eight days of religious instructions, the thirty and more churches where they were held were always full even though all the catechetical preachers were not of equal merit, while the Lenten preachers are well-chosen; it seems that, here as elsewhere, people come to hear the latter out of curiosity, while they go to the others out of duty, with the desire to learn something.

**16:** Today the Pope held the public consistory in which he gave the red hat to the two Roman cardinals that he had appointed in the secret consistory of the 13th. When all the cardinals had gathered in one of the Vatican halls prepared for this ceremony and in which they had set up benches for the diplomatic corps and kept some seats for the public, the Pope came in and sat down on his throne. A master of ceremonies called out loud: *accedat*, to the consistorial lawyer who was to plead the cause of a beatification. The consistorial advocate, assisted by two prelates, came to the foot of the throne steps and delivered a Latin speech on the cause; this time it was Venerable Paul of the Cross, Founder of the Passionists. Toward the middle of his discourse, the master of ceremonies interrupted him, saying: *recedat*. The advocate moved aside: then the Cardinal Deacons, accompanied by the masters of ceremonies,

went to get the new cardinals. As soon as they have left, the master of ceremonies called the consistorial advocate back with the same words and the latter approached the throne steps and continued his discourse from where he had left off, he spoke by heart, but his neighbor held the text to help him if necessary. When the cardinals came, he left. The two cardinals to whom the Pope gave the red hat today are both religious [p. 70], so they wore the customary habit proper for religious cardinals, that is that, instead of wearing the *cappa magna* in violet or red cloth, according to the day, their *cappa magna* is the color of their Order. Thus, Cardinal Micara, the Capuchin Superior General, wore a brown soutane and his long coat with marten fur, and Cardinal Cappellari, a Camaldolite, was all dressed in white. Both had a red skull cap and biretta. Each of them, accompanied by two cardinal deacons, prostrated themselves before the Pope's feet and kissed them. They remained kneeling and kissed his hand; then they stood up and embraced him. They came down from the throne and embraced their colleagues, all the other cardinals of the Sacred College, beginning with the Cardinal Dean. After that, they took their places and put on their red birettas. The Consistorial advocate was called again and came forward to finish the talk at the foot of the throne; the Pope said a few words to him which I could not hear even though I was close because I had taken a seat behind the Cardinal Dean. The masters of ceremonies came to take the two new cardinals who knelt at the Pope's feet to receive the red hat. The Pope placed it on their heads, which had been covered with the hood of their *cappa*, saying a short prayer of which I heard only a few words, such as these: receive the hat, etc., and defend the faith and rights of the Church even to the shedding of your blood. The masters of ceremonies kept the hats which they are scheduled to take to them in great pomp at their homes this evening, *propter retributionem*. Actually, these red hats resemble the ones that in our country people in the Comtat wear. The Pope withdrew into a neighboring hall to unvest; all the cardinals followed him, and I did as well. Gathered in a group around the two new cardinals, the senior, that is Cardinal Micara, gave a short speech of gratitude to the Holy Father and the Pope gave a short polite reply; then he took his place on the portable chair [p. 71] and returned to his apartments. The College of Cardinals then went to the Sistine Chapel, where the two new cardinals prostrated themselves, stretched out on the altar steps, while everyone sang the *Te Deum*. The Cardinal Dean, standing nearby at the left side of the altar on which was a lectern, chanted several verses and prayes; the cardinals rose and

went to take a place at the choir entrance to thank and greet each cardinal who embraced them cordially as they passed. Such is the ceremony of the hat, which is a sort of taking of possession.

It was time for me to visit the museum since I had been four months at Rome. People who knew me were beginning to fear that I would leave without taking the trouble to go and admire the masterpieces kept there. That was not my plan, although I must admit that I could have made the sacrifice without much effort, so much have I become insensitive to everything that is not somehow related to the only important matter. It is really a magnificent thing; I will not try to describe it which would be too long, and to talk intelligently about it, a person would have to know something about sculpture. As for the paintings, suffice it to say that Raphael painted everything, and that you can find there a collection of all the masterpieces of the great artists. As for the setting, I think it is unique of its kind. I am going to pass over this item rather quickly, for fear of being tempted to go into some detail on the rareties contained therein, which I would do poorly and too imperfectly to undertake.

**17:** I thought I had only to say a word to Archbishop Marchetti; I had to run to Saint Andrew *della Valle*, exactly at dinnertime, but business matters come before everything else. To complete one article, I made the trip three times. That is the only way to get something done. I came home for dinner, all worn out. The meal restored my strength even though it was frugal. After dinner, I made a short appearance at Father Jules' place. All in all, today's activities moved things ahead.

**19: Palm Sunday:** I arrived at the Sistine Chapel at nine o'clock. I had some difficulty getting into the enclosure. [p. 72] The whole place was full, but I made my way through the crowd, and the usher let me into the privileged enclosure, where they allow in too many foreigners, who take up all the room, especially English people who behave very disrespectfully. We could dispense ourselves from according them the pleasure of this spectacle, since our sacred ceremonies are nothing else than that for them. While waiting for the Pope to arrive, everyone was looking around to see the two new cardinals; I realized that they were hoping rather to see the Capuchin Cardinal than the Camaldolite; but this first time, he disappointed the curious by not showing up.

As soon as the Pope arrived, the cardinals presented themselves for the obedience, then the Holy Father proceeded with the blessings of the palms, the Bishop *Sacrista* in cope, the Deacon and Sub-deacon

remained kneeling at the Pope's feet, holding in their hands the palms meant for him. After the blessing, for which the Cardinal Priest came to present the incense, the Cardinal Dean presented the Pope with the three palms, one after the other; after that, he received his own, and all the cardinals received theirs after him, as usual kissing the palm and the Pope's hand and knees. The Assistant Bishops came next and kissed only the palm and the knees; the other Bishops the feet and the palm. Once all the servers had gone through, the more distinguished foreigners were called. I was among the first and devoutly and gratefully received from the Supreme Pontiff's very hand the palm, which I keep, as well as the candle from Purification Day. The cardinals took the dress of their Order and the procession began, with the Pope being carried as usual on the portable chair. Cardinal Odescalchi<sup>48</sup> vested to sing the High Mass. As soon as the procession had come in, the Pope began the *Confiteor*, with the officiating Cardinal on his left who responded with all the other altar servers and the two Assistant Deacons on the Pope's right. The Pope ascended his throne again and sat down to bless the incense; before leaving the sanctuary floor, he blest the assembly right and left. The rest was as usual. I noticed only that the two Cardinal Assistant Deacons remained standing when the Pope read from the missal and that the [p. 73] first always put on the mitre while it was up to the second to remove it. The Pope remained standing, with the palm in his hand, without any support, for the whole Passion, which was sung marvelously and lasted very close to an hour; again, I noticed that all the cardinals wore their skullcap during the Passion and removed it only when the Deacon of the service sang the gospel; lastly, I noticed that the cardinals made a double genuflection when they came down from the seats to form a circle for the *Agnus Dei* and before returning to their places. These remarks are no minor details for rubricists. When the priest chanted at mass: *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, the Pope, the cardinals and all those present made the sign of the cross on their forehead, mouth and heart.

I had dinner at Count Ciorani's with the Cardinal Vicar, Cardinal Turiozzi, Bishop Capaccini, to whom I spoke briefly about our business matter, and I do not know how many other bishops, among them the

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<sup>48</sup> Carlo Odescalchi (1786-1841), made cardinal in 1823.



Greek Archbishop of Myra<sup>49</sup>, whom I have finally met. Cardinal Caccia Piatti<sup>50</sup> had been invited, but by a misunderstanding, got the wrong time and came only at the dinner's end; he left at the doorway, excusing himself. Bishop Capaccini was extremely happy and even most friendly; after dinner, he very lively played the piano to entertain those present.

When I met Cardinal Caccia Piatti this evening at the Minister of Sardinia's home, I was tempted to ask him if he had eaten well. He is one of the Cardinal Deacons who assists the Pope at the throne. He told me that on Ash Wednesday or on Candlemas, when I came before the Pope to kiss his feet and receive the candle, the Pope had told him who I was.

**20:** The Archbishop of Myra honored me with a visit this morning; a person could not be more prompt. During our conversation, he carefully insinuated the reason why he was recalled to Rome, and to say, without my asking, that he had done nothing at Marseilles except carry out the wishes of the Archbishop of Aix. I found the precaution shrewd. I hurried on to Cardinal Pacca's, who was to go and see the Pope, to beg him to obtain for me, if possible, and exemption from the Brief tax. This would save us 40 or 50 piastres. [p. 47] If he does not forget my request, I am hopeful of receiving this favor. Since I was so close to the church of *Campitelli*, I said holy mass there at the main altar, before the miraculous image which was, according to tradition, brought by angels to Saint Galla, apparently below the portico of the house in which she was living, where the church is situated now. The saint did not dare touch it, so the image was presented to the Pope. The image is engraved on a very large precious stone.

**21:** Nothing special. Wrote and put in an appearance at the office for Briefs. The formal copy was handed to Bishop Capaccini, who will present it to the Pope as soon as he can get in to see him. A meeting this evening with the Canon, Father Jules' maternal uncle, a man totally dedicated to good works.

**22: Holy Wednesday:** The Sistine Chapel was so full when I arrived, that I could not get in to my usual place. Rather than staying

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<sup>49</sup> Archbishop Maxime Masloum of Myra from 1815 to 1833.

<sup>50</sup> Giovanni Caccia Piatti (1751-1833), made cardinal in 1816.

among that crowd of the curious, who were packed in to hear, three hours later, the *Miserere*, I went out and down to attend the service in Saint Peter's. Thanks to Fathers Rispoli and Mautone, *Liguorini*, I was able to get a seat. The first lamentation was chanted by a voice truly extraordinary for its flexibility and pleasant tones; the third was chanted in three parts, very well done also. The *Miserere* at the end was very beautiful. Thus, as for the singing, I did not miss anything by attending the service in Saint Peter's.

**23: [Holy Thursday]:** Having learnt my lesson the day before, I decided not to wait for Monsignor d'Isoard to go up to Saint Peter's. After the good fortune of saying holy mass in the private chapel of the house, with the Cardinal Vicar's express permission, which I had asked for yesterday, and who granted me this favor, even though the Pope had suggested that he grant it rarely and only to outstanding Church people, I made my way to the Vatican. Not all of the places were as yet taken when I arrived at the Sistine Chapel where the service was held as usual. There was absolutely nothing extraordinary. They did everything as in other places. The Cardinal Dean sang high mass; the Pope took part and followed the usual customs. What is remarkable is that he is so constantly pious in every ceremony. He never forgets the main purpose, as do almost all of those who come out of curiosity. [p. 75] He himself carried the Blessed Sacrament to the repository placed in the Pauline chapel. The main entrance hall is all that separates this chapel from the Sistine.

There were several things to see today at the Vatican. I planned to see them more out of custom than curiosity; people would laugh at me if, while I was at Rome, I had not seen what so many scatterbrain outsiders come from so far to see. The crowds of that kind of people, but especially the English, are more than usual this year; there are no more hotel rooms left. Now that I know what they are, I could spend thirty more years at Rome without taking one step to see them again. Really, there is nothing unusual other than the bustle of people who want to look around.

After the Blessed Sacrament had been placed in the repository, the Pope went to give his blessing from the balcony overlooking Saint Peter's Square. Meanwhile, the crowd scurried to the door of the hall where the Pope was to come and wash the feet of twelve priests from different countries, whom he was then going to serve at table in another

hall. Everyone wanted to get in at the same time, but the Swiss, with their halberds and staffs, kept everyone in line; they struck blows left and right as politely as can be, gave sharp reprimands and shouted angrily; there was disrespectful confusion. I would have left if I had not already been so near the door; finally, with a shove, I was inside; but since I would have had to fight to get near the apostles, I did as many others who were not even trying to see them. Waiting for the Pope to come in, I was patient and conversed a few moments with Bishop Brignole, then, annoyed with the confusion, I was just heading for the door when I met the Minister of Sardinia who took me by the arm to have me go back in. We went up together and while passing the hall where the Pope had washed the feet of twelve apostles, I saw two or three of them who had not yet sat down to table. They were like clowns<sup>51</sup>; they wore white serge robes and white bonnets on their heads, something like our square bonnets without tufts. I could hardly keep from laughing when I saw them. We went by that room and, thanks to my companion's elaborate habit, we were able, with some difficulty, to get into the banquet hall. It was so crowded with people that, in spite of my height, I could only see [p. 76] the bouquet of flowers in the middle. I could not see the guests nor the meal or the august person who was serving them, but to make up for it, we met Cardinal Caccia Piatti who was looking for his chamberlain, and we went into the cardinals' banquet hall with him. In this one there were not as many people and things went on more smoothly. We made the round, satisfied with looking at the dessert prepared for each cardinal. Last night I had made up my mind to spend the whole day at the Vatican; as a precaution, I had put two small pieces of bread in my pocket, which would serve as a lunch whenever I would get an opportune moment to have them. I did so when the cardinals were eating their dinner, too-good I thought for such a day and the fact of all the people present. People served them soup and five very-tasty dishes which, along with the sweets of their dessert, good wine, coffee and the liqueur, which all those within my vision refused, formed a feast which made more than one person in the room envious. As for myself, not wanting to share those dainties, while chatting with my companion, I leisurely ate the piece of bread I had brought along; I

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<sup>51</sup> We can not find this expression in the dictionary. Calot, in old French: the bottom of an unused cap.

merely took the precaution of covering my face somewhat with my hat, as if I were speaking into the ear of the person beside me. He was a Frenchman who did not seem too pleased with this frugal meal. When the cardinals' dinner was over, they removed everything from the table except the tablecloth; then the preacher came in, went up into the pulpit prepared for that, and began a so-called discourse on the Eucharist, but he spoke very little and very poorly about this great mystery, made a few poetic references to the fiat of creation and concluded so quickly that he did not give the august assembly time to get bored. Actually, some of them, so as not to run the risk, had taken the precaution to fall asleep as soon as he went into the pulpit.

It was close to three o'clock. Rather than wait for the sake of waiting, I preferred to go down and take a place in the Sistine chapel; the door was closed and already there were many curious people blocking the hallway; I quietly slipped down the little stairway that I knew well which led to the prelates' room behind the altar; I went by the sentinel with such an air of importance that no one could doubt that nothing could be done there without me. I took my place and waited quietly for the service to start. I had time to meditate more than [p. 77] an hour on the day's mystery. As I waited, the door opened, and places were filled with those foreigners who must be endowed with a superabundance of patience and good will to wait first of all for more than an hour for the service to begin, to stay there the whole time that it lasts, that is, more than three hours without understanding anything that is said. For what purpose? In order to say that they saw the Holy Week ceremonies and heard a beautiful *miserere* at the end. Oh well! I am Catholic and thanks be to God I freely join in the spirit of the Church when I attend these ceremonies; but were it only to avoid seeing these idle spectators who profane our holy mysteries with their presence, I would never again go back to these services. I will never get tired of seeing the Pope and uniting myself in prayer with the visible head of the Church, but I would prefer it to be among ourselves as family, since I really suffer in seeing the greatest things we have on earth become a spectacle for irreligious people, who offend Jesus Christ by their thoughts, attitude and blasphemies, and make fun of the Pontiff, of ministers of religion, and of its ceremonies and cult. In any case, once is enough for everything. May it please God that tomorrow I am happier with my neighbors.

**24: Good Friday:** I was just as unfortunate as yesterday in regard to people around me. It is inconvenient that, in these gatherings of for-

eigners, the Swiss guards prefer to give them the best places, since they are dressed in beautifully braided uniforms or have medals or shoulder bands. The Cardinal Grand Penitentiary led the service; there was nothing unusual, but the adoration of the cross was impressive. The Pope removed his cope and took off his shoes, helped by two masters of ceremony, two others lifted up the *falda*<sup>52</sup> which flows down in front and in back; he made his adoration with the customary three prostrations. The officiating Cardinal and Cardinal Dean followed him, then all the other cardinals, two by two. Today they all wore violet socks. The Pope again carried the Blessed Sacrament for the mass of the Presanctified; they recited vespers and everyone departed.

On leaving the chapel, I immediately went to the Gésu to take part in the devotion of the three hours' agony of Our Lord. They have it in several churches and I was disappointed after that I had chosen this one because I was not pleased with the Father who did the preaching. Nevertheless in itself it was a very [p. 78] pious devotion. People gather at the church at noon and stay till three o'clock, to take part in sacred ceremonies for the three hours that Our Lord spent on the cross. The churches in which these devotions are held are full from the start and it must be said to the credit of the Roman people that everyone keeps a very edifying attitude of recollection. People from every state in life make up the assembly: bishops, priests, religious, lay men and women, etc. They alternate a reading, which they listen to very attentively, with an explanation of the [seven] last words spoken by Our Lord on the cross, interspersed with a hymn on the subject just explained by the preacher. They conclude with a blessing with a relic of the cross, saying nothing while giving it. Anyone who wants to spend the entire day at the church may do so, since the service starts after this devotion and in the evening they have a very solemn Stations of the *via crucis*.

**25: On Holy Saturday**, I attended the morning office in the church of the house where I am staying; since I could not say holy mass, I wanted to receive Communion, and since they give Communion only after mass, I would have been disappointed had I gone anywhere else. In passing, I note in passing that any church which rang its bells before they rang at Saint Peter's would be fined.

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<sup>52</sup> The part of the vestment which falls and is loose fitting.

**26: Easter Sunday:** I had taken every precaution not to miss anything of today's beautiful ceremony. After saying mass very early in the morning, I arrived at St. Peter's before the enclosure was opened. They were starting Matins in the canons' choir. Since Archbishop Mazio, who was to find a place for me, was at the service, I attended it. After Lauds, he was kind enough to come out to offer me *cioccolata*, which I accepted only out of courtesy, since I was afraid that, with the foreigners already coming in crowds, I would not find a good seat. That would have happened a quarter of an hour later. Thanks to Archbishop Mazio, I could not have had a better place. I was on the bench between that of the diplomatic corps and the one of the prelates, in the very back of the sanctuary, at an equal [p. 79] distance from the altar and the papal throne, which was at the outer part of the sanctuary, opposite the one where he vested and intoned Tierce; consequently, in such a way as to see everything marvelously; what was more, truly extraordinary, I was fortunate to be beside good Catholics with whom I was able to share mutual sentiments inspired in us by the view of such a magnificent spectacle, of such a ravishing ceremony. It would take a book to describe it all. There is one printed which I will buy to explain it to whomever wills; but what I will never describe is my heart's emotion, the delightful impressions which touched my soul all during that heavenly scene. It is impossible, absolutely impossible, to imagine what took place, without having seen it. The Pontiff seemed to be raised above the human condition; but the more it is magnificent, so much more does the divine quality of the sacrifice, which he just offered in all that vesture, render itself visible to the eyes and penetrate the very recesses of the soul; more, the homage rendered to the adorable Sacrament, which is the central point of such brilliance, of such a majestic cult, in the only temple worthy of Him in the whole world, stands out and imposes itself over all earthly powers, which are overshadowed here and vanish before Him. How many times did I prostrate myself in spirit! How often did tears run freely from my eyes! My soul was ravished to see my God honored in such a way and my gratitude and extreme good fortune to belong to him, to unite my feeble adoration, every sentiment and all the emotions of my heart to that great invocation, to the sublime sacrifice of the Supreme Pontiff, of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, Father and Shepherd of the universal church.

After mass, the Pope, accompanied by the same cortege with which he had come, went to give the papal blessing from the balcony which

overlooks Saint Peter's square. I quickly slipped [p. 80] out into the square in the midst of that immense crowd of people which formed a moving tapestry over that immense enclosure. This was also a very impressive event. Especially the moment when the Pope, standing on the *sedia gestatoria*, extended his arms, lifted them to heaven and blessed the prostrate multitude, while the canon fire from the Angel Castle gives the signal for it to the city, along with the great bell of Saint Peter's, the trumpets, music and tambourines, all joined to produce the deepest impression on everyone.

In the evening of this beautiful day, the facade and the cupola of Saint Peter's [were] illuminated with flares. Precisely an hour after nightfall, the scene changed, and in less than a minute, that same cupola and the whole facade were lit up. This sudden and lasting effect was produced by the flashing light of a multitude of little lamps which are all lit, I do not know how, all at once in the blink of an eye. This second illumination lasts all night long. Two hours after sundown, the multitude, which had been in Saint Peter's square to enjoy that beautiful lighting, made its way as a group, milling along but without the least disorder, to the Angel Castle to see the fireworks they call the *girandola*. I had been invited to the home of the Abbé Ferrucci, where there was a select company, Cardinals Turriozzi, Frosini<sup>53</sup>, Caccia Piatti, the Prince and Princess Altieri, the Marchioness Massimi, the French Ambassador, etc. There was no lack of ice cream and biscuits at the feast. I escaped as soon as possible to get back to my community before they said night prayer.

**27:** I was invited to attend the consecration of Bishop Rispoli, a *Liguorino*. Cardinal Della Somaglia performed the ceremony. I spent the day in the house of those Fathers. The new bishop did not change his religious garb; he simply wears his cross over his Congregation's habit. This humility edifies me but I do not really approve of the custom, since it follows that the bishops never leave off their soutanes, which is not done by those who do not keep the habit of their Order and Congregation. In this regard, I can only praise this custom; but I would prefer that they take episcopal colors. [p. 81]

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<sup>53</sup> Antonio Frosini (1751-1834), made cardinal in 1823.

**28:** I had dinner today, as on Easter, at Archbishop Mazio's place; people were waiting for me at Cardinal Pacca's and it was a misunderstanding that I did not respond to his invitation. I am disappointed because, in waiting for me, he postponed his dinner for nearly three quarters of an hour.

**29:** Wrote this morning; some unavoidable visits.

**30:** Nothing special.

**31:** I ate at Cardinal Pacca's place; he lent me the first manuscript volume relating the events he witnessed. This writing is remarkable for the impartiality with which it is written; it contains some very interesting facts. History will draw material from it. I really want to extract a passage from it, which it is good to know. It deals with the famous concordat of Fontainebeau. This is what the Cardinal relates. After describing his entry into Fontainebeau, he speaks about his first encounter with the Pope<sup>54</sup> in these terms. [p. 85] I am very familiar with all these facts; I was at Paris at the time of these happenings, and the regular encounters I had with several cardinals, and especially Cardinal Mattei, who used to honor me with his confidence and friendship, allowed me, not only to attest to the truth of Cardinal Pacca's account, but even to add some very interesting elements. I leave them aside to transcribe another passage from the Cardinal's memoirs which honors France as much as the delicacy of the sentiments of this prince of the Church. [p. 86]

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<sup>54</sup> We do not reproduce those long excerpts in Italian [pp. 81-86], published later and translated into French by the Abbé Jamet (3 volumes, Caen, Imp. F. Poisson, 1832) and Father Queyras (2 volumes, Paris, Sagnier et Bray, 1846 and 1860).



## April

**April 1st:** I continued reading Cardinal Pacca's interesting memoirs; we should have to copy them entirely, to make sure they do not perish through some unforeseen event. History will derive very precious documents from them, about the Brief extracted at Savona through the importunity and shrewdness of the court bishops, and about the overly famous Concordat of Fontainebleau<sup>55</sup>. The Pope was certainly great in admitting his weakness and retracting the articles to which he had consented. He could have blamed this excess of condescension on the insinuations and suggestions of people around him (the Cardinal names them, since he hides nothing in his memoirs); he could also have minimized the fault of which he reproached himself by telling the truth, that he made these concessions only to avoid the disasters which threatened the Church; but, no! whether in the letter to Napoleon or in the two talks to the cardinals, he attempts only to express, with touching humility, his repentance and retraction, nullifying and declaring void everything that had been done. Cardinal Pacca was right in telling me that it took all the virtue of this holy Pope to take such a step. Even though I am in a hurry, I will follow my desire to obtain the documentation that gives me such an exalted idea of a Pontiff, who knew how to repair so heroically his

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<sup>55</sup> Since he had been chased out of the Papal States and led captive to Savona, Pope Pius VII refused to grant canonical approval to the bishops named by Napoleon. The situation was becoming grave as many dioceses were without a bishop. The Emperor named commissions and convoked the Paris National Council in 1811, but without any results; everyone agreed that canonical approval could be given only by the Pope or in his name.

After the National Council, some bishops were sent to Savona and obtained a papal decree by which metropolitan bishops could, in the Pope's name, grant canonical approval to bishops, if the Holy Father had not given it within a year of the nomination by Napoleon. The latter did not accept the clause: "in the Pope's name" and Pius VII refused to change his text (Brief of Savona).

The Pope was soon after taken to Fontainebleau. Under Napoleon's personal influence, the Holy Father signed a text including eleven "preliminary articles". There it was said, among other things, that if the Pope delayed granting canonical approval more than six months to a bishop named according to the concordats, it would be given by the metropolitan. Article 9 foresaw that the Congregation of the Propaganda, the Vatican archives, etc., would be set up in the place where the Holy Father was living, etc. This was called the concordat of Fontainebleau that Napoleon declared State law.

excess of goodness and condescension, which I would not dare call a moment of error, and which, at the same time, sheds such great light on the history of those times. I was dying of the epidemic illness which I had contracted from the Austrian prisoners [p. 87] while serving them in the prisons at Aix when these events took place at Fontainebleau. That is why I have had only imperfect knowledge of them until today. I am out a year, it was the following year, at the same season, that I contracted the prison sickness<sup>56</sup>. [p. 90]

As soon as the Pope had taken this magnanimous action, he was relieved, say the Memoirs, and this brought about a very noticeable change in himself; he regained his usual good spirit and habitual smile which went with it; he did not complain any more about disgust, not being able to eat or sleep, and he himself said that he felt as if delivered from an enormous burden that had been weighing him down.

Napoleon regarded the Pope's letter as null and hastened to declare the Concordat at Fontainebleau as State law and, by another decree, made it mandatory for the archbishops, bishops and chapters of the Empire, which was likewise inserted in the *Bulletin des lois*. The Pope felt it his duty to protest, which he expressed in an allocution, of which he gave each cardinal a copy. It is too long for me to transcribe. Such a measure was necessary under the circumstances, for it was easy to guess the tyrant's intentions, and had not God's justice thwarted it, schism and cruel persecution would have been unavoidable. [p. 91]

There are many more interesting and unknown details in these memoirs! But I do not think they will come to light for a long time because of the truthfulness with which they are written by a witness, or even, to put it better, by a participant such as Cardinal Pacca, who calls everything by name and spares no one out of respect for truth<sup>57</sup>. He

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<sup>56</sup> The Founder was sick in 1814, while the concordat of Fontainebleau was signed in 1813. Father de Mazenod transcribed here the letter of Pope Pius VII, of March 24, 1813 to Napoleon, by which he retracted his signature on the concordat, and the one he wrote to the cardinals, on the same day, to communicate the content of his letter to the Emperor. [pp. 87-90]

<sup>57</sup> A brief citation follows [p. 91]

holds responsible, for the Brief signed by the Pope at Savona, Cardinal Roverella<sup>58</sup> and Bishop, now Cardinal, Bertazzoli<sup>59</sup>, who were believed to be the writers. What a difference, exclaims Cardinal Pacca, between this Brief, inspired in the Pope by the cardinals and bishops sent to Savona, and the five energetic letters written to Cardinal Caprara<sup>60</sup> by the Holy Father, when he had only a few people around him! *pochi sui familiari*, that is, when he was obliged to act on his own lights, without influence from anyone else.

Another circumstance, that I would not want to omit reporting, is that when the Pope was on the point of signing the Concordat at Fontainebleau, which he however considered only as some articles, he hesitated and looked at Bishop Bertazzoli, asking advice from him with his glance and that the Prelate, inclining his head and shrugging his shoulders, made that gesture that someone does when he advises another to give in or resign himself, and that the Pope, even when signing, made it clear that he did so *titubante e contro cuore*<sup>61</sup>. The next day he had a fever and fell into a deep melancholy, and when Cardinal Di Pietro<sup>62</sup> arrived and made him aware of the poison enclosed in those articles, the Pope saw the matter in its true colors and recognized the mistake he had made and the terrible consequences that could result therefrom, overcome with remorse, for several days he did not celebrate the holy sacrifice, seeing himself unworthy of going to the altar, which he did not hide from the French bishops and the cardinals who were at Fontainebleau. It was only with the promptings of a wise cardinal that he decided to return to the altar.

**2:** Continued the ever-very interesting memoirs. I spent an hour with Cardinal Castiglioni, Grand Penitentiary, to discuss several matters with him.

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<sup>58</sup> Aurelio Roverella (+ 1812), created cardinal in 1794.

<sup>59</sup> Francesco Bertazzoli (+1840), named cardinal on March 10, 1823.

<sup>60</sup> Giovanni Battista Caprara (+1810), made cardinal in 1792.

<sup>61</sup> Hesitating and reluctantly.

<sup>62</sup> Michele Di Pietro (1747-1821), named cardinal in 1802.

For a long time I have been wanting to visit the tomb of the venerable Benedict-Joseph Labre<sup>63</sup>, who died at Rome on Wednesday of the Holy Week in 1783. He is buried in the church of the *Madonna ai Monti*, where so many miracles happen. I prayed at his tomb for half-an-hour with great consolation. I hope they will soon take up again the cause of his beatification; it was forgotten only due to events, since there are more than enough miracles needed for his beatification. Funds are also lacking since the sum [p. 92] that had been gathered in great amount was used for other beatifications or wasted in the revolutions that have upset Rome on several occasions these past few years.

Passing in front of the Roman college, I saw Cardinal Pedicini step down in his robes; I guessed that they must be celebrating some feast, so I went in as well. Guided by the branches of a boxtree with which the pavement was strewn, I came to an interior chapel where they must have sung First Vespers of the Annunciation. Someone was preaching at this moment, after that the Cardinal gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The members of this Congregation, that they call *prima primaria* since it was the first one to be established, politely invited me to come and say mass at their place tomorrow, the feast day, which I gladly accepted.

**3:** At half-past seven, I went to their chapel, where I offered the holy sacrifice immediately after the Jesuit Father General, who was at the altar when I entered. The members of the Congregation made their meditation near the middle of my mass; then they sang Matins and Lauds from the Office of the Blessed Virgin. After hearing a mass of thanksgiving, I went according to custom into the dining room, where I took a cup of chocolate and a lemonade, to do as the others who were with me. During that time, the members of the community were attending the conventual mass, at which they were going to receive Communion. The sacristans were kind enough to give me some holy cards depicting the painting of the Blessed Virgin which is on the main altar, which I gratefully accepted, recommending myself to their prayers. The congregation members did not seem to be that numerous; I do not think there were more than a hundred, but they were especially chosen. You could hear at the same time some other voices, in every

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<sup>63</sup> Benedict Joseph Labre (1748-1783), beatified on May 20, 1860, canonized on December 8, 1881.

part of the house, singing the divine praises; those were other groups directed as well by the Jesuit Fathers, and divided according to age and classes of the young people. I could not help thinking of that brilliant and edifying congregation I had founded at Aix, which furnished so many clerics for the Church and good christians for the world, and which would still exist, in spite of my absence, if jealousy and false zeal had not conspired against it [p. 93] and destroyed it<sup>64</sup>.

**4:** Reverend Father Monteinard, a Minim, who was in charge of the house and the French church of the Trinità dei Monti, had invited me to lead the Forty Hours devotion ceremony. It is always a prelate who is invited, since at Rome this ceremony is done with great pomp. Father Monteinard wanted to honor the French clergy by inviting a French Grand Vicar to lead the service which consists in singing high mass, carrying the Blessed Sacrament in procession, and then exposing it on a blazing throne, so numerous and brilliant are the candles burning on the altar that day. The Blessed Sacrament stays there exposed until the next day. The same prelate who, using the expression of the country, began the Forty Hours devotion, comes to end it. Again they sing high mass before the Blessed Sacrament, have a procession after the mass, and sing once more, as on the first day, the litany of the saints and the *Tantum ergo*, then they give benediction. They are careful to hold the service a little later on the second day so that the Blessed Sacrament is already exposed, in the church where the Forty Hours devotion is being held after this one, before the final blessing so that, from the first day of the year to the last, without the least interruption, the Blessed Sacrament is exposed day and night for the adoration of the faithful. And the faithful show themselves worthy of this special favor since the churches where Our Lord is exposed are constantly full of true adorers.

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<sup>64</sup> In 1826, the youth sodality at Aix still existed, with only a few members, under the direction of Father Courtès, cf. *Oblate Writings* 7, p. 80. The Journal de délibérations ceased in 1837. The Jesuits, who had taken over the Minor Seminary at Aix in 1821, founded a Marian Society there, which soon attracted the Christian youth from Aix. Likewise, there was a youth society similar to the one of the Oblate house, first directed by a Jesuit Father and, after that, by the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of the Child Jesus, founded by Abbé Timon-David.

**5:** Again I read the Cardinal's memoirs. I can not resist the impulse to copy the judgment he makes of the French clergy<sup>65</sup>. It would take too much time to report the reflections the Cardinal adds to prove that Popes Pius VI and Pius VII did not choose the people that went along with them on their trips, which would have given a better idea of their clergy<sup>66</sup>. But I do want to transcribe again an important line which shows that all good minds judge as we do on an important matter, that is, on the take-over of patrimonial goods which nothing in morals or religion could authorize: "*die quali*, the Cardinal said, *non v'è autorità sulla terra, che potesse legittimamente spogliarli*"<sup>67</sup>. [p. 95]

**6:** I sang high mass, as I said, at Trinità dei Monti. The ceremony ended only at one o'clock. We took the day's office from my patron saint, great Saint Joseph.

I was delighted to solemnly celebrate that feast. After mass, we went to have a *cioccolata* at Father Monteinard's place, the only Minim, Superior of the house, at the expense of the establishment. It can support this cost, since the house of the Trinità dei Monti receives 6000 Roman crowns income. Only God knows how this revenue was used, since it is administered by a lay commission which confounds the difference between the sacred and profane, and directs, away from their true destination, funds which were meant for the Church alone. France has three other clerical establishments at Rome, besides the academy for which I think they absorb the major part of church revenues. Besides, they have to give salaries to people who really want to administer these resources. I am surprised the Pope does not correct all these abuses; probably people tell him how much it would displease the Court. I think if he informed the King of this disorder, the King would not ask for anything more than to stop it.

<sup>65</sup> Cardinal Pacca regretted that the French and Italian clergy did not have more opportunities to meet and appreciate each other better. We are leaving out the three pages that follow. [p.93-95]

<sup>66</sup> The sentence is not well expressed but anyone can easily understand the meaning.

<sup>67</sup> "Of which, there is no authority on earth that can legitimately take them away". The statement is strong, practically saying that nobles were, by divine right, owners of their patrimony and no authority, civil or ecclesiastical, could touch them.

7: I went out only this evening to go to an appointment that Cardinal Pacca had given me. He let me know that the Pope, ever more kind to me, had *very gladly* granted me remittance of the tax for the Brief, and would be happy to see me whenever I would come for an audience. So, I am going to get ready for that. I gave back the Cardinal the third volume of his interesting memoirs. In reading them, I noticed two things [p.96] concerning France that did not seem to be quite true; I took the liberty of telling him so. I admired how promptly and graciously he corrected the two passages; thanking me, he took his pen and, without saying a word, changed them before my eyes.

8: A few visits, purchased rosaries, reliquaries, etc.

9: Madam Baudemont, superior of the religious women at Saint Denis convent, had asked me to go and say mass in their church, so that several students of her boarding school could make their first communion. I responded to her invitation; even though on the one hand I performed this ministry with consolation, on the other hand my heart was cruelly torn, seeing before my eyes those children the same age as our poor Caroline<sup>68</sup>, dressed exactly as I saw her dressed, at that first communion which that dear child received as viaticum, surrounded with flowers on her deathbed. Oh! how I consider and experience that a person can be resigned to God's will, without however ceasing to be profoundly afflicted! Poor little angel! I was in the next room to my sister's when she was brought into the world; I baptized her, and it was my destiny to serve her at death and give her Extreme Unction! Nature revolts, but grace overcomes it, inspiring faith and hope. Dear child! I imagine you in the heaven that you counted on with so much trust and simplicity. That beautiful heaven is made for those who, like you, have preserved their innocence: *Talium est enim regnum coelorum* (Mt. 19, 14): those are the words I engraved on the tombstone. Now that you reign with the dear God whom you so greatly desired to possess, invoke his clemency and mercy on those who, like myself, have merited by their sins to be separated from him forever, but who still dare to hope,

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<sup>68</sup> Caroline de Boisgelin, the Founder's niece, died of consumption at 13, on June 26, 1825. She was a boarding student at the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, de Varennes street, at Paris. Bishop Fortuné and Eugene were in the capital at the time, where they had come to attend the coronation of Charles X.

through the merits of Jesus Christ and the prayers of saints, to arrive at that blessed homeland, there to love and eternally praise that same Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever.

**10:** Some visits to conclude business matters.

**11:** To the home of the Cardinal Grand Penitentiary, at *Montecitorio*, to hand over some papers to the Abbé Niel who is leaving for Paris. Visited Canon Del Bufalo<sup>69</sup> to get to know the Missionary Institute of the Precious Blood of Our Lord [p. 97]

**13:** Since the Marquis de Croza has taken a great liking to me and wants to see me often, I could not refuse to go and have a meal with his family. He rented the second floor of the palace where he is living; I could not help shuddering when I went into the room where the poor Bishop Traietto was so viciously assassinated at the beginning of the year. The Marquis will make this apartment into his chapel, precisely to expiate this crime.

**14:** I have fixed my departure for Thursday, the 27th. So, I have to begin saying goodbye to people who have shown me so many marks of concern during my stay in Rome. Yesterday I got together with the Minister of Sardinia who came to pick me up in his carriage to go together to the home of the Cardinal Secretary of State. I made this arrangement for a reason; since Friday is the audience day for Ministers, I was afraid that if I were alone, I would have to wait for a long time. What I foresaw would have happened. We went in first, leaving until noon probably, a prelate and some other people waiting their turn. The Cardinal was, as usual, very kind to me; he expressed his regret at seeing me leave and embraced me very affectionately, wishing me a good trip. I found it difficult considering that I will never again see this excellent Cardinal whom I have known for so many years, and whom I saw during such trying times at Paris. I also said farewell to Cardinal Spina and Cardinal Pacca, who is leaving tomorrow for Porto, but whom I hope to see again in a few days.

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<sup>69</sup> The Founder added later in the margin of the manuscript: "died in the odor of sanctity. The cause for his beatification was introduced (1851)". Gaspar Del Bufalo (1786-1837) was beatified in 1904 and canonized on June 12, 1954. Father de Mazenod had gone to see him with the idea of joining the two Congregations, cf. Fabio Ciardi, *Un projet de fusion avec les Missionnaires du Précieux Sang*, in *Vie Oblate Life* 37 (1978), pp. 65-71.



**15:** When the Pope gave me permission to say farewell to him, I requested Bishop Barberini, the chamberlain, for a good date that I could go there; he set Saturday for me.

I forgot to note that, on Tuesday the 11th, I attended a very interesting gathering of the Academy of the Arcades, held that day at the Capitol in the hall that Leo XII had granted them. The Cardinal Vicar gave the opening talk, which people roundly applauded, and a great many academicians read, one after another, some sonnets, others odes, some anacreontics in Latin or Italian, pastoral poems, songs, and even Greek epigrams. Among the academicians, Madam Henriette Dionigi Orfei, who read in turn a very delightful sonnet, was exceptional. The session was brilliant, the hall was filled with a chosen audience, among whom we noticed almost half of the Sacred College, the Queen of Sardinia and her daughters, the princesses. I found myself among the prelates, right next to His Holiness' Bishop Chamberlain [p. 98] (that is, the first chamberlain); it was there, taking the opportunity, that I asked him for my audience date.

I did not miss going to the Vatican on Saturday. Even though it was quite early, I found several people already in the waiting room, which precedes the one where the ministers are and the latter was half full; actually, it is not very large. If the prelates waiting their turn to go in took as long as the first one who was introduced into the Pope's office, I would have had to say goodbye to my audience for that day. The minister was one whom the Pope entrusted with a good many matters; fortunately, the other ministers were very expeditious. I was introduced immediately after them; even though I felt a little sorry for those who hoped to be introduced before me, it was not enough for me to be tempted to grant them the favor that the Pope freely chose to offer me.

I was received in the same room as the first time. The Pope was sitting in the same place, but I found him looking much better. He signaled for me to approach, wishing to cut short the protocol which requires three genuflections, and I made only one before being at his feet, where I wished to remain kneeling in spite of his insistence that I get up again. My first words addressed to him expressed my gratitude for the kindness he had heaped upon me; the Pope understood that I was deeply moved by it and was good enough to tell me that what he had done for me ... was only his duty to do so. The Pope really made me feel so at home that there instantly began a very interesting conversation

between us; and if from my part, I completely opened my heart to him, for his part, he spoke so trustingly as to give me some idea of his great respect for me. I profited from such a beautiful occasion to present him with all the requests I had written down on a piece of paper. I took only the precaution of asking His Holiness permission to be indiscreet since it was the last time I would have the joy of being at his feet. I had noted sixteen articles [p. 99] that I brought out one after another. The Pope did not refuse me anything; on the contrary, with his customary grace, he gladly granted me everything I asked of him. He had prepared a letter for my uncle, which he personally handed to me. I made him laugh when I told him, smiling myself, that I felt a little scrupulous, remorse that I could not ease except by telling him about it. I had been commissioned, I said, by the King of Sardinia, to express to your Holiness his desire to come to Rome during the Jubilee Year, but had been hindered by royal duties from fulfilling his desire. I did not dare, Most Holy Father, carry out this commission the first time I had the honor to be admitted to your audience, so that I would not give the impression of being an Extraordinary Ambassador, etc. The Pope smiled very graciously and, after praising that Sovereign, asked me, if I see him on my way through his States, to inform him of the good wishes he has for him. The Pope talked to me about France; he knows it better than most of those who would like to advise him. I was flattered and almost astonished at the details he was not afraid to tell me; I responded to that trust by frankly expressing my feelings about the actual state of affairs. Among the diverse subjects treated during that long audience, we spoke of the last pastoral letter he wrote to condemn secret societies; I used the opportunity to tell him about the conversion of the Masonic Lodge at Aubagne; he was very consoled and took pains to explain to me why he had given a year's time to those who would come back, in order to dispense them from the revelation.

I will never forget all the other details of that memorable audience. I ended asking the Holy Father for a rosary for my uncle and a medal for myself: "The Jubilee Year has taken everything from me, he replied, I have no more of them here, but tomorrow I will give Bishop Caprano what you desire". And he did not forget, since he gave him, in fact, a superb rosary with a golden chain with a pendant and a large golden medal, and two more silver medals for myself. I was not able to kiss [p. 100] his feet; twice he extended his hand which I kissed with the deepest devotion. I asked his Apostolic Blessing for my mother, my sister,

her children, her family, my uncle, our society and myself; Oh! I give you that with all my heart, *de rore caeli*, raising his eyes to heaven; may they continue, speaking of our members, to work hard for the good of souls, etc. He asked me to greet my uncle and wished me a good journey.

During the audience, he had granted in perpetuity all the favors he had previously granted for seven years: "You must leave me this rescript, he said, so that I can have it signed thereafter." — "Most Holy Father," I responded, "I am a Grand Vicar, could not I myself certify the favor you graciously granted us verbally"? — "That is just as good", he replied. "I will do it when I get back to France, since I do not have the seal here. The Holy Father added verbally other favors which I will certify in the same way."

Possibly those who were waiting in the antechamber found the time of my audience a little long; as for me, it seemed very short and well employed.

**16:** I hardly dare to admit that, being occupied uniquely with my business matters at Rome, I have taken very little trouble to see the curiosities that attract so many foreigners to this superb city. Careful only to search out the monuments of which the piety of every century had left so many traces, I was satisfied when I had visited a basilica, prayed at a saint's tomb, contemplated some of their work and especially places where they had lived. Here I am on the point of leaving Rome, and have not seen a single villa, have not had the time or possibly the strong desire to go to Tivoli, or to the very renowned surrounding areas. In order not to be reproached too much, I will make some effort in this regard, and began today by visiting the villa *Pamphili Doria*, truly worthy of being seen. It is a royal villa. The place is immense; walkways, groves, water flows [p. 101] and fountains are kept in perfect order. In this villa, you can see bodies of water that could be called little lakes, an organ played by the water, and so many other curiosities among which I wandered, with two of our Lazarists without whom I would perhaps never have taken the trouble of deciding on this excursion. As we came home, we stopped in front of the beautiful fountain called *i fontanoni*, which is not however as beautiful, in my opinion, as that other one called the *Trevi* fountain, which can be compared to a river. It is an ornament and a source of excellent water for the other side of the city.

**17:** I had wanted for a long time to celebrate the holy sacrifice in the room occupied by Saint Philip Neri for more than thirty years and to use the same chalice as he did. The other day I went to investigate the situation so as not to be inconveniently disappointed. They gladly promised me that, any day that would suit me, they would be happy to allow me to satisfy all my devotion. I went there this morning and they immediately opened the chapel and prepared the precious chalice. The altar is in the exact small room that the saint lived in, the very same one in which he was favored by so many heavenly visions, where he was visited by Saint Charles Borromeo, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, and Saint Felix of Cantalice. That room was the only one in the whole house not damaged by fire, since the Lord did not allow a sanctuary so dear to the piety of the faithful to be taken from them, who come from many different countries of the world to seek good counsel. That should be the reason at least, even though I am not sure that people are looking so much for that hidden treasure, which I am very glad to have discovered for myself. The memories of such monuments help me greatly; possibly others do not value them so highly, since they do not have as much need to restore their fervor. The dean and main sacristan were extremely polite to me. They helped me vest [p. 102] and take off the priestly robes, and insisted that I take a *cioccolata* after my thanksgiving.

At three o'clock I made the great decision to go to Tivoli; I arrived before nightfall. After I went to meet the Fathers of the Mission, I used the rest of the day to visit the Villa d'Este, hoping next day to see everything that attracts foreigners to Tivoli, so dear to the ancient Romans. The Villa d'Este, even though abandoned, still presents a superb spectacle. The house is royal, situated on the slope of the hill, overlooking the vast garden into which you descend by terraces, which forms a magnificent amphitheatre. There is lots of water, but many of the fountains are abandoned, and they have planted cabbages and onions in the flowerbeds, which formerly were meant only as a beautiful sight. The Pope should buy this house; a stay there would be most comfortable and healthy.

**18:** I was up sharp at five o'clock. I said holy mass very early and right after my thanksgiving left with Canon Sertili, to whom I had been recommended, to visit everything there was to see. With the assistance of such a distinguished guide, I first went to the temple called that of the Sybils. This monument is really old, in a circular form, and two thirds of the columns are preserved. The more you look at it, the more you

admire its elegant construction, the proportions, the artwork; it is unfortunate that some lizards foretell its approaching end. It will be a loss of the arts. If instead of belonging to a hotel keeper, who uses it to attract customers for his hotel, this temple were government property, they would put a stop to its total ruin by making some timely expenses. Right beside this beautiful edifice there is another temple transformed into a church, of which you can still see several half weather beaten columns; they think it was dedicated to Vesta.

After we had admired those beautiful antique remains, we went down a path artistically formed on the rock escarpment, to the so-called Neptune cave. Before getting to it, we leisurely reflected on the waterfall opposite [p. 103] which gives a very fine effect; it is part of the waters of the [*Aniene*] river which fall from [...] meters high with a loud noise and great foam; but the most spell-binding thing I have seen of this kind is the effect of the falls of the remainder of the river water into Neptune's cave. You could not get near this terrific cave without extreme danger, if they had not been careful to make a ramp which keeps curious people from slipping into the chasm into which the waters fall violently from every direction and great height, with a frightening noise, pushed forcefully towards the outlets from which they escape, foaming and crashing together. I could not help shivering as I admired the effect of those waters, and thanked Mister Miollis<sup>70</sup>, to whom we owe the road to the cave, and the guard rail that saves people who get close to it. Recent examples have shown how prudent and necessary it was to take those precautions.

As we went back up from the grotto, we came to a chapel built on the remains of Horace's country house; we had to go that way to see what they call the *cascatelle* which are produced by the water fall they have diverted from the river to operate the mills and factories at Tivoli. Painters have captured perfectly the truth of these beautiful realities, both here and at Neptune's cave. We wandered through the fields where [Horace's] superb country house used to stand. It was situated directly opposite that of Maecenas<sup>71</sup>, of which a little more remains, but not

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<sup>70</sup> General François de Miollis, from Provence, Governor of Rome during the occupation by Napoleon's troops. He was a brother to the Bishop of Digne, well known to the Founder and the Oblates.

<sup>71</sup> Maecenas (69-8 B.C.)

enough to give the least idea of its magnificence and charm. I visited it after crossing the river which runs in the basin of the little valley; you can see some well-preserved arches, and a lonely worker was the only man we met in that place, frequented of old by all the great men of Rome, prolific geniuses and skilful artists, during the most renowned times of that superb republic, if you can use that name for the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus.

Before going into the villa of Maecenas [p. 104], we visited the little temple of the goddess *Toux*. Cold must have been dangerous in those times of long ago. I saw, in this rotunda-like temple with well-preserved walls, only one devout being worthy of the goddess they used to worship in ancient time: it was an old donkey munching a few blades of grass. That reminded me that I had not eaten and it was almost dinner time. Even though it was a frugal meal, we ate heartily, in silence, since we were in the refectory of the members of the Mission and, even though they were only two priests in all, a Brother did a reading, more or less well, to make sure no one would be tempted to talk.

After the last bite, we left to go and visit the villa Adriana, which is a half league from Tivoli. Although there are only a few remaining ruins of that immense country house, nothing has given me a better notion of Roman magnificence. This home in the country, if you can give such a name to that vast space, has a circumference of six miles, that is more than two leagues. Emperor Hadrian put into it all the most beautiful things he had found in all the countries he had visited. It was his plan to have foreigners from every country find in this enclosure the *same buildings and most rare art works as in their homeland*; theatres, temples, athenaeums, schools, gymnasiums, fountains and even lakes and forests. Students of antiquity claim to recognize such diverse objects in the remains which seem to have survived only to attest to the existence of a vast plan, but which prove at the same time, as do so many ruins that you see at every step, the vanity of human efforts and the futility of every work of mankind here below.

The carriage came to pick me up on the road and we came back to Rome at top speed, thanks to a little touch of wine which heartened our driver, without however affecting his sight or mind. I placed myself in the hands of our guardian angels and, with their help, we arrived safe and sound. [p. 105]

**19:** It was time to take out the Brief that I had purposely left lying

for a few days. Even though the Pope had dispensed me from the tax which would have amounted to 47 piastres, I still had to pay out 9 as a tip for the clerks and a few more besides.

**20:** I made a second pilgrimage to Saints John and Paul to say mass in the rooms of the Venerable Paul of the Cross, and on the same altar used by that great servant of God. In his room, they carefully preserve things that he used during his lifetime. I made my thanksgiving in front of the crucifix he carried on his missions, and I leaned on the same small table on which they say he himself leaned when he was praying. Out of respect, I did not dare sit on the two chairs he used, but was satisfied to touch my lips to the place where he rested his hands. You can see in a glass-doored cabinet some of the things that belonged to him; a bible, breviaries, the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*, his hair shirt, shoes, clothes, his bed and even his blood kept in a bottle. The Father Postulator of the cause was kind enough to give me a few pieces of his tunic, as well as some from that of Bishop Strambi<sup>72</sup>, one of the Venerable's first disciples, who later became Bishop of Macerata and died in the odor of sanctity during the time the Pope regained his health; they say that he offered his life to God in exchange for that of the head of the Church. The Passionist Fathers had asked me to stay for dinner with them, so I started by joining them in choir where we recited Sext and None standing up, according to their custom, very calmly as they recite all the Office.

After we got back, no one was more surprised than I to meet on my way the theologian Lanteri<sup>73</sup>, who had just arrived today from Turin, in spite of his age and infirmities, to ask for that which he was not able to attain from far away, and which he will probably find difficult to do close at hand, notwithstanding all the supporting letters which accompany all his requests and arrived ahead of him. I had nothing but trust in God and the rectitude of my cause, and succeeded without any other support. I wish the same to this worthy man. [p. 106]

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<sup>72</sup> Vincenzo Maria Strambi (1745-1824), canonized on June 11, 1950.

<sup>73</sup> Pio Bruno Lanteri (1759-1830), Founder of the Oblates of the Virgin Mary, declared venerable on November 23, 1965. In autumn he obtained the approval for his Congregation.

**21:** I had not forgotten that the Holy Father had promised me to give Bishop Caprano the rosary intended for my uncle and the medals he wanted to give me; twice I had tried to get hold of these objects but without success, since I always found the prelate's door closed. Today I was more lucky and found him home and, even though it was mail day, he invited me in and received me in a marvelous manner. Our conversation lasted much longer than I had allowed myself, but the Bishop knew how, through his kind manners and the total abandon with which he encouraged our talk, to render very agreeable and interesting the extra minutes I had given him. He gave me all the information about the matter of the Greeks at Marseilles<sup>74</sup>.

After dinner, having gone into the church of the Twelve Apostles, I met the Cardinal Vicar who had come there to make his apostolic visit. When he had adored the Blessed Sacrament, he went into the sacristy where, with all the religious seated around him, he gave them a little talk in which, reminding them that they were children of Saint Francis and disciples of Saint Bonaventure, he exhorted them not to fall away from so holy a father or from so great a teacher. After that he came into the choir where he put on a violet stole and cope to perform the absolution, during which he remained seated up to the *Pater*.

The procession began, not going to the cemetery since there are none at Rome<sup>75</sup>, but going around inside the church where the tombs are, over which the Cardinal sprinkled holy water as he walked along, before entering the choir, he gave a second absolution, then he changed vestments, and with a golden-cloth cope, he came to stand at the foot of the Blessed Sacrament altar. They placed the ciborium on the altar, he incensed it while they sang the *Tantum ergo*; after this verse, he went up the altar to inspect the sacred vessels, accompanied by a Dominican Father, a co-visitor; when he had returned to the foot of the altar, he incensed once more while they sang the *Genitori*; after saying the prayer, he gave the blessing, removed the cope and alb and continued his visit in moseste. I left him to carry out his office and went to the home of Monsignor Fornici, one of the Pope's masters of ceremonies, who presented me with a booklet he had composed on liturgy and ceremonies<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> See *supra*, December 7, 1825, note 45.

<sup>75</sup> There is none outside, around the church.

<sup>76</sup> Giovanni Fornici had published a work entitled *Institutiones liturgicae* in 1825.



**22:** Had dinner with the *teologo* Lanteri. Reserved a place in the carriage for Sunday the 30th, to return to France, by way of Loretto, Milan and Turin.

**23:** Dined with Archbishop Mazio. Went into the *Gesù* for benediction. As I came out, I met the main writers of Rome, who had just joined together, so as not to give up [p. 107] on the idea of the newspaper, in spite of the problems it is experiencing<sup>77</sup>.

**24:** Had a meal with the Marquis of Croza with whom I am daily more bonded by like feelings, and even more by the conformity of our principles and the mutual esteem we have conceived for one another. Father Orioli and the *teologo* Lanteri were at this meal.

This evening, Father Mautone, that Redemptorist who was fortunate enough to have known Blessed Liguori, gave me a precious gift that I value more highly than a treasure; it is a bone fragment from the Blessed and a letter entirely handwritten by him. I do not know which of these two objects is most dear to me. I can not get enough of looking at them. That good Father Mautone knew the pleasure he would give me by this gift. I was also very touched by what he said as he gave it to me. Possibly it is a weakness to repeat it, but this statement, coming from the mouth of a man who has never in his life complimented just anyone, explains to me the enigma of the general welcome I have received at Rome, so I wish to note it here, not for my own memory, but to console my friends, to whom alone this diary will be entrusted, to give them a few moments of pleasure: "Everyone who has met you at Rome," this good Father said to me, "repeat that you knew how to win every heart, and there is no one who does not love and admire you. The Blessed one has done that," he added. Actually, I do invoke him daily and it must have contributed to that general disposition that I have not been able to help noticing every day since I have been at Rome.

**25-26:** Rain which has upset my plans. Wrote at home.

**27:** Not content with saying holy mass with the chalice of Saint Philip Neri in the room he occupied at *San Girolamo della Carità* and on the altar where his body rests, I had the devotion to say it also in the chapel adjoining the room he used to occupy, and which is the same

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<sup>77</sup> Possibly the *Giornale ecclesiastico di Roma*, a periodical which appeared from 1785 to 1790 and in 1825.

chapel in which he used to spend so much time celebrating the sacred mysteries. You can still see the same cross there, the same candle holders, the same image of the Blessed Virgin, the same little bell attached to the wall, that they used in serving mass for the saint. In the entrance room, you can see in glass cabinets the confessional of ordinary wood, and a grill with small holes, [p. 108], the pulpit from which he instructed people, the bed, the little stove to warm himself, shoes, etc. After that I visited the house which is really beautiful, the library that they have entirely preserved. On the shelves, closed in by a small wire mesh, they have placed all the books used by the saint.

About two o'clock, I went to dine with the Marquis of Croza. I was not expecting to find out there that his secretary, the same one who, two hours earlier, had come to bring me my passport, was now breathing his last. He had had a stroke as he was coming down the street. After dinner, we went to the Sapiientia to hear the talk that Archbishop Marchetti gave for the opening of sessions for the Catholic academy. There was a select audience; the speaker contested Father Ventura's system on authority, which he had taken from the author.

**28:** I went to say farewell to the Prince of the Apostles in the great basilica of Saint Peter. As I was going by the door which leads to the cupola, I was tempted to see it; so I went up, more to be able to say that I had been in the ball that crowns it than from real curiosity. What they say is really true, thirty-two people can get into it; to do so, ten people have to take their places on the iron rods that crisscross to support the ball, but twenty-two people can easily sit there like onion peels. It is such a beautiful stairway and so easy to get right to the ball, into which you enter by the centre without any danger, that I can not imagine how anyone could write his name in a great register that they keep in the room under the ball. On the way down, I went out on the interior walkway of the cupola; from there a person can get a good idea of the great height of the building. The proportions are so well kept that you are not struck by them when you are in the church; but, from the height of the cupola, you are awestruck; people walking below seem no larger than ducks, and you can not make out objects very clearly. We had to go up five hundred and ninety steps to get to the ball.

Coming back from Saint Peter's, I stopped at [p. 109] Father Tadini's<sup>78</sup>, Grand Carmelite, moral professor at the Sapiientia, to say

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<sup>78</sup> Manuscript: Taddini. The Founder later wrote in the margin: "Died as the Cardinal Archbishop of Genoa". It is Placido Tadini (1759-1847), Bishop of Biella in 1823, Archbishop of Genoa and Cardinal in 1832.

goodbye to him, to Ferrucci's to give him my final errands, to the Augustian monastery of *Santa Maria del Popolo* to see the Prior, whom people had proclaimed to be a man of great virtue. From there, going up the street which leads to the beautiful *Monte-Pincio* promenade, I arrived at Father Monteinard's place, and I also bade farewell to the good Trappist Abbot, who had not been blest by his stay in Rome. And finally, I arrived at the Ambassador's where I was invited to dine.

**29:** The Ambassador had asked me to stop by at his place; I went there only after having done my errands. He talked with me for more than an hour and a half in his office, and I was very pleased with the principles he manifested and with everything he was willing to share with me. The weather was cold and damp; I do not know whether it is to that or to being somewhat overtired that I should attribute a very strong pain in the muscles of my left thigh and such weakness in that limb that I can hardly walk. I was supposed to leave tomorrow; I postponed it till Thursday.

**30:** Instead of getting better, I am getting worse. Nevertheless, I forced myself to go out; but I could walk only with extreme difficulty. When I got to the Marquis of Croza's place, he wanted to have me take a ride in his carriage with him; that exercise did not do me any good, and when I wanted to come home, I thought I would not make it. If that keeps on, I will have quite a trip, since I have decided to end my stay and leave definitely on Thursday.

This morning I went to see Archbishop Marchetti, to find out the reply to the last request I presented through him to the Pope. Archbishop Marchetti told me that the Pope not only granted me what I requested, but told him that he wished it to be done with the greatest possible latitude: *amplissime*, and if I wanted to have a Brief for it, I had only to inform Bishop Capaccini. So, it is really true that, right to the last minute, the Holy Father has tipped the balance in my favor.

**May 1st:** The muscles in my leg are more painful and weak than ever [p. 110]. I could not go out today and I was able to say holy mass only with great difficulty. This discomfort seems very much like sciatica to me. If that is the case, I shall indeed have to arm myself with patience<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> The Founder left Rome on May 4th, Ascension Thursday. The pain in his leg lasted only a few days. cf. *Oblate Writings* 7, pp. 91-92.

### Expense account during my stay in Rome<sup>80</sup>

<b>Arrival on November 26</b>	<b>frs</b>
At customs .....	1
For the chamberlain .....	2
For the porter	
Candle .....	1
Postage .....	4
Chocolate and paper .....	1
Security card .....	2
Postage .....	2
<i>Idem</i> .....	1
<i>Idem</i> .....	3
<i>Idem</i> .....	3
Chocolate and paper .....	1
For Cardinal de Gregorio's servants .....	3
<b>December</b>	
<b>9</b> Laundry .....	3
<b>10</b> Mirror .....	1
Tips, various .....	2
<b>17</b> Laundry .....	1,7
Paper .....	1,8

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<sup>80</sup> Text written on a separate sheet forming four pages. On the back of the fourth, Father Tempier had written: "Expense account or notice of expenses incurred at Rome during the stay he made there in 1825-26". The abbreviated titles are especially hard to decipher.

Postage for a letter from Marseilles .....	3
Christmas gifts for Bishop Caprano's servants.....	3
<b>23</b> Pair [of] shoes .....	12
Laundry .....	1
<b>24</b> Christmas gifts for Monsignor d'Isoard's servants ..	30
<b>25</b> Tip .....	0.5
<b>29</b> Postage .....	1
<b>30</b> Errands and minor expenses .....	3
Month boarding at Saint Sylvestre .....	124
Ticket for my seat from Genoa to Rome, Gifts ....	200
<b>Month total .....</b>	<b>86.4 + 324</b>

### January 1826

Gifts to the Ambassador's servants.....	4
Postage .....	5
Chocolate.....	3
Postage .....	2
<i>Impostatura</i> .....	1
<i>Idem</i> and sealing wax .....	1
To a cleric at Saint Peter's .....	0.5
Postage .....	5
Laundry .....	2.5
Monthly board at Saint Sylvestre .....	124
Laundry .....	3
Bust of the Pope .....	40
Box and shipping .....	40
Porter, etc. ....	4
Panzuti's theology .....	25
<b>[Month total] .....</b>	<b>151 + 109</b>

One hundred Roman crowns withdrawn from the Ciorani<sup>81</sup> Bank on January 28, 1826.

I will pay my food expenses beginning from January 28 inclusively.

## February

Chocolate.....	6
Candle .....	1
Letters from Genoa, Turin, etc.....	8
Other letters .....	4
<i>Idem</i> .....	5
<i>Idem</i> .....	5
Linen .....	4
Postage .....	3
Gifts for Cardinal Pedicini's servants .....	3
Bindery .....	2
Postage for two letters.....	4
Lodging .....	128
<b>Total for the month .....</b>	<b>173 fr</b>

## March

I will begin to pay my lodging on March 1 inclusively.

Bought 3 images of Saint Peter's .....	30
Bought 1 map of Rome .....	44
Bought 2 copies of the <i>Via Crucis</i> .....	50
Bought various pictures .....	10
Postage .....	2
Bindery .....	2

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<sup>81</sup> Ciorani or Civrani

<i>Impostatura</i> .....	1
Bolgeni, <i>Fatti dommat</i> .....	15
<i>Se i Gians [enisti] sian Giac</i> .....	6
Mozzi, <i>Storia d'</i> .....	15
P. VI, <i>Sup nurisat</i> .....	8
<i>Confutaz [ione] di due libelli</i> .....	12
Linen .....	4
To the Secretariate of Bishops and Regulars .....	40
To the proofreader .....	10
<i>Father Lejeune's sermons</i> .....	12
Letters .....	4
Haircut .....	1
Postage .....	5
<i>Decreta authentica Sacrae Rituum cong</i> .....	60
Plums (Shipping) .....	8
Cataneo, <i>Massime eterne</i> .....	3
Letters .....	5
Letters .....	2
Works of Marchetti <sup>82</sup> .....	160
<i>Anti Febronius</i> .....	12
Togni .....	6
Lodging .....	124
<b>Total for the month</b> .....	<b>150 + 502</b>

<sup>82</sup> Probably: *Critique de l'histoire ecclésiastique* by Claude Fleury, Besançon, 1808. We have one of these volumes in the Oblate library, *ex libris* from the house at Aix.

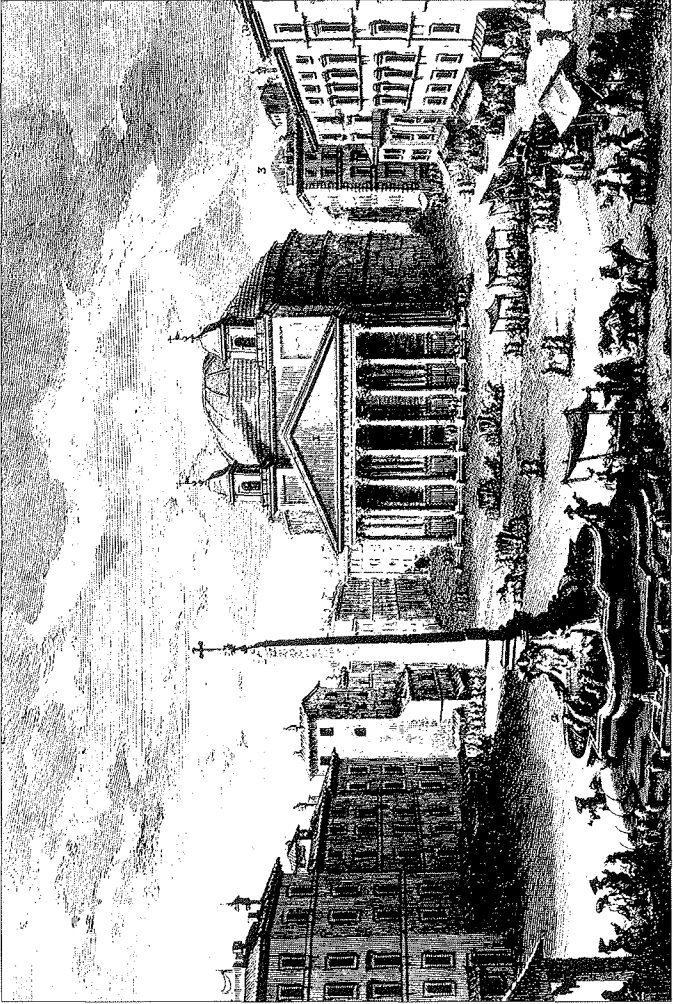
## April

Muratori, 24 v .....	60
Barruel, 2.....	5
Bolgeni, <i>Dell' episcopato</i> , 5 .....	18
Novae Vitae de pontef, 19.....	76
<i>Dissertazione dello Stato</i> , 2 .....	8
I will begin to pay my lodging from April 1 inclusive	
Postage for Nîmes .....	3
<i>Impostatura</i> .....	1
Postage .....	6
Rosaries and reliquaries .....	140
Pope's portrait .....	50
Gifts for Cardinal Pacca's people .....	5
Letters .....	3
Trip to Trivoli .....	16
Books.....	180
Laundry .....	3
<i>Impostatura</i> .....	1
Resoling shoes.....	6
Brief of approval .....	88
Downpayment for the carriage .....	40
Passport from the police	
Print of Pope .....	6
Laundry .....	3
Tip for the dome .....	1
<i>Idem</i> for servants of Sardinia .....	5
[Total] .....	56 + 671

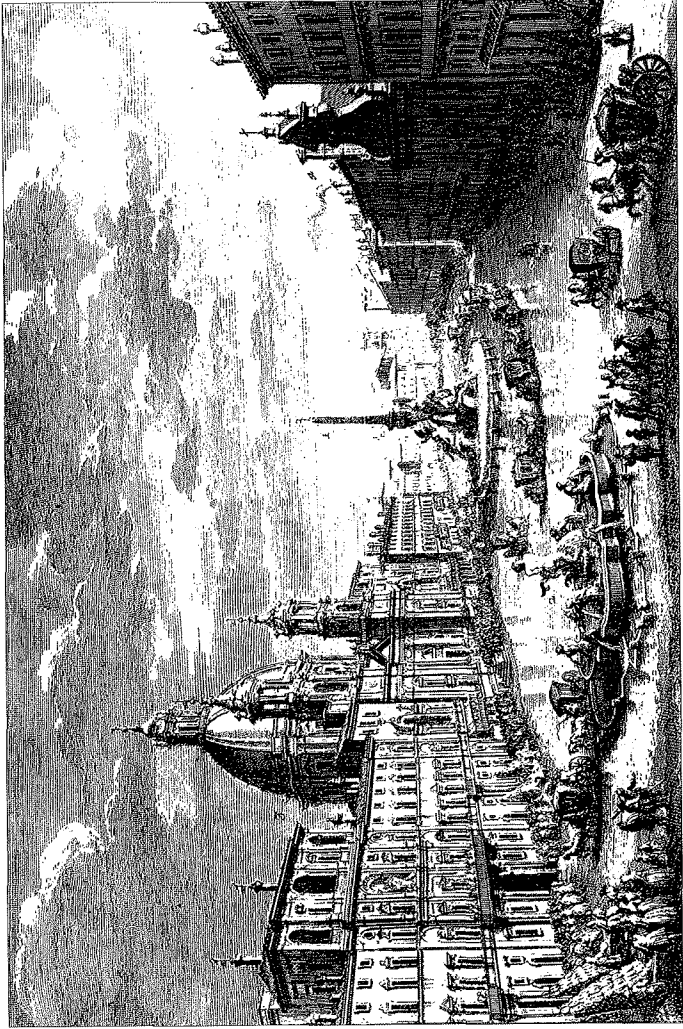
[Total expenditures: 2222 francs of which 641 on books purchased in Rome]







**The Square of the Rotunda and the Pantheon**  
The Founder visited here on January 10, 1826: "I am ashamed at having delayed so long to go and admire beauty."



**Piazza Navona and the Church of St. Agnes**  
The Founder visits here and describes it on January 4 and 21, 1826.



**- B -****Trip to Rome in July-August 1845****INTRODUCTION****The document**

Bishop de Mazenod kept a diary from 1837 to 1861. We know from an old inventory that this diary included 30 notebooks of a little less than a hundred pages each. We have no more than ten of them in the General Archives<sup>1</sup>. The tenth and last goes from April 10 to the autumn of 1845. The text takes up the first 32 pages of the notebook of 76 pages, the remainder is blank.

The last date that appears, on page 20, is that of July 11, the date of departure for Rome. The 12 other pages (21-32) follow, without date, in which the Founder relates some details of this fourth trip he made to Rome. That is the part of the diary we are publishing here. According to the context, it was written some time after the return to Marseilles<sup>2</sup>.

**The duration and reason for the trip**

Bishop de Mazenod left Marseilles on July 11, accompanied by Canon Jacques Jeancard, one of his Vicars General. He arrived at Rome on July 14, left on August 8 and arrived back home at Marseilles on

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<sup>1</sup> Orig.; AGR, Mazenod file JM. "According to indications left by Father Charles Tatin O.M.I., the Diary (1826-1861) included 31 notebooks" (included in them the one from 1825-1826). Cf. Inventory of the postulation archives, done by Father August Esteve in 1926-1928, p. 15

<sup>2</sup> The Founder indicated, in the eighth line of the narrative, that he is doing it after his return. It seems to be written all at the same time, and undoubtedly some time after September 12, since the text ends with a letter of the Jesuit general to the Pope, dated on that day.

August 11 or 12<sup>3</sup>. In the meantime, he went to Albano on the 16th, then from July 22 to 24 and August 7, his niece's<sup>4</sup> wedding day.

In fact, Bishop de Mazenod went to Rome to bless the marriage of his only niece, Césarie de Boisgelin, to the Marquis Charles de Damas. Of the five children born to the marriage of his sister Eugenie to Armand-Natal de Boisgelin, only two survived: Eugene (1821-1905) and Césarie (1818-1909)<sup>5</sup>. The latter married the Marquis Charles de Damas on August 6<sup>6</sup>.

Charles de Damas was the son of Roger de Damas and Pauline de Chastellux, two families that the Mazenods knew at Palermo<sup>7</sup>. Roger de Damas placed himself at the service of the King of the Two Sicilies and had become "inspector general of the troops at Naples". In 1814, he had married Pauline de Chastellux; the latter's brother, Cesar, at Palermo, was a friend of Eugene, who mentioned him in his emigration diary<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to fix the date of return. According to the letter of Armand Natal de Boisgelin to Madam de Mazenod, July 27, everyone was planning (the newlyweds, the Boisgelins, Bishop de Mazenod and Jeancard) to leave Rome on August 8 to take the boat on the 9 at Civitavecchia, and disembark at Marseilles on the 12 or 13. Rey (II, 215) wrote that they returned on the 11, but he probably took literally the following sentence of the Founder, dated July 11, but written after the return: "trip, stay at Rome and return in exactly one month". If the boat left Civitavecchia on the 9, it could however have arrived at Marseilles on the 11.

<sup>4</sup> Letters from Armand Natal de Boisgelin, Eugenie and Eugene de Mazenod to Madam de Mazenod on July 25-28. Orig.: AGR, Boisgelin file.

<sup>5</sup> Caroline died at Paris in 1825, at 13 years of age, Nathalie at Saint Martin des Pallières in 1829, at 19, and Louis, a Jesuit novice, at Avignon, on March 24, 1842, at 26.

<sup>6</sup> And not on the 16, as erroneously indicated in *Oblate Writings* 16, p. 67. Due to a lack of some papers "that had to be redone" (Eugene to his mother, July 18) the wedding was put off till August 7, cf. letters from Armand Natal, Eugenie and Eugene to Madam de Mazenod, July 25-18, 1845.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Oblate Writings* 16, pp. 67, 80, 84, and Jean Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod*, I, pp. 173-175, 187-191. We have on hand 18 letters, written from 1845 to 1854, from Bishop de Mazenod to Madam Roger de Damas. Orig.: APR L M-Damas.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Oblate Writings* 16, p. 67.

The marriage took place in Cardinal Acton's<sup>9</sup> chapel. Cardinal at 39 years of age, Charles Janvier Edouard Acton (1803-1847) was the son of John Francis Acton (1737-1822), from England, who was a minister of the king of Naples and the favorite of the Queen Marie-Caroline<sup>10</sup>.

### **The content and specific characteristics of these few pages**

This Roman diary provides very little information about the stay in Rome. The Founder does not say where he stayed and scarcely speaks about Césarie's wedding. In one page he describes his Papal audience, without giving the date, and several points of their conversation. Then he names a dozen cardinals whom he met, and, at the beginning of the fourth page, he adds: "At Rome, people were discussing nothing but the important matter of the Jesuits". The eight following pages treat of that.

### **The Jesuit question**

At the end of Louis-Philippe's reign, 1843-1848, Bishop de Mazenod became fully involved in the struggle for freedom of education, with especially, as his basic concern, the defense of the Jesuits for whom he always had great esteem.

After the July 1830 revolution, the government of Louis-Philippe had announced a law regarding freedom of education which would have loosened at least a little the University monopoly instituted by Napoleon. At that time, liberal Catholics especially, with Lamennais and *l'Avenir*, were demanding such liberty to assure the Christian education of children.

In 1833, for the primary grades, the government gave in, but changed nothing for secondary education. In 1838, it even excluded from the baccalaureate students from minor seminaries since these institutions were not subject to the University's control. Faced with the insistence of bishops and Catholics, the government presented in 1840, 1841 and 1844, proposals for laws which were consistently rejected by the Church. In the meantime, more ardent Catholics were attacking the often-atheistic education of the University and its monopoly. The

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Rey II, p. 214.

<sup>10</sup> John Francis Acton, called Joseph by mistake, is mentioned several times in Leflon, pp. 174-175, 198. Cf. also *Oblate Writings* 16, p 86. Cardinal Acton was working at bringing together the Holy See and the Church of England. His origins in Naples explain his relations with the Damas family.

University and its anti-clerical allies defended themselves by attacking. As in the past, they accused the Jesuits of being the ones influencing the bishops and demanded that the authorities close their houses. At that time, Bishop de Mazenod promised the Jesuit Provincial that he would defend them<sup>11</sup>.

The government seemed to want to appease the anticlerical people by taking several measures against the Society since, at the end of 1843, it sent a circular letter to bishops demanding information on religious communities established in their dioceses. Bishop de Mazenod replied to the minister of Cults with a defense of the Society which was the main one envisioned in the Circular letter<sup>12</sup>.

The threat to the Jesuits and even to non-authorized societies continued in 1845. The Bishop of Marseilles felt it good to intervene again with the Guardian of the Seals to affirm that the Society was not involved in politics. Among other things, he wrote on April 29: "Jesuit activity is limited to recalling souls to God and forming good christians, without making any distinction as to their nationality. This action has been carried out under the authority of bishops, in entire submission to their directives. Everywhere they are the most obedient of our priests, far from dominating the episcopate itself, as people have dared to suggest. As for my diocese, I can affirm, not only that I have nothing but praise for their conduct in regard to my authority, but even more, that I am aware the good they are doing at Marseilles has gained many friends for them from every class and opinion of society"<sup>13</sup>.

The government did not dare close Jesuit houses *manu militari* but wanted to obtain the Pope's intervention, as in 1828. The latter replied officially that it was his duty to defend religious; however, he let the Jesuit General know that it might be wise for him to give in on several points to save the Society as a whole in France as well as other non-authorized societies. Father Roothaan, in obedience, had several important houses closed at Paris, Lyons and Avignon.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Diary, June 4, 1843; Rey II, 158.

<sup>12</sup> Letter to the Guardian of the Seals, January 4, 1844. Marseilles, Archbishop's archives. Register of Administrative Letters, vol. 4, no. 443.

<sup>13</sup> Letter of April 29, 1845. Register of Administrative Letters, vol. 5, no. 77, and Diary, June 18-20, 1845.



Bishop de Mazenod was at Rome at that time. Just before his departure, he had written to the Pope to ask him not to cede anything to the government. That is the letter of July 8 that he mentioned in the account of his audience with Gregory XVI. Then he narrates in his diary all the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the decision of the Jesuit General. He learned all these details from his friend the Abbé d'Isoard, the intermediary in all this matter between Cardinal Lambruschini, Secretary of State, and Mister Pellegrino Rossi, the French Ambassador to the Holy See. Bishop de Mazenod and Canon Jeancard even intervened in the formulation of a note from the Secretary of State to Mister Rossi.

In the biography, *Eugene de Mazenod*, Canon Leflon published the pages of the diary relative to this event and wrote: "The notes from his *Journal* provide such a valuable complement to all that historians have written regarding this very confused negotiation, that they must be quoted *in extenso*"<sup>14</sup>.

In this matter, Bishop de Mazenod again showed his esteem and affection for the Jesuits in whom he was always interested, whom he defended, called to Marseilles, and proposed as models for Oblates to whom, however, he rarely gave an occasion to work with the Jesuits, considering his Congregation as "only an atom in comparison to [the] Society of Jesus"<sup>15</sup>.

### **To whom is this diary destined — what the document offers**

Bishop de Mazenod began his diary on January 10, 1837 at "Father Tempier's insistence", in order to preserve the memory of facts and circumstances which may be of interest to his sons"<sup>16</sup>.

We may believe that he wrote this portion of his diary, as the others, so that "his sons" might remember this trip to Rome, his relations with the Pope and several cardinals, and the role he played in defense of the Jesuits.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod* III, p. 205-210.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Mazenod to Father Gautrelet, Jesuit Provincial at Lyons, at the time of the departure of the Oblates from the Major Seminary of Romans, October 20, 1857, in *Oblate Writings* 13, p. 192. Cf. also Y.B. *Mgr de Mazenod et les Jésuites*, in *Vie Oblate Life*, Vol. 51 (1992), pp. 125-179.

<sup>16</sup> Rey I, p. 702.

These pages, written at 63 years of age, after 13 years as bishop, inform us about some details of the Church's life and the role that the Bishop of Marseilles attempted to play in it, the complex relations between France and the Holy See, and the love that Bishop de Mazenod nourished for his family and his willingness to spend time for it. Finally, he appeared true to himself with his intransigence toward the government and his severe judgments on the young diplomats he met on the boat, and on some French clerics of whose comportment in the Jesuit matter he did not approve.

*Yvon Beaudoin, O.M.I.*

## TEXT

**July 10 [p. 20]**

... I obtained my passport for Rome. I will embark tomorrow on the *Sesostris*...

**July 11**

Left for Rome on the steamboat *Sesostris*, Captain Gerieu. This trip, to which I admit I was repugnant, was necessitated by the very pronounced desire of my entire family. They would not hear it said that anyone but I would bless the marriage of my only niece. I gave in to such legitimate desires and I am leaving with Jeancard<sup>17</sup> under the care of God and our dear Mother.

Trip, stay at Rome and return within exactly a month. A strong wind on leaving, arrived at Livourne on the evening of the 12th. Mass at the cathedral on the 13th<sup>18</sup>. I was received with very unusual politeness and concern by the Canons, of whom two assisted me, and other clerics surrounded the altar. When I got back to the sacristy, I found some chocolate waiting for me, for my Grand Vicar and the captain who attended my mass. Left at 2 o'clock, very beautiful weather right to Civitavecchia where we arrived very early [p. 21] in the morning. Mass at Civitavecchia with no one noticing except the sacristain. On the boat, met a certain Mister de La Rozière, son of Thuriot<sup>19</sup>, the regicide. He was the secretary of the embassy for the French legation at Rome, whom Mister Rossi<sup>20</sup> had sent to Paris to report on his negotiations at

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<sup>17</sup> Jacques Jeancard (1799-1875) was an Oblate from 1821 to 1834 and from then on remained a collaborator of Bishop de Mazenod at the archbishop's house. He was named auxiliary bishop of Marseilles in 1858.

<sup>18</sup> Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Father Tempier from Livorno on July 13: "We can't go to Pisa, we wouldn't be on time for the boat's departure. I suffered mightily during the crossing, keep this knowledge from my mother..." On July 18, he wrote to his mother, "The trip was so easy that I really regret not having you come with me!"

<sup>19</sup> Ms.: Turriot. Thuriot de la Rozière. Everyone who voted for the death penalty for King Louis XVI, guillotined on January 21, 1793, was considered a regicide.

<sup>20</sup> Count Pellegrino Rossi (1787-1848), a French political figure of Italian origin. In 1845, the minister François Guizot, sent him as ambassador to Rome to treat the Jesuit question. He arrived before the death of Gregory XVI. In September, 1848, Pius IX named him his prime minister. He was assassinated on the following November 15.

Rome concerning the Jesuit question. This Mister Rozière pushed his impoliteness, by not only refusing to speak to me, but by not greeting me as he passed in front of me. I could have not known who he was, but he could not mistake me, as I was dressed in my soutane and wore the pectoral cross around my neck. Such uncivilized conduct so angered the upright people who were making the crossing with me that they did not feel like meeting him or even saying anything to him. He was reduced to conversing with a young policeman, attached to the French embassy at Naples, who never left his side and, during the crossing, was just as insolent as he was. This fellow's name was ...<sup>21</sup> and, even though he looked scarcely more than twenty, was decorated, which made all the passengers who were members of the Legion of Honor take the resolution to remove their badge as long as they were in the presence of this non-entity<sup>22</sup>. All these gentlemen tried to serve as a kind of court for me to repair the outrage of those two diplomats by whom they were revolted. My attitude was what it should have been. The commander, Mister Gerieu, went out of his way by his good conduct.

In seven hours I made it from Civitavecchia to Rome, where I arrived the same day, July 14, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. My sister, brother-in-law and niece were at Albano<sup>23</sup>. My nephew<sup>24</sup> had come to meet me at Rome, where I rested for a day. Visit to Josephine de Coriolis<sup>25</sup> that evening. Mass on the next day at Trinità dei Monti. A visit to Cardinal Frasoni<sup>26</sup>. A friendly welcome from this Eminence.

Trip to Albano to see my family and Madam de Damas, who was there to get away from the Roman heat, heat which I found quite bearable. Mass at Albano at the Carmelite Church. Return to Rome on the 16th [p. 22].

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<sup>21</sup> Space left blank.

<sup>22</sup> Marmouset: a young man or an insignificant person.

<sup>23</sup> Albano is 25 kilometres south-east of Rome.

<sup>24</sup> His sister Eugenie, his brother-in-law, the Marquis Armand Natal and his nephew, Eugène de Boisegelin.

<sup>25</sup> Superior of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at the Trinità dei Monti at Rome. The Coriolis were a parliamentary family from Aix. Madam Coriolis was related to the Boisgelins.

<sup>26</sup> Giacomo Filippo Frasoni (1775-1856), Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda from 1834 until his death. Eighteen letters from Bishop de Mazenod to this cardinal were published in *Oblate Writings* 5.

Audience with the Pope, granted on the same day it was requested<sup>27</sup>. The Holy Father retained me for an hour and a half and treated me with such extraordinary affection that he even embraced me warmly. He wanted to read aloud the letter I had written to him on the question of the Jesuits<sup>28</sup>. He told me that he had replied to some other bishops who had written to him on the same subject, and he wanted to preserve my letter which apparently pleased him, and which he placed in the drawer of his desk.

In speaking of matters pertaining to the Church in France, he told me he had read the writings of Dupin, Cousin, Quinet and Michelet<sup>29</sup>, that it was he who had extracted from these works the propositions which have been condemned, and that he had passed them on to the Holy Office so that the decree might be issued<sup>30</sup>. I could not help replying that this time the Holy Spirit had directly inspired the condemnation. Then, he showed me the notes he himself had written that I was able to read very easily since, in copying them from the works he was reading, he had been careful not to make any errors in French. I must admit I was singularly touched by this truly papal solicitude and could not resist expressing my admiration to the Pope. I was moved to the depths of my being. I also asked the Holy Father permission to make known this truly remarkable detail in the history of this controversy.

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<sup>27</sup> Impossible to ascertain the audience day with Pope Gregory XVI; the 16th is excluded since the Founder was at Albano "from 8 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon", cf. Letters from Armand Natal de Boisgelin and Eugenie to Madam de Mazonod, July 25-28.

<sup>28</sup> Letter of July 8, 1845. Orig.: ASV: Epistulae latinae, posizioni e minute, s.d. 1845, 102. In that letter, Bishop de Mazonod asked the pope not to make any concessions to the French government as in 1828, concerning the closing of Jesuit establishments in France. Among other things, he wrote: "Neither the French episcopate nor the clergy allow themselves to be intimidated. They know there are limits to the power of their enemies, that the distaste of their threats and measures causes them to lose credit... As well, up to now, it is not among ourselves they work intrigues. They want people at Rome to fear a greater evil for religion so as to have your Holiness grant some concessions. Now, I dare to say those concessions could not be more harmful at this time."

<sup>29</sup> Andre Marie Dupin (1783-1865), a lawyer for the freedom of the Gallican Church, against the Jesuits and Ultramontanists; Victor Cousin (1792-1867), a philosopher and politician; minister of Public Education in the cabinet of Thiers in 1840; Edgar Quinet (1803-1875), philosopher, historian, and politician; Jules Michelet (1798-1874), historian. Quinet and Michelet, professors at the College of France, were the main intellectual supporters of the militant anticlericalism under Louis Philippe.

<sup>30</sup> The writings of each of these authors were placed on the Index on August 8, 1844 and April 5, 1845.

I will not repeat everything that was said during this memorable audience. I believe I did my duty, finding myself as a bishop before the head of the Church who treated me like a brother from the very beginning when he did not allow me to kneel before him, and during the whole time of the session, when he embraced me affectionately, holding me close to his heart and when he expressed his desire to see me again before I left Rome, where I told him I had come to bless the marriage of my niece to the Marquis de Damas. Before leaving, I asked leave to present Father Jeancard whom he kindly allowed to kiss his feet, telling him that he would not need any other guide<sup>31</sup> at Rome besides me. That is because the Holy Father was delighted to meet a French bishop with whom he could speak freely in Italian.

After an audience of an hour and a half you can be sure of being respectfully greeted as you go through the waiting rooms. However, I must say that Bishop Medici<sup>32</sup>, the chamberlain, did not wait for this proof to be very polite to me.

I saw a rather large number of cardinals, one after another: Ostini, Prefect for Bishops and Regulars; Castracane, Grand Penitentiary; Frasoni, Prefect of Propaganda; Patrizi, Cardinal Vicar; Mezzofanti, Orioli, Acton, Lambruschini and Bernetti<sup>33</sup>. I did not find Cardinals Macchi and Bianchi<sup>34</sup> at home. I also saw Cardinal Micara<sup>35</sup>, Dean of the Sacred College. Unfortunately for me there was not my excellent friend, Cardinal Pacca<sup>36</sup>, at whose tomb I prayed at the church of Monticelli<sup>37</sup>, where he is buried until they erect a monument for him.

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<sup>31</sup> Ms.: Ciceron.

<sup>32</sup> Bishop Lavinio de Medici Spada, then bodyguard and president of the papal army.

<sup>33</sup> Pietro Ostini (+1849), Castro Castracane degli Antelmini (+1852), Constantino Patrizi Naro (+1876); Giuseppe Mezzofanti (+1849); Antonio Francesco Orioli (+1852); Charles Acton (+1847); Luigi Lambruschini (+1854) and Tommaso Bernetti (+1852).

<sup>34</sup> Vincenzo Macchi (+1860); Ambrosio Bianchi (+1856).

<sup>35</sup> Luigi Micara (+1847). The Founder was at Rome when Luigi Micara was made cardinal in 1826.

<sup>36</sup> Bartolomeo Pacca (+1844) whom Father de Mazenod often met in 1825-1826, when the latter was Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars.

<sup>37</sup> Santa Maria in Monticelli, the church neighboring San Salvatore in Onda, right next to the via Arenula.

All these cardinals were most kind to me. Lambruschini was friendly to the point of asking a common friend if I had been pleased with him, and Orioli, with charming graciousness, gave away a secret that I have always kept. "I know a French Bishop," he said to Jeancard, "who would be one of us, that is a Cardinal, if Pope Leo XII had lived longer. Even though I was then no more a simple religious at a great distance from the head of the Church, nevertheless, the Pope was very kind to me and confided to me that his intention was to keep the then Father de Mazenod nearby, to direct him towards the cardinalate"<sup>38</sup>.

That was the furthest thing from my mind at the time when I came to Rome to gain approval for our Congregation. The favorable dispositions of the great Pope Leo XII facilitated the way to the approval I was requesting, something which had been refused to everyone else up to that time. [p. 24]

All these visits were carefully reciprocated. I waited till the last day to return them on my part, except for some of those cardinals I saw several times, such as the Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini, the Cardinal Vicar, Cardinals Bernetti and Acton. The latter, known to me and my family since his childhood<sup>39</sup>, invited me to dinner, which the other cardinals are not in the habit of doing. In the past, Cardinal Pacca had shown me the same honor in his house.

The principal topic of conversation in Rome is the affair of the Jesuits. It was far advanced when I arrived here. Mister Rossi's dispatches had already left. But did they contain the truth? or, if they did, did the minister Guizot alter it in his speeches to the House? That, I will not decide. What is certain is that someone has lied daringly in this instance. The pope told me positively that he had replied to the French minister's urging by telling him that his duty was to uphold and protect all the orders and religious congregations in the Church and that, consequently, he could not (*non posso*) lend a hand in any manner to the destructive plan of the French government, that he was resolved not to give, in this regard, either any order or any advice to the General of the Jesuits who was perfectly free to make any decision he pleased for the

<sup>38</sup> Bishop Jeancard narrates that in the *Mélanges historiques sur la congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, Tours, 1872, pp. 262-264.

<sup>39</sup> Charles Acton, born at Naples on March 6, 1803. His father lived at Palermo from the spring of 1804 to his death in 1811. Charles studied in England from 1811 to 1823. It is possible that Mister de Mazenod and his brothers knew him at Palermo, but not Eugene.

good of his Order. That was all that can be shown concerning the beginning of this negotiation. The public in France, as well as in Rome, had indulged in a lot of talk about it, and, as is always the case, many false statements have been made through ignorance of the secret side of the affair. I have been in a position to know well all the details.

Here is the exact truth. Mister Rossi was [p. 25] sent as envoy to the Holy See to obtain the withdrawal of the Jesuits from France and thereby satisfy the supposed demands of the public and save the government the unpleasant duty of enforcing the laws which it is claimed could be applied to them; he was received very poorly at first. The cardinal Secretary of State left for his diocese to hold a synod and thus avoided the entreaties of the diplomat. The latter then appealed directly to the Pope, who refused to discuss the matter with him and referred him to his minister. Mister Rossi, pointing out that the cardinal was absent, insisted; the Pope replied that there was always [someone] at the secretariat who acted in place of the absent secretary, and that he would have to speak to him. Mister Rossi, shown the door in this way, could not conceal his displeasure; he then gave vent to his anger before all who approached him. No one was impressed by this, but certain French ecclesiastics, whose pretentiousness makes them highly ridiculous, became greatly disturbed and went around everywhere expressing their misgivings, trying to make themselves look important. Everyone feels that they acted disgracefully in this whole affair. Those who distinguished themselves in this manner were Bishop de Falloux, Bishop de Brimaud, the Abbé La Croix, the Abbé Bonnechose<sup>40</sup>, and a few other priests of the church of Saint Louis and the good Father Vaures<sup>41</sup>, the French Penitentiary at Saint Peter's.

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<sup>40</sup> Those clerics were undoubtedly functionaries of the Roman curia, but their names are not to be found in the dictionaries, especially that of G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastico*, Venezia, 1840-1861, 103 vol., or better still the *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Città del Vaticano, 1948-1954, 12 vol. We do know Abbé Henri Marie Gaston de Bonnechose (1800-1883), at that time Superior of Saint Louis for the French and who was later bishop of Carcassonne, then Evreux and archbishop of Rouen, Senator and Cardinal in 1863. Bishop de Falloux (1807-1854), cardinal in 1877, was the older brother of the Count de Falloux, a politician and promoter of the freedom of education in France.

<sup>41</sup> Ms.: Vaure. Father François Vaures, OFM Conventual.



Mister Rossi let his anger get out of bounds; he expressed every kind of extravagant statement. One day, in the presence of the Abbé d'Isoard<sup>42</sup>, who, he knew, was close to Cardinal Lambruschini, he forgot himself so far as to make some shocking statements: viz., there is no longer a government of the Church; it is the Jesuits who govern everything; the Pope and the Sacred College are subject to them; Rome would repent for having made sport of him; he would mount the rostrum of the House to denounce to [p. 26] France such monstrosity; schism would follow; they did not know with whom they were dealing; let them take care; he would sow seeds of a revolution from which they would not be able to escape. While saying all these things, he made violent gestures, jumped up and down, leaped up and advanced upon his interlocutor so closely that his nose touched the man's face. All of this fury could very well have been an act with the hope his threats would be reported, undoubtedly in the hope of frightening someone.

Mister Rossi finished by delivering an ultimatum which was studied when the cardinal returned from his diocese. The Pope summoned a congregation of cardinals; the resolution adopted was what the Pope had previously stated, ie. that he had neither any command or any advice to give the Jesuits, that it was his duty to protect the Jesuits as well as all other orders and religious congregations and that he was abiding by whatever action the General of the Jesuits would, in his wisdom, judge fitting to take. The officious French priests who wanted to pull strings in this affair had already informed Father Roothaan<sup>43</sup> of Mister Rossi's anger and threats, but he was not in the least disturbed. However, he could not feel the same indifference toward the visit of the two cardinals whom the pope had sent to him at the close of one of the congregations held in his presence. These were Cardinal Patrizi, Vicar of His Holiness, and Cardinal Acton, both of whom are declared friends of the Jesuits,

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<sup>42</sup> Bishop de Mazenod obtained these details from the Abbé Louis Joachim d'Isoard Vauvenargues, then auditor for the Rota, who died in 1847 (Cf. *Diario di Roma*, no. 48, 1847). This Abbé was nephew (Rey II, 213) to Bishop d'Isoard whom Father de Mazenod names so often in his Roman Diary, in 1825-1826. The Abbé d'Isoard was the intermediary between the Damas family and Bishop de Mazenod (for the Boisgelin) during the proceedings in view of Césarie's marriage, cf. letter of Bishop de Mazenod to his mother, March 23, 1845.

<sup>43</sup> Jean Philippe Roothaan, born at Amsterdam in 1785, died at Rome in 1853. He was the Jesuit General from 1829 to his death. He took refuge in Marseilles during the Roman revolution of 1848. His cause for canonization has been introduced.

who were sent to him by the pope. While faithfully repeating that the sovereign pontiff had no wish to give him any command or any advice, their Eminences pointed out somewhat forcefully his Society's dangerous situation in France and all the fearful things that could result from stubborn resistance; that not only would the Jesuits be imperiled should all conciliation [p. 27] be refused, but that all the other congregations would likewise be persecuted to the utmost. Let him reflect, *vide et considera*, the Father General was told, but nonetheless was given to understand that the Holy Father expected an answer that same evening. The Father General pointed out that, first of all, he felt it was more suitable to learn the opinion of the Jesuits in France; being on the scene, they would be in the best position to instruct him. That would take too long. It was indispensable, however, at the very least, that he learn the opinion of those whom divine Providence had given him as council. That was fine, but the pope still had to know the council's decision before ten o'clock.

The details of this embassy are a secret which Father Roothaan's tact and his devotion to the Holy See prompted him to guard religiously. I am of the opinion that it was not fitting to let him shoulder the responsibility of the resolution which was taken and for which he was reproached by a few hotheaded people in France. What was this poor Father General supposed to do after learning of the Pope's desire, if not of his will? He could only conform to it, no matter what may have been his own way of thinking. And that is exactly what he did, out of respect for the Head of the Church and in order not to assume the responsibility for the reprisals with which he was threatened. He consented, therefore, to divide the houses of Paris, Lyons and Avignon, and to restrict the number of novices in France. That is all that he granted. This was the concession of which Cardinal Lambruschini informed Mister Rossi, and of which the latter spoke in his dispatch to Paris. How the cardinal allowed the dispatch to say that the churches of the Jesuits would be closed I cannot fathom. It is true that it was said that people would be allowed to enter the churches by going through the houses of the Jesuits. Whatever may have been the case, the day had not passed before the cardinal became worried; at 9 o'clock in the evening, he sent for the Abbé d'Isoard (this fact is known to no one but myself; I put it down here in order to determine the true facts in this important affair). The Abbé d'Isoard found the cardinal in a state of utter desolation. "I am haunted by remorse," he said to him, "for not making Mister Rossi

deleted from his dispatch, when he read it to me, the passage which gave the impression that the Jesuit churches would be closed. That can not be; furthermore, it would be infringing on the rights of bishops. Go to Mister Rossi's home immediately and tell him for me that I absolutely demand that he erase that assertion from his dispatch because what he proposes can not be granted." The Abbé d'Isoard did not have to be told twice; he raced to the French embassy where, at first, he was refused admittance; he insisted on entering; it was almost eleven o'clock when he was ushered into Mister Rossi's office where the minister was busy sealing up his dispatches. The Abbé d'Isoard explained the purpose of his visit to the minister. As on several former occasions in dealing with this priest, the minister went into a rage. "There is my dispatch all completed," he said to him. "I was just about to seal it. There is no time to go back over it." Added to these words were many very unseemly remarks to which Father d'Isoard listened without losing his composure and he gravely repeated that it was absolutely necessary to delete the passage, for the Cardinal Secretary of State was determined to disavow it before all Europe. The minister was forced to give in. He then took his pen in a rage, and with the Abbé d'Isoard watching, crossed out the lines which expressed the dreadful surprise. "Very well!", said the minister, "if that's the way it has to be; but you can see that my dispatch must be rewritten." With that, he pulled the bell cord summoning his son who was to write out the new copy. The satisfied Abbé d'Isoard went back in all haste to the Quirinal to inform the Cardinal who was waiting for him with painful impatience.

That is an actual fact which I learned from the very mouth of my friend, the Abbé d'Isoard; he kept me abreast of all his negotiations. That was not the only time he was [p. 29] employed in this thorny matter for it is he who enjoys the complete confidence of Cardinal Lambruschini and not those poor individuals who try to look important in Rome, but who are the laughing stock of everyone.

How true it is that an individual sometimes gets into great difficulty from resorting to trickery in his dealings. There is no doubt that in this particular matter certain people wanted to engage in a battle of wits and they were outwitted. Mister Rossi should have been dealt with more bluntly since it was publicly admitted that nothing could and nothing ought to be done. There is no doubt that the dispatches of this diplomat had been read to the cardinal Secretary of State; at least they were read to him. Very well! (even disregarding the fact that he demanded a por-

tion be cut out after a whole day had passed) why did he do nothing about certain vague expressions on which Paris could base itself to exaggerate pretended concessions made by the Pope? I am inclined to think that just as the closing of the churches was let slip by, so, too, no heed may have been paid to what concerned the houses and the number of those who would be allowed to live in them.

Whatever the case, inspired by a deep feeling of gratitude, or perhaps advised by Paris, the minister plenipotentiary felt he was doing something wonderful by sending the Cardinal Secretary of State a beautiful letter of thanks, praising the wisdom of His Holiness to the skies, etc. . . . The reply he received was not the sort the minister expected. The Pope was annoyed at being praised diplomatically for precisely what he had stated he was unwilling to do; the note was marked by this and its expressions were so strong that the minister was incensed to the highest degree. He sent the embassy secretary to the home of the Abbé d'Isoard. The latter went to the residence of Mister Rossi who displayed a frightful anger before him. He threatened to leave Rome if the cardinal Secretary of State did not retract the note which he considered insulting. The Abbé d'Isoard had to calm him down and consent to go to the cardinal's residence at once and explain the situation. This he did; he himself had not been able to overlook the fact that [p. 30] this extremely long note contained expressions that were too harsh. He found his Eminence willing to correct them; in fact the cardinal directed him to compose a new note. The Abbé d'Isoard had no desire to shoulder this responsibility, and, that same evening, came to discuss the whole matter with me. I had to leave for Albano the next day<sup>44</sup>. Before retiring we composed a lofty and suitable version with the help of Jeancard; this new version saved the honor of the Holy See in this step backward; I brought it the next morning at four o'clock to the Abbé d'Isoard's home — he had already risen — and I then set out for Albano where I was expected. It seems the matter did improve for a time, but the French government did not want to stop there. I do not know whether the Roman court was inclined to weaken any further, but I do know that a month later the Jesuit Father General felt obliged to send the Pope himself a very frank letter that I am now going to copy as an interesting document in this very delicate matter.

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<sup>44</sup> This must have happened on August 6, the eve of Césarie's wedding. Later, the Founder said "that a month later", the Jesuit General wrote to the pope. That letter is dated September 12.

Petition addressed September 12, by the Very Reverend Father General to His Holiness<sup>45</sup>: *“Most Holy Father. Allow me to place at the feet of Your Holiness, with the most filial simplicity and confidence, the expression of my feelings and thoughts about the sad situation in which the company, of which divine Providence has established me as head, finds itself in France. For me it is a duty of trust to explain myself with the greatest honesty and expose things as I see them.*

*In France, the forces of evil and the government through them are making every effort to wipe out the Society of Jesus in that Kingdom. But the execution of violent measures under a charter which professes freedom of cult in the midst of a people of which the vast majority professes the Catholic religion, presents difficulties that the government perceives and admits. So, it thought that it could execute a clever manoeuvre if it were to succeed in making backfire on the Holy See all that was distasteful about this persecution and such was the purpose of Mister Rossi’s mission to Rome. Your Holiness, with apostolic energy, rejected the request made to you to use your authority to suppress the company in France but, at the same time, you judged that certain prudent measures, certain concessions made by the General could calm the storm. The reflections of Your Holiness on this matter were accepted by me as it was my duty to do. Your Holiness is aware of that. I have in my hands the letters I wrote and you deigned to approve, assuring me that you were satisfied with them and kindly adding [p. 31] that these letters prescribed very adequate concessions.*

*Since then, everything has been done in my name, I accept full responsibility before men for all the measures taken. I carefully avoided saying the least word that could have compromised the Holy See and presented the orders given as the result of my personal convictions. But what have been the effects in France of this condescendance? I can not hide it any longer from Your Holiness. Good people have been upset and deeply humiliated, weak ones have been scandalized, the bad have triumphed, our friends, our protectors, our defenders have been rendered desolate; they have assured us that these concessions would be more harmful to us than any government violence could have been and they have given up defending people who refuse to defend themselves.*

<sup>45</sup> Bishop de Mazenod was pleased to copy this letter since Father Roothaan shared the opinion he himself had always defended: never make concessions!

*Nevertheless, the government has been proclaiming openly that Mister Rossi's mission to Rome accomplished everything expected from the Holy See, that the ministry had nothing more to discuss with us, that the Jesuit General had been ordered to carry out everything, and that, if he did not put into effect all that was asked, they would have recourse to Rome to force his hand, etc.*

*Most Holy Father, all I promised has been done in large measure and shortly everything will be completely finalized. I will not here say how much it has cost us, what interior turmoil resulted from it, what prejudice arose from it against our ministries and the works undertaken for the salvation of souls, which had to be interrupted or abandoned. Nor will I mention all that has been said at this time against my poor person. What bothers me more deeply is that the information given by the French government has not been refuted in the least, so that all the evil results have been blamed on the Holy See in whose name, they say, the Cardinal Secretary of State discussed with Mister Rossi. But at the present I see no remedy for all that.*

*My humble petition has rather the future in mind. The government plans to push its course far beyond the concessions granted. Its commissioners are going to bother even those residences of ours in which no more than five or six fathers reside, some of whom are occupied far away in various dioceses, giving missions or retreats, consequently almost never at home.*

*Most Holy Father, when I was urging those religious to resign themselves to the measures taken, they, fearing that they will become far more embroiled and confirmed in their apprehensions by the news published by the government, have written to me to ask that at least these concessions be the nec plus ultra and I, basing myself on the assurances that his Eminence Cardinal Lambruschini gave me and on my confidence in the [p. 32] kindness and goodness of Your Holiness, replied to them in such a way as to assure them on this point. The truth is that is is not only this promise that binds me for the future, but the duty of my state even more. The authority of the Company's General is great, in fact, but it is limited by the Order's constitutions which deny him in formal terms the power of dissolving a single house, and much more undoubtedly an entire province.*

*So, I find the courage to very humbly beg Your Holiness not to ask any more concessions from me other than the ones already made, and*

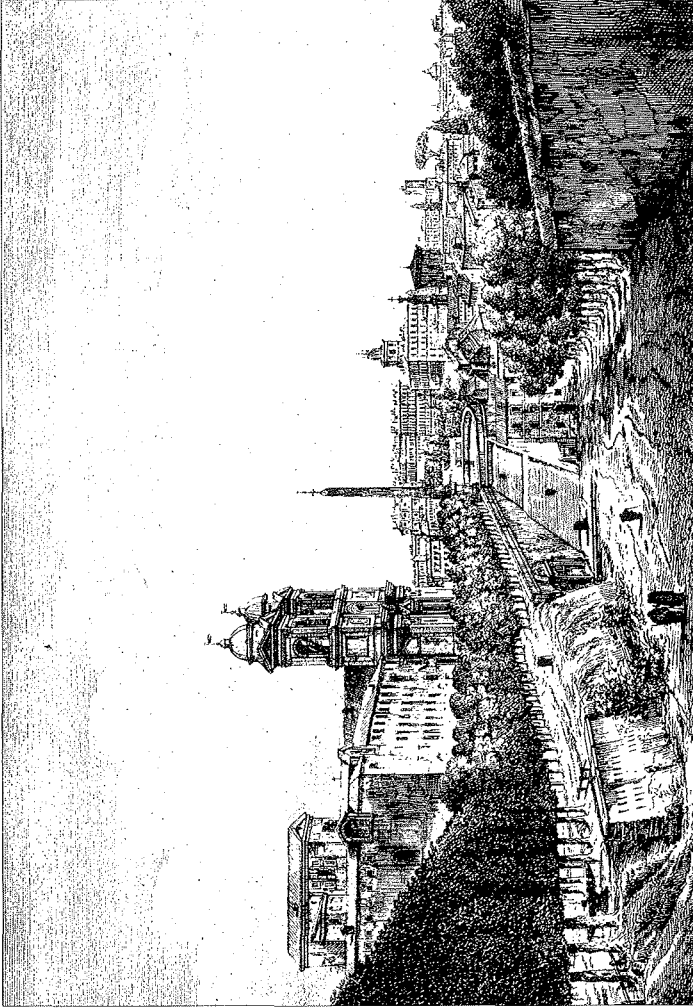
*in case you think it a duty to ask for others, please give me a formal command, so that I am able to say that I am acting by order of the Supreme Pontiff. We are obedient children, everything Your Holiness commands will be carried out to the letter. If I may be permitted to express my entire mind on this matter, I would say that it would be better from now on to allow our Fathers in France deal with the government as best they can. They will get a lot of support. They may possibly lose the battle, but their fall would be much more certain by way of concessions. At least, the Holy See's honor would not be compromised which would be a great consolation for us, no matter what the outcome of events.*

Presented to the Holy Father, September 12.

“The Holy Father read my letter in my presence and replied: No, no, what you have promised and commanded is enough. If they want to carry it further, we must hold fast ... and his gesture said much more than his words. Then he told me that, when a kind of thank-you note arrived from Paris, he had replied that neither the Holy Father, nor the Cardinal could accept the gratitude, since they had granted nothing, that the Father General had taken some prudent measures in order to save the French government some embarrassment and that there be room to hope that the minister would find in this conduct one more reason for dealing more discreetly and kindly with the Jesuits. That does not cancel the fact, Holy Father,” I added, “that all I have done up to now, I did in obedience to the insistence I received from Your Holiness.” “That is right,” the Pope replied, “that is right.”<sup>46</sup>

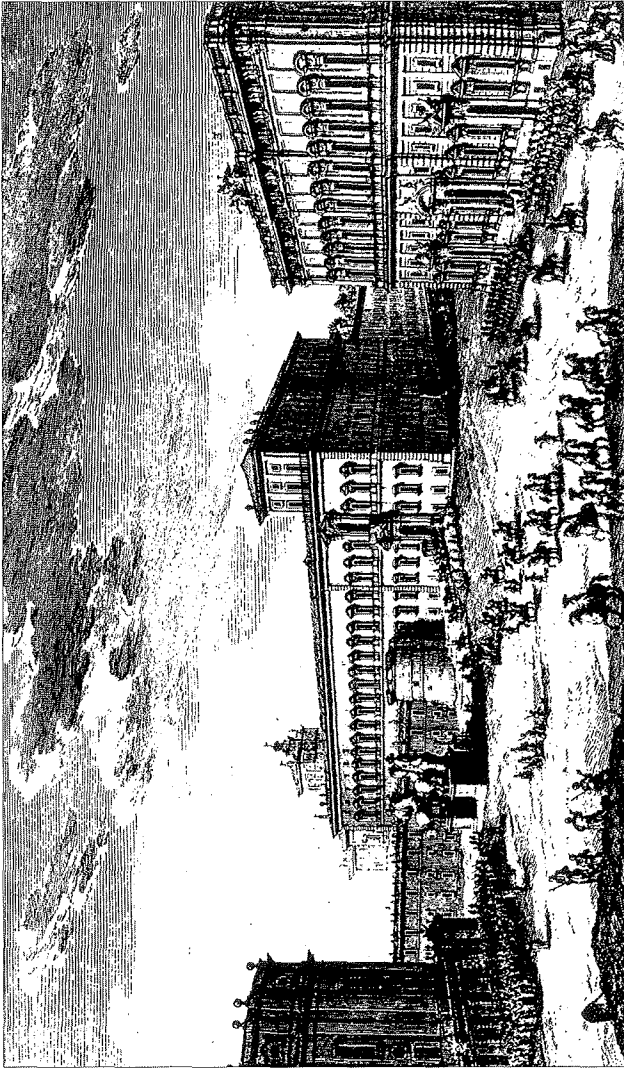
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<sup>46</sup>This petition of Father Roothaan, and the narrative of his audience with the pope, no doubt was sent from Rome by the Abbé d'Isoard with whom the Founder was very closely linked at Rome. There are other possibilities. To justify himself to the French Jesuits, Father Roothaan could have sent them this letter. Bishop de Mazenod would have known about it then from the Jesuits established at Marseilles since 1839. They were in charge of several important ministries and the Bishop would have met some of them, especially Fathers Barthès and Barelle. In the Diary, this letter does not seem to have been written at the same time as the preceding pages. It could have also be communicated to him, with the commentary that followed, by Father Roothaan himself when he took refuge at Marseilles in 1848.



**The Church and the Monastery of Trinità dei Monti**  
Bishop the Mazenod often came here. He celebrated Christmas Mass here in 1854.





**The Quirinal Palace**

Bishop the Mazerod was resident here during his 1854 stay in Rome.



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## Our Founder's Trip To Rome in 1854 for the Definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

#### The circumstances of the trip

Scarcely settled at Gaeta during the 1848 Roman revolution, Pope Pius IX announced his intention to call on the supernatural intervention of the Blessed Virgin to “calm the terrible storms that were assailing the Church” and to renew devotion to Mary by proclaiming the dogma of her Immaculate Conception.

On February 2, 1849, in the encyclical *Ubi primum*, the Pope asked every bishop to let him know what were, in this regard, “the devotion and wishes of their clergy and faithful, and their own personal sentiments”. Bishop de Mazenod hastened to send in the enthusiastic responses which are found in the first and third volume of the *Pareri*<sup>2</sup>. He sent one of the them as Bishop of Marseilles<sup>3</sup> and another in the name of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, giving the Congregation's name as witness to the Church's traditional belief<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This title is the one found in the published text in *Missions OMI*, no. 41 (March 1873), pp. 5-67. The editor of *Missions* wrote at the beginning of that publication: “Extract from his Diary”. He added the note: “On this trip, the Bishop was accompanied by Bishop Jeancard, his Vicar General, who filled in several points in the account of our venerable Founder in the book *Mélanges historiques*, for which we are grateful to him” (Tours, 1872, pp. 270-298). In his *Histoire de mgr de Mazenod* (II, pp. 510-536), Father Achille Rey reproduced almost this entire account.

<sup>2</sup> *Pareri sulla definizione dogmatica dell'immacolato conceptimento della beata vergine Maria ...* Roma, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Pius IX, April 28, 1849. Latin text in *Pareri*, vol. I, pp. 136-140; French translation in the pastoral letter of Bishop de Mazenod, July 8, 1849, pp. 6-8 and in Emile Hoffet, *Mgr. C.-J.-Eugène de Mazenod... et la définition du dogme de l'immaculée conception*, in *Missions OMI*, 1904, pp. 293-245.

<sup>4</sup> Undated letter. Latin text in *Pareri*, vol. III, pp. 361-364, and in Hoffet. of April 28, with the French translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-152.

Out of the 603 replies the Holy Father received, 546 requested a doctrinal definition. Pius IX then let it be known that he was planning to proclaim this dogma on December 8, 1854.

During the summer of 1854, Father Casimir Aubert heard it said that the Pope had expressly invited a certain number of bishops and, unknown to the Founder, wrote to Archbishop Barnabò on August 18, to suggest to him that he invite the Bishop of Marseilles, the Superior General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. He begged him to intervene with the Pope for this purpose.

The secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda replied on September 3, not to Father Aubert but to Bishop de Mazenod himself, to tell him that the Holy Father had not sent any personal invitations. He had simply asked the nuncios to notify archbishops and bishops that they would be very welcome at Rome at the time of the definition of the dogma. However, Archbishop Barnabò confidentially added that his presence at Rome would please the Pope<sup>5</sup>.

Bishop de Mazenod replied on September 19 to express his surprise and say that he was extremely upset that such an approach, “no doubt inspired by good will, but which,” he added, “I protest before God as absolutely foreign to me and which I learnt about only from your letter, might have made you think that I took this detour to obtain your good graces with the Holy Father... Believe me, my dear Lord, if I had the thought which so preoccupied the person who had the indiscretion to write to you, I would have felt remiss in regard to all that your so touching goodness imposed on me in terms of trust and abandon, if I did not

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<sup>5</sup> “tornerà di gradimento a sua Beatitudine”. We have not found Father Aubert’s letter. The existence and date of his letter is known from Archbishop Barnabò’s reply, September 3. Minutes: Archives of the Congregation for Propaganda Fide, lettere e decreti, 1854, vol. 345, f. 862. This letter of Archbishop Barnabò was always understood as a personal invitation from the Pope, cf. Jeancard, *op. cit.*, p. 271: “Pius IX, by a special distinction, invited him to come and take part in the glorification ... Bishop de Mazenod deeply felt such a favor as Bishop and Oblate Superior General. He left for Rome, his heart full of holy joy”. Archbishop Guibert wrote in the same sense, on November 3, 1854: “I want to congratulate you on the mark of esteem that the Holy Father gave you by inviting you to attend the Bishops’ meeting. That distinction was certainly due to your services and your age” (Rey II, 537).

frankly and simply address myself to you. Is not that how I have always proceeded”<sup>6</sup>.

A few days later, Bishop de Mazenod received a letter from Bishop Bouvier of Mans in which the latter announced that he would pass through Marseilles on October 23 on his way to Rome and would be happy to have him accompany him<sup>7</sup>.

Without waiting, Bishop de Mazenod wrote to the Minister of the Navy to request a free pass on the State boat, for himself, for Father Jeancard and a servant<sup>8</sup>.

### **The duration of the trip**

On October 22, Bishop de Mazenod published a pastoral letter in which he announced the jubilee granted by Pope Pius IX (encyclical of August 1) and his trip to Rome. He left thereafter on October 23, without waiting for Bishop Bouvier who was held up by illness. On the 25th, he left Toulon on the *Requin* and, having landed at Civitavecchia on the 27th, he left for Rome the same day. He went to the Minerva hotel but, from the evening of the 28th, at the pope’s invitation, went to reside at the Quirinal. He stayed in this palace, with his two companions, until his departure from Rome on December 31. The return, as the trip there,

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Scrittura riferute nei congressi, Francia 1848-1856, vol. 3, ff. 872-873. Father Rey (II, 509) and Monsignor Jean Leflon (III, 357) seem to be unaware of these letters. However, without speaking of Archbishop Barnabò’s letter, Father Rey wrote: “The frequent and friendly relations that the Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate kept up with the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda and his eminent secretary, Archbishop Barnabò, put him in a position to know that the invitation addressed in the Pope’s name to several bishops... was not seen as only an official gesture; there would have also been special invitations, goodwill invitations”. This text allows us to think that Father Rey was aware of Archbishop’s Barnabò’s reply which did not speak of either an official or an officious invitation.

<sup>7</sup> Letters of Bishop Bouvier, September 19 and October 1st (Rey II., 508). These letters as well as Bishop de Mazenod’s replies have not been found.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of October 7. National Archives at Paris, Marseille BB3, 687, f. 20: “Since I was called by the Supreme Pontiff to attend the meeting of bishops to be held at Rome to treat of the important question of the Immaculate Conception...” He also wrote to the Minister of Worship on October 9 (Register of Administrative Letters, vol. VI, p. 141), begging him to support his request “to your colleague, in the same way as I made it my duty not to leave France without informing you...” The Minister of Worship replied on October 14, saying that he supported the request and added: “I will take this moment to ask Your Excellency, if the opportunity comes up, to grant the government the concurrence of your zeal and prudence during your stay in Rome”. ANP F 19 2535

took place on a State boat, from Civitavecchia to Toulon, from the first to the third of January. The travelers returned to Marseilles on the same day.

### Activities at Rome

Only three letters during this two-month trip to Rome from the founder to the Oblates of Marseilles have come down to us. In the one of December 22 to Father Tempier, he spoke of his activities: "attendance at services, meetings at the Vatican, visits to receive, business matters to deal with, etc., till nightfall"<sup>9</sup>. This brief enumeration is far from informing us about all his activities at Rome; however, we get to know them through the writings in his diary.

**Visits:** Bishop de Mazenod, first of all, meets many people he was going to see or from whom he received a visit<sup>10</sup>. We count the names of 30 cardinals, 50 bishops, some ten prelates, French army generals<sup>11</sup>, etc. To please his two companions, but also for his own personal devotion and as a distraction, he visited *San Pietro in Montorio* and the *Tre Fontane* of Saint Paul (November 10), the room in which Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Borgia died, the Congregation of the Propaganda (November 27), the churches of Saint Gregory and Saints John and Paul (December 3); he celebrated mass at the tomb of Saint Peter on the anniversary of his ordination on December 21, and at the Ladies of the Sacred Heart on the anniversary of his first mass on Christmas eve. Contrary to his usual practice, he went on several official receptions, at

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<sup>9</sup> *Oblate Writings* 11, p. 250.

<sup>10</sup> He had to go out of his way several times before finding one cardinal or another; often that same cardinal had simultaneously come to pay him a visit without finding him at home.

<sup>11</sup> We are surprised to see that soon after his arrival in Rome, he went to see three Generals of the French army that was occupying Rome and had allowed the Pope to return home to the Vatican in 1850. Perhaps we can find an explanation in his pastoral letter of February 3, 1855, in which he published the Bull *Ineffabilis*. At the end of that letter, he expressed his trust in Mary Immaculate and added: "Among other hopes, we should consider as very legitimate those which we conceive especially for France. She has returned to Rome its exiled Pontiff, since then she has not ceased to protect him with her victorious arms, and thus she has facilitated and almost procured the solemn proclamation of the dogma of Immaculate Conception. That proclamation, which took place in the presence of her generals and soldiers, together with a considerable number of her bishops and priests, now promises for her even more fruitful blessings of every kind, because the Catholic truth has been received with great love among us."

the time of the elevation to cardinalate of Bishop Scitovszky, Primate of Hungary (on November 13 and 16), of the Patriarch of Lisbon and the Archbishop of Toledo (on November 27 and 28), then after that to dinners offered by Prince Torlonia on December 8, and Cardinal Cagiano on the 14.

**Pastoral Ministry:** He willingly accepted to do pastoral ministry. On Sunday, November 5, he celebrated the military mass for the occupation forces, invited by Monseignor Jules Level, rector at the Saint Louis French church; on the 12th, at the invitation of the chaplain, the Abbé Geslin, he gave Communion and administered Confirmation to a few military and civil prisoners at the Angel Castle<sup>12</sup>. On Sunday, November 26, invited by the Franciscans, he celebrated solemn mass for the feast of Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice at Saint Bonaventure *ritiro* on the Palatine. On Sunday, December 17, he was the co-consecrator of Bishop Bizzarri, Secretary for the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. On December 26, he celebrated mass in the apartment of Bishop Bouvier of Mans and gave him holy Viaticum; on the 29th, after celebrating solemn mass at the Gesù, invited by the Jesuit General, he assisted Bishop Bouvier during his agony and did not leave him till after he had died.

**Present at all the “papal ceremonies”:** Bishop de Mazenod took part in all the papal “chapels” or liturgical ceremonies over which the Pope presided. Following his usual procedure, he described in his diary the details of the ceremonies which were numerous at the time: on All Saints’ Day, All Souls Day, the service for deceased supreme pontiffs on November 3. On Friday, November 17, he officiated pontifically at first vespers for the anniversary of the consecration of Saint Peter’s basilica and next day attended mass and second vespers. Speaking of that mass, he wrote on the 18: “my heart was overflowing with catholicism”. He went to the public consistories on November the 16 and 30 (new cardinals). He was also present for the ceremonies at Saint Peter’s on December 3 (First Sunday of Advent), on December 8 and 25, and at the consecration of Saint Paul’s basilica on December 10.

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<sup>12</sup> The military mass and the visit to the Angel Castle may have taken place on the same day, Sunday, November 12.

**Definition of the dogma:** But the Founder was especially interested in anything that touched directly or remotely the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Already on October 30 Pius IX received him, even before he had requested an audience. The pope informed him that he had named him assistant to the papal throne, and gave him details on the ceremonial he proposed to follow on December 8, and spoke to him of his plan to consecrate the recently reconstructed basilica of Saint Paul.

In the first days of November, he visited Cardinal Gousset and Father Perrone S.J., one of the theologians working at composing the Bull. There he learnt that “in the bishops’ meetings to be held, it will not be a question of discussing whether to declare the teaching of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of faith or only approaching faith (the thesis of Cardinal Gousset), but only of hearing the reading of the dogmatic Bull” and making observations. On the 19th, he went to see Bishop Pacifici, secretary of the commission charged with preparing the Bull, to bring him the text of the apostolic letters of Popes Leo XII, Gregory XVI and Pius IX, concerning the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

From the 20 to 24, he took part in all of the meetings held at the Vatican during which the cardinals and bishops were able to make observations about the text of the Bull. In fact, he wrote “from insurmountable timidity” and “fear of expressing myself poorly in Latin to which I am not accustomed”, he did not intervene. But one incident allows us to admire his Marian piety. The president, Cardinal Brunelli, began the first meeting, on the 20th, by reciting the *Veni Creator*, without an invocation to the Blessed Virgin and without reciting the *Angelus* at noon. The founder was “surprised” and “saddened”. “The thought of proposing that he repair such forgetfulness pursued me all day,” he wrote, “and this morning, during my thanksgiving, I felt constrained even more to carry out that plan”. Before the session on the 21st, he expressed his desire to Archbishop Barnabò who, as a theologian, went to take his place close to the president. Joyfully, Bishop de Mazenod noted that Cardinal Brunelli followed the *Veni Creator* with the *Ave Maria* three times and that at noon he suspended the meeting and knelt down to recite the *Angelus*.



During the second last meeting, on the 23rd, Bishop de Mazenod was disturbed “when a voice was heard<sup>13</sup> requesting that the plan of the Bull [...] be entirely reworked and this written proposal” must have been handed to the Pope. When he returned to the Quirinal after the last session, on the 24th, he wrote to the Holy Father, begging him to “reject” this proposal and “requesting” him not to be swayed by the reasons tendered on this matter. He wrote a second letter to the Pope, on December 2, asking him to establish a feast in honor of the consecration of Saint Paul’s basilica and a third letter, on December 5, begging the pope to define as a dogma of faith the belief in the Immaculate Conception and not to listen to some bishops who do not want “a complete definition”, thus granting “an unfortunate concession to the worldly spirit at the expense of the glory of the Mother of God and the honor of the Church.”

He attended the papal mass and definition of the dogma on December 8 with unbounded joy and great emotion. On the day after, he was present at the secret consistory held on the occasion of this definition and, on Sunday 10, he spent the morning at Saint Paul Outside the Walls where the Pope, surrounded by all the bishops gathered at Rome, consecrated the new basilica.

On December 26, he met the Pope twice. In late afternoon, Pius IX came to the Quirinal to visit Bishop Bouvier who was extremely ill. When he arrived, the Holy Father was welcomed by the Bishop of Marseilles and the latter also accompanied him to his carriage when he left. He followed the Pope to the Vatican for his farewell audience which took place at 22:30 hours in the evening. He handed the pope a letter of congratulations signed by the members of the confraternity of Saint Vincent de Paul at Marseilles “and an album which depicted the beautiful festivities held on December 8 in my episcopal city”.

Before leaving, on December 30, he wrote a fourth letter to the Pope, thanking him for his hospitality and his kindness at the time of the illness and death of Bishop Bouvier.

### **When and why was this diary written?**

It seems rather clear that the Founder wrote this text at the very

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<sup>13</sup> Cardinal Gousset, see *Diary*, November 23 and 24.

time of the events but without always indicating the date, no doubt because he did not have time to write every day, especially at the beginning of November. We will add in brackets the dates omitted, when it is possible to determine them, using Father Rey's text and the context of the narrative.

Before copying his letter to the Pope, on December 5, he indicated those for whom his diary was destined: "Since these notes are destined for those whom the good Lord has given me as sons", he wrote, "I am concerned that they know what their Father thought and did in this situation, so glorious for our Immaculate Mother. It is for them that I am transcribing here the letter that I addressed to the Pope this very evening".

In the biography of Bishop de Mazenod, in the chapter where he narrates the events of 1854, Father Rey wrote: "We would like to be able to publish the entire diary our venerated Founder wrote at the request of his spiritual sons ..." (Rey II, 510). This explanation is quite believable; we know that he started to keep a diary in 1837, at Father Tempier's invitation.

### Special notes about this publication

The manuscript of this diary no longer exists. It had already disappeared in 1922, when Father Marcel Bernad published his work: *Bibliographie des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*.

It was published in *Missions OMI* 1873, pp. 5-67 ("Extraits de son Journal") and in the *Histoire de Mgr de Mazenod*, which appeared in 1928, but was written between 1885 and 1903 by Father Achille Rey, who reproduced it "almost entirely". (II, pp. 510-536). The two texts differ considerably. The one is *Missions OMI* 1873 has all the characteristics of the Diary of 1825-26, which appeared in *Missions OMI* of 1872 of which we still have the original manuscript. Thus we notice that in that 1872 edition, the turns of phrases were improved, the repetition of words was corrected and some paragraphs were omitted in which the Founder spoke about matters at Marseilles or more personal concerns that had no connection to the purpose of his trip in 1825-1826. Those omissions can be explained by the fact that the review *Missions OMI* was an "official" publication destined for the public. We do not know

who was responsible for the Missions OMI in 1872 and 1873<sup>14</sup>. But apparently it is the same Father who followed the same criteria for publishing.

Father Rey certainly had possession of the manuscript. Since his work was destined for Oblates, he published several phrases and paragraphs which speak of more personal matters as Cardinal Gousset's opposition to the dogmatic definition (December 5), the naming of the Marquis Eugene de Boisgelin to the title of Commander of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great (December 14), a conversation with Bishop Bouvier during which the latter spoke of the "correction of his theology" demanded by Rome in 1852 (December 20), the "intrigues of Mister Chaillot and his consorts" (December 22) and some details of the visit of Pius IX to the Quirinal on December 25.

Father Rey's edition resembles the "Diary of emigration of Italy", carried by *Missions OMI* in 1866, when this Father was responsible for this review. He introduced, here as in 1866, personal comments, an extract of the Founder's letter and some sentences taken from the *Mélanges historiques* of Bishop Jeancard, etc.

Thus, the editing of the Diary of 1854 poses a difficult problem. Neither of the two texts at our disposal gives us the complete original. There is no place here for long textual criticism.

We are publishing here the text which appeared in *Missions OMI* 1873, the most complete and the oldest. We add, in parenthesis, the most important and certain details reproduced by Father Rey, and put into notes of some of his other brief additions, without taking into account some secondary modifications in turns of phrases which scarcely change the content.

There are numerous footnotes. We have especially given some biographical details of the main persons he met, without repeating those details for the people already mentioned in the Diary of 1825-1826, or in that of 1845. In the Index of proper names at the end of the book, we will indicate in bold letters the pages on which are found the said biographies for most of the people named in the volume.

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<sup>14</sup> Father Rey certainly was from 1826 to 1867, but they kept anonymity so well that it is impossible to know who replaced him from 1868 to 1875. Cf. Henri Verkin, the article *OMI Missions* in *Oblate Historical Dictionary*.

As we can see, the Roman Diary, in 1854, as the two preceding ones, recount some important events in the Founders' life and reveal something about him: as Father Rey wrote "his faith, piety, intelligence, heart, limitless devotion to the Church, the Supreme Pontiff, the Blessed Virgin and Our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rey II, 510).

Rome, December 8, 1996

*Father Yvon Beaudoin, O.M.I.*

## TEXT

Left Marseilles on October 23rd, from Toulon on the 25th, on the *Requin*, arrived at Civitavecchia on the 27th. Received by Commandant Castagnola representing My Lord the Delegate<sup>15</sup>. Immediately left for Rome in a mail coach. Got off at the Minerva<sup>16</sup>. Went to the Sacred Heart<sup>17</sup> to say mass the next day. Went back on Sunday for the same reason. In the meanwhile, Jules Barluzzi<sup>18</sup> came on behalf of the Cardinal Secretary of State<sup>19</sup>, and by the Pope's wishes, to inform me that the Holy Father had prepared apartments for me at the Quirinal<sup>20</sup>. They are the ones that Cardinal Lambruschini<sup>21</sup> occupied while he was Secretary of State. The Pope was not satisfied with giving us a place to stay, but with truly royal magnificence, accommodated the Bishops and their retinue. On Saturday the 28th, Archbishop Barnabò<sup>22</sup>, when he met me on the square of *San Silvestro in capite*, made me get into his carriage and took me to the Minerva Hotel where he spent an hour with me and brought me up to date on everything that had been done to prepare the great decision that is going to take place.

**[Monday, October 30: papal audience]:** Before I even asked for an audience, the Pope, foreseeing my wishes, wrote me through his Chamberlain Bishop<sup>23</sup>, that he would receive me on Monday the 30th. During that audience the Holy Father was extremely kind to me; he told

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<sup>15</sup> When he stopped at Civitavecchia on December 30, the Founder mentions the Bishop and once more "the Bishop delegate". The delegates were bishops assigned by the government to a delegation (circumscription) of the Papal States.

<sup>16</sup> At the Minerva hotel, cf. Jeancard, *Mélanges historiques...*, p. 272.

<sup>17</sup> At the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at Trinità dei monti.

<sup>18</sup> Bishop de Mazenod already knew him very well in 1825-1826, during the preparation of the Brief for approval of the Rules.

<sup>19</sup> The Secretary of State, in 1854, was Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli (1806-1876).

<sup>20</sup> Bishop de Mazenod took possession of the Quirinal apartments on Saturday evening, October 28, cf. Bishop Jeancard, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>21</sup> Luigi Lambruschini, Secretary of State from 1836 to 1846.

<sup>22</sup> Alessandro Barnabò (1801-1874), Secretary for the Congregation of Propaganda from 1848 to 1856, with whom the Founder had long been in contact by letter, cf. *Oblate Writings*, vol. 5.

<sup>23</sup> The Chamberlain, in 1854, was Bishop Edoardo Borromeo-Arese (1822-1881), made Cardinal in 1868.

me to consider myself an Assistant to the Throne without waiting for the official notification. I handed him my pastoral letter on the Jubilee Year<sup>24</sup>; he immediately started to read it in front of me. I also gave him the petition which Cardinal de Bonald<sup>25</sup> had sent me, addressed to His Holiness. The Pope put me completely at ease during this long audience; I can even say that we both laughed heartily. I did not hesitate to tell him that we were surprised in France that the Nuncio<sup>26</sup> preferred to invite Cardinal Gousset<sup>27</sup> rather than Cardinal de Bonald, of whom he should have thought for all kinds of reasons. The Pope asked me to write him that he would be glad to see him come, and wrote it himself on the bottom of the petition I had presented him from the Cardinal: *cum desiderio amplectendi Romae card. archiepe. oratorem*<sup>28</sup>. I immediately carried out that task, and to share the Holy Father's views, I insisted in my letter to the Cardinal that he come to Rome without waiting any longer<sup>29</sup>.

During the audience, the Pope told me his thoughts on the matter of our gathering at Rome and the ceremonial he planned to follow. I took the liberty of telling him that it would be very nice if there were expressions of approval at the moment when, with his loud voice, he pronounced his infallible decision. That would not hinder the oldest of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops from coming before him to thank him in the name of the Church. The Pope told me again that he wanted to take the opportunity of this large gathering of Bishops to con-

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<sup>24</sup> *Mandement de mgr l'évêque de Marseille pour annoncer le jubilé accordé par l'encyclique de notre Saint-Père le Pape, en date du 1er août, 1854.* Marseilles, October 22, 1854. With this encyclical, the Pope granted "a plenary indulgence in Jubilee form to those who would fulfill, in a set time, the conditions he indicated to obtain from heaven the cessation of several disasters which were afflicting the world". A serious cholera epidemic was then striking cities of southern Europe. At Marseilles, the faithful could earn the Jubilee indulgence from November 4, 1854 to February 4, 1855.

<sup>25</sup> Louis Jacques de Bonald (1787-1870), a fellow student with Eugene at Saint Sulpice seminary and Archbishop of Lyons from 1840 until his death.

<sup>26</sup> The Nuncio was then Archbishop Carlo Sacconi (+1889) who will be Cardinal in 1861.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Gousset (1792-1866), Archbishop of Reims since 1840 and Cardinal since 1850.

<sup>28</sup> "with the desire of embracing at Rome the petitioning Cardinal Archbishop".

<sup>29</sup> We have on hand 15 letters from Cardinal de Bonald to Bishop de Mazenod, from 1847 to 1860, and 4 from the Founder to the Cardinal, but the one of the end of October 1854 has not been found.

secratè Saint Paul's basilica<sup>30</sup>, but people opposed it since the flooring was not yet complete, etc. I strongly encouraged him to follow that good inspiration, assuring him that it has sometimes happened that churches have been consecrated before they were fully completed, and that, if God grants me life, I would gladly do the same for my future cathedral at Marseilles. Actually, this will be a unique occasion which will not happen again, a meeting of more than a hundred bishops from every country. That thought so struck His Holiness that he said, in that case, he would have the names of all the bishops present placed on a marble inscription<sup>31</sup>. I do not know if reluctance and difficulties brought forward by the masters of ceremonies will change the Pope's beautiful plan. I had a chance to talk about it with the College president of the masters of ceremonies, and earnestly exhorted him not to bring up difficulties to divert the Pope.

The Holy Father did not allow me to leave before telling me that he was naming me an Assistant Prelate to the Throne<sup>32</sup>, and that I did not have to wait till I received the Brief to take advantage of the rights attached to that dignity. I thanked him, telling him that I had not been able to accept that favor, which Pope Gregory XVI wanted to grant me in 1832, when I was consecrated at Rome. The present Pope could have recalled that he himself had offered it to me during my last trip. I formally declined that favor at the time since I was waiting a greater sign of his kindness, which actually happened, with the privilege of the *pallium*, that he graciously desired to grant me, and which he personally imposed on me as a special favor<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Destroyed in a fire in 1823 and rebuilt thanks to gifts received from all the dioceses in the world.

<sup>31</sup> That consecration was held on Sunday, December 10. The names of Archbishops and Bishops present are found on marble plaques in the apse. Bishop de Mazenod is fourth on the list of bishops.

<sup>32</sup> The Founder was named Assistant to the Throne and Roman Count by the Brief of Pius IX *Romanorum Pontificum* of November 1, 1854. Orig.: AGR, Postulation Files DM XIV 1 b. The assistants to the Papal throne are prelates with episcopal character, who have received this title from the Supreme Pontiff to assist him in solemn ceremonies at which he is present.

<sup>33</sup> The *pallium* is the sign of the jurisdiction for metropolitan bishops. Cf. *Imposition du pallium*, April 3, 1851. The Act signed by Joseph de Tigne, Prefect of Apostolic Ceremonies, Orig.: AGR, Postulation files DM XIV 1 b. On the back of this manuscript, Father Tempier wrote: "Act of Bishop Joseph Tigne, Prefect of Apostolic Ceremonies, indicating that His Holiness Pope Pius IX had himself bestowed the Sacred Pallium on Bishop Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod of Marseilles, April 3, 1851.

The day after our arrival, I went to say mass at the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and again the day after that; but, this time, it was somewhat of a farewell, since they had prepared an altar in my apartments at the Quirinal and I would say mass at home from now on.

I saw Cardinal Fransoni<sup>34</sup> as well, with whom I chatted at length about our missions, intending to return to this matter after I have discussed it with Bishop Barnabò.

**[Beginning of November: visit to the French military authorities, cardinals, etc.]** I visited the Division General, Commander-in-Chief de Montréal, the local General Commander Baron Fririon, and General de Pontevès, from my diocese<sup>35</sup>. I met only the first and I was not at home when they visited me. I also went to our Ambassador<sup>36</sup>, but did not find him home; neither did he find me here when he came to my place. I saw Bishop Level, Bishop de La Croix, the Cardinal Vicar, Cardinal Caterini<sup>37</sup>; the first is a very old acquaintance; the second was Assessor to the Holy Office, during my last trip, which gave me the opportunity to discuss with him the approval of our provincial council. Cardinal Caterini is a prelate outstanding in learning.

I went to the chapels<sup>38</sup> in my role as Assistant to the Throne on All Saints Day, on All Souls Day, and the day after, to the service for all the supreme pontiffs. The day before yesterday, I visited Cardinal Marini<sup>39</sup>; both he and Cardinal Ugolini<sup>40</sup> were very solicitous for me in the preparation sacristy, where the Pope vests before going into the chapel.

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<sup>34</sup> Giacomo Filippo Fransoni (1775-1856), Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda from 1834 until his death. The Founder wrote several letters to him, Cf. *Oblate Writings* Vol. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Chased out of Rome by the November revolution of 1848, Pope Pius IX returned there in April 1850, under protection by French troops. They remained there until 1870. Louis Jean Baptiste E. de Pontevès (1805-1855), from Marseilles, was named General in 1854 and commanded one brigade of the occupation corps of the French army in Rome.

<sup>36</sup> Count Alphonse Gérard de Rayneval.

<sup>37</sup> Bishop Jules Level (1802-1871), then Superior of the French church of Saint Louis; the Cardinal Vicar was Cardinal Costantino Partrizi: Prospero Caterini (1795-1881), had been named Cardinal in 1853.

<sup>38</sup> Liturgical ceremonies presided over by the Pope.

<sup>39</sup> Pietro Marini (1794-1863), created Cardinal in 1846.

<sup>40</sup> Giuseppe Ugolini (1783-1867), Cardinal since 1838.



Yesterday, I visited Cardinal Gousset<sup>41</sup> and Father Perrone<sup>42</sup>. In the bishops' meetings to take place, there will be no discussion of whether to declare the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of faith or only as approaching faith. It will be a matter of listening to the reading of the dogmatic Bull, which the Pope is going to publish with the same authority that Saint Leo the Great used in sending his Apostolic Letters to the Council of Chalcedon. *Jure assensus, sine jure dissensus, jure instructionis*<sup>43</sup>. I went to visit Cardinal Ferretti<sup>44</sup> and found him getting into his carriage to go to the Congregation to be held at the Vatican to approve the final draft, made by the Theological Commission, on the present question. I shall have the privilege of seeing him again since I must talk to him about several matters. The Superior of the French Saint Louis<sup>45</sup> church invited me to say the military mass on Sunday for the occupation troupes. I gladly accepted this invitation. Someone brought me the nine volumes of the collection which contains the bishops' replies to the Pope's encyclical on the Immaculate Conception. 570 bishops replied: 530 affirmatively,

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<sup>41</sup> Bishop de Mazenod had made a first visit to Cardinal Gousset at the beginning of November and another on the 28th (Cf. Diary, November 28). Bishop Jeancard, who wrote nearly 20 years after this Roman trip, mentioned only one visit, which he placed after the feast of the Dedication of Saint Peter's basilica on November 18. He gave many interesting details omitted by the Founder about his visit, cf. Jeancard, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-285. Here, Father Rey wrote (II, 511): a visit to Cardinal Gousset "to prove to His Eminence that I have no ill feelings, I did not hesitate to go and see him". That reflection of the Founder seems truly original. In 1852, during the controversy about Catholic journalism and the *Correspondance de Rome*, Cardinal Gousset had qualified Bishop de Mazenod as Gallican. Struck to the core, the latter energetically defended his attachment to the Pope and Holy See, in a long letter, sent first to the Cardinal, and then to several French bishops. Cardinal Gousset never replied to that letter. Cf. Jean Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod*, Vol. III, p. 334-337.

<sup>42</sup> Giovanni Perrone S.J. (1794-1876), theologian and professor at the Roman College.

<sup>43</sup> Father Rey wrote here (II, 511): "That will not be to present the Bull for their discussion, but to leave the editing open to their observations, whether for more or less proper terminology, or for greater clarity, but always in the direction of the papal decision. This communication will be similar to that of Saint Leo the Great to the Council of Chalcedon, recalling the principles in that matter: *Jure instructionis, jure assensus, sine jure dissensus*: right to clarify, right to consent, without the right to dissent". Father Rey did not seem to cite the Diary, but the Pope's letter, dated November 3.

<sup>44</sup> Gabriele Ferretti (1795-1860), created Cardinal in 1838, then Grand Penitentiary.

<sup>45</sup> Bishop Jules Level.

requesting the proclamation of the decision, 36, even though they recognize the truth of the doctrine, think the proclamation is inopportune; only 4 declare they are definitely against it.

During my outings, at the Carthusians I saw Father Norbert<sup>46</sup> from my diocese, who is the house Vicar. I also saw Father Perrone, rumored to be named Cardinal. It would be a fitting reward for the services this Father has rendered to the Church for more than thirty years, and especially for all he has done to support the Pope's views on the present question. But what is for a good religious, happy in his state of life, to be a Cardinal?<sup>47</sup>

I am always moved by deep feelings of piety when I visit *San Pietro in Montorio*, the place where Saint Peter was put to death. From there we went to *villa Pamphili* and prayed with emotion at the foot of the monument Prince Doria built in his villa over the remains of the poor French soldiers who lost their lives at that place during the siege of Rome, which they had just delivered from the tyranny of the revolution. We dined with the French Ambassador; Cardinal Gousset was among the guests; he talked a lot about the work he is doing on the question which concerns us all. In my view, others have already done the work. If the Pope followed my view, he would dispense himself from taking on so much trouble, but would only have to define it, basing himself on the assent of 530 bishops, who have made the decision on the tradition of their people, as he had wanted. The 36, who are concerned with some purely human inconveniences, and find it inopportune to define it as a dogma of faith, which they nevertheless recognize as Church doctrine, can be counted as affirmative on the basic question. So, actually, the dissidents are reduced to the infamous number of 4. What importance should the Pope place on this divergence? Pity them and go ahead.

**[Friday] November 10:** I went to Saint Paul Outside the Walls; this church is overwhelmingly beautiful. One can go into ecstasy at the

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<sup>46</sup> Father Norbert Loubry, professed religious of the Grand Chartreuse on June 16, 1833, born at Marseilles on August 6, 1807 and died on July 19, 1867 at the Carthusian monastery at Bosserville, near Nancy. The Carthusian house at Rome was near the church of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning this Father, Bishop Jeancard wrote: "Bishop de Mazenod told me, following his usual habits of intimate confidence: I really love Father Perrone, he is perfect in his simplicity, his truly natural ease, and lack of pretention." *Op. Cit.*, p. 288.

magnificence of its columns, marble works and paintings. The six columns of Egyptian alabaster, given to His Holiness Gregory XVI by the Viceroy of Egypt, are of inestimable worth. I was happy to see some preparations which tell me that the Pope has determined to consecrate this church during the unique event which will take place. He had spoken to me about it in the audience of October 30, as a plan which had been discouraged by those who told him that the flooring had not yet been completed; I allowed myself to encourage His Holiness to follow that plan, most worthy of him, without hesitating at the narrow vision of those people who insist on formalities and can not comprehend the greatness in a concept. I went as far as to place my hand on that of the Pope, in a sort of enthusiasm, inspired in me by this communication, so like my own manner of seeing things. Such a fortunate situation will not happen again. The Pope, surrounding himself with bishops from every corner of the earth, will consecrate this very renowned basilica, reconstructed by gifts from all of christianity. How sublime! I dared to tell the Holy Father also that, if God grants me life, as soon as my new cathedral had a roof, I will make haste to consecrate it, afraid of not having enough time, if I wait till it is completed. I would be very happy, if I have been able to contribute my reflections in strengthening the Holy Father in his beautiful plan. He deigned to add that he will have engraved on a large marble table the names of all the bishops who would be present at this solemn ceremony.

As I left Saint Paul's I went back to *Tre Fontane*, the place where the great apostle was martyred. There you can see three springs close together. Tradition holds that these springs started on the very places where Saint Paul's head bounced three times, when they decapitated the saint.

**November 11:** The Abbé de Geslin<sup>48</sup>, chaplain at the Angel Castle, invited me to say mass in the fort to administer the sacrament of Confirmation to some French soldier prisoners, and to give Holy Communion to the other military and civil prisoners, or very *uncivil*, since one of them put a knife to a French soldier.

**[Sunday 12]:** Today was Sunday 12, so I went *in fiocchi*<sup>49</sup> to the

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<sup>48</sup> Paul Alexandre de Geslin of Kersolon (1817-1888), a writer and journalist.

<sup>49</sup> In *fiocchi*: in ceremonial garb.

Angel Castle, and after a talk they had asked me to give those poor prisoners reconciled to God, I said holy mass at which they all received Communion. After that, I confirmed those who had prepared themselves for it, after I had addressed them again with some consoling and encouraging words. Among the communicants was a poor officer who will be degraded one of these days. Then I visited them in their cells, and gave the Abbé Geslin an offering to give them a treat today. We visited the whole fort, where you would not expect to find a very beautiful apartment, now occupied by the commanding officer. We climbed up to the very foot of Saint Michael the Archangel, a gigantic, bronze statue, that you can see from quite a distance. The Archangel is shown putting his sword back in its scabbard: that is to recall the vision had by Saint Gregory the Great, at the moment when, at the time of a great calamity, passing in procession at the head of his people in front of the castle, he saw the avenging angel sheathing his sword, and the plague stopped.

Finding myself so close to the Vatican, I took a carriage there. I had to see Cardinal Antonelli again and visit the prelates of the household of His Holiness, Monsignors Stella, Talbot, de Merode and Borromeo<sup>50</sup>. After that I had some more visits to make. I went to see Cardinals Savelli and Tosti<sup>51</sup>, who could not have been nicer to me. The latter, who is the soul of the great Saint Michael Conservatory<sup>52</sup>, wants me to spend a day with him, to show me all the interesting things in that large establishment. I went to the residences of Cardinals Brunelli and della Genga<sup>53</sup>, but did not find them home, nor Bishop Lucidi, Assessor of the Holy Office, and Bishop Bizzarri<sup>54</sup>, Secretary for Bishops and Regulars. I was luckier with my dear General de Pontevès, whom I

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<sup>50</sup> Bishop Borromeo was chamberlain. This Bishop de Merode was undoubtedly Francis Xavier Frederic de Merode, (1820-1874), named titular Bishop of Militene in 1863.

<sup>51</sup> Domenico Savelli (1792-1864), Cardinal in 1853, and Antonio Tosti (1776-1866), Cardinal since 1838.

<sup>52</sup> A building of 335 meters in length, near the Tiber at the *Portese* gate to the *Trastevere*. This building, constructed after 1676, was the centre for the main charitable works of Papal Rome, where there was a boarding place or orphanage where young people learned trades. Restored after the last war, this building now houses the Ministry for Cultural Affairs.

<sup>53</sup> Giovanni Brunelli (+1861), created Cardinal in 1853, and Gabriele Della Genga Sermattei, nephew of Leo XII, Cardinal in 1863.

<sup>54</sup> Giuseppe Andrea Bizzarri (+1877), will become Cardinal in 1863.

found home. I finished all my running around, as I often do, by coming to do my adoration in the church of Saint Sylvestre, entering by the house door. As I came home, I went to pay a short, friendly visit to Monsignor *Sacrista*<sup>55</sup> who stays in a wing of the same palace where I live. I wanted to know what I had to do tomorrow, to reply to the notice given me by Cardinal Scitovszky<sup>56</sup>, the Primate of Hungary, that he would be receiving people at the time of the giving of the red hat, which is to be bestowed on him after the consistory. I want to follow the proper procedure. It consists, first of all, in a ceremonial visit, which the Cardinal receives the cardinals, princes and all important people in official dress. For us bishops, in the morning we are to go in *mantelletta*<sup>57</sup>, and in the evening, in ordinary clothes, that is in violet soutane and long coat. That is for tomorrow; I do not know what will happen on the next day. They are making lighting preparations in the large Quirinal courtyard. The Cardinal was given rooms by the Pope, in the apartments below the clock; there is also supposed to be an orchestra in the square and lights in the whole area. I know that the public consistory where the Cardinal will receive the red hat will be on Thursday. I think I will attend it in my capacity as Bishop Assistant to the Throne.

Just now, someone has handed me a beautiful letter from the religious women of Bogota, written in Spanish, to compliment and thank me for what I did for their venerable deceased Archbishop Mosquera<sup>58</sup>. I would never have dreamt of receiving so many expressions of gratitude for having carried out, as I did, a simple duty of respect and veneration for that confessor of the faith, who came to end his days in my episcopal city. I made a mistake: it is not from the religious women of only one convent, but from the superiors of all the convents in Bogota who have written to me.

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<sup>55</sup> Bishop de Mazenod often spoke, in 1854, about Monsignor Sacrista, without ever giving his name. Often this name of a function was interpreted as a personal name. It is Bishop Giuseppe Maria Castellani, O.S.A. (1798-1854), Bishop of Porphyri and then sacristan of His Holiness.

<sup>56</sup> Archbishop Jean Scitovszky of Esztergom in Hungary, created Cardinal on November 16, 1854.

<sup>57</sup> In cape.

<sup>58</sup> Bishop Emmanuel Joseph Mosquera of Santa Fe of Bogota, banished from the Republic of Colombia, whose brother, General Mosquera, had been the President, had died on his stopover in Marseilles, on December 10, 1853. Bishop de Mazenod gave him a solemn funeral service, with the funeral oration pronounced by Father Charles Baret O.M.I.

[**Monday, 13**]: I have just visited his Eminence Cardinal Scitovszky for the first time, with my faithful companion, Monsignor *Sacrista*. This morning, all the cardinals and Roman princes sent their servants to compliment him, who arrived with great pomp, sword at the side and elegant silk mantle over the shoulder, in their patrons' ceremonial coaches. They were announced in a loud voice, first in the first waiting room, then in the second, and for the third time in the reception room. The chamberlain came in front of the person announced to present him by name to the Cardinal, who came to receive him at the doorstep where he was standing. They did the same for the prelates and bishops. That is what they did for Monsignor *Sacrista* and myself. The Cardinal welcomed us with dignity; he spoke only Latin. We each congratulated him in that language: we pronounced the *congratulator* effusively. His Eminence took a seat among us during the short intervals between one presentation and the next; we did not stay long before saying farewell to make room for others.

This evening, I did not miss attending the grand *ricevimento*<sup>59</sup>, knowing beforehand that I would find myself amidst all of the outstanding people in Rome. What impressed me the most was to meet so many bishops from all over the world. As for France, apart from the two Cardinals Mathieu<sup>60</sup> and Gousset, I was the only Bishop representing our episcopate, Archbishops of Baltimore and New York, and the Bishops of Pittsburgh and Buffalo were there from the United States<sup>61</sup>; Cardinal Wiseman, the Bishop of Beverley and another Bishop from England<sup>62</sup>; the Archbishop of Dublin, the one from Armagh, the one from Tuam and some other Bishops from Ireland<sup>63</sup>; the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, the Bishop of Namur and the one from Tournai

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<sup>59</sup> Reception.

<sup>60</sup> Archbishop Jacques M.A. Cesar Mathieu of Besançon from 1834 to 1875.

<sup>61</sup> Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore from 1851 to 1863, Archbishop John Joseph Hughes of New York from 1837 to 1864, Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh (Bishop de Mazenod wrote: Plattsburg) from 1853 to 1866 and Bishop Jean Timon of Buffalo from 1847 to 1867.

<sup>62</sup> Archbishop Nicholas Patrick Wiseman of Westminster (1802-1865) and Bishop John Briggs of Beverley from 1850 to 1860.

<sup>63</sup> Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin from 1852 to 1878, Archbishop Joseph Dixon of Armagh from 1852 to 1866, and Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam from 1834 to 1881.

for Belgium<sup>64</sup>. There was also the Archbishop of Vienna, the Archbishop of Munich<sup>65</sup>, the Archbishop of Turin, the one from Cagliari, the one from Genoa<sup>66</sup>, the Bishops of Annecy and Lausanne<sup>67</sup> and I do not know how many others. After exchanging a few words with the cardinals, bishops and prelates that I knew, I left and came back to my apartments.

**[Monday] November 13:** In the morning of [Monday] 13, I went to return a visit that Cardinal Mathieu was kind enough to pay me to bring some letters they had given him for me from Marseilles; I went up briefly to the Trinità dei Monti to see the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. From there, I went to the home of Cardinal Della Genga who received me kindly as usual and with an open heart, which reminds me of the goodness of his holy uncle, Pope Leo XII. After dinner, Colonel Caramelli came to take me in his carriage to go and see a newly invented oven. It is heated without wood or coal, but by a simple combustion of clay earth treated with certain chemical ingredients. It takes only twenty-five minutes to bake a batch of bread. The furnace which heats the oven gives off an even heat for thirty hours and costs only 60 centimes of fuel during that time. You can make fifty batches of bread in twenty-four hours. The inventor, whose name I do not know, is a Breton, very pleasant and modest; he is very pleased with the protection which he readily obtained here, after the Academy had studied his system and carefully followed how it works.

When I returned home, I had a visit from a master of ceremonies, in violet soutane and coat. His Eminence, the Cardinal Archpriest of Saint Peter's had sent him to me, as to all of the bishops present in Rome, to invite us to attend the services that will take place at Saint

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<sup>64</sup> Cardinal Archbishop Engelbert Sterckx of Malines from 1832 to 1867, Bishop Nicholas Joseph Dehesselle of Namur from 1836 to 1865, and Bishop Gaspar Joseph Labis of Tournai from 1835 to 1872.

<sup>65</sup> Archbishop Joseph Otmar von Rausher of Vienna from 1853 to 1876, Archbishop Charles Auguste von Reisach of Munich from 1841 to 1856.

<sup>66</sup> Archbishop Luigi Fransoni of Turin from 1832 to 1862, Archbishop Giovanni Emmanuel Marongiu Nurra of Cagliari from 1842 to 1862, and Archbishop Andrea Charvaz of Genoa from 1852 to 1870.

<sup>67</sup> Bishop Louis Rendu of Annecy from 1843 to 1859 and Bishop Etienne Marilley of Lausanne from 1846 to 1879.

Peter's on the anniversary of the consecration of the basilica. We are invited to go to both first and second vespers, as well as to the high mass where the Pope and cardinals will attend. An hour later, Bishop Lucidi, Assessor to the Holy Office and Canon of Saint Peter's, came to visit me, first on his own behalf, and then to tell me that he had been sent by his Eminence the Cardinal Archpriest to invite me to officiate pontifically at the first vespers which will be chanted, this year, at the Papal Altar, since the canons' choir could not hold all the invited prelates. So, on Friday at two o'clock in the afternoon, I will go to the sacristy in Saint Peter's for that ceremony. The Fathers from Saint Bonaventure's *Ritiro* came, on their own behalf, to invite me to go and say mass in their church at the altar under which reposes the Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice, on his feastday, Sunday, 26 of this month.

**[Tuesday, November 14]:** What a boring event I just experienced in accepting an invitation the Jesuit Fathers came to give me! I attended the distribution of prizes at the Roman College, which was held in the Church of Saint Ignatius. This exercise, presided by Cardinal Caterini, was even more distressing than our distribution of prizes at colleges and minor seminaries. There are at least a thousand students who compete for these prizes, consisting of medals, distributed to them as we distribute books at home. It could not be more boring. To make matters worse, a driving rain greeted us as we left and made very miserable the visit I had to pay to Cardinal Mattei to thank him for his invitation. He was very kind to me and kept me for a very long time.

**[Thursday] November 16:** I have just returned from attending the public consistory where the Pope gave the red hat to the new Cardinal Primate of Hungary. I had gone to the Vatican with my faithful Monsignor Sacrista. We went up to the hall where the Pope was to vest. I took off my *mantelletta* and put on the *cappa*<sup>68</sup>. I was once again among a good number of other Bishops Assistants to the Throne. The Archbishop of Milan<sup>69</sup> wanted to know the name and diocese of each Bishop Assistant. When he heard Marseilles, he felt obliged to pay me the kindest possible compliments. The Pope came in and vested, taking off his *mozzetta* and putting on cope and mitre, and went to the Consistory hall, where all the cardinals were waiting for him. The

<sup>68</sup> The cope.

<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Bartolomeo Romilli of Milan from 1847 to 1859.



Bishops Assistant followed him, and we took our places to left and right, around him. A consistorial lawyer, surrounded by his co-workers, took his place at the foot of the steps and began to plead the cause of a woman servant of God. At the command of the Chief Master of Ceremonies, the lawyer stopped to allow the prescribed rite to proceed, and continued his talk when they called him back. Two Cardinal Deacons went to get their fellow brother and led him in front of the Pope. He made three bows, at equal distance, as he came up the hall; then, he came to kneel at the Pope's feet, to kiss first of all his foot, then his hand; finally, the Pope got up to embrace him. After that, the Cardinal went to give the accolade to all the other cardinals, beginning with the Dean, the venerable Cardinal Macchi<sup>70</sup>, who, it seems to me, has aged a great deal; he is eighty-six. After the accolade, Cardinal Scitovszky was led back before the Pope, who placed the red hat on his head, pronouncing a prayer formula in which he reminded him that he promised to defend to the blood, *usque ad effusionem sanguinis inclusive*, the rights of the Church; he embraced him again. The Pope, preceded by his court and followed by the Bishops Assistant, retired, while the cardinals processed to the Sistine Chapel singing the *Te Deum*; the Cardinal Dean said the prayer, and then they went to the papal apartments for the secret consistory.

After the new Cardinal had received his title and ring in the secret consistory, he had to fulfill during the day certain duties imposed on him. He had to pray at Saint Peter's and pay a solemn visit to the Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College; in the evening, after he returned home, he had to wait in his apartments till, with all pomp, they brought him the red hat, that the Pope had placed on his head during the Public consistory this morning. While waiting, the salons, brightened à *giorno*<sup>71</sup> by hundreds of vigil lights, filled up with cardinals, prelates, princes and princesses, and some other people. People chatted a long time before this red hat arrived. Having left Saint Peter's half-an-hour after the *Angelus*, it had to make the trip at a horse's pace; I did not see it during the traveling, it was undoubtedly surrounded by footservants in their attire, carrying torches in their hands. Once they arrived at the Cardinal's home, the private Chamberlain, who has been entrusted to

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<sup>70</sup> Vincenzo Macchi (+1860), made Cardinal in 1826.

<sup>71</sup> Like broad daylight.

hand it to him, gravely crossed the apartments till he got to the throne room where there was, under a canopy, a portrait of the reigning Pope. The armchair, which no one ever sits in and so is usually facing the wall, was this time used by the Cardinal, who sat down in it to listen to the laudatory allocution which the Lord private Chamberlain addressed to him. At that time, the throne room was filled with cardinals, prelates and a crowd of other people. After the private Chamberlain's speech was ended, the new Cardinal, remaining seated, replied to it. Since Cardinal Scitovszky does not speak Italian or French, he gave his talk in Latin. He modestly replied to the pompous praises in the speech he just heard; he briefly complimented the orator, the cardinals and prelates from all over the world who, by the circumstance in which he saw himself fortunate, were all together at Rome, and the gathering was terminated.

We went into other rooms to chat and take refreshments. There I met Cardinal Baluffi, Cardinal Brunelli and the Capuchin Cardinal whom I had not found at home<sup>72</sup>. Cardinal Baluffi was charming and delighted in recalling the welcome I had given him when he passed through Marseilles; the Capuchin Cardinal, who portrays holiness in his venerable face, did not forget to thank me for the support I have always given his Order in my diocese. I also had long talks with Cardinals Caterini and Savelli. At last I left, after I had greeted several newly-arrived bishops, especially the good Bishop of Montreal, who landed this very morning<sup>73</sup>. I had only the Quirinal courtyard to cross in order to get home; I returned, not at all enthralled by the pompous ceremony I had just witnessed. The Lord gave me the grace to see the vanity of everything that happened before my eyes. I compared those thoughts and feelings to the thoughts and feelings that filled my soul with consolation during the visit I made three days ago to the Saint Bonaventure *ritiro*. During that visit, I prayed as fervently as possible, in the cell and in the very place where the Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice rendered his holy soul to God. I scarcely was able to tear myself away from that holy place, whereas I longed to get away from the fine halls of the

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<sup>72</sup> Gaetano Baluffi (+1866). The Capuchin Cardinal was G. Recanati, named Cardinal in 1853.

<sup>73</sup> Bishop Ignace Bourget (1799-1885) of Montreal from 1840 to 1876.

Quirinal. I am taking away with me the newly printed writings of the Blessed and some small pieces of his relics.

**[Friday, November 17]:** I am returning from Saint Peter's where I just officiated pontifically at vespers. I can not thank enough the Cardinal Archpriest and the canons for the honor they bestowed on me and the happiness they obtained for me. There were about thirty bishops at the ceremony and even more in the city. The presence of so great a number of bishops made them decide to hold the Office in the choir of the basilica instead of in the canon's chapel. The celebration could not have been more solemn. So, I ascended the papal altar to incense it, as well as the relics which were placed on the steps. From this altar, I gave the solemn blessing at the end of vespers. The attendance was most imposing; you could see the Cardinal Archpriest, about thirty bishops in rochet and *mantelletta*, the entire chapter of Saint Peter's in *cappa*, the lower clergy, those with benefices, chaplains and young clerics<sup>74</sup>. It was ravishing, even the more so since the ceremonies were carried out with remarkable exactitude, precision and gravity. At the *Magnificat*, the main celebrant, accompanied by his two assistants and four choristers in cope, preceded by mace bearers and altar officials, and followed by six or eight canons, who came from the choir, went to incense the Blessed Sacrament altar. From there they went to the Confession of Saint Peter and down the beautiful stairway under the main altar. You can easily imagine the emotion a person feels, when he is face to face with this tomb which contains the precious relics of the great apostle, chosen by Our Lord Jesus Christ to be the cornerstone of his Church. With what respect I genuflected as the ceremonial prescribes! With what sweet emotion did I incense three times those venerable remains which seem to inspire love for Jesus, as did the fervent soul that animated them to such a high degree. I ruminated on these thoughts and sentiments during the whole *Magnificat*, and thanks be to God, it was long enough to give ample time to incense the many people in the choir. I noticed here, as at Saint John Lateran, that the organ plays during the entire incens-

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<sup>74</sup> Rey wrote: "young clerics, two orchestras of chosen musicians".

ing, between the last verse of the *Magnificat* and the *Gloria Patri*, that they sing only after the incensing is completed. I was not thinking only of myself during those delightful moments, but held very close to my heart everyone who has a right to be remembered by me, and I begged for them the same graces that I asked for myself<sup>75</sup>.

**[Saturday, 18]:** I am still filled with emotions from the magnificent ceremony that I just attended at Saint Peter's<sup>76</sup>. My heart is bursting with Catholicism, if I may express myself in that manner. Forty bishops from every country, gathered in the immense choir of Saint Peter's, presiding over them the Church's head, Successor of this Prince of the Apostles, on whose tomb, one of our own, a Hungarian Bishop, solemnly celebrated the holy mysteries, with the same rite, hymns and ceremonies that we all use in our respective dioceses, separated from one another by such a great distance. That peace, coming from the altar and infiltrating through the most tender kiss of fraternal love to all those prelates, overjoyed to be together in such a holy place and in such a circumstance, all of them from the extremities of the earth as from regions more or less near, at the simple invitation of their beloved head, to concur with him in the solemn glorification of the Immaculate Virgin, God's holy mother and our own, and mine especially. It was ravishing!

As they left the service, the Pope and all the bishops stopped and knelt down in the middle of the great nave of the basilica, to venerate

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<sup>75</sup> Here is the description that Bishop Jeancard gave (*op. cit.*, pp. 275-281): of this "extremely imposing solemnity", in which his affection for Bishop de Mazenod shines forth. He begins by saying that "more than two hundred bishops were in the choir". "On his elevated seat and under all his glittering vestments with rich golden borders, our Prelate was magnificently dignified by his entire person and the religious gravity of his physiognomy. I set myself to considering him in this situation with a filial and somewhat naive pleasure. I was more than a little proud, seeing him honored in that way. But at the *Magnificat*, when I saw him, surrounded with his assistants, followed by eight canons in cope, and by twelve canons in *cappa magna*, advancing in procession, with a mitre on his head, in the basilica's large nave, to go and incense the Blessed Sacrament altar, and from there to Saint Peter's tomb, I was taken with an idea which raised my momentary preoccupations to the highest level. I saw not just a simple celebrant carrying out, in the customary manner, a church ceremony; but in that pomp of divine cult, in that most beautiful temple in the world ... I saw, no longer the Bishop of Marseilles, replacing for an hour the Supreme Pontiff, but in him I saw an angel, one of those closest to God..." etc. We can easily distinguish the difference between this grandiose eloquence of Bishop Jeancard and the Founder's more direct style.

<sup>76</sup> The mass of the feast of the Dedication of Saint Peter's basilica.

the holy relics, that a Canon, accompanied by several acolytes, showed us in turn from the top of the gallery at the left of the sanctuary. Those attending were alerted of the arrival of the holy relics by the musical, penetrating tinkling of two interior bells which, if I can judge by what I experienced, have the power to inspire recollection and attention. When those holy relics were displayed, a profound silence reigned in that vast church; impossible to describe the emotion that I felt, and which undoubtedly others felt as I did. I had to get out my handkerchief to wipe away the tears flowing from my eyes. I left, promising myself to come back and pray in this holy place, at the feast's second vespers. I will have time only to eat dinner at home and get back to Saint Peter's by half-past two.

Today's vespers were again very solemn as they were yesterday. The Archbishop of Vienna<sup>77</sup> led the Pontifical service as I had for the eve. There were far fewer bishops present; but since it is the custom of the Cardinal Archpriests of basilicas to invite the other cardinals, who always come, these Eminences made it a duty to attend. There were a great number of them, arranged on one side of the choir and we, opposite, facing them.

**[Sunday, 19]:** Today, the Cardinal Secretary of State gathered about forty cardinals and bishops for a solemn banquet at the Vatican. He will, no doubt, invite the others on another day. I did not waste any time this morning; I went at least three times to see Bishop Pacifici<sup>78</sup>, secretary of the assembly of bishops and final editor of the Bull, to have him add a document to the notes which recall the Apostolic Decrees proving the teaching of the Holy See on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Far from finding me indiscreet, Bishop Pacifici warmly thanked me for my efforts; he said he had been looking for exactly what I had just brought him, that he had requested information from a well-known person as to the dates of the Apostolic letters that I had talked to him about, but he had not been successful; he was very pleased that I furnished him the means of making up the missing elements; they were the Apostolic letters of Leo XII, instituting and approving the Congregation of Missionaries of Mary Immaculate, that

<sup>77</sup> J.O. von Rausher, *v. supra*, note 65.

<sup>78</sup> Luca Pacifici, Secretary for Latin letters.

is, as the letters express it, *sine labe originali concepta*. I also presented him with the Apostolic letters of Gregory XVI and Pius IX, confirming this same Congregation. Bishop Pacifici was very glad that I gave him a copy of our holy rules as a gift; I was pleased to do so. I really hope that we will have the consolation of reading in the notes of the Bull the citation of the Apostolic Letters which confirmed us, as proof of the constant teaching of the Roman Church on the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Mother, the Most Holy Virgin Mary<sup>79</sup>. I hurried to visit the cardinals I had to see: I have already visited Cardinals Patrizi, Della Genga, Caterini, Marini, Tosti, Fransoni, Ferretti, Antonelli, Baluffi, Brunelli, Mattei. I must still see Cardinals Altieri, Cagiano, De Angelis, Lucciardi, Ugolini and Macchi, Riario the uncle, and Archbishop Riario of Naples<sup>80</sup>. I had also visited Cardinals Recanati<sup>81</sup>, Wiseman, Gousset, Mathieu, Savelli and Cardinal Scitovszky, Primate of Hungary, who received the red hat last Saturday. I also left my card at the home of Princess Borghese<sup>82</sup>, recently arrived from France, remembering that she had come to see me when passing through Marseilles, and that she and her family had treated me very kindly during my last trip to Rome. There is nothing so disagreeable as meeting these important people in halls on reception days, before having done the politeness of visiting those whom one knows, which it is perfectly in order to do, as even civility recommends.

[Monday] The 20 was the day set for the first meeting of cardinals and bishops, which was to take place at the Vatican; the assembly, in fact, took place at the time and place indicated. His Eminence Cardinal

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<sup>79</sup> This wish of the Founder was heard implicitly. The dogmatic Bull made mention of the confraternities, congregations, and religious societies established in honor of the Immaculate Conception, cf. Emile Hoffer, O.M.I., *Mgr. C.J. Eugène de Mazenod... et la définition du dogme de l'Immaculée Conception*. Liège, 1904, pp. 53-54. (*Missions OMI*, 1904, pp. 285-286).

<sup>80</sup> Cardinals Luigi Altieri (+1867), Ottavio Cagiano de Azevedo (+1867), at that time Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, Filippo De Angelis (+1877), Domenico Luciardi (+1864), Tommaso Riario Sforza (1782-1857), Cardinal in 1822, uncle of Sisto Riario Sforza (+1877), Archbishop of Naples. Bishop de Mazenod had already met Cardinal Ugolini at the start of his stay in Rome (v. *supra*, note 40) and Cardinal Macchi on November 16 (v. *supra*, note 70).

<sup>81</sup> Giusto Recanati (+1861).

<sup>82</sup> Guendalaine Talbot de Shrewsbury, wife of Marcantonio Borghese. Born in Paris in 1814, the latter was a friend of Gregory XVI and Pius IX.

Brunelli presided, assisted by their Eminences Cardinals Caterini and Santucci<sup>83</sup>. Once the cardinals had entered, the bishops took their places to left and right, following the rank of their promotion. The Patriarch of Alexandria<sup>84</sup> was first on the right bench; archbishops followed, according to their rank, facing each other. Bishops occupied two other rows of benches, behind the first ones where the archbishops had been stationed. I had the doubtful privilege of being third on the right, having before me only the Bishop of Policastro, consecrated in 1819, and the Bishop of Faenza, consecrated the same year as I, but in July, while I had been in October<sup>85</sup>. Alas! Only Bishop Cardelli, Archbishop Minucci of Florence and Bishop Fransoni were consecrated before me<sup>86</sup>. I counted after us thirty archbishops and fifty-three bishops to whose youth will be joined the new-comers, such as the Bishops of Amiens, of Orleans<sup>87</sup>, and all the French bishops who may arrive, since in France, we have among the bishops only those of Châlons and Vannes, and among the archbishops only those of Lyons and Bourges, who are my seniors by consecration<sup>88</sup>.

I come back to our assembly. The three cardinals were stationed in armchairs at one end of the Consistorial hall, facing the assembly; to their right was the table for two prelate secretaries, to their left, seated

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<sup>83</sup> Vincenzo Santucci (1796-1861), made Cardinal in 1853.

<sup>84</sup> D.A. Foscolo (+1860), Patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt from 1847 to 1860.

<sup>85</sup> Bishop Nicola Maria Laudisio of Policastro from 1824 to 1862, Bishop Giovanni Benedetto Folicaldi of Faenza from 1832 to 1867. There was an older bishop than he, who took part in the ceremonies of the definition of the dogma, then at the consecration of Saint Paul's basilica, Bishop Francesco Maria Barzelotti of Sovana and Pitigliano from 1832 to 1861, whose name comes before Bishop de Mazenod on the marble plaques in Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's.

<sup>86</sup> Archbishops consecrated before him: Archbishop Luigi Maria Cardelli of Smyrna from 1818 to 1832, and Archbishop-Bishop of Achridan in Bulgaria from 1832 to 1868, Archbishop Ferdinando Minucci of Florence from 1828 to 1856 and Archbishop Luigi Fransoni of Turin from 1832 to 1862.

<sup>87</sup> Bishop Louis Antoine de Salinis of Amiens from 1849 to 1856, and Bishop A.F. Philibert Dupanloup of Orleans from 1849 to 1878.

<sup>88</sup> Bishop J.M.F. Victor de Monyer de Prilly of Châlons from 1823 to 1860, Bishop Charles Jean La Motte de Broons de Vauvert of Vannes from 1827 to 1860, Archbishop Louis Jacques de Bonald of Lyons from 1840 to 1870 and Archbishop J.M.A. Celestin Dupont of Bourges from 1842 to 1859. At the latter's death, Napoleon III proposed Bishop de Mazenod for the cardinalate.

on a stool, was the Prelate Chief Master of Ceremonies. In the other end of the hall were placed the prelates and theologians, who had elaborated all the work and who were there to reply to observations or objections that the bishops were invited to make very freely on the wording of the Bull, but not on the substance nor opportuness of the question. His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary was careful to recall this in a Latin discourse, very well thought out and perfectly delivered, at the beginning of the session, after the entire assembly had recited the *Veni Creator*, in which the Cardinal alternated the verses with us and then said the prayer. I was surprised they did not add an intercessory prayer to the Blessed Virgin; it was not up to me to suggest it, nor to mention that it would be edifying, when they rang the *Angelus*, for all of us to kneel down and recite it. After the Cardinal had completed his talk, he had the Bull, of which each of us had a copy in our hands, read by a prelate secretary, very clearly; as the Cardinal President had announced, the reader stopped after every paragraph to make it easy for anyone, who wished to make observations, to do so. And several bishops did make presentations on it<sup>89</sup>. They were answered by some theologians from the commission. All in all, I did not think there was any great reason to bring up these difficulties that the theologians easily solved. They did so with exceptionally fluent eloquence and strength of reason. Thus the session lasted until one in the afternoon.

**[Tuesday] 21:** During today's session, several American, English and Irish bishops presented some more observations. They drew magnificent replies from Fathers Passaglia<sup>90</sup> and Perrone, who spoke admirably (but who did not keep the counter-replies for us... The Cardinal President ended by proposing that those who agreed with those bishops should stand up. They were almost the only ones)<sup>91</sup>.

Yesterday I noted that His Eminence, the Cardinal President limited

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<sup>89</sup> Rey adds here: "Several bishops gave themselves that pleasure, among others a French Bishop. Father Passaglia was assigned to reply to him. He did it magnificently and the Prelate's reply had no success... It was the same for observations presented by archbishops and bishops from Protestant countries, on certain expressions they feared might shock heretics..."

<sup>90</sup> Carlo Passaglia (1812-1887), Jesuit from 1827 to 1854, at that time dogma professor at the Roman College.

<sup>91</sup> Rey II, p. 516.



himself to invoking the Holy Spirit during the recitation of the *Veni Creator* in choir with the Bishops' assembly; I was disturbed that he had not thought of placing himself and us under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The idea of proposing that he repair this forgetfulness pursued me throughout the day, and this morning, during my thanksgiving, I felt even more strongly prompted to carry out my plan.

So, when I arrived at the meeting, I waited for the cardinals to come in, and when they did, I asked Bishop Barnabò to speak for me. My suggestion was immediately accepted. But that was not the only thing that disturbed me during the session yesterday: the large clock of Saint Peter's rang at noon, to invite people to recite the *Angelus*, and the meeting continued without interruption. I had told myself also to propose to the Cardinal President to render this homage to the Mother of God, in whose honor we had gathered<sup>92</sup>. I dared to ask His Eminence privately for this as well, who very gladly accepted my suggestion. After the *Veni Creator*, the Cardinal was not satisfied in having us say the *Ave Maria* once, but had us say it three times; likewise, when they rang the *Angelus*, he stopped the meeting and knelt down to recite it.

**[Wednesday], 22:** Several French bishops have arrived. I saw the Bishops of Grenoble, Amiens, Blois, and the Archbishop of Avignon<sup>93</sup>; the Bishop of Blois told me that we would be about twenty from France; I would be very pleased with that. We had a session today and will have another tomorrow.

**[Thursday], 23:** Several observations were made yesterday and today on some passages of the Bull. They were, as in previous sessions, completely resolved by the commission's theologian. (The session had begun with a talk by a French bishop who insisted on nothing less than an entirely new draft of the Bull, to simplify it, etc. That is easy to say. If it took more than two years to compose it as it is, how much more would it take to do it again? That was really ludicrous! Someone made

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<sup>92</sup> Rey (II, p. 516) adds here: "The success of my first request gave me hope of succeeding a second time and since there was no time to lose, I addressed myself directly to His Eminence and that caused no problem. And at the very moment he started the *Veni Creator*, and after the prayer, the Cardinal was not satisfied with, etc.

<sup>93</sup> Bishop J.M. Archille Ginoulhiac of Grenoble from 1853 to 1870, Bishop L.A. de Salinis of Amiens (v. *supra*, note 70), Bishop Louis Theophile du Pallu du Parc of Blois from 1851 to 1877 and Archbishop J.-M. Mathias Debelay of Avignon from 1848 to 1863.

a few reflections on the authenticity of certain texts: the theologians replied to him in a satisfactory manner. But the archbishops from Protestant countries renewed their demands for a short definition, imperative, but bereft of all those affirmative texts and witnesses, which could give rise to contestations, etc. That attack provoked an admirable response from Father Passaglia. Father Perrone was also asked to respond to certain other observations which he did in his usual talented and fiery manner. The session lasted until half-past one)<sup>94</sup>.

**[Friday], the 24<sup>th</sup>**: Today's session was the last one. As the preceding ones, it was marked by some observations of details, immediately resolved. It closed with an explosion of Catholic feeling by which all the bishops present manifested their respect and devotion for the Holy See and the person of the Holy Father. The Cardinal President was moved to tears. I would have liked to have made a proposal which certainly would have been gladly adopted; but I was deterred by an insurmountable timidity, as well as perhaps by the fear of not expressing myself that well in Latin, unaccustomed to it as I thereto am. I was able to judge the difficulty by the way that most of the others spoke it when they did speak. To ease my conscience (and to express an opinion contrary to that of Cardinal Gousset)<sup>96</sup>, I felt obliged to send a letter to the Holy Father, which I will write out here in full:

*Most Holy Father,*

*Still deeply moved by the pious manifestation which marked the end of our episcopal meetings this morning, in which I wholeheartedly concurred, I regret not having dared to propose to all the bishops present, to go together and lay at the feet of Your Holiness the expression of our tender devotion, as well as the respectful confidence with which we await the definitive word of Saint Peter's Successor.*

*However, since in our assembly yesterday a voice was heard requesting that the project of the Bull, presented to us at your command,*

<sup>94</sup> Rey (II, pp. 516-517) added the paragraph in parenthesis.

<sup>95</sup> Father Hoffet added interesting details on the session of the 24th (*Missions OMI* 1904, pp. 293-294), details he took from the work of Bishop J.B. Malou of Bruges, *L'Immaculée Conception de la bienheureuse vierge Marie considérée comme dogme de foi*, Bruxelles, 1857 edition, vol. II, pp. 367 and following.

<sup>96</sup> Rey II, 517.

*be entirely reworked, and since that proposal, written by one of my brother bishops, must have been placed under the eyes of Your Holiness, I feel a strong inner compulsion to reject, for my part, that proposal and to beg you to not to waver at the reasons given for it.*

*If I am not mistaken, it arises from the idea of a small number of those who have, from the beginning, seemed to want to limit the full weight of your decision.*

*Your wisdom, assisted from on High, will do justice, Most Holy Father, to that opinion which did not impress the assembled bishops one bit, as someone must have reported to you. As for myself, I see it as unfortunate since, if it were to prevail, grave consequences would follow. The decision, so ardently desired by both pastors and people, would somehow be weakened, since it would not be introduced by that magnificent exposition that we read in the draft of the Bull, and it would not be motivated by the traditional authorities quoted there, nor likewise include a rather explicit interpretation of Scripture texts, which ought to be noted as containing the defined belief. Besides that, someday people might say that they came from across the seas and over the mountains, not only to propose observations on the details (which it seems to me to be the only thing allowed) but also to rework, in the entire editing, the Roman Church itself, or at least her most eminent theologians, bringing in another language, and teaching it, in a word, how to write Bulls.*

*That would be intolerable for people like myself, who have at heart the honor of the Church, Mother and Teacher; I am the least of the bishops, but am too attached to this holy Church not to have a very great susceptibility relative to whatever, especially in this instance, would not contribute, in the fullest manner, to the accomplishment of your sublime thoughts, to increase on earth the glory of the Most Holy Virgin and promote devotion to her.*

*Your paternal indulgence, Most Holy Father, will thus deign to excuse my zealous indiscretion and allow me to express my desire that everything come from Rome, as from the Holy See, both the essence and manner of wording, in the decision that the Holy Spirit will place on your sacred lips.*

*Please accept, Most Holy Father, the homage of religious devotion with which I place myself at your feet to beg Your Apostolic Blessing.*

*I am, Most Holy Father, the very devoted son of Your Holiness,*

*Ch. Joseph Eugene, Bishop of Marseilles.*

**[Saturday, 25]:** Bishop Barnabò, whom I saw today to hand him the letter I addressed to the Pope, greatly expressed his regret that I did not follow my inspiration, when I was moved to provoke that beautiful manifestation to go and bring, all of us as a group, the homage of our sentiments to the Holy Father. The good Lord did not allow it. (That initiative would have gained me too much honor)<sup>97</sup>.

**[Sunday, 26]:** Cardinal Baluffi just left my place: I do not have to say how kind he was to me during his long visit: what I want to note here is that he confirmed what I knew but with fewer details. It is concerning Our Lady of Ancona. The Cardinal comes from that region; since I was talking to him about a special favor I thought I received after invoking her during my stopover in that city<sup>98</sup>, he told me that Bonaparte actually had the miraculous image brought, already despoiled of its jewels. A lawyer, a revolutionary leader in that area, had boldly told him that the miracle of the movement of the eyes could no longer be denied, since it was attested to by more than 70,000 people, who had witnessed it. The General had placed it in the dining room opposite him; he had invited to dinner the two Canons who had brought the image. They served soup; while he was eating, the General raised his eyes to the painting and was struck by what he saw; he briskly lowered his head and continued eating. A second time, he glanced at the image, was again disturbed, and could not hide the fact. Finally, a third time, what he saw moved him so violently that he left the table without finishing the meal, and everyone with him at the same time. Bonaparte was clearly distressed and, with a truly remarkable determination of action, ordered that all the jewels that had been taken away be immediately returned, gave the miraculous image back to the Canons, commanding

<sup>97</sup> Rey (II, 518).

<sup>98</sup> Bishop de Mazenod never mentioned in his writings his visit to Ancona, but certainly passed through there after leaving Loretto on Tuesday, May 9, 1826 (Cf. *Oblate Writings* 7, pp. 93-95). In his papers, (General Archives, DM II 7), we have a copy of a letter from Cavalier Nappi to the Abbé Canonici, dated from Ancona on June 26, 1796, in which he recounts this miracle of the eyes of the Madonna in San Ciriaco cathedral. This prodigy of the eyes took place on June 25 when the faithful came crowding into the church after learning that French troops were going to take possession of Ancona and the Papal States. The future Emperor Napoleon entered Ancona in February 1797 and asked to see that image which he however had put back to its place, directing that it be covered, cf. *I mille santuari mariani d'Italia*, 1960, p. 395.

them to cover it, so that such an evident miracle not be exposed to the indiscrete curiosity of the crowds; even though he recognized the miracle, he did not want to thank God for it. The Canons, very pleased to be able to replace the precious painting in their cathedral, obeyed the General's orders.

[**Monday**], 27: I began my day by going to say holy mass in the room where Saints Ignatius and Francis Borgia died, after having lived in it during their holy generalate. In this room Saints Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka were received into the Company of Jesus. It was there that Saint Philip Neri, and undoubtedly other saints during that time rich in saints, must have come to visit the two Generals and converse with them. After it was transformed into a chapel, Saints Charles and Francis de Sales came there to celebrate holy mass, on the same altar; where I myself also had the joy of celebrating the holy sacrifice. I always pray in that holy place with a profound sense of devotion; I can not forget the favor I received during my first trip to Rome, when I had so great need of protection from all the saints that I went to invoke in each of their shrines. What a mass that was! I can count only four or five in my life when I experienced that sort of grace; one does not ask for it, but when you receive it, you are overcome and give thanks with a deep sense of gratitude<sup>99</sup>.

Since Cardinal de Bonald had finally arrived, I went to see him. Without the letter I had written to him, he told me he would not have come.

(Two more *ricevimenti* for cardinals, one at the Quirinal, for the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon<sup>100</sup>, the other at the Spanish Embassy for the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo)<sup>101</sup>.

This morning I went to the Propaganda: there I saw His Eminence

<sup>99</sup>The Founder had celebrated mass at the same place on March 4, 1826. In his diary on that day he wrote simply: "I had that consolation today ... "I had the good fortune of saying mass ..."

<sup>100</sup>Patriarch Guillaume Henriques de Carvalho of Lisbon from 1845 to 1857, made Cardinal in 1846; he received the red hat only on November 30, 1854.

<sup>101</sup>Rey II, p. 519. The Archbishop of Toledo from 1847 to 1857 was Archbishop Jean Joseph Bonel y Orbe. He received the cardinal's red hat on November 30, 1854.

Cardinal Frasoni and gave him a letter from Father Semeria. We had a long talk about the Ceylon mission and I was happy to learn what dispositions people at the Propaganda had in regard to our missionaries who work on that island. At the *ricevimento* for the Patriarch of Lisbon I met dear Cardinal Falconieri<sup>102</sup>, the only survivor of my three consecrators; we would not have recognized each other, since it will soon be twenty-three years since we saw each other. Our meeting, in the midst of that great crowd, was most touching. I could not leave him; it was like two friends meeting after a long absence. We promised each other to meet again; I will not miss going to look for him tomorrow, when I go out to pay several visits.

(Prince Joseph Bonaparte came to invite me to attend a service to be held for his mother on Wednesday 29, at the church of Saint Mary *in via lata*)<sup>103</sup>.

**[Tuesday 28]:** What a day of visiting today! I went to see Cardinals Ferretti, Della Genga, Falconieri, Cagiano, De Angelis, de Bonald, Gousset, the Princes Borghese and Torlonia<sup>104</sup>, and the Bishops of Bruges, Valence and Orleans<sup>105</sup>. This evening at the *ricevimento* for the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo (I met the Archbishop of Utrecht and a Dutch Bishop, his suffragan<sup>106</sup>, the Archbishop of Munich<sup>107</sup> and the Spanish Bishops of Salamanca and Compostella<sup>108</sup> in the Spanish

<sup>102</sup> Archbishop Clarissimo Falconieri of Ravenna from 1826 to 1859, Cardinal in 1838.

<sup>103</sup> Rey II, p. 519. Prince Joseph Bonaparte, born in Philadelphia in 1824, died at Rome in 1865. His father, Charles Lucien, nephew to Napoleon I and Prince of Canino, had been part of the junta which took power in the Papal states against Pope Pius IX in 1848. Bishop de Mazenod intervened with the Pope on his behalf, cf. Rey II, 414 and Jean Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod* III, pp. 298-300. Charles Lucien was a first cousin to Napoleon III. His mother, who died at Naples in 1854, was also a niece to Napoleon I.

<sup>104</sup> Prince Borghese (v. *supra*, note 82) and Prince Alessandro Torlonia (1809-1886), a very rich banker, married to Princess Teresa Colonna.

<sup>105</sup> Bishop Jean Baptiste Malou of Bruges from 1848 to 1864, and Bishop Pierre Chatrousse of Valence from 1840 to 1857.

<sup>106</sup> Archbishop Jean Zwysen of Utrecht from 1853 to 1868, and Bishop André Ignace Schaeppman, Coadjutor from 1862 to 1868, then successor from 1868 to 1883.

<sup>107</sup> Archbishop Charles Auguste von Reisach of Munich from 1846 to 1856.

<sup>108</sup> Bishop Ferdinand de La Puente of Salamanca from 1852 to 1857, and Bishop Michel Garcia Cuesta of Compostella from 1851 to 1874.

Ambassador's magnificent palace)<sup>109</sup>.

**[Wednesday], 29:** I went to the service for Princess Canino; all the French bishops present in Rome were invited to it; we gathered, in the gallery assigned to us, with Cardinals de Bonald and Mathieu, the Archbishops of Aix and Avignon, the Bishops of Saint-Flour, Blois, Grenoble, Amiens, and Arras<sup>110</sup>. The Bishop of Amiens celebrated the Pontifical mass and pronounced the absolution. The deceased woman's sons, of whom one is a cleric<sup>111</sup>, were at the foot of the catafalque under which was their mother's body. People noticed that they wept all the time, and remained kneeling. I returned home and did not go out any more today. (I had a lot of writing to do)<sup>112</sup>. A few visits changed my plans more than a little, but how can a person be upset at people for their politeness? The last visit was that of Archbishop Berardi, Substitute of the Secretariate of State, who brought me the Brief for my nomination as Bishop Assistant to the Pontifical Throne.

**[Thursday], 30:** After I had written to Bishop Taché<sup>113</sup> and our Fathers at the Red River, and placed them under the protection of Saint Andrew at the mass I was going to celebrate in my little chapel, I went with my faithful Monsignor Sacrista to the public Consistory. The Pope was supposed to give the red hat to the Patriarch of the Indies<sup>114</sup> and the Archbishop of Toledo. Before that, we stopped at the Archbishop of Paris<sup>115</sup>, whom the Pope had lodged in the apartment of Saint Peter's

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<sup>109</sup> Rey II, 519. The editor of *Missions OMI* summarized this phrase as follows: "I saw several cardinals and a great number of bishops from every country".

<sup>110</sup> Archbishop P.M. Joseph Darcimoles of Aix from 1847 to 1857, Bishop J.B.P. Marie Lyonnet of Saint Flour from 1852 to 1857, Bishop Pierre Louis Parisis of Arras from 1851 to 1866.

<sup>111</sup> Lucien Bonaparte (1828-1895), ordained priest in 1853, will be created cardinal by Pius IX in 1868.

<sup>112</sup> Rey II, 520.

<sup>113</sup> Alexandre Antonin Taché, O.M.I., Co-adjutor to the Vicar Apostolic, then Bishop of Saint Boniface from 1853 to 1871, and Archbishop until 1894.

<sup>114</sup> According to Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, Bishop Thomas Iglesias y Barcones who had the title of Patriarch of the West Indies from 1852 to 1874. He was not a cardinal. The Founder is speaking here about the Patriarch of Lisbon, Cardinal Guillaume Henriques de Carvalho.

<sup>115</sup> Archbishop M.D. Auguste Sibour of Paris from 1848 to 1857.

Archpriest. The Prelate received me with excessive politeness, recalling to Monsignor Sacrista some things much too flattering about me. We left him to go to the Consistory<sup>116</sup>, which took place as usual. I noticed the Archbishop of Aix and the Bishop of Valence in the gallery.

## December

**[Friday], December 1:** Since the day appeared to be beautiful, after many rainy days, we went out on foot to enjoy a bit of sun which had been hidden for such a long time. We headed for the church of Saint Gregory, and stopped at the Passionists, at Saints John and Paul<sup>117</sup>. Those kind Fathers welcomed us with greatest attentiveness; they had us visit the cell where their holy Founder had died, and venerate all the things he used. I sat down in the chair where he usually sat during his last years of life, when he could no longer walk. I saw again the chapel where he said holy mass; I myself had celebrated on this altar during my first trip to Rome<sup>118</sup>, when I was so interested in invoking all the saints to obtain what I had come to ask. We went down to the church again to venerate his body, situated under the Blessed Sacrament altar. Before I left, I had to promise those dear Fathers to come and say mass for them and have a meal with the community.

I think I am well informed in saying that the Consistory, which was held yesterday before the Holy Father, on the present question, lasted only three quarters of an hour, including the Pope's allocution, and that the cardinals were unanimous in holding to the Supreme Pontiff's plan, a dogmatic proclamation. In spite of that, I still feel a bit uneasy due to some side remarks that I have been able to hear. First, it was just a question of retouching the Bull a little, to satisfy a small number of bishops who wanted it; today, a cardinal told me that there was a possibility of modifying the terms of the decree. I hope that God will preserve us from

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<sup>116</sup> In Rey's text (II, 520), we read after the Consistory: "He did not think it was proper to appear there before seeing the Pope, who will give him an audience this evening."

<sup>117</sup> In Rey's text (II, 520) we read after "Saints John and Paul. I expected the welcome with which those good Fathers received me. They are grateful for the reception that we give to their Fathers who stop in Marseilles on their way to their various missions."

<sup>118</sup> Father de Mazenod said mass at this altar on April 20, 1826.



that misfortune. It would be better to pronounce nothing. We need a very formal dogmatic definition, as the Pope has always desired to do and as he has positively told several bishops. To do otherwise would be to remove the Blessed Virgin from the height to which she has already been placed. It is impossible for the Pope not to be aware of that, since things have come to the present point. Tomorrow, during the High Mass in Saint Peter's basilica which I will attend, I am going to beg that great apostle to assist and strengthen his Successor in this most decisive moment for the glory and exaltation of Our Mother Mary.

The Archbishop of Paris came to see me; together we went to the home of Monsignor Sacrista, in whose chapel we venerated the head of Saint Lawrence the martyr. On the very well-preserved facial expression, those men thought they recognized both suffering and resignation.

**[Saturday, December 2]:** I have written another short letter to the Pope, asking him to establish a feast in the whole Church for the consecration of Saint Paul's basilica. He is planning to perform that ceremony, surrounded by all the bishops present in Rome, two days after the feast of the Immaculate Conception. I will transcribe that letter here to preserve the memory; we will see later if it produced the desired result.

*Most Holy Father,*

*The only sadness I have experienced since I have been in Rome, so near to Your Holiness, is to be deprived of the consolation of being able, not as often as my heart would wish, but at least from time to time, to renew at your feet the homage of my respect and filial attachment. I willingly accept this sacrifice imposed by discretion, and will attempt to make up for it as much as I can, by being present wherever I can enjoy Your Presence and contemplate in your person the Vicar of Jesus Christ, whom it is so sweet for me to love.*

*Since I do not dare to ask to be admitted to an audience with Your Holiness before the time of my departure, I am taking the liberty of addressing to You these lines, to communicate simply to You a thought that has been on my mind.*

*Your Holiness possibly recalls with what joy I received from Your mouth the beautiful plan you had formulated of consecrating Saint Paul's basilica, surrounded by so many bishops come to Rome from the whole Christian world, during the happy event which has brought us together; I allow myself to tell You not to hesitate before some minor dif-*

*faculties that people might present beforehand to deter You from carrying out such a well-inspired plan.*

*Today, I dare to submit to You an idea which seems to me as the complement to the resolution taken by Your Holiness. That would be, Most Holy Father, to establish in the entire Church a commemorative Office for this magnificent solemnity, and to have it celebrated yearly, as is practiced for the dedication of other major basilicas. The lessons of the second nocturn could include a description of what will take place on that beautiful day, and would recall that it is due to the wisdom and piety of your Holiness that this great thought was brought to fruition.*

*As I kneel at Your feet to ask Your Apostolic Blessing, I remain the very devoted son of Your Holiness,*

Charles Joseph Eugene, Bishop of Marseilles.

Rome, December 2, 1854.

**December 3, 1st Sunday of Advent:** The great number of bishops present at Rome did not allow the service to be held, as usual, in the Sistine Chapel; so, the Pope decided to hold it in Saint Peter's; nothing less than the vast space of the choir of that basilica would contain all the bishops. The service was very imposing. Ordinarily, the Holy Father places today's Forty Hours Devotion in the Pauline Chapel; this time he placed them in Saint Peter's itself; thus, after the High Mass sung by one of the Bishops Assistant to the Throne, the Pope advanced to the altar where he took the Blessed Sacrament and carried it in procession, preceded by all the cardinals carrying candles and followed by all the bishops, who also carried lighted candles. The procession went around the church; after he arrived at the altar, the Pope gave the blessing and they exposed the Blessed Sacrament for the Forty Hours devotion. It has been a long time since people have seen so many cardinals and bishops gathered in Saint Peter's; they counted fifty-five cardinals and over a hundred bishops.

Monsignor Sacrista kindly handed my letter to the Pope, who seemed satisfied. I will hear about it later.

It has been a superb day; I went to receive the blessing at the Sacred Heart, after I had taken a walk around the beautiful promenade at *Monte*

*Pincio*; you could have said that the whole city had gathered there. I will end my day with a visit to the Borghese palace; the Prince and Princess had me informed that, usually, their salons are open on Sundays in Advent. It is good to respond to such an invitation. Bishop de Ségur<sup>119</sup>, our auditor at the Rota, gave the same sort of invitation for Mondays and Thursdays. The French Ambassador has to do the same for the days he will indicate; every country has its own customs.

**[Monday, December 4]:** Since the Forty Hours Devotion is being held at Saint Peter's, and the Holy Father had ordained that the holy relics be exposed there, as well as in the other major basilicas, with a plenary indulgence for the people who visited them, I made it my duty to go to Saint Peter's to adore the Blessed Sacrament and venerate the relics. The Blessed Sacrament was exposed in the midst of more than two hundred candles at the main altar. The darkness they had arranged in the entire church brought out the beauty of the altar lighting, which highlighted the beautiful monstrance. One thought occupied me during my adoration; that it was very fitting for Our Divine Savior to be placed on his throne, in the most beautiful temple in the universe, from where he reigned over the whole world. It seemed to me that he was not there only for the people living in this city, but for all the creatures of which he is the only sovereign Lord and Master. So, I was pleased to render him homage on behalf of the whole earth, and dared to call down his great mercy on it. After that, I went to venerate the holy relics exposed on the altar where the Blessed Sacrament usually resides. Under a large canopy and a beautiful drapery which covered the whole altar, they had placed in the middle of it Veronica's veil, surrounded by a magnificent golden and silver frame, studded with precious stones. You can clearly see the outline of Our Lord's sacred face, infinitely more noticeable than the one you try to discover on the Holy Shroud of Turin. To the right and left they have exposed large reliquaries, one of the Holy Cross and another in which is placed a thorn from the crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ. That thorn is exactly the same as the one they venerate in the church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem.

The visit I just paid to our living Lord gave me nothing but disgust for all the pagan remains that people admire, with reason from a certain

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<sup>119</sup> Louis Gatton Adrien de Ségur (1820-1881). Named Auditor of the Rota in 1852, he became blind soon after and left Rome in 1856.

point of view, in the museum<sup>120</sup> that I, out of kindness, went to see and show my companions. Being in that quarter, we visited the conservatory founded by Prince Torlonia, to see our dear Sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul<sup>121</sup>. There I met Princess Torlonia, who was taking delight in examining the different works done by the orphan girls, in that house established and maintained through her generosity.

**[Tuesday], December 5:** Since I have been at Rome, I have alternately experienced hope and fear concerning the important matter that called us here. In my first audience, the Holy Father was pleased to speak in such a manner as to leave no doubt about his intention. All the members of the theological commissions or cardinals I have seen have openly spoken in a way to make me understand that the question has already been so well elaborated, that there is nothing to fear, no matter from what quarter difficulties might arise.

**[Text from OMI Missions 1873]**

However, even though they are in agreement with the basic question, several bishops continue to contest the opportuness of this definition. I was always worried that those exaggerated fears might make some impression on the Holy Father; that is what caused me to write my first letter. Since I understand that people are still talking about the question of timing, I thought it might be worthwhile to write to the Holy Father again to encourage him to persevere in his first plan<sup>122</sup>. It is cer-

<sup>120</sup> Probably the Vatican Museum.

<sup>121</sup> Conservatorio or orphanage situated at the *Salita San Onofrio*, near the Vatican.

<sup>122</sup> Bishop Jeancard (*op. cit.*, pp. 288-291) gave an explanation for the immediate reason of this letter to the Pope. "Nearing December 8, he wrote, the Cardinal Vicar published an *invito sagro* to prescribe preparatory prayers for the solemnity [...] The Cardinal's language indicated clearly the nature of the decision regarding the Immaculate Conception. I do not know why, there was astonishment and almost dismay among a certain group of French theologians [...] That would be, they say, to give a solemn rebuttal to the professed opinions of our former Gallicans, and might provoke, on the part of our government, hostile measures, and at the same time in the country some dissident voices capable of tiring and breaking up the Church. There was some agitation and real panic among several bishops". According to Bishop Jeancard, one of the prelates then asked Bishop de Mazenod to take it upon himself to bring these observations to the Holy Father. He added: "our Bishop was not flattered with their choice of him, and indicated sadness almost as if it were a blow to his faith. He gave the reason for his refusal declaring, without hesitation, that with all his heart, he wanted the very definition they wished to hinder". This explanation does not seem to ring very true. It was after this incident that Bishop de Mazenod wrote the letter of December 5.

tainly not my idea to place myself in the forefront, but I see it as a duty to do everything I can to contribute in some way to the glory that will accrue to the Blessed Virgin by this definition, if it is done as the Holy Father has always wished. As these notes are destined for those whom the dear Lord has given me as sons, I want them to know the thinking and action taken by their Father in these circumstances, so glorious for our Immaculate Mother. It is for them that I will transcribe here the letter I addressed to the Pope this very evening, which the Cardinal Secretary of State has agreed to hand him tomorrow morning.

**[Text of Rey II, 523:]**

(On the other hand, when Cardinal Gousset arrived from France shortly after I did, he began to becloud things to my great astonishment. I heard him express an opinion contrary to the sentiment uttered by the Pope and adopted by a large majority of the world's bishops. He would have wanted the Supreme Pontiff to limit himself in the Bull to declaring that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception *was approaching faith*. I found that pretention so strange, that I in no way see it being approved. For is not the Immaculate Conception already recognized by the Church as *approaching faith*? No matter. I warned the Pope of the Cardinal's opinion to put him on guard against his insinuations when he presented himself to him. The theologians of the commission, prelates and religious that I talked to about it would have no part in that aberration, but the Cardinal kept telling anyone who would listen that he was working hard, etc. I have said what happened in the sessions among bishops, the attacks directed against the editing of the Bull, and the observations of the English, Irish and American prelates. The German bishops did not say anything, but shared the sentiments expressed by the bishops from Protestant countries and, since then, several French bishops have joined them. I had every reason to believe that a certain number of them went to be inspired to a common centre. They spoke too openly against the opportuness of the definition for me to think that they did not in some way make their opinion known to the Pope. That is what prompted me to write my first letter to the Pope... transcribed in these Notes. Today I learned that several people, among others a Cardinal friend of mine, whom I myself called to Rome<sup>123</sup> and who, to my great astonishment, would not want the Pope to pronounce directly on this

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<sup>123</sup> Cardinal de Bonald.

question, have considered it unfortunate that the Cardinal Vicar is so advanced in the *Notification* that he just published it for the feast of the 8th, Feast of the Immaculate Conception; in it he announced formally that the Supreme Pontiff will define *as dogma* the belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.

That notification, which is like a bishop's pastoral letter, could not be more precise and since nothing like it is published without receiving the Pope's approval, I imagine that the stubborn prelates were very unhappy about it. I am even more unhappy with their obstinacy in a sentiment which seems to be wholly inadmissible for me. However, since I have reason to think that they have passed on their remarks to the Pope, especially the two cardinals I indicated above, I thought it would be helpful to write to the Pope again to counterbalance their influence, to strengthen him if need be, in case the observations of those prelates might have been able to have some influence on him, which they might, to show him that the most *senior of French bishops* is far from sharing their opinion. Here is the letter I addressed this very evening to the Pope, which will be handed to him tomorrow morning by the Cardinal Secretary of State to whom I entrusted it, without telling him what it contained):

*Most Holy Father,*

*Your heart is so full of indulgence that I am able to overcome my fear of bothering Your Holiness, coming again to place at your feet my humble request concerning the important question that concerns the whole Church.*

*I rejoiced this morning when I read the notification of His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar, that he hoped with reason that the belief in the Immaculate Conception would be defined as a dogma of faith; but, immediately after I learned that some bishops who do not want a complete definition hoped that their views would prevail. I was greatly disturbed about it; I dare to say, Most Holy Father, that those prelates are influenced by too-human fears; they are not aware that they are making an unfortunate concession to the worldly spirit at the expense of the glory of the Mother of God and the honor of the Church.*

*It would be a great misfortune, Most Holy Father, if their opinion were followed. The power of defining a dogma of faith would be rendered problematic in the eyes of many people who would believe, so to*

*say, that the Church doubted herself and does not dare any more to exercise the plenitude of her authority in matters of faith. It is important to prove the contrary by deeds. That would be the best reply to those who, in this present matter, have contested whether the Church has the right to make a dogmatic definition.*

*Enemies of religion would win the battle, if the Holy See would stop midstream, and would say that it had backed away and had not the courage of its doctrines. Protestantism and philosophical impiety, of which we are so mistakenly afraid, would find in it a sort of sign of weakness and decadence, whereas if, on the contrary, they were thereby reduced to attacking the definition of the Immaculate Conception on the principle of authority, the arguments which would oppose them would bring about, by the force of truth, a certain and striking triumph for the Church.*

*The opinion, that I dare to combat before Your Holiness, contradicts the universal expectation of the faithful; if they were aware of it, the vast majority would be profoundly saddened. If that opinion were to lessen in any way the awaited and so-desired decision, it would effect an inexpressable disappointment, after what has just taken place before the watching world, and besides, in many a diocese, and especially in mine, people are already preparing the most magnificent manifestations of pious joy.*

*Your Holiness could have decided the whole matter without consulting the bishops at all. But, since you requested at Gaeta the opinion and sentiment of every bishop, who would have the right to complain about Your decision, Most Holy Father, which conforms to almost the totality of them? The Gallicans themselves, following their own principles, could not do it. How could the bishops present at Rome who, after all, represent only themselves, possibly consider that there was room to defer to their opinion, contrary to so many of their absent brother bishops, who have all voted in writing for a dogmatic definition. I marvel that they went beyond the directives that Your Holiness issued, to tell them to limit their observations to the form, without considering the substance. That attack on the substance of the question, even though it is respectfully offered, could not, in my opinion, be admitted, without prejudice for the rights and dignity of the Holy See, since its purpose is to have it take a backward step in the eyes of the whole world and future generations.*

*Finally, Most Holy Father, the glory of the Blessed Virgin Mary would be seriously diminished if, in the present circumstances and to the point it has now come, it were not pronounced that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception contained in the sacred deposit of faith ought to be, from now on, considered as a dogma of faith which people must believe in their heart and confess with their lips, and at the same time, that no one may contradict it without incurring condemnation by the Church. The draft of the Bull, so mild and moderate in its formula of a penalty, it seems to me, should be entirely preserved, especially the last part.*

*So, I beg You on both my knees, Most Holy Father, to be just as explicit in Your pronouncement. It is only by following Your own inspirations, which are those of the Holy Spirit, that You will stop the Blessed Virgin from being lowered in the eyes of the faithful, which is what would happen now through an indirect or incomplete decision.*

*Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, I implore Your Apostolic Blessing, and remain, with the deepest respect, the very devoted son of Your Holiness.*

Charles Joseph Eugene, Bishop of Marseilles.

Rome, December 5, 1854

I do not know what will be the outcome of my letter, all the while I was writing it, I felt myself to be fulfilling a duty of conscience<sup>124</sup>, and I am glad I did it.

Moreover, I trust that the various letters I have had occasion to write to His Holiness have been very welcome and have even pleased him. I was positively assured of this for my first letter by Bishop Pacifici, Secretary for Latin Letters, to whom the Holy Father spoke kindly in giving it to him. Archbishop Berardi, Substitute for the Secretariate of State, told me this morning that the letter in which I asked the Holy Father to establish a feast or an office for the anniversary of the consecration of Saint Paul's basilica, must have made an

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<sup>124</sup> After "conscience". Rey (II, p. 525) wrote: "by opposing with all my force the pressure, which the Bishops, who adopted that miserable opinion I was fighting, were trying to lay on the Holy Father".



impression, since he has been ordered to take up that matter. (Will they accept my opinion or not? I do not know, I am still very satisfied at having followed my inspiration and submitting it to the Holy Father. I had promised myself to do the same every time I felt I had a good inspiration. I am sorry I did not do it at the last session of bishops, everyone reproaches me for my foolish timidity that day)<sup>125</sup>.

**[Wednesday], December 6:** I have received successively here at Rome excellent letters from Bishop Taché, Father Faraud, Father Grollier, the Red River mission, and some from Father Semeria in Ceylon<sup>126</sup>. I could only prostrate myself face to the ground when I read the marvelous contents of those letters. What heart would not be moved! If they do not promise to print them in the Annals of the Propagation of Faith, we must find some other way of making them public. It would mean keeping God's works hidden and damaging his glory, if we did not publish his merciful deeds. I have received very fine letters from Father Ricard as well. He told me everything our Fathers in Oregon are trying to do, to evangelize and convert the people among whom they are living. Blessed be God for all the good done through our dear Oblates, and may our Immaculate Mother multiply the number of vocations more and more, so that this good continues to grow!

**[Thursday], December 7:** It rained all day long. That rain put an end to the lighting arrangements that were being prepared. The bells in the whole city are announcing to us tomorrow's greatest feast day; but bad weather continues; I am even more saddened in that it gives no sign of letting up. So something will be lacking in the external joyful manifestations that this beautiful feast should arouse in every heart. Nevertheless, the Supreme Pontiff has left nothing undone so that everything is set for it. Through a notification from the Cardinal Vicar, he has prescribed Friday's fast and abstinence to be observed today, Thursday, vigil of the great feast, rigorously since eggs and milk foods are forbidden, and tomorrow, Friday, we can freely eat meat, suppressing fast and abstinence for this day of joy and happiness. I observed this fast with great satisfaction in all its rigor; and I will freely eat tomorrow with the same satisfaction, considering that I share the Holy Father's views in doing so, in honor of our beloved and ever Immaculate Mother,

<sup>125</sup> Rey II., 525.

<sup>126</sup> Rey (II,525) added: "and from Father Richard from Oregon".

the Virgin Mary. I did not go out except to respond to an invitation from Princess Doria Pamphili, Lord Shrewsbury's daughter, who wanted to meet me since I have ties with her family<sup>127</sup>.

Dear Bishop Bouvier<sup>128</sup> of Mans arrived among us last night in an alarming state of exhaustion. He has not the strength to walk, he had to be carried from the carriage into his apartments, which are next to mine. I went to see him this morning and found him suffering greatly; I admired his courage, inspired by his piety, but fear he will leave here only for heaven.

We were saying our night prayers together, as usual, when someone came to invite me to dine tomorrow with Prince Torlonia. I gladly accepted that invitation as I clearly aim to celebrate tomorrow. I will eat meat with as much pleasure as I felt today in observing the *magro stretto*<sup>129</sup>.

It rained hard all day long; it is still raining at eleven o'clock at night. It is cloudy all around. If it rains like this tomorrow, the feast, the great feastday will be upset. *Exsurgat Maria*, and the clouds will disappear; that is what we need, and I trust that is what will happen. It is impossible for the princes of the air, the demons, to win this one. I am certainly not the only one to ask Mary to show her power; she will hear us, it will be nice tomorrow, even though the weather is terrible today. That is what it will be like so that the Lord's delight in the glory of his Divine Mother and the power of that Immaculate Virgin will be even more evident. It will be beautiful tomorrow.

**[Friday] December 8:** Well! Did I not say so? Was my trust in Mary Immaculate misplaced? I got up at five o'clock in the morning, opened my window, there was not a cloud in the sky, it was a superb

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<sup>127</sup> Bishop de Mazenod met this family during his visit to Maryvale (Birmingham) in 1850. He visited the castle and celebrated mass in the gothic church, built by Lord Shrewsbury (*Oblate Writings* 3, p. 63). A few months later, Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, on the way to Palermo, came to greet him as they passed through Marseilles. They were accompanied by their nephew and adopted son Bertrand Talbot. The latter wrote to Bishop de Mazenod in 1851 to congratulate him on the reception of the pallium, cf. *Oblate Writings* 3, pp. 71-72.

<sup>128</sup> Bishop Jean Bouvier of Mans from 1834 to 1854.

<sup>129</sup> Strict fast.

day<sup>130</sup>. You can explain it as you will; for myself, I do not exactly say it was a miracle, but I am firmly persuaded it was a special grace that God granted at the intercession of his Divine Mother, whose feast would have been incredibly disturbed by rain, if it had continued to fall as it did yesterday and last night. Glory, glory to God and thanks to Mary! And what a celebration it was today! It is impossible to describe it. Right from seven o'clock in the morning and even earlier, oh! yes, much earlier, all the streets of Rome were packed with people from every walk of life, who were going to Saint Peter's to attend the great celebration getting under way. Carriages crossed the city at great speed. One would have said that people were afraid there would not be enough room in the immense basilica, and they were not wrong, since the church was certainly fuller than they had seen it for a long time. Roman people, often indifferent to what goes on in Saint Peter's, this time eagerly sought a place with the foreigners.

I took the precaution of saying mass at half-past five in my chapel; so, I was able to hear the one of my Vicar General who said his after me. At seven o'clock, I got into Monsignor Sacrista's carriage to go to the Vatican at the appointed time. The ceremony was to start at eight o'clock. Bishops were already waiting, in cope and mitre, seated on the benches in the first part of the Sistine Chapel, I mean the part of the chapel before the grille, which separates it from the carpeted seats for cardinals. The latter were there too, seated on their customary benches. At the arranged time, the papal cortege came out of the small door leading to the altar, and the Holy Father knelt down at the altar steps and pronounced the prayer or antiphon: *Sancta Maria et omnes sancti tui, quaesumus, Domine, nos ubique adjuvent; ut, dum eorum merita recolimus, patrocinia, sentiamus*. The cantors intoned the litany of the saints, and after the three invocations to the Blessed Virgin, the procession began. After the prelates and other officials, such as Consistorial Lawyers, etc., everyone in robes of their Order, came the twelve Penitentiaries of Saint Peter's, in chasuble; then came the bishops and archbishops, according to their ordination date, in cope, wearing a white

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<sup>130</sup> Bishop Jeancard wrote (op. cit., p. 292): "The next morning, when we left for Saint Peter's, it was still cloudy. However, immediately after the gospel of the Pontifical High Mass, at the time that the Pope stood at his throne to pronounce the Decree, the clouds opened, and a ray of sunlight came to give light to the choir of Saint Peter's, and I think, to the Pope's face as well. It seemed like a symbol of the Holy Spirit's rays..."

mitre; then, the Cardinal Deacons, Priests and Bishops, in dalmatic, chasuble, cope and mitre. All the copes were of silver cloth, as well as the dalmatics and chasubles for cardinals; the latter had a magnificent golden edge. Finally, came the Pope and his court; the Pope was under a canopy, carried, I think, by six prelates. The procession made its way to Saint Peter's, coming down the large staircase, to enter by the portico and on to the basilica's central door. They filed into the church as far as the Blessed Sacrament altar, where they stopped to adore, continuing to chant the litanies begun in the Sistine Chapel. The Pope and entire procession knelt down, and the Pope gave the final prayers: *Deus qui nobis ... Deus refugium nostrum...* and *Actions nostras...*

The procession started again and went into the choir, where everyone took his place. In my role as senior, I chose the bench beside the papal throne, which is elevated for the Pope's pontifical ceremonies, at the far end of the choir, under the chair of Saint Peter. I deliberately chose to sit there to be able to hear him proclaim the decree which our hearts so ardently awaited. The service started, as usual, by the chanting of Terce, during which the Pope vested at the throne prepared for this purpose, near the altar. After Terce, the Pope began mass according to the Pontifical, and after the altar was incensed, he came to sit on the throne, at the end of the choir, surrounded, as usual, by the twelve most senior Bishops Assistant, two Cardinal Deacons, the Cardinal Dean, or Sub-Dean this time, because of Cardinal Macchi's great age, and by the other prelates who came to sit down on the throne steps.

After the gospel, the moment arrived to hear the Supreme Pastor's voice, pronouncing truly *ex cathedra* the solemn decree. Never had a similar reunion taken place at Saint Peter's: a hundred and fifty bishops from all countries, to which must be added the twenty-one bishops of the Sacred College; the galleries filled with people of highest dignity, the crowd squeezed into all the aisles and surrounding areas of the basilica's immense choir, the church filled as well with notable people, among whom were all the garrison's military personnel; that whole immense crowd waiting for that great event which they were going to witness. Then, the Supreme Pontiff, raising his melodious and beautiful voice, called down the light of the Holy Spirit by intoning the *Veni Creator*. The same cry rose from every heart, and without leaving to the cantors, as is customary, the role of continuing the hymn, every voice in tune with the Pontiff responded mightily to the Pope's intoning. Nothing was ever seen like it. Already emotion was spreading through

the assembly of the faithful. There was something supernatural about that movement. I forgot to mention that, before the intoning of the *Veni Creator*, the Deans of the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops presented themselves at the foot of the throne and requested on their knees, in the name of the Church, the decree that the whole world was awaiting. That request, given in Latin by the Cardinal Dean, and the Pope's reply did not reach my ears; but I shared in it from the depths of my heart; especially in the name of my diocese and our Congregation. Then, the Supreme Pontiff, truly the *Summus Pontifex, afflante Spiritu Sancto*, standing up, pronounced the infallible decree, which declared and defined that it is a dogma of faith that the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, from the first instant of her conception, by a special privilege and grace of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the human race, had been preserved and exempt from every stain of original sin.

Tears muffled the Pontiff's voice at the moment when he pronounced the infallible words that the Holy Spirit placed on his lips. I leave it to your thoughts whether I shared in that fitting emotion. It seemed to me at that moment that the heavens opened over our heads and showed us openly the joy of the entire Church Triumphant, joining the enthusiasm of the Church Militant, to celebrate with us its Queen and ours, and all the saints called closer and higher, at this moment, in glory by God's inexhaustible munificence. I thought I saw Jesus Christ Our Saviour congratulating his Divine Mother, and my great patron, Saint Joseph, especially rejoicing at the happiness of his spouse, to whom he is so close in heaven. I also thought that the Church Suffering was enlightened at that moment by a divine illumination, that the sufferings of those souls was suspended; I would almost say that Purgatory was emptied, whether by the great number of plenary indulgences that we were applying for their release, or even more by the clemency of the Supreme Judge who, at the moment of glorification of his Mother, and to have that dear portion of his great family share in the general joy of the Church, granted them pardon for all their debts and called them to the feet of the throne of their Mother, to thank her for their deliverance and to unite their enthusiastic joy to those of the angelic choirs and all the saints.

With these thoughts and others as well, which it would take too long to narrate here, I chanted the great Nicene Creed with the whole congregation.

I will say nothing about the rest of the mass. Everyone knows that the Pope goes to the altar at the offertory, as the bishops do, to continue the holy sacrifice up to communion which he comes to receive or takes himself at the throne, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ being carried in turn to him by the deacon. Before giving the blessing, he intoned the *Te Deum*, sung in choir, as I said, by the great crowd, in spite of the masters of ceremonies who were astonished at this novelty and cried out uselessly to reduce them to silence.

The solemn pronouncement was made known outside the church by the canons of the Angel Castle and the sound of every bell in the city. It was a magnificent day and not a breath of air disturbed the general lights display which lit up the city, from the cupola of Saint Peter's to the hovel of the poor. People filled the streets to enjoy that consoling spectacle. I was among those walking and said to myself: "Ah! If it is nice weather like this at Marseilles, how I wish I could see what is going on there!"

**[Saturday, 9]:** The day after that beautiful day, the Pope called all the cardinals and bishops present at Rome to a secret Consistory. We went to the Vatican in the grand hall prepared for it. The Pope, radiant with joy, came to sit on a raised platform, and speaking to the whole assembly in Latin, gave a talk, of which they will give us a copy as soon as it is printed. I will place it among my papers. We will know it better by reading it, than what I could cite here from memory. The Pope read very clearly with his melodious voice, which must have been heard to the end of the hall, even though it is large. I did not miss a word, since my seniority placed me near the throne where the Pope was reading his address.

When the Pope had finished, an approving murmur spread through the whole hall. After this moment had passed, Cardinal de Bonald came to the middle of the assembly and thanked the Pope, in French, in the name of all the bishops of our country, for the kindness His Holiness has always shown us. The Cardinal spoke from the end of the hall; his voice is not strong, so that I, stationed at the other end, did not hear a word of his short complimentary talk. So, I cannot say if he also spoke for the other bishops present. The Pope replied in a few words in Italian, very heartfelt and well expressed as he knows how to do. At the request of another bishop, he granted all of us the power to give the Papal blessing to everyone in our diocese when we return there. Everyone left very satisfied with such a beautiful and touching session.

**The day after, Sunday 10:** The gathering was at the Church of Saint Paul Outside the Walls, that the Pope wanted to consecrate, surrounded by all the bishops who had come to Rome from all over the world. The ceremony was to start at eight o'clock. At five o'clock, I said mass in my chapel and heard the one by my Vicar General. I was at the basilica by seven-thirty. Even though unfinished, it was perfectly prepared. The Pope had designated eight cardinals to share the ceremony with him, but had reserved the major part to himself. Everything was strictly done in a manner according to the pontifical. After the recitation of the Seven Penitential Psalms before the altar where the holy relics were displayed, the Pope began by making the triple aspersion outside the church's facade. During that time, the designated cardinals were doing the same aspersion all around the immense basilica. Once this ceremony was complete, we entered, following the Pope, into the church's interior, as noted in the pontifical, singing the litany of the saints, during which we repeated three, five and even six times certain *deprecatory prayers*. Some of them are not found in the litanies we usually sing, but were prayers for the occasion. The Holy Father consecrated the altar dedicated to Saint Paul; Gregory XVI had done the one of the Confession. Then he made two anointings on the walls, while the cardinals were doing the others. He had chosen almost all foreign cardinals<sup>131</sup> for that; the only Italian one I saw was Cardinal Falconieri, Archbishop of Ravenna. Cardinal Archbishop Riario Sforza of Naples celebrated the first mass on the consecrated altar, after the ceremony; the Pope and all the bishops attended that mass. I forgot to say that the holy relics were carried on the shoulders of four archbishops from various countries, the Archbishops of Turin, Milan, Munich and Avignon, all in white cope and mitre. It was almost two o'clock when we were able to leave.

Who would have said that dear Monsignor Sacrista, who had been in full health at the morning's celebration, would die this very evening from a terrible stroke of apoplexy? I cannot say how much I regret this excellent gentleman, kind and polite to everyone, but who certainly overdid it in my regard. I had to see him dead with my own eyes, to con-

<sup>131</sup> In Rey's text (II, 529) we read, after that "foreigners, among them our three French Cardinals, de Bonald, Mathieu and Gousset".

vince myself that such a young man, in marvelous health, could be carried away so suddenly. I offered the holy sacrifice of the mass for him on the two days after his death. It was a sign of affection and gratitude that I regarded as a debt I owed him. The Bishops Assistant to the Throne were convoked for his funeral service, which took place in the French church of Saint Louis. We were short of twenty, only five of whom were Italians. This caused me to reflect again on the value to be placed on friendships of convenience among men. How few truly sensitive hearts there are in the world. I notice it more every day. Indifference is common, and affections are quite superficial. And that, not only among so-called friendships in the world, but even in families and among relatives.

**[Thursday], 14:** Cardinal Cagiano invited me for dinner; we were at least twenty bishops, of whom eight were cardinals. Only in Rome can we have such gatherings.

(Mister Jules Barluzzi came to tell me that the Pope had named my nephew, the Marquis de Boisgelin, Commander of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great. He will be completely taken aback when he learns of it. In this way, he will receive a partial reward for services rendered to the Roman Church for more than forty years)<sup>132</sup>.

**Sunday, 17:** Monsignor Bizzarri, Secretary for the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, was consecrated Archbishop of Philippi, in Saint Jerome's church for the Slavs. His Eminence Cardinal della Genga. Prefect of the same Congregation and Titular of that church, did the consecration, together with myself and the Bishop of Forli<sup>133</sup>.

What was remarkable and touching in this ceremony, which several archbishops and bishops attended in choir robes, was that the Cardinal consecrator had been consecrated by me, the only surviving bishop of his three consecrators. So, in some manner, I was now assisting at the present consecration in two ways, having first placed my hands on the prelate who was going to impose hands with me, or I with him, on the

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<sup>132</sup> Rey II, 531. In 1854, Bishop de Mazenod had only one nephew: Eugene de Boisgelin, born in 1825, and thus not yet 30 years old. The Founder no doubt meant his own services rendered to the Church "for more than forty years".

<sup>133</sup> Bishop Mariano Falcinelli of Forli from 1853 to 1857.



newly elected. Because of my seniority, I presented him for the episcopate, in the name of the Holy Catholic Church: *Postulat sancta mater Ecclesia catholica*, etc. This beautiful ceremony took place very fittingly in the midst of a large gathering of prelates, clerics and religious. I saw there the Abbot General of Monte Casino, who invited me to go and visit the abbey at Subiaco, where he resides. I was tempted to do it, but the season is not favorable and I am in a hurry to return. I wanted to work on a matter here that I consider important, concerning our missions<sup>134</sup>; if I had known that they had to delay the meeting of cardinals, in which they will deal with it, till after the feasts, I would have left this week; but I was not prepared for that.

**[Tuesday] 19:** The Archbishop of Paris came to tell me that the Holy Father had granted him his cousin, the Abbé Sibour, as auxiliary Bishop<sup>135</sup>. If he could have consecrated him here, he would gladly have done it; but custom allows only cardinals and patriarchs to perform this ceremony in Rome. They tell me it will be at Paris in Saint Thomas Aquinas parish, where the Abbé Sibour is parish priest. Since there will not be another Consistory for a long time, the Holy Father willingly named the new Bishop by a Brief which will be given to him before his departure. The Archbishop is very pleased with the Holy Father's kindness and consideration for him.

Today, I had a very interesting conversation with a cleric who is very well versed in matters concerning preceding pontificates. That is Dom Raphael Natali, Cardinal Barberini's<sup>136</sup> secretary, when the latter was the Holy Father's chamberlain. His work placed this cleric in contact with a large number of foreigners, who were requesting audiences with the Supreme Pontiff. This is what he told me. He was very close to an aide-de-camp of Emperor Alexander of Russia<sup>137</sup>, whose name was

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<sup>134</sup> Bishop de Mazenod wished, it seems, to expose the complaints of the Oregon Oblates against the brothers Norbert and Magloire Blanchet, respectively Archbishop of Oregon and Bishop of Nesqually, cf. Letter to Bishop Barnabo, March 29, 1855, in *Oblate Writings* 5, pp. 91-94. On the other hand, he was still waiting for the appointment of Father Semeria as Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna. *Ibid.* pp. 89, 96-97, 99-100, etc.

<sup>135</sup> Leon François Sibour (1807-1864), Auxiliary of Paris from 1854 to 1857, then Titular Bishop of Tripoli.

<sup>136</sup> Benedetto Barberini (1788-1863), made Cardinal in 1828.

<sup>137</sup> Emperor Alexander I of Russia (1777-1825); it is not certain that he became a Catholic.

Count Alexandre Michaud: the latter was commissioned by his Sovereign in 1825, to bring to Rome his profession of the Catholic faith. That fact confirms what we already knew about that prince's conversion, which probably cost him his life. When Count Alexandre Michaud died, Emperor Nicolas, aware that they would find in his papers some correspondence between Emperor Alexander and him, concerning his return to the Catholic faith, sent an extraordinary messenger to the dead man's brother, to have him return those papers. Count Michaud's brother could not refuse this order from the Emperor, but took the precaution of copying all those letters. These copies were brought to Rome, where they are now, and no one has yet wanted to make use of them.

I went to visit the Bishop of Mans, residing in the Quirinal beside me. This prelate is very seriously ill, and even though the doctors are still not actually despairing of his recovery, they have the gravest fear. I have made it a point of duty to ask news about him several times a day; but I have only rarely gone to his room, to spare him the fatigue and other results of a conversation in which he would get more or less agitated, which would be even more dangerous due to his extreme illness. Nevertheless, today, I went to see him and had a rather long and very interesting conversation with him on a matter that I do not think I should mention here<sup>138</sup>. Two or three days ago, this prelate received a visit from Cardinal Antonelli, who came to visit on his own behalf and on that of the Holy Father.

**[Thursday, 21]:** The 21 was the day set aside for me to go and celebrate the sacred mysteries over Saint Peter's tomb. Bishop Lucidi, Assessor to the Holy Office and Canon of that basilica, had asked me to let him know the day and hour I would choose, to do me the honors of the holy place. So, I wrote to him, and he was good enough to reply on this matter in a very friendly letter. Consequently, this morning I went to the sacristy of Saint

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<sup>138</sup> In Rey's text (II, 531) there is here a paragraph on the contents of the conversation: "Nevertheless, today I went to his place, the course of the conversation led to the account of the circumstances of the trip he made to Rome two years ago, and which ended in the correction of his theology... Four points were established: 1 - that the Pope's infallibility is the better opinion, but not yet a dogma of faith; 2 - that customs in the French Church could be abolished by the Pope as Supreme Lawgiver in the Church; 3 - that in tolerating or letting exist these various French customs, which are either derogations or exceptions to the common law, the Pope is thereby not to be considered as approving or adopting them; 4 - that the Bishop of Mans make it clear that in doubt as to the liceity of these customs, the Holy See is to be consulted".

Peter's, where they were waiting for me, to go down to the Confession, where the Princess of Saxony was already present. She had requested Bishop Lucidi to say holy mass for her at which she wanted to receive Communion. That mass prepared me immediately for my own, which I celebrated right after. The Princess stayed to attend it. I chose today for my visit to Saint Peter's tomb since it is the anniversary of my priestly ordination, which I always celebrate on December 21. At Marseilles, I go for a time of recollection in the our holy Capuchin Sisters' monastery; at Rome, I must give preference to Saint Peter's. It is difficult to express the strong sentiments I experienced celebrating the holy mysteries in that so-venerable shrine. There one abandons oneself to inner pious inspirations. I dare to say, emanating from that holy tomb, I had to weep through I do not know what variety of sentiments, of compunction, faith, love and gratitude. I identified myself, in some way, with the great apostle whose tomb I kissed. The memory of that beautiful character, of such precious virtues that adorned his soul, aroused a holy desire to seek some share in them<sup>139</sup>. I felt so good that I never wanted to leave the place; and so my Vicar General's mass, which I heard as a thanksgiving, seemed very short to me; it went by in a flash. I had to go up again however to respond to Bishop Lucidi's politeness in preparing a *cioccolata* for me in the large chapter hall. Bishops Piccolomini and Pacca came there as well to keep me company. I was extremely pleased with the kindness of all those prelates and, in general, of everyone with whom I came in to contact in Rome.

As I left Saint Peter's, I went up to see His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, who welcomed me immediately. Our conversation dealt with the consecration of Saint Paul's basilica, but more precisely about Gaeta and on the part I had to play, during the Holy Father's flight, in events at that time. It would be rather interesting for me to report it in one of these notes, but I have not the time to do it; besides, it would be much too long.

**[Friday] the 22:** I went to the French Ambassador's to request passage on the boat which leaves for Toulon on January 1. I did not find him home; but he came to see me this evening at my place, and we were able to chat a long time. (I had the opportunity to bring him up to date

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<sup>139</sup> In Rey's text (Rey II, 532), we read "some communication; I feel fortunate to be part of the edifice of which he is the corner stone; I find myself ..."

on the intrigues of Mister Chaillot and his consorts. He was involved in it at the time and now is perfectly informed about that matter)<sup>140</sup>.

**[Saturday], the 23:** The Ambassador sent me our traveling papers to Toulon. The other day I spoke to Bishop Lucidi of the Office we have at Marseilles for the Holy Face of Our Lord, to try to have it adopted by the chapter of Saint Peter's, since the basilica possesses the famous relic of the Holy Face, on Veronica's veil. That Prelate, a Canon of Saint Peter's, told me to write him on this subject, so that he can show the letter to the Chapter's Canon Secretary. I will explain it to him better, so that my letter will certainly be presented to the Chapter. Here is the translation from the Italian:

*Your Excellency,*

*Formerly, in my Church at Marseilles, we used to recite a special Office with a proper mass in honor of the Holy Face of Jesus Christ, insulted and disfigured during the passion he suffered for us.*

*When, in conformity with the decision of our provincial council, we had to present a new proper of the diocese to the approval of the Congregation of Rites. I wanted to know beforehand the opinion of the respected Secretary of that Congregation, the latter, without even examining that beautiful Office, replied that it would not be approved. Consequently, I did not present it; but it was deeply regretted by my whole diocese, which could not comprehend for what reason such a pious and well-informed Office was rejected somewhat a priori. Since I myself did not understand the reason for this rejection, I considered that the Holy Father, if consulted directly, would be more favorable to my request. So, I wrote the Bishop de Ségur, our Auditor at the Rota, asking if he would be kind enough to place my petition before His Holiness, and at the same time offer him a copy of the Office.*

*The Holy Father read several passages from it, found it beautiful and truly pious; in short, he was so agreeable that he authorized Bishop*

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<sup>140</sup> Rey II, 532. Ludovic Chaillot, with several French clerics in Rome, had been Director of the *Correspondance de Rome*. That newspaper had criticized Bishop de Mazenod and some other French bishops on their manner of governing their diocese. At the insistence of these latter, the newspaper was suppressed in 1852 by Pope Pius IX. The Abbé Chaillot retained a real influence at Rome. The Founder was no doubt speaking about that. Cf. Jean Maurain, *La politique ecclésiastique de second Empire de 1852 à 1869*, 1930, pp. 553-554 and Jean Leflon, *Eugene de Mazenod*, Vol. III, pp. 332-339.

*de Ségur to take it to Bishop Gigli<sup>141</sup> for him, so that it could be adapted in the usual manner into the Roman breviary. Bishop de Ségur personally took it to the Secretary of the Congregation of Rites, but the dear Bishop Gigli did not want to hear anything about it.*

*Nevertheless, I did not get discouraged, so persuaded was I of the opportune of that beautiful Office, and so I address the Venerable Chapter of Saint Peter's basilica, to have it support, by making it its own, the request which I was prepared, on my part, again to present to the Holy Father.*

*The Venerable Chapter has a very important reason to present this request to the Holy Father. It possesses the famous relic of the Holy Face of Our Lord, imprinted on the veil, said to be Veronica's. Such a precious relic, which is shown so confidently to people in times of calamity and on major feast days, certainly merits to be honored in a more solemn manner than by the simple presentation that is presently done.*

*So, through you I would like to ask the Venerable Chapter to examine in its wisdom if it would not be worthy of its piety, and supremely opportune, for the reasons set forth, to adopt with the permissions required the so-called Office, Sanctae faciei Christi in passione deformatae, which I have the honor of submitting to its examination. That would truly be a very worthy manner of honoring the holy relic, and rendering fitting adoration to the Divine Person of Jesus Christ, and to his beautiful and holy face, so abused during his passion.*

*The Venerable Chapter could make this Office its own, without mentioning where it came from. I would agree that it receive all the honor of having taken the first step. We would very gladly follow behind.*

*What reasonable motive would the Congregation of Rites have to refuse its approval for such an Office? It could place it, if it so wishes, on a day other than a Friday in Lent; but would it not be more suitable for the piety and veneration that we all profess for the Divine Person of Jesus Christ, to honor his Holy Face, insulted, buffeted, covered with spittle, bathed in blood during his sorrowful passion, rather than the*

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<sup>141</sup> Domenico Gigli, Secretary of the Congregation of Rites in 1853-1854.

*nails, the lance and the winding sheet, all undoubtedly very holy objects, but which can not be compared to the very person of Jesus Christ? If the Offices for those objects were approved only a few years ago, why cannot they approve, a few years later, the Office of the Holy Face, as they approved the Office of the Prayer in the Garden, an Office which came from Mexico, and others as well?*

*I wanted to submit all this to the wisdom and piety of the Venerable Chapter of the renowned Saint Peter's basilica, to respond in some way to the impulse of my own devotion to the Divine Person of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, by honoring his Blessed Face, so horribly mistreated in his passion. I would consider myself fortunate if, at my humble voice, the great Chapter of Saint Peter's, moving ahead in the very just request to be addressed to the Holy Father, were to place on the scale the credit of its very high position in the Church, the importance of its wisdom and capitular deliberations, and the favor it rightly receives from the Supreme Pontiff.*

*As for myself, I could speak about it to the Holy Father, and I hope that together, we might succeed in being able to honor suitably, here on earth, that august face which delights the angels in heaven, and which will be our joy, when we ourselves are called to contemplate it in glory.*

*I have the honor of calling myself the very devoted servant of your most illustrious Lordship,*

C.-J. Eugene,  
Bishop of Marseilles.

Rome, Christmas Eve.

**[Sunday], the 24, Christmas Eve:** I did not feel I had the courage to go and attend the service in the Sistine Chapel, where the Pope was to officiate at first vespers. The night Office was to start at eight o'clock and finish at eleven, at Saint Mary Major, that is how it is designed. On Christmas night, the Pope, when he officiates, or the Cardinal that officiates in his place, as happened this year, says the mass before midnight. I had planned on going to celebrate the forty-third anniversary of my first mass with the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. That is what I did. I said my three masses and gave holy communion not only to the whole community, but also to the boarding girls and a rather large number of pious people gathered in the church, whose doors were closed to the public. (There, they did not have large crowds like our churches in

Marseilles)<sup>142</sup>. No matter how emotional I can be on this beautiful night which reminds me of such precious memories for myself, my mind was not afraid to diverge and fly to those places, where could be found, at that moment, the dear people from my diocese and all the various members of my spiritual family. I left at three o'clock in the morning, when every bell in the city was announcing the Office which was going to start in the major basilicas, and undoubtedly in other churches.

**[Monday, December 25]:** I went to Saint Peter's at nine o'clock for the Pontifical Office to be celebrated by the Holy Father. The cardinals and bishops assistant vested at the back of the church, in a way that I did not think was fitting. They removed their *ordinary clothes* or the *mantelletta* to put on a white cope and a mitre of cotton or white material, and they came, carrying their mitres, into the designated area that they had decorated with tapestry in front of Our Lady of Pity<sup>143</sup> chapel. The Pope came in as well from the Vatican through a small door, which opens near the Blessed Sacrament chapel. As soon as he put on his cope and tiara, the procession began, as I explained for the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The Pope was carried on the armchair they call the *sede gestatoria*; he thus entered majestically amid the crowd to the Blessed Sacrament altar, where he descended to adore Our Lord. The cardinals, bishops and all who formed the procession adored at the same time. After that, they continued into the choir section; everyone took his place there. The Pope went to sit down on the throne placed near the altar; there, all the cardinals, bishops and penitentiaries of Saint Peter's came to reverence him, presenting themselves before him, the cardinals standing, the bishops kneeling, to kiss his hand, placed over the cope and stole, and the penitentiaries of Saint Peter's kissed his slipper. Then the Pope intoned Terce. During this part of the Office, he vested for mass, which took place as on the feast of the Immaculate Conception; today, only the Cardinal Deacons, the Prince assistant to the throne and the Conservators<sup>144</sup> received Communion from his hand. I ended my

<sup>142</sup> Rey II, 533.

<sup>143</sup> Michaelangelo's *Pietà*.

<sup>144</sup> The conservators: a designation given to a category of delegated judges, conceded by Popes to pious institutions, religious orders, hospitals, etc., to defend them from "manifest injuries and violence". In this way these institutions were exempt from competence of ordinary judges. These conservators still existed in the Founder's time. Probably they are referred to here.

day by giving Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the church of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart.

When I returned home, I discovered that my venerable neighbor, Bishop Bouvier of Mans, had become worse. He had received Communion the night before, at the mass said before him by the Abbé Sebaux, his secretary<sup>145</sup>. They decided to give him the sacrament of Extreme Unction. Cardinal de Bonald was invited for that. Almost all the French Bishops present at Rome came to attend the ceremony. It was not a good night and this morning, December 26, they asked me to say mass in his apartment to give him Holy Viaticum. I was very pleased to do that. I was glad to give this proof of my respect and veneration for that holy bishop, whom I so regretfully saw about to be taken away from the Church, which he had so well served during his long life; he is almost my age, about a year less. Bishop Tizzani<sup>146</sup>, that same bishop who had meetings with him about his theology, and who conceived a deep respect and true friendship for our prelate, was present at the administration this morning, as he had been yesterday during the gathering for Extreme Unction. After communion at my mass, the sick prelate made his profession of faith through the mouth of his secretary; he was too weak to recite such a long formula, but he himself pronounced the oath at the end and the words which precede it. Then I offered him a few heartfelt words, which seemed to have made an impression on him, as well as on those present around the foot of his bed, and I gave this beautiful soul the Viaticum of salvation for his passage to a blessed eternity. I finished the mass, after which the good bishop expressed a few affectionate remarks for his diocese and regret at having to die so far from his flock. He thanked me, repeating some of the words I had spoken to him. We left, very affected by the grave state of this dear sick man, which left us little hope for his recovery.

When the Pope learned of the holy bishop's situation, he wanted to give him a sign of his esteem and sympathy; he had his visit announced

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<sup>145</sup> The Abbé Alexandre Leopold Sebaux, (1820-1891), pastor of Notre Dame de Laval from 1855 on, was Bishop Grandin's benefactor and Bishop de Mazenod's friend, cf. *Oblate Writings* 2, pp. 174-175 and 13, passim. He was Bishop of Angoulême from 1873 to 1891.

<sup>146</sup> Vincenzo Tizzani (1809-1892), Canon of the Lateran and chaplain to the papal army.



for three-thirty. Bishop Tizzani and I acted as hosts for the sick man's apartment. When the Holy Father arrived, we went to receive him in the large courtyard of the Quirinal. As soon as he noticed us, he spoke to me with his usual friendliness. We each took one of his arms to help him down the steps, and accompanied him to the Bishop of Mans's room. When he had entered, we presented him with the sprinkler, with which he blessed the apartment saying: *Pax huic loco et omnibus habitantibus in eo*; he went right up to the patient speaking kindly to him. We all went out to allow the Pope to be alone with the dying holy man. He sat down close to his bed and stayed at least half-an-hour with him. As he went out, the Holy Father recommended that we do not allow him to talk too much as that tires him. "I could have stayed two hours with him, he said, "and he would have continued to talk, *caro infirma*, but *spiritus promptus est*." I asked the Holy Father to allow all of us present in the hall to kiss his feet. "Gladly," replied the Pope, but refused to sit down, saying with a smile that he could not get out of an armchair anymore, when he sat down. He was satisfied to lean on it, and everyone kissed his slipper, even the Archbishops of Munich and Vienna, who had come into the hall. I had the good fortune of standing beside the Holy Father, who said to us jokingly: "Your Excellencies, stay well, so that God keeps me from making a similar visit to you." I said to him: "Most Holy Father, it would be hard not to be healthy, when we are treated so well by Your Holiness". — The Archbishops of Vienna and Munich, who were there are, as I am, staying in the Quirinal at the Pope's expense —. The Holy Father responded: "It is fitting hospitality." — "Yes, Most Holy Father," I replied, "hospitality that is both fatherly and royal". A few minutes after that, the Pope left. Bishop Tizzani and I again accompanied him to his carriage<sup>147</sup>; (as we walked through the corridors, he wanted me to put my hat on; laughing, I told him that in my position as the *youngest* — well understood that I was the oldest of all —, I had nothing to fear.

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<sup>147</sup> Bishop Jeancard (*op. cit.*, p. 298) wrote on this matter: "Closing the meeting, the Pope passed his arm under that of Bishop de Mazenod, went out of the apartment with him, and, followed by the other bishops, went out talking with the one from Marseilles, passed through the long palace corridors and crossed the large courtyard to his carriage, where after a moment of familiar conversation he broke off the *duo* and sent everyone away, graciously thanking them. No doubt, these are very small details, not very interesting to others than to Bishop de Mazenod's sons: but it is permitted to hold on to them, since they express the relationship between their Father and the Head of the Church".

We helped him up the steps. Passing through the room where the steps lead to the courtyard, he told me: "I have been living here for 45 years." — "Your Holiness was just a child?" — "I was a full 18 years old, when I left college." I did not push my questions any further)<sup>148</sup>. Going down the corridor, he greeted Cardinal de Bonald, who was passing on his way to visit the sick man.

Since the Holy Father had granted my farewell audience for this evening, as I received his blessing and kissed his hand, I took the liberty of telling him I had not settled my account, and that I would soon present myself before his feet at the Vatican. That is what I did. I came back to my apartment, adjoining the one of the sick man, changed my clothes and went to the Vatican, where I arrived immediately after the Pope. The appointment time was already a little passed, and the waiting room was already occupied by Cardinal Baluffi, who had come to say farewell, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo and several other archbishops and bishops. I understood that, being fifth or sixth in line, I would have a long wait; I was patient like the others, and lost nothing by waiting, when my turn came, the Pope kept me for more than an hour. During that audience he was, as always, very kind to me, and granted me everything I asked of him (for myself and my diocese, for the Congregation of which I gave him a statistical report, that he took with pleasure and began to glance through)<sup>149</sup>. First of all, I thanked him for the hospitality he had shown in my regard; then I asked for a daily privileged altar, and the faculty to give the papal blessing twice, in my pastoral visits, and in all the parishes of my diocese I would visit. I also asked him for different other favors that he very kindly granted me. Members of the Confraternity of Saint Vincent de Paul at Marseilles had sent me, for the Pope, a letter of congratulations signed by most of their members, and an album describing the beautiful festivities that took place on December 8 in my episcopal city. The Pope seemed to take pleasure in glancing through all the designs that showed how the city was illuminated. I spoke to him again about the Office of the Holy Face, letting him know that I had written to Bishop Lucidi, to have him encourage the Chapter of Saint Peter's to make the request. The Pope seemed to be

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<sup>148</sup> Rey II, 534.

<sup>149</sup> Rey II, 535.

rather disposed to grant it to us, only he wanted several bishops to join together to make the demand. Before leaving, I asked the Holy Father's blessing for my diocese and my double family. He freely bestowed it *toto corde* and I left, penetrated and overwhelmed by all the kindness the Holy Father had showered on me.

**[Friday], December 29:** I gladly accepted an invitation from the Jesuit Father General to officiate pontifically at the *Gesù*. I had hurried back to the Quirinal and there found that our venerable patient was far gone in his death agony, but still in full use of his faculties. It was my duty to assist him in that supreme moment. It was a great consolation for me to do so. Clothed in my rochet and stole, I took my place near his bed, to propose thoughts and sentiments to suit his condition. We prayed with some priests and lay faithful from his diocese who were there. From time to time, I interspersed some fitting words to maintain the fervor of that holy soul; he had extreme difficulty in speaking, but understood everything I said to him, and responded in a visible manner. Due to a feeling of malaise, rather than from the suffering which he was undergoing, he could only scarcely pronounce these words: "My God!", which he did frequently.

However, seeing that his end was approaching, and wishing to give him absolution, I remembered I was in the presence of a professional theologian, and not knowing what principles he held in that regard, I told him it was my custom to give absolution from time to time to sick people in a position like his, and quoted Saint Liguori, who gave it every three hours. The dying saint still had enough strength to reply, although with an effort: "I know that". So, I said the act of contrition formula and gave him holy absolution. He kept getting lower, but since he was still conscious, I repeated more frequently short prayers proper for a dying bishop; faith, hope, love, thanksgiving, desire for heaven, invoking with love Jesus Our Saviour, Mary our Mother, Saint Joseph, the Guardian Angel, Saint Michael, and Saint John the Baptist, patron of the dying. In the midst of those prayers, after receiving the application of indulgences of the holy scapular and others, the venerable Bishop died very peacefully, without violence or a tremor, like a lamp that has run out of oil. Everyone there, filled with deep veneration, came forward to kiss his hand. The Abbé Sebaux, his personal secretary and traveling companion, whom I cannot praise here too much, wanted to close the eyes of the one whom he rightly called his father, and kissed his forehead with filial devotion. I was moved, but consoled at the same time, seeing

the kind of devotion given to this just man, who, after a holy career, just took possession of glory. Similar signs of devotion were shown all day long, and they continued to pray around his body all night.

**[Saturday, December 30]:** The Holy Father, informed of the happy death of our prelate, immediately announced that he wanted to take care of the funeral arrangements and would say mass for him today, the 30th. The Bishop of Montreal and I did the same; both of us offered the holy sacrifice in the very room of the deceased, and profiting from my privilege as Bishop assistant, I had mass said after me, and in my presence, by the dear Abbé Sebaux, for whom that was an immense consolation. Now, we wait to see what the Pope decides. He has already arranged for the funeral to be on Tuesday, in the church of the Holy Apostles. They will carry the body there in solemn procession, accompanied by hundreds of religious. The Holy Father consented that the Archbishop of Paris, the only French Bishop, with the Bishop of Orleans, who will be in Rome that day, be invited to officiate.

I will be leaving tomorrow morning. The Bishop of Civitavecchia<sup>150</sup> is waiting for me and wants me to stay with him, and Mister Dol, Director of the salt mines, has invited the Bishop and myself to dinner on the evening of my arrival. The Bishop delegate, also informed of my arrival, has kept the letters which came from France for me, fearing that, if he sent them by mail, they might cross me on the way. He made a mistake, for which I cannot blame him.

I was so touched to the depths of my heart at the admirable behavior of the Holy Father in regard to our venerable Bishop of Mans, that I felt it my duty to send him the following letter:

*Most Holy Father,*

*Having been present during the last days of the Bishop of Mans and to his very end, I am, in the union of heart that was effected between the dying Bishop and myself, really identified with him so that, profoundly moved, as I am, both by the visit Your Holiness made to his deathbed,*

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<sup>150</sup> Bishop Camillo Bisleti of Civitavecchia from 1854 to 1868.

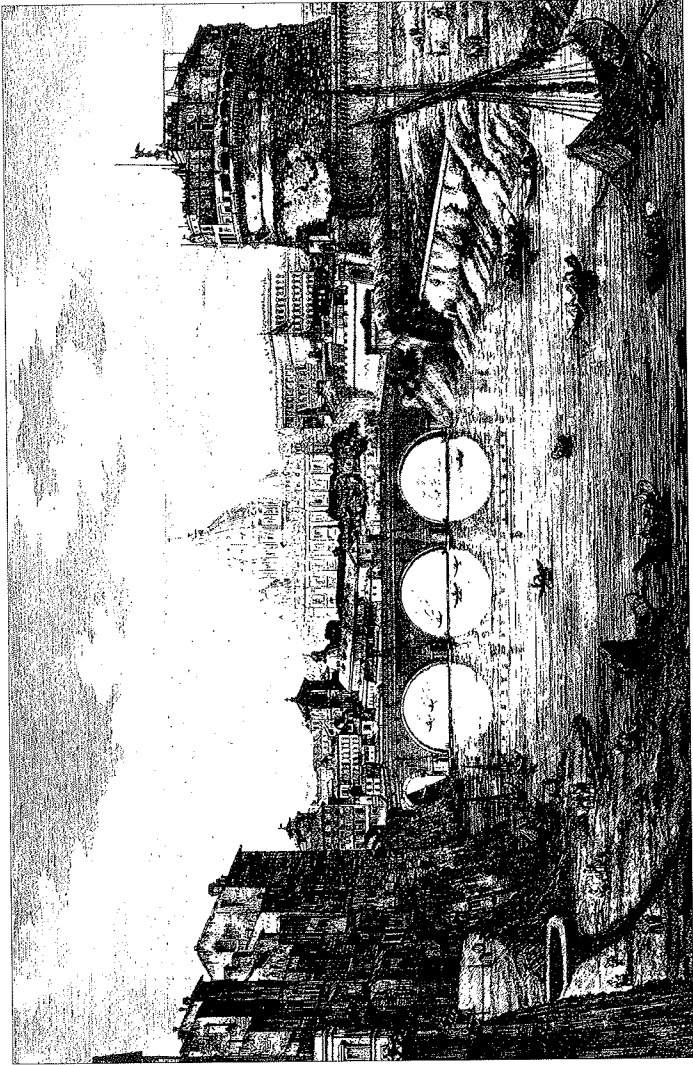
*and by all that You arranged following that for his funeral, I dare to humbly express my gratitude to you.*

*If I were not about to leave to return to my diocese, I would make it a point of duty to go and lay at the feet of Your Holiness the expression of all that I feel, seeing how You put the crown on all Your most kind attention of paternal and noble hospitality. All of Catholic France will justly admire You, and especially the Mans diocese will be both consoled and grateful; I have for guarantees the sentiments of the dead man's devoted secretary and several other priests from his diocese, who surrounded him with their concern and prayers.*

*Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, I again beg Your Apostolic Blessing and remain, with deep respect, the very devoted son of Your Holiness.*

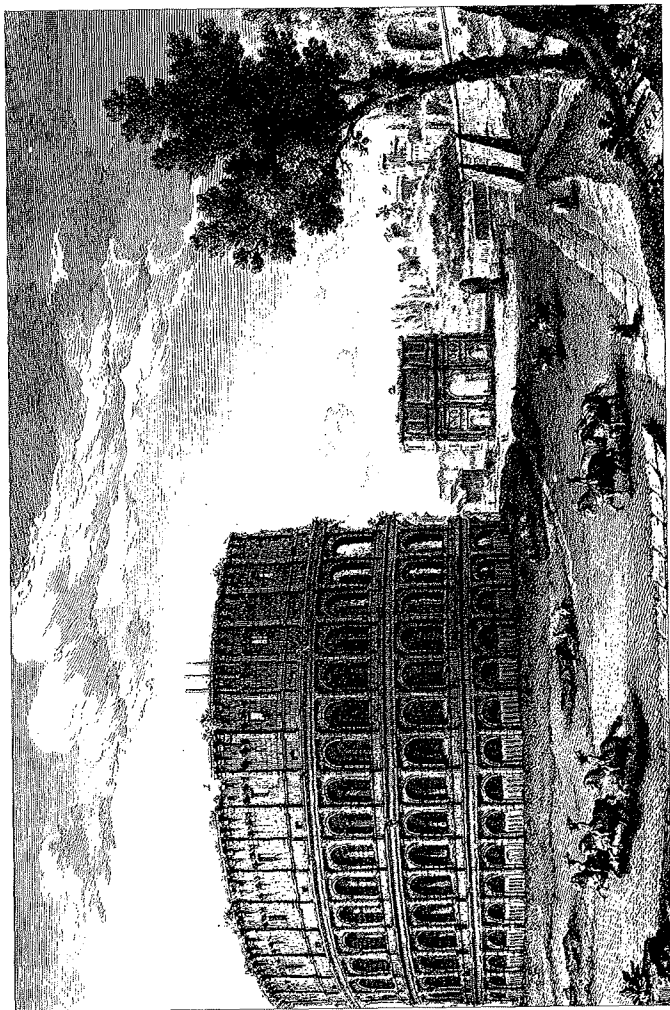
C.-J.-Eugene  
Bishop of Marseilles.

Rome, December 30, 1854.



**The Angel Castle**

Here Bishop de Mazenod celebrated Mass on November 12, 1854.



The Coliseum and Arch of Constantine  
cf. Diary February 6, 1826





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