

*Eugene de Mazenod*

(1782-1861)

TRANSLATED FROM

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**JEAN LEFLON**

TRANSLATED BY

*Francis D. Flanagan, O.M.J*

**EUGENE de MAZENOD**

Bishop of Marseilles

Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate

*1782-1861*

**I**

*The Steps of a Vocation*

*1782-1814*

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To  
HIS EMINENCE FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN  
on the occasion of  
the Fiftieth Anniversary of  
his graduation  
from  
FORDHAM COLLEGE



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## *Author's Preface*

Bishop de Mazenod belongs not only to the history of his Congregation, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and of his diocese, Marseilles, but he is also identified with the history of his class, the Nobility of the Robe, the history of his native province, warm and luminous Provence, and finally, the history of his times when one way of life ceased and a new civilization began. Neither the man nor his work can be accurately appraised without their both being studied in the full light of many complex and changing circumstances. Both he and his work were strongly marked by their social and geographical surroundings; both bore the mark of the times. The years from his birth to his death, 1782-1861, were filled with many contrasts which gave dramatic impact to his story: Absolute Monarchy, Revolution, Consulate, Empire, Restoration, July Monarchy, Second Republic, Second Empire. So many governments in 79 years, and in those extremely eventful years, so many ideological, political, social and religious crises which shook France and the Church at one and the same time!

The necessity of studying Bishop de Mazenod in the light of all these historical events becomes all the clearer to us when we realize how profoundly these events influenced his formative years as well as his years in the ministry. In Aix, his childhood felt the backlash of the aristocratic prerevolution of 1787, the bourgeois Revolution of 1789, the royalist counter-Revolution of 1790; for, during all those years, his father, Charles-Antoine de Mazenod, President of the Court of Accounts, fought determinedly to maintain the privileges of the genuine fiefed nobility, the rights of Parliament, the Constitution of Provence and the authority of King Louis XVI. His boyhood and youth in Italy were exposed to the trials and influences of an emigration that served only to make his monarchical convictions and his attachment to the past all the more deep-rooted. The Consulate, by permitting him to

return to France, also allowed him to see the evil consequences that befell his family circle because of social, economic, and political upheavals; his father's financial ruin, and the disagreement of his separated parents. From all this arose a moral and religious crisis of a grave, lengthy and sorrowful character which plunged him into melancholy, boredom, idleness and discouragement. A radical conversion revived his fervor and his early vocation, bringing him finally to Saint-Sulpice to prepare for the priesthood at the very moment when the conflict between Pius VII and Napoleon was reaching its most bitter stage. Associated, under Father Emery's direction, with the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, the Aa and other more or less secret Catholic and royalist groups, he then embraced the cause of the Pope, the Black Cardinals and the Holy See. His seminary training, therefore, associated him with the struggles of the Imperial Church and the theological problems which put Gallicans and Ultramontanists into opposing camps.

No less than his education, the ministry of Bishop de Mazenod bound him to the great events of his century. The young priest began his apostolic labors just when Napoleon's regime began to waver and then crumble. The restoration of the Throne to which had to be added a religious restoration, moved him, for the sake of re-Christianizing rural districts, to found the Society of the Missionaries of Provence, later known as the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate. As Vicar-General of his uncle Fortuné, titular Bishop of Marseilles, as Bishop *in partibus* of Icosia, and finally, as Bishop of Marseilles, he was involved in all the controversies of his time: Liberalism, the *Avenir*, Gallicanism, freedom of education, pagan classical authors, the liturgical movement and the relationship between the Papacy and the Church of France. Quite evidently, therefore, it would be impossible to give a just appraisal of the man if we failed to show the relationship between his personal reactions and the more or less forceful stand he took towards the general situation that existed at that time.

This broadening of perspective cannot but throw a clearer light upon the picture. However, while the portrait of the man

gains in clarity and accuracy by being set against its proper background, the background itself stands out in better relief because of what we learned from a rather extensive research into his whole familial, local, political, social, economic and religious history. In fact, this research brought to light some very suggestive documents; even some very revealing ones. The richest discoveries were made at the Méjanes Library in Aix and at the Hotel de Boisgelin at Aix, and consisted of letters exchanged by the Mazenods from 1791 to 1817. This correspondence, dealing with their emigration to Italy, furnishes us with details of the counter-revolutionary intrigues of d'Antraigues and Marie-Caroline, the commercial transactions of President de Mazenod, and have supplied us with completely new data which have an equally important bearing upon history in general and the particular history of the Founder of the Oblates. What Eugene de Mazenod wrote to his mother while he was a seminarian at Saint-Sulpice complements certain points in the Emery documents compiled by Father Faillon. The young cleric's class notebooks reveal precise details of the theological training given by the Sulpicians, and of their Gallicanism; details which, up to now, were lacking. Granted that this new information makes no essential change in the overall picture, it does, however, give the picture new color and life because of the concrete and vivid details which it added. Much that was hidden beneath the surface began to emerge, giving rise to new hypotheses or furnishing needed explanations. Thus, as it so often happens, much has been added to official archives, which are sometimes too official, by private archives which are more detailed and much less guarded.

Moreover, these new sources of information demanded a bibliographical examination which would give them their proper place in the context in order to secure adequate interpretation of their contents. The books and magazine articles which could shed some light either directly or indirectly, or furnish complementary information were, therefore, methodically read and carefully examined.

One can gauge from all this what work went into the preparation of this biography, undertaken at the wish of Father An-

tonelli, O.F.M., head of the historical section of the Congregation of Rites. The broad scope of the task called for competent, patient, and devoted collaborators to whom the author feels deeply indebted. Some of them, to satisfy the insatiable and demanding curiosity of the writer, tracked down numerous leads in the archives; at times, with very happy results. They also explored libraries and, by their very suggestive and detailed reports, clarified many complex and delicate problems. Others microfilmed and indexed a number of documents and original manuscripts.

This immense task was greatly facilitated by librarians and archivists to whom we now express our gratitude: in France, M. Mahieu of the National Archives of Paris; M. Bruno Durand, head librarian and M. Guelfi, assistant librarian of the Méjanes Library in Aix; M. Roux of the Musée Arbaud and the Departmental Archives, also in Aix; M. Villars and his assistant, M. Baratiers of the Departmental Archives in Marseilles; also in Marseilles, M. Billioud of the Municipal Archives and M. Bouyala d'Arnaud of the City Library; M. Letrait and his assistant, M. le Minor of the Departmental Archives in Draguignan; Father Noye of Saint-Sulpice in Paris; Bishop Bressoles and M. Pichard du Page of the Office of the Holy Childhood in Paris; Bishop André and Canon Martin of the Archbishop's Palace in Aix. Bishop Soins, and Canons Giraud and Espeut of the Archbishop's Palace in Marseilles; Bishop Maury and Father Janot of the Propagation of the Faith Office in Lyons; Father de Bertiers, Professor at the Catholic Institute in Paris, and M. Lefai both of whom very graciously put their index files at our disposal. In Italy: Msgr. Mercati of the Vatican Archives and Reverend Father Teschitel of the General Archives of the Jesuits in Rome; Professor Mario Brunetti, of Venice; Baron Donna d'Oldenico of Turin; Bishop Ferraris, the diocesan archivist in Vercelli; Canon Baudoin of Monaco; Bishop Waeber of Fribourg (Switzerland); the archivist of the Brothers of Ploërmel in Jersey. As for the archives of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, both the General Archives and those belonging to the Office of Postulation, the Very Reverend Father Deschatelets, the Superior General, showed the utmost confidence in the biographer by opening these archives

to him and allowing him full liberty to use them as he wished and to interpret them as he saw fit.

Finally, our gratitude is expressed in a very special way to the Boisgelin family who gave us such free access to its private archives; first of all to Mlle. Aliette de Boisgelin who, with the consent of her brother, Count de Boisgelin, and her three sisters, Mlle. Marie-Françoise de Boisgelin, Mme. la Comtesse François de Boisgelin, and Mme. la Comtesse Emmanuel de la Forest-Divonne, opened very important files at the Aix residence; also to Mme. la Comtesse Augustin de Boisgelin and M. le Comte Paul de Boisgelin who confided their Bargemon and Saint-Martin de Pallieres documents to us. This first volume of the biography of their great-grand-uncle owes the best part of its substance and originality to these documents.

Fortunate indeed is the historian who finds completely ready at his disposal such a rich documentation and one that reaches his hands already partly synthesized. He needs only to fashion it into a book. This the author has tried his best to do. The present volume treats only of the years of the pre-revolution, the Revolution, and the First Empire. May it not prove too inadequate a treatment of the dramatic story of a young man; a story which is also the drama of a society and of an era.

JEAN LEFLON

*Paris, February 2, 1956*



## *Translator's Preface*

Canon Jean Leflon is a total stranger to English readers since up to now none of his many works have been translated into English. He is, however, no stranger to his native France where both the volume of his works and the high literary quality which characterizes them have gained him an enviable reputation in the world of letters, particularly the field of history and biography. He deserves to be introduced to English readers not alone because of his forthright and robust style which will endear him to many of our English-speaking countries but also because he belongs to that choice circle of European writers who, at one and the same time, delight and astonish us with viewpoints and a sense of values quite similar to our own. No matter how often one makes the acquaintance of a writer of this kind, one experiences a pronounced feeling of unexpected closeness; somewhat like meeting a kindred soul in a strange land. So it is with Canon Leflon. The American reader will find himself marveling that a French author should sound so American, the English reader will make a like identification, and wherever the Canon is read the reaction will be quite the same. Such universality of appeal always makes for readability.

There might be danger of triteness in such similarity of view and judgment were it not for the originality and creativity which distinguish the present work and lift it high above the usual biography of a holy man. Canon Leflon treats his subject not from a strictly spiritual vantage point, but chooses rather to show how strongly the spiritual was influenced by the sociological and political. In that way, he is able to bring into his study of Bishop de Mazenod a whole ensemble of political and social upheavals which had dramatic impact upon a man who did much to shape the spiritual revival of post-Revolutionary France, not to mention the spiritual lives of people all over the world.

The translator has no intention of attempting to enlarge

upon what Canon Leflon has said about Eugene de Mazenod. It would be impudence on his part to try to equal, let alone improve, what the eminent Canon has written of the Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. It is sufficient to point out that here is a study of a man and his times which stands out above anything that has yet been written about Eugene de Mazenod. It may well stand high in the whole field of history and biography.

The translator is deeply indebted to many people who, in one way or another, have made his task much easier. A very special word of credit is certainly due to Professor Fernand Vial, Ph.D., Chairman of the Department of Modern Languages at the Graduate School and Fordham College of Fordham University, long-time President of the French Teachers of America, whose other titles are far too numerous to mention. The Professor's painstaking collaboration has saved the translator from many a pitfall and the author from many a betrayal. A deep debt of gratitude is owed also to Reverend Francis B. Wallis, O.M.I., of Saint Patrick's College, Ottawa, for his many valuable suggestions and corrections which helped the translator to change over to the English idiom without distorting the text beyond recognition. To the Misses Loretta Sullivan, Grace Keegan, and Georgie Brimigion the writer feels grateful for their generous sacrifice of time and patience in preparing the final text of the translation. Over and above all, the translator is truly grateful to his religious superiors for the help and encouragement they have given him during the long and painful preparation of this English edition: to the Very Reverend Leo Deschatelets, Superior General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Very Reverend John P. Walsh, O.M.I., his assistant-General, both of whom have been exceedingly kind and gracious beyond all deserving; to the Very Reverend Raymond J. Hunt, O.M.I., Provincial of the Eastern Province of the Oblate Congregation who readily granted each and every request that was made of him. Without their help and encouragement, this translation would never have become a reality.

The English edition of Canon Leflon's work is offered to the Immaculate Mother of God with the fervent prayer that if it be

the will of Divine Providence and the mind of the Church, the day may soon come when Eugene de Mazenod will be raised to the honor of our altars and be for his sons everywhere, as well as for the souls committed to their care, an inspiring example of a way of life that cannot help but lead to Eternal Life.

FRANCIS D. FLANAGAN, O.M.I.

Newburgh, New York  
February 29, 1960



## Foreword

One hundred years after his death, Eugene de Mazenod remains, for the most part, unknown to the English-speaking world. The events and accomplishments of his life, however, have a special interest for our day which possesses so many similarities to the days of de Mazenod. He lived at a time when a whole world was being shattered—the world of aristocracy, of privilege, of royalty. He lived at a time when the Church was being forsaken, despised, and trampled under foot in his native France. It was a time wherein the Church was brought to a condition as miserable as she has yet endured; and it was in times such as these that Eugene de Mazenod rose above many personal and family difficulties to become one of the great figures of the reconstruction of the Church in France.

He was born an aristocrat in the last years of the *ancien régime*. Before he was ten years old, he was forced to flee his home in Provence and spend eleven years in exile. As the forces of revolution continued to advance he went first to Nice, then to Turin, Venice, Naples and finally to Palermo. His young life was thus subjected to the horrors of civil war; to the uncertainty and instability caused by successive emigrations and to the deprivation of normal family life. He was, moreover, exposed to the false charms and enticements of court life during much of his exile in Italy. When he finally returned to Provence, he found his family dispossessed. There ensued prolonged procedures concerning his family possessions and its position in society; throughout all of this Eugene had to endure the continued separation from his beloved father. He found also that the church in which he had been baptized had been destroyed, that many priests had died on the scaffold while others had fled into exile. What churches remained were deserted and the faith of the people was dead or dying.

All of these dreadful events loosed upon him successive waves

of anguish. During his exile in Venice he had told his granduncle, the vicar general of Marseilles, that he wished to become a priest. For years he had not acted upon this and it seemed that his vocation had been lost. When he saw the miserable state of religion in Provence he was severely shaken and experienced his most serious interior crisis from which he emerged on Good Friday of 1807. From that time on, his eyes were unalterably fixed upon the sanctuary.

This constancy carried him through the years of spiritual and theological training at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, during a time that was far from calm. With enthusiasm he returned to Provence and dedicated his priestly activity to the evangelization of the poor and the sanctification of the clergy. It soon became apparent to him that he could not give full exercise to his spiritual activities without establishing a religious group. So on January 25, 1816, he and Father Tempier began community life in what had once been a monastery of the Carmelite nuns. They were joined by three more priests in mid-February and thus was founded the "Missionary Society of Provence." This society dedicated itself to the preaching of missions in Provence. Although their labors were blessed with great spiritual success, their numbers grew but little. By 1826 they numbered only a dozen priests and a few clerics. Yet Pope Leo XII in February of that same year gave his solemn approbation to the Institute, its Rules and Constitutions. The name "Missionary Society of Provence" had been changed in 1825 to "Oblates of St. Charles." Now de Mazenod adopted the name it has possessed ever since: "Oblates of Mary Immaculate."

In 1832 Eugene de Mazenod was elevated to the episcopacy and five years later succeeded to the see of Marseilles. Throughout his administration of this large diocese he remained an inspiring example of a devoted bishop. Even in the midst of great crises and extensive cares he remained personally devoted to the service of the poor and the needy. Cholera ravaged his diocese on four separate occasions and during each epidemic the Bishop of Marseilles joined personally in the administration of the sacraments to

the sick and the dying. In spite of all his duties he maintained until his death the direction of his religious family.

While this society was still young, Bishop de Mazenod received a request for missionaries from Bishop Bourget of Montreal, Canada. The bishop had been all over Europe seeking aid. Although the need in France was great and Bishop de Mazenod did not have enough priests for the work which he desired to do, he could not refuse Bishop Bourget's request to send priests to help him with the "poor and spiritually destitute" of his vast diocese. On Oct. 22, 1841, the first group of Oblates left for Montreal; it was comprised of four priests and two coadjutor brothers. Before his death in 1861 Bishop Mazenod was to see more of his Oblates depart for the missions in Hudson's Bay, Ceylon, the United States and the southern portion of Africa. He sent them all forth with the same great enthusiasm and joy with which he sent the pioneer missionaries in 1841.

If we were to express the expansive personality of Eugene de Mazenod in a single word, we could do no better, perhaps, than to refer to him as an apostolic man. This quality was seen in him by Bishop Bertrand who returned to his diocese of Tulle and said: "I have been to Marseilles, I have seen Paul." Whether he was preaching the gospel to the poor of Aix or caring for the inmates of its prison, whether he was establishing a religious congregation or caring for a large diocese, Eugene de Mazenod ever regarded himself as engaged in the very forefront of the frightful contest between the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan. This he saw as the only proper position for a priest of Jesus Christ. He limited himself to no single work but sought, according to the needs of the time, to continue the work the Apostles had begun, by devoting himself to whatever promoted the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

In his preface to the Constitutions and Rules of the Oblate congregation, he called for "apostolic men, deeply conscious of need of their own environment, who would labor to the best of their ability for the conversion of others"; for men who would "courageously walk in the paths trodden by so many apostles and evangelical laborers." If such could be found he declared that

“there would be reason to hope that in a short space of time, the people who have gone astray might be brought back to their long-neglected duties of religion.”

In his apostolic labors he possessed a keen insight which led him to employ the most effective means possible, even if this meant departing from established routine. In a world that had been broken and to a large extent dechristianized, he saw the need of beginning anew. He announced, for example, his intention of preaching to the people in Provençal rather than in French which the poor unlettered people could not understand. This was without precedent. Many thought this innovation rash; his aristocratic relatives and friends were shocked and warned him that he was debasing himself. But he persisted and on the first Sunday in Lent in 1813, at six o'clock in the morning, the young nobleman who had become a priest for the sake of the poor, stepped into the pulpit in the Church of the Madeleine in Aix to deliver his first sermon in the town where he had been born. Was not that morning one of the sublime moments in the long history of Christian evangelization? The large church was filled with the workmen, the servants, the poor, the very beggars of Aix. De Mazenod spoke to them in a language they could understand. He addressed them in words which they had not heard before:

Workers, servants, peasants, . . . what are you in the eyes of the world? . . . The outcasts of society. The world turns away from you that it may not be moved to pity by your condition, which it does not wish to alleviate . . . But what are you in the eyes of faith—you poor of Jesus Christ, you afflicted and wretched, you sick and suffering . . . you, whom misery overwhelms, my brethren, my dear brethren, my dear respected brethren? You are the children of God, the brethren of Jesus Christ, the coheirs of his eternal kingdom, you are, as St. Peter said, a holy race, a kingly people . . .

The effect was overwhelming and thereafter the church could not hold those who came to listen. The afflicted masses for whom the Church had ceased to be a reality, came back in crowds to their Father's house. Ever after, Eugene de Mazenod was to insist that

his Oblates speak to the poor of their dignity—and in a language they could understand.

In a true apostolic spirit, all his labors came forth from a consuming love for the Church. Indeed “church” is the first word of his preface to the Oblate Rule and the very first thought he puts before his children is the sad estate of their mother:

The Church, the glorious inheritance which Christ the Saviour purchased at the cost of His own blood, has in our days experienced cruel desolation. This beloved spouse of the only-begotten Son of God is torn with anguish as she mourns the shameful defection of her own children. Apostates from Christianity, and utterly unmindful of God’s blessings, they have provoked the divine justice by their sins. And did we not know that the sacred deposit of faith is to be preserved intact even to the end of the world, it would scarcely be possible for us to recognize the vanishing religion of Christ in the remaining scattered traces of it.

The need, in the estimation of Father de Mazenod, was simply for men “who have an ardent love for the Church.” As the apostles had established the Church in the first days of Christianity, so was it necessary to reestablish the Church in France after the destruction wrought by the Revolution. This could be done by men who were filled with the apostles’ love for the Church and who possessed their willingness to give their lives in her behalf. He set for himself this lofty ideal of the complete gift of self to the Church. The Church to which he consecrated his life was first and foremost a persecuted Church, a despoiled Church. It was also a Church on the verge of being separated from Rome. He made no secret of the fact that he sided with the Sovereign Pontiff. He resisted, in the seminary, the Gallican theses of his dogma professor M. Boyer. He did not want to receive ordination from the hands of Cardinal Maury who had been too obliging to Napoleon at the expense of the Holy Father. He boldly preached the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. He risked reprisals by being consecrated a bishop in the Eternal City. All of this was evidence of his fierce devotion to the Church which was so cruelly afflicted.

The only Church he knew was the Church of Tradition, according to the venerable formula: *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*.

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate have proved themselves true sons of their founder. I have seen the Oblates at work in the Philippines and have observed in them their founder's love and loyalty toward the Church, his enthusiasm for the missionary labors of the Church, and his desire to adopt all modern means to spread the word of God—especially among the poorest and most abandoned souls. Here also in the United States I can testify that the bishops greatly appreciate the enthusiasm with which the Oblates of Mary Immaculate have placed themselves at the disposal of the Hierarchy for the building up of the Body of Christ which is His Church.

Their loyalty and devotion to the person of the Holy Father and to the Church of Rome is, like their founder's, unswerving. They have repeatedly answered his call for laborers until today they rank high among the missionaries of the Church. They labor all over the world: with the Eskimos of the frozen North, the Zulus of South Africa, the Mohammedans of Sulu and, most recently, with the inhabitants of Greenland. The missionary roster of the Church is indeed bright with the names of Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

"Increase and fill the earth," was the blessing given to Eugene de Mazenod by Pope Leo XII on February 17, 1826. "Increase and multiply and fill the earth," repeated our present Holy Father, John XXIII, to Very Rev. Leo Deschatelets, Oblate Superior General, on March 10, 1961. May she whose name they bear and to whom they look as to their mother, obtain for the Oblates of Mary Immaculate the fulfillment of these papal blessings. I am confident that they will continue to be animated by the spirit of their founder. I am confident that they will continue to reproduce in their lives his virtues—especially his apostolic spirit. As a result they shall continue to contribute their share in the ultimate victory of Christ's Kingdom over the kingdom of Satan which today, as in the time of Eugene de Mazenod, seems to be in the ascendancy.

I am most happy that Canon Jean Leflon has undertaken to

write this life of Eugene de Mazenod. So gigantic is this figure, such a great span of history does his life embrace, that massive scholarship is required to write his story. And it is massive scholarship which Canon Leflon possesses. The brilliance of this scholarship comes undimmed to the English reader owing to the polished, expressive translation of Father Flanagan. I wish for this book a wide diffusion. After one hundred years, it is time for the English-speaking world to become familiar with the events in the life of Eugene de Mazenod.

✠ Egidio Vagnozzi  
Titular Archbishop of Myra  
Apostolic Delegate

Washington, D. C.  
October 2, 1961



*Volume 1*

*The Steps of a Vocation*

*1782-1814*



## Chapter One

# Family Background—Provence

### THE BIRTH OF EUGENE DE MAZENOD

*Charles Joseph Eugène de Mazenod, son of M. Charles Antoine de Mazenod, President of the Court of Accounts, Aids and Finances of this country of Provence, and of Mme. Marie Rose Eugénie de Joannis, his wife, was born yesterday and baptized this second day of the month of August, 1782, by me, the undersigned Curé. The godfather, M. Joseph Thomas de Joannis, Royal Professor of Medicine, the maternal grandfather; the godmother, Lady Eugénie Françoise Dantoine, wife of Augustin François de l'Éveque, honorary President of the abovementioned Court.*

*Signed in my presence: Mazenod fils*

*Joannis*

*Dantoine Venel de Lévesque,*

*Deperier*

*L'abbe de Mazenod*

*Ravanas curé.<sup>1</sup>*

All the signatures on this baptismal certificate are those of persons from Provence, to which country belonged the father, the godfather, the godmother, a friend, the uncle who was a canon, and the parish priest.

Eugene de Mazenod was born according to the flesh in the capital of Provence. He was born, according to the Spirit, in the Aix church of St. Mary Magdalen, the patroness of Provence. To Provence would he owe his generous and warm nature, his lively disposition and personality, his sparkling and effervescent vitality,

his ingenious imagination, his somewhat combative zeal, his fluent, easy, colorful and musical manner of speech, his sensitive and ardent heart, his simple and demonstrative faith and his keen intuition. Therefore, in order to give a complete portrayal of his natural and supernatural character, we must "take into consideration the speech, manners and characteristics of that section of France from which he sprang."<sup>2</sup>

As his compatriot, Abbé Brémond observes, "Sanctity is not like those scattered grains of wheat which a fickle wind sows in every direction and which indifferently and fruitlessly accommodate themselves to the first patch of soil on which they fall. Still less is it like those artificial flowers which are sometimes used with misplaced zeal in decorating our altars . . . flowers which have never had roots in any kind of earth," as if "an ingenious and ever-manifold Providence" had not accommodated "the lessons and effects of His grace to the temperament and the essential virtues and weaknesses of each nation."<sup>3</sup> Therefore we can—in fact we must—apply to Eugene de Mazenod what the same Abbé Brémond has written of Father Yvan in his *Provence Mystique*:

If grace is to make a saint of him, it will do so, and in the real sense of the term, by making of him a Provençal saint. Just as an artist, commissioned to decorate a church, will adapt his imagination to the particular style of the edifice, so too, He who has designed our shore-lines, fixed the course of our rivers, and chosen the fragrance of our hills, will, in the formation of this nascent virtue, very gently harmonize the strict rules of sanctity with the characteristics he derives from his native soil.<sup>4</sup>

Although the personality of the people throughout the whole of Provence has the same generic character, the specific character of that personality can easily be determined according to region, soil, and environment. Highlands and lowlands, cities and country-sides, classes, occupations, and trades . . . all these circumstances bring to each one's personality a variance that is sometimes so clear-cut that even the least-informed person will never mistake one who lives on the *Canebière* (Marseilles' most

colorful street) for one who lives on the Majestic Mirabeau Boulevard of Aix (Aix's most important avenue).

Now, Eugene de Mazenod came from that avenue at Aix which later on was to bear the name of the Revolutionary Tribune, and, very definitely did not come from the Canebière. He was born in a city pre-eminently known for its royal parliamentarians, and he lived in the new and lavish section where the High Magistracy dwelt.<sup>5</sup> His father, Charles-Antoine de Mazenod, was President at the Court of Accounts, Aids, and Finances.<sup>6</sup> His cradle was adorned with an azure coat of arms, with three mollets of gold, 2 and 1, the golden chief charged with three bends gules,<sup>7</sup> relieved by a proud motto: "Stimulo dedit aemula virtus," a motto which states in detail a future course of action and sums up a whole past history. For the family owed its titles and fortunes to the stimulus of a legitimate ambition and to the continued firmness of an inflexible virtue.

It gradually progressed from honorable but modest circumstances. Its origin is obscure, and genealogists who have not been able to trace it back beyond the XVI century, ascribe its beginnings to a Henry Mazenod from Saint-Chamond-en-Forez. His son, Étienne, inherited at Marseilles an apothecary business founded about 1529 by his uncle, François, who had no children of his own to whom he could leave it. Up to that time there was no trace of any nobility in the family, nor was there any record of any member of the family marrying a person of nobility. For several generations, Henry's descendants married the daughters of families with very common names, such as, Montagne, Lombard, Drivet, Gardiole, Tasson, etc. It was not until the middle of the XVII century that riches enabled one of their sons, Charles, to enter the high bourgeoisie, then, high municipal positions in Marseilles, and finally, in May, 1663, to become a member of the aristocracy by royal patent of nobility.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Charles became the founder of the noble Provençal branch of the family, while the other two principal branches, known as the Forezien and Briarde branches,<sup>9</sup> continued to develop side by side, in an ordinary way. The descendants of Charles were thereafter to bear

the Christian name of this illustrious ancestor, since it was to him they owed their noble lineage.

The social rise of this branch of the Mazenod family, which had moved from Saint-Chamond to Marseilles in Provence, corresponds to the economic rise of Marseilles itself. For, in the XVI century, "the flow of commerce in the Rhone valley, proceeding from the great annual fairs held at Lyons"<sup>10</sup> bypassed the silted harbor of Aigues-Mortes which, until the end of the XV century, had been its regular port. Marseilles, instead of Aigues-Mortes, then became the seaport for Lyons, "one of the turn-tables of European traffic."<sup>11</sup> The two cities were closely associated. Marseilles furnished the daring seamen who were needed to import the products of the Orient and to export the manufactures of Lyons. Lyons furnished the capital which Marseilles lacked for supplying the ships and equipment needed for handling the increase of trade. Lyons also furnished its practical, methodical, and experienced business men, who took care of wholesale buying and selling, and regulated the flow of raw materials and manufactured goods. Lyons, which took upon itself the financing and directing of trade, kept Marseilles strictly dependent upon her. Mistress of the outlets which commanded the entire Rhone valley, she ruled the whole economic life of the South-West for her own greater profit.

The migration of the Mazenods from Saint-Chamond coincided with the general migration of merchants from that district to the Port of Marseilles which had now become the Port of Lyons. Contrary to what one might think, were one to identify the apothecaries of that time with the pharmacists of today, the commerce of these merchants could not help but gain by this transfer of their business, for, "under the vague name of drugs," the sixteenth century included "many different products used in the tinting and dressing of fabrics: gall nuts, safflowers, alum, madder-roots, gums from the Levant, cochineal from America, indigo, etc."<sup>12</sup> Since Marseilles imported goods each year valued at more than six and a half million livres,<sup>13</sup> and since the weaving and dye industry of Lyons depended to a great extent on these goods, the apothecaries of Saint-Chamond had every reason to

settle where these products arrived by sea and were distributed by land. Nowhere else would they find more abundant supplies or more numerous buyers. As middlemen between the ships which brought these exotic dyes from India and the Orient, and the artisans or manufacturers who bought them on the spot in large quantities, they were sure of substantial profits. Thus, their business was wholesale rather than retail.

About the middle of the XVI century, Étienne Mazonod, the nephew of François, and the first known head of the entire Provençal branch, settled in Marseilles where we find a will made out by him in 1564.<sup>14</sup> The family's apothecary business, however, reached its full development only under the direction of Étienne's grandson, Charles, who amassed a considerable fortune from it. His wealth soon permitted him to enter the *cursus honorum*. In quick succession he passed through the stages that traditionally led wealthy merchants like himself to the aristocracy, namely: entering the municipal administration which was directed by the leading local merchants; being appointed to the Consulate<sup>15</sup> in 1650; acquiring a Seigneurie<sup>16</sup> in Provence—it was the Seigneurie de Beaupré—which, although it did not confer nobility, "very definitely led the way to it."<sup>17</sup> There remained only the purchasing and acquiring of the rank of nobility. This was conferred on him in May, 1653, confirmed in April, 1667, and permanently assured by letters patent of the king in June of that same year. He did not wait, however, for this official sanction to his rise in rank, which was already effective, in order to contract noble marriages. His first marriage was to Marguerite de Suffrin in 1617, and the second was to Jeanne de Thomas, daughter of Jean Baron de la Garde et Sainte-Marguerite, in 1649. Thenceforth his descendants were to marry only daughters of quality and in place of very common names of grandfathers and grandmothers, the Heraldry Book of Provence would list the names of Grimaldi, Mourgues de Callian, de Laugier. Likewise, the girls would marry into families with such names as d'Arène, de Sabran, de Lombard-Montauroux, d'Antoine de Venel.

According to the rules of nobility, nobles of that time were forbidden to engage in trade under pain of forfeiting their no-

bility. But Marseilles, the only city of its kind in France, in fact, the only city of its kind in the world, felt it should be exempt from this law. Its merchant nobles, who had no intention of renouncing either the honor of their titles or the financial profits accruing from their business affairs, took advantage of the sojourn of Charles IX within their walls in 1564 to beseech the king by humble protest and warm entreaties, and, by a signal privilege, he granted them the right to carry on trade without any forfeit of nobility, provided they never opened up any shops or did any retail selling.<sup>18</sup> Charles de Mazenod was able therefore, without loss of rank, to engage in the wholesale apothecary business which had brought him his fortune and his rise to the nobility. His son, Charles-Joseph, and his grandson, Charles-Vincent, it seems, continued to carry on the business after him.

The following generations, however, aspired to higher things. So as not to prove false to the motto chosen by their ancestor, "*Stimulo dedit aemula virtus,*" they wished to rid themselves of the commercial aspects of their origins. The drugs trade, no doubt, exhaled the perfumes of the Orient, but it also betrayed the humble origin of their family. It was now a problem of passing from the merchant nobility, peculiar to Marseilles, to the nobility of the sword,<sup>19</sup> which meant rising to a higher rank and making the Mazenods part of the old aristocracy of France. Charles-Alexandre, grandfather of the future bishop, therefore, embraced a military career by joining the Corps of the Musketeers, but an unfortunate accident on horseback, four years after his enlistment, disqualified him for military service.<sup>20</sup> Instead of joining the nobility of the sword which now became unattainable, Charles-Alexandre came down a step and joined the nobility of the robe.<sup>21</sup> In order to enter the magistracy, he began the study of law and after receiving his Bachelor of Law degree from the Faculty of Aix, on December 16, 1740, and his Licentiate on January 4, 1741,<sup>22</sup> he secured by royal letters patent on February 10, 1741, the office of President at the Court of Accounts, Aids, and Finances of Provence. Thereupon the Mazenods left Marseilles and settled at Aix. From that time on, they belonged to

the parliamentary class which was to leave its permanent mark upon them.

The robes of the magistracy possessed a certain magic charm. One could not put them on without adopting ever after the external demeanor, the mode of living, and the mentality of a class that was as jealous of its privileges as it was imbued with its high dignity. The bearing was dignified, solemn, a bit stiff. The speech was learned, measured, sententious, as cold as a legal document and as decisive as a court judgment. In his private life, with members of his family as well as with outsiders, the judge maintained his court dignity. He stood out as superior to the commoners and as a leader among his equals; quoting sources, he instructed and judged with authority. Moreover, his high position made it necessary for him to live in the grand manner; a house with a bourgeois front having only two or three windows was unthinkable for one of his state in life. It was naturally required that he have a fashionable town mansion, which was usually a large building flanked by a wing on either side. He was expected to own a courtyard, a garden, carriages, and many liveried servants. His morals, at least publicly, had to be in keeping with a profession whose task it was to safeguard law, morality, and justice. Last of all, his manner of thinking was modeled upon that of the juridical body to which he belonged; he took the juridical attitude, its respect for true principles and for traditions that were sometimes debatable; its broad viewpoints and those that were narrow and partisan, its regard for order and its touchy independence, its solicitude for the common good and its militant attachment to the special interests of the parliamentary class which, under the *ancien régime*, formed a State within the State.

In coming from the world of high commerce to the Court of Accounts of Aix, the Mazenods, therefore, changed not only their social and professional life, but, little by little, they also changed their entire way of thinking to suit this outward transformation.

From the very outset, financial worries brought them new problems. Far from keeping pace financially with the rise in their

social position, their material resources took the other direction and became noticeably lowered. Charles-Alexandre had to pay 80,000 livres, for his office as President, an office which brought him an "insignificant" revenue,<sup>23</sup> of 1,500 to 1,600 livres annually. The fees he received from litigants did not at all equal the income that once came from the vulgar apothecary business. Furthermore, his rank demanded that he live on a lavish scale; "noblesse oblige." His expenses increased with lightning speed while his resources diminished just as swiftly.<sup>24</sup> He and his son, Charles-Antoine, were always forced to live beyond their means and were constantly faced with financial problems, although they put on a brilliant front. Finally, the keen business acumen which their ancestors of Saint-Chamond and Marseilles had possessed now disappeared to the profit of culture and of the juridical mind. From that time on, they were to manage their fortune poorly, and, in order to maintain their style of living they were to resort to unfortunate borrowing. Their debts were to accumulate, and to restore the family fortune they would put financial considerations above sentimental ones in their marriages to rich heiresses.

The world of the "grandes-robés," which was marked by strong particularism<sup>25</sup> naturally had a great moral influence upon the Mazenods' family and social ideas. In the streets lined with mansions built to reflect the individuality of the legists who owned them, on the Boulevard, straight and majestic like a procession of the judiciary, in the salons with their white and gold wainscoting where ostentatious receptions were exchanged between people of their class, the Mazenods constantly breathed the atmosphere of the law court and were thoroughly imbued with it. Completely permeated by the parliamentary spirit as they undoubtedly were, they nevertheless held firmly to the traditions of their ancestors in religious and political matters. Far from sharing indiscriminately, blindly and passively the principles, doctrines and prejudices of the self-assertive and opinionated class of society to which they belonged, they always had the courage to show their independence whenever the occasion demanded and, in opposition to the presumptuous encroachments

on the part of their fellow-parliamentarians, they doggedly defended the rights and the authority of both the Church and the king.

THE ANTI-JANSENISM OF THE DE MAZENODS AND THEIR FIDELITY  
TO THE CHURCH

For two whole centuries, if we are to judge by the family genealogy which may be incomplete and lacunary, the Mazenods gave only a few vocations to the Church. About 1480, before the maternal branch was divided in two, and then three branches, it produced two priests; Jean, a Curé, with a benefice from the Church of Lyons, and Mathieu, a Chaplain of the Church of Lyons. One could scarcely say that the nieces and nephews of these distant uncles followed their example, for, in the XVI century, the branches of Clusel and Provence produced neither clerics nor nuns; that of Saint-Chamond wasn't much more fruitful, for it gave only one priest, Étienne, a Curé of Saint-Romain-en-Jarez. In the XVII century, for the first time, a few of their daughters entered the convent; Claudine who became a religious of Saint Catherine of Siena, and Marguerite and Marie who became Ursulines, each of the three from a different branch of the family. There was no ecclesiastic, however, unless one regards as such Marc-Antoine, Equerry to the Queen and Abbé of St. John the Hermit. This twofold title, conferred at the time of the original family's ennoblement, leads one to suppose that the above-mentioned Marc-Antoine belonged to that class of Abbés known as Commendatory and Court Abbés.<sup>28</sup> As for the Provençal branch, it needed no benefices to take care of its heirs and heiresses. Exclusively engaged in its profitable drug business, it gave no encouragement to its children's entering the service of the Church. But, in the warm climate of "mystical Provence," the fruits of grace were eventually to ripen. If they were slow in doing so, they were, for that very reason, richer and more abundant.

After 1700, while the other two branches remained practically barren in the matter of religious vocations, as if their sap had

dried up completely, the Marseilles branch showed a sudden and abundant fruitfulness. Charles-Joseph, Seigneur de Beaupré, and his wife, Marie de Grimaldi, gave one of their three daughters to the Church; Louise, who became a professed nun of the Presentation convent at Marseilles. In the next generation, Charles-Vincent and his wife, Anne de Mourgues de Callian, made an even larger contribution. Two of their four children entered Religion; Anne Blanche who became a Benedictine nun at Soyons near Valence, and Charles-Auguste-André, Doctor of Theology, Sacristy Canon of the Metropolitan See of Aix, Archdeacon of Marseilles, and vicar general for both Bishop de Belsunce and Bishop de Belloy. The eldest son, Charles-Alexandre, remained in the world<sup>27</sup> to perpetuate the line and married Ursule-Félicité-Élizabeth de Laugier.

If Anne-Blanche left no mark in the religious history of that section, her two brothers and her aunt Louise, the Presentation nun, most certainly did. Their names are closely linked with the jansenist quarrels of that time which were general enough in the whole kingdom of France, but far more heated under the warm sun of Provence. One can easily understand how Provence took part in this squabble with heat and passion, for these are qualities which characterize all its controversies and debates. But, at first glance, one does not understand so easily how Provence could have been so passionately won over to the cold, "melancholy doctrines" emanating from Louvain in the damp, "misty regions of the North."<sup>28</sup> Just as the refreshing poetry of the Troubadours had won the affection of Provence, so too, the theological traditions of Marseilles,<sup>29</sup> "Cradle of the Semi-Pelagians,"<sup>30</sup> should have, it seems, won it over to "Molinism and to Molinosism,<sup>31</sup> [Quietism] both of Southern importation,"<sup>32</sup> rather than to the somber pessimism of the *Augustinus*.<sup>33</sup> The demonstrative, expansive, and imaginative Provençal temperament does not seem in any way whatsoever suited to a form of Christian life as stiff, rigid, and dry as Jansenism was.

The incompatibility, however, is strictly superficial. "This poetic Provence," writes Michelet, "is also harsh country."<sup>34</sup> Abbé Brémond writes:

The sharp contours of its hills, the icy wind which continually torments and stirs it up, the brown, parched fields constantly at war with its sharp rocks spell neither gaiety nor ease. Neither is its natural philosophy gay nor does its religion close its eyes to the terrifying aspects of the Gospel.<sup>85</sup>

Its very countryside and climate imbue the inhabitants with a melancholy gravity which always lurks beneath their jovial and radiant exterior. "Great open spaces . . . Crau and Camargue"<sup>86</sup> without horizon . . . arid . . . silent; "Dark and savage Maures Mountains";<sup>87</sup> "Naked mountain slopes; desolate plateaus pierced by the shriek of the cold North-West wind; wailings of the East wind in autumn over the wind-swept beaches; droughts followed by violent storms";<sup>88</sup> so many harsh realities that are never seen in the pleasant, conventional picture "which is all too often painted by partial souls."<sup>89</sup> In short, life in this country of Provence has its harsh side, for, neither milk nor honey flow smoothly here where one must work by the sweat of his brow upon a soil subject to the whims of a fickle climate . . . A naked land. . . A parched land.

Jansenism, therefore, found a favorable planting-ground in this part of France which exemplifies all the contrasts of nature and grace, and it successfully adapted and rooted itself there. Besides, when it first appeared, it had a touching and attractive look about it. It possessed dignity, grandeur and seriousness; it boasted of the talent and prestige of its teachers and enjoyed the lustrous reputation of Port-Royal<sup>40</sup> which nothing, up to then, had dimmed. It brought the vigor of its reparation and the firmness of its doctrines and morals to a society in the throes of reformation. Its mystical glow had not as yet been darkened by moralism, nor had its essentially religious character as yet compromised with politics. In fact, it was thoroughly alluring.

In the eighteenth century, however, when its internal development and the contradictions it encountered, suddenly compelled it to push the conclusions of its principles to extremes, and to enlist in its cause the combined aid of the episcopalian, presbyterian, and parliamentary gallicanisms,<sup>41</sup> those who had been attracted to it by the deceptive light and radiance of its

youth remained obstinately loyal to it. Rooted in individual minds and souls, in families and social groups—indeed, even in Religious Congregations and Orders—supported by party spirit, embittered by persecution and controversy, venomous with hatred for the Jesuits, Jansenism took on, all at once, new vigor and new forms without, however, its blinded and fanatic adherents' realizing its increasingly fatal deviations.

It was under this last form that the sons and sister of Charles-Vincent de Mazenod knew it in the diocese of Marseilles . . . a diocese which, according to the testimony of the Nuncio, was one of the most troubled in all France.<sup>42</sup> While Charles-Auguste-André was preparing for ecclesiastical duties and Charles-Alexandre was preparing for the Provençal magistracy, their aunt Louise, who in Religion was known as Sister Anne of the Cross, had already come to grips with the choice that Rome's condemnation of Jansenism had imposed upon Catholics.

The Presentation convent where she was stationed was a veritable "hot-bed of Jansenism"<sup>43</sup> and such a radical one that it "believed itself destined to become the Port-Royal of the South."<sup>44</sup> In 1722, Bishop de Belsunce did everything he could to correct the situation. At first, he removed from Marseilles, Father Fort, an Oratorian, who directed the religious of the convent, and kept them "in the habitual state of mortal sin and in the most frightful kind of insurrection."<sup>45</sup> He then deposed the Superioress d'Arène and, to replace her, directed the nuns to choose one of three outsiders whom he proposed to them.<sup>46</sup> Lastly, he deprived the unrepentant of the sacraments or exiled them from Marseilles. "This violent state of affairs lasted until the end of 1722, when calm was restored to them through the protection of Cardinal de Gèvres,"<sup>47</sup> Archbishop of Bourges and President of the Assembly of Clergy of France. Outwardly, at least, peace had returned to the house.

About 1735, hostilities broke out again, for, if the community as a whole concealed its feelings, the Sisters de Mazenod and de Roquefaire had no qualms about declaring "to Sieur Nicolas, Canon of Saint-Martin . . . that they were not and never had been submissive to the Constitution *Unigenitus*"<sup>48</sup> which, since it

was evil, could not become a law of the Church." Suspecting the other members of the community of dissimulation, M. Imbert, extraordinary confessor for the convent, "declared to all of them that he would not hear the confession of any of those who had not beforehand cleared themselves of the accusations which had been leveled against them."<sup>49</sup> Most of the religious then agreed to the conditions that were laid down, but seven resisted. Two of the seven were the Sisters d'Arène and the other five were the Sisters de Mazenod, de Lorme, de Rosset, de Roquefaire and Fouquier.<sup>50</sup>

To bring them to a better state of mind, Bishop de Belsunce arranged for a day of retreat each month, to be given by Father Maire. This holy priest gave them "touching meditations and exhortations"<sup>51</sup> but to no avail. Next, the Bishop appointed a great number of confessors for them. This, too, was of no avail, for the seven Jansenists refused to amend. During Holy Week of 1737 the Bishop then resolved to intervene personally. On Tuesday of that week he presented himself before the grille and sent for the culprits. He was received "with the utmost rudeness."<sup>52</sup> The delinquents at first refused to come down to the parlor and made him wait at the choir grille for a full hour, "giving the excuse that they were sick, although that same day, they had been to both the refectory and the parlor."<sup>53</sup> Finally, giving in to the commands of the prelate, they consented to come down, but the exhortations he addressed to them, and to which they listened "motionless as statues"<sup>54</sup> were fruitless. They all refused the ten confessors put at their disposal for their Easter confession, because these confessors demanded that the nuns sign beforehand the required formulary. They refused to do this, giving as their excuse the orders of the king. (His Majesty had decreed that there was to be an end to all religious controversy.) The obedience due to their sovereign prevented them from disobeying his wishes.

In vain did the Bishop remind them that it is far better to obey God than man. In vain, also, did he add to his repeated demands the threat of the Church's censure. The seven remained unshaken, made use of temporal authority in order to exempt

themselves from the orders of spiritual authority, sought the protection of the Chancellor and initiated proceedings with the Parliament of Aix.

This twofold appeal, however, did not enable them to escape the stern measures taken by the Bishop. In July, the most stubborn among them were scattered among different convents. While one of the Sisters d'Arène was interned at the convent of the Ursulines of Aubagne and the other at the Visitation Convent of Marseilles, Sister de Lorme was sent to the Convent of the Sacramentines, and Sister de Mazenod was sent to the Ursuline convent of Saint Sebastian at Aix. She stayed there scarcely a year, for, "the Bishop of Aix, displeased with this religious who refused to do what was demanded of her, sent her back to the Diocese of Marseilles in order to rid himself of her."<sup>55</sup> In November, 1738, four of the rebels decided to submit. We do not know if Louise de Mazenod followed their example, but everything seems to show that after the death of Bishop de Belsunce in 1755, the new Bishop of Marseilles, Bishop de Beiloy, purposely chosen because of his love for peace (possibly because of his lack of firmness), proved conciliatory, and put a final stop to the whole affair.

Now, while Sister Anne of the Cross was supporting what was then called the Party of Truth, with the fiery temperament characteristic of the Mazenods, her two nephews, Charles-Alexandre and Charles-André, were taking the opposite stand, and very decisively, too. The Mazenod family, definitely and with no compromise whatsoever, sided with the two nephews. Charles-Alexandre in the Magistracy and Charles-André in the Clergy opened up the path which future generations of the family were to follow fearlessly. On this point, family traditions leave no doubt. Although there is a lack of documents affirming these traditions, a whole mass of references seems to prove their authenticity.

While he was a pupil at the Sulpician Seminary, Charles-Auguste-André had been strongly warned beforehand by the sons of M. Olier concerning the contamination of Jansenism. So hostile were the Sulpicians to the Port-Royalists that, rightly

or wrongly, they and the Jesuits were held equally to blame for the destruction of the Abbaye des Champs.<sup>56</sup> If the formation he received from these venerated teachers proves how orthodox his youthful convictions were, the honor Bishop de Belsunce showed him proves even more how militantly orthodox were the convictions of his later years. This intransigent prelate who, more than any other, was engaged with the Jansenist quarrels disturbing his diocese and who was a veritable nightmare to the Jansenists, certainly would not have brought anyone into his administration and council in 1752 whose principles were in any way suspect, or anyone of lukewarm zeal. It is said that Bishops habitually choose their vicars general according to their own image. Be that as it may, the Mazenods did resemble de Belsunce inasmuch as, like him, they were straightforward and, like him, they stood their ground unflinchingly in the face of opposition. Charles-Auguste-André had a full share in the campaigns waged by his Bishop against those priests, religious, and faithful who refused to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus*. He also did his full share in defending the Jesuits and, in spite of the sarcasm heaped upon the Cordicoles,<sup>57</sup> spread devotion to the Sacred Heart<sup>58</sup> with equal success. Unfortunately, the role he played at that time has not been accurately determined. It is rather difficult to place him in the foreground because Bishop de Belsunce played the role of the chief protagonist with such fire and brilliance that the secondary actors remain necessarily in the background. Like the minor characters to whom the heroes of classic tragedies confided their secrets, they played down their roles and stayed in the background. At any rate, the Bishop was never one to allow anyone to outshine him.

As for Charles-Alexandre, the close friendship that existed between him and President d'Éguilles, a relative by marriage, is sufficient evidence of his principles and feelings in this matter. President d'Éguilles was a sharp contrast to his brother, the infamous Marquis d'Argen, author of *Jewish Letters*, *Chinese Letters*, and *Cabalistic Letters*, and numerous other works as licentious as they were anti-Christian. This Marquis was the husband of the comedienne Cochois (called "la belle Sylvie"), and he was

also a close friend of Voltaire and Frederick II, the latter of whom made d'Argen his Chamberlain. President d'Éguilles' "virtues sprang from his character even more than from his religion, which is saying a great deal," wrote Cazanova, "for he was a man of sincere piety, albeit one with a sense of humor, both of which can, I believe, go very well together."<sup>59</sup> He was also a "lay Jesuit."<sup>60</sup> A Jesuit priest lived at his house, was ordinary confessor to the whole family, and celebrated Mass each morning at which the whole house assisted. He took his meals with them and whenever a guest made any reckless remarks with double meanings or began to tell an off-color story, would very neatly change the conversation. "Although one should be able to scent this bird of prey from afar," irreverently adds Cazanova who was deceived by his very un-Jesuitical "collar" and his "simple Abbé's costume," "I should never have guessed what he was" if "the Marquis d'Argen had not told me beforehand."<sup>61</sup>

A devout man, and a "lay Jesuit," President d'Éguilles naturally belonged to that dedicated and pro-Jesuit group which, under the direction of the Dauphin, waged the campaign against the Jansenists who corrupted the faith and the philosophers who denied it. So active was he in this group that the heir to the throne made him one of his inner circle. Through d'Éguilles, and for the same reasons, President Charles-Alexandre was also able to break into the Prince's inner circle and soon enjoyed such great favor that he was able to have direct recourse to the pious son of Louis XV whenever the cause of the Church or of the Crown demanded it. Not only did d'Éguilles open the doors of Versailles to Charles-Alexandre, but he also showed him in a striking way how to appeal to higher authority. When the Parliament of Provence, in its turn, took up the investigation of the Society of Jesus, forbade it to teach, and finally decided to suppress it, President d'Éguilles, who had vainly tried to defend the Jesuits before that body, referred the matter three times to Versailles. After some temporary success, however, the intrigues of Choiseul who was secretly backing the hostile magistrates, the sickness of the Dauphin, and the indifference of the King, brought d'Éguilles to complete disgrace. In the end, he succeeded

in obtaining only a softening of the penalties imposed at the Mercurial Assembly of May 17, 1763, by the Parliament of Provence upon those magistrates who had unbecomingly raised their voices to defend the Jesuits living in their midst.<sup>62</sup> Banished from the kingdom in perpetuity, d'Éguilles, however, saw his sentence reduced to ten years and restricted only to the city of Aix by a decision of the King's council. He, nevertheless, remained definitely and completely excluded from the Judiciary. Charles-Alexandre who was at that time President at the Court of Accounts, Aids, and Finances, did not officially declare himself, since his jurisdiction did not allow him to interfere in all these proceedings. But his personal feelings were too closely like those of his friend and he, himself, was too courageous a man, not to have fully supported the cause of the Jesuits against their enemies.

THE LOYALTY OF THE DE MAZENODS TO THE KING AND THEIR  
PARTICULAR ATTACHMENT TO PROVENCE

In his last will and testament, drawn up in 1758, five years before this crisis, President d'Éguilles had advised his sons, "Above all else, not to let themselves be drawn into the new abuses which are devastating the Kingdom; to remain strongly obedient to the King in purely temporal matters and to be equally submissive to the Church in all things spiritual."<sup>63</sup> "Without permitting themselves to be drawn into the new abuses" of Parliaments in general, and of the Parliament of Provence in particular, the Mazenods, following this same line of conduct, would always prove their loyalty in respecting and defending the authority of the King as well as that of the Church. Actually, the only new abuse was the ascendancy of the magistracy over the monarchy. Their attempts to control the legislative power, and even the executive power, were becoming increasingly stronger. Even as far back as the time of the Fronde,<sup>64</sup> Charles de Mazenod (the first head of the Provençal branch of the family) had to fight them, a circumstance which helped in no small way the honor and titles of his family. Back in Charles' time, in 1651, insubordinate princes were keeping Provence in a constant state

of upheaval and determinedly so, because Spain and Savoy had promised to send troops to them in the event of insurrection. They won over, therefore, Baron de Saint-Marc, First Consul of Aix, whom the Parliament of that city had sent as deputy to Paris to seek the withdrawal of Governor d'Allais. They also won over President d'Oppède by promising him the office of First President<sup>65</sup> and, with him, a number of ambitious or discontent magistrates. While d'Oppède and his confederates were prevailing upon Parliament to return a judgment against Cardinal Mazarin, who was Prime Minister, Baron de Saint-Marc was organizing a military force, called the "Sabreurs," a name they received because their commander "carried, instead of a sword, a kind of broadsword, and would exclaim, whenever anyone opposed him, 'I will sabre him!'"<sup>66</sup>

But d'Oppède had, as his rival, Regusse, who was equally covetous of the title First President, and whose ambition Cardinal Mazarin fed in order to divide and conquer. Added to the Sabreurs' troubles was the fact that they met strong opposition from the people, who, although they were hostile to the aristocracy, were even more so to the Court.

*Parliament, Mistral, and Durance  
Are the threefold scourge of Provence.*

So runs an old proverb of that country.<sup>67</sup> One whole segment of Provence was, therefore, lined up against the Frondeurs. The Frondeurs accomplished nothing by contemptuously referring to their adversaries as "Canivets," or "quill cutters," so called, "because they were supposedly incapable of using any other weapons except the pen-knives used for cutting quills."<sup>68</sup> Strong in numbers, the Canivets fell upon the Sabreurs with the battle-cry, "Vivo lou Reil Fuero lou Sabre"<sup>69</sup> and successfully put them to rout.

The defeated Sabreurs then tried to enlist the help of Marseilles by assuring that city that the princes would grant all her demands if she embraced their cause. It was then that Charles de Mazenod, who was, at that time, Second Consul of Marseilles, stepped in. Under the guise of making an answer to such tempt-

ing proposals, he went to Aix as delegate from Marseilles, but instead of bargaining with the Sabreurs, he "offered the Canivets," in the name of Valbelle, "the help of Marseilles against their enemies."<sup>70</sup> Encouraged by this offer, they decisively defeated the Sabreurs with the help of an army of the working class.<sup>71</sup> The Queen, herself, recognized the importance of this victory over a conspiracy which threatened the throne of France as well as its territorial integrity. "The city of Aix, as well as Provence, has placed the crown securely upon the head of my son," she declared to Councillor de Villeneuve whom the Parliament of Aix had sent as deputy to her.<sup>72</sup> The larger share of the credit for this victory went to Charles de Mazonod, whose resolute character and courageous initiative had tipped the scales in the young sovereign's favor. Thus, in May, 1653, "duly informed of the good and agreeable services which he has rendered to us on different occasions, and particularly in the exercise of his consulship of the year 1651, during which time he rigorously opposed all factions contrary to the welfare of our service in the strifes and civil wars which had arisen in one of our states, the said city of Marseilles, now obedient to us," Louis XIV, "by the Grace of God, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, and adjacent lands," granted to him, in recompense, letters patent of ennoblement, with the rank of Equerry.<sup>73</sup>

Thus did Charles inaugurate a tradition of loyalty to the rightful sovereign which was to be maintained until the death of his last descendant, Charles-Joseph-Eugene, Bishop of Marseilles.

His devotion to royal authority, however, did not stop him from resisting it whenever the centralizing spirit of the Monarchy endangered local and corporative particularism. Provence had its Constitution and Marseilles had its privileges which were usually as poorly defined as they were jealously invoked. Moreover, the leading merchants of Marseilles intended to reserve to themselves the municipal administration of a city where wealth and the control of markets made their class superior to others, both economically and socially. It was this conscious superiority that gave rise, in 1656, to a serious conflict.

That year, in order to ingratiate himself with the new governor, Consul Lazare de Vento had brought into the Port of Marseilles the Duke de Mercoeur's galley ship "which he decided would be supported" by Marseilles. "The wholesale merchants felt, and reasonably so, that to pay for its outfitting, the consul was going to reestablish the duty on merchandise . . . a duty that had been suppressed the preceding January."<sup>74</sup> Urged on by Glandèves-Niozelles, a group was then formed "in order to save the city and its commerce from an unjust burden."<sup>75</sup> Tempers flared and riots broke out, in which the aroused people sided with the merchants against the consuls. Eventually everything was settled, for a delegation, consisting of Niozelles' friends, appeased the King's anger, and Cardinal Mazarin, who desired to put an end to the whole affair "in a way that would appease the city without compromising royal authority," granted a generous amnesty.<sup>76</sup>

Three years later, in 1659, the quarrel broke out again when Niozelles' confederates welcomed and upheld those from Aix who had been stirred up against President d'Oppède and condemned by Parliament to be hanged, quartered or beheaded. The King immediately went in person to Marseilles with a court of justice, to convict the above-mentioned "Niozelles and his followers of high treason."<sup>77</sup> Actually, what Mazarin wanted more than anything else was to impress the inhabitants of Marseilles "by a show of severity."<sup>78</sup> Although the King's court of justice made a "brilliant and convincing investigation,"<sup>79</sup> it cleared practically all the guilty ones, and the Cardinal "was content to punish, by exile, the Lasalles, father and son, Major Felix and his brother, the abbé, the Beaussets, father and son, Mazenod and Cornier."<sup>80</sup> During their stay at Marseilles, the King chose as his lodging the town mansion of Thomas de Riquetti, one of Mirabeau's ancestors; the Queen chose as her's the Maison des Quatre Tours which was the home of Léon de Valbelle; Mazarin lodged at the home of Balthasard de Cypriani, and the Duke d'Anjou, who was the King's brother, chose "the home of Sieur de Mazenod."<sup>81</sup> The honor of housing such a noble dignitary speaks well of the high quality of Charles de Mazenod's dwelling. Evidently the

trouble he was in at that moment was not too severe because his banishment to Poitiers lasted but a short time. He returned to Marseilles a few months later, at the request of that city.

Essentially, this little drama, which ended in mild and short-lived punishment, was nothing but a clever trick on the part of Mazarin, who was an expert in *Commedia dell'arte*. Very simply, all Mazarin wanted was to ruin the particularism of a city and of a class, to the profit of monarchical authority, because on March 7, "Louis XIV suppressed the consulate of Marseilles, replaced it by a municipal council, made various changes in the constitution of the Commune,<sup>82</sup> and took his departure the following day."<sup>83</sup> Charles de Mazenod, by a short exile, had paid the price of this neat little transaction. "The municipal spirit such as that which animated him"<sup>84</sup> found itself smitten and struck down in his own person.

One could well have feared that once his great-grandson, Charles-Alexandre, entered the magistracy, his principles and attitude toward royal power would be that of the *Grandes-Robes*, for, in the eighteenth century the internal history of France was but one continual civil war in which aristocrats and parliamentarians joined forces to undermine the Throne. Forced by the autocracy of Louis XIV to be submissive and self-effacing, they resumed, the day after his death, the same attempts which Mazarin had, with great difficulty, succeeded in thwarting during the young Prince's minority. Thus, all unconsciously, they paved the way for the Revolution which really began well before its classic and traditional date of 1789. The revolt of the two noble classes goes back much farther than the year 1787, when it brought the crisis to a head by preventing the social and financial reforms proposed by Calonne. The famous decision of Parliament, which set aside the Will of the late King as early as 1715, clearly marks the beginning of the whirlwind which, in 1792, brought about the destruction of the Monarchy.

Far from favoring or being swayed by the destructive motives of his fellow noblemen, Charles-Alexandre always fought to resist them. His family traditions greatly influenced his conduct in this regard. Instead of putting conditions upon his customary

submission to the orders of the Crown, as was the case with his ancestor, the consul, particularism had the opposite effect and stiffened his hereditary obedience and devotion to the Crown. The rivalry which kept the Aix Court of Accounts, Aids and Finances, at odds with the Parliament of Provence, could not but help to accentuate his resistance to the undertakings of a body, which treated him, as it did his colleagues, like a magistrate of an inferior rank. These quarrels, which were mock heroic and very much *ancien régime* strifes in which one grabbed for himself whatever honors and jurisdiction he could obtain by means of request, by citing precedent, or by stating rules of procedure, often resembled the squabbles of Parisian canons caricatured by Boileau in his *Lutrin*. Everything became an excuse for friction. Even the place one held in processions became a matter of argument, with Parliament's feeling it possessed a higher dignity, and demanding to be placed "a dextre" while keeping its rivals "a senestre." All Parliament had to do was to oppose the King, and the Court of Accounts, Aids, and Finances immediately took up his defense. For example, in 1762, we see the Court of Aids publishing an edict which its Aix rival had rejected.<sup>85</sup>

That explains the similarity of conduct between Charles-Alexandre and Jacob-Nicolas Moreau, who was also a councillor at the Provençal Court of Aids. Less resolute than Charles-Alexandre, Moreau had "at first, laughed off the quarrels of Jansenism."<sup>86</sup> Later, on reflection, however, he wrote, "It seemed dangerous to me for Parliament to pit its strength against the Company of Jesus, which I considered useful and whose power I felt Parliament was exaggerating. Alluding to *Candide* by Voltaire, I sometimes repeated to a minister, whom I knew well; "Go ahead! Let Parliament do these things. They'll devour the Jesuits for a few years; they'll get to you later."<sup>87</sup> The facts verify only too well these disturbing and shrewd predictions.

Moreau, along with his colleague, Charles-Alexandre, and the members of the Court of Accounts, also engaged in quarrels with the Parliament of Aix, the same parliament which, by its decisions, "had the temerity to dispute the legislative power of

the King.”<sup>88</sup> He was the author of a work entitled *Remonstrances de la Cour des Aides de Provence contre les entreprises du Parlement*. This work placed “the true principles of French Government” against the “Republican Maxims” of the Parliament of Aix, in order to establish “a fixed rule that would avoid, at one and the same time, the arbitrariness of despotic rulers and the license of anarchistic parliaments.”<sup>89</sup> In 1763, a year after this verbal fencing, followed by very heated arguments, President de Mazenod, who happened to be “at Compiègne on business for the Society”<sup>90</sup> brought Moreau’s memorandum to the attention of the Dauphin. The Prince, who “had already taken an interest in *L’Observateur Hollandais*, *Carouacs*, and *Remonstrances de la Cour de Montpellier*,” granted an audience to Moreau, the author of these works. De Mazenod presented him to the Prince, who treated them both with “the utmost kindness.” He seemed “to hear the account” of their “tangles with Parliament with a certain satisfaction,” and after “talking with them for a half an hour,” brought the audience to a close with these appropriate words: “Gentlemen, I am very grateful for your courage in defending the authority of the King. You will gain nothing from it but hard blows . . . which is why I am deeply indebted to you.”<sup>91</sup> Charles-Alexandre de Mazenod could not have been given a more just or more fitting encomium.

THE MARRIAGE OF CHARLES-ANTOINE DE MAZENOD  
AND MARIE-ROSE JOANNIS

A man who was so firm and absolute in his principles could not fail to form his three sons according to his own image. At that time, there were two colleges sharing the unequal favors of Aix; the Collège Bourbon, directed by the Jesuits, and the Collège des Doctrinaires, which pushed ordinary school rivalry to the point of antagonism. With practically identical scholastic methods, they, nevertheless, represented, ideologically, two different schools of thought. The Doctrinaires set themselves up as the “Éclairés” (the enlightened). They were receptive to all the latest liberal ideas, and eventually proclaimed themselves pro-Revolu-

tionists and Patriots. The anti-Molinism,<sup>92</sup> which they professed, was very close to Jansenism, if not actually a part of it. Therefore, from a political, philosophical and religious point of view, they were a sharp contrast to the Jesuits of the Collège Bourbon. Moreover, the families who sent their sons to the Doctrinaires were sympathetic to their contrary leanings. Anti-Jesuits, Gallicans, those opposed to royal authority, and members of the Parliament of Aix . . . all these were cool to the Collège Bourbon, and confided their sons to the Doctrinaires who, therefore, held a monopoly on "the children of rank."<sup>93</sup> The Jesuit Fathers could not but suffer from this state of affairs, which hurt not only the cause they espoused and the prosperity of their teaching establishment, but themselves as well. In order to restore the balance, they opened up a boarding school of their own, and then willingly sacrificed it by having the administrative officer, Lebret, close both their own boarding school and that of their rivals. In 1752, the city consuls enabled them to take in boarders again. It was close to this time that Charles-Alexandre had to decide who were to be his sons' teachers.<sup>94</sup>

Evidently he didn't hesitate a moment. In November, 1753, he sent his eldest son, Charles-Antoine, to the Collège Bourbon, to begin his sixth form. Five years later, in December, 1758, the younger sons, Charles-Fortuné and Charles-Louis-Eugene, joined him there. These two remained until June, 1762, when the Parliament of Aix forbade the Jesuits to teach. Their father then withdrew them and, in 1763, sent them to pursue their studies at Marseilles<sup>95</sup> . . . a further proof of his warm regard for the persecuted Jesuits.

Even the most rabid enemies of the Jesuits are forced to concede the pedagogical excellence of these teachers. Gregoire<sup>96</sup> himself, at the Constituent Assembly, although he never treated them kindly, was compelled to acknowledge the great harm brought to French culture by the closing of the Jesuit schools. The Jesuits of Aix lived up to the high reputation of their Order, and they had to, for they had the added task of dealing with the Doctrinaires and of maintaining a high standard of scholarship under pain of being quickly outclassed by them. The *An-*

*nales du collège Bourbon* show that Charles-Antoine de Mazenod proved himself a worthy pupil of these great teachers. In his third form, he won two second prizes, one in prose, the other in poetry. He was given honorable mention in Latin translation and won first prize in Christian Doctrine.<sup>97</sup> Although the records of the other classes are missing, the record of the Literary Exercises of the year 1761, when he completed his philosophy course, shows that he was unanimously chosen for first place: While "Monsieur Mazenod, the younger," discoursed brilliantly in Chronology, Apology, and Geography, with his "classmates," M. de Thorame the elder, M. D'Adouast the younger, and M. de Thorame the younger, all of them pupils of the fifth form, Charles-Antoine, with the double title of "Convictor Aquensis" and "Physicus," defended by himself, "guided by God and with the help of Our Lady," 14 theses, *Ex universali philosophia, ex Logica, ex Physica generali, ex Theologia naturali, de Motu, de Gravitate, ex Astronomia, de Kalendario, de Meteoris, de Igne, de Aere, de Mechanica, de Gnomonica, de Electricitate, de Physica experimentalis*.<sup>98</sup> This defence began at four o'clock in the afternoon. We do not know how long it lasted, but we do know that this "conclusion of the scholastic year was brilliantly carried out," and that "the entire city was enthralled by it, I should say, almost amazed by it, so far beyond their years did these young pupils seem."<sup>99</sup> In this way did Charles-Antoine prepare himself for the Parliamentary jousts of later years, when he was to demonstrate his formidable logic and his persuasive oratory.

The young physicist, who had set his sights on the magistracy, completed his classical studies in 1761, and immediately began his law studies at the Faculty of Aix. There he obtained his Bachelorship in June, 1763, and his Licentiate *in utroque jure* in 1764.<sup>100</sup> His juridical training was completed with his father, Charles-Alexandre, who gave him the benefit of his experience by initiating him into the intricacies of the law courts. All that remained was to secure an appointment for him. Important contacts, at the law court of Provence, enabled Charles-Alexandre to obtain for his son, on January 10, 1771, a Presidency at the Court of Accounts, Aids and Finances, of Aix. At

that time, the new incumbent had not reached the required age. Furthermore, legal procedure forbade his sitting in the same Chamber on the same level as that of his father, the President. An exemption made by Louis XV removed this two-fold obstacle.<sup>101</sup>

A dignity higher than this came to Charles-Antoine, and it was one that showed very forcefully the royal confidence he enjoyed. When the Federated Parliaments, which were inimical to the Throne, were suppressed October 1, 1771, and the triumvirate of Maupeou, Terray, and d'Aiguillon came into power, there took place a political tightening against the *Grandes-Robes*. A local quarrel between the parliament of Brittany and the Duke d'Aiguillon, concerning a matter of roads, had turned into a general dispute, which set the parliaments of Paris and the province at odds with the government. The parliaments declared their solidarity in the name of corporative unity. The magnitude of the movement brought about the downfall of Prime Minister Choiseul, who had been secretly encouraging it. Maupeou, who succeeded the fallen Minister, then persuaded Louis XV to take energetic measures in order to put down an insurrection that was endangering royal authority and royal rights. An edict of February 23, 1771, resulted in the complete reorganization of all courts of justice, the abolition of all purchasing of offices, and the doing away with judges' fees. It also dissolved the ancient parliaments, instituted others, and reserved to the King the naming of all magistrates. In September of that same year, another decree applied all these changes to Provence. The Parliament of Provence and the Court of Accounts, Aids and Finances were abolished. The sole heir to their double jurisdiction was a new parliament, and the King gratuitously bestowed the seats of this new parliament upon the members of the old Court of Accounts, Aids, and Finances. Thus, the Court of Accounts finally triumphed over its ancient rival. The members of the old parliament of Provence lost their offices and were sent into exile<sup>102</sup> while the members of the old Court of Accounts gained a noticeable advance in rank. Charles-Antoine and his father became Presidents "a mortier"<sup>103</sup> of this parliament.

Such a high dignity demanded that Charles-Antoine search for a suitable marriage partner. He preferred to delay his choice, however, since early marriages were not the vogue among parliamentarians, accustomed as they were to postponements which, in enquiries, helped them to reflect more leisurely before handing down decisions. The President, therefore, put off his choice until he had passed his thirty-third birthday.

He then chose Marie-Rose Joannis, a young lady of Aix, who had two advantages over him; the bloom of her youth (she was 18), and the riches of her inheritance. On the other hand, she ranked far beneath him in birth, even though their respective ancestors had followed similar professions in the seventeenth century. For, while Charles Mazenod, the Consul of Marseilles, was prospering in the wholesale apothecary business, François Joannis, the apothecary, was selling drugs retail to the inhabitants of Lambesque. However, while the Mazenods were rising up in the world by going from the life of commerce to that of the magistracy, the Joannis family continued to serve the sick and advanced in their profession only slightly. Jean-Baptiste Joannis, the son of François, foresook his father's apothecary shop completely, but only that he might undertake his medical studies. On April 29, 1713,<sup>104</sup> he became Doctor at the Faculty of Aix. Another title was soon added to this one; on September 10, 1717, "informed of the learning, ability, and experience of Sieur Jean-Baptiste Joannis, who has given genuine proof of these qualifications in past disputations of the said chair . . . His Majesty, sitting in Council, and with the advice of the Duke d'Orleans, Regent," named him "to fill the Chair of Botany, then occupied by Sieur Fouques, former professor of the said chair"<sup>105</sup> at the Faculty of Aix. Jean-Baptiste's son, Joseph-Thomas, who was born in 1717, embraced the same career as that of his father, and obtained his degrees in seven months with a speed that surprises us today, but which, in the Provençal University at that time, did not seem exceptional. The register of the graduation exercises of 1736 attests that he received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine on May 12, his licentiate on August 23, and his

doctorate on November 26, 1736.<sup>106</sup> Like his father, he also became Royal Professor at the Faculty in 1770.<sup>107</sup>

The financial position of the Mazenods, and that of the Joannis, were the direct opposites of their social positions. The Mazenods had to put on a great show, and the salary of their presidential office did not even begin to cover the enormous expenses incurred through their noble rank. The Joannis family, on the other hand, was able to lead a more modest life, engaged, as it was, in a plebeian profession, but one that assured them substantial profits. The Archbishop of Aix appointed Jean-Baptiste as his personal physician, and it was he who took care of the Archbishop during the Plague of 1720. The confidence that such a high dignitary placed in him clearly shows the fine reputation this excellent physician enjoyed in the social world of that day, and clearly indicates how wealthy he must have been. His son, in his turn, must also have been rich, to be able to provide such a rich dowry for his daughter, Marie-Rose. At the time of her marriage, the young fiancée received one hundred and twenty thousand livres, eight thousand of which "went towards her trousseau," eight thousand in diamonds, twenty-two thousand "in capital from the Estates in Provence, and eighty-two thousand in ready cash." What President Charles-Antoine brought to the marriage was, by comparison, far more modest. All it consisted of was the revenues from his office, namely, two thousand livres annually, and a pension of one thousand livres, which his father promised to pay each year to his daughter-in-law "for her living expenses." It might also be mentioned that President Charles-Alexandre and his wife jointly agreed to "provide board and lodging for the future married couple and for whatever family it will please God to give them." They also promised to "provide board and lodging for their servants, to the number of three, in sickness and in health, according to their state and circumstances, and to furnish them with either a carriage or a sedan chair according to their choice." Last of all, there was the guarantee of the right of succession to the eldest son on the death of the head of the family.

The aforesaid President de Mazenod, wishing to show his full consent to the present marriage, and, with the said marriage in mind, and for the benefit of the said marriage, irrevocably . . . established the said President de Mazenod, his son, as the sole heir to all his goods, reserving only those portions which are legally due to Charles-Fortuné, the Abbé, and Charles-Louis-Eugène, Ensign in the King's navy.

While completely accepting her future spouse as the principal and irrevocable manager of her business affairs, Mlle. Joannis made careful provisions to retain possession of the personal property of her dowry. The two Presidents jointly guaranteed, in its entirety, this last provision concerning "the personal property of the couple, movable and immovable, present and future, in the event of restitution."<sup>108</sup> The contract, signed "in the private residence of the aforesaid M. Joannis, the father, February 2, 1778, near the monastery of the Minim Friars, in the territory of Aix"<sup>109</sup> gives positive proof that financial interests greatly influenced the de Mazenods in choosing such a richly endowed young girl.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Joannis family, on its part, took into consideration the valuable titles which such an honorable alliance, with a magistrate of the first rank, would bring to their daughter. Admitted into the world of high society and that of parliament, ennobled and known as Madame la Presidente, the young Mlle. Joannis could make swift progress in climbing the social ladder.

In Provence, during the eighteenth century, writes Paul Masson, "strict propriety demanded that marriages between aristocratic families be free of all sentiment."<sup>110</sup> Parents bestowed the hands of their young daughters in marriage about the time they left their convent schools, "without, for the most part, taking into consideration, the feelings of their daughters in the matter."<sup>111</sup>

There were noticeable contrasts between the young couple. Their respective ages of 33 and 18 made him almost twice as old as she. Even the sound of their Christian names evoked contrasting charms; that of Charles-Antoine sounds majestic and se-

rious, while the clear, light, crystalline name of Marie-Rose lets fall a shower of cool, liquid melodies.

Their appearance, likewise, pointed up this contrast. The President made a striking appearance, but in the solemn manner which his social rank and his manner of dress imposed upon him: a wide brow beneath his powdered Court wig; a steady and confident gaze; a sharp nose and firm lips, curving up proudly at the right-hand corner; a round and full face, like that of a man conscious of his power and talents; a cape of white ermine, gathered carefully around the neck and falling gracefully over the left shoulder, in order to show to best advantage over the folds of his red robe; the whole picture stamped with strength and dignity.

The picture of Marie-Rose, on the other hand, presents a striking contrast: an oval face with thin delicate lips; the nose tapered and rounded; beneath slightly-arched eyebrows, large, clear eyes, whose dark intent pupils seem almost as large as their sockets; natural hair dressed with noticeable skill in a triple crown over a luminous forehead; her deep gaze seemingly lost in dreams and reverie; her features slightly sharp and somewhat restless. There is certainly no lack of charm in the picture, but one can detect a tension there. Only the elegant and delicate hands, toying with a cluster of roses, lend a note of suppleness to this portrait, which becomes alluring by reason of its mysteriousness.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, the sharpest contrast between the couple can be seen in their intelligence which, though equally sharp in each of them, was of extremely unequal cultivation. Miss Joannis, like other young girls of her time, had pursued rather summary studies at the Convent School of Lambesque. Charles-Antoine, on the other hand, being a humanist and an accomplished jurist, possessed a wealth of knowledge acquired from the study of the finest works of literature. He was the author of a complete set of works on the history of the States and Tribunals of Provence,<sup>113</sup> which were never published or used. It is difficult to imagine his young wife taking delight in reading such serious and learned matter.

But, as it has often been said, love springs from contrasts more often than from likenesses. Apparently poorly matched, the union at first was a happy one. At that time, just as the eighteenth century was closing, a century when, according to Talleyrand's famous observation, one still knew "graceful living," the Mazenods, who were married February 3, 1778, were tasting the last delights of a society on the wane. The Revolution was about to loose its fury upon the whole of France, causing separation, exile, and financial disaster for President de Mazenod. Removed from his office, reduced to the status of an emigrant without any resources, and disturbed by the poor health of his wife, who became increasingly moody and nervous—all these troubles introduced harsh discords into the harmony that existed at the beginning of their marriage.

This long study of an entire local, parliamentary, and family background is of value not only in studying the economic, social, political and religious history of one period and of one province, but it is also of value in helping to sift the remote and varied elements which went to make up Eugene de Mazenod's heredity. It also helps one to know the atmosphere which surrounded his childhood at the end of a world and of an era. Set into its proper background, the whole picture becomes clearer. The contrasts of his rich and fiery temperament are explained, as well as the nature of his spiritual life. Indeed, God always adapts His supernatural gifts to each one's natural gifts. Thus, sanctity becomes a very personal thing and, like grace, clothes everyone differently; which is not the least of the Church's blessings. In spite of the severe discipline which he was to impose upon himself in order to channel his inner forces safely and effectively, M. de Mazenod would ever remain, during his entire life, a true child of Provence and a true son of Aix Parliamentarians.

## Chapter Two

### *Prerevolution in Provence*

#### EUGENE'S EARLY EDUCATION

The revolutionary crisis influenced Eugene de Mazenod's character just as strongly as his Provençal and family background did. His education, which began at Aix where the storm of 1789 gave its first warning rumbles and flashes, was continued in Italy where the Republican armies constantly hounded him from refuge to refuge. Consequently, that education was bound to be affected by the turbulent, unstable and precarious conditions surrounding his childhood, youth and early manhood.

Actually, exile was his school. Only after he had grown to manhood would he return from it, bringing with him broad views which a prolonged sojourn in a foreign country always effects, but at the same time a certain firmness of ideas and character formed by his moral crises in the climate of exile.

The first eight years of his life had pushed his roots so deeply into his native soil that the process of transplanting was bound to be painful. So many ties attached him to places and things, unconsciously at first and then all too consciously! The family mansion where he was born, although severely designed on the outside as befitted the house of a magistrate, was adorned inside with all the charm and elegance of the eighteenth century. The first sight to enchant and fascinate him was the sunlight dancing upon the white and gold wainscotting, the entwined garlands on the ceiling, the plastered walls, the painted pier-glasses and the laughing busts of slightly saucy<sup>1</sup> damsels which adorned the majestic and stately mantel-pieces. He took his first tottering steps within the spacious high-walled rooms and under

the admiring but watchful eyes of his mother and his old nurse, Nanon.<sup>2</sup> A little later, when he daringly ventured out on the balcony extending along the front of the house, he would lean his elbows upon the lyres of the wrought-iron grillwork and gaze wide-eyed at the Boulevard, with its green trees and parliamentary mansions stretched out in two rows of perfect order and stateliness. This house, which his family was to leave forever in 1790, would always remain the cherished, but sad, symbol of his family life, shattered by the upheaval of the Revolution and the symbol of his personal life disrupted in its very prime. He would leave a part of himself in it, and from it would take all the tender memories of his earliest years.

Wheeled in his baby-carriage by Nanon or taken for rides in his father's coach, Eugene gradually came to know the charms of Aix and Provence, which a natural kinship with the country enabled him to appreciate in a very special way. In Aix, two worlds lived together; one, the old world of the Counts of Provence, rich in its lore and ancient monuments; the other, the world of the "grandes-robres" who were the power of that day; a world where frivolity was hidden behind stern exteriors. Contrasts like this were common in the whole of Provence, with its endless variety of vistas and colors. Everything there sang of life: the sun, the birds, the cicadas; even the warm musical language spoken by colorfully-dressed people with a flair for expressive mimicry and animated gestures.

From his grandfather Joannis and his "big Nanon," the future missionary learned the language that was later to be of great use to him when he became the "Apostle of the People." He grew to love its full sonorous sounds, its genuinely musical rhythms, its fluid poetry, and its passionate powers. The inexhaustible inflections of the dialect, modeled upon the country itself, vividly revealed the Provençal psychology to him in all its passion and complexity. Using all its sudden and delightful variations, he spoke it fluently, bringing into play all its harmonies and contrasts. For, this gay dialect, with its undertones of melancholy, carefree with a hidden vein of seriousness, startling, indeed even violent and truculent with a concealed delicacy and

gentleness, was modeled upon the daily life of a country where the sun, continually fighting the cold northwest wind, at times burned and at times caressed it, at times dried up its rocky hills and at times sprinkled its countryside with flowers.

Eugene's Provençal soul gradually and instinctively unfolded through the medium of this language, by which it sought to express itself and in which it found itself clearly mirrored. It was, indeed, a dialect in the full sense of the term. Precisely because it expressed, even in its most minute parts, the unique qualities of a region of France that was extremely particularist, the dialect captivated all the more firmly his impressionable and receptive young mind.

Furthermore, due to the premature sharpening of his perceptions and the premature shaping of his personality, the child developed, at a very early age, an impulsive and fiery temperament that was typically Provençal. An incident that took place when he was four years old is a striking example of it. He had been taken to the theatre of Aix, and, while he was there, a disturbance broke out down in the pit of the theatre. Indignantly drawing himself up to his full height and leaning over the edge of his box, he threatened the ringleader of the disturbance with, "Vé! Tout are se descendi!" (Ah! If I ever come down there!) Completely taken by surprise at the youngster's challenge, the culprit sheepishly gave in to the peremptory threat.<sup>3</sup> It was a rather promising debut.

As a matter of fact, it was too promising to suit his family, who were becoming a bit alarmed by these imperious manners and violent outbursts. The President wanted his son to learn, without any further delay, how to control a temperament that was too much like his own. Charles-Antoine was all too keenly aware that his dictatorial and irascible temperament inflicted suffering on those he loved most, and, being a kind-hearted man, was the first to suffer from the pain he caused them.<sup>4</sup> On her part, Madame de Mazenod, with her sensitive and dreamy nature, was growing slightly weary of these juvenile fireworks. Big Nanon would have preferred tears to his tantrums and stubbornness; but Grandfather Joannis, good Provençal that he was, de-

fended his "picho," as he called him, with these words: <sup>5</sup> "This picho (this little one) was born with backbone. Let him say 'I want.' It's better than whining. He has backbone! That's what I like."

The *picho* had something even better than backbone; a generosity of heart not usually found in one of his young years. Like the sieve of the Danaïdes, but for much more edifying reasons, his money-box was forever empty; the more it was filled, the more did Eugene give its contents to his little friends among the poor. He often treated ragamuffins to his afternoon snack of bread thickly spread with butter and preserves. On one occasion he threw the whole household into confusion by entering the house wearing the cast-off clothes of a charcoal gatherer. Going Saint Martin one better, he hadn't been content to give away merely half his cloak; everything had gone—jacket, breeches, shoes. Nanon threw up her arms in despair, while Madame de Mazenod lectured him on the dignity he was expected to maintain as the son of a president of parliament. "Are you not the son of a president?," she asked him. "Should not a President's son dress differently from a charcoal-maker's son?" The repartee was as quick as the exchange of clothes had been: "Very well, then, I'll be president of the charcoal-makers." <sup>6</sup>

#### THE ARISTOCRATIC AND PARLIAMENTARY REVOLUTION IN PROVENCE

With such a lively disposition and such an agile mind, little wonder if Eugene keenly felt the first shocks of the Revolution in Provence.

The child could not grasp the real nature, much less gauge the full peril of the crisis which came to a head in 1787 when the upper classes and the parliaments of France opposed the judicious reforms first put forward by Callonne and later proposed again by Brienne.<sup>7</sup> How could he have been expected to understand what his social and family circles, not to mention all his compatriots, did not understand, completely deluded and blinded as they were? He caught only snatches of the talk that

went on between his parents and their visitors; and, if the puzzled picho ventured any questions, however quaint and artless, the answers he received were not good enough to clear up this disturbing mystery for him. His only knowledge of the unrest came from observing its symptoms, such as the dark mourning clothes his father and mother had been wearing since May 13, 1788 (it was on that day that Louis XVI had adjourned Parliament *sine die*; to show its resentment, Parliament had prescribed mourning clothes for all its members). He also noticed that the hours his father had formerly been accustomed to spend in the court chambers were now being spent in his private office at home, where frequent conferences were being held by the President and his colleagues. Furthermore, whenever his Mother, sitting in state by the fireplace, entertained visitors in the salon, he noticed that the ladies, instead of chattering about the latest styles, were now talking very quietly and seriously about other things. Then suddenly, one day, out of the clothes press came the long robe, the shoulder band, and the flat cap of the President, and once more Madame la Presidente went about bedecked in all her jewels and wearing her best finery. Both she and the President were their radiant and charming selves again. From all this Eugene learned that the King had struck the sovereign courts a heavy blow, that the courts had struck back successfully, and were now to be re-opened.

The festivities of October, 1788, which celebrated this re-opening of the courts at Aix, gave a lavish embellishment to the triumph of the *grandes-robres* over the authority of the King. Towards the end of the afternoon of October 19, by way of vigil, the solemnities began at the Royal Bourbon College with the solemn rendition of a four-part *Te Deum* sung at the request of the attorneys from the Municipal Court, while the wigmakers' guild intoned theirs in the Church of the Carmelites.<sup>8</sup> In the evening, on the Place des Precheurs, bonfires were lighted and thousands of skyrockets were set off, while the presidents, attorneys and magistrates were serenaded with tambourines and kettle drums.<sup>9</sup>

On the following day, October 20, the Court of Parliament

triumphantly entered the Dominican Monastery and the Court of Accounts the Carmelite Monastery, where they had been holding their sessions ever since the demolition of the ancient Palace of the Counts of Provence. All the doors were hung with branches of boxwood and canvas painted with crests, in the center of which was pictured the sun coming from behind the clouds and below it the motto, *Post tenebras lux* (After darkness, light).<sup>10</sup> On a platform carpeted with greenery,<sup>11</sup> military bands gave a flourish of trumpets to the arrival of each magistrate in his state carriage. A group of artisans presented the magistrates with an olive branch tied with ribbons and flowers,<sup>12</sup> as a symbol of the peace that had been restored, thanks to their dauntless courage. So great was the crush of the crowd that the heroes of the hour had trouble finding a path through the cloisters, which had been overrun by enthusiastic spectators and numerous delegations of sheriffs, lawyers, attorneys, bailiffs, members of the Board of Arbitration, lieutenants from the Admiralty of Marseilles and Toulon, community councils; indeed, even chapters and religious orders.<sup>13</sup> When everyone was finally seated, and the chambers reunited, the First Presidents opened the session and, with effusive oratory, delivered eloquent speeches which were often interrupted by loud handclapping. After the speeches, walking back in procession, two by two, the gentlemen from the Court of Parliament returned to the Dominican Church, and those from the Court of Accounts, to the Carmelite Church, in order to attend Mass of the Holy Ghost.

At the vesper hour, after a last *Te Deum* sung by the artisans' guild in the Augustinian Church,<sup>14</sup> fireworks and bonfires again broke out. The First President of the Court of Parliament gave a dinner to 160 guests.<sup>15</sup> In their aristocratic mansions, members of high society gave formal balls at which they danced to the music of string orchestras. In an improvised ball-room, built at the head of the boulevard by the honorable attorneys,<sup>16</sup> and brilliantly illuminated by a pyramid of dazzling lights,<sup>17</sup> the commoners also danced the whole night to the music of the regimental band from Lyons. The devotees of the drama attended a play at the municipal theater, written for the occasion by a

Sieur de Bonneville from Marseilles, and entitled, "Les Voeux Satisfaits" (Wishes Granted).<sup>18</sup>

On the following day, a man from Marseilles named Lavabre, speaking for the Board of Arbitration, pompously congratulated the members of parliament for having saved the "Ship of State" by skillfully steering it back into port: "The Ship of State was buffeted by the storm, but, fortunately, you were its pilots."<sup>19</sup> Actually, those very same pilots had stirred up the storm in order to snatch the helm from the hands of a weak King, reserve the Ship's control to the nobility, reset its course which Brienne was charting towards the future, and point it back, instead, to the past where the nobility was everything and the third estate nothing. By the blows it struck at the authority of the King, by the riots it stirred up, and by the reaction which ensued, this aristocratic revolution which succeeded only too well, thanks to the leaders of the Church, the Sword, and the Robe, was soon to provoke another almost immediately, one that would be essentially anti-aristocratic and bourgeois. Like the legendary sorcerer's apprentice, the aristocrats had unloosed the storm but soon proved themselves powerless to control it. On those last days of October however, mistakingly reassured, they made the most of their disastrous and pyrrhic victory.

Two months later, there were no Te Deums being sung at the Collège Bourbon as on the preceding October 19 in honor of the provisional triumph of parliament and the aristocratic revolution. Instead, the assembly hall resounded to the vigorous demands made in favor of the third estate by Pascalis,<sup>20</sup> the assessor of Aix, exactly as Mounier had done in the Dauphiné assembly.

On December 26, the consuls and the council of Aix convoked an assembly of the three orders of the city. In this assembly the only representatives of the clergy were three priests, two of whom were pastors. The nobility had only six representatives, two fiefed and the others non-fiefed. The remainder of the group, twelve hundred in all, consisted of about thirty lawyers, about the same number of attorneys, several bourgeois and a large number of artisans, merchants, farmers and tenant-

farmers.<sup>21</sup> As for the sovereign courts, none of their members had deigned to appear. The purpose of the meeting, the social standings, dispositions, attitudes, dress, everything about the Assembly made it different from others. If the picture frame was the same, it only served to make the differences within the picture stand out all the more sharply. Differences which, in themselves, were already much too evident.

The family life of the Mazenods immediately showed the effects of the uneasiness into which aristocratic circles were thrown by what, to them, seemed an outrage. One can easily picture little Eugene, all eyes and ears, trying to grasp the significance of it all. Certain words which, little by little, gave him an insight into the meaning of the institutions of the Kingdom and the Constitution of Provence, were continually being repeated by his father, who had once again become stern-looking, by his mother, who became more aloof day by day, and by the worried-looking visitors who came more and more frequently to his home. It must all have seemed extremely complicated to him and must have greatly confused him; but, confused or not, the boy's admiration for his father grew steadily, as he watched the President and his learned colleagues continue to walk about calmly and fearlessly in a section of France where inherited but vague privileges were becoming more and more uncertain. And to simplify the problem, the little boy must have concluded more than once that there couldn't possibly be anything wrong with a system which all these experts firmly declared to be the ideal.

It became a little clearer to him, however, when juridical abstractions were coupled with personal and individual realities. Certain names which had a familiar ring to them were constantly being linked with technical terms, making those terms a bit less confusing. Although the name of Necker did not mean much to Eugene—he had never actually seen the minister—the same could not be said for the name of Pascalis, the assessor of the municipal court, and d'André, the councillor to parliament. D'André was the perfect example of the non-fieffed nobles and had set himself up as their spokesman in their formal requests to the consuls of Aix. Pascalis, the orator of the assembly in the

church of the College, was the embodiment of the third estate. In the Mazenod home, the names of these two men were spoken with a very sour and disdainful twist of the mouth. Pascalis, who was of the common bourgeois, was not what the aristocrats termed "né" or nobly born; d'André, although "né," was of an inferior rank of nobility since he had no title of *Seigneur*, which always went with the possession of land; like Eugene's father, for example, who was called "Seigneur de Saint-Laurent du Verdun." And now, both these upstarts wanted to make themselves equal to his father and his father's colleagues in the coming assembly of the States of Provence, summoned by the king for January 25, and they had the audacity to propose changes in the age-old rules of the Provençal Constitution which, as everyone knew, was sacred and untouchable.

Considering his tender years, his absolute way of looking at things, and the prejudices he inherited from his social background, one can easily understand why Eugene felt that d'André and Pascalis were bad men. They were assigned the same place by his indiscriminate denunciation of all enemies of "the good cause" as that held by Brienne, of whom he had heard so very many bad things. Since, like Brienne, these two wanted to harm the nobility, Parliament, his father (and hence himself), therefore they were bad. It wouldn't have taken much urging to make him hurl, from his balcony across the Boulevard, the same threat he had once hurled at those who were disrupting the performance at the theater: "Vél! Tout are se descendi!"

And so it was that the aristocrats now found themselves facing another fight. Although the prize they were fighting for was the same as that which they had won through the aristocratic revolution, the enemy they had to fight was not the same. After having won their first victory over Brienne and the Government, the Parliament and nobility of Provence had to get into their armor again to consolidate the gains of that first victory. They had put the King in his place; now they had to put the commoners in their place. For, at Aix, just as in the rest of France, commoners were rising up in rebellion in order to gain by force what they had first hoped to gain either from the nobles' vol-

untarily surrendering their prerogatives or from the King's forcing his will upon these same nobles.

In the days that lay ahead, therefore, M. de Mazenod would take up the fight along with the other members of his Order, being all the more resolute that, in Aix, it was not just a case of maintaining rights common to his peers throughout the entire Kingdom, but it also involved safeguarding, here and now, the particular rights of the fiefed Lords of Provence. His Provençal particularism, therefore, stiffened his class particularism, thereby making him even more determined in his attitudes, and his Provençal particularism became even more uncompromising than his class particularism, which is saying a great deal, considering how uncompromising that particularism was already.

Everything conspired to make him consider as sacred these statutes, exemptions, and customs of the Provençal Constitution. First of all, back in 1481, King Charles III, of Anjou, had deeded Provence over to King Louis XI, only on the express condition that these same privileges would always be maintained, and the patent letters of October 24, 1486, by which Provence was reunited to the French Crown, specifically pointed out this obligation. Louis XVI, therefore, was obligated by the signature of his ancestor to respect these privileges.

Furthermore, being especially versed in the knowledge of these statutes, exemptions, and customs guaranteed by the Provençal Constitution, the President felt the same kind of affection for them that a specialist always feels towards the object of his special study; and he never ceased to be deeply grateful to them for the flattering reputation of competence he had acquired through them.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, and especially, the Provençal Constitution guaranteed his class privileges, and this was most important at that moment when not only the attacks that were being hurled against fiscal exemptions, but the all important elections of deputies to the States-General, made it equally imperative that these privileges be defended.

This ancient Constitution, which was essentially aristocratic, assured the fiefed Lords of Provence an overwhelming majority

in the Provençal States and gave them full control of the elections. For, by that Constitution, the First Order, that of the Clergy, was represented exclusively by the higher clergy, to the complete exclusion of the lower clergy, Canons included. The Second Order, that of the Nobility, had as its representatives only the nobles who possessed fiefs, all of whom were entitled to seats;<sup>23</sup> while, at the same time, it gave no voice whatsoever to the non-fieffed nobles who counted about five hundred at the time. As for the third estate, the poor country cousin, it was given the meager allowance of thirty-five mayors, who represented either the large cities or the privileged boroughs, and 21 delegates sent in turn by the *viguerie* communities.<sup>24</sup> Under these conditions, therefore, the members of the first two Orders, assured of victory, could vote individually without having to resort to a vote by Order, as was the case in several other provincial assemblies, as well as in the States-General of the Kingdom. Thus, the scales were tipped in favor of the privileged classes. With such an advantageous system of election, they had no need to fear that the third estate would rob them of their time-honored immunities, and when it came time for the States of Provence to appoint their deputies to the next States-General, following traditional rules, they could, therefore, impose their own candidates upon the electors from the third estate, and these candidates, far from opposing the nobles' cause at Versailles, would defend it against any usurpation by the commoners.

Now, this was the Constitution which M. de Mazenod considered untouchable, and which he made the special object of his solicitude to such an extent that he identified himself with it. And it was this Constitution which the Assembly of Orders at Aix was attempting to replace with another by seeking the King's authorization to hold a General Assembly of Orders from Provence, which would endow Provence with new statutes,<sup>25</sup> as the Dauphiné Assembly had done at Vizille. For M. de Mazenod, this was not only an infringement of the legitimate and ancient rights of his province and class, making all his particularisms shoot out in every direction, like the quills of a porcupine, but it was also an invasion of his private domain, a formal repudia-

tion of all the learned commentaries, interpretations, and critical analyses that he had written concerning the Charter of 1486. In brief, it was both a challenge and a personal insult.

Fortunately, good news arrived soon and restored the President's peace of mind. Louis XVI, by a decision of his Council, rescinded the resolution of December 29, which the illegally gathered Orders of Aix had adopted without any authority from Parliament.<sup>26</sup> There would, therefore, be no general assembly of Orders from Provence, such as the commoners demanded for the purpose of reforming the Provençal Constitution. The next States of Provence, convoked for January 25, would be plenary, without any reduction in the number of representatives from the nobility, and they would be carried out in the same manner in which they had always been carried out before their suppression in 1639, and as they were carried out at the first session following their re-establishment in 1788. Once again, the aristocracy had won out. President Charles-Antoine and his peers had won their plea simply by referring it to the King.

#### THE PROVENCE ESTATES IN 1789

This royal decision of Louis XVI had two effects; it confirmed the sacred character of the traditional rights of the States of Provence, and it assured superiority of numbers to the higher nobility of Provence when those States gathered, thereby giving it control of all parliamentary debates. Having been legally dismissed at Versailles, Pascalis and his third estate, as well as d'André and his non-fieffed nobles, saw themselves, for all practical purposes, reduced to helplessness. The fieffed nobles, who would attend the Assembly in full numbers, could count on 205 votes, to which would be added those of the higher clergy. Thus, reduced to the small number of 56, the commoners would suffer a crushing defeat, while the nobles and Parliament would chalk up another victory. M. de Mazenod and his colleagues had won the battle before it even started.

On January 26, 1789, the States of Provence opened with a procession that stretched between two lines of soldiers standing

at port arms, from the Saint-Sauveur Cathedral to the chapel of the Bourbon College. Leading the procession was Count de Caraman, with the Archbishop of Aix, President of the States, at his right, and M. de Galois de la Tour at his left. Following after, according to rank and in keeping with protocol, were the representatives of the First Order; Bishops, Abbés in their choir robes, and Knights of Malta with their flowing white capes embroidered with large red crosses. Next came the representatives of the Second Order, all of them fiefed Nobles, and dressed in their dazzling robes. Last of all, at some distance behind, came the representatives of the Third Order, who, though plainly dressed, and, for the most part, unarmed,<sup>27</sup> looked fully as proud and resolute.

Between the Nobles and the third estate, slightly behind the former and a little ahead of the latter, there walked alone a deputy who stood out above all the others. He was an aggressive man with a massive bulk and an enormous head, whose bulging eyes seemed to be straining from their sockets. His ugly face, with its dissymmetrical features, showed the coarse marks and scars left by the smallpox. The Graces certainly had not visited his cradle, but one could sense an explosive power emanating from this frightful and disturbing individual. His whole person smouldered with fiery zeal and violent passions that seemed to be screaming for release. In the very act of alarming he fascinated, and even as he repelled he attracted. As he walked along he caused a great stir among the spectators, and became the center of all eyes. By taking last place at the tail end of the nobles, so that he might easily slip into first place at the head of the commoners, he was giving notice, as it were, that he was about to unloose in Provence the popular and bourgeois revolution, while, at the same time, waiting for the opportune moment when he could extend it on a much larger scale from Versailles and Paris to the whole kingdom of France.

The opening session in the college chapel was purely formal and did not allow for discussion of any kind. The speeches were strictly limited to those of the King's agents and that given by M. de Boisgelin, the Archbishop of Aix, who was President, ex-

officio, of the States of Provence. At the conclusion of the speeches, going back in the same order in which they had come, the deputies returned to the cathedral to attend Mass of the Holy Ghost; but, on the following day, the debates, which broke out in the City Council Chamber, soon became extremely agitated. "Burning with Provençal heat," as Mirabeau put it, in spite of the biting cold temperature, tempers flared. From the very start, the third estate protested the framework of the Assembly while the nobles, in spite of their promises, had not reduced the number of their representatives. The third estate declared that since it was helpless, because of the unjust disproportion of representatives, it would assist in the discussions and deliberations in a purely passive manner and would take no part in the voting. When passive resistance accomplished nothing, they then decided to resist actively by quitting the Assembly and holding a separate session of its own that night in the City Hall. When the King's agents forbade them to assemble separately they threatened to re-assemble on the public square under the protection of the people.<sup>28</sup> It was, for all practical purposes, an appeal to the Court of Public Opinion.

And, due to the general excitement, the appeal was answered. Mobs were formed. Archbishop de Boisgelin, along with the prelates and nobles, was hooted and jeered; extremely agitated crowds made angry and noisy demonstrations outside the homes of the aristocrats; and Parliament had to restore calm by the blowing of trumpets and by threatening to punish not only the leaders of the mobs, but the mobs themselves.

On January 30, just as the measures taken by military authorities were beginning to re-establish order in the city, and while, at the same moment, diplomacy and the Archbishop's clever, smooth, fluent, and pleasing eloquence were mollifying the deputies of the three Orders, Mirabeau stepped in for the first time since the States had come together. He started the battle all over again, and once more put forward, on his own initiative (he who was a member of the nobility and the son of a fiefed noble), all the demands of the third estate. Actually, everything he denounced, Pascalis and d'André had already denounced:<sup>29</sup>

- 1) the prevailing framework of the States of Provence, which made for an unfair representation of that province since the non-fieffed nobles and the lower clergy were excluded, and the delegates of the third estate were reduced to a handful of municipal officers;
- 2) the evils of an archaic and obsolete constitution;
- 3) the injustice and harm resulting from fiscal privileges.

Likewise, everything he demanded, had been equally demanded by Pascalis and d'André:

- 1) an equal sharing of taxes among the fieffed nobles without any exemption because of class;
- 2) a convocation of the General Assembly of the three Orders in Provence;
- 3) a remodeling of the Provençal Constitution along the lines of the Dauphiné Constitution.

If, basically, the quarrel and the arguments were the same as those that had been made by Pascalis and d'André, Mirabeau gave them a new look. The fiery tribune's turn to speak came after the speeches of the lawyers. By his aggressive spirit, his thunderous voice, and his powerful oratory, which he suddenly let loose upon the Assembly, he stirred up the enthusiasm of the commoners and nettled the nobility, who found him insulting and who lost, among other monopolies, their monopoly on insolence. His noisy eloquence, made all the more forceful by the vicious tirades of his pamphlets, aroused the frenzy of the people so that once again they began staging angry demonstrations. The Archbishop needed an escort of thirty soldiers whenever he appeared in public;<sup>80</sup> and the nobles were subjected to all kinds of insults, while, on the other hand, the deputies of the third estate were acclaimed enthusiastically, and Mirabeau was carried about in triumph and showered with wreaths and flowers.

Thus, Eugene learned that his father now had to contend with a new enemy, but one far worse than Pascalis and d'André, and one as ugly as the seven capital sins. The little boy heard everyone around him speaking of this villain with horror, and

he most likely concluded that this Mirabeau was a villain of the worst kind, since he was assailing the nobility and the Constitution of Provence and since he considered to be so evil what President de Mazonod had declared to be perfection itself. However, as his father had said, this man, like Brienne, Pascalis and d'André, would also get the worst of it. No doubt about it!

But Mirabeau did not get the worst of it since popular support was on his side. In contrast with the freezing temperature, all Provence seethed like a furnace. On January 31, the King's agents had to suspend the States of Provence. They tried to reconvene them on April 21, but after only one week they were forced to dissolve them again and they were never to be re-opened. Instead of consolidating the gains achieved by the Aristocratic Revolution of August, 1788, over the authority of the Government and of the King, the nobles succeeded only in bringing on the Great Revolution, itself.

#### THE ELECTION OF PROVENÇAL DEPUTIES TO THE STATES-GENERAL

The situation became increasingly critical, not only in the South of France but in the entire kingdom as well; so much so, that it forced Louis XVI to reverse his decision, by which he had annulled the Aix Assembly of December 29, 1788, and by which he had confirmed the traditional rights of the fiefed Lords of Provence and had maintained the traditional proportions among the three Orders. Constantly harassed by the demands of Pascalis and his parish communities, of d'André and his non-fiefed nobles, even by the demands of the clergy of the Diocese of Avignon, Necker, the Prime Minister, prevailed upon the King to put Provence under the common law of non-privileged provinces.<sup>31</sup> A new ruling of March 2, therefore, prescribed that the election of deputies from Provence to the States-General would be carried out exactly as it was carried out in the Kingdom as a whole, and not according to the ancient Constitution of Provence, as M. de Mazonod and his privileged nobles wanted it. By this new ruling, the representatives of the three Orders would be

designated, not by the States of Provence, but by electoral assemblies of city councils.

This innovation seemed especially dangerous and intolerable to President Charles-Antoine, since not only did it throw out the ancient agreements and exemptions made by Louis XI back in 1486, but, by giving an overwhelming majority to their adversaries in these new municipal assemblies it robbed the old aristocracy of the right to choose the representatives from Provence, a right by which, up to that time, they had controlled the States of Provence. Now, according to this new decision of March 2, 1789, in the First Order the non-fieffed nobles would vote with the fieffed nobles; in the Second Order, the curés would have more votes than the canons and bishops; the Third Order of Pascalis and Mirabeau would be the sole designator of its representatives and, in the eyes of President de Mazenod, the choice would be a tragically bad one. Charles-Antoine was not the only member of the family to deplore it. Canon Fortuné of the Saint-Sauveur Cathedral was dismayed by the realization that a lower clergy with its doubtful opinions would have more power than his distinguished cathedral chapter of Aix.

However, Fortuné was a prudent and peace-loving man and had no intention whatsoever of jumping into the squabble. On the other hand, his brother, Charles-Antoine, declared that neither he nor his peers would allow the privileges of the true nobility of Provence to be trampled in the dust and that his class would determinedly maintain, at all costs, the traditional age-old rules of their Constitution. So determined and resolute in this stand did he become that from then on he could rightly be accused of being an unswerving enemy of the Revolution.

Unfortunately, he was not a man of action. His frame of mind, rich culture, professional mould and cultured tastes all fitted him better for a life of study and reflection. His intelligence and learning were suited far better for handling dossiers than for handling men. Accustomed as he was to presiding at judicial courts where his authority was accepted without question, he found himself disconcerted, as it were, by the agitation and fever of a debating assembly. His learned proofs may have

greatly impressed his fellow-magistrates but they had no effect at all upon those whom Mirabeau had stirred up. To cap it all, his political acumen was far inferior to his sharp judicial acumen, which forced him to adhere strictly to the letter of the law and blinded him to the practical realities of a new society in the throes of its evolution. That judicial acumen also blinded him to a collective psychology far different from that of the court chamber. Because of his lower rank of nobility, that of the Robe, he could not be chosen as the leader of the fiefed nobles, and, so, he was compelled to leave to others of higher rank the task of directing affairs and making important contacts at the Court of Versailles. Nevertheless, his help was still of great value. Although he was incapable of shaping opinions, unsuited to political scheming, deprived of making a decision by reason of his very intelligence, Charles-Antoine, better than anyone else, could still compose arguments for his colleagues which would make their cause before the King's ministers legal both "de jure" and "de facto." As well versed in his knowledge of procedure as in his knowledge of texts, practices, customs, and historical precedents, he would know how to multiply opposing arguments, appeals, references, and provisions, based on errors of fact or procedure, against the Ruling of March 2. Hence, this acknowledged specialist on the Provençal Constitution was able to give the advantage of his knowledge, experience and authority to the fiefed nobles, who, though rich in lands and titles, were poor in the knowledge of law and jurisprudence.

When the States of Provence were re-established in 1788, not only had M. de Mazenod made his influence felt, but, by his masterly intervention and timely advice, he had effectively contributed to the defeat of Pascalis who, at the time, was demanding the abolition of all fiscal immunity, as well as a larger representation from the third estate. In the "Order of the Day" from the Parliament Record, Fauris de Saint-Vincent, cited his colleague, Charles-Antoine, as one of the best defenders of the aristocratic cause during the debates which set the members of the Assembly at odds with one another: "Among the nobles," he wrote, "two of the magistrates who stood out most promi-

nently by reason of their shrewdness, attainments, and sound judgment, were President de Lauris, President à Mortier, and President de Mazenod, President of the Court of Accounts.”<sup>32</sup>

And so it was, that at the start of 1789 the nobles again sought his help. First of all, on January 21, they wanted a protest drawn up against vote by voice at the States-General, which they would then send to the Count de Provence, the Count d’Artois, the Duke d’Orleans, the Prince de Condé, the Duke de Bourbon, and the Duke d’Enghien. Next, they had to give an answer to 35 non-fieffed gentlemen, who, on January 22, had asked to be admitted to the Assembly of the Nobility and be entitled to a seat there in order to vote on equal terms with the higher nobles.<sup>33</sup> Finally, and most importantly, on March 12, they had to lay the ground-work for a meeting, to make sure that the non-fieffed nobles would not attend the Municipal Assemblies and proceed to nominate deputies to the States-General. Needless to say, they had to draw up a new protest against the Ruling of March 2, the text of which had just arrived in Provence.<sup>34</sup>

Now, M. de Mazenod excelled in writing such protests, requests, and memoranda. We know, from a letter written to his son, Eugene, on August 1, 1814, that he had composed several of them.<sup>35</sup> Although a number of fieffed nobles, feeling their cause was a lost one, had given up and no longer attended the meetings of their colleagues at the City Hall, the President remained obstinately determined to uphold the rights of his class. On March 3 he pledged his word not to take part in the Municipal Assemblies, which were about to open. On March 12 he and his colleagues decided to name, according to traditional rules, eight deputies to go to Versailles on April 27; at the same time he allowed himself to be put up as a candidate. After they had chosen the Duke de Bourbon, de Forbin-Janson, the Count de Vintimille, the Marquis de Sabran, and the Count de Sade, they then also chose “Antoine-Charles de Mazenod, seigneur de Saint-Laurent, President at the Court of Accounts, endowed with one florin, nine sous, and seven pennies” to represent the nobility of Provence at Versailles. Finally, in unison with the entire as-

sembly, he declared that everything done by the States-General would be illegal since the constitutive order of the nobility of Provence would not be represented there.<sup>36</sup>

What astounds us today is that about a hundred of the privileged nobles from the South should have attempted to annul, in advance, what the delegates from the whole country would agree upon at Versailles. It also amazes us that a man as intelligent, cultivated, and sound-thinking, a man as sincerely a friend of the common good, as President de Mazenod certainly was, should have been able to walk in such tight lockstep behind this tiny minority, and should have been willing to accept, in its name, a commission to force an entrance for it into the States-General, contrary to the rules fixed by the King, and in formal opposition to the wishes and opinion of the nation and even of Provence. His class prejudices, his professional mould, and his social interests, all kept him confined within the narrow circle of a juridical system. The riots which broke out at the end of March, in his own district as well as in the whole Kingdom, far from opening his eyes to a new state of affairs only served to increase his stubbornness because they challenged his courage.

These riots began on March 14 at Manosque, where a poorly-stocked market aroused the indignation of the people against Bishop Sisteron, whom they accused of hoarding. The prelate, whose grave had already been dug, saved his life only by the swiftness of his horses. On March 23 Toulon and Marseilles rioted. On March 25 Aix followed their example, and this time it was not simply a case of muffled sounds penetrating the mansions on the Boulevard. An enraged mob attacked the City Hall in order to put to death Count de la Fare, the most unpopular of all the fiefed nobles. The Mazenods felt the danger coming nearer and nearer. None of them dared to go out to see what was happening, but they could hear the shooting, the galloping of cavalry and the sinister yelling. They soon found out that Monsieur de Caraman, the military governor, had been attacked, his son wounded, and his escort disarmed, and that the rioters, who were now in control of the city, were pillaging the wheat supplies. When nightfall failed to put an end to these scenes of

violence, the Mazenods became even more terrified. Behind their locked doors and carefully drawn curtains, the family kept a constant vigil. Nervous and frightened, Eugene and his little sister, Ninette, slept very little. It was only on the following day that calm returned, but it was a calm that had been restored only by the abdication of the lawful authorities. M. de Caraman had given over to Mirabeau the task of restoring peace, thereby making the victory of the rioters, Mirabeau's victory. In Provence, the neighboring countrysides also had their riots. Peasants were attacking chateaux, mills and monasteries, pillaging, burning, and killing. All lower Provence was in an uprising.<sup>37</sup>

Those who stood so firmly and so doggedly behind the Old Regime have often been condemned for preaching and practicing politics of the worst kind, in 1789 and afterwards, and for expecting good to come from evil—a folly that always condemns itself because of its abhorrent excesses. M. de Mazenod, therefore, might have had the illusion that these tragic events he deplored were serving his cause, since the riots were causing the third estate to come over to his side. For, the fourth estate, which had been called upon for help, was beginning to engulf the third estate, which now began to feel misgivings since the popular revolt was hurting the bourgeois as much as the aristocracy, and was turning into a war of the poor against the rich.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, the two equally threatened orders became reconciled through the efforts of Archbishop de Boisgelin and Parliament, which counted members in both camps.<sup>39</sup> The whole trouble was finally brought to an end with the blessing of the flags of the bourgeois troops and with embracings characteristic of a time when sentimental scenes were often mixed with scenes of violence.

Thus, Charles-Antoine was able to set out for Versailles in a cheerful frame of mind, taking with him his embroidered and ornamented Court robe, as well as his dossiers in which his arguments "de jure" were backed up by an irrefutable argument "de facto": "one cannot threaten the manorial rights of fiefed nobles without, at the same time, endangering all proprietary rights, . . . even the authority of the King, himself."<sup>40</sup> Events in Provence had just proved that." With this argument, which he kept re-

peating to his wife and children, he restored their confidence and left them calm and reassured. Then, with a great gallop of horses, he rode off to Versailles, confident of his success in the coming battle, like a much-decorated general who carries victory in the folds of his banner.

#### EUGENE DE MAZENOD: SCHOOLBOY AT THE COLLÈGE BOURBON

Before leaving Aix, M. de Mazenod had placed Eugene in the boarding school of the Collège Bourbon. The child, therefore, followed in the footsteps of his father and uncles who had all been pupils in this age-old institution. He moved about in the same rooms, sat at the same desks and, to all outward appearances, everything was the same as when his father and uncles had been there. But, although the frame of the College was the same, its direction, spirit and schedule of studies were entirely different. The Jesuits who had been suppressed by Clement XIV and deprived of their property had been replaced by their rivals, the Doctrinaires whose theological, political, social and pedagogical principles were totally different from those of the Jesuits. Their triumph over the Jesuits was actually the triumph of the eighteenth century. Gallican, Jansenistic, enlightened, reformatory and liberal, these educators personified the tendencies of that day. Their educational system modernized traditional methods of education by combining them with ideas in vogue at the time. Torn between the *Augustinus* and the *Émile*, between Bossuet and Rousseau, and between the *Ratio Studiorum* and Rollin and Condorcet, the Doctrinaires joined mild discipline with strict morality, tried to make respect for personality and legitimate freedom equal to respect for authority emanating from God, and combined the study of natural sciences and the practice of experimentation<sup>41</sup> with the study of Greco-Latin culture, which, up to then, had actually been too exclusive.

The Doctrinaires did not succeed in winning the unanimous approval and favor of Aix society by this modernism. Doubtless, there were many who praised them because of their intelligent innovations and their awareness of the needs of the times; but,

on the other hand, there were others who found these same innovations too advanced and somewhat alarming. The old antagonism between the pro- and anti-Jesuits, the clan spirit that usually characterized provincial cities, and the pre-revolutionary crisis . . . all these circumstances resulted in dividing opinion for and against them.

Had he been free in his choice, Charles-Antoine would never have selected the Doctrinaires to educate his son. Out of loyalty to his old teachers and in accordance with family traditions, the President, who had once been a brilliant pupil of the Jesuits, would naturally have favored them. Moreover, one could hardly say that he saw eye to eye with the Doctrinaires in the matter of reform. In the crisis, brought to a head by Calonne's proposals for reform, two groups in Provence, as elsewhere, were set at odds with each other. In the first group were the equality-seeking bourgeois, the innovators and the enlightened disciples of progress. This group, which favored the ambitions of the bourgeois, had set its sights on the future and, eventually, was to rally its members under the banner of the Revolution and join the Constitutional or Patriot Church. In the second group were the privileged aristocrats, the conservatives, and the defenders of sound tradition. These latter clung to established rights and principles, kept looking back to the past, and, eventually, they were to come together outside France, and would consist of the "good priests," the emigrés, the princes, and Their Highnesses, the Brothers of the King. Although the Doctrinaires' radical opinions were not as clearly defined in 1789 as they would be in 1790, they were still sharp enough to make the President feel reluctant to place his son's formation in such uncertain hands. However, from the time the Jesuits had been expelled, the only college in Aix was that of the Doctrinaires, and because Eugene was too young to be sent to a boarding school outside Aix, his father had to resign himself to the monopoly held by these teachers.

His enforced resignation was all the more distasteful to him because the smallness of the staff at the College was hurting the school's welfare. Their Congregation, founded by César de Bus,

was unable to furnish the school at Aix with all the professors it needed, due to the fact that the number of their establishments had greatly increased since the suppression of the Jesuits, and, while the positions that had to be filled were continually increasing, a lack of vocations was reducing its membership more and more. As the Oratorians had been forced to do, the Doctrinaires had to add to their staff simple clerics, and even ordinary lay teachers. Without the advantage of a novitiate training, without being bound by any vows, these quasi-religious took over teaching assignments under the direction of the Fathers of the Congregation; only the upper classes and the key positions were taken over by the Doctrinaires. Because of this system, the Collège Bourbon, in 1789, counted only seven Doctrinaires: the Rector Sicard, Poulle, Christine, and Boyer, who were the Philosophy professors, Gastinel, the prefect, and the two Morel brothers, who taught rhetoric. It is also worth noting that, in April, 1789, of those seven mentioned, only four were priests; namely, Sicard, Poulle, Christine and Boyer. Gastinel did not receive the priesthood until July of that year, and the Morel brothers had, up until then, received only the subdiaconate. Ricard, Vincent, Gaston, Benoit, Portier and Gautier, all clerics, conducted the humanities classes, respectively, for the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh forms. In 1790, the number of Doctrinaires at the school was reduced to five: the Rector Sicard, Poulle, Professor of Logic, Christine, a substitute teacher, and the Morels, Professors of Rhetoric. They had to engage a simple cleric, Tomassin, to fill the very important post of Prefect.<sup>42</sup>

Although we should not judge all the clerics by men like Joseph Fouche, the infamous Oratorian cleric, nevertheless, the addition of these clerics to the teaching staff of the Collège Bourbon was to prove rather unfortunate during the Revolution. The Canonical Visitor's Report concerning the Collège Bourbon, at Aix, in the year 1790, proves that there was a noticeable aimlessness there.

The classes seemed weak to us; the young professors recited their lessons before us. In spite of the pains taken by Father Rector, it appears that there are many things to be desired in the matter of ap-

plication to study, faithfulness to community exercises, modesty, love for seclusion, care for the welfare of the boarders, etc. . . . their fondness for musical instruments is too widespread. I beg the older fathers of the community, in all things, to set the example of regularity for the young members, and I beg these young members not to follow any bad example that would be contrary to the Rules. I order that there be reading at table, that the boarders be present at table for the remainder of the school year, and that means should be taken to insure that when classes reopen, the Community will be able to eat at a long table, as prescribed by our Constitutions.<sup>43</sup>

Although late in August, 1789, Brouilhony, the Provincial Visitor, declared that he was satisfied "with the proofs of ability shown by our young clerics in the Literature classes they recited before us, and found the number of boarders large enough and the College in good order"; nevertheless, he, too, deemed it necessary to exhort the members of the Community, "either in private or in public, to work for the common good," and to exhort "our young clerics to cultivate modesty, frequent reception of the Sacraments and to perseveringly fulfill their duties out of a sense of justice."<sup>44</sup>

If conditions at the school were not ideal, it was still possible for Eugene to benefit by the favorable circumstances that did exist there while he was a student during the last trimester of his first school year. Since he was not enrolled in the seventh form until Easter, the child could not have been expected to reach, in three months, the same level of scholarship that his classmates had reached, since they were there longer than he; much less, could he have been expected to go ahead of them. Consequently, on August 12, at the awarding of prizes,<sup>45</sup> he received, merely as a token of encouragement, a small prize for memory work, and he did not even appear in the Literary Exercises on August 5, when the leading pupils of the school strove to outdo one another in demonstrating their knowledge. And yet, it seems that his parents did a wise thing by enrolling him in the school at that time; for he was able to accustom himself more easily to life in a boarding school during the warm days when the discipline was less austere. Moreover, by entering at that time, he would be in a

position to begin the sixth form when classes re-opened in October. Certainly, no one suspected, at that time, that the Revolution would soon interrupt his studies at the Collège Bourbon at Aix, or that his intellectual formation would be continued in a haphazard way along the roads of a long and painful exile.

THE DELEGATION OF FIEFFED NOBLES TO THE STATES-GENERAL  
AND THEIR DEFEAT

While the young boarder was beginning his classes at the College, M. de Mazenod was arriving at Versailles, with his embroidered Court gown and his juridical ammunition. Unfortunately for him, as well as for his cause, he would never use the first, either for court or for any other official function. As for his legal ammunition, it would hang fire, and its volleys would never find their mark. After suffering setback after setback, the President would have to leave Versailles, just a few weeks before Eugene's vacation, completely and permanently defeated.

In spite of the pressure brought to bear upon him by the Duke de Bourbon and by the Marshal Beauvau, the King explicitly refused to recognize the deputies from the nobility of Provence, who had been named contrary to the instructions in the Convocation Letters.<sup>46</sup> His Majesty also excluded them from the procession which, on May 4, opened the States-General. The only nobles allowed to participate in that procession were the legally-elected fieffed nobles, and the representatives of the non-fieffed nobles, who had finally triumphed and who now went about sneering at their ancient rivals.

Although brushed aside by Louis XVI, M. de Mazenod and his colleagues still would not accept defeat, but obstinately invoked their rights to the very end. On May 10, in order to obtain their validation, they delivered to the Committee of Nobles the minutes of their election and a *Memorandum Concerning the Titles and Deeds Relative to the Deputies of the Nobility of Provence to the States-General of the Kingdom*, which had been composed by Charles-Antoine. Then came another setback. The Committee pointed out to them that, as a preliminary, they would

have to present themselves at the court chamber of their order so that they might formulate their demands there; the Chamber would then instruct the Committee to examine and report on the memorandum.<sup>47</sup> Now, among the members of this Chamber were their antagonists from Provence who were working feverishly to exclude them. To M. de Mazenod's "plea for the defense" d'André opposed a vigorous refutation. After screening the titles and deeds put forward by the seigneurs from Provence, he triumphantly took refuge behind the Ruling of March 2: "Even supposing," he argued,

that the States of Provence DID have Titles and Custom in their favor, the Ruling of the King would still be just as binding and would still have to be carried out . . . even though the Ruling DID change something in the Provençal Constitution, even though it DID overlook the rights of municipalities, states, and orders . . . the law enacted by the King, and the consent of the people shown by their universal acceptance of it . . . would not these two factors be sufficient to legitimize that ruling? If it is true that the sanction of the Monarch and the consent of the people are the two essential elements of law, are not both of them found in the ruling of the monarch of March 27? <sup>48</sup> This argumentation could not help but be impressive. Mirabeau and Bouche, on their part, were also waging a fierce campaign within the third estate against the claims of the fief-possessing nobles. On May 31, 1789,<sup>49</sup> Bouche wrote: "I don't think they'll ever recover from the blows I gave them."

As a consequence, when MM. de Janson, de Sade, de Jouques and de Mazenod presented themselves before the chamber of nobles on May 20, in order to request validation of their powers and once more put forward their memorandum, that chamber dodged the issue and made it all very legal by postponing the business "indefinitely" until other necessary business had been attended to.<sup>50</sup> A final recourse was made to the national assembly, gathered in session, but it achieved no better success. Definitely defeated, M. de Mazenod and his colleagues had to pack their bags again. On July 18, Bouche was able to gloat: "The fiefed nobles have cleared out."<sup>51</sup> Although they had lost the battle, at least their honor as well as their principles remained

unsullied. Before withdrawing, all of them in order to keep the record straight, had unanimously and solemnly declared in good and due form before the national assembly that they were "opposed to everything that was prejudicial to the Constitution, titles, rights, freedoms, practices, customs and treaties of the country and of the county of Provence." <sup>52</sup>

Although M. de Mazenod lost the battle he had hoped to win, certainly it was not because he lacked courage; it was simply that under the circumstances he was entirely unskilled in the game of politics and in the art of intrigue. Entering the lists with lawbooks as his armor, as unyielding as justice itself, he had made the fatal error of bringing over into pre-revolutionary debates his habit of quibbling over procedure, his haughty assurance as a specialist and master in his domain and his decisive attitude as a president of the court, accustomed to pronounce infallible judgments fearlessly and dogmatically. Narrowly confined by the mentality of his aristocratic,<sup>53</sup> parliamentary and provincial caste, he could not broaden his views to take in the dimensions of a world which was engulfing his own, and to recognize new problems which were effacing outmoded institutions. A slave to old texts and entrenched behind the crumbling ramparts of historical precedents three or four centuries old, he forgot that time moves on for good and bad alike and that strict principles must be adapted to moving and changing realities. He therefore intended to maintain in their integrity, against all obstacles, the heritage and institutions of the past.

The attitude which the president felt he had to adopt and which he maintained during the Revolution and later during the Empire, like an undaunted stoic beneath his ruins, the traits of his character which prompted his struggle to preserve the privileges and particularisms of his class and of his province; all these circumstances explain and throw light on his son's psychology. We can better understand Eugene's great task of ridding himself of all the family and social complexes which had been intensified by his childhood impressions and by the first years of his education. We can appreciate all the more easily the meritorious struggles of mind and soul which his slow and pro-

gressive liberation was to demand. It would take long years, harsh experiences, a veritable stripping of self before the Bishop of Marseilles, grown old and, as it were, broken, would be able to understand, adapt, and be at peace with himself. The saints indeed have their heights to scale, especially when Divine Providence places them at the lowest juncture of two worlds. To record their low point of departure is by no means to lower them in our esteem. Rather will their final point of achievement stand out all the more brilliantly in the twilight of their lives.

## Chapter Three

# Counter-Revolution and Emigration

### THE DOCTRINAIRES AND THE ROYAL BOURBON COLLEGE OF AIX

From the record of the Literary Exercises of August 5, 1789, in which the "young scholars of the sixth form" competed with one another, we know, in its essentials, what program was followed in this particular class at the "Royal Bourbon College of Aix conducted by the Priests of Christian Doctrine."<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the following table of contents enumerates the questions which the three contenders, Pelerin, Sube, and Bassin, were expected to answer.

*Religion:* The Life of Jesus Christ, up to the beginning of His public life, and Bible History, from Creation to the end of the Book of Judges.

*Natural History:* A sketch of the eagle and the pheasant; a description of the peacock and the vulture; some idea about the kite; attributes of the nightingale; some observations on the sparrow-hawk.

*Recitation and Diction:* Dramatic delivery of 18 Fables from la Fontaine.

*Latin:* Explanation of 6 Fables from the First Book of Phaedrus and of 7 selections from the Colloquy of Erasmus, entitled *Naufragium*, and of 6 selections from the Second Part of Fleury's *Catechisme Historique*.

This table of contents certainly impresses us regarding the knowledge of the pupils, but it also serves to enlighten us regarding the teaching methods of the Doctrinaires. We can detect

from it how set they were on putting the Latin authors on an equal level with the Christian authors and with those of the humanist renaissance. Prevented from using the Fathers of the Church since they were beyond the mental capacity of the young pupils in the sixth form, they fell back on "the good Fleury." Consequently, their religious instructions were based solely upon the Bible and History, to the exclusion of any doctrinal catechism. Fleury's catechism, which the pupils used as a text, was purely historical. This method of teaching religion was certainly better suited to the mentality of seven-year-olds, who understand stories and facts more easily than they do dogmatic expositions, but it was also in too close harmony with the general trends of the so-called "enlightened churchmen" of that day, among whom progressive ideas prevailed. The Doctrinaires were also infected by this same modernism and, consequently, they brought it into their religious teachings.

The opening of the school year in 1789 was relatively calm. After the disturbances in January caused by the meeting of the States of Provence, in March by the election of the deputies to the States-General and by the disorders throughout the entire South, in July by the Revolution in Paris, and in August by the peasant Revolution, which sent the southern stream of its Reign of Terror rushing to the very gates of Aix;<sup>2</sup> after all these disturbances Aix once again recovered its tranquility, at least outwardly. The Capital City of Provence escaped a municipal Revolution which, in most of the other cities, threw out old administrations and put in new ones. This can easily be explained. Far from being made up exclusively of aristocrats, as was the case elsewhere, the municipal council of Aix counted two-thirds of its members from among the bourgeois, principally the legal profession. (Eugene's grandfather Joannis, along with two other doctors and five wholesale merchants, was part of it).<sup>3</sup> Other circumstances further explain it: the city's political institutions remained unchanged; its streets were no longer disturbed by rioting; the National Guard, on August 23, even fraternized with the Lyons Regiment, the King's Dragoons, and the Vexin Regiment, whose officers (so they say) "gratefully"

accepted the revolutionary cockade, and, with the applause of the people.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, alarmed by the activity of the Reign of Terror, the third estate was gradually drawing closer to the nobility. The defense of Provençal rights had rallied all camps against the National Assembly's plans for consolidation. Archbishop de Boisgelin and Bouche had joined forces in Paris to prevent the breaking up of Provence into three departments.<sup>5</sup> When this division was finally pushed through, the deputies from Aix then formed a block against Marseilles, which had begun calling itself the principal city of the Bouches-du-Rhône.<sup>6</sup> The elections of the new municipality, in February, 1790, were marked by a general apathy since, out of 3,962 citizens,<sup>7</sup> only 858 of the more civic-minded voted; not that it made much difference, because by their system of electing, the moderate party was automatically assured of success. And last of all, the old City Council, with the approval of the new one, remained in office to carry on the general management of Provence, since the new departmental administration could not legally assume its powers until September 13, 1790, which was the date set for its installation;<sup>8</sup> and so the regional administration also remained unchanged. For all these reasons, therefore, there were no disturbances to prevent Eugene from resuming his studies on the Feast of St. Luke, in 1789.

In Aix, the return of the warm spring sun did not bring out a rash of hotheads as it did in Marseilles, where, in April of that year, the people rose up in revolt, forced the Marine Corps to evacuate the military installation, and took possession of the forts.<sup>9</sup> However, although the people of Aix, and its National Guard, were at peace with each other, and although the bourgeois and nobles remained friendly enemies, the clergy of Aix were far from being at peace. Indeed, religion seems to have aggravated all the problems created by the Revolution. At first, the majority of the secular and religious clergy had stood behind their Archbishop, M. de Boisgelin. Proof of this can be found in a joint letter they sent him on April 21, cordially congratulating him for having zealously and courageously pleaded the cause of the curates, parish priests, and religious, on April 12, at the National

Assembly. In the same letter, they also congratulated him for his masterful defense of the inalienable nature of Church property, and for his three valiant attempts to prevent the decree which refused to recognize Catholicism as the national religion. The letter was signed by 41 of the secular clergy, and, also, in the name of their religious communities, by the Superiors of the Minims, Capuchins, Recollects, Augustinians, Doctrinaires, Friars Minor Conventual, Carmelites, Bernardines, Franciscans Conventual, and the Trinitarians.<sup>10</sup>

Such a solid wall of unanimity makes one appreciate all the more the breach that began to appear two months later, on June 20 and 21, with the delivery of two joint statements, in which 30 of the secular clergy, and the major part of the religious clergy, disavowed and retracted the approval they had previously given their Archbishop.<sup>11</sup> Added to these two statements was a third, that of the Doctrinaires, in which Sicard, the rector, and the three professors, Poule, Christine, and Morel, all made a further retraction.<sup>12</sup>

Now, a close comparison of the texts of these three statements reveals why the Doctrinaires wanted to deliver theirs separately from the other two. As their colleagues in the two branches of the clergy had done, they, of course, declared that their signatures were secured in an off-moment and that they were rushed into it. But, being more explicit than the other members of the clergy, the Doctrinaires not only declared themselves innocent of the harmful meaning that had been read into the joint letter of April 21, but they also stated formally that the said letter actually *did* contain "anti-constitutional principles," and, instead of limiting themselves to a general assent to the National Assembly's decrees, which were sanctioned by the King, they specifically declared that they assented with all their heart and soul, without any reservation whatsoever, to all the decrees of the Assembly and, particularly, to the decree concerning the ownership of Church property. Thus, all four Doctrinaires took a more pronounced stand. It was no surprise. Their leanings had been known for a long time, and recent significant events had clearly indicated how swiftly they were advancing in that direc-

tion. On May 9, in "the Gentlemen's Chapel," which adjoined their college, a group known as the "Patriotic Circle" was founded. It was to be known later as "The Club of the Friends of the Constitution" and was to be affiliated with the Jacobins of Paris.<sup>13</sup> On a later occasion, at four o'clock in the afternoon of June 18, a delegation of their pupils had presented "its respects" to the departmental assembly and to its newly-elected President Loys. The pompous speech delivered by the lawyer Pelicot's son, in the name of all his schoolmates, leaves no doubt about the views of these students, and the extreme patriotism of their teachers. In the style of the time, ornately rhetorical and filled with phrases reminiscent of the ancient Roman orators, the young Cicero congratulated the members of the august assembly for having diffused

the sparks of that Sacred Fire which heats without burning and that zeal for the Republic which disposes the soul for the most generous sacrifices. As a modern Hercules, you hunt out everywhere the abuses which are devastating France. By your wise elections, you are raising an impenetrable wall against the insidious plots of the aristocracy. What conspiracy would not be forever confounded by the formidable sight of Reason clothed in armor!

The speech closed with a eulogy of President Loys who, in a recent academic session of the College, had spoken out in favor of the principles of the day. The orator also eulogized his teachers who, in cooperation with Loys, had introduced the program of national education into the school.<sup>14</sup> The young spokesman must have been a pupil of the highest form, since anyone of the second, third, and for greater reason the fourth form, would have been incapable of displaying such eloquence and learning.

Eugene de Mazenod most likely knew about this public demonstration since it must have created a sensation both at the College and in the city. Most likely also, he knew that the views of the Doctrinaires were entirely different from those of his father and his uncle Fortuné, the canon, since in union with his cathedral chapter the canon still remained loyal to his archbishop and continued to stand opposed to those decrees of the national assembly which were contrary to the rights of the Church. The

child was too aware of what was happening around him not to have suffered from this disagreement between his family and his teachers and it would have instinctively put him on his guard against the latter.

To crown it all, on August 10, in accordance with the new educational programme, the school year closed in a decidedly political manner with a speech based "upon the French Constitution, the Rights of Man and the Rights of the Citizen."<sup>15</sup> The subject matter and still more the spirit had changed completely; in place of the once-solemn sessions of the Collège Bourbon which had been traditionally academic, these gatherings were, thereafter, to be nothing but patriotic rallies.

#### AN ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN AIX

In 1790, following tradition, the school year began on the Feast of St. Luke, October 18. Everything went off on schedule. The only incident to mar the opening was a clash between the city council of Aix and the regional and district directoires. This was caused by Father Sicard, who, in a burst of civic spirit, had invited to the opening ceremonies not only the local officials but the district and regional authorities as well. In view "of the principle involved, and because of its guaranteed right" to assist exclusively at this ceremony, the city council summoned Father Sicard before it to censure his misdirected initiative. The Council also passed a resolution to forego the ceremony and to refer the matter to the National Assembly so as not to compromise "either the prerogatives of the Commune" or the public peace.<sup>16</sup>

The "public peace" was indeed being disturbed at that moment, but by events far more serious than this petty quarrel over jurisdiction and priority, which, taken by itself, was rather childish. Like all the other parliaments of France, the Parliament of Aix had been suppressed by a decree of September 7,<sup>17</sup> and, shortly before dissolving, had characteristically broken out into fire and fury.

The protests were to be expected, but, considering the one who made them, and the language in which they were made,

considering a whole series of warning signals, they seemed to be the prelude and the presage of an impending counter-revolution. Speaking in behalf of the lawyers, Pascalis not only protested the dissolving of the magistracy, but he made the cause of the magistracy synonymous with the cause of the abolished Provençal Constitution, the monarchy despoiled of its authority, and the ancient political institutions that had recently been wiped out. He went even beyond this. In his conclusion, he rashly denounced the frenzy of the people who dared to take justice into their own hands, and he predicted that the time was very near at hand

when our citizens, finally seeing the light and giving us the credit for it, would join forces in a struggle to outlaw the abuses of the recently-installed regime, carry out our obligations to the nation, re-establish the monarchy, and, with the return of our magistrates, re-establish public peace.<sup>18</sup>

We conclude, therefore, that Pascalis who, like Mounier in the Dauphiné Parliament, was the prime mover and leader of the patriots, was now changing over to the camp of the aristocrats in order to stem the movement he, himself, had launched. These words and threats, these aggressive and rash predictions, were tied in with a whole series of events which, in turn, seemed to explain them: the émigrés assembling at Nice in Piedmont; the purchase and the dispatch of arms which were intercepted and seized in Provence; the re-appearance of the white cockades; the arrival of messengers sent by the Princes, one of whom was the Chevalier de Vernegues; the mysterious and secret meetings with Pascalis at "La Mignarde," the country-place of his brother-in-law, Mignard; similar meetings at the same Mignard's town house; braggings and rash remarks made by the nobles who began strutting about as if they had already come out on top. Added to all these actual and established happenings were absurd rumors which caused even greater alarm. A collective fear then took hold of the patriots. By no means was the danger imaginary, but the typically southern imagination exaggerated it beyond all proportion.<sup>19</sup>

There now came upon the scene, to direct the resistance

against this movement, the Abbé Rive. He was an embittered and sickly visionary, constantly racked by fever, and fanatically determined to substitute his own fire and zeal for the timidity of local authorities, and for the thoroughly bourgeois conservatism of the Friends of the Constitution. He planned to appeal personally to the artisans and peasants for their help in bringing the counter-revolutionists to their senses. On October 31, in what was formerly the convent of the Bernardine Nuns, he founded a new club, known as the "Venerable Anti-Political Brothers," so-called because the members of this club, instead of depending upon empty words and promises, were to concentrate on effective action, aided and abetted by different groups of the commoners.<sup>20</sup>

Although the Mazenod mansion was a good distance from the old Bernardine Convent, and from the Collège Bourbon, at both of which places the patriots of the third and fourth estates gathered, it was, on the other hand, very near two clubs where different groups, greatly opposed to those mentioned above held their meetings. These clubs, meeting at the Café Guion and the Café Casati, were situated on either side of President de Mazenod's home at the head of the Boulevard. Nobles, bourgeois, and officers of the Lyons Regiment gathered at the Café Guion, while workers and artisans "whose sympathies were with the ex-parliamentary world"<sup>21</sup> gathered at the Café Casati. Thus, the president found himself between two centers of resistance which had been causing great concern to the Friends of the Constitution, and even greater concern to the Anti-Politicals of Abbé Rive.

Early in December, the two groups of the Café Guion and the Café Casati decided to merge in order to increase their effectiveness and win over to the "good cause" those members of the lower classes who were discontented with the way the Revolution was going. On December 11, the new Society, which called itself the "Friends of Order and Peace," officially registered with the Municipal Council in order to be legally incorporated. Its first meeting was set for the following day.<sup>22</sup> Rightly or wrongly, the founding of this new club was taken to be the tip-off that an aristocratic plot was under way. The Anti-Politicals and the Friends of the Constitution, therefore, decided that they too

would merge in order to match these strong anti-patriotic forces with equally strong patriotic forces. These two camps were sharply divided and bitterly opposed to each other, and, in view of the general hysteria prevalent at the time, very little was needed to bring them to blows.

Sunday, December 12, arrived, when the Club of the Friends of Order was to have its first gathering; but the gathering never took place. Around five o'clock that afternoon, about a dozen officers of the Lyons Regiment, together with some magistrates and a few other gentlemen, were talking and playing cards very quietly in the Café Guion when, outside on the Boulevard, the Anti-Political Brothers passed by. They were just returning from a meeting at the College with the Friends of the Constitution, and these latter, very courteously, were escorting the Anti-Politics back to their headquarters at the old Bernardine Convent. As they passed by the Café they shouted, "Long live the Nation!," and broke into the *Ça ira*. Standing in the doorway of the club, at that moment, were several officers who seemed to the patriots to have a definitely threatening look about them. The patriots, therefore, demanded that they be disarmed. Thereupon the officers drew their swords, and Guiramand, the Chevalier, thinking it would save the day, fired his pistols. The National Guard then answered with gunfire, and the siege of the Café was on. While the magistrates and civilians were beating a safe retreat by way of the rooftops, the officers felt that such an escape would be a blot on their honor and charged through the crowd with drawn swords. Most of them got away safely. Some were wounded; others arrested.<sup>23</sup>

One can well imagine how the Mazenods felt while all this was going on, since they lived so close to where the fight took place. It was only when the crowd dispersed, in order to bring its demands for justice to the communal headquarters, that they breathed a bit easier. With the center of the disturbance transferred elsewhere, the danger automatically disappeared. Gradually, the National Guard took up its position on the Boulevard, and the neighborhood became quiet again.

Later that night, however, their fears came back redoubled.

They learned that a gang sent by Abbé Rive had set out for "La Mignarde" to arrest Pascalis; that other gangs were bent on seizing Monsieur de la Roquette, one of the aristocrats, and were breaking into several of the aristocrats' mansions; <sup>24</sup> that, from one o'clock in the morning, the district tribunal had been holding hearings "on complaints handed up by the public prosecutor, to wit: seditious quarrelling, bodily assault, and counter-revolutionary acts which occurred in the said city on December 12, 1790." They further learned that a writ had been issued for the arrest of Guiramand and six officers of the Lyons Regiment; <sup>25</sup> that, at four o'clock in the morning, Pascalis had been brought prisoner to the Town Hall,<sup>26</sup> and that his brother-in-law, Mignard, forewarned by a servant, had fled from his country place and was trying to reach open country with others from Aix who were deeply implicated.

It was perfectly reasonable, therefore, to fear that M. de Mazenod would also be seized. His nobility was not the only thing they held against him; opposed to the Revolution from the very beginning, he had constantly aligned himself with the aristocracy; they knew of his startling reconciliation with Pascalis and of his frequent visits to "la Mignarde" <sup>27</sup> where Pascalis had gone to live; they knew also that each evening, at 7 o'clock, for the past week he had been taking part in the suspicious secret meetings held with Darbaud at Mignard's town house.<sup>28</sup> Little wonder then that in the Mazenod home masters and servants kept a constant and terrified vigil at their listening posts. The least sign of any gathering, the least sound of footsteps, and the least outcry, made them jump with fright since at any moment Rive's men might come pounding on the doors and invade the house.

M. de Mazenod now had to make an agonizing decision. Should he, too, take flight and put himself out of danger? We know he did, but when and where is a mystery. Neither the date of his departure nor the route he took can be minutely determined. From the record of the court enquiry of January 26, 1791, in which he was eventually involved, we know that the President did not appear before the district tribunal "to answer the charges initiated at the proceedings of December 12, at one

o'clock in the morning, against the principals, abettors and accomplices of sedition, counter-revolution, and attempts on the lives of patriotic citizens." <sup>29</sup> We know also that on the 18th of that same month, Lamy, the process-server, had gone to M. de Mazenod's home to serve him a summons and personal subpoena; that all he was able to do, however, was to hand the writ over to *Sieur Bonnet*,<sup>30</sup> one of the servants, and go off again. A number of signs, all pointing in the same direction, further indicate that the President had disappeared before this summons was issued, and that from December 13 on, as in the case of *Mignard* and *Dubreuil*, no trace of him could be found.

As a matter of record, it was on that same day, December 13, that *Abbé Rive's* men took it upon themselves not only to force the hands of the judges, but also to set in motion the swift justice of the people. The six officers for whom a writ of arrest had been issued, and "several persons regarded as accomplices" of the *Chevalier de Guiramand*, were "the objects of an intense man-hunt."

Included among these "several persons" were President *d'Albert*, "*Darbaud* and *Armand*, former procurators, *Dubreuil*, *Mignard*, *Coppet*, *Pons*, *Blanc*, *Langlez*, father and son" and President de *Mazenod*.<sup>31</sup>

That President de *Mazenod* was also included is proved by the testimony of *Louis-Pascal-Michel*, cited as the fifty-sixth witness. He declared before the tribunal on December 16, that, on his way back from the *St. Maxim Fair*, he had met "halfway between *Negrel* and *Le Canet*, both *Sieur d'Albert*, the son, former President of the former parliament, and *Sieur de Mazenod*, former President of the Court of Accounts; that both were dressed in hunting clothes and both were carrying guns; that they saluted each other respectfully without saying a word." <sup>32</sup> This hunt, which would indeed have been strange under such tragic circumstances, seems to have been the cover-up for the flight of these two ex-parliamentarians. Their hunting costumes would not have aroused any suspicion, and would have allowed them to take to the fields in order to avoid any dangerous encounter. It also entitled them to carry firearms which, if the need arose, would

have enabled them to defend themselves. It was an effective disguise, even more so than that of Dubreuil dressed as an Abbé and sporting a newly-conferred tonsure.

On December 23 another statement made by a goldsmith, Joseph-Charles Vincent, the forty-second witness, sheds further light on the day and the hour when the supposed hunters might have met before putting their disguised flight into action. Sieur Vincent learned from Sieur Sambouis that on Monday morning, December 13, Sieur Mignard had gone to the *Enfant Hunting Lodge* with Sieur Dubreuil. When they arrived there they found Monsieur d'Albert, a former President of the former Parliament; both Mignard and Dubreuil then left the lodge and crossed over into Nice.<sup>88</sup> Most likely d'Albert, put on the alert, also decided to go to Nice in order to escape arrest. M. de Mazenod, who too had gone to the Lodge that same day, as the first step of his flight, would then have set out with his former colleague in the magistracy, and while the make-believe Abbé and his companion, guided by two peasants, reached Nice on horseback, the two presidents, travelling in a different manner, would have then taken another route in order to attract less attention. Prudence, certainly, would have made their separation advisable.

Under such circumstances, the Mazenods must have found all this exciting and dramatic. At that moment, certainly, none of them dreamed that Charles-Antoine's exile would last twenty-six years, that he would never again return to his home to take up his former life with his wife and family, or that the family, itself, would soon be broken up forever. At any rate, it was no time to worry about the future. They had to get M. de Mazenod away from the present danger, and in the quickest way possible. That, for the moment, was their sole concern.

When they were sure he was safe they all breathed a sigh of relief; but, until then, the anguish and uncertainty that followed his departure must have been almost unbearable, for on Monday, the 13th, the trouble became worse than ever. Pascalis and Maurellet, while being led from the City Hall to the King's Jail, barely escaped being torn to shreds by the frenzied mob, who then seized the cannons and set them up in firing position

at the gates of the Boulevard. The Anti-Politicals demanded that the former assessor be sentenced immediately, and that his punishment set the pattern for all the others. Some of the National Guard from Marseilles, instead of re-establishing order, as they had been called in to do, joined Rive's men in demanding the culprit's death. However, he escaped a hasty execution for that day at least; but it was only for that day. The following day, while the municipal council and the district directoire were holding deliberations, a mob formed, rushed upon the prison, forced its way in without the Swiss Regiment of Ernest daring to stop it, dragged Pascalis and de la Roquette from their cells, and strung both of them from the lamp-posts of the Boulevard. From the windows of their home, the Mazenods could see the bodies of the two unfortunate men dangling at the ends of their ropes. That afternoon, Guiramand, who had been incarcerated by the peasants of Mayreuil at the Valbriant blockhouse, was brought to Aix and suffered the same fate. Fear then took hold of all the Mazenods at the thought that, like Guiramand, the President had also been captured by the patriots, taken prisoner to the city, and become one more victim of the mob's fury. The hours seemed endless, for the only time they could be sure of was time that had passed. Not until after a few days had gone by did they feel reassured. After that, it did not matter how much Abbé Rive denounced the President to the Anti-Politicals, or how long the Tribunal went on informing against him; he was now out of their reach and safe from their violence.

#### EUGENE'S DEPARTURE FOR NICE

When January, 1791, arrived, and classes were resumed at the Collège Bourbon, all the emotions and drama of December had died down. Once again Eugene quietly resumed his studies, but a few weeks later they were suddenly interrupted. His uncle Charles-Louis-Eugène, the Navy Captain, acting on orders from President de Mazenod, came to Aix in February, to get the boy and take him to Nice.

We gather from the *Memoires* of the Bishop of Marseilles <sup>34</sup>

that this decision was entirely unexpected, and that it surprised and stunned his whole family. Mme. de Mazenod immediately held a family council with the grandfather de Mazenod, Canon Fortuné, and the grandfather and grandmother Joannis. Many objections were raised: Wasn't Eugene too young to be separated from his mother? Didn't the condition of his health forbid his making such a voyage so soon after a recent illness which had left him considerably weakened? Why this separation, and why was it so urgent? Wasn't the President, who was living a great distance from them, exaggerating the danger facing the sons of nobility whom the revolutionists had threatened to exterminate? However, after weighing all the pros and cons, they agreed to carry out the President's orders promptly, even though they disapproved.

Without doubt, the President believed he had to save his son from a new "Slaughter of the Innocents," planned by the patriots. It could be that motives of a religious nature also came into play when he made his decision. We have good reason to think so. On January 30 of that year, the Doctrinaires of Aix had solemnly taken the constitutional oath prescribed for churchmen by the National Assembly on November 27, 1790, a decree that had been condemned by the bishops. The suburban Church of St. Jean Baptiste, served by the Doctrinaires, was chosen as the locale for the official ceremony arranged for the occasion by the municipal council. They had to have a parish where all the clergy were favorable to the decree. Since the clergy of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, and that of the Holy Ghost, had refused to take the oath, and since none of the clergy of the Cathedral, except the curé, had consented to take it, the Doctrinaires' Church was the only one where unanimity could be found.

The honorable professors of the Collège Bourbon went in a body, with their pupils, to assist at the Mass. Before subscribing to the legal agreement, Sicard, the Rector, declared that it "was in no way contrary to either faith or morals or to the public worship of our Holy Religion, which we profess and to which we wish to remain unswervingly loyal to the end of our days."<sup>85</sup> This "we" was certainly not the "we" of nobility since "each one

of the priests, professors, and prefects, came forward individually and, with a clear and loud voice, swore to fulfill his office with exactitude, to be loyal to the Nation, the Law, and the King, and to uphold, with all his strength, the Constitution enacted by the National Assembly and accepted by the King.”<sup>36</sup> Among the teachers and prefects who took the oath was Morel, who, before abandoning religious life and going back to the lay state, had published *Reflections on Church Celibacy*, which were judged to be scandalous;<sup>37</sup> another was Christine, who, later on in 1816, as a “concordat” curé of St. John of Malta in Aix, was insanely hostile to the Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

For M. de Mazenod, therefore, it became a problem of conscience. As long as his disagreement with the Doctrinaires had been limited to political and social matters, he had been willing to leave his son at the College; but now that the Rector and professors were falling into schism, to allow the boy to stay there was out of the question. Religious principles, loyalty to the Church, and family traditions, all prevented his hesitating for even a moment and made it imperative that he remove the child from the baneful influence of educators who had openly broken with their archbishop and forsaken orthodoxy. Furthermore, the Joannis family, as well as all the Mazenod family, must certainly have felt the same way. The grandfather Joannis, who was a professor at the Medical Faculty of Aix, was soon to sacrifice his Chair of Botany, rather than take the Constitutional oath,<sup>38</sup> and the uncle Fortuné had already taken sides decisively with the Canons of the St. Sauveur Cathedral, in the camp of the “good priests.” The President, therefore, must have felt that the whole family would approve Eugene’s withdrawal from the College.

However, his leaving the College did not imply his leaving the country. The child could have pursued his studies more advantageously at Aix than at Nice, where the courses were given in Italian. For lack of private tutors, the grandfather Joannis, his old Provençal teacher, could have taught him Latin, or better still, his uncle Fortuné, the Canon, who, because of the suppression of the Cathedral Chapter, had lost his revenue but

had gained much leisure time. It seems very likely, then, that under the circumstances, if religious motives did come into play, they were in no way the deciding factor. In those times of collective fear, it often happened that nobles, especially émigrés, were inordinately affected by verbal threats made by the patriots, just as the patriots, themselves, were excessively frightened by aristocratic blusterings. Living afar off, M. de Mazenod was frightened perhaps by the thought of the peril threatening the life of his son, and very likely, Mme. de Mazenod, the grandparents, the uncle, and the rest of the family, although less alarmed, did feel uneasy.

After taking counsel and resolving to comply immediately with the orders given to the chevalier, they then informed Eugene that he was to leave the next day to join his father at Nice. They strictly warned him that he was to tell no one since none of the revolutionists could be trusted and every precaution had to be taken. And so, he was not to say "good-bye" to anyone, not even his best friends. The child gave his word (the word of a Mazenod) and promised to keep it a strict secret. As a special favor, however, he asked permission to go to the Revest home for one last visit and at least embrace the family for whom he felt a very warm affection. They needn't worry! He knew how to keep a secret!

But, the tongue is easier to control than the emotions, and what Eugene's tongue concealed, his heart almost revealed. Feeling the sobs about to break and the tears about to fall, he had to make a quick decision to get away immediately. Thus, taking an abrupt leave with a simple and crisp "bon soir," he covered up the heartbreak of his "adieu." The following day, when the Revest family learned of his departure they were struck with admiration for the extraordinary inner fortitude this eight-year-old child had shown in such dramatic and sorrowful circumstances.<sup>39</sup>

#### HIS STAY AT NICE

Of Eugene's stay at Nice, we possess merely snatches of information. The *Memoires* of the Bishop of Marseilles correctly

specify its duration as five months, but they give a wrong date for his arrival there, an approximate date for his departure and simply place "in the interval" the day when his mother, his grandmother Joannis, his aunt, Madame Dedons de Pierrefeu and his cousin, Emile (Dedons) de Pierrefeu, arrived together from Aix.<sup>40</sup>

We surmise, therefore, that only the impressions of those very early experiences were retained, while the specific dates remained blurred and confused: his rapture while gazing at the magnificent sun-lit bay which he admired so much, and which he could see from his residence, the Sauvaigne home, overlooking the famous seashore Promenade; his difficulty in transposing Latin texts into a foreign language while he attended school at Nice; doing his homework each evening as he sat on the front doorstep, and stopping any passerby willing to help him with the Italian words and phrases; his "great" joy on seeing once again his mother, and also his grandmother Joannis whom, as he said, he loved as much as his own mother.<sup>41</sup> These were the experiences which were clearly and fondly remembered.

Eugene may have felt great joy at the arrival of his grandmother Joannis, but not so the President. Charles-Antoine would have much preferred his wife to come alone, but she had agreed to rejoin him only on the express condition that she could bring her mother and her sister, Mme. de Pierrefeu, with her. He knew from experience how pleasant Marie-Rose could be when she was left to herself and how completely different she was when she was influenced by these two women who, along with the rest of their clan, were constantly in league against him. "I foresaw at that time everything I should have to suffer from this reunion," he confided years later to la Poire,<sup>42</sup> a friend from his boyhood days, "but I was powerless to prevent it, and I cannot possibly tell you everything the poor chevalier and myself had to put up with from this female triumvirate. We were both compelled to share the same room, and we were ignored as though we were lackeys. They took complete charge of everything, decided everything, gave all the orders. If by chance we wished to remonstrate with one of them, we saw the three of them rise

up against us like latter day Furies. Opposing them would have accomplished nothing but a commotion; we took the only line of conduct available to wise and prudent people who do not want their domestic troubles aired in public, and that was by practicing kindness and patience . . . and retiring to our room."

Fortunately, at the end of four months, Mme. Joannis was called back to Aix by her husband and her departure put an end to this unbearable situation.

"My wife changed completely," wrote Charles-Antoine, in the same letter to his friend la Poire; "she became sweet, obliging, pleasant, attentive; in a word, perfect!" He was even able to win over Mme. de Pierrefeu, and she too changed. "By dint of solicitude, attentiveness, and considerateness, we also succeeded in bringing my sister-in-law around."<sup>43</sup>

At first, the de Mazenods deluded themselves into thinking that their exile would be very brief, for they expected that by their own excesses the Jacobins would defeat themselves and hasten the triumph of the Monarchists. But month after month went by without this evil political situation in France bringing on the hoped-for collapse, and any illusion of a quick return to France had to be abandoned. The President, then, had to take measures to ensure Eugene's education under better conditions than those at Nice, and so he applied to the College of Nobles at Turin.

How he was able to enter negotiations with that institution where the Piedmontese aristocracy was educated, or whose influence was responsible for his success in placing his son there with the required approval of the King, we do not know. Very likely, under the circumstances, the close ties existing between the émigrés and the counter-revolutionists worked in his favor. In 1790, Turin had been the nerve-center of the movement that was supposed to cause the uprising not only of Lyons, Languedoc, and Provence, but of the entire South of France. The Count d'Artois and the Prince de Condé, who were the leaders of that movement, were no longer living in Turin, having left it after the setback of December, 1790, one going to Venice and the other to Coblenz.<sup>44</sup> However, many of their friends and supporters

were still on the scene and knew full well the extent to which Monsieur de Mazenod had committed himself for the cause of the King. In all fairness, therefore, they could not refuse to help such a zealous champion of the nobility and the Crown.

Furthermore, Charles-Antoine was personally acquainted with the Duke de Bourbon, who was the Prince de Condé's son and who, like himself, had been elected by the fiefed nobles of Provence as deputy to the States-General. Indeed, so devoted was Charles-Antoine to the Prince de Condé himself, that in 1791 he offered his lands of Saint-Laurent to this Most Serene Highness, despoiled of his possessions by "an abominable decree" of the National Assembly; and he did it in order to preserve the luster of the Prince's rank and birth.<sup>45</sup>

This gift which Charles-Antoine offered on November 28, 1791 was no empty gesture, for he immediately commissioned his father to dispose of the above-mentioned lands,<sup>46</sup> Charles-Alexandre then began making arrangements to sell them just as soon as the Prince sent his acceptance.<sup>47</sup> The gift was considerable in itself, since Saint-Laurent, before the suppression of feudal rights, was valued at 100,000 crowns, but it was made all the more meritorious because of Charles-Antoine's financial situation. In August, 1789 the President had lost the revenues from his Seignorial, or personal rights and in September, 1790 his position at the Court of Accounts. By law, the peasants were supposed to pay him for his land rights,<sup>48</sup> and the Nation was supposed to reimburse him for the loss of his office; but the peasants, making no distinction between personal and land rights, claimed they owed him nothing, and the Nation made long-term payments with promissory notes that were becoming more and more worthless.<sup>49</sup> To make matters worse, for some time, even before the Revolution, the President had been living far beyond his means, and going deeper and deeper into debt. On December 9, 1790 he had borrowed 300 livres from a lawyer named Poitevin; on December 12, the eve of his flight, he had borrowed another 300 from a Stephen Payan; and at Nice, 6,800 livres from a certain Alziari.<sup>50</sup> Travels, sojourn in a foreign land, emigration, all these increased his expenses and wiped out his resources.

The Mazenods, therefore, could well have used the 100,000 crowns which the sale of Saint-Laurent would have brought them, not only to pay up all their debts, but also to take care of their living expenses. However, a "grand Seigneur" was not accustomed to reckon that way. Like his peers among the émigrés, Monsieur de Mazenod clung to the habits of his class, owing more than what was owed to him; scorning to balance his assets and liabilities and to equalize his receipts and expenses; ready to show any kind of liberality and generosity. Contrariwise, with him, as with the other nobles who had fled from France to work for the counter-revolution, although the hand was open wide, the mind was tightly shut. If the Chantilly archives did not enlighten us on his partisan zeal, we should find it difficult indeed to believe how intense were his blindness, his burning desire for revenge and his bitter hatred, by all of which he shared the émigré mentality: hoping for the coalition of sovereigns who would eventually realize that "the cause of Louis XVI was the cause of all kings"; waiting for the hour when justice would triumph and "the dark shroud which covered a large part of Europe" would be torn asunder; "solemnly swearing to grant neither peace nor truce to those scoundrels or to their accomplices until Your Most Serene Highness has been completely avenged for the outrages you have suffered from them." Nothing is left out; not even the bellicose blustering which sounds rather ridiculous coming from a legist who could fight with no other weapons than his pen and his juridical arguments. For M. de Mazenod firmly hoped that "when the great day of retribution has arrived," he will be given the opportunity "to show" the Prince de Condé "the power" of his "boundless love," his "blind obedience" and his tried and true loyalty." Beyond that he will then desire nothing; "just one glance from a hero" such as he will be enough to raise him "above the vulgar crowd." Perhaps the President even felt that his vigilant solicitude for such an august person would win him the good fortune to shed his blood while shielding His Majesty, thereby prolonging the days of His precious life.<sup>61</sup>

But surprising though it is to see a man so unlike a soldier transformed into a swashbuckler, it is not at all surprising to see

him sign himself as "Deputy of the Nobility of Provence to the Free and General States of France" and acknowledge himself to be completely committed to the counter-revolution. These revealing letters from the archives not only establish the claims he had on the assistance of the French nobles exiled at Turin, but by confirming what we already know about the plans, illusions, threats, and boastings of the émigrés, they also show us how thoroughly M. de Mazenod could accept the beliefs of a class which refused to accept any belief contrary to its own interests. In their aloof and exclusive society, the exiled Seigneurs kept going around and around in the same cycle of ideas, spites, and illusions, all of which became more deeply imbedded by the constant repetition of stereotyped formulas which propounded these same follies with absolute dogmatism.

Only after a long period had elapsed did some of the Seigneurs discard these prejudices and illusions; others, however, obstinately refused to face new realities and continued to cling tenaciously to the old traditions. After years of hoping against hope for the "great day of retribution," a disillusioned Monsieur de Mazenod would one day lose much of his original cock-sureness, self-confidence, and intolerance.

But, in 1791, he was a dyed-in-the-wool member of the émigré party, and it was as one of its members (very likely with its cooperation and help) that he brought Eugene to what was then the Party's capital city, so that he might enroll the boy in the Royal College of Turin reserved exclusively to the sons of genuine nobility.

#### THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF NOBLES AT TURIN

To Charles-Antoine, this College of Nobles at Turin seemed the ideal school for his son's education. King Victor Amedée III had just then taken it over in order to restore its diligence, order and discipline. He dismissed the secular priests who had been directing it ever since the Jesuits had been suppressed and who had shown themselves more and more unequal to their task. He then replaced them with a religious congregation which spe-

cialized in teaching and was well-known for its competence. But, contrary to what the City Council of Aix had done at the Collège Bourbon, His Sardinian Majesty did not select the Doctrinaires for this school. Instead, his choice fell to the Barnabites, and Monsieur de Mazenod thoroughly agreed with that preference.

The Barnabites justly earned their reputation as men of science. Among their members were found physicists who specialized in electricity and hydrostatics, geologists, astronomers, even Egyptologists, who occupied with distinction the chairs of several famous Italian universities. Although well acquainted with modern discoveries, skilled in handling modern methods, and fully cognizant of new ideas, they nevertheless had no desire to jump into the avant-garde. Their whole society held to the middle road of prudent conservatism, taking their cues from their most illustrious and representative member, Cardinal Gerdil. This worthy man, at whose side the Barnabites took a firm stand, enjoyed a high reputation both as mathematician and theologian. In his *Anti-Émile*, published in 1765, he had effectively criticized and condemned the new method of education advocated by Rousseau,<sup>52</sup> and, at the Conclave of Venice in 1800, he directed the faction called the Volanti, or Flying Squadron, which was a sort of middle party between two extreme factions called the Politicanti and the Zelanti.

Since the Barnabites were inspired by the Cardinal's prudent conservatism, naturally they brought it with them to the College of Nobles in Turin. This conservatism was bound to predominate there especially, since Gerdil enjoyed the complete confidence of Victor Amedée III. Perhaps that confidence had a great deal to do with the King's choosing the Barnabites. The fact that Gerdil was in such favor with the King certainly must have influenced their Superior General to accept the College<sup>53</sup> and must equally have influenced the appointment of Father Leopoldo Scati as Superior of the College, since Scati was Gerdil's personal friend, and was subsequently to be the editor of his works.

This was not the only reason, however, why Father Scati was chosen for such a delicate assignment: along with sound, common sense, he possessed the most excellent human and spir-

itual qualities; he exercised authority with a paternal heart and a firm hand; his enviable record of service at the College of Vercil was well known at the Court of Turin; and finally, he himself belonged to the Piedmont aristocracy, both by reason of his birthplace, Aqui, and of his ancestors, the Counts Scati. It was this last qualification that made him very acceptable to the aristocratic families of Piedmont for directing the education of their sons.

The rule he drew up for the school is ample proof that he intended to make this training an aristocratic one, in order to fulfill more easily the wishes of His Sardinian Majesty, the expectations of aristocratic families, and the purpose of the school itself. In fact, the Rule begins with the following considerations:

Whereas the welfare of the State depends principally on the education of its young nobility, since from its ranks will come virtuous men, loyal subjects, and citizens useful to themselves, their families, and the State; and whereas His Majesty, King Victor Amedée, now gloriously reigning, has confided the Royal College of Nobles to us; therefore, we have made every effort to seek out and provide the means which will assure the best education to the students enrolled in this College.<sup>54</sup>

Throughout the Rule, a whole series of wise provisions clearly envisages this education as one for pupils of noble rank; the school is to admit only genuine nobility; in order to be enrolled, the pupils, all of whom must board at the school, will be required to prove the authenticity of their titles and will also be required to obtain the approval of the Sovereign;<sup>55</sup> the tuition, 35 livres a month, has been determined by the King and the Barnabites have agreed not to increase that fee;<sup>56</sup> His Majesty has also reserved to himself nine appointments, the recipients of which he himself will name, and whose expenses he will pay;<sup>57</sup> the Porter will be clothed in royal livery; on being enrolled in the school, the boarders will hand their swords over to him (since they are forbidden to wear them while attending this school), and the Porter will hold them in his keeping;<sup>58</sup> the boarders will refrain from quarrels, particularly about their fortunes, lineage, and

physical or intellectual gifts; the boarders will also refrain from insults, nicknames, and all other such vulgarities which are always out of place among cultured young gentlemen; in their conduct toward one another, they will observe the rules of courtesy which should always be practiced by young men of their noble descent;<sup>59</sup> in their grammar and humanities classes, besides being taught Latin, Greek, Italian, Philosophy, Civics, Geography (“with a few ideas about the natural products of each country”),<sup>60</sup> they will also be given instructions in penmanship, Drawing, Architecture, Music, Fencing, Dancing, and Riding.<sup>61</sup> The last article of the Rule encourages the competitive spirit as follows: “If the boarders live up to our expectations and fulfill their obligations to God and to the State, they will, in due time, be richly rewarded by royal largesse in the way of appointment to high positions in the service of His Majesty, who has so generously bestowed his patronage upon this College.”<sup>62</sup>

All these provisions harmonized with the manner of training demanded by the noble birth of the pupils as well as by their future role in society; a role that was predetermined by the attitudes and traditions of their environment. Hence such an education must have further strengthened the aristocratic mentality which Eugene de Mazenod derived from his family and early training. The young exile may have been outside his native country, but he was still in his own world, a world of the privileged class which expected to survive the Revolution and see its ultimate downfall. At the College of Turin, he received a formation that was specifically ancien régime, and he set himself to the task of preparing for the long-awaited day of restoration when he would carry on the work of his elders who were as dedicated to the rights of their class and province as they were to the cause of the legitimate Bourbon monarchy.

But, although Father Scati had to conform himself to the aristocratic type of student in a College restricted to nobility, and even though it came naturally to him since he was an aristocrat himself, he was too religious a man to allow class consciousness to destroy his sense of values. The above-mentioned provisions do not come at the very beginning of the Rule; rather

does the accessory follow the principal. Everything begins with what Napoleon later on was to call the "bases" when he began organizing his University.

Religious formation first! This is the sum and substance of the first article of the Rule. "Since the practice of piety is the main foundation of all true education, the boarders will, therefore, be given a skillful spiritual director to instruct them in the principles of religion by teaching them catechism once a week, and, on Sundays by explaining the Gospel to them, or by instructing them on some truth of Christian morality suitable to their state and years." So strongly did the Rector feel the need of a skillful spiritual director, that he had one of the members of his Order, Father Joseph Faenza,<sup>63</sup> assigned to the College for that one specific purpose. For his own part, Father Scati took special measures to increase the piety of his pupils. His *Manuale de Vita Cristiana*, which he composed for them, placed the true principles of spiritual life within their grasp. He provided them with two retreats a year, which assured them the spiritual benefits of sermons and salutary reflections; one at the beginning of the school year to prepare them for study and discipline, and the other during Holy Week to prepare them for their Easter Duty. But, more than by any other means, he attracted them to the practice of virtue by his personal example. "I was in the first group to enter that College and Father Scati . . . took a great liking towards me";<sup>64</sup> the Bishop of Marseilles gratefully noted in his *Mémoires*. One can easily imagine how much profit Eugene's childhood piety gained from such a close association with this "highly esteemed religious,"<sup>65</sup> for the boy, even at that age, showed signs of deep piety. His first communion on Holy Thursday and his confirmation on Trinity Sunday of the same year, before he was ten years old, served but to strengthen and develop it.

If, as it seems, his soul was too young to have been influenced by the Doctrinaires during those early and troubled years at Aix, the same cannot be said of the years he spent with the Barnabites at Turin. That first but lasting impression stamped upon his soul by these holy fathers, especially by their superior,

would later on enable Eugene to pass through a progressive evolution beginning with a swift spiritual progress at Venice, continuing with a sorely-trying perseverance at Naples and painfully completed by a severe crisis following his return to France. Due to this evolution, a young Christian aristocrat would be transformed into a simple priest wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the poor, the children and the outcast.

Piety is never genuine if it neglects the carrying out of one's duties in life, the surest touchstone of all piety. The only genuine thing about lazy pious people is their laziness. Therefore, as an educator worthy of the name, Father Scati insisted that his pupils work diligently. After the first article which assured a religious basis, articles 2, 3 and 4 of the Rule determined with minute precision the *ratio studiorum* of the school. However, even the best curriculum is ineffectual if a school lacks discipline, and so the Rector took great pains in restoring with energy and adaptability the discipline which had all but disappeared after the departure of the good Jesuit Fathers. Under his masterful and firm direction, the College quickly recovered its regularity. As early as 1793, it enjoyed such a high reputation that the increase of boarders made it imperative to start plans for building immediately; in three years, the number of boarders had risen from 64 to 90.

Eugene derived great benefit from all these reforms at the College and his good conduct helped to make them easier for him. We know from the school records that he continually remained at the head of his class; no easy accomplishment, since the classes were taught in Italian and therefore, put him at a great disadvantage with his classmates for whom Italian was their mother tongue. But, this boy came from the parliamentary class and his nobility of the robe had endowed him with a keen intellect, an applied methodical mind, and a seriousness which were not always found in the nobility of the sword; a nobility which, though more brilliant, was also more superficial and mundane, and somewhat dilettante. His sense of duty, which even at that time was very strong, gave added determination to his efforts. Then too, his national pride may have acted as a spur to his

scholastic competition by urging him to uphold the reputation of the French intellect. These things enabled him to overcome a disadvantage that would have discouraged a less determined person.

Furthermore, his obedience to the rules belied the reputation for lack of discipline attributed to French émigrés. His teachers, whose esteem and affection he enjoyed, held him up as a model to the other students, and because of their confidence in him, they placed this ten-year-old boy in charge of the camerata, or dormitory, a responsibility he shared with about ten of his schoolmates.

Possessing qualities of leadership even at that early age, Eugene maintained such perfect order in his camerata that when the Duc de Berry was given a formal welcome at the College,<sup>66</sup> Father Scati had him brought to Eugene's camerata and pointed it out as the most orderly one in the school. The prince felt flattered by the honor thus redounding to France. He was somewhat less flattered, however, when he saw that Sieur de Mazenod, although four years his junior, was taller than he. The fact that de Mazenod was a mere chevalier and the prince a member of the Bourbon royalty did not help matters. The Prince betrayed his surprise and mortification by a peevish remark which slipped out as a result of youthful impulsiveness. A few years later, these two young people were to meet again in Sicily on more familiar terms, and their walks and swims together would have far more unfortunate consequences for Eugene, without in any way diminishing his loyalty to the future heir to the throne over whom misfortune was already hovering.

Wanting their son to pursue his studies in suitable surroundings was not the only reason his parents had brought him to Turin. They also wanted Doctor Pinchinati, the King's personal surgeon, to remove a growth near the boy's left eye, since it was badly disfiguring his face.<sup>67</sup> The date for the operation was set, and M. and Mme. de Mazenod made plans to come from Nice to be with the boy during his painful ordeal.

Wishing to spare his parents any suffering, Eugene begged Father Scati to advance the hour for the operation so that every-

thing would be over when they arrived. Father Scati, touched by such filial devotion, willingly consented. But, at the very last moment, the patient lost heart. One look at all the lancets, bistouries, hooked scissors, forceps, and bandages spread out on the table, and all his courage flew out the window. The surgeon had to repack his kit and go off with all his horrible instruments. In view of the child's age and the surgical methods of that day, this lack of courage is quite understandable. And yet, it was only momentary. Back in his room and thoroughly ashamed, Eugene suddenly realized that he had put too much confidence in his own strength, and throwing himself on his knees, begged God for the courage he needed. God gave it to him. No longer afraid, he ran back to Father Scati's apartment and had him recall the surgeon. Once again the instruments were unwrapped and the doctor went to work immediately.

Since anesthesia was out of the question at that time, the young boy had to undergo the operation fully conscious; seeing everything, hearing everything, and feeling each of the repeated incisions which were made in his flesh and which covered him with blood. In order to remove completely all the fatty substance of this unseemly and dangerous tumor, the doctor had to make several deep and careful incisions. And yet, in spite of the primitive and crude method of the operation which lasted for ten minutes,<sup>68</sup> not once did the child let out a cry and the surgeon was able to perform the entire operation without any interference. He could not help but admire the boy's amazing courage by which the extremely delicate operation had been made much easier. When M. de Mazenod and his wife arrived that evening as they had planned, everything was over and done. They were filled with joy when they learned that the operation had been successful, due, in large measure, to their son's physical and moral courage. Through a delicate solicitude for the feelings of his parents, Eugene had spared them any pain they might have suffered during the operation.

So rapid was his recovery, that on June 3, the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, he was able to join his classmates when

Cardinal Archbishop Costa bestowed the Sacrament of Confirmation upon them.<sup>69</sup>

#### THE MAZENODS ESTABLISH RESIDENCE AT TURIN

At Turin, the active center of monarchist conspiracies, M. and Mme. de Mazenod once again came across the Chevalier de Vernègues whom the Prince de Condé had sent to Aix in 1790, to arrange with Pascalis for the uprising of Provence. More than anyone else, Vernègues was able to put in a good word for the President with the Countess de Provence and the Countess d'Artois, daughters of King Victor Amedée. The President had also taken part in that abortive uprising and because of it had become a victim of his devotion to the "good cause." Vernègues, therefore, secured the protection of these two princesses for his one-time co-conspirator. Deeply loved by their father, these two ladies were the soul of charity to émigré nobles and it was their custom to entertain these nobles every Tuesday and Friday.<sup>70</sup> One can easily understand then, why Charles-Antoine and his wife felt highly pleased at the "excellent acquaintances"<sup>71</sup> they made in Turin. One can also very easily deduce who were responsible for Charles-Antoine's gaining the confidence, or better still, "the friendship of Count Graneri, the King's Prime Minister. During that period when the French were restricted to the city of Nice, Graneri obtained the King's permission to establish myself and my family in whatever part of His Majesty's domain I should care to choose." So wrote the President to his friend la Poire in 1803.<sup>72</sup> Such favoritism was bound to please the Seigneur de Saint-Laurent, and he decided to avail himself of it immediately. Living at Turin would have many advantages: it would reunite the President and his wife with Eugene who was at the College of Nobles and would put an end to a separation that was as painful to them as it was to the boy; it could also very well mean that the combined benevolence of the princesses and Graneri would bring about the subsidies that were so badly needed by the impoverished refugees from Aix. Added to all

these enticements was the greater safety they would enjoy on the Turin side of the Alps, since Nice was then being threatened by the patriots of Marseilles and the revolutionary armies.

But Mme. de Mazenod, disregarding all these excellent reasons for settling in Piedmont, demanded that they return immediately to their old residence at Nice. I wanted "to stay at Turin," wrote Charles-Antoine to la Poire, "but my wife refused, because at Turin she would receive news from her mother only twice a week, while at Nice news would come three times a week." Marie-Rose chose a poor time to show her filial affection, for, two months later, the Mazenods had to flee from Nice in order to escape the French armies and had to leave all their belongings there.

La Presidente, whom I had sent on ahead, two days previously, saved only one small trunk, while my brother and I had to escape with only the clothes on our backs, leaving behind eleven full trunks which my wife refused to take with her because she felt the six louis carrying charge was exorbitant. We rejoined her on foot beyond the Tende Mountain Pass and arrived together at Turin where we found a notice posted in the city ordering all French to leave His Majesty's States in three days. Thanks to the protection of the Prime Minister, I was granted an exception. We settled in a village five miles from Turin, and while living there, suffered everything possible from cold and poverty; but I can assure you that those days were the most peaceful days of all. This was due to my wife's excellent behavior, solicitude, and love, and also to my sister-in-law's change of heart, brought about by the thoughtfulness we showed her and the care we gave her son. Actually, the latter owes his life to us. After a year's time the Prime Minister brought us back to Turin.<sup>73</sup>

Two other members of the family now joined them there; Charles-Auguste-André, Canon and Vicar-General of Marseilles, and Fortuné, Canon and Vicar-General of Aix. Up until August, 1792, each had remained at his post, administering the dioceses in the name of their legitimate bishops, Monseigneur de Belloy, and Monseigneur de Boisgelin, in spite of the schism of the clergy and the persecution at the hands of the patriots. As a matter of fact, Fortuné almost lost his life because of his struggle in behalf

of the "good priests." While carrying the Blessed Sacrament in procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1791, he was fired at by a maniac. Fortunately, the bullet merely grazed his sacred vestments.<sup>74</sup> After the fall of the monarchy, the laws enacted against non-juring priests compelled both vicars to be deported. Furnished with regular passports, the uncle and nephew both left the country together and reached Turin early in September, 1792, traveling by way of Lyons and Switzerland. With the exception of the two grandfathers, M. de Mazenod and M. de Joannis, both of whom had remained at Aix, and the grandmother Joannis who had returned to Aix after a brief sojourn at Nice, the family was now complete. Servants included, the household consisted of twelve people, a rather costly one in view of their limited funds.

However, the regular allowance given by the Countess d'Artois,<sup>75</sup> the income guaranteed by President Charles-Alexandre, the funds taken to Turin by Mme. de Mazenod, Mme. Dedons de Pierrefeu and the two Canons, plus the money that had been borrowed by Charles-Antoine, all permitted them to make a rather good appearance. As Charles-Antoine wrote: "The people of Turin could have taken lessons from me on how to live lavishly without the means for doing so."<sup>76</sup> The bold front was still there, but in a very short time, amid all the splendors of Venice, the Mazenods would have to face the harsh realities of a bad financial situation made increasingly worse by still another flight and by unfortunate business transactions.

## Chapter Four

### *Emigration to Venice*

#### VOYAGE FROM TURIN TO VENICE

After living at Turin for two years, the Mazonods decided to leave the city, in April, 1794. They no longer felt safe there, since the Revolutionary armies, after occupying Nice and Savoy, were now beginning to threaten Piedmont. Carnot, who had created the fourteen armies of the Republic of France, was forced by the Robespierre brothers to accept the plans for the invasion of Italy which their protégé, Bonaparte had drawn up.<sup>1</sup> Although he disapproved of this foreign campaign which put a stranglehold upon the strategy and foreign policy of France, Carnot, surnamed "the Organizer of Victory," had to give in. Thereupon, Marshal Massena went into action on April 5. His repeated victories threw terror into the Court of Sardinia, as well as its guests, the émigrés,<sup>2</sup> and once again, the badgered refugees had to set out in quest of a new haven; one farther beyond the reach of their Jacobin compatriots.

Graneri, the Sardinian prime minister, advised President de Mazonod to flee with his family to Venice,<sup>3</sup> since there were good reasons to feel that Venice would be safe from any attack: it was a good distance away, it could count upon the Austrian army of occupation in Lombardy, and, as the Bishop of Marseilles noted in his *Memoires*, it was protected by "the lagoons of a republic which my father felt the French republican armies were honor-bound to respect."<sup>4</sup> Venice had a further recommendation; the Serenissime was willing to admit any foreigner who could prove his reliability. As long as he behaved "temperately, obeyed the laws and respected the customs of that kingdom," he was wel-

come to establish his domicile there.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, exiled aristocrats, despoiled by the Revolutionists, were acceptable to the Serenissime since the kingdom was essentially aristocratic. The cause for which these aristocrats were suffering and struggling was proof enough of their integrity. For that reason, there was not the slightest doubt about the trustworthiness of M. de Mazenod and his family. And, their trustworthiness was even further guaranteed, by the high recommendation they received from the Piedmontese chargé d'affaires at Venice. In recommending them to the state inquisitors of Venice, he referred to them along with the Marquis and Marquess de Grimaldi, Mme. de Sainte-Croix, and the Chevalier de Chiesa, as "people of high moral and political principles."<sup>6</sup>

With the Regent living in Verona, and the royalist agency transferred from Turin to the Kingdom of the Serenissime, there was no need to use persuasion on M. de Mazenod to go there. His loyalty to the Prince de Condé, who at that time symbolized the rights of legitimate authority, made him all the more eager to move close to His Highness. Not that it was purely out of loyalty, for he fully expected to be rewarded by patronage and favors; for good reason, too, since he had close contacts and devoted friends in the Prince's entourage. We know, for example, that the Venetian Chargé d'Affaires at Turin issued the President's passport to Venice on the recommendation of the Count de Vintmille, who was the personal representative of His Royal Highness, the Prince de Condé.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, through Vernègues who went to Aix in 1790 to stir up rebellion in the South, the President had close contact with d'Antraigues, the brains behind monarchical conspiracies. Hence, he had every right to feel confident of support and help. And so, he became part of that large group of refugee nobles from Piedmont who, for analogous motives, streamed en masse towards the Serenissime; the same group referred to by Citizen Noel, the French Plenipotentiary Minister to the Republic of Venice, when on May 17, 1794, he remarked in his report to Citizen Commissaire of Foreign Relations: "Arriving here daily are swarms of priests and French émigrés fleeing before our armies."<sup>8</sup>

Once he secured the required passports, the President then set about arranging the most economical journey possible for his large household of twelve people, servants included. Instead of going by stage coach, which would have been faster but more expensive, he chartered a large boat and reduced its cost by sharing the expense with other émigré nobles and priests who asked to go along with him since they too wanted to take advantage of this cheaper means of transportation. In this way, the fare was only fifteen Piedmont livres for each lay person, and twelve livres for each priest; the latter being given reduced rates because they were "considered poorer."

This sort of sea-coach had its "good points," as the Bishop of Marseilles noted in his *Mémoires*. Even its slowness was an advantage since it allowed for a leisurely enjoyment of the landscape. On one occasion, when the boat made a noon-day stop "in a delightful spot," everyone relaxed "in the cool shade of the heavy foliage, and, from the gayety of their conversation and songs," one would never have known they were a group of émigrés fleeing from tyrants who, not satisfied with having robbed them of their possessions, wanted to rob them of life itself." Each evening, the boat put into a city or village harbor, and, save at Ostiglia which treated them as "suspects," wherever they stopped, they were shown the most cordial hospitality. Everyone seemed eager to take them into their homes. At Sermide, "the chief magistrate of the locality personally took care of providing lodgings for the lay people, while the dean of the clergy who had been on hand to greet the arrivals procured suitable quarters for the priests." As for the Mazenods, they were shown magnificent hospitality by "the leading figure of the town." Eugene, unfortunately, got little good from the supper they were served that night, since, "overcome by drowsiness," he slept throughout the whole meal. All along the route, people gave proof of the most heart-warming charity; not content with taking the exiles into their homes, they often supplied them with provisions for the next lap of their journey. At Cremona, a kind-hearted woman, "feeling sorry for all these poor émigrés forced to flee so far from their homeland," pressed a "roll of gold pieces into the very aris-

tocratic hand of the Marchioness of Colonia. The Marchioness, however, graciously declined the offer."

As the journey progressed, the convoy began to break up. On the sixth day, some of the passengers got off at Bogoforte and took the road to Verona to join the Regent who was living there. On the eighth day, except for the two Canons de Mazenod, all the priests got off at Pontelagoscuro to go down to the Papal States where they were assured of finding food and lodging at the Pia Opera dell'ospitalita francese. That same day, the President and his family changed over to a smaller bark in order to enter the Venetian States by way of the Polesine Canal. After a voyage of twelve days, their *burchiello* which had been taken in tow from the time they left Chioggia, finally entered the lagoons separating the mainland from the "Queen of the Seas enthroned majestically in the midst of her sparkling waters." 9

At Venice they were due for a disappointment. The city was overcrowded with visitors who had flocked into it for the feast of the Ascension. It was on this feast day that Venice lavishly celebrated the marriage of the Doge to the sea, the Doge representing the Republic. This symbolic marriage which brought out all the pomp and splendour of the Serenissime was accompanied by a brilliant fair which attracted scores of business people; it was also the occasion for reopening the world-famous carnival which attracted pleasure seekers in even greater numbers. Saint Mark's Square became an immense bazaar and fifteen whole days and nights were given over "to the most abandoned dissipation."

The Mazenods could not have arrived at a worse time. Not only were they in no mood for merrymaking, but they discovered, almost immediately, that it was impossible to find any kind of lodging. After a brief but vain search, they had to resign themselves to spending two more nights on their small boat. Fortunately, a swindler whom they had taken on board during their journey to Venice and to whom they had given free transportation, came to their rescue. He claimed to be an Austrian officer while in reality he was only a street-singer, but it was through him that they secured two rooms at the home of a tavern-keeper

named Domenico Pantenelli. These lodgings were near Saint Mark's Square, and, as the Bishop of Marseilles wrote, were "a sorry dwelling in which all eleven of us crammed in together practiced patience for a month." It was the "good thief's" way of paying his debt of gratitude for the free transportation he had cleverly manipulated.<sup>10</sup>

As much at home in ecclesiastical circles as he was in the world of tavern-keepers, he also obligingly brought the two canons into contact with the local clergy, by introducing them to one of his friends, a dandified clergyman and playwright, named Zerbini. The cleric made anything but a favorable impression upon them, but, ironically enough, through Zerbini they discovered that Venice had priests far different from his stripe. He introduced them to the pastor of Saint Fantan's church, the parish church of the theatrical people. The pastor was quite respectable, and gave them a "most cordial reception." They cultivated his friendship, as well as that of the Abbés Coletti, one of whom was a very old ex-Jesuit; a circumstance which raised the Abbés considerably in the esteem of the canons. In this way began priestly associations with both secular and religious clergy that eventually culminated in warm friendships.<sup>11</sup>

When the city's congestion was relieved by the departure of the foreigners who had crowded into it either for the marriage of the Doge, for the fair, or the carnival, M. de Mazenod was able to secure "handsome lodgings" near the Queen of England Casino, opposite the Grimani Palace. The lodgings were on Apponal Street and, according to the Bishop of Marseilles, "Divine Providence must have chosen them for us."<sup>12</sup> Their very location accentuated the contrasts of Venice, not to mention its enticements which were soon to vie for the heart of the young boy. Although Saint Apponal opened upon the Grand Canal where one could revel in the magnificent view of the luxurious and licentious city with all its glitter and fascination, the street also put face to face, almost within handreach, two windows that were to have great significance in the life of the Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. One was the window where an unoccupied and restless boy sometimes day-dreamed; the other was

that of the Abbés Zinelli who, by prayer and work, were diligently striving to bring about the restoration of the Society of Jesus, and it was their salutary influence that rescued Eugene from the perils of Venice in the nick of time.

THE PERILS OF VENICE AND THE SALUTARY INFLUENCE  
OF DON BARTOLO

“What a city of dissipation was Venice at that time!” wrote Bishop de Mazenod; “People flocked to it solely for amusement.”<sup>13</sup> In former times, it had been a first-class maritime and commercial power, but had gradually turned into a city of feasting and pleasure-seeking. When it fell from its political, naval, and economic prominence, it rose again to a prominence of a different sort; one that was extremely enhanced by the extraordinary splendour and licentious customs of the city. The mastery it had once enjoyed over the European market by its monopoly on spices arriving from the East had given way to a mastery over the marts of pleasure. Merchants may have deserted its shops and fairs but, year after year, larger and larger crowds of pleasure-seeking foreigners kept flocking to its carnival.

This world-famous carnival was much longer and far more licentious than the traditional Mardi Gras celebration held in other parts of the world during the days preceding Lent. In Venice, it stretched out over a period of six months, interspersed with several interruptions and resumptions. It extended from the first Sunday of October until Christmas, from the feast of the Epiphany until Lent, and, so that it might take in the *Festa* “par-excellence” (viz. the Ascension), from the Third Sunday after Easter until Trinity Sunday. Even outside the regular periods of its celebration, any occasion became an excuse for reopening it in an exceptional and extraordinary fashion. Not only did public and, in truth, religious events call for its reopening, but even minor occurrences such as the election of a judge, were enough to start it up again. Thus, during the major part of the year, for the sake of financial gain, the merchants of Venice encouraged a continual flow of licentious pleasure-seekers from other coun-

tries. As for the Venetian people themselves who, for the most part, were extremely dissolute, naturally they favored the opportunity afforded by such a pleasurable institution to throw off all moral restrictions. Kept in check politically by the constant surveillance of the relentless state inquisitors and enslaved socially by practices, customs and traditions, they looked upon the carnival as a kind of occult compensation and consequently gave their fiery passions free reign under cover of a uniform disguise consisting of the *bauta e tabarro* which, by its very sameness, safeguarded each person's identity.

Everyone dressed alike; a long cape reaching to the feet, a black silk veil covering the head and shoulders, and a white mask over the face. It was a disguise which mixed individuals, social classes and sexes in a convenient anonymity thereby freeing them from every restraint. Propriety required everyone to respect the disguise which, generally speaking, was an advantageous one; anyone who revealed that he had seen through the disguise was considered a boor. Although they kept a watchful eye on everything else, the police very conveniently looked the other way where the carnival was concerned, and for good reason. Had they investigated too closely they might have discovered the honorable Doge himself beneath a domino or even one of the state inquisitors out on a lark. It was a faceless crowd in which one saw the same plaster of Paris profile multiplied to the point of obsession; a crowd that passed days and nights frolicking and gambling, without anyone's knowing what family fortunes were being lost and won on the tables of pharaoh,<sup>14</sup> or what noble ladies, courtesans, even nuns away from their convents without permission, were setting out for the kingdom of Venus on gondolas festooned with banners and flowers.

In this atmosphere of desire and deceit<sup>15</sup> where the unexpected was sure to happen, everything contributed either to passionate excitement or to lethargic sensuality: the dreamy waters of the canals, the luxury of the palaces, the enchantment of the lights, the sentimental, dreamy, romantic songs crooned with a melancholy and sensual voice, the strumming of guitars in the crowded cafés, in the teeming streets, or on the public squares

overrun with clowns, harlequins, and fortune-tellers. During the intervals when the carnival was not in operation, things were hardly any different, even without the mask. The aristocracy simply acted a bit more decorously and became a bit more reserved, at least in public. Bishop de Mazenod's *Mémoires* are no more damaging to the Venetians, in this regard, than the admissions of Italian historians themselves:

One should not think that amusements came to an end with the feast of the *Ascensa* (the name they give for the Ascension). Even without the carnival, they still had their soirées, or to be more explicit, their night dances, their evening strolls called "i freschi," their serenades, etc., and they also had their Brenta season; and with it all, their natural gayety adding spice to the many kinds of merry-making which made of this ill-renowned country the mecca of every devotee of pleasure and dissipation.<sup>16</sup>

It is quite impossible to inhale the poisonous air of sensual pleasure and escape unharmed. Eugene was particularly exposed to this danger since he was just then arriving at that uncertain age when the eyes open wide on life, and manhood begins its first stirrings in the boy. Besides, everything at that time tended to lower his morale; exile with its change of surroundings and its instability, financial problems plaguing his parents who were forever at the end of their resources, anxieties casting a gloom over those he loved.

To develop properly, his young soul needed the calm security of normal, cheerful, and warm home-surroundings. Instead, it was being too tightly encompassed by a narrow circle of serious men-folk, all four of them equally worried-looking, and equally unoccupied; two former canons, one very old and the other rather stodgy; a naval officer no longer in the service of the king, and a President à mortier, stripped of his privileges and deprived of his position. The only ones who brought a youthful and refreshing touch to these dreary surroundings were Mme. de Mazenod on her cheerful days, the ever-delightful and charming Ninette, or big Nanon constantly bustling about and chattering in typical fashion of the Midi. Adding further to the boy's troubles, was the problem of how to occupy himself dur-

ing the long, empty, monotonous hours. "My family's financial situation prevented them from hiring tutors for me . . . so that I might continue my studies" wrote the Bishop of Marseilles.<sup>17</sup> His father and uncles had all the leisure time in the world to give him lessons, but the code of the aristocrats restricted this common employment to tutors. To make matters worse, there were no books in the house, and no money to buy any. Thus, the young schoolboy found himself on an enforced vacation, and fell victim to boredom and day-dreaming. How then could he avoid feeling the attraction of gay and lively Venice with its many diversions and its ready pleasures?

Providentially, at that very moment, a man blessed by God with insight, devotion, and tact, intervened to supply Eugene with what his parents failed to give him due to the fact that they little realized the dangers threatening their disorientated and troubled boy. The man was Monsignor Milesi. He was a pastor in the full sense of the word, combining great understanding with a deep solicitude for souls. He discovered what was troubling this young émigré who served his granduncle's Mass each morning at the Church of Saint Sylvester. Along with the veneration he developed for the Vicar-General of Marseilles who had been exiled for his faith, Monsignor Milesi took a great liking for the canon's grand-nephew, and made the first move to find a cure for the boy's dangerous inactivity as well as for his spiritual lassitude. He made arrangements to entrust Eugene to a young priest in his parish, Don Bartolo Zinelli, who was well qualified both for helping the young boy pursue his studies and for playing the role of the youngster's guardian angel. The far-seeing pastor could not have entrusted Eugene to better hands, for Don Bartolo was a cultured, holy, and devout priest, and a son of rich merchant people. The confidence and affection with which Monsignor Milesi honored him are proof enough of his excellence, worth, and virtue.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, Eugene discovered a different Venice; one that was not so well known as the other, since virtue, unlike vice, always walks quietly. "In the midst of all this madness," wrote Bishop de Mazenod,

one still met families who refused to be part of it. The Zinelli family was a good example of that. I grant that such families were in the minority, but, wherever they were found, there also were found beautiful traditions of true piety, an old-fashioned simplicity of manners, a love for study and work, and a gracious charity and gentle urbanity; and it was in such an atmosphere that I lived for four years, from the time I was twelve until I was sixteen.<sup>19</sup>

Don Bartolo now generously and eagerly accepted the charitable priestly assignment his pastor offered him, for it had a special appeal to his zeal. It might also have been that he looked upon it as an opportunity to orientate a whole destiny. When the Pastor made known his plan to M. and Mme. de Mazenod, they gave it their full approval, and so, the only one left to approve the whole idea was Eugene himself. Instead of forcing it upon him, however, by using their authority, they thought it wiser to have him ask for it of his own accord. Monsignor Milesi and Don Bartolo then concocted a plot whereby they could bring the pupil to the teacher's home without being too obvious, and it was done through an apparently chance meeting which, in reality, was neatly arranged. "Here is how their gentle hearts inspired them to pull the wool over my eyes" related Bishop de Mazenod as he later rejoiced at having fallen into the trap. Very much of a local color and very characteristic of the charming and affable manners of Don Bartolo, the account deserves to be quoted here in its entirety.

One day, as I sat musing at my window which faced the Zinelli home, Don Bartolo appeared at his window and called over to me:

"Monsieur Eugenel Aren't you afraid of wasting your time, lazing at your window that way?"

"I regret to say I am, Monsieur!" I answered, "but how can I help it? I'm a foreigner, you know, and we don't have any books in our house."

That was what he was waiting for.

"That's no problem, my dear boy. This room I am in is my library, and I have all kinds of books here; Latin, Italian, even French, if you want any."

"There's nothing I want more," I answered him.

Immediately, he unfastened the cross bar which was used for holding the shutters in place, and putting a book upon it, passed it over to me above the narrow street which separated our two houses. I finished the book in a matter of hours, for I was always an avid reader. The following day my father suggested that I return it and thank Don Bartolo. Everything according to plan.

Don Bartolo greeted me very warmly. After showing me through his whole library, he then brought me to a room off the library where he and his brother, Don Pedro, were accustomed to study. The latter was only a deacon at that time.

"All our books are at your disposal," said Don Bartolo. After a moment he casually remarked, "This is where my brother and I study. That chair you see there was once occupied by another of my brothers, but God took him from us. If you wish, you may take his place. Just say the word, and I assure you we shall deem it a pleasure to have you continue your classes with us. I presume you haven't completed them as yet."

No need to tell you how surprised and delighted I was.

"I shall be most happy, Monsieur, and I know my father will gladly give his consent."

"Fine! Come back tomorrow morning and we shall go to work!"<sup>20</sup>

As they had agreed, Eugene went back the very next day to the home of his "kindly teachers," and, for the ensuing three years, all his days were spent with them under a regulation that would have done justice to a monastery. The mornings were given over entirely to lessons. After lunch, "a walk to one of the churches of the city" where Don Bartolo and his disciple stopped in to pray. They then returned to the Zinelli home and resumed their lessons. The evenings were spent in the salon where they enjoyed a few hours of "wholesome recreation with some friends of the Zinellis. When the guests departed the young chevalier stayed on and took supper with the family. The whole day came to a close with the recitation of the rosary and night prayers, "following a pious custom of the country that had come down from holier times." Each evening when Eugene returned to his own home, "everyone had been in bed for some time," for, in Venice, "where they turn night into day," the *cena*, or evening

meal was seldom finished before eleven-thirty. Thus, he saw his family only during lunch, and not even then on Thursdays and Sundays when the Zinellis had him stay at their home all day, since they had practically adopted him and looked upon him as one of the family.<sup>21</sup>

Other parents might have resented such a monopoly of their son, but not so the Mazenods. Actually, they were delighted that the boy was being provided with such fine opportunities.<sup>22</sup> Burdened with problems as they were, they felt relieved both financially and morally of a serious and onerous obligation and as far as their son's instruction and education were concerned, they could not have asked for better, particularly since the results were proving so satisfactory. However, as most of their time was taken up with momentary and external problems, they could not fully appreciate those results. Only the future Bishop of Marseilles with the passing of the years and the wisdom gained from experience, would realize better than anyone else just how lasting and satisfactory those results really were. Using different words and expressions, but meaning the same thing, he repeated over and over in his *Mémoires*, letters, and conversations, "Whatever I am, I owe to Don Bartolo. He was a real saint, one worthy of canonization."

It was Don Bartolo, therefore, who first saved him from the pitfalls that always bring remorse later on for those not blessed with such protection. In a corrupt city like Venice, this efficacious protection, even taken by itself, would have been of inestimable value to the youth who was naturally inclined towards extremes and who, at that time, was facing all the difficult problems of adolescence.

However, merely warding off external and actual dangers is not enough. The best way to save oneself from them is to be forewarned about them. Far from restricting himself to the negative role of the boy's guardian angel, Father Zinelli also provided Eugene with a firm and solid spiritual foundation which would increasingly strengthen his resistance to these dangers as time went on, and provide a basis for a genuine and full Chris-

tian life. "It was a decisive period in my life," wrote the Bishop of Marseilles,

for it was during that time that a true man of God struck the foundations of faith and piety in my soul which he had prepared beforehand by his skillful direction, aided by the Holy Ghost Whose instrument he was. And upon these same foundations did God, in His mercy, build the edifice of my spiritual life. For I first learned to scorn the vanities of the world and to acquire a taste for the things of God, at the feet of this holy priest.<sup>23</sup>

This "decisive period" in Eugene's life could quite easily have been one of moral chaos; instead it was a period of ardent and joyful fervor. Don Bartolo gave him a regulation written in the Ignatian manner, and the boy secretly resolved to follow it, "with God's help," all the days of his life. The purpose of the regulation was stated in its opening lines: "A true Christian life is one in which a person acts well, not by whim or by accident, but rather, by following a methodical, well-regulated programme, directed in all things by religious principles and true Christian piety."<sup>24</sup>

The Bishop of Marseilles' *Memoires* show how faithfully he followed the program his teacher outlined for him.

I went to confession every Saturday and received Communion every Sunday. Prayer and the reading of good books were the only exceptions I made to my rigid schedule of studies. I attended and served Mass every day, and I also recited the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin every day. From spiritual reading, I derived a certain attraction to mortification so that, although I was but a child, I fasted on all Fridays of the year and three days a week during Lent. My parents never even noticed it. I often put sticks of wood under my bed-sheet and on Saturdays, in order to make sure that I awoke early enough to spend more time in church, I slept on the floor over a single cover. My health didn't suffer from it at all, even though I followed this routine all the time I lived at Venice.<sup>25</sup>

This first eager flight into the realm of the spiritual, added to the association he enjoyed with a priest as holy as Don Bartolo, and for all anyone knows, the urging he may have received from

the latter, awoke his first conscious desires for the priesthood.

"My vocation to the priestly life dates back to that time."<sup>26</sup> Although that vocation was to suffer a long eclipse in the years that lay ahead, its luminous and fresh beauty during the years he lived at Venice enthralled him. There was no doubt in his mind at that time about his divine calling and he was fully determined to follow it. Eventually the family became aware of his intention but evidently didn't take it seriously, looking upon it merely as a passing fancy. His granduncle, the Vicar-General of Marseilles, however, decided to put him to a test:

"Is it true, Eugene," he asked me very seriously, "that you wish to enter the priesthood?"

"Yes, indeed, Uncle," I quickly answered.

"My child! How can you be serious? Don't you realize that you're the last male descendant of our family? That the family name will die out if you do this?"

Shocked at hearing a remark like this from the lips of such a venerable man, I retorted, "Well! What greater honor could come to our family than to have it end with a priest?"

My uncle had been joking, of course. When he heard me, a mere child of thirteen, speak up to him in this way, he was delighted, and putting his arm around me, blessed me.<sup>27</sup>

Eugene's vocation to the priesthood came very near causing him to enter a religious Congregation. Being the nephew of an ex-Jesuit, Don Bartolo wanted, as did his brother Don Pedro, to take an active part in bringing about the restoration of the Society of Jesus and was equally eager to arouse a similar desire in his young disciple. *The Edifying Letters on the Foreign Missions Written by the Missionaries of the Company of Jesus* which he gave Eugene to read and which the boy read "avidly," tempted him with the notion of joining the Sons of Saint Ignatius dedicated to the evangelization of China and Japan. Through Bishop Jeancard, his confidant of later years, we know that he felt a "great desire to devote his life one day to the conversion of infidels."<sup>28</sup> On October 2, 1855, Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Father Tamburini, "I was only twelve years old when God planted in my heart the first efficacious desires to devote my

life to the missions.”<sup>29</sup> Should one see in these “first efficacious desires” the germ of his future undertaking? Perhaps. At any rate it is true, and we have the Bishop’s own word for it, that had he lived a longer time under Don Bartolo’s influence he would have been persuaded to enter the Society of the Faith of Jesus, known as the Paccanarists. “Assuredly,” he wrote, “if my family had stayed in Venice a year longer, I would have followed my saintly director and his brother, who had become a priest, into the religious congregation of their choice, where both of them died in the practice of heroic virtue.”<sup>30</sup> But the Mazenod family’s departure for Naples and Sicily led the future Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in a different direction. God had other plans for him.

Nevertheless, he remained strongly attached to the Society of Jesus. Not only were its methods employed in the spiritual training he received from Don Bartolo and his confessor, old Father Zauli, an ex-Jesuit whom he visited each week on the outskirts of the city,<sup>31</sup> but its theological doctrines were used for his intellectual training since Don Bartolo had given his cherished pupil very advanced instruction in religious doctrine. “How many times was Eugene heard to say, after he had become a priest, that he was indebted to this saintly teacher for everything he had acquired in the way of solid religious principles!”<sup>32</sup> Considering the theological training which the saintly teacher himself had received, we can easily guess from where those principles came. Certainly, the lively aversion the Bishop of Marseilles felt towards Jansenism dates back to that time. Proof of this is found in a “profession of faith” he felt conscience-bound to inscribe in a book by Filassier, entitled *Erastus, or the Friend of Youth*. He had received the book as a gift and considering it “suspect,” wrote at the top of the first page: “I firmly believe all that the Church commands me to believe and I abhor the Jansenistic errors as well as any others that may be contained in this book. I write this so that all may know that, although the book is mine, in no way do I adhere to its doctrines which are contrary to the constant teaching of the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Roman Church, which is one and indivisible, and will

remain so until the end of time.”<sup>33</sup> Unequivocal in its meaning and precise in its terminology, the statement is typically Mazenod.

Don Bartolo fashioned Eugene so much after his own image and left such a deep mark upon him that future crises were unable to eradicate it. As for Eugene, the memory of this holy man was to play a large part in reawakening the fervent dispositions he felt while still a youth at Venice. Outward appearances to the contrary, the seeds Don Bartolo planted in the youth's soul had not died; they were merely dormant. Indeed, so alive were they, that even after a long period of darkness and disturbance, they needed only the warm breath of divine grace to make them spring into growth. One of the most striking proofs of the great influence this holy priest had upon Eugene was the church he chose for his consecration as Bishop of Icosia. It was the Church of Saint Sylvester in Rome where, beneath the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, lay the mortal remains of his former teacher “who had died in the odor of sanctity.”<sup>34</sup>

#### SEPARATIONS AND SORROWS

Providential as it was at first, in acclimating Eugene to his dangerous Venetian surroundings the affectionate solicitude of a teacher like Don Bartolo grew to be indispensable as time went on since, without the Zinellis, he would have been left to himself more and more during the difficult years of his adolescence.

First of all, when Mme. de Mazenod and little Ninette left for France, in 1795, the family circle was narrowed down to his father, his two uncles, and his granduncle. Although a daily association with these older men might have given him the advantage of an early maturity, it was too staid to furnish him with the happy, youthful companionship and the soothing tenderness which the restless energy of his youth needed and for which strong, virile companionship was a poor substitute. The combined cheerfulness, refreshing, gentle affection, and feminine charm, through which Mme. de Mazenod and her daughter had established a balance in the household, were now to be missing.

When the hour for their departure arrived, the boy realized only vaguely what was going out of his life. Not until after their departure did he feel "the full stab of the sacrifice demanded by this separation; a separation that was destined to last for seven years."<sup>35</sup>

And yet, the sacrifice was necessary if the family fortune was to be recovered. On the 20 of Floreal in the Year III (May 9, 1795), Eugene's grandfather de Mazenod, President Charles-Alexandre, died in Aix, "at the age of 78."<sup>36</sup> His entire inheritance, with the exception of those portions reserved by law to his other two sons, automatically went to Charles-Antoine by virtue of the latter's marriage contract. But, since Charles-Antoine fell under the penalties of the decree passed on February 9, 1792 against those French who had fled the national territory, his inheritance was in danger of being confiscated to the profit of the Republic. To prevent this it was necessary for M. de Mazenod to have his name stricken from the list of émigrés. Therefore, in accordance with a law passed by the Thermadorian Convention on the 25 of Brumaire in the year III (Nov. 15, 1794) a petition "for a hearing" was duly presented in his name "for the purpose of establishing proof of his non-emigration."<sup>37</sup> The District Administration, however, refused the petition, and, with his name still on the émigré list, he was completely barred from claiming the inheritance.

His wife, on the other hand, could recuperate at least some of the movable and immovable property willed by the deceased, because the same marriage contract which had guaranteed her husband total rights of succession, had also guaranteed her dowry rights and declared her to be the rightful claimant. Now, a law passed between the 2 and 16 of September, 1792, authorized those "having rights to any title whatsoever" to file the "rightful titles" of their claims within two months. Thus, Mme. de Mazenod was entitled to recover her personal fortune and, at the same time, her rightful share of her father-in-law's inheritance. Although she, too, was on the émigré list, she had a much better chance of having her name taken off the list than did her husband, since the name Joannis was far less prominent than that of de Mazenod.

Once her name was off the list, she could then validate her rights. Unlike what had happened to that of her husband, her petition "asking permission to furnish proofs of her non-emigration" and presented in her name on the 28 of Brumaire, in the year III (Nov. 18, 1794), was accepted.<sup>38</sup> All she had to do, therefore, was to furnish the said proofs, and have them recognized as valid by the civil authorities. In view of family contacts, and the lenient attitude of local officials, she would have little difficulty finding people willing to forge or accept false documents to prove her interrupted residence. Of course, there was bound to be a certain amount of risk involved, but, one had no other alternative. With all this in mind, Mme. de Mazenod set out for France in October, 1795.

In a letter written to Eugene on November 1, and sent from Lausanne, she revealed at one and the same time the decision she made and the grief it caused her:

It is with the deepest sorrow and the most painful regret that I leave you, my sweet, precious child. Embrace your dear Papa very tenderly for me, and tell him how grieved I am to be separated from him. But, what I am doing, I feel I have to do for my children as well as for him. I assure you, my dear Zézé, that this is a great sacrifice for me. Pray God I succeed. Farewell, my precious darling. I embrace you tearfully and remain your tenderest of Mamas.<sup>39</sup>

Her return to France at that particular time was most opportune. On the 18 of Brumaire in the year IV (Nov. 9, 1795), her father, Joseph-Thomas Joannis,<sup>40</sup> passed away and Madame de Mazenod shared in his inheritance also. Arriving too late to see her father before he died, she quickly took care of her affairs at Lyons, and, with the necessary papers in her possession, hastened to Aix where, on December 17, the Municipal Council approved her passport.<sup>41</sup>

Two weeks after the death of M. Joannis, a second member of the Mazenod family died. On November 23, 1795, Eugene's granduncle, Charles-Auguste-André, "Vicar General of the celebrated Belsunce," "venerable friend and vicar general of Bishop de Belloy" reached the end of his saintly life. Once again, Mon-

signor Milesi gave touching proof of his gentle and kind nature. Eugene, acting in his father's name, called upon the monsignor to arrange for the funeral services and when he pointed out that, being émigrés, they had to keep the expenses of the obsequies "within the limits of the utmost simplicity," Monsignor Milesi replied, "I understand perfectly. Leave everything in my hands." Whereupon he made arrangements for the most magnificent funeral services. He invited confraternities and numerous members of the clergy to be present at the services. In the church itself he supplied the finest candles and a catafalque of outstanding beauty surrounded by countless tapers. Everything else was carried out on the same high level. As a final proof of his high regard for the aged canon, he arranged to have this French priest who had been exiled for his faith, laid to rest in the Church of Saint Sylvester where "he had celebrated mass every day."

Much as all this display flattered the President's family pride, it was far beyond his means and therefore startled and worried him. Once more Eugene had to call upon the future Patriarch of Venice, who was indeed like a father to him, and ask what the cost of all this magnificent display would be. Monsignor Milesi replied: "My dear child, I have abundant reasons for sharing the just grief of your family. I am only too happy, by all this pomp, to pay homage to the virtues and dignity of such a holy man. I feel that I have simply done my duty. The cost is all taken care of." One can appreciate what this generous sympathy on the part of their revered "pievan" meant to the nephews and grandnephew of the deceased Canon of Marseilles.<sup>42</sup>

Added to the departure of his mother and sister Ninette, his granduncle's death now reduced Eugene's family circle in Venice to his father and two uncles, Charles-Eugene and Fortuné. Naturally, all three loved him dearly, but, although Fortuné, while he was Superior of the Nuns at Aix, may have enjoyed a high reputation among them for his piety and circumspection, he did not possess to the same degree qualities needed for dealing with boys. As for the President and the Commander of the King's Navy, they lacked the time, and even more the means, for supplying suitable instruction for the youth. Their

business affairs monopolized their time and forced them to leave the boy's instruction almost entirely to the brothers Zinelli.

#### THE COMMERCIAL VENTURES OF M. DE MAZENOD

Why M. de Mazenod decided to derogate and enter the world of trade is explained in a letter he wrote to Alziari, October 1, 1796. "I went into trade," he wrote, "in order to find the wherewithal to support my family, for we no longer have a farthing to our name nor do we own an inch of land in this world. With the help I was receiving from the worthy Princess, I felt that I could get through the year. But, ever since the new administrators of these funds saw fit to put a stop to them, I have been in such straitened circumstances that I do not see how I am going to manage. This is the absolute truth and I beg you to disillusion any of those people of Turin who may have been falsely impressed by my show of opulence. I assure you it was nothing but sham."<sup>43</sup> First ruined by the Revolution, and then deprived of the allowance he had been receiving from Piedmont, which, after a fashion, had enabled him to provide for the needs of his family, Charles-Antoine was forced to find some means of livelihood and therefore decided to become a merchant.

Many other émigré nobles who found themselves in the same dire straits lost no time in derogating and, to stay alive, went into divers employments. Some actually became inn-keepers and chefs while their wives became cooks. Such people would then put a sign outside their establishment reading, "French Cuisine."<sup>44</sup> At least, they had gone into a specialized field and capitalized on their country's just reputation for gustatory delights. M. de Mazenod's early training, however, had not included the culinary arts and, just as it takes more than a cowl to make a monk, so too, in order to become another Vatel, it took more than merely exchanging the judge's grand-robe and mortar cap for the white apron and starched cap of the master chef. Lacking competence in any specialized trade, the President therefore became involved in a series of separate commercial ventures

which piled up, one upon the other, and became hopelessly entangled.

Without throwing a full light upon these ventures, his papers which were fortunately preserved, are sufficiently revealing to enable us to learn some essential facts. In a work dedicated to the Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Bishop of Marseilles it does not seem out of place, therefore, to examine these papers since these ventures made the family's financial situation worse rather than better and had grave moral and material consequences not only for M. de Mazenod who was hopelessly in debt, and for his wife who was trying to save her dowry but also for Eugene who was striving to patch up his broken home. These same papers also provide new information on the history of emigration to Italy which, up to now, has been little known. Last of all, they cast interesting lights on the economic history of the period itself. La Fontaine's proverb, "Necessity is the mother of invention," applied especially to those exiles who had formerly lived in the grand manner but had never developed any sound business acumen. Thus, the president took up commerce, for in spite of hostilities, blockades and tariff-walls, merchandise still flowed between the Republic of France and the Most Serene Republic.

The first commercial firm the president joined was originally founded by an aristocrat and numbered among its shareholders only people of genuine noble birth. Its founder was a man named Boniface-Martin-Joseph-Alexandre d'Arlatan, Marquis de la Roche, Baron de Lauris, the son of a former president of the parliament of Provence. This long-named and much titled aristocrat had been involved in the troubles which occurred at Aix in 1790. After wandering around Italy, he finally settled down at Padua where he started the firm with the help of M. Hermite, an émigré from Toulon. Hermite was also an acquaintance of Charles-Antoine and went under the name of Smith to pass himself off as an Englishman.<sup>45</sup> Both d'Arlatan and Hermite contributed equally to a fund of 7,852 Venetian livres which they set up for the purchasing and re-selling of paintings, engraved stones and even cameos with such extreme pagan motifs as the

Faun, Isis, Apollo, the Abduction of Europa, Venus and Love, Psyche, Jupiter, etc.<sup>46</sup> M. de Mazenod joined the firm in May, 1795, and as his share, contributed the same amount as that of the other two, namely 3,926 Venetian livres, thereby increasing the working capital.<sup>47</sup>

Originally the firm carried on the most diverse transactions and traded in the most heterogeneous merchandise as the opportunities arose. Shortly after the firm was founded, paintings, for the making of which d'Arlatan had hired an artist, were discarded. There were then added to the engraved stones and cameos diamonds which the marquis procured at the Verona pawnshop and which M. de Mazenod had to sell in Venice. Next came speculation in monies; sequins, ungari of the Empire, doppies of Bologna, papal sequins, talaris, rousponis, etc., all of which brought new profits. They then launched into food supplies of wheat and cheese. Such an eclectism shows that it was more a business of expedience, even traffic, rather than commerce properly so called.

In August, 1795, the arrest and imprisonment of Smith at Milan because of "an unfortunate affair,"<sup>48</sup> brought about the liquidation of this first firm. A second was then formed and operated from two centers, Venice and Tuscany. D'Arlatan, the head of the firm, set up his headquarters at Venice, and was assisted there by Charles-Antoine and his brother, the chevalier; even Fortuné worked for the firm as bookkeeper whenever the need arose. A whole colony of Provençals resided at Tuscany, the other center of operation.

A man from Aix, named Arnulphy, who was formerly a lawyer in the parliament of Aix and at one time consul of that city, directed the attention of his two compatriots towards Pisa where he resided, by offering to act as commission agent between them and a merchant of the city. Thus, he furnished them with lingerie, dresses, and other articles highly prized by the elegant ladies of Venice and therefore of good sales value. A few months later, after setting up quarters in Leghorn, since it was within easy reach of incoming goods, Arnulphy became one of the shareholders. Others who invested funds in the firm were d'Arlatan's

uncle, Count de Gallifet, two other nobles from Provence named de Lestang and de Castellane, and an anonymous Viscountess who contributed fifty louis as her share.<sup>49</sup>

From Pisa and Leghorn, Arnulphy dispatched especially lingerie, woven goods such as dimity and muslin, silk shawls, assorted buckram pieces, gloves and silk stockings, bed covers and cotton goods. In a letter to M. de Mazenod, on July 21, he explained how he was able to procure all these articles: "The émigrés at Leghorn, receive many of these articles from their relatives living in France, and what most of these émigrés want more than anything else is ready money. They therefore visit the shops of merchants and almost always accept the first price the merchants offer them. The merchants then resell the goods at their own price. At present, M. le Conte (de Gallifet), acting in behalf of a friend, has in his possession woollens and casimirs of every kind, and an assortment of vests of the last-mentioned material, both embroidered and plain. There are 144 of them, I believe. But, since he is acting as an agent for his friend, he wants, first of all, an estimate from some merchant, whereupon he reserves the right to deliver them either to you or to the merchant."<sup>50</sup> With Arnulphy providing stock of this kind, the firm, after a shaky beginning of trial and error, finally began to deal in a specialized line of goods.

This specializing, however, did not stop Arnulphy from trying to dispose of articles of hardware also; that is to say, "small mirrors, pearls, imitation jet, strings of beads, and other small glass or enamel objects," cardboard for lining receptacles supplied by a man named Besson and saltpeter provided by a man from Aix named Pontier.<sup>51</sup>

At first, "everything progressed beautifully" as more and more orders kept flowing in from his clients. Arnulphy enthusiastically agreed that "the appetite comes with eating," and he felt that the air in Venice was indeed excellent.<sup>52</sup> He then hit upon the idea of a shuttle system between Leghorn and Venice.<sup>53</sup> Under this system, provisioning would become a two-way affair; the partners at Venice would send merchandise to Tuscany bought with the money from their sales, while those in Tuscany

would dispatch merchandise to Venice bought with the money from their sales. This explains why Arnulphy built up a great supply of doghides in Tuscany.<sup>54</sup>

Unfortunately the day soon came when he had to change his tune. The shuttle worked out poorly and once again the firm became "shaky."<sup>55</sup> Arnulphy could not market his merchandise, for "Leghorn is a city of warehouses in which it is easy enough to buy, but extremely difficult to sell."<sup>56</sup> Consequently, Arnulphy's doghides stayed on his shelves. Since much of his time was consumed by his duties in the soap factory and since, moreover, his living quarters were out in the suburbs, he had little time left for any retail-selling. Lestang had even less and could spend only a few hours of each week at Leghorn.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the English blockades were impeding the arrival of goods from France with the result that the price of merchandise from that country, silk stockings for example, went up 25 percent.<sup>58</sup> On the peninsula, itself, the customs officials were becoming stricter: "So strict have they become in examining goods brought into the cities," reported Lestang, "that it is impossible to smuggle in even the smallest article."<sup>59</sup> To make matters worse, the increase in the number of middle-men they had to deal with further complicated the flow of goods, causing an even greater risk of loss. "Everyone here is either a thief, a grafter, or a swindler," wrote Arnulphy.<sup>60</sup> To cap it all, the push into Piedmont by the patriots put a halt to commerce in Tuscany which now stood in the path of invasion.

The partners no longer felt secure and began thinking about liquidating their stock. Those in Venice who were being poorly provisioned by their colleagues, now looked to France and Switzerland, where, through a new agent named Baron, they had a good opportunity to procure a large supply of stock; it was this factor that finally persuaded them to liquidate.

The liquidation began in June, 1796 with rather satisfactory results. Six successive liquidations of the assets paid 600 livres for each share. Thus d'Arlatan's portion amounted to 4,800 livres. The private papers of M. de Mazenod do not specify what he received, but, since his investment was the same as d'Arlatan's,

we may correctly assume that his profit amounted to the same.<sup>61</sup>

Actually it was through Mme. de Mazenod and Fortuné that a new firm was first planned in October, 1795. While accompanying la Presidente as far as Switzerland on her return journey to France, the canon met M. Baron in Lausanne at the home of his in-laws, the Suffrens. These in-laws who had extended their hospitality to him and his sister-in-law, Mme. de Mazenod, were in partnership with Baron, a former magistrate-turned-businessman who, at that time, was procuring fabrics through a Lyonnais wholesale merchant named Tourret. When Baron learned from the two travelers that Charles-Antoine was also engaged in commerce, he jumped at the chance to increase his trade outlets and sent a proposition to d'Arlatan on October 31, that they join forces for their best mutual interests: "I could send the merchandise to Venice," he wrote, "where you would then sell it for the best possible price. After deducting a half percent monthly interest for the funds you haven't furnished, we would then share the remaining profits. I can supply you with every kind of goods: silk stuffs, embroidered goods, buckram pieces, ribbons, silk stockings, scarves, muslins, calico, guinea cloth from the Indies, bark-cloth, English dimity, chintz from India and the mountains of Scotland; in fact, anything you want."<sup>62</sup> D'Arlatan and Charles-Antoine hesitantly accepted the offer, and, by way of trial, a first consignment of merchandise was shipped to Venice in December.

Originally, this new firm consisted of four partners; Baron, d'Arlatan (la Roche) and the two Bloquetti brothers (Charles-Antoine and Charles-Louis-Eugene). The number rose to five when Tourret who, at first, simply furnished the merchandise, became head of the firm. Instead of supplies coming from Tuscany, they now came from Lausanne and Lyons. The new firm was not one of stockholders, but rather one with a joint account. From Lausanne, Baron and Tourret advanced all the funds necessary for the manufacture or purchase of merchandise. They determined the cost of these articles and were responsible for them until the goods arrived in Venice. There, the Bloquettis and la Roche agreed to pay half the total cost of each shipment, and,

until final reimbursement was made for the other half, agreed to pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent interest each month on it. After the goods were sold and the customs duty and transportation charges deducted, half the profits went to Turret-Baron operating from Lyons, and the other half to Bloquetti-la Roche operating from Venice. Thus, under this system, Turret and Baron were responsible for everything connected with buying and shipping, while everything connected with selling was the responsibility of the Bloquettis and la Roche.

D'Arlatan who had headed the preceding firm took very little active part in this one. The burden of the work in Venice rested entirely upon the Mazenods and it was a heavy and painful one. It was also a dangerous one since the law forbade foreigners to carry on commerce, but more especially since their silk-stuffs fell into the category of prohibited goods. This explains the elaborate precautions that were taken, bringing in the consignments shipped by Baron and Turret, and selling them retail.

The consignments were shipped by way of Switzerland. From Switzerland, they were first sent to Bergamo on the mainland, and from Bergamo were re-addressed to their final destination by a man named Zanchi. For a year, transit operated in this manner without any stoppage. But, in December, 1796, events occurring in the Serenissime exposed the consignments to greater and greater risks. "The whole trade-route has been cut off by the armies of belligerent powers," wrote M. de Mazenod, December 3, 1796. Four bales of the fifth consignment, therefore, had to wait until Zanchi found safer ways to re-route them. In spite of this, however, M. de Mazenod still felt confident that everything would reach them safely: "We can count on the fairness of belligerent powers towards the Serenissime, since she is strictly neutral," he wrote. And so, as his business interests little by little cooled off his bellicose ardor, the one-time zealot of the anti-Revolutionary crusade actually reached the point where he felt that soon, "for the good of humanity, an armistice, which will be the harbinger of a happy peace, will put new life into commerce." <sup>83</sup>

Whether it was through the fairness of belligerent powers, or through Zanchi's cleverness, the four bales, which had been held up, did reach Venice in 1796. However, the company still felt it advisable to change its itinerary. On April 22 of that year, M. de Mazenod reported to Tourret: "This country is anything but calm. As we have already informed you, it is not at all prudent to have the consignments pass through Brescia and Bergamo because these two cities are in a state of rebellion and have already declared their independence. Verona stands opposed to them and is arming and assembling many troops. Furthermore, her inhabitants are blockading the French inside the forts." <sup>64</sup> Thereafter, all merchandise was routed through Turin and Milan.

Once the bales reached the entrance to the lagoons, the Mazenods were then faced with the problem of how to bring those containing prohibited silk goods into Venice itself without the knowledge of the customs officials. M. de Mazenod and the Chevalier were burdened with this dangerous task. "Our greatest trouble is bringing them in," the President reported; "we have to be up and about many nights because we have to secure the merchandise only in small amounts at a time. Since every road is bristling with alert and zealous agents, the goods are constantly exposed to seizure and confiscation." <sup>65</sup> What a sad reversal of former times! A former President à mortier, going under the name of *Sieur Bloquetti* and practicing fraud which he himself had once punished with fines and imprisonment. Worse still, he succeeded only at the cost of much hardship and fear, since prudence compelled him to proceed slowly and to acquire his goods in small lots. Only in that way could the contraband be concealed and, in case it were discovered, the losses kept at a minimum; all of which made this tiresome going and coming necessary. Although it meant losing many hours of sleep, they needed the cover of darkness to outwit the police while darting through the city's labyrinth of streets and canals.

Once all these obstacles were surmounted, they still had many risks to run. "When all the merchandise is finally in our possession," wrote M. de Mazenod, "we are still faced with the

same dangers" that confronted us while bringing in the contraband.<sup>66</sup> Each day, he was haunted by the fear of a house search which would have meant losing all the goods that had been secured at the cost of so much trouble.

It was out of the question to open up any kind of shop for displaying the goods and attracting customers, and consequently the President had to store all the merchandise in his own rooms. At first, due to the lack of suitable show-cases, he arranged the merchandise in trunks or displayed it on chairs. At Baron's insistence, however, he finally purchased a clothes-press large enough to hold everything.<sup>67</sup> The bad feature of this whole arrangement was that, by concealing all the dresses and lingerie, the Bloquettis could very well be left with them on their hands: *ignoti nulla cupido*. The main problem therefore was how to attract a clientele without arousing the suspicions of the Inquisitors' agents.

Not only was he reduced to smuggling to secure the merchandise, but he was also forced to become a door-to-door salesman to dispose of it. "Every day," he wrote, "we must resign ourselves to the task of going from house to house, trying to find customers and making friends with people who might direct customers our way. And yet, this sort of life, which is so far removed from what we once knew, does not seem to demean us; I daresay it actually raises us in the esteem of those who know about it. All the same, though, it does entail a great deal of running about, not to mention unspeakable and endless labor."<sup>68</sup>

Fortunately, his contacts opened many doors to him and brought many lucrative orders. "We have so very many friends helping us," he informed Tourret.<sup>69</sup> The friends were not only "many," but they were also of high rank, as can be seen from the importance of the people with whom the Bloquettis got in touch. "Up until now, we haven't been able to sell any dresses; but, only yesterday, we had a very profitable session and received an order for an important wedding," M. de Mazenod announced triumphantly; "the whole of yesterday and today was taken up displaying our merchandise; several dresses and other articles were chosen, and next Monday morning, we have an appoint-

ment at His Excellency's home. He is the one who chose all these things and he will pay us for whatever he decides to keep. If he keeps everything he took home with him, the total will come to quite a bit. We feel sure that he will keep at least half the goods and will pay for them in ready cash. We shall send you the money as soon as we receive it." It really was an important order, worth a hundred sequins and paid for in cash.<sup>70</sup>

A few days later, the order was supplemented by another. "The party responsible for the wedding arrangements would also like a dazzling dress of white linen, scattered with embroidered gold flowers and spangled at the bottom," the President advised Tourret. "The dress is to be of stole-type. Before the deal is completed however, he wishes to see 1) a small sample of the flower and spangle design, and 2) an estimate of the cost of material."<sup>71</sup> Tourret then sent both the design and the estimate,<sup>72</sup> and made no secret of his delight when he wrote to the President, "Please God, this keeps up."

#### THE ROYALIST AGENCY IN VENICE

For reasons easily understood, in the exchange of correspondence between Tourret-Baron and the Bloquetti brothers special care was taken never to mention the name of the Excellency who bought all these wedding clothes. Nor was any mention ever made of the names of either the Venetians who formed M. de Mazenod's clientele or the numerous friends who steered customers his way. But the reports made out by the agents of the State Inquisitors, which can be found in the archives of Venice, as well as the information found in the family papers preserved by the Boisgelins, help us to pierce some of the mystery surrounding these people. The close agreement of all the references justifies making extremely suggestive identifications which cannot help but throw curious lights upon the deals the émigrés made with both political and police authorities.

To the glory of their Founder, the Oblate biographers of Bishop de Mazenod have recorded an incident that occurred during a formal dinner at the home of the Spanish Ambassador to

the Most Serene Republic, at which Eugene was present, most likely, accompanied by his father:

Everyone took his place at table without anyone's saying the grace. Noticing that no one had bothered to perform this duty, Eugene hesitated for a moment. That moment of hesitation was long enough for everyone to become seated, with the result that Eugene alone remained standing. He immediately became the center of all eyes. Indignant at himself because he had hesitated and, with an effort that could be termed heroic for one of his age, he made the sign of the Cross and said the prayer, caring little for what anyone might think of it.<sup>73</sup>

This courageous act, performed with contempt for human respect, certainly deserved to be recorded to the lasting credit of the future Bishop of Marseilles and in no way should its merit be underestimated. Nevertheless, more than just the incident itself should have been recorded. Once they had taken care of their filial devotion, the same biographers, had they been more searching, might have asked by what right the young de Mazenod was present at this diplomatic reception. In the eyes of these biographers his presence at such an important gathering seemed so natural that everything but the presence itself remained an abstraction.

The abstraction, however, gives way to the concrete in the persons of Las Casas, representing Charles IV of Spain, and of Count d'Antraigues representing the Count de Provence who became Regent after the imprisonment of Louis XVI. To cover up his counter-revolutionary activities, d'Antraigues had adopted Spanish citizenship and, with the help of his friend Las Casas, arranged to have himself assigned to the legation of His Catholic Majesty, Charles IV.<sup>74</sup> Las Casas shared d'Antraigues' hatred for the Jacobins, and, like d'Antraigues, was actively engaged in the "Great Crusade." Now, at the time of the President's arrival in Venice, Spain had joined that crusade because of the efforts of these two men and was, therefore, at war with the French Republic. Las Casas serving the interest of his sovereign, and d'Antraigues serving the interests of both Spain and the legitimate French monarchy, were busily engaged in unmasking

the Revolutionary agents who had slipped in among the émigrés fleeing from Piedmont. The services of both these men were of value not only to Spain and the French monarchy, but also to the Most Serene Republic of Venice which, at that time, was becoming much alarmed at the influx of émigrés since it could very well bring subversive elements into its territory.<sup>75</sup> Fortunately, the archives of the State Inquisitors kept a record of the zealous efforts of these two men, and it is through those records that we know to whom the Spanish Ambassador had recourse in helping the ever-watchful police uncover the Jacobin spies: none other than M. de Mazenod.

The first document to prove it bears the date of May 17, 1794, and carries the signature of a certain Abbé Cattaneo who had put his apostolic zeal at the service of the secret police. Nothing could be more explicit. Reported Cattaneo:

The Chevalier Campos informed me this morning that M. de Mazenod, President of the Parliament of Provence, arrived by boat from Turin, accompanied by his wife and family—a good family, he assured me, and one deserving of every consideration and protection on the part of this government. He also informed me that the President possesses certain information on the new gains reported by the Royalists of Vendée and that, if he had had the time to decipher the information, he would have communicated it to me immediately, along with other pieces of information concerning the reversal suffered by the Spanish armies who were forced to draw back before the enemy's stronger forces. Campos believes, however, that these hostile forces will soon be defeated.

He re-affirmed all this in a visit he paid me, and was quite precise in stating that, according to President de Mazenod, who had fled from Turin out of fear, many others, both good and bad, were also planning to leave there; the former to find protection and the latter to carry on espionage and, wherever possible, stir up new insurrections. De Mazenod added that the affairs of the Kingdom of Sardinia are taking a very bad turn because of the numerous Jacobins who have infiltrated the ranks of the Sardinian troops and the nobles. He also knows that the new stratagem of the Parisian clique is to slip in among destitute French émigrés for the purpose of offering them help and material advantages. Thus, by playing upon their fear

of destitution, these spies are making scoundrels of the émigrés. Since the French commissaries and emissaries have large sums of money at their disposal, many of the Royalists have turned traitors for a crust of bread. The Frenchman de Mazenod was wearing common corduroy clothes because he owned nothing better, having been forced to leave his other clothes behind him, wishing for economy's sake to make the voyage in a small bark.<sup>76</sup>

Little wonder that, on May 22, the Inquisitors directed Cattaneo to convey their warm thanks to Signor Campos for such useful information.<sup>77</sup>

The only detail that needs to be clarified is the name of the person who put M. de Mazenod so quickly in touch with the Spanish Ambassador and his secretary, Campos. D'Antraigues seems to be the answer. Before settling down in Venice, this man had, at first, led a nomad and mysterious life, wandering back and forth between Piedmont in the Milanese section, and Switzerland. In 1790, when Turin was the active center of the emigration party, President de Mazenod had acted as auxiliary to Vernègues and Pascalis at Aix. That role was enough to bring him into close contact with d'Antraigues. Furthermore, it is quite evident that d'Antraigues, the prime mover of legitimist plots, was in close touch with the President from the moment the latter arrived in Venice, and was receiving valuable information from him for the Royalist secret police. In fact, on May 22, another agent of the Inquisitors, Domenico Casotto, called on d'Antraigues to ask him for further information. A denunciation written in faulty French informed the police that "three Jacobin agents," who had lived in Turin for several months, had arrived in Venice. They had first taken refuge in Turin "after stealing the coffers of the Patriots," but, in spite of "that lucrative theft" which had put them on bad terms with the French Republic, "these three scoundrels" would "very likely return to the service of the Jacobins" if the latter were willing to hire and pay them. "One of them, formerly a Capuchin monk, but at present an Abbé, whose face is covered with pock-marks and wrinkles, was accused of poisoning people in France. At the time this happened, however, he was protected by the Clubs."

There was no doubt about their presence in Venice, but unfortunately the police did not know their exact names. It was imperative, therefore, that they be identified in order that the police might keep them under the necessary surveillance.

D'Antraigues, whom nothing eluded, gave Casotto the name of the émigré Frenchman who had the required information, by inscribing above the denunciation the following address: "President de Mazenod, residing in Saint Mark's Square, in corte dell'X quartiere, contrada San Giuliano, casa di Domenico Pantanelli, caffetiére, cognosce tutti questi giacobini." <sup>78</sup> Thus, it was President de Mazenod, collaborating with d'Antraigues, who put the State Inquisitors on the trail of the aforementioned scoundrels, since the latter were as much a threat to the political security of the Serenissime as they were to the cause of the Royalists.

President de Mazenod's collaboration with d'Antraigues, Las Casas, and the State Inquisitors, was only natural in view of his monarchical fervor and his counter-Revolutionary zeal. In his eyes, it was his sacred duty to reduce to impotency the former Jacobins who were spying upon Royalist organizations and preparing to set up sister republics by weaving their plots within secret Italian patriotic clubs. Protecting the Most Serene Republic against these plots was part and parcel of his service to his own Prince. Was not the Serenissime providing a refuge for the Regent? Did not the same dangers, the same principles, the same interests make as one, all the governments of the Ancien Régime? Working for their cause was simply working for the cause of the Bourbons and for the dawn of the great day of retribution.

Constantly in the mind of the President was the one great thought of settling accounts. On this, his ideas agreed exactly with those of d'Antraigues whose assurance and swaggering airs made a great impression upon him. D'Antraigues, known in Venice at that time as "the handsome conspirator," "daily" predicted "the fall of the French Republic." <sup>79</sup> No doubt, the handsome one did a great deal of bragging and impudent boasting; however, how could one help but admire the quickness and boldness by which he was able to procure top-secret documents of the Pari-

sian government? How could one not believe a man who had such a thorough knowledge of state secrets? And why should not one rely upon his predictions when events had so often verified his prophecies? D'Antraigues had already begun to picture himself carrying out the vengeance for which M. de Mazenod had formerly prayed in his letters to the Prince de Condé. "When we return," said d'Antraigues, "four hundred thousand heads must fall under the executioner's axe. The only thing we shall carry over from the Revolution will be the guillotine and, if need be, I myself will be the Marat of the royalty."<sup>80</sup> The President could hardly be said to have approved such prompt methods, but allowing for the language of hyperbole, it is true that he did experience a new-born hope of meting out justice when he resumed his seat in Parliament about the same time the King ascended his throne.

To hasten that day, a concerted effort on the part of the friendly powers was imperative. On this point, as on the preceding one, M. de Mazenod was in full agreement with the handsome conspirator who wove his plots while offering help and information to the nations he expected to join together. First attached to the Spanish legation in Venice, and then to that of Russia, he was at this particular time, in especially close touch with the famous Queen Caroline of Naples. She, too, was a sworn enemy of the Revolution and was able to control the King through the hold she had over the heart of his Prime Minister, Acton. To harmonize her maneuvers with those of d'Antraigues in behalf of the Cause, she corresponded directly with him by letters written in invisible ink. Like a minor plot growing out of the main one, this collaboration brought the Mazenods, Eugene included, into the orbit of this turbulent queen with the added help of the Baron and Baroness of Talleyrand.

The Baron held claims to the confidence of the queen other than the palinodes of her nephew, the former Bishop of Autun. Talleyrand, Louis XVI's last ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples, had so weakly pleaded the cause of the French Revolutionists expelled by Ferdinand IV who was savagely opposed to the French Revolution, that the orators in the Clubs and in the As-

sembly denounced him as an enemy of the new regime. Dismissed from his office because of his loyalty to the Throne, he immediately left to join the émigrés at Coblenz when Louis XVI was arrested. In March, 1792 he returned to Naples to solicit help for the Royalist army. After that he retired to Vicenza, where he lived close to the Regent. He secretly continued to maintain an effective liaison between Royalist organizations and Queen Caroline. His wife, at one time, had the rare honor of hearing her charms extolled by the eccentric King of the Two Sicilies. The signal honor was bestowed upon her one Christmas eve when she and the famous la Cravan, who were the only ladies present, heard the senile monarch sing the finale of his favorite opera, "O Bella Ambasciatrice."<sup>81</sup>

The "beautiful Ambassador" had claims upon Caroline's good graces for reasons a bit more political, one of which the Queen herself gave to d'Antraigues when she wrote to him, "I shall be grateful to her all my life, for it is she to whom I am indebted for your valuable and esteemed acquaintance."<sup>82</sup> The Talleyrands actually did render great service to this Queen by procuring for her the valuable help of such a well-informed agent, since it was through d'Antraigues, in 1794, that she discovered the secret negotiations going on between Lallement, the Minister of the French Republic to Naples, and her own Minister to the Republic of France. The two ministers were engaged in drawing up plans for a peace treaty between France and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and doing it, of course, without her knowledge. When informed of it, Caroline, who refused to make any deals with the Jacobin government and was determined to remain loyal to the Coalition, thwarted the schemes of the negotiators, acted without consulting her royal spouse, and the agreement fell through. Other letters containing like information were to follow. D'Antraigues was well worth the 6,000 livres she paid him each year.

"The friends of our friends are also our friends." The day was to come when d'Antraigues would personally recommend the President to the kindness of the Queen of Naples. But, in the meantime, being a mutual friend of the Talleyrands and Charles-

Antoine, he brought the President into contact with the Baron and Baroness, thereby establishing an association between them that was as agreeable as it was profitable for the President and his family. De Marrenx-Montgaillard whom the Count de Provence appointed as d'Antraigues' secretary, completed this particular circle of exiled nobles who were feverishly working for the defeat of the Revolution and the restoration of the monarchy.

Undoubtedly, M. de Mazenod was the least active of all of them. Although completely at ease in the labyrinth of laws, practices, and customs, his juridical mind became confused in the web of intrigue and under-cover scheming of secret diplomacy. On the other hand, he took second place to no one where zeal was concerned. As proof of this, one need but cite the alacrity with which he sent a solemn declaration of "faith, homage and allegiance" to Louis XVIII when the Prince, while living at Verona, became the lawful ruler on the death of Louis XVII. In a memoir written years later, 1816 to be exact, the President recalled that His Majesty "directed Baron de Flachslanden, one of his ministers, to reply that this act of allegiance was particularly agreeable to His Majesty, since it was the first to come from a magistrate, and His Majesty hoped to be able one day to show proof of his appreciation."<sup>83</sup>

In this memoir, Charles-Antoine, ruined and grown old, cited his former zeal as a reason for requesting a pension to take care of his needs. It is true that his was a more disinterested zeal than that of d'Antraigues who, in spite of his protests, was not working solely out of devotion to the cause and to the King. And yet, the President's zeal was not entirely free from selfish motives either. Suffering from lack of finances when he arrived at the Serenissime, he most likely had hopes of the Regent's providing the pension he was to seek later on from Louis XVIII. It may also be that, on his arrival there, he expected his "very dear friend, d'Antraigues," to offer him the position of secretary in his royalist agency, the very position he asked for in 1798. However, even without these subsidies and this position, his devotion to the monarchy still brought him benefits that were in no way negligible: the good graces of Count d'Antraigues and

of the Baron and Baroness of Talleyrand who opened many doors to him and gave him entrance to the high society of Venetian nobility, particularly that of Alvise-Manin, the nephew of the Doge; the favors of Las Casas without which his son would never have had the opportunity to be present at the formal dinner in the Spanish Embassy and prove his courage by pronouncing the "benedicite" when no one else thought of doing so; the confidence the Serenissime had in him due to his aristocratic and conservative principles; and finally, what was of no little importance, the benevolence of the police who closed their eyes to his commercial irregularities.

All these advantages assured him a preferential treatment which tickled his vanity, customers who brought him a livelihood and a pleasant social life which helped to soften the hardship of his exile. Until the day arrived when the monarchy and aristocracy would triumph in France, as in the rest of Europe, M. de Mazenod, in the midst of all the enchantment of incomparable Venice, felt confident that his lot in life was to be an acceptable one. Disillusionments, alas, were not far off.

#### M. DE MAZENOD VICTIMIZED BY A VENETIAN SWINDLER

The President was not always fortunate enough to supply an "Excellency" with an expensive wardrobe for an aristocratic wedding. On the contrary, after knocking on many doors, he often returned home empty-handed, so that gradually the merchandise accumulated in the clothes-press. Doubtless, because the articles to be sold had the advantage of weighing little, and taking up little space, they therefore cost less to transport and facilitated transactions that had to be kept clandestine. Nevertheless, the sale of these articles was at the mercy of the latest style and whim of women, and hence their marketing was extremely uncertain. Now, Baron made little allowance for the changing tastes of Venetian ladies and, being an optimist in business matters, had a tendency to order too much. Consequently, what was not sold quickly became outmoded. M. de Mazenod, who had learned the ins and outs of the trade, knew exactly what pleased the capri-

cious ladies of the Serenissime and frequently complained of Baron's oddly assorted consignments, few of which could be sold:

The full supplies of taffeta dresses embroidered with casual bouquets are the most difficult to dispose of, for the simple reason that, here, they have gone mad over linens and no one is interested in silk stuffs. Of the three silk pieces contained in the second shipment, we have been able to get rid of only one, and even that was with great difficulty. As for the silk stole dresses with gold and silk embroidery, you know yourself that none of the women here wear them. However, the linen dresses, sewn in separate pieces and allowing for any amount of yardage, will sell easily. The great difficulty in disposing of those we have here is that they are all considered too skimpy. The handkerchiefs, India shawls, calico pieces and painted muslins will also sell easily.<sup>84</sup>

This did not deter the Baron. In his reply he informed the president of four magnificent bales which, he said, were bound to create a sensation in Venice. "They are superb," he wrote, "and of the best possible taste. Never has Venice seen anything more elegant or more choice. You can tell the ladies that if they pass up the chance to buy them, they will die of grief."<sup>85</sup> The Venetian ladies, far from dying of grief, found nothing they wanted in the said bales and once again M. de Mazenod had to express his dissatisfaction:

"The dresses of the sixth shipment are too rich, too expensive, and are suitable only for marriages. Here in this country, a dress must be dazzling, stylish, bouffant, flimsy, and must not cost any more than twelve or fourteen sequins. If we had dresses of this kind we could sell them by the thousands. Every day we are besieged by customers who are enchanted when they first see our dresses but quickly lose interest when they see the price and the skimpy material."<sup>86</sup> Actually, the only real objection was the lack of fulness, for a woman's love of finery is never dampened by lack of money if she sees something that flatters her appearance. The Parisian style is too close-fitting to suit the tastes and morals of this country. Five ells of material in a dress are scarcely enough. That's because of the train the women love to see trailing after them.<sup>87</sup>

The Parisian styles set by the affected ladies of the Directoire was much too daring. Prudish Venice had its virtue to consider,

and so the State Inquisitors stepped into the picture. Thus, on March 18, the President cancelled an order he had sent on the tenth of that month. It was an order for "flesh-colored net for women. For some time now, the government has considered this kind of material indecent and has recently prohibited it. And so, you can cancel that article." <sup>88</sup>

It was all the more necessary that the consignments correspond strictly to local needs since money was becoming tighter. Long since stripped of its commercial power, Venice especially suffered from the economic repercussions of political and military events. M. de Mazenod reported,

The English have declared that they will no longer honor any of the paper money coming out of those countries occupied by the French. Furthermore, at this moment, the English fleet is blockading forty-four Venetian ships in the Port of Leghorn. All these facts taken together have caused a crisis here. Practically all business is at a standstill; bills of exchange by the hundreds are being rejected and several merchants are going into bankruptcy; others are fearful and distrustful, and no one can blame them. These last few days, we ourselves came close to being victims of this critical state of affairs. A certain man who enjoys a good reputation here, and whose credit is excellent, offered to purchase our linens, dresses, etc., for 10,000 livres . . . to pay for them he offered two bills of exchange amounting to 5,000 livres apiece, one payable in August and the other in October, both of them drawn on the account and with the consent of one of the richest wholesale merchants in the country. We made inquiries, and most of those whom we questioned told us that the merchant was most reliable. However, two of our close friends told us in confidence that as a general policy we should not, under the present circumstances, accept any commercial papers which could become a gamble overnight. We postponed concluding the deal, and just this morning we learned that the said merchant had declared bankruptcy.<sup>89</sup>

Since this pessimistic information failed to dampen the Baron's enthusiasm, the President had to insist two weeks later: "Your letter of the 23rd. convinces me that you do not realize what the actual situation of the market is here. It is extremely critical. Bankruptcies are being declared left and right and bills of ex-

change continue to be protested. We know of two merchants each of whom has protested a bill of exchange worth more than 30,000 ducats. All tradespeople distrust one another and business has come to a complete halt.”<sup>90</sup>

For lack of money, the impoverished nobility which had been living far beyond its means, as well as other people who had formerly been accustomed to an easy life, now bought only on credit. Afraid of losing all their customers, the Mazenods, with Baron's approval, went in more and more for selling on the installment plan. To make sure the payments were kept up, d'Arlatan hired a certain Vizian who worked as commission agent for several French and Venetian merchants. They put into his hands the “paghero a chi presenterà,” a sort of I.O.U. When the payments became due, Vizian presented these to the debtors, and they themselves wrote down the amount they had paid.

Entrusted with all these papers, Vizian went from house to house collecting the payments. Until December 31, 1796, everything seemed to be going along satisfactorily. Each evening the bill-collector faithfully gave the partners what he had collected that day. But, on December 31, he failed to appear, supposedly because of an unforeseen business trip.<sup>91</sup> Actually he was up against a blank wall. His promptness in transmitting the sums collected had been nothing but a decoy. Over and above the sums collected, he had increased by a third the amount fixed by the partners and had drawn up a separate bill for this third which he pocketed for himself. At times, he even sold the I.O.U.'s at a much lower price, allowing those worth 2,000 livres to be redeemed for 600. For a while, these profits enabled him to make his payments each evening, even though several of the debtors had failed to satisfy their payments on their notes. The day came, unfortunately, when the surplus was no longer sufficient, and he then declared bankruptcy; not, however, without having first set up a shop in his wife's name.<sup>92</sup>

At first, the Mazenods considered taking legal action against him, but, after consulting lawyers, gave up the idea, since, in principle, the laws of Venice favored the debtor.<sup>93</sup> They were advised instead to make a compromise with Vizian, and, on Jan-

uary 14, 1797, reached an agreement whereby Vizian was made responsible for recovering all the payments that were still due. He also agreed to pay 15 livres, 14 sols a day, appointed the partners as his privileged creditors, and gave them priority over his inheritance in case of death. His total debt to the company amounted to 19,347 livres.<sup>94</sup> For some time he made daily payments in more or less regular fashion, but, as time went on, they became farther and farther apart.

The underhanded dealings of this Venetian swindler seriously endangered a business that had at last begun to prosper, the resultant deficit was never to be wiped out. Dissension arose among the partners, and the necessity of selling only on a cash basis slowed down the sale of merchandise, until finally Bonaparte's conquest of the Serenissime reduced the Bloquettis to desperate circumstances.

#### THE FALL OF VENICE

"With the French advancing towards Venice" wrote the Bishop of Marseilles in his *Mémoires*, "plans had to be made for leaving."<sup>95</sup> Many of the émigrés wasted no time thinking about it but fled with the greatest possible haste, convinced that the Revolutionary troops would show them harsh treatment. For his own part, M. de Mazenod resolved to stay, although he had everything to fear from the Jacobins because of his past history and his monarchist intrigues. To safeguard the interests of his partners, however, his honor and integrity compelled him to run this personal risk. If he had left, it would have meant the total loss of all the merchandise that still remained unsold and unpaid for, and would also have meant the loss of the money that had to be recovered if the liabilities were to be reduced. The only other alternative would have been bankruptcy. And so, Charles-Antoine struggled up to the very end. Rather than give up, as d'Arlatan had done when he prudently retired to Tuscany, the President remained on the spot to save as much of the common stock as possible.

Eugene witnessed the fall of Venice and it left him with a

feeling of disgust. "We saw the ignoble and miserable end of this worm-eaten republic, which, in a manner of speaking, crumbled in upon itself. No doubt, Bonaparte's star, or if you wish, his genius, was difficult to resist, but the Venetians should have shown some backbone instead of running out with open arms to welcome their shame and destruction." <sup>96</sup> This one-sided judgment which put the entire responsibility for that "ignoble and miserable end" upon the Venetians and disregarded the shameful part played by the Corsican Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Italy, hardly tallies with the facts of history or even with the later sentiments of the Bishop of Marseilles. For, in those after years, he could hardly be said to have been in the habit of flattering the usurper. It does, however, reflect exactly what the youth Eugene felt during those lamentable days. Although the *Mémoires* of the Bishop of Marseilles, supplemented by his father's correspondence, discuss only the external features of the drama, at least they have the advantage of enabling us to see things as the young man and his family saw them at that time.

One surmises that the President, his son, and his brothers had no great love for the Jacobin from Corsica who, under the fire of his batteries, had crushed the royalist insurrections at Toulon in December, 1793, and those at Paris in October, 1795. General Vendemaire who was Robespierre's favorite before becoming Barras' pet, had a very sinister reputation among the émigrés. The shining success of the Italian campaign while revealing his genius, dealt severe blows to the celebrated monarchist and Catholic crusade on which the Mazonods constantly pinned their hopes. Vainly did Austria throw its armies into the battle, for one after the other was successively crushed. The Pope who had been planning to send his troops to the rescue, was forced, instead, to sign an onerous peace treaty, as Naples before him had done. When the Coalition fell apart, the conquered provinces which contained many Pontifical legations, installed patriot governments under the persuasion of French bayonets. Thanks to Bonaparte, the Revolution, far from being halted, went steadily ahead.

Meanwhile, in Northern and Central Italy, where governments and institutions of the past were crumbling left and right, Venice still stood out as the symbol of loyalty and permanence. She maintained tradition with jealous exactitude and her outward show of splendour kept up an illusion of wealth, solidarity, and power. During the celebration of the "festa," people forgot that the marriage of the Doge to the sea was nothing more than a simple, make-believe ceremony, the relic of a dead era. The Serenissime had long since ceased to be Mistress of the Seas, and the Doge's ship, the *Bucentaur*, all shined up for the occasion, in no way compensated for her few and antiquated Men of War. The extravagance of her noble Lords and the titillating amusements of her carnival brought on a round of debts which, in turn, created an unseen inflation. Even the spectacular solemnity of her religious celebrations was allied with the worst depravity of morals. As for her government with its mysterious intrigues, it was maintained at home only by a system of policing and corruption, and abroad by a policy of procrastination. As far as the Mazenods were concerned, however, this worn-out and decadent regime had one great merit: it was aristocratic. It favored the French émigré nobles, dealt sternly with the agents of the French Republic, and implacably forbade any new ideas contrary to the interests of the Old Regime. Anything that affected it, therefore, affected them also, insofar as their convictions, security, and interests were concerned.

In March, 1797, the Serenissime's fate drew nearer. On the 20, Bonaparte hurled a powerful attack against Archduke Charles for the purpose of imposing a peace treaty upon a defeated Austria which would therefore be a "fait accompli" before the Directoire could interfere. He then invaded the territory of the Serenissime, provoked insurrections against it in Bergamo and Brescia, chasing away the Venetian Inspectors, proclaimed both cities free, and gave them a democratic government. The movement soon reached the mainland of the Serenissime where partisans of the New Regime, supported by the armies of occupation, and partisans of the Old Regime supported by the Senate of Venice, stood armed against each other. On April 17, all these

events culminated in the bloody Veronese Easter when the people of Verona attacked the French troops, forcing them, not without losses, to take refuge behind the forts. On April 23, the French army in Italy, re-took the city, imposed heavy punishments upon it, and mercilessly punished the guilty parties.

These grave events created a situation for the Mazenods that was anything but comfortable. Of course, wrote the President to Turret on April 22, "here, everything is quiet."<sup>97</sup> The Patriots instigated by Villetard, the legation secretary, were not, as was the case in Brescia, Bergamo, Bassano, Padua, and Vicenza, in a position to try seizing power by force. But, he added, "it is only natural that what is taking place on the mainland should inspire fears and demand precautions."

The first effect of these fears and precautions was a total halt to his commercial activity: "Business has come to a halt; public and private payments have almost all been suspended; everyone is holding fast to his money and for several days now we haven't sold a thing."<sup>98</sup>

Much as the economic repercussions of the political tension disturbed the financially embarrassed Bloquetti Brothers, what they found even more distressing was the growing hatred for the French among the alarmed and indignant Venetians. Up to that time, the émigrés had been well-received; but now, they felt a growing distrust and hatred against themselves and realized they were no longer wanted there.

Foreigners are looked upon with a rather jaundiced eye, although we ourselves have been shown nothing but friendship and good will. This is due to our exemplary conduct and the general esteem we have always endeavored to earn. Such is not the case with many others, however. As a matter of fact, some have already been ordered to leave and rumor has it that most of the others will be asked to do so, which explains why a considerable number of them have left of their own accord. It is estimated that more than four hundred of them have gone already. But, we live in hope and we like to think that when most of the foreigners have gone, the few that remain will not be bothered. Because of business and common interests, we have decided not to budge from here unless we are forced to do so. You

can appreciate, however, the perplexing problems with which we are faced here. To be on the safe side we have made plans to gain a foothold elsewhere. What we have in mind could be beneficial for the disposal of our merchandise although it would still mean a great deal of trouble, not to mention expense. At any rate, there has been no sign up to the present that we shall be forced to leave.<sup>99</sup>

As things turned out, thanks to protection from high sources, especially from Alvise-Manin, the Mazenods escaped the deportation measures taken against their fellow-countrymen and were able to remain in Venice, although it was not without hardship and danger.

On May 2, 1797, Bonaparte declared war on the Serenissime. The peace preliminaries signed with Austria on April 18 at Leoben had allowed him every freedom of action thereafter. He now decided to settle accounts with the Serenissime; and there were more than one to settle: the threat that had been brought to his rearguard by the peasants of the mainland while he was embroiled with Archduke Charles; the Easter massacres at Verona; the bombing and boarding of a French ship seeking refuge in the lagoons. Aware of all this, the Seigneurie, panicstricken and irresolute as ever, once more resorted to stalling tactics. Bonaparte agreed to a truce, whereupon negotiations were resumed. Actually, what Napoleon wanted was to save himself the bother of an attack which could possibly become difficult. He felt sure he could bring Venice to its knees by the terror of his threats and the sabotage of the Patriots who were undermining internal resistance.

"We end in shame, despair, and treason!"<sup>100</sup> mourned Lipomano, a Venetian nobleman, who witnessed those last pitiful sessions during which the Supreme Council, meeting under the presidency of the weak and irresolute Doge, Luigi Manin, gave such a tragic demonstration of helplessness and fright. The scene was indeed an ironic one; craven aristocrats with their "long, blanched, and defeated faces,"<sup>101</sup> standing out in stark contrast to the majestic setting of the immense hall with its Veronese frescoes portraying the ancient triumphs of Venice. What a sorry sight the aged Doge must have been, as he stood "pale and sob-

bing”<sup>102</sup> beneath the portraits of his seventy-two predecessors who represented an era of grandeur and glory! No wonder the Bishop of Marseilles, remembering these lamentable scenes, voiced a judgment similar to that of Lippomano.

One last humiliation remained to complete the degradation. Instigated by Villetard who had become Secretary of the French Legation when the Minister, Lallement, was recalled by Napoleon, the Venetian Patriots, headed by Zorzi, presented a written proposal to the Doge which, in view of “the present situation of the Republic,” advised “that all the institutions of Venice be democratized” and that the city be placed “under the protection of the French army.”<sup>103</sup> After much groaning, the Doge consented, and, “for the safety of the Church and the State, with the hope that their interests would be safeguarded along with the interests of the patrician class and of all individuals enjoying privileges granted by the Republic, and, finally, for the sake of the Treasury and the National Bank,” the Supreme Council convened on May 12, adopted “the proposed system of provisional, representative government, *provided it was acceptable to the Commander-in-Chief.*”<sup>104</sup> Thus, as the Bishop of Marseilles wrote, did the “worm-eaten” Republic stretch out its arms to “shame and self-abasement.”

When the news was announced, members of secret revolutionary groups, agents of the French Embassy, and liberals among the bourgeois broke out into a frenzy of joy. The people, on the other hand, roused to a high pitch of indignation and shouting “Evviva San Marco,” unfurled the banner of Saint Mark. Esclavons’ mercenary soldiers whom Bonaparte had driven from the mainland and who had already boarded their ships to return home, firing their pistols, left the boats and came back to mingle with the crowd. The movement quickly spread throughout the entire city. Crying “Viva San Marco,” “Death to the Jacobins,” angry mobs ran through the streets, sacked Zorzi’s store (the same Zorzi who had conveyed Villetard’s proposal) and invaded the homes of local patriots. “Several people were subjected to insult and some were injured,” reported M. de Mazenod to Tourret on May 20.<sup>105</sup> “There was terror everywhere.” The émi-

grés "ran the greatest risk,"<sup>106</sup> for, as Bishop de Mazenod pointed out in his *Mémoires*, "the Venetians quite naturally mistook" them "for the French whose coming they dreaded."<sup>107</sup> The 12th and 13th of this month were painful, distressing days for us" related Charles-Antoine a few days later to his Lyons partner. "The pillagers came up to our very door and it was only by a miracle that we escaped" their wrath.<sup>108</sup> By a strange quirk of fate, the refugee nobles who had been both enemies and victims of the Revolution were now considered as pro-Revolution as the soldiers of Bonaparte.

#### DOUBTS AND MISGIVINGS OF THE LAST MONTHS AT VENICE

So tense did the situation become that the former President à mortier, fiefed Lord of Saint Laurent, dear friend of d'Antraigues, and zealot of the Great Crusade, related the arrival of these Revolutionary soldiers with an unmistakable feeling of relief, and even went so far as to praise them: "The French troops, accepting the municipal government's invitation, have come to this city and are conducting themselves with a friendliness, mildness, and politeness which bring great honor to them," he wrote on May 20.<sup>109</sup> On June 3, he added, "The peaceful living we enjoy is actually due to the French troops, whose conduct is admirable."<sup>110</sup> It was a reversed position for the Mazenods. Where, but recently, they had found protection, they now found hostility, and to protect themselves from it, they now depended upon the soldiers of the Republic before whom they had been fleeing from haven to haven, ever since their flight to Nice.

The military authorities treated them so benignly that the Mazenods were both astonished and delighted. Because of his official position, Baraguay d'Hilliers naturally had to use harsh language with the émigrés whom he had called together and given a "bitter tongue-lashing," but, "after his rather harsh remarks" relates the Bishop of Marseilles, he leaned down towards my father and whispered to him, "If I can be of any service to you, don't hesitate to call on me."<sup>111</sup> Admiral Brueys showed them a similar mark of respect. On learning that Charles-Louis-Eugène,

once a Captain-Major in the King's Navy, was living at Venice, Brueys, wishing to see his old comrade again, drew up alongside the Mazenod house on the Grand Canal, "in his Admiral's barge."<sup>112</sup>

The French psychology often mystifies foreigners, and more than once the Italians of that time were literally stupefied by the fact that, in spite of their antipathies and partisan hatreds, the French of opposite camps greeted each other like long-lost friends. "Three-fourths of the refractory priests weep when they see a Frenchman," wrote Napoleon to the Directoire.<sup>113</sup> The Italians concluded, somewhat rashly, that these so-called Confessors of the Faith were no different from their colleagues of the Constitutional Church. The Mazenods themselves, in spite of their good reputation, became victims of a similar logic which failed to make allowances for the complexity of their emotions. "Henceforth," wrote Bishop de Mazenod, "we were a suspect family and it took all the good reputation that my highly-esteemed father and uncles had earned during their four-year sojourn in that country to undo the bad effects of the admiral's visit; a visit that was purely friendly and in no way connected with politics."<sup>114</sup>

Without betraying any of their principles, the president and his family were very pleased with the cordial relationship they enjoyed with these men who brought something of the fatherland with them, and it flattered their national pride to discover that the soldiers of the Republic, through their good manners and conduct, were proving themselves worthy sons of their fathers.

It would be interesting to know if Fortuné was among the 75 percent of the French clergy who, as Napoleon said, wept when they saw French soldiers. His brother's letters and his nephew's *Mémoires* fail to tell us. We do know that in order to return to Aix in 1797 he took advantage of the offer made by Baraguay d'Hilliers to Charles-Antoine. "You failed to tell me if he was called back to France for family interests or for matters connected with his priesthood," wrote d'Arlatan-Lauris on August 5, 1797, to M. de Mazenod who had informed him of Fortuné's departure.<sup>115</sup> In other words, did Fortuné go back to resume his priestly duties at Aix or was it to recover his per-

sonal property which had been illegally sold? As a matter of fact it was for both reasons.

Many of the more adventurous priests had immediately returned to their duties the day after the Thermidorian Assembly, without waiting, as Fortuné did, until August, 1797. Nevertheless the vicar general's zeal, hesitant as it might seem, was very sincere and it would be unfair to assert that the prospect of ministering to souls played no part in his decision. Because of the lenient measures, or better still, the reaction that followed the elections of the year V, the wider freedom granted to the practice of religion would have guaranteed him more security and liberty,<sup>116</sup> and there would have been no more need to fear, as in 1791, any danger of arrest or pistol fire.

If, on the one hand, the documents give no indication that priestly preoccupations enticed him to return to his diocese, on the other hand, they do show that material advantages accruing from his return to France greatly influenced his decision, since, by returning, he was able to recover that part of his inheritance which was due to him from the estate of his uncle, Canon Charles-André. The confiscation of the latter's property because of his migration had been lifted on August 11, 1793, by a decree of the departmental administration which declared that, by virtue of article 8, section 4 of the law of the preceding March 28, citizen Charles-André Mazenod, priest, could not be considered an émigré since he had been officially deported in accordance with the decree of the administrative bodies.<sup>117</sup> On proof furnished by citizen Bonnet, wife of Joannis, Fortuné also benefited by the same law of Fructidor 6, in the year V (August 23, 1797).<sup>118</sup> A decision of the departmental Directoire rendered on Fructidor 15, of the year V (September 1, 1797), just a few weeks after his arrival, eased his legal status still more by exonerating him from the charge of deportation.<sup>119</sup> This decision enabled him to invoke the law of Fructidor 22 of the year III (September 8, 1795),<sup>120</sup> so as to have his personal possessions restored. In this way, he was able to recover what had not been sold, and for the rest, was entitled to receive the equivalent in legal tender.<sup>121</sup> With his citizenship rights restored, Fortuné was also legally entitled to claim

the right of succession to his uncle's property. Such an outcome, favorable as it seems to have been, strongly hints that the vicar general must have found support and protection in Aix.

At that same time, M. de Mazenod was also thinking of his own and his son's repatriation, for on July 30, citizen Marie-Rose-Eugenie Joannis requested the central administration of the Bouches-du-Rhône to have Eugene's name taken from the list of émigrés where it had been "erroneously" inscribed.<sup>122</sup> To re-establish his legal rights, she invoked in his favor, article 2, paragraph 6, title 1 of the law of Brumaire 25 of the year III: "Those children whom their parents, tutors or guardians have sent to a foreign country either for commercial or educational purposes" must not be "considered émigrés." To support her petition, she produced a series of certificates which testified that Eugene de Mazenod belonged strictly to the category covered by this law.<sup>123</sup> The petition of citizen Marie-Rose-Eugenie Joannis was favorably received by the departmental administration which declared that the exception clause she invoked was applicable to her son and decreed that the name of Charles-Joseph-Eugene Mazenod, of Aix, be provisionally removed from the list of émigrés and that he be provisionally restored to the possession of his personal property. The document bears the date of Thermidor 12, year V (July 30, 1797), of the one and indivisible Republic.<sup>124</sup>

The President, in order to have his own name removed from the list of émigrés and his property rights restored, invoked another clause of the same law. This particular clause listed as non-émigrés those French who had left the national territory of their own accord for the purpose of practicing trade. On April 26, 1797, he procured an affidavit signed by nine Venetian merchants and delivered to him. He then had it certified by Aillaud, the Consul-General of the Republic. The nine merchants testified that from 1794 when the Mazenods settled in Venice, "Charles Mazenod and Charles-Joseph-Eugene, his son, have carried on and are continuing to carry on commercial activities; that their personal acquaintance with the Mazenods, the business dealings they have had with them and the negotiations that are now being

discussed which will be of mutual advantage to both parties, all authorize them to furnish this assurance.”<sup>125</sup>

It is not difficult to understand why M. de Mazenod wanted to return to his homeland and take care of his affairs personally. Citizen Bonnet (Madame Joannis), exercised a great influence over her daughter, Mme. de Mazenod, and the President resented it. He had no intention, therefore, of leaving the field free to his mother-in-law. He had already given Fortuné, as d’Arlatan’s letters testify, all the instruction needed to take care of these same affairs,<sup>126</sup> but he had his doubts whether the good canon was competent and determined enough to exercise the necessary firmness with a woman like Citizen Bonnet who was an astute businesswoman, and an overbearing one to boot.

From the letters which d’Arlatan wrote the President from Florence where he had prudently taken refuge, we know that, at this very time, the émigrés from Provence, encouraged by the political situation and weary of their exile, were returning to Aix in large numbers: “It is nothing less than a mass movement,” the Marquis informed Charles-Antoine near the end of July, 1797. “The Chenerilles left yesterday morning, as did the Beauvals with the exception of the father. Up to now, everyone has reached France safely. The ship, *Alcibiades*, which carried the Sederons, the Amyots, and others, made it safely, and the details of the welcoming celebration which the latest arrivals wrote about are so favorable that they are almost unbelievable. The Fortis are leaving next week. It’s almost as though there were some magnet drawing everyone back to France. No doubt, your turn will come too.”<sup>127</sup> On August 5, d’Arlatan stated that he too had made up his mind to join the movement and at the same time hinted that Fortuné’s return would pave the way for that of M. de Mazenod and Eugene: “His journey, you can be sure, augurs well for the rest of you. He will be your ‘John the Baptist.’ I am delighted that you were able to procure the necessary passports for him. The acquaintances through whom you procured them, will be worth having in time of need.”<sup>128</sup>

A short time later, however, due to the less favorable reports coming out of France, d’Arlatan changed his mind and de-

cided to postpone his return: "Once again, the news is bad," he wrote on August 11, "and, in many respects, the crisis, which, incidentally, is quite real, becomes more and more alarming. I refuse to take any chances. 'Once burned, twice shy.'" <sup>129</sup> Here again, the Marquis proved himself a prudent man, for the month of Fructidor was nearing, and in a matter of weeks, a *coup d'état*, launched by Augereau, one of Bonaparte's lieutenants, was to change the political situation completely.

M. de Mazenod must have been thankful at that moment that he had not carried out his plan. However, he escaped one danger only to fall into another, for the mounting wrath of the Venetians towards the French made the position of the émigrés a very critical one. "With the exception of three families, all those who were here have gone," wrote the President to Tourret on June 3. "Soon, ours will be the only one left." <sup>130</sup> Although greatly compromised by their friendly association with the soldiers and generals of the Republican armies and even more so by Admiral Bruey's much-talked-of visit, for the moment, at least, the President and his family were in no danger. The presence of Bonaparte's troops guaranteed their security. "If they leave," wrote Charles-Antoine, "it would be as imprudent as it would be dangerous to remain after them. . . . At any rate," he added, "we shall leave only as a last resort." <sup>131</sup> Thus, the Bloquetti brothers intended to hold on as long as there was the least ray of hope, so that they might safeguard both their integrity and the common interests of the company. <sup>132</sup>

To be on the safe side, however, they felt it wise to find a place of security both for themselves and for their stock if they were to avoid a sudden liquidation. "Commerce is in a complete state of stagnation," reported the President, May 22. "No business, no payments, no sales. Our regular customers have either fled to the country or are staying indoors. Every merchant is in the same predicament." <sup>133</sup> "The few sales we have made, have been to the French, and those have been so small that we haven't yet been able to cover the expenses of the last consignments." <sup>134</sup> Needless to say, the fair usually held on the feast of the Ascension was not held that year.

The President, therefore, had to decide where to transfer his stock if the need arose; Naples? Marseilles? Bologna? Tuscany? It was strictly a choice of risks, and in his quandary, he sought the advice of Turret. Turret gave no answer, but Venice took care of part of the problem by forbidding any merchandise to be taken out of the country. The President then realized that the only way to safeguard whatever he had to leave after him was "to entrust it to an honest merchant after making inventory."<sup>135</sup>

These conservative measures were taken with an eye to the future. Far from giving up hope of refloating the company, Charles-Antoine fully intended to continue his trading ventures. Once Venice lifted its prohibition on the removal of goods, the Bloquettis would then transfer their stock from the hands of the "honest merchant," to their new residence and immediately resume their business affairs.

However, they still had to find a residence for themselves in some city with good business outlets. Charles-Antoine's choice was Frankfurt, since Baron had contacts and clients there, but, unfortunately, he was refused a passport to Germany. With Frankfurt out of the question, he was willing to settle for Tuscany, but d'Arlatan, whom he consulted, discouraged the idea, in view of the uncertain fate hanging over that city.<sup>136</sup> The Bloquettis therefore decided on Naples where "some close friends," the Talleyrands, had invited them to stay.<sup>137</sup> It was only as a last resort, however. Informed and farsighted as ever, d'Arlatan left no illusions regarding this point. "The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies," he wrote, "is also in a very critical state. It has a system of extreme severity, imprisonments, and endless deportations. There is a rather large number of expatriates either staying here or passing through who are forever ranting, swearing, plotting, etc. etc. Eventually the rope will become too taut and I greatly fear that it will snap. Rome's inevitable revolt will be a terrible spark setting off an explosion in many other countries. Meanwhile, you will find in the country to which you are going distrust and unfriendliness on all sides . . ." <sup>138</sup> Baraguay d'Hilliers was even less encouraging: "What will you do in Naples? We'll be there

within a year," he warned M. de Mazenod while certifying the passport which the President had obtained from the ambassador of the Two Sicilies to the Serenissime.<sup>139</sup>

On November 11, the President, his brother, Charles-Louis-Eugene, and his son, Eugene, left Venice. The fourth and fifth steps of Eugene's exile were still to come and would be extremely more difficult for him since he was so unprepared for them.

It is true that he approached them, providentially protected and provided with firm foundations and solid principles, and through his entire life he would remain grateful to Don Bartolo for all that. However, even the best of teachers cannot fully accommodate their pupils to abnormal situations which cause a certain lack of balance. The contrast on the two sides of the street was too great: rich and esteemed bourgeois in one house and dejected outcast aristocrats in the other; one family consisting of a venerable old mother surrounded by her six sons with everyone living a full stable life, the other family made up of M. de Mazenod separated from his wife and daughter, and living with his two uprooted brothers from day to day without any resources and totally ignorant of what the next day would bring. Excellent as was the boy's formation in the rich and bourgeois atmosphere of the Zinelli household, it was still incapable of preventing a certain clash of attitudes and manners proper to their social classes. In the long run, perhaps Don Bartolo had kept his pupil too much like a hot-house plant and under too rigid a discipline, exposing him all the more by that very fact to the dangers of a different atmosphere along with a greater freedom. To complete his work successfully the teacher would have had to accompany and encourage the young man who was now setting out for a strange land with all the freedom in the world after a period of unavoidable tension. We can easily understand, therefore, why Eugene—was it perhaps a presentiment?—took leave of Don Bartolo "with an intense feeling of desolation."<sup>140</sup>

## Chapter Five

### *Emigration to Naples*

#### VOYAGE FROM VENICE TO NAPLES

The Mazenods decided to make the trip to Naples, going by sea as far as Manfredonia, and “then crossing over Italy from the spur of the boot to the capital city.”<sup>1</sup> This plan surprised d’Arlatan who wrote the President from Florence: “To me, it would seem simpler and safer to go entirely by land, preferably passing through here, because this land route, as far as the expense is concerned is the same as the other, and besides, it is safer than going through Romagna. With your passports from Venice, you could go through Ferrara and Bologna without any trouble. Here in Florence they never detain you. Perhaps the wish is father to the thought,” he added, “but I still think it’s good common sense.”<sup>2</sup> D’Arlatan wasn’t paying for the trip. “All we had,” relates the Bishop of Marseilles in his *Mémoires*, “was a little wealth in diamonds which my good mother had given us, on her departure for France, and so we had to look for the thriftiest means of transportation. Making the trip entirely by land would have been too expensive and there was no other choice but to go most of the way by sea.”<sup>3</sup>

The same lack of money which forced them to choose an itinerary that was more complicated and more risky, as well as being longer and slower, likewise dictated their choice of a boat; “a vile cattle boat known as a ‘manzera’ because it was used for transporting ‘manzi’ or cattle from Istria and Dalmatia to Venice.” It was “a filthy boat,” but, because of its cheap rates, the noble passengers, unable to pay for anything better, had to resign themselves to it.

From the very outset, they realized that this cheaper means of travel, while sparing their purse, would cost them dearly in the way of "vicissitudes." The whole ordeal began with a long holdover at Chioggia, their port of embarkation, where the loading of the boat took several days. On November 15, when they finally got underway, the winds which were favorable up to then, suddenly changed their course. As a result, the manzera was pushed away from the Gulf of Canero through which it had to pass in order to reach Zara, and was blown northwards towards Istria "where we had never intended to go." To make matters worse, instead of putting into the neighboring Port of Pola until the winds turned favorable again, the Captain who had become sick and wanted to find a doctor, sailed up to Rovigno, causing the passengers "the added discomfort of a strong tempest which blew up during the night."

At Rovigno, they were given another setback. The Port Commander relegated the manzera to "lo Scoglio, a small island two gunshots from the city where boats were usually quarantined." This lonely rock-pile was devoid of all charm; during their "long hours of boredom" on the island, the Mazenods' only diversion was the story-telling of the island's three inhabitants, "a good cobbler who was sexton of the chapel," his wife, and their little daughter. They gave the Mazenods "fabulous" accounts of all the guests who had "visited that rock" in the course of the ages, including their latest guest, a bishop. The cobbler and his family had received him with all the honor due his dignity. Someone afterwards told the deferential hosts that it was really a woman in disguise on her way to give birth to a child. "The supposed woman was none other than Monseigneur de Montagne, Bishop of Tarbes. He laughed heartily," reported the Founder of the Oblates, when, on seeing him at Naples, "I gave him this version of his visit." Some French Visitation Nuns, on their way to Fiume, had also taken refuge on the island. When they first arrived at Rovigno the authorities were delighted to see them but shortly after took them for spies disguised as nuns and ordered them to clear out.<sup>4</sup> These stories, which give a graphic picture of the mistrust the émigrés generally encountered, ex-

plain the harsh treatment the Mazenods met in Istria, Dalmatia,<sup>5</sup> and Manfredonia where the Port authorities forbade them to disembark.

The passengers grew restless, but the Captain of the manzera was not a bit concerned about leaving, even though the winds had turned favorable again. In fact Charles-Antoine and his brother had to use rather harsh language to get him to sail. When they finally got underway in the direction of Zara and came abreast of Canero, contrary winds again pushed the boat northwards and it took forty-eight hours of waiting in the Port of Pola before the manzera could finally reach the gulf from which it had twice been pushed away.

Once through the gulf, it entered the canal which runs along the Dalmatian coast and is edged with islands on either side. The boat's progress, which was slow to begin with, became even slower because of the difficulty of navigating in that sound. The narrow channel "made it impossible for two boats to pass alongside each other" and often forced the manzera to come to a full stop until the waterway became free again. In addition to all this, they could proceed only by day, and each evening had to come to a full stop to keep from being dashed to pieces against the island coasts.

On Sunday, they went ashore "before a rural chapel, to hear Mass. It was a sort of tumble down affair and the priest who came from some neighboring village at my father's request," related the Bishop of Marseilles, "looked like a beggar. He was practically bare-footed and the torn cassock which barely covered him looked for all the world like a rag bag. I served his Mass and he seemed quite pleased with the stipend my father gave him. Evidently it was a little more generous than what he usually received." It was out of the question to lay in a supply of bread there, since the place was so poverty stricken that, "in order to make a soup of sorts for their sick ones, the women used to come down to the boats, begging for the crumbs found at the bottom of the sailors' biscuit bags."<sup>6</sup>

Forty-three days after their departure from Venice, the voyagers finally reached the Port of Zara and still they were only

half way to their destination. The second half of their journey was to bring other disagreeable surprises. It is true they sailed clear waters from then on, and a fresh wind drove them so forcefully that, in two days, they reached the Italian port of Manfredonia; however, Algerian privateers infested that section of the Adriatic which was no longer protected by the Venetian fleet, "the ex-Mare Nostrum," as Alvisé-Manin sorrowfully termed it on December 16, 1797. "Only by a miracle did we escape them," wrote the President to Baron, "since several boats were captured before our very eyes." <sup>7</sup> More than likely, the pirates disdained to bother with the "vile and filthy" manzera, choosing instead to attack ships which promised far more substantial booty.

After reaching Manfredonia and offering a prayer of thanksgiving, the Mazenods were on the point of leaving the boat when one last obstacle blocked their path.

M. le Gouverneur was not of the opinion that we should come ashore, but my father quickly brought him around to his way of thinking, and we disembarked, you might say, in spite of the Governor. We stayed in that sorry city for eight whole days, as it was close to Christmas. I recall that, after the midnight Mass, they had everyone kiss the Infant Jesus. I kissed Him too, I won't say with more fervor, but certainly with more reverence, for it was a veritable mob scene. The canons wore their mitres during the chanting of the Divine Office without adding any further dignity to the function judging by the one I saw officiating at the Cathedral. I do not know whether the bad impression I received on that occasion left me prejudiced regarding this custom but I have never been able to look favorably upon that particular privilege which is granted to so many Chapters in Italy and elsewhere. Strictly speaking, this usurping of the garb reserved to Bishops does not raise canons to a higher dignity since they are, as every one knows, only simple priests. Instead, I think it tends to make the people too familiar with ornaments that have been established by the Church primarily to increase esteem for the great and high dignity of the Episcopacy.

After paying honor to the Bambino of Manfredonia and making a few rather uncomplimentary reflections on the canons of the cathedral, Eugene left the city with his father and uncle to con-

tinue the journey to Naples, going by way of Foggia, Ariano, and Avellino. The three arrived in the capital of the Two Sicilies on the evening of January 1, 1798. We had left Venice, November 11. The whole journey, therefore, had taken fifty-one days . . . our entrance through the Capuan Gate was anything but triumphal; jammed together in a miserable carriage which would never have drawn a second look from any passerby, we stopped at a hotel called the *Red Hat*. It was in keeping with everything else connected with our journey.<sup>8</sup>

#### SOCIAL AND FAMILY LIFE

The *Red Hat* definitely was not of cardinalatial dignity, nor was the hotel a palace. In the Naples of that day, with its narrow, sordid, sprawling streets, M. de Mazenod, through forced economy, had to settle for this boarding house which was far different from what its sign indicated. Totally devoid of comforts, and lacking even ordinary cleanliness, the dilapidated dwelling gave no lift to his morale. To make matters worse his "pitiable state of infirmity"<sup>9</sup> confined the President to his room and bed for a whole week. Remaining indoors with his father and uncle during those seemingly endless and empty days, Eugene had a foretaste of what was in store for him in the capital of the Two Sicilies. Under the beautiful blue sky of Naples, he was about to experience the darkest and weariest hours of his exile.

There was a little balm in Gilead, however, when shortly after their arrival a rush of affectionate letters brought a bit of cheer and hope to the poor exiles. They must indeed have been touched by the joy of their friends whose fears were finally dispelled. D'Arlatan had moved heaven and earth to obtain news of the travelers. He wrote to M. de Mazenod:

You have had your full share of this world's troubles, and you are well worth the worry you have caused us. In fact I don't see how we could have worried more. However, it's all over now, and the glad news we just received about your safe arrival makes us forget about everything else. Some time ago, I wrote directly to M. le Baron de Talleyrand and also to the insurance office at Venice to make in-

quiries about you. I even had a letter sent to Manfredonia asking about you . . . don't hesitate to call on me in every need.<sup>10</sup>

D'Arlatan on his part had received a letter from the Doge's nephew Alvisè-Manin, informing him of the Bloquettis' departure. Greatly disturbed because he had heard nothing more of them after their departure, he wondered if they had fallen into the hands of the Algerian pirates.<sup>11</sup> In Tuscany, the Provençal refugees had also bombarded the devoted Marquis with inquiries. He was finally able to announce the glad news of their safe arrival and, in the name of all their friends, sent the Mazenods "a thousand congratulations." At Florence, in the salons and around the card-tables where they enjoyed their favorite game of pharaoh, all the acquaintances of the Mazenods expressed their delight. They all said the same thing: "Ah! I'm so glad!" Madame Constance, in spite of a heavy cold, declared that she was charmed and gave a dinner party at which all the guests toasted the health of the President and his brother, the chevalier.<sup>12</sup> Such touching and affectionate sympathy must surely have poured some balm on the hearts of the three Mazenods while they were being bored to death at the *Red Hat*.

The mail they received at the post office included, along with some very recent letters, others that had been sent two months earlier and which had been awaiting their arrival in Naples from the time they embarked at Chioggia. Thus, at one and the same time, they learned of Fortuné's departure from Marseilles and of his arrival at Florence. The poor canon's first deportation had scarcely been lifted and his property temporarily restored when he was again compelled to leave the country. The month of Fructidor (August-September) brought with it the restoration of the laws enacted against priests by both the Legislative Assembly and the Convention. The deporté who, only a few weeks before, had gained his cancellation, was faced with a new deportation; one that was exceedingly more severe than the simple exile of 1792. If he remained in France, he was sure to be transferred officially to Guiana, and so, he made all haste to leave France as quickly as possible. On October 15, he obtained his passport, giving as

his title man of letters and thereby avoiding the difficulties to which his priesthood exposed him.<sup>13</sup> The next day, he and Arnulphy embarked on the *Ami des Lois*.<sup>14</sup> On November 25, d'Arlatan informed M. de Mazenod of all this when he wrote about Fortuné's presence at Leghorn. Meanwhile, until the Canon was able to rejoin his two brothers at Naples, the Marquis promised to take their place at Florence, "wholly and entirely. I shall be his banker, guide, donkey-boy (not that he's a donkey). I shall be his carriage driver etc., etc. . . . and I shall do it with the greatest of pleasure."<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, all this mail with its abundant declarations of friendship and its good news concerning the Canon of Saint-Sauveur, brought no news of, or from, Mme. de Mazenod.

The law of Fructidor 19, in the year V (Sept. 5, 1797), compelled her, like all the other émigrés who had returned to France after the Thermidorian Convention, to leave the national territory again. The President was completely mystified as to where she was and what had happened to her, and it is easy to see why, since her whereabouts became so thoroughly confused that, even today, it is difficult to trace them. Officially, the record shows that Citizen Marie-Rose-Eugenie Joannis, wife of Mazenod, obtained a passport to Spain and Switzerland on Vendemaire 5, in the year VI (September 26, 1797) four days before her cousin Roze Joannis obtained his for the same countries.<sup>16</sup> Officially, the record also shows a certificate signed by the Consul of Catalonia, testifying that the said Citizen Marie-Rose-Eugenie Joannis, wife of Mazenod, reported to the Consulate of Barcelona on Frimaire 24 in the year VI of the Republic of France, One and Indivisible (December 14, 1797), where she declared that she had left the territory of the Republic in obedience to the law of Fructidor 19 in the year V (September 5, 1797).<sup>17</sup> Should it be concluded from this that the two cousins made their way to Spain together, or should one suppose that the certificate signed by the Consul of Barcelona, was simply a "cover-up," since it was made out on December 14, 1797, but was not recorded at the Consulate until January 14, 1800, the exact time when Bonaparte made the return of proscribed people easier? If it was not a cover-up, we

find it difficult to understand why, if she really went into exile, she did not rejoin her husband in Italy by accompanying Fortuné, instead of going in the direction of the Iberian Peninsula.

Regardless of whether the trip was really made in compliance with the decree of Fructidor, or whether it was merely fictitious in order to throw the police off her trail, one thing is certain; she was living in France at the end of August, 1798. Her whereabouts, however, was shrouded in a heavy cloud of mystery and M. de Mazenod resented not being able to pierce it. He wrote to Count d'Antraigues,

It is her mother who is keeping her and her daughter hidden somewhere, and is purposely keeping its location a secret. The joy she derives from being with her mother enables my wife to brave anything and put up with anything and does away with any distaste for living in France under conditions that are abhorrent to me; conditions which I and my family here with me, have irrevocably rejected.<sup>18</sup>

Evidently, Charles-Antoine felt more bitter about the secret they were keeping from him than he did about the power Mme. Joannis wielded over Marie-Rose, and he was bitter enough about that. It was only natural that he should have felt hurt by this uncertainty and by what seemed to him too great an infrequency in the letters from his "lady-friend" and her daughter. Eugene, himself, complained more than once of his mother's neglect in writing to him, and, in later years, was to suffer just as keenly as his father from a silence which intensified his loneliness. The scarcity of mail, however, can be satisfactorily explained by the prudence that had to be taken, for fear of making indiscreet remarks in letter-writing. Beginning with the month of Fructidor, direct correspondence was uncertain, and even dangerous. People were forced to use a system of relay and false names, and many letters were intercepted or lost on the way to their destination. Even after the mail reached the peninsula, there were just as many hindrances to prevent it from reaching its destination. "The postal service in Italy is abominable," wrote the Marquis d'Arlatan.<sup>19</sup> And yet, although an unfortunate experience had taught M. de Mazenod how uncertain communication could

be, he still keenly felt this silence which made the pain of an interminable separation sharper for both himself and Eugene.

Welcome as it was, Fortuné's arrival in Naples could not compensate either of them for the absence of Mme. de Mazenod and little Ninette, which became more painful with each passing day. The news the canon brought with him had been avidly awaited, but it was seven months old and was too vague to satisfy the President or Eugene. Fortuné knew nothing of where or how his sister-in-law who, like himself, was a victim of the Fructidor banishment, had sought refuge. As for the account of his own trip to France and his return by way of Marseilles ("exceedingly painful in every respect"), by its very nature, it was not a cheerful and reassuring one. The good canon may have finished the account of his hardships by remarking "We must bless Divine Providence which always does everything for our best welfare,"<sup>20</sup> but M. de Mazenod, even in spite of his faith in Providence, continued to feel depressed and worried.

#### THE COMMERCIAL FIRM'S BANKRUPTCY

"I hope that the beautiful sky of Naples will dispel your gloom," wrote d'Arlatan on learning of the President's departure for the Two Sicilies.<sup>21</sup> The correspondence carried on at this time shows only too well how vain was that hope, for Charles-Antoine went from one disappointment to another.

Beneath the beautiful sky of Naples the President planned to continue his business affairs so that he might satisfy his obligations to the firm of Tourret-Baron-laRoche-Bloquetti, and at the same time gain personal resources. On learning of his plan, the Talleyrands had further increased his optimism by inviting him to rejoin them at Naples. But, from the moment of his arrival there, M. de Mazenod realized that he had been deluded both by himself as well as by others. As early as January 9, he wrote to d'Antraigues, "It is impossible to do anything here. Present circumstances are putting an insurmountable obstacle in my path."<sup>22</sup>

The main obstacle came from Tourret. Alarmed by the bad

turn his affairs had taken in Germany where the reckless Baron had dispatched an oversupply of merchandise, and in Venice where the deficit was to rise to 18,465 livres, Tourret had dissolved the firm with the intention of setting up new bases of operation. On September 23, 1797, he mailed a notice of his decision to the President but the letter was sent too late to reach him before he left Venice. As soon as Tourret learned of his departure for the Two Sicilies, a duplicate copy of the letter was sent to Naples and was awaiting the President on his arrival there.

The blow was a severe one. Not only was M. de Mazenod forced to abandon any plans for refloating the firm, but he was now asked to furnish a balance-sheet, and, worst of all, pay the deficit. On this last point, particularly, Tourret gave a quasi-threatening tone to his exacting demands:

We have given Baron, who is taking care of the liquidation, explicit orders to speed up payment of the money owed to me. Do not be surprised, therefore, if he is somewhat forceful in the steps he takes and in the method he uses. Meanwhile, we hope that until you can sell the merchandise we own jointly, you will pay for your half out of your own funds. I urge this upon you and trust that the return mail will confirm that you have put part of your personal funds at our disposal.<sup>23</sup>

At a time when he had visions of making money at Naples, and was living penuriously with his family, spending only what was absolutely necessary, the President suddenly found himself called upon to pay his debts. As for immediately drawing up a balance sheet, the state of his health hardly permitted it. Adding to all these woes, the customs officials were holding up the trunk containing his personal papers which were suspected of having subversive ideas favorable to the French Revolution. Whether through zeal or negligence, the Neapolitan customs officers kept the trunk for four whole months. The poor President, therefore, found himself up against a blank wall and, day and night, racked his brain trying to find a way around it.

Fortunately, the troublesome Baron, whose association with Tourret had seldom been smooth, finally exhausted Tourret's pa-

tience. The Lyonnais merchant then kept him out of his new firm and decided to deal directly with la Roche and the Bloquet-tis. He became more understanding and more liberal, for his sojourn in the Serenissime, aimed at recovering the notes and selling the merchandise on hand, had taught him something of the Venetian psychology. His experience with these people convinced him, point by point, of what M. de Mazenod had repeatedly told him, and his own disappointments made him soften the rather severe opinion he had formed concerning Charles-Antoine's management which he had felt was too trusting and too impractical. He, in his turn, was likewise forced to consent to installment paying in order to liquidate the bonded goods. Even in cash sales, he suffered a loss since, instead of being paid in gold, as he had expected, he was paid in paper money issued by the Empire, which meant a loss of one percent. "The disappointments a man has to bear when he deals with dishonest people!" mourned the merchant.<sup>24</sup>

The partners then reached an agreement negotiated by d'Arlatan and concluded at Pisa, June 21, 1798. Up to that time, Tourret had received only 33,474 livres for the dispatched merchandise worth 51,939 livres; the deficit, therefore, amounted to 18,475 livres. They agreed to share this deficit half and half, with the partners Bloquetti-la Roche paying Tourret 9,232 livres, 10 sols. This sum was increased by the  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent interest that was still due and consequently amounted to 12,585 livres which Bloquetti-la Roche promised to pay "jointly, just as soon as circumstances permitted." They also agreed to pay six percent interest each year "reserving the right to free themselves by separate payments" and to reduce the interest that was due "in proportion to these payments."<sup>25</sup>

Going back to his original demands, Tourret then consented to share half the capital losses incurred by installment selling and showed a rather begrudging willingness to accept the greater sacrifice:

You pay your share only when you are able, while I lose my share immediately. And all the time you are protected from loss by funds

that I have advanced, and that will be returned to me God knows when. This, at a time when money in France is at 18 percent, and when I need every penny. You can see the great restraint under which that puts me.<sup>26</sup>

Much of that great restraint was due to Tourret's heavy speculations, seven months before, in prohibited English goods seized in France. "Since we were obliged to conceal them, the high interest rate of two percent a month on rather large sums ruined us. Add to all that the loss we incurred on merchandise which is no longer moving and which cannot be sold openly." It could hardly have been a great consolation to M. de Mazenod when Tourret added, "People know their own misfortunes, but they don't always know the misfortunes of others."<sup>27</sup>

There was always one great difference between Tourret's misfortunes and those of the President, and the latter did not hesitate to stress it.

Your wealth makes it possible for you to sustain and repair all your losses. It is not so with us: with us, even the smallest loss is great, and irreparable. Our financial status has never been a secret to you, but lately, it has become so bad that I must confess that we cannot possibly live without the aid of charity.<sup>28</sup>

In spite of its generous nature, the arrangement agreed to by his Lyonnais partner on June 21, considerably aggravated M. de Mazenod's financial situation. The arrangement simply meant that the new debt of 12,585 livres was added to those already incurred before 1790, along with those he incurred later, while in exile. It is true that he was allowed an indefinite stay in satisfying those earlier debts since "the friends who had advanced these funds were the first to suggest that I pay them back only after I recover my fortune. That day seems a long way off right now."<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, the annual interest the President was expected to pay, namely 600 Tours francs, put an even heavier strain upon a budget that was all too strained already.<sup>30</sup> And to fill his cup of gall to overflowing, his loss was made singularly heavier by the fact that the sums owed to him in Venice, amounting to 67,038 Venetian livres, would probably never be paid.<sup>31</sup>

And so, this was his reward for all his struggles. In the interests of the firm, he had sacrificed his nights by bringing in prohibited goods under the very noses of the police and customs officials, had sacrificed his days by selling the same goods, and, what was no small matter, had sacrificed his aristocratic and parliamentary dignity by offering these things for sale in his own home. In his effort to save the stock which was collateral for the money he owed Tourret, he had run the greatest risk by remaining in Venice while the city was in the state of insurrection, with no better result than further ruin.

Everything had worked against him: the shipments of the reckless Baron which were unsuited to the needs of the Venetian clientele; the economic crisis of the Serenissime; the forced installment selling to unscrupulous customers; the embezzlements of "the rascal Vizian"; and, finally, the crumbling of Venice which forced him to flee before he could liquidate his stock. That this man from the judge's chamber was out of his element in the world of business, no one denies; but neither should anyone blame his misfortunes on personal blundering since he actually did succeed in learning his trade.

Whatever else may have happened, at least his basic honesty remained unsullied and it was at one and the same time his support and torment in times of struggle and adversity. "Regret for having failed only because of adverse circumstances," d'Arlatan wrote to him, "has its antidote in a clear conscience."<sup>82</sup> M. de Mazenod himself, in a letter to Tourret, declared that in this respect he possessed peace of soul.

But do not think for a moment that this peace is not greatly disturbed whenever we reflect that you, an honest gentleman, have used up part of your possessions to procure a livelihood for us by way of trade. Those who have seen with their own eyes how zealously and honestly we have worked for almost three years will readily testify that it was because of the trickery and deceit of a pack of thieves of every stripe that we now find ourselves in the most horrible conditions that could ever afflict hearts nobly born. We are not speaking here of our personal misfortunes. That, we have become accustomed to and it is now our badge of honor. Rather do we speak

of the losses you yourself incurred because of the villainy of our debtors and because of our inability to reimburse you at this moment for our share in these losses. Frankly, this inability on our part, has caused us so much grief that it has seriously affected our health. The one great consolation we have is that, realizing your kindness, we have never concealed that inability from you, while, on the other hand, we have always maintained complete trust in God. You can be sure that our kind Master will not forsake those who have always put their trust in Divine Providence. He will provide us with the means, not to become rich (for that is not our ambition nor do we merit it) but to enable us to pay what we owe you before we die. That is our fondest wish and we have every hope of seeing it fulfilled. Meanwhile, let those who have robbed us of our possessions enjoy them; we wish them no harm, nor do we begrudge them their enjoyment of these things. There is no feeling of hatred or vengeance in our heart as we bow to the decrees of Divine Providence and humbly submit to His Will.<sup>33</sup>

Thus did this gentleman, this Christian man, express himself.

#### THE APPEAL TO D'ANTRAIQUES

There was no way of knowing in January, 1798, that Tourret would make such an amicable adjustment, especially since it would not take place until six months later. To M. de Mazenod, resuming his trade seemed to be the only way to put the Venetian firm back on its feet and to pay his personal debts to Tourret. And therein lay the cause of his despondency when insurmountable obstacles made it impossible for him to carry on any trade and forced him to abandon his plans. This first disappointment was made all the keener by a second. On arriving at Naples, he wrote to d'Antraigues,

I was in hopes that when I arrived here, I would find my good friend, my one and only hope, whose presence would have made amends for all my hardships. From an acquaintance of his who came from Trieste, I learn that personal affairs prevent my friend from coming here. I am heart-broken. Since I cannot speak to him, I venture writing to him to reassure him as well as his dear wife of my respects, fidelity and affection.<sup>34</sup>

It was not only pure affection which inspired such tender regret. The President's order in enumerating his motives is proof that personal interests made his regrets quite sincere. He first mentions the absence of "his one and only hope." Only after that, did he mention one who was so dear to him. Evidently, he felt sure that the royalist circle of Venice would be fully reassembled at Naples, and that their chief conspirator who stood in such high favor at Queen Caroline's Court, would effectively intervene so as to remedy his financial distress. But unlike the Talleyrands, Marrenx-Montgaillard, and Minoya, who had all taken refuge in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, d'Antraigues chose to go to Graz in Austria, where he could be in the very center of Europe and its network of communication.

M. de Mazenod felt all the more certain of d'Antraigues' help since he had performed certain personal services for the count and his "adorable" wife. Obligated to leave the Serenissime with the Russian embassy to which he then belonged, d'Antraigues lacked the time to straighten out certain business matters. The former chanteuse, Saint-Huberty, who became his lawful wife after a series of love affairs, wrote from Trieste asking Charles-Antoine to take care of those matters for them. The first thing the President had to do was to pay a month's wages to d'Antraigues' lackey, Monteferrini. The lackey claimed it was actually three or four months' wages amounting to 150 livres, and the President had a difficult time reducing the man's "exorbitant claim" to 40 Venetian livres. Next, the President had to sell the "personal effects" left behind "by the d'Antraigues" and "make restitution to the Jews for the furniture" they had supplied for d'Antraigues' apartment. He then had to "notify the owner, Foscarini, that the house was being vacated." Before cancelling the lease, however, Foscarini demanded that repairs be made in the apartment where d'Antraigues had had three doors broken through, one of which, on the fourth floor, gave him direct communication with the Russian palace. All these matters involved many arguments, much footwork, and evidently a great deal of money, because after all the expenses had been paid, all that remained from the sale of the effects was 196 livres.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to all these favors which were of a purely material nature, M. de Mazenod had further claims to the gratitude of the Count and Countess. Although his words may seem a bit exaggerated when he assures "his friend and his very dear wife" of his respect and affection we must keep in mind that he used the word "fidelity" in its strict meaning, for he continued to have complete confidence in d'Antraigues, and steadfastly defended him against those who accused the Count of being a traitor. Formerly praised to the skies by the whole Royalist camp, the mighty organizer of the counter-Revolution was eventually brought to disgrace by Louis XVIII and villified by his one-time admirers. Opprobrium was heaped upon him because he had willingly allowed himself to be arrested by the French at Trieste, on May 21, 1797, and had kept in his portfolio the report of his talks with Montgaillard who was working for both sides, when this report should have been put in safe-keeping, along with other papers, at the Austrian Embassy in Venice. The document was extremely important since it put into Bonaparte's hands the traitorous plans of Pichegru and was to be the *raison d'être* for the Directoire's coup d'état of Fructidor. Everyone found it strange, to say the least, when the Corsican general, after a long chat with d'Antraigues, had made the conspirator's detention a very mild one, and thereby facilitated his escape.<sup>36</sup>

Certainly, appearances were against the man and his role in this affair did seem highly suspicious. Yet, he succeeded so beautifully in confusing things by contradictory explanations "that it is extremely difficult to reach the truth."<sup>37</sup>

As for M. de Mazenod, he unhesitatingly stood guarantee for his "close friend." When d'Arlatan who had "yet to hear any vindication for d'Antraigues," enumerated the "three hypotheses according to which each one formed his own opinion," the President firmly declared that Count d'Antraigues was neither a dupe of Napoleon, nor a weakling, nor a traitor willing "to save his skin at any cost." In a memoir, sent on his own initiative, the President then furnished d'Arlatan with what he felt was un-

assailable proof. Whether this particular memoir was one of numerous pleas for the defense which d'Antraigues had scattered around in order to prove his innocence or whether it was an apologia which the President himself composed, aided by his legal experience, we do not know. At any rate, d'Arlatan does not seem to have been convinced, for his reply brought out certain facts which, in his opinion, refuted all this argumentation for d'Antraigues' defense, and, without drawing any conclusions, he simply stated what those around him were saying; that d'Antraigues was the dupe of a "very cunning, very clever, and very deceitful Bonaparte. Are they right? Are they wrong?" He then added, "Certainly, it can be justly argued on both sides."<sup>38</sup>

M. de Mazenod, however, was not one to ask questions; he simply affirmed. He was not accustomed to discuss, but made dogmatic assertions. His inner convictions would tolerate no doubts about his friend, and his unswerving attitude forbade anyone to question his final decision. Besides, he had linked his own fate too closely with that of d'Antraigues not to have stayed with the group which defended him.

Indeed, almost immediately after his arrival at Naples, Charles-Antoine speeded an anguished appeal to his "good and respected friend," who remained his "one and only hope." The picture he drew of his desperate situation helps us to appreciate not only the material but also the moral difficulties under which Eugene was living at that time.

Your kindness towards me emboldens me to give you a frank picture of my present state. I have renounced my country forever. I no longer own anything there. All my possessions have either been sold or scattered and I have no hope of ever recovering a single farthing. My family here consists of four people; my two brothers (the one who has been separated from us has just arrived in Florence and we hope he will be able to join us soon), my son, and myself. Even by scraping together everything we own and by practicing the strictest and most painful economy, we still have only the barest necessities to last us until the end of July. Once August begins, we shall be face to face with absolute poverty and shall be left without any resources whatsoever. Misery and complete destitution are our only outlook.<sup>39</sup>

Before that fateful date when all of his meagre resources were to be used up, M. de Mazenod had to find some means of keeping body and soul together. Naples offered no promise. He refused to accept any financial help from d'Antraigues. The only thing he asked of him was

that through your acquaintances and your influence with them, you will find us a position in some corner of the world; it doesn't matter where. All countries outside our own are the same to me now: that you will find us, I repeat, some position, occupation, or employment which will keep us from dying of hunger and supply us with some subsistence, even though it be the most mediocre. All four of us are willing to work, and we shall refuse no work, whether it be as secretaries, instructors, tutors, business men; even as workers in the fields. None of these occupations will embarrass us. Rather will they be ennobled by our clear consciences and by the cause that has brought about our misery. And were we to secure employment in any one of these occupations, we should, for that greater reason deem ourselves the happiest people in the world and should never cease to bless Divine Providence. You can see, therefore, how much your friendship can benefit us. That friendship is now our one and only hope and we confidently put your fate in our hands.<sup>40</sup>

This erroneous use of words, which is found in Charles-Antoine's rough copy of the letter accentuates the sad and almost tragic character of the request which sought as a solution to his problem, practically as if it were a favor, a fall from high estate. To earn their daily bread, the Mazenods who were so enamoured of their aristocratic position, were now driven to the point where they were willing to go anywhere and accept any kind of employment.

D'Antraigues' answer betrayed his embarrassment at such a lamentable request. He declared himself quite willing to intervene for his dear friend. However, the problem was, What country should he direct him to? Austria was out of the question since it offered practically no opportunities. Undoubtedly, he could secure in Russia what the President was seeking, but, apart from the fact that it would mean "passing over to another world," "the Master of that house does not have the kindness" that M.

de Mazenod would find in his present place of residence. D'Antraigues himself, although a naturalized subject of the Czar, would never consent to live in the Czar's empire. There, as well as any place else, it would be difficult to get started. Had not M. de Mazenod been a little too hasty by deciding after only seven days in Naples that there was nothing to do there? "In Heaven's name," asked d'Antraigues, "Tell me why, for I cannot understand it." <sup>41</sup>

#### THE ALLOWANCE GRANTED BY THE QUEEN OF NAPLES

Explanations were given; but, as they were sent by regular mail, they never reached their destination. Days and weeks passed without any word from the Count. Charles-Antoine then resigned himself to following the advice which d'Antraigues sent from Austria, and he gave up looking for any openings in Europe, reconsidered the local scene, and, pinning all his hopes on the kindness which d'Antraigues foresaw for the President at Naples, turned to Queen Caroline and the Talleyrands who, like himself, had remained loyal to the royalist conspirator.

"Bothered by few scruples in the type of agent she employed, Queen Caroline" <sup>42</sup> still continued to correspond directly with d'Antraigues. How could she afford to renounce the services of such a well-informed man who frequently sent her "enlightening predictions on the fate of Italian countries and on the plans of European powers" <sup>43</sup> and, in a very short time, was to procure for her, through one of his secret agents at the Foreign Ministry in Paris, the report sent by the "scoundrel Garat," the French Ambassador to Naples? <sup>44</sup> As for Baron Talleyrand, the former Ambassador of Louis XVI to Their Sicilian Majesties wrote to the Queen's informer,

God grant that the troubles of these neighboring countries do not put an end to the advantages we enjoy because of your good and wise advice. Your recent letters enabled us to realize all the advantageous results you predicted. A certain party regrets that your letters are not more frequent, and the same party is determined to place

at your disposal, without any further delay, the means for making them so.<sup>45</sup>

The Queen who was here prudently designated as "a certain party," made a rather questionable name for herself in history. A woman of complex and inscrutable character, a mixture of the strangest and most startling contradictions, brimming over with bad as well as good qualities"<sup>46</sup> and "constantly carried away by her enthusiasm"<sup>47</sup> she was ill-suited to put a check upon the impulses of her fluctuating temperament, full of contrasts as it was. In her, opposites abounded, opposites which some writers have enjoyed stressing, often from questionable motives. Giuseppe Bianco wrote,

Marie-Caroline was shrewd and intelligent, highly cultured, proud and imperious like her mother, Maria Theresa, hungry for power, easily angered and vindictive to the point of cruelty, unscrupulous in her use of evil methods; at one and the same time prudent and rash, affable and arrogant, reserved and aggressive, factual and superstitious. Surrounded by dissipation of the worst kind, she was, nevertheless, an incomparably devoted mother who raised her children in the strictest morality . . . the only one in the government who ever did any real work, each day she wrote an amazing amount of letters, short notes, and memos of every kind. She was a shrewd business woman and yet she easily won the hearts of men by her refined and captivating manners. With her health shattered and ruined by constant abuse of opium, she was unable to concentrate long enough on the advice of her real friends, let alone follow it; she changed her mind constantly and made one mistake after the other in projects she undertook with little forethought, acting, as she always did, under the sway of momentary impulses. Consequently, she was forever regretting her actions of the previous moment, was never able to make any long-range plans, or carry out anything in a reasoned or well-ordered fashion.<sup>48</sup>

On one point, however, even her worst detractors agree unanimously; Marie-Caroline never tried to deceive herself regarding her personal conduct. Through generosity, she performed many acts of charity to relieve misery, but it was not through generosity alone. Her Christian faith inspired her to seek in alms-giving

forgiveness for conduct that was hardly in keeping with the teachings of the Gospel. Roger de Damas, without glossing over her inconsistencies, called her "the best and kindest of women," and declared generosity to be one of her outstanding characteristics. She could very readily have used "the meagerness of her kingdom's resources" as an excuse for restraining her generosity, "but" added her biographer, "it was beyond her power to restrain from giving." <sup>49</sup> Furthermore, she bestowed her charity in such a delicate, gracious, and considerate manner that she enjoyed a reputation for "exquisite kindness." <sup>50</sup>

Lacking d'Antraigues' help in seeking the modest position in central Europe which would have brought him a living, the President henceforth placed all his hopes in a Queen whose generosity was well known to him. His close friends, the Talleyrands, enjoyed her favors and her confidence; one move on their part would have sufficed to gain him a pension from the Queen's private purse. But the Talleyrands' efforts to boost Charles-Antoine's morale, as he wrote to d'Antraigues, were limited to

polite and friendly words. That is all very flattering, and it warms my heart but what I need right now is something to warm my stomach, which is ready to turn inside out, as everyone very well knows. People tell me they would like to see my misery relieved, but no one is willing to do anything about it. I am sure that, with just a few well-placed words, a fine position could have been secured for my brother in some excellent commercial establishment, and the help which, as you know, I need so urgently, could have been obtained for me also. Well, to keep from appearing too forward, no one says these few words, and the fear of abusing influence prevents any one from using it.

It was only natural that "this sort of desertion" should have vexed the President somewhat. He further complained, not without bitterness, that his friends had not thought to introduce him to the Queen, "although they have done it for others who may indeed be more important than I, but who will never show a greater love for her than I have shown. For, even though she doesn't know me, I have had a great devotion to her." <sup>51</sup> By devotion to Marie-Caroline, M. de Mazenod meant the misfortunes that were brought about by his unswerving fidelity to her brother-

in-law, the hapless Louis XVI, and to her sister, Marie-Antoinette; and, certainly, no one would deny that because of it, the President should have received some help.

But to obtain it, the President had to assert his title to it and arouse the sympathy of the charitable princess for his sad and almost hopeless situation. Since Talleyrand failed to make the first move, President Charles-Antoine had to solicit his intervention to obtain the needed relief. In a letter to d'Antraigues, September 22, he declared,

from the Baron's answer, extremely kind though it was, I understood that in order not to capitalize on his influence, he preferred the request to be made by another and then all he would need do would be to give strong support to the request which he expected to go through his hands; and he would certainly have done so. Two months went by without his mentioning a word to me about it. Out of discretion, I too kept silent. Then he asked me what progress I was making. Again I told him what I had told him before, and thereupon he promised to speak on my behalf. After three more months had passed, he finally told me that he had spoken and had received a definite promise but that, considering the difficult circumstances, it was best not to be importunate and to wait a week longer. Four weeks have now gone by and I am still waiting patiently although I am beset by the direst need. He is quite certain that, according to the promise he has received, something will be done for me, but what or when I do not know. Meanwhile, friends shower me with attention, esteem and affection; all I can do is to wait the pleasure of those who are to grant the favor.<sup>52</sup>

In order to speed things up, therefore, M. de Mazenod had recourse once more to d'Antraigues:

My good friend I do not ask you to make any request for me, but since in the request my friends have sent in my behalf, they have made much of your friendship for me, I simply ask, providing it does not inconvenience you, to confirm in your very next letter, your personal interest in the fate of a poor family which has earned the right to some esteem and which, certainly, will never prove itself unworthy of any kindness that may be shown it. That is all I wish for the moment. If you deem it indiscreet, "ma bonne amie" (sic) refuse me, and I shall give it no further thought.<sup>53</sup>

D'Antraigues, up to that time, had often turned a deaf ear to him, but now he decided to intervene, excusing himself, not without embarrassment, for not having sooner obtained what the President wanted:

In these calamitous times when hearts are hardened and purses are empty, one thinks only of oneself and is afraid to think of anyone else; and even though he be protected from want, he fears to use his influence and, consequently, becomes cautious. Personally, I am not afraid, but then, I am too far away to be able to do much. People say nice, sweet things to me, and they have no choice, for that is the only thing I demand and I do not offer my services too easily. But they forget what they promised me, and before any explanation has been given me, months have rolled by. By this same post I have thanked the Queen for the interest she has taken in you and have let her know that I take it as a personal favor. I have also recommended you to her royal beneficence. If she had the wherewithal to help you completely she would do so very soon, but she just does not have it. She has some means, but she is plagued by so many requests that she has nothing left by the time she has taken care of them all. You and Montgaillard are the only ones I have recommended to her. I have refused and shall continue to refuse every other solicitation without exception. The fear of wearing out my credit is not the reason for my refusing these others, for that fear doesn't matter to me one way or the other . . . if my credit is to be worn out, it will be, and soon, for I have very little left . . . but I refuse to help any others because I have finally become sick and tired of helping ingrates, ever since 1790. The only thing French about me is my memories. I was once a Frenchman of Louis XIV, but he is dead and he is the only one to whom I remain faithful.<sup>54</sup>

D'Antraigues' added support now achieved the desired results. After that, Marie-Caroline granted the President some help, and though it did not take care of all his needs, at least it kept the Mazenods from starvation,<sup>55</sup> and the President never tired of praising that "Tutelary Divinity." D'Antraigues had spoken the truth when he assured Charles-Antoine that he would find generosity at Naples.

Thanks to Marie-Caroline, the situation of the four exiles was improved from a material standpoint. By contrast, the atti-

tude taken by Mme. de Mazenod did anything but help the morale of the President and Eugene. To her husband who had informed her of his distress, the following is the answer she sent by way of consolation, November 28, 1798:

I have not written to you, my dear friend, since October 15, and here it is November 28. This delay, which is not like me, was caused by your own silence of more than a month and a half. I did not know if you had changed your domicile as you seemed to be planning to do some time ago. You say that business matters prevented you from writing to me. I must be content with that since you have said nothing further about it. I thank you, as well as your son, for your last note of October 9. I am surprised that neither of you mentions a word about the condition of his tumor, and I am equally surprised at the few details you give me concerning your present condition and your plans for the future. You mustn't think for a moment that these things are not of great interest to me. From your letter, it appears that you feel your difficulties very keenly and that you think you are the only one who has troubles. If I wanted to take up your time telling you of mine, this letter would turn into a book. However, I have long since learned to speak only of troubles that cannot be concealed. In spite of your fears, my health stays good. I would no more deceive you in this regard merely for the sake of reassuring you, than I would in any other. I only hope that your own health, as well as that of your son and your friends, is as good. Allow me to remind your son that merely because a person has a very strong and loud voice, it doesn't mean that he cannot have a sweet character and a very sweet disposition. Rest assured of my love. Ninette has just sent me a charming little letter; they seem to be completely satisfied with her.

The following post-script, written in invisible ink, was even more piqued and sharp:

You gave me the impression that your resources would soon be exhausted. I still have your letter before me. In consequence, I offered to send you 600 livres if you could guarantee a way for them to reach you safely. And, as this sum is not enough to feed four people for a year, I suggested that you consent to have your brothers start earning their own living. You evidently had no taste for what I said. I now repeat; you are welcome to this sum each year whenever you

consider these terms agreeable. And it is ridiculous to say that you would prefer to beg, than to be a burden to me.<sup>56</sup>

M. de Mazenod, in spite of all appearances, was very sensitive, and hence, had taken offense at this lack of tender compassion on the part of his wife. From her he expected something more and something better than mere financial help. What he wanted from her was affectionate understanding. Her heartless way of offering the pension of 600 livres, and his own stubborn refusal to accept an offer that would be more productive of heartaches than of financial help, aggravated even more a disagreement resulting from a conflict of interests. For the President and Eugene, this was by no means the least of their trials. The beautiful sky of Naples had shown through the clouds, but only for a short time. The clouds soon gathered again, and were darker and heavier than ever.

#### IDLENESS AND BOREDOM AT NAPLES

In view of these sad moral and physical conditions, we can easily understand why the Bishop of Marseilles retained very unhappy memories of his depressing sojourn in the capital city of the Two Sicilies and described it in his *Mémoires* as "a year weighed down by the dreariest monotony."<sup>57</sup> In May, thanks to d'Arlatan's uncle, the Marquis de Sabran, the Mazenods secured lodgings in Santa Maria in Portico which were a little less precarious than the far from elegant rooms at the Chapeau-Rouge. But, the sedentary habits of the President and his two brothers, kept them indoors for days on end. Since the three men did not want Eugene "wandering about by himself in a city like Naples," the young man found all his diversions restricted to their morose company.

His *Mémoires* reveal the idleness and boredom he suffered in that bleak residence:

I no longer had my good friends, the Zinellis, near me, nor did I have any daily occupation or association suited to my tastes and inclinations. I readily admit that my time was wasted, but I don't think it was my fault. I did study German for three months, and, in that

short period, made such progress with the difficult tongue that my teacher gave me every hope of mastering it very quickly. However, he took sick and died and my knowledge of the language died with him. He was a non-commissioned officer in the service of the King of Naples; evidently, it didn't take much to satisfy him. The poverty caused by our emigration made it impossible for my father to hire another teacher, and patience became the order of the day. I have always regretted that my facility for learning and speaking languages well was not developed at that time for it would have been of great use to me in the ministry. What a dreary existence for a young man of sixteen, with nothing to do, no way of using his time, no companionship, and no place to go except the church where I served mass for my uncle.<sup>58</sup>

Eugene scarcely ever left the house<sup>59</sup> except on the nightly visits he made with his family to the home of the Talleyrands "where the former ambassador's acquaintances were accustomed to gather. Unlike my father, I didn't play whist and so I spent my time there, either chatting every now and then or listening to others chat."<sup>60</sup> What did the people of this coterie discuss at these gatherings . . . people such as the Marrenx-Montgaillards, the Comte de Chastellux who was attached to the service of Madame Victoire de France, Roger de Damas who was a general in the service of the King of Naples, and other lay or ecclesiastical émigrés, everyone of whom was equally fervent in his loyalty to the Bourbon dynasty? Many things, no doubt, but mostly politics. The big question in everyone's mind was whether, in spite of the peace made at Campo-Formio, Europe as a whole would take up arms to destroy the "Five-headed Giant"<sup>61</sup> (the name given to the government of the Directoire), and whether the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in particular would rejoin the Crusade it had abandoned in 1797. Naturally, they all favored war since it was the only way to defeat the Revolution and the Revolutionaries, and, at the same time, restore the legitimate king to the ancient throne of Saint Louis. Everyone approved the warlike measures d'Antraigues had advised, and the ecclesiastics in the group were just as impatient as anyone else to see a war of liberation started.

When the Mazenods arrived in Naples, the same threat hanging over Rome ever since General Duphot's assassination in the Trastevere, December 27, 1797, was hanging over Naples also. If, in reprisal, the French were to occupy the Papal States, there would be good reason to fear that the Kingdom of Their Sicilian Majesties would suffer the same fate. And so the émigrés reasoned among themselves that it was imperative to rush to the aid of the Holy Father to prevent this from happening. The combined troops of Ferdinand IV and Pius VI could check the aggressors and thereby bring about the uprising of all Italy which was now groaning under the Jacobin yoke. England would add her support and Austria would eventually send her troops into battle. Thus, attacked from all sides, the Revolutionary armies could be chased back over the Alps with the allied armies in hot pursuit. Queen Caroline also thought of nothing but war, and her friend, Lady Hamilton, wife of the English Ambassador, was even more war-minded. The King's opinion was not thought highly of, and no one put any stock in Acton, the Prime Minister, who was nothing but a scheming flatterer; Roger de Damas was forever railing against him. As for the Pope, a Parisian Canon one evening mentioned the deplorable weakness of the Papal troops. If the canon had limited his criticism to this correct observation, Eugene would simply have mingled his silent regrets with those of such a venerable, learned and discreet ecclesiastic. But when the canon added irreverently, and with a touch of sarcasm,

"Instead of multiplying triduums, the Sovereign Pontiff would do better to busy himself with recruiting good troops," I felt obliged to protest against this disrespectful remark . . . I was the youngest of the gathering, and had I followed the rules of polite society, I would have said nothing and contented myself with a silent disapproval of . . . the canon's remark. However, when I noticed that, far from resenting the remark, several of those who heard it were smiling and looking as if they agreed, I was unable to control myself and, disregarding human respect, I voiced my condemnation of such uncalled for observations. My retort must have been à propos because the next day, at Caserta, M. le Comte de Chastellux, who was Cheva-

lier d'Honneur of Madame Victoire de France, and who had been present at the gathering, reported the incident to the Mesdames de France while at the same time eulogizing the young de Mazenod who had spoken more wisely than the elderly canon and had politely put him in his place.<sup>62</sup>

A true disciple of Don Bartolo, he refused to tolerate any derogatory remarks about the efficacy of triduum, and, while he was at it, allow any ridicule of the soldiers of the Pope.

Whether Eugene favored the sending of Caroline's army into the war, we do not know. However, his *Mémoires* indicate strongly that he did take an active part in the discussions about it. "Although I was very young" he wrote, "I already possessed the build and appearance of a man of twenty, and since my life, for the most part, had always been spent in the company of mature men, I had a certain aplomb and a rather precocious good judgment."<sup>63</sup> In political matters this good judgment seemed all the more unquestionable to him, since his uncompromising opinions harmonized exactly with those of the nobles with whom he discussed these things, all of whom were reputed to be "men of sound judgment." He had no taste for half measures, for temporizing, or for making concessions such for example, as Acton was doing. Caroline, his family's benefactress, impressed him by her personality and dash. The sacred cause was one that demanded decision, efficacious and prompt action, and so, like his father, he must have deplored the Queen's failure to send immediate support to the Pope to defend the Papal States in spite of d'Antraigues' advice, and must also have mourned, as his father did, her constant vacillation in ousting the French from them.

M. de Mazenod wrote on April 7, 1798, to his friend d'Antraigues,

I wish I were able to give you good news on the health of your friend but I understand that it is very delicate. The specialists who are fully acquainted with her condition and who have pointed out the only remedies that will do any good, are not heeded. I don't know if the advice of Doctor \*\*\* has been given to her, but I do know that it isn't being followed and that a pupil of Doctor \*\*\* cannot get close enough to her to be heard. Some ignorant quacks think they

can cure the disease by sitting around talking about it and by flattering the patient. She is fully aware of her condition, but the only people who can help her are being kept away from her. Meanwhile the disease takes its course and becomes progressively worse. I don't know if there is enough time left to stave off the final stages of consumption. Do you remember the Seige of Troy, and the prophetess Cassandra? Her prophecies were always accurate, but no one paid any attention to them until they came true. Well, Doctor \*\*\* is our modern-day Cassandra. The truth and soundness of his advice will be acknowledged only when it is too late to profit from it. I feel sorry for your friend.<sup>64</sup>

The Doctor, whose name is not given here, who was actually d'Antraigues, had prescribed no soft treatment for his friend Caroline, and like a gloomy Cassandra, prophesied that Naples would fall if the Queen did not attack the troops of the Directoire. Agreeing with this prophecy, the Mazenods also favored a war which, by liberating Rome and the Papal States, would at one and the same time serve the cause of the Throne and that of the Altar, both of which were closely allied. And yet, even though they wanted to see the defeat of the Revolutionaries, by some strange quirk, they felt a deep impulsive sadness when they learned of the great French naval defeat at Aboukir. When the catastrophe was announced, their national instincts were re-awakened.

When the news reached Naples, my uncle who held the rank of Rear Admiral when he died, and who was an excellent naval officer, refused to believe it. Drawing from his knowledge of naval warfare, he maintained that an Admiral would never moor his ships in such a way as to leave a passage between the shore and his ships. He gave other reasons to prove the falsity of the report that was being made on all sides, but I don't remember what they were. The English legation was jubilant. Hamilton was Minister of the legation at that time and his wife, whose life-story there is no point in detailing, pushed her fanaticism to extremes. She adorned her head with a gold anchor held in place by a ribbon on which were inscribed the names of all the captains of the victorious naval squadron. Her dress was bordered with another ribbon bearing the names of all the ships of the squadron, and the whole ensemble was in the national colors of England. She demanded that all French ladies be-

longing to émigré families from Toulon who were receiving help from England should likewise display the symbols of victory on their clothing. There was great feasting at the minister's home. I don't know if the Neapolitans sincerely shared this great joy, but, for ourselves who had no dealings with the English Legation, I frankly admit that we felt humiliated rather than glad.<sup>65</sup>

If they had been strictly logical, the Mazenods should have been delighted to attribute the victory to the Great Crusade, or better still to Caroline, for if the Queen, ignoring treaties concluded with France, that is with the Directoire, had not provisioned the English fleet in the port of Syracuse after it had been entirely stripped by its vain attempts to bar Bonaparte's way, Nelson would have been unable to fight and win the battle of Aboukir. But in this case, logic gave place to sentiment, for the President, his son and Fortuné, all shared the feelings of the Chevalier Charles-Louis-Eugène, who, in former times, during the American Revolution, had brilliantly engaged in battle with the ships of His Britannic Majesty, when the French naval squadrons held the mastery of the Seas for the first and last time.<sup>66</sup> It so happened, therefore, that the Chevalier's esprit de corps raised him above his hatred for the Revolutionaries. Because of his sorrow and sympathy on that occasion he made no distinction between the Navy of the Republic and the Navy of France. His nephew made none either, judging from his *Mémoires* where he mentions "that sorrowfully famous battle of Aboukir (August 3, 1798) in which the French navy suffered a defeat from which it never recovered."<sup>67</sup> Perhaps Charles-Louis-Eugène discovered that the same traditions were being carried on under the tricolor that were formerly carried on under the fleur-de-lys, and against the same enemy; traditions so magnificently exemplified by his old friend Brueys when, in his dying hour, he exclaimed, "A French admiral dies at his post" and then, with his body cut in two by a cannonball, ordered a sailor to stand him upright in a barrel of bran, so that he might prove his claim. The French navy had indeed preserved its honor, but its defeat still seemed irreparable, and the festivities at Naples were simply an added humiliation for the vanquished.

Everything, therefore, contributed to make the year Eugene

spent in the capital city of the Two Sicilies a depressing one "weighed down by the dreariest monotony." He had escaped the perils of seductive and enchanting Venice, only to encounter others equally fearful—discouragement and despondency, for these are things which can weaken the will power of a man and sap his morale. Fortunately, however, the habits Don Bartolo had formed in the boy still kept all their original firmness; besides, the teacher still watched over the pupil from afar, to make sure that he continued to advance in the same direction he had pointed out to him. On January 24, 1798, he wrote to Eugene:

I hope that God Who inspired you with such great sentiments of piety, will preserve and increase them within you . . . in young people, virtue is like a plant that needs to be deeply rooted. Otherwise it will quickly wither and die. And it must be well-protected, well-watered, and well-nourished.

For this threefold task, Don Bartolo divided his advice into four parts:

Guard against becoming entangled in worldly friendship; seek your friends in a house which is sincerely Christian in both word and action, a house where you can find the right kind of relaxation and the right kind of example. That is the first recommendation I give you.

Here is another: Choose a good confessor who has an interest in young people and knows their needs. Consult him often and follow his advice, especially in regard to the reception of the Sacraments.

My third advice: Once upon a time, you practiced daily meditation and daily spiritual reading. It would be a good thing if you continued at least one of these practices.

Fourth: Avoid evil and worldly companions. And avoid idleness, for you have great talents and who knows what God will require of you? You are now at the age when you must choose your state in life. Ask God to enlighten you on this important point, and then, no matter what the cost, keep up your studies.

I confidently hope that when you read these recommendations, you will not say, "Don Bartolo thinks he still has me under his iron rod," but rather that you will see in this advice a proof that I still love you the same as ever.<sup>68</sup>

Taken all together, this advice was excellent, but good Don Bartolo, who led a well-balanced life, ignored the fact that in Naples, Eugene was living under conditions far different from those he had enjoyed at Venice. The master was trying to apply identical methods to a far different situation. The disciple's great danger, at that time, came not from bad and worldly companionship, but from confinement within a gloomy atmosphere. The only substitute Naples provided for the Zinelli atmosphere was the Talleyrands' circle of friends. With these latter, his royalist loyalties and aristocratic prejudices could take on added intransigence and his mind could develop more precociously, but his spiritual life was unable to profit in the same measure from these nightly gatherings. As for devoting his long, empty hours to intellectual pursuits, the young chevalier would have liked nothing better, but there was no way of finding the peace and quiet needed for these pursuits in the living quarters where his whole family was crowded in together. And due to lack of money, teachers and books were out of the question.

However, the young man still clung to his pious habits. "Never forsake your devotion to the Adorable Heart of Jesus Christ, the month of May, and the Six Sundays of Saint Aloysius. Frequent the Sacraments, keep up your prayers and spiritual reading, and be faithful to all your spiritual obligations." Such were the recommendations Don Bartolo gave him.<sup>69</sup> Whether he carried out this program in its entirety, we do not know. He himself tells us that he served mass every morning for his uncle Fortuné, received Communion each Sunday and went to confession each week to a religious priest of Santa Maria in Portico who was especially equipped for the guidance of youth. He was evidently rewarded for his fidelity to these practices, for Don Bartolo wrote to him rejoicingly on March 12, 1798,

You greatly console me by the secrets you confided to me. I feel sure that He Who has stirred up such holy sentiments within you, will also keep them alive. 'Qui inceptit, Ipse perficiet.' However, I should also like to hear that you are combining study with piety. You say that it is very difficult, and I say that it is also very important and every obstacle to it must be overcome at any price.<sup>70</sup>

Regarding this latter point, Don Bartolo, in spite of his insistent urging, failed to accomplish what he judged to be so essential. Eugene was certainly willing to study, for his inactivity was proving a great cross to him, but the obstacles were more insurmountable than his teacher realized. Don Bartolo was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to awaken in his disciple a religious vocation similar to his own:

When God has put an end to the present storm, my dear Jesuits will be restored. I am convinced of this not only because I believe in the Resurrection of the Dead, but also because I have very definite reasons for saying so. When that day comes, young men will be recruited for their Society, and you, my dear son, who are young, must think about choosing your state in life. Prepare yourself, then, by learning and piety, for who knows what the Good God will expect of you one day? <sup>71</sup>

Contrary to what Don Bartolo hoped, God had other work waiting for Eugene.

#### THE INVASION OF NAPLES AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE MAZENODS

The sojourn of the Mazenods at Naples ended in a typically dramatic style—setting sail at the height of a storm and under the double threat of the advancing French armies and the insurgent Neapolitan lower classes known as the “lazzaroni.” A few months before the family’s departure, the English victory at Aboukir had rekindled Marie Caroline’s enthusiasm for war, for in June, 1798, in spite of Doctor d’Antraigues’ prescription, his sick friend thought only of peace. Dispatches sent from Paris by Alvaro Ruffo, the Foreign Minister of the Two Sicilies, showed “that they want to live at peace and on friendly terms” wrote the Queen to her informer at Graz. Talleyrand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, has given his written assurance “that the arming which is now going on does not in any way affect us nor will it disturb us in any way,” and, “without being at all embarrassed, he has very matter-of-factly demanded a sum of money for himself, in return for which he promises his good services.

The grave incident at Vienna in which the French Foreign Minister had been insulted and on account of which, he and his entire legation had been recalled to France, is now to be settled amicably." An attack upon Naples by the French does not seem likely, for, "the Republicans at this moment are not strong enough to attack and prefer to strip and devour Italy peacefully without being obliged to add to their forces there." As for that "scoundrel Garat" who was sent as Ambassador to Naples, his maneuvers were easy to block since d'Antraigues gave the Queen a copy of the reports Garat had dispatched to his Government. "The extremely critical situation we were in," concluded Caroline, "now seems to have come to an end and vanished." <sup>72</sup>

With Marie Caroline, however, depression of the worst kind was soon followed by outlandish enthusiasm. Nelson's arrival with his triumphant naval squadron, and the festivities honoring the victorious admiral whipped up her hopes and rekindled her hatred for the Revolution. Nelson took advantage of this to push her into a war that would serve the interests of Britain. Added to his personal influence over her were the insistent urgings of Lady Hamilton whom the Admiral had dazzled by the glamour of his victory not to mention the violence of his passion. It also happened that there was a warm friendship between the Ambassadors and the Queen, and on the matter of war, as on all other matters, there was close agreement between these two women who were referred to in Naples as "those two Messalinas." Acton was the only one who had to be brought around to their views. The Minister felt hesitant, and for good reason, and he would have preferred to wait until Austria joined the campaign, but Nelson urged, harried and threatened him. He was further persuaded by the realization that to oppose the Queen was to run the risk of forfeiting her favor. He therefore went along with Caroline's warlike policy, made hasty preparations, and, in six weeks, increased the army "from its regular muster of fifteen thousand to fifty thousand"; at any rate, those were the figures on paper. One wonders if they were accurate for, as Roger de Damas observes, the most his tardy efforts added "to the fifteen thousand soldiers was confusion and embarrass-

ment.”<sup>73</sup> Ferdinand IV, following his usual custom, simply said “Amen.” War was declared.

The beginning of the war was marked by easy successes, for the French lacked strong forces and beat a hasty retreat without offering any resistance. At practically no cost at all, the King and Queen now seemed assured of the honor of a triumphant entry into Rome which had been liberated by their soldiers. However, when Championnet, after regrouping his soldiers and receiving reinforcements, launched a powerful counter-attack, the Neapolitan army troops who were poorly armed, poorly trained, and poorly commanded, scattered in all directions. Once again the conquerors took Rome, without firing a single shot, pursued the remnants of the Neapolitan army, pushed into the territory of the Two Sicilies where, one after the other, all the fortresses fell, and finally marched upon the Capital. The Court of Naples was thrown into panic. Ferdinand and Caroline gave up the struggle and decided to flee on one of Nelson’s ships. The *lazzaroni* then formed their own army to defend the city, began hunting the French, other foreigners and patriots, demanded the head of the Minister of War, and marched en masse on the Royal Palace to prevent the departure of Their Majesties, all the while waving banners and shouting “Viva San Gennaro!”

The Bishop of Marseilles tells us:

I was in the thick of all this scuffle. My father decided to leave the city, after being warned by the Queen<sup>74</sup> that the Court was making a hasty departure to escape the French army whose invasion of Naples was now inevitable. The Queen, who was always most kind to my family, had reserved places for us on one of the transport vessels, but my father preferred to accept the offer of the Comte de Puységur, an old comrade of my uncle. He was in command of the Portuguese flagship which had accompanied Nelson into the Port of Naples and had previously offered to take us on board his ship, should we be forced to flee the dreaded enemy.

Since that moment had now arrived, he sent a few of his sailors with a hand-cart to carry our belongings to the ship. It was close to dawn on December 21 before all our bundles were wrapped and our trunks placed on the cart. Naturally, the task of accompanying our

belongings to the ship fell to me. To reach the port, I had to go near the Palace Square and pass the Saint Charles Theatre and the Chateau. At that very moment, without the least warning, I suddenly found myself surrounded by gangs pouring out of all the streets leading to the palace. Since there was no way of falling back, I had to brazen my way so as not to meet the fate of other French émigrés who, like myself, were having their belongings hauled to the port where they planned to embark. Seized and tied with ropes, they had been forced to abandon their carts on the street and were dragged off to a guardhouse where they were kept imprisoned all that day. I was more fortunate. Thanks to the Portuguese sailors accompanying me and to the affectation I put into my voice saying only the two words "amiral portugais" I escaped that fate.

However, when we arrived at the port, it was impossible to get through to the sea. The admiral's barge upon which our belongings were to have been placed was nowhere in sight. The tumult increased with each moment. I saw a flash of swords in the distance. Perhaps that was the moment when the Russian Consul was stabbed and a messenger from the Royal Cabinet assassinated. And still the danger kept increasing. I was determined not to answer the insults and the epithet "Jacobin," spat from the mouths of these angry people with anything but the magic words "amiral portugais." In this way, I gained their respect and they allowed me to retrace my steps back to the gates of the arsenal. I knew I was out of danger when I saw those gates, even though they were closed. I approached the guard with great bravado and ordered him to let me enter so that I might save the belongings I had been commissioned to transport to the Portuguese flagship. The look on my face frightened the poor soldier when I warned him that he would be held responsible if these goods were lost, and so he let me enter. Scarcely had I passed through the gates when the Captain of the Guard came running up to deal with this flagrant violation of orders. With a little gentle persuasion, I succeeded in making him look at things my way. Seeing the admiral's gig which held my belongings didn't hurt matters any. It convinced him that I wasn't deceiving him and he calmed down completely. Not until after I arrived on board ship did I find out what had happened back in the city while all this was going on.

For, during the long space of time when the riot was taking place, a friend of my father paid him a visit to tell him about it. In the course of his account, an exaggerated one no doubt, he told how,

at the very height of the confusion, a young man accompanying a cart-load of goods, had been assassinated. It was a horrible moment for my father and my uncles; they felt sure that I was the young man. Fortunately, I arrived at that very moment, having returned from my dangerous mission by way of the arsenal. My arrival calmed the fears of my good family, and without telling me what they had just heard, my uncle Fortuné reminded me that I still had time to hear Mass at the neighboring church. I went there immediately, not only to satisfy the precept, it being Sunday, but also to give thanks to God for protecting me from all the dangers I had encountered. It was December 21, 1798, the feast of Saint Thomas, the Apostle, the same feast on which, thirteen years later, I had the great happiness of being raised to the priesthood at Amiens.

Eventually, the riot died down and a kind of stupor followed the morning's excitement. The rest of the day was spent in great uneasiness. That evening, around eight o'clock, we learned that the Court had set sail. M. de Puységur sent us word that he would come to fetch us during the night, and he did, good comrade of my uncle that he was. We found the barge at the pier and climbed into it, and then sailed out to the flagship commanded by M. de Puységur. He gave us the use of his cabin and the Marquis de Nizza treated us as well as numerous others who had taken refuge on the ship with all the lavish hospitality of a true grand seigneur.

The King, Queen, and all the royal family had embarked on the English flagship commanded by Nelson. They had left ahead of us to go to Palermo, but, during their passage, encountered a terrible storm. It was so bad that they were almost forced to cut down the masts. The King's son, young Prince Albert, died during this short crossing. Needless to say, all the ships accompanying the flagship, suffered enormously.

Our Portuguese ship had received orders not to leave until later. We waited out the storm by laying up in the harbor. Our ship lost an anchor, another Portuguese ship lost three, and a brigantine was tossed ashore. This gave us a good idea of what those out on the open seas were going through. Our delay was longer than we had expected.<sup>75</sup>

Actually, the admiral was simply waiting for a calm day in order to set sail, and, trusting that the heavy weather would be over before the Republican troops arrived, remained in the shel-

tered waters for eight whole days. Eugene took advantage of the delay to go into the city of Naples with Nanon to settle some business matters and sell whatever the family had to leave behind. In the middle of the night, an urgent note from Baron Talleyrand warned him to return to the ship at once as the naval squadron was to sail at any moment. It was extremely dangerous to return to Puysegur's ship because of the stormy sea and the total darkness. The young chevalier and Nanon wasted no time jumping into the barge which his uncle's friend had sent for them, and they pushed off immediately. Everyone's heart was in his mouth as they sailed out to the flagship; the sailors took out their rosaries and Nanon threw her apron over her head to keep from seeing the waves. The only one who remained calm was Eugene as he bailed out the water flooding the skiff and quieted the others by his coolness and encouragement. After a great deal of effort, they finally reached the flagship which, because of its violent tossing, could very easily have sucked under at any moment the frail barge trying to come up to it. Eugene made a quick and easy leap to the rail surrounding the flagship and, in spite of the violent rolls, managed to keep his balance. Big Nanon, unable to give a similar demonstration of agility, had to be hauled aboard by pullies, more dead than alive.<sup>76</sup>

The Portuguese Naval Squadron then set sail from Naples January 3, 1799, leaving the city in the hands of the *lazzaroni* who defended it for three days with undaunted courage, and by their valor, won the admiration of the entire French General Staff. And so ended the fourth part of Eugene de Mazenod's exile, the part that left him memories sadder than all the rest.

## Chapter Six

### *Sojourn at Palermo*

#### THE FIRST MONTHS IN SICILY

The Mazenods arrived in Palermo on the evening of January 6, 1799, "relieved that their journey had been a safe one,<sup>1</sup> unmarred by the least mishap and blessed with calm weather"; but their joy was short-lived. As soon as the ship came to its final stop they were dismayed to learn that they might be forbidden to disembark. Two days before their arrival, Ferdinand IV had ordered all Frenchmen to be expelled from Palermo and on the eve of their arrival had given orders to the port captain, Diego del Corral not to allow any French to disembark from the Portuguese ship.<sup>2</sup> Scarcely had the boat docked when the port captain conveyed the king's injunction to the Marquis de Puy-ségur. Ferdinand's haunting fear of Jacobin spies and revolutionary agents was one of the motives behind these harsh measures; another was the strong behest of Nelson who wanted to make the island a safe base for British military operations. The British admiral had a 600 ton ship ready to transport all the French émigrés in Palermo to Trieste, and the Neapolitan navy had a corvette standing by to accommodate the French of higher rank. The convoy was scheduled to leave during the night of January 7 or early on the morning of the 8th "so as to spare the émigrés from the insults of the people."<sup>3</sup> Stunned for the moment by this shocking news, the Mazenods were quickly informed that Marie-Caroline who had been kind enough to invite them to join her group when she was leaving Naples, was still looking after them and that through her influence, the President, his two brothers and his son were exempt from the general pro-

hibition. "When we arrived there," wrote Charles-Antoine to d'Antraigues, "we would surely have been shipped elsewhere had it not been for the helping hand of this titular goddess whose every day is marked by kindness." <sup>4</sup> The four were then granted permission to make their abode in Palermo.

We felt sure that once we came ashore, we should have no trouble finding rooms in that large and beautiful city. But, would you believe it? There wasn't a single hotel in that whole capital of Sicily, and other foreigners, arriving there when we did, found themselves, literally, out on the street. We were fortunate enough to meet a friend who had arrived earlier and who had been able to find living quarters. He allowed us the use of his rooms, where we put our mattresses on the floor, perfectly satisfied to have found a place of shelter.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of their superlative satisfaction, however, the Mazenods lost no time looking for something a little better than this haphazard arrangement, and once again it was Caroline who helped them out of their difficulty: "Shortly after her arrival," wrote the Bishop of Marseilles, "the Queen, who was concerned about our welfare, was kind enough to inquire after us. Knowing the state of our finances, she sent 25 onces to my uncle Fortuné, asking him to offer a mass for her; it was her tactful way of providing for our immediate needs." <sup>6</sup> This sum enabled Fortuné and his brothers to rent "lodgings in a neighborhood inhabited by good honest tanners." There was nothing pretentious about the house, but "the good people in the neighborhood compensated for it by showering Eugene and his family with all kinds of attention." <sup>7</sup>

The family archives give no information about the first nine months the Mazenods spent in Palermo. In December, 1798, about a month before they arrived there, England, Russia, and Naples had formed a coalition against the Revolutionary Republic, and in March, 1799, Austria joined it. Due to the war, therefore, there was a halt to correspondence between France and Palermo, and even Tuscany, where the aunt and cousin Amyot lived and where they had been acting as a sort of postal relay

team. A whole year passed without the President's receiving the smallest note from his wife while she, on her part, bitterly complained that her husband had stopped writing to her. Both protested their innocence in the matter by calling attention to the specific dates on which their letters had been sent. However there was no way of knowing whether the mail was delivered promptly or not. Very often it was seized or delayed by the police. Two letters, for example, that were sent by Mme. de Mazenod on November 1 and December 21, 1799, did not reach Palermo until May 14, 1800, when communication between Tuscany and Provence became less risky.

At the beginning of their sojourn in Palermo, according to the *Mémoires* of the Bishop of Marseilles, the social life of the Mazenods in Sicily was limited to three families, two of them French, namely the Chastellux and the Talleyrands; the other a Sicilian family of very high nobility, that of the Duke and Duchess of Cannizzaro. The Comte de Chastellux, who had been Louis XVIII's representative at Naples, had followed the Court of the Two Sicilies to Palermo. A warm friendship soon sprang up between Eugene and the older son, César de Chastellux. "The close similarity of our religious convictions and conduct," wrote the Bishop of Marseilles, "brought about a friendship that was never broken."<sup>8</sup>

In 1799, at least that seems to be the year, the two young men made an expedition to the temple and ruins of ancient Segesta; an expedition that was archeological, inspirational and uncomfortable. Bishop de Mazenod gave a humorous account of it in his *Mémoires*, more than likely utilizing a travel brochure printed at that time.<sup>9</sup>

After leaving early in the morning on horseback and traveling over impossible roads, we reached Alcamo, a city of considerable size, and spent the night there. We had been recommended to M. l'Abbé Pastori, who was an important person in that region. The Abbé welcomed us very warmly and invited us to stay with him. After a supper that was extremely light for two young men our age, we begged leave to retire since we were exhausted from our rough journey. We were shown to a plain room with two beds, and al-

though the beds were uncomfortable, we slept straight through until sunup the next day when it was necessary to start out for Segesta in order to be back in time for dinner that night. After hearing mass, we mounted our horses and were soon making our way over the open fields for there were no regular roads in that section; as a matter of fact, it's like that in most of Sicily.

In spite of the discomfort of a long journey through ploughed or planted fields, one never tires of admiring the beauty of this countryside. The enchanting fragrance that fills the air when the narcissus, thyme, rosemary, absinthe, and other aromatic plants are trampled underfoot charms one's sense of smell, just as one's sight is charmed by the natural profusion of rose-laurel and other flowering shrubs which in most other countries need hot-house cultivation. We were at the very peak of this enchantment when my companion, suddenly aware of his hunger, remarked rather prosaically that perfumes and aromas might be pleasing to the nose, but it was about time that we began looking for something to please our stomachs. The problem was where to find it in that wilderness. There was little likelihood of meeting anyone and the guide we had hired for our little expedition hadn't remembered, any more than we, to bring a lunch.

"Friend," I said to César in mock-seriousness, "what need have we for food when, following in the footsteps of Aeneas, Alcestis, and good Father Anchises, we tread this hallowed ground in search of the sacred temple of the Sagestans? Who knows? Perchance we shall meet, at the very door of the temple, some new Alcestis who will quench our thirst, as was done for Anchises and his companions, by giving us of that good light wine so often extolled in history." He burst out laughing and, like myself, decided to put up with the situation.

The sun, beating down on our backs, gradually drained us of all energy so that, drugged by the heat, we both fell asleep on our brave steeds. As with Don Quixote's nag, ambling was their speed. Suddenly, our guide startled us out of our slumber with a loud yell and pointed excitedly to the temple standing majestically before us. "There it is" we both shouted at the same time. There indeed was the temple, held sacred for three thousand years, and admired by so many past generations. How beautiful it looked, towering proudly over all the surrounding ruins! What beautiful lines it had, and

what a graceful design! We leaped from our horses and ran towards the temple to get a closer look at it.

After climbing the steps of this famous temple and admiring its columns and façade, the two explorers then wandered around the ruins of the once-great city which had encompassed two hills within its walls. I couldn't possibly tell you the impression made on us by a close view of these ruins which stood as mute witness to a once-great city and its numerous inhabitants; nor could I adequately express the feeling that came over us in the silence and solitude of those deserted places where there was no stirring of life except a few cows moving about in the vicinity, and a shepherd who must have been sent by Divine Providence to save us from dying of starvation; or perhaps it was thirst. Whatever it was, we were ready to collapse. My poor companion, who had a gargantuan appetite in those days, couldn't have held out much longer. We called the good shepherd over to us, and, taking pity on our condition, he hastily milked the cow into an enormous milk-jug which we then filled with bread; whereupon we treated ourselves to the most delicious meal we had ever eaten, coming, as it did, during the final throes of our starvation.

Much as we enjoyed the beauty of these places, we still had to think about getting back to Alcamo if we wanted to be there in time for dinner with our host. We took it for granted that the good Abbé would serve us a meal that would compensate for the poor supper of the preceding evening. Unfortunately, we reckoned, you might say, without our host. The dinner started off with a plate of macaroni and a piece of boiled meat, so tough and low-grade, that it defied chewing. While I was gazing compassionately at my friend César, knowing the agony he was going through, an enormous fowl was placed on the table. It had hardly landed before César pounced upon it and began to carve it, hoping that at long last his hunger was to be appeased. What a treacherous bird it turned out to be! Even with all his skill at carving, and I must say, his good will, every effort he made to detach a single limb from that strange fowl met with the same stubborn resistance. Only after a long time and a fierce struggle, did he finally succeed. But, what hope was there that what had resisted the blade of a well-sharpened knife would be any less resistant to our good strong twenty-year-old teeth? Sad to say, none! In vain did we put our jaws to the test. I think our teeth would have dented iron but they were powerless to masticate that old rooster. It must have been the one that crowed at us when we entered the

house. "Poor César!" I said to myself; "Whatever will become of you? Perhaps we shall both die of starvation and end it all here and now." But, fate wouldn't have it so. Suddenly put before us was something that had been warmed over and flavored with honey. *Butyrum et mel comedet*, said our host by way of apology, since he had no sugar to offer us. We were in no condition to be fussy and, as it turned out, that was the dish which saved our lives.

The following day, the Abbé Pastori who, among other things, was Governor of the city, brought Eugene and his companion to the Monastery of the Capuchins. He must have visited them frequently for he seemed very much at home with them. Not deriving the same pleasure he enjoyed from being crowded into a narrow cell with eight or ten of these good monks, we made our visit brief and, after a short walk, returned to our lodgings to prepare for our departure. We left early the next morning, returning over the same route by which we had come, going through Partenico and Monreale and down to Palermo to César's house, where we rested up from the rigors of the journey, and, with a good dinner, regained the strength we had lost from the fasts and privations of the preceding days.<sup>10</sup>

#### EUGENE IS ADOPTED BY THE CANNIZZARO FAMILY

Thus, his friendship with the Chastellux family introduced Eugene to the world of Greek art and to the Sicilian countryside, arid as a desert in some places, and in others fragrant and verdant. But, what was of more practical value, it also introduced the young Chevalier to the aristocratic world of Palermo, thereby providing precious material and moral advantages which guaranteed him at one and the same time a pleasant, liberal, and safe life.

Divine Providence which has always protected me from my earliest childhood opened the doors of a Sicilian family to me. It was the family of the Duke and Duchess of Cannizzaro. From the very start they treated me like one of their own children. The mother, who was the Princess of Laderia, was a saint. Both she and her husband, the Duke, felt a great affection for me and were quite happy, it seems, to be able to provide their two sons who were close to my age, not merely with a companion but one who would also be their

friend and a good example to them, something of a rarity in that country. From then on, until I went back to France, I was one of the family; there was always a place set for me at their table and in the summer months they took me with them to their summer home where I had at my disposal everything enjoyed by their own children. The latter looked upon me as their brother; in fact, through the affection I showed them I had really become like a brother to them. The Duchess who often said that a third son had been added to the family drew me so close to her through her kindness that her own children could not have loved her more than I did.<sup>11</sup>

The Cannizzaros brought Eugene into the "very exclusive circle" of their friends and acquaintances.

To mention only a few of them: the Prince and Princess of Granmonte who were the brother-in-law and sister of the Duchess of Cannizzaro; their cousins, the Prince and Princess of Butera; the Duchess San Michele; her brother, the Prince of Cimina and the Princess of that name who, later in her widowhood, became the wife of King Ferdinand; the Prince of Paterno, as rich a seigneur as the Prince of Butera but of far better conduct; the Princess of Malvagna who was a fitting friend for the Duchess of Cannizzaro since she closely resembled the Duchess by her virtue and exemplary conduct which contrasted strikingly with the loose morals of many other women of that country.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, in Sicily as in Venice, Eugene now found a second home, albeit one far different from that of the Zinellis. With the latter the atmosphere was essentially bourgeois while with the Cannizzaros it was strictly aristocratic. The Zinellis' style of living was reserved and austere while the Cannizzaros lived in the grand manner and shared the worldly life of the local nobility, who were so dissolute that the Bishop of Marseilles wrote in his *Mémoires*: "I could say much about the depraved morals of Palermo's high society, but I shall refrain."<sup>13</sup> After three sheltered years in Venice and a year of deadly ennui at Naples, this sudden and new style of life was fraught with danger. However, although the young man no longer had the saintly Don Bartolo to help him become acclimated, he did have the Duchess of Cannizzaro, whom he later called his "saintly mother." Furthermore, since

she treated him like a third son, Eugene felt morally responsible for his "two brothers," Michele and Francisco, for whom he acted as an advisor, and, by protecting them, he protected himself. Thus, along with the peril, did he find in his new home of adoption, the means he needed for coping with the peril. The family chaplain, on the other hand, could give him neither enlightenment nor encouragement. In a letter addressed to Fortuné, he wrote: "A stupid individual! He scarcely knows how to read."<sup>14</sup>

Through Eugene's letters from Colli to his father and uncles, we possess many details about the summer months he spent with the Cannizzaros at their chateau situated a few miles from Palermo and built on the main slope of the mountain. The young man was fully aware of the comforts he enjoyed:

I am, my dear Papa, living like a prize gamecock; an excellent bed, a charming room, a dressing room, etc., etc. . . . a valet at my disposal who, only this morning, pressed my clothes. (A very important matter.) By the way, the blue suit has been repaired. This morning, when I awoke, it was like being out in the beautiful open fields, so delightful is the view from my room. Family and servants alike do everything in their power to anticipate my every wish. For that reason, as you might suspect, I try to keep my needs from being known and try to be as moderate in my requests as they are solicitous in doing things for me.<sup>15</sup>

The food was in keeping with everything else:

This morning the *mamma* (governess) gave us *une faccia de Vecchia* for lunch. It is a kind of cake, and rather good. The piece I ate covered my plate. When I had eaten it, I thought I would never be able to eat anything for dinner. Much to the contrary, I ate like a wolf, and now I'm ready for a good supper even though I've been munching on cookies, off and on, during the day. As you can see, the air at Colli is excellent. It's a good thing, though, that I am only a guest here. If this were my own home, I'm afraid that I would never control myself.<sup>16</sup>

Unquestionably, the very meagre menu which Fortuné, the family bursar, had drawn up for his brothers would never have ap-

peased the appetite of a young man famished from the fresh air, and, although the good canon may not have been disturbed at hearing about all these gastronomical excesses, since they were no threat to his slim budget, Charles-Antoine, on the other hand, felt it necessary to advise his son, for hygienic reasons, to be temperate:

I strongly urge you to avoid becoming a slave to your appetite. You will thus save yourself the disagreeable task, later on, of cleansing your stomach with unpleasant purgatives. You would do well to follow the advice of a wise doctor who once said that, to be healthy, one should always go away from the table hungry. I can't say for certain that I followed this advice, myself, during a dinner I attended yesterday at the home of Count Pushkin. All I know is that it was an excellent dinner, that I fully enjoyed it and that today, I feel fine. This healthy feeling, along with the good opinion a son should always have of his father, should convince you that I did not violate the rules of sobriety. Even were you to think otherwise, remember that, whereas one meal doesn't make much difference, the rich dinners you enjoy every day at the home of M. de Duc, could become detrimental to your health were you not to practice moderation.

To back up his advice, the President then described, in rather frank detail, the effect that purgatives had upon his brothers the preceding Sunday evening.<sup>17</sup>

Added to the fine dinners at Colli, which had now become the ordinary thing for Eugene, were lavish receptions exchanged between the Cannizzaros and their friends, some of which went far into the night. At the Baron Aceto's home, according to what the young socialite told his uncle, the Chevalier, they played Biribi and other games of chance; an Englishman won 600 onces on a single throw; the beautiful Pauline de Puget danced like one possessed, and so did her dear friends, the Magna girls; Monsieur le Vicomte paid his usual compliments; the Prince of Lampeduza showered Eugene with every attention; old Baroness Pletenberg wanted him to be her partner.<sup>18</sup> Thus, life became one gay party after another, a continual round of social affairs. The young blade even went to the theatre with the Cannizzaros and

bestowed the favor of "two small bouquets" upon the ladies. As for what he wrote about the prima donna who was forced to shorten her performance that night, the realism of his pen forbids quoting it.<sup>19</sup>

In such an aristocratic atmosphere, his class consciousness necessarily took on new vigor. From the moment he arrived at Colli, he became preoccupied with his future coat of arms. Why not a mantle and mortar cap? They would enrich it considerably. But, as M. de Mazenod pointed out to him, that would be outright usurping on his part. He then gave up the idea but hoped, however, that his father would keep both symbols in his armorial bearings since "it is sufficient to have possessed a dignity at one time, to be entitled to wear its symbols. Did not the families of the great Lords of Malta show a cross beneath their arms? . . ." After ignoring his family tree for too long a time, he suddenly found delight in learning from his father, part of his genealogy. But, when he could find no title of nobility impressive enough to suit him, the heir to his father's title decided to assume the rank of Count, which would be far more impressive with the princes and dukes of Palermo.<sup>20</sup>

Naturally, the Count was expected to be proficient in those "amusements" which show nobility off to best advantage, but, up to that time, exile had prevented him from taking part in them. Before everything else, the hunt. Monsieur de Galembert who tutored the Cannizzaros' sons was assigned to teach the new Count how to handle firearms:

To make sure we won't be shooting at thin air when we go hunting the first thing he had us do was to fire at a piece of paper. I did better than the others by putting 18 pellets through a half sheet of paper on two separate tries, but, because I failed to put five of them through a small square on the paper, as we were expected to do, it wasn't good enough. So far, I haven't been able to put more than three into it. And so, I won't be killing any little birds, yet awhile. Be thankful that you don't depend on my hunting for your food, otherwise, all you'd have for dinner would be peppered papers.

Horsemanship was also a necessary adjunct to this particular form of aristocratic amusement, and, at Colli, the riding horses were

not the hired and tired type of nag he had used on the expedition to Segesta. These were spirited thoroughbreds:

Unfortunately, my Nankeen riding breeches are too large and have a great many wrinkles which, along with the wrinkles in my underclothes, and the chaffing I received from steady trotting and hard galloping, have put a sore spot on either side of my derrière. As a result, I am now wearing a poultice of oil and water. What hurts more than anything else is seeing everyone laugh at me whenever I sit down sideways . . . I think my horse is due for a prolonged rest in the stable.<sup>21</sup>

Last of all, the new count felt he ought to know all the card games that were played in the salons of high society. Blaming his father for not having taught him these games earlier, he wrote, "I am peeved at you for having neglected to teach me certain little games like Piquet and others like it that can be played by two people. One guess as to what we play when the Duchess is at home and the boys are studying? Marriage. I don't know any others and neither does she. Even that little gem I had to teach her." <sup>22</sup> M. de Mazenod's rebuttal came in the form of a lecture:

Games of chance are part of one's education. A young man should know how to play them so that whenever he has a lady for a partner, he will be able to protect his money. However, if memory serves me right, my dear son, I once tried to teach you backgammon as well as other games we used to play in Venice, and it seems to me that after a few lessons you tired of it and were too impatient to learn further. And so, be just as peeved at yourself as you are at me. Needless to say, I shall always be glad to teach you any games you may wish to learn, but you mustn't think, as you sometimes do, that from the very start, you know as much about them as your teacher does. I recall that, some time ago, while you were watching a game of Cassias at the home of Madame la Baronne, you were positive that I had made some mistakes, and maybe I did. But, being certain like that is not the way to learn. It is far better to have a few doubts; reasonable ones, of course, since the man who thinks he knows everything, will never learn anything.<sup>23</sup>

It was good advice for an impetuous and over-confident young man.

#### THE DUKE OF BERRY AT PALERMO

While the friendship of the Cannizzaro family associated him with Sicilian high society, that of the Vintimilles, from June to September, 1800, brought the young Count into frequent association with the future heir to the throne of France.

At the Vintimilles' I felt perfectly at home, and I shall always remember the many kind things that were done for me either by the Prince or Princess, or the Countess of Vintimille, the mother of the Princess, or the Countess of V rac, her other daughter, who had returned to live at the family chateau. The Prince had built this chateau in the suburbs of Palermo on the Arenella hillside which has been extolled beautifully in an Italian poem by Father Monti. My father made an excellent translation of it.

Due to my close association with the Vintimilles, I had the honor and pleasure of spending almost every evening in what you might call respectful familiarity with the hapless Duke of Berry, during his stay at Palermo. Each evening, as a respite from the protocol of the day-time, the Duke, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, the Chevalier de Sourdis, came to the home of the Princess de Vintimille for tea. The Prince and Princess, her mother the Countess, and I, were the only ones allowed at these select gatherings. Mme. de V rac hadn't yet returned to Palermo. During the week, our little coterie sometimes went for a stroll in the suburbs, and, each Saturday, the Duke would make a mock ceremony of inviting me to be present at the next day's "revue," which was the official reception he held every Sunday for the entire French colony.

The Duke had come to Palermo to seek the hand of one of the Princess-daughters of King Ferdinand of Naples. His account of the formal betrothal was something worth hearing. The Queen, delighted with such an alliance, had the two of them kneel before her with joined hands, and she blessed them while they were in this position, wishing them every kind of happiness. During all this solemn ceremony, the King was off to the side poring over the drawings in the Duke's sketch-book. One would have thought that everything was to

be in common between these two branches of the Bourbon family. However, an old diplomat who undoubtedly had been snubbed in all these marriage arrangements (it was General Acton), quickly convinced the King that it would be a great folly to bring such an unfortunate prince into his family, since the Duke's family would never get back on the French Throne, and the Duke, therefore, would become a heavy burden on the State since it would be forced to grant him an endowment. He persuaded the King that it would be wiser not to proceed any further with the proposed marriage but to break it up quietly by telling the Duke that he might enjoy a trip to Rome; which was exactly what happened, and the whole affair ended there.<sup>24</sup>

During all the torrid days of the Sicilian summer, the walks taken together by the Duke and the Count de Mazenod were sometimes made more enjoyable by pleasant swims. The Count must have been even less expert in nautical sports than he was in horsemanship, if we are to judge by an unfortunate dive resulting in a serious accident:

One beautiful morning (July 7), while on my way to Arenella to spend the day at the Prince de Vintimille's chateau, I met the Duke making his way to the seashore where his boat was anchored. He prevailed upon me to go along with him for a swim. When we reached the boat and had moved out into deep water, the Duke dove in and I dove in after him. Whether it was because my foot slipped or some other clumsy mistake, I hit the water flat instead of cutting it, as one is supposed to do. At any rate, I dislocated my shoulder without realizing it. I did feel a very sharp pain which kept me from using the arm while I swam, but I attributed it to a violent cramp. Only when we neared the grotto, towards which we had been swimming, did I discover what was wrong. As we were leaving the water, the Duke exclaimed, "Your shoulder's out of joint!" I remember laughing at the idea and at the same time turning to look at the shoulder. The effort I had to make must have dislocated it even more, for my arm was completely twisted. I had to be extremely careful putting on my clothes, and the best I could do for the injured shoulder was simply to cover it. I was then taken on the Duke's boat to la Marine, the city's port, where they hired a carriage to take me, not to my own home, since they felt my father and uncles would be too frightened seeing me in that condition, but rather to my home of adoption,

that of the Cannizzaros, who immediately lavished every attention upon me. I didn't inform my family of what had happened until the doctors had finished the long and painful operation of putting the dislocated shoulder back into place. The leading surgeon of the city was summoned and, for half an hour, he struggled so laboriously that his face was covered with perspiration. For my own part, I felt so much pain from the pressure he exerted that, had I been more of a mollicoddle, I would have cried out from it. In spite of all his efforts, the skilled surgeon could bring the dislocated bone only as far as the socket. The bone still had to be pushed in, but the surgeon declared that he was not strong enough to perform this part of the operation by himself. He then sent for a young intern from the neighboring hospital, and it was certainly the right choice, because he was a colossus. With a single slap of his powerful hand, he shot the bone back into its socket and all the pain immediately ceased. In spite of all the care I was given, I carried my arm in a sling for some time afterwards, and, even now, after more than thirty years, the arm still bothers me, whenever it becomes overtired.<sup>25</sup>

In late September, the Duke of Berry, disconcerted by the failure of his matrimonial plans, left Palermo and Sicily. Through this friendship, Eugene had come into close contact with a presumptive heir to the Throne of France, and, consequently, felt a resurgent enthusiasm for the royalist cause which the Duke embodied. The Cause, however, seemed to be in great jeopardy at that moment. Hopes that were raised in 1799 by the disintegration of the Directoire and the Allied successes, now began to fall. The victory at Marengo had the double effect of strengthening Bonaparte's power in France and weakening the coalition abroad.

#### NELSON'S RULE IN PALERMO

When news of the Marengo victory reached the incomparable Marie Caroline at Leghorn, in no way did it deter her from continuing on her journey to Austria. In spite of the risk of falling into the hands of the French cavalry, she returned to Ancona, where she embarked for her destination, Trieste. Far from abandoning the coalition, she wanted to bring personal pressure upon the Emperor of Austria, and, through d'Antraigues upon the Czar

of Russia, to help the Allies pursue the war effort more energetically against the Corsican who was both spawn and henchman of the Revolution.

Like those of the Talleyrands and the de Mazenods, her relations with d'Antraigues seem to have cooled considerably after January, 1799. Letters from Vienna did arrive at Palermo but they were from d'Antraigues' secretary, de Marrenx-Montgaillard, who tried his best to make excuses for his master's silence. In vain did the President write to his "dear friend," for he received no personal reply. Had he tired of Charles-Antoine's insistent request to join him and of his constant soliciting of d'Antraigues' influence with the Queen of Naples, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, even with an insolvent debtor at Trieste? Or had he become annoyed by the President's repeated appeals to his heroic devotion to duty, urging him "to fulfill his great destiny and bring about the triumph of Justice and Truth," that is, the King, even in spite of the latter's distrust and ingratitude? The President wrote to d'Antraigues, May 1, 1799:

I realize that when one's services are not appreciated and are actually rewarded with insult, he may very easily, even though he be a nobleman, disassociate the man from the Cause. In such a case, no one could blame him if he washed his hands completely of the man and devoted himself exclusively to the Cause, that is, the restoration and maintenance of the rights the man represents. But, what applies to others must not apply to you. In your case, it is not enough simply to be blameless; you must also be praiseworthy. I therefore put before you a nobler and more gallant proposal, and it is this: overlook the wrongs the man has done and look only at the righteousness of his Cause. Serve him and bring about his triumph, even in spite of himself, and you will thereby be able to say, as did Augustus, "Where before I had showered you with favors, now do I wish to overwhelm you with them." Such a way of acting, it seems to me, would be the epitome of heroism—which is why I propose it to you.<sup>26</sup>

But, it was too much to ask of a disappointed and embittered man. The brutal answer d'Antraigues threw back permitted no illusions: "I belong to Russia and, if need be, I shall belong to the devil, himself, but, unless God works a miracle, I shall never

again belong to France.”<sup>27</sup> Thus, d’Antraigues abandoned not only the cause of Louis XVIII, but the whole royalist cause as well, and even the cause of the Fatherland. Working as a conspirator for the legitimate monarchy and against the Revolutionary government, he could justly convince himself that he was working for the Kingdom of France, which, in the eyes of the émigrés, was the monarchy. But, as a spy in the service of the Czar, or anyone else willing to pay him; Austria, the Two Sicilies, England, etc., he was simply a man engaged in the business of espionage, one who sold, for enormous profit, valuable pieces of information for which he, himself, had paid his well-placed agents a high price. It could no longer be called a noble crusade, but a vile trade which paid him the big salary traitors always receive. Marie Caroline, who was eventually victimized by his extortions, would one day break with him, and after successively ruining himself with Louis XVIII, Queen Caroline, the Emperor of Austria, and the Russian Czar, he, along with his wife, was to meet a miserable end in London, at the hands of assassins and under mysterious circumstances; a common enough fate with men of his kind who, sooner or later, must be liquidated.

In 1799, the group which had worked for the Cause with him, had already begun to break up. In November, notwithstanding Charles-Antoine’s objections, and the material advantages he enjoyed through Marie-Caroline’s kindness, “the good Minoya” left Palermo. Charles-Antoine wrote to Marrenx-Montgaillard on December 1:

While he was here, his lodgings and meals cost him nothing, and, for the most part, his expenses were taken care of for him, but, boredom had taken hold of him, and, for a long time, he kept telling me that he intended to leave her. I tried everything I could to discourage the idea and pointed out that boredom is far preferable to poverty. But, one fine day, without consulting anyone, he secured a passport and would have left without saying good-bye to a soul, if Fortuné had not happened to meet him just as he was having his belongings carted away. He then sent me word that he was going to Naples, from there to Florence for a short stopover, and then to

Piedmont, and so, I sent him some letters of recommendation for Florence. He left without seeing any of his friends, hardly the proper thing to do, and since then, I have had no news from him. The poor fellow was very depressed, shunned everyone, and found enjoyment in no one's company but his own. Judging from his ghastly complexion and the sick spells he had while he was here, we all felt that being alone like that was the worst thing for his health. I might add that his trip to Naples cost him nothing. He left here with the highest recommendations and I have good reason to believe that, shortly before his departure, he was the recipient of great generosity.<sup>28</sup>

Not long afterwards, poor Minoya died a wretched death in a Tuscany hospital.

At Graz, where he transcribed the secret documents received by d'Antraigues, de Marrenx-Montgaillard also became disheartened. He regretted that he was no longer directly connected with the service of Louis XVIII and that he was living in the pay of his friend, the Conspirator.<sup>29</sup> He also deplored that, due to necessity, something other than friendship was responsible for this collaboration. But, "What can I do?" he added. "When one is as unfortunate as we, one is forced to demean himself and accept a salary from whoever will employ him. Confidentially, I haven't done so without remorse." The ingratitude which belied the rosy promises and the firm assurances verbally lavished upon him finally opened the eyes of a man who was sincerely devoted to the Sacred Cause but weary of serving a "selfish class." Harsh experience showed him only too clearly how meaningless were the declarations of friendship "from people of this stamp," not to mention their insincere compliments. He now discovered he had been playing the role of cat's paw,<sup>30</sup> and he, too, like Minoya, decided to give up the Cause and clear out: "Lately," he wrote to M. de Mazenod on October 18, 1799, "I have been thinking of leaving here so that I might carry out the plan of which I have already informed you and for which you upbraided me when we last saw each other at Naples. But, for the present, I have put off carrying it out until . . . feels that my services are no longer needed."<sup>31</sup>

For his own part, Charles-Antoine clung desperately to the

belief that the Cause would succeed, and remained loyal to it, along with his benefactors Caroline and the Talleyrands, who had not yet broken with d'Antraigues. De Marrenx-Montgaillard, completely disheartened though he was, established a means of communication between the President and d'Antraigues, and Charles-Antoine made every effort to maintain it. Letters sent from Vienna by the secretary of the Conspirator, now in the service of the Czar, and brought to Palermo through the diplomatic pouch of St. Petersburg passing through Austria, gave the President a further advantage inasmuch as they brought him into direct contact with Count Mussin-Pushkin Bruce, the young minister of the Czar to the Court of Naples. This explains the dinner which the Russian Minister gave in honor of M. de Mazedonod, and which the latter found infinitely superior to the dinners Fortuné had been serving in those days. It also explains how Eugene happened to be present at the receptions held by the Russian Ambassador to Palermo, just as in former days, through d'Antraigues' influence, he had been a guest at the Spanish Embassy in Venice when the "handsome conspirator" was in the service of Madrid.

It was at the Russian Embassy that Eugene met Lord Nelson and his inseparable Lady Hamilton, whose scandalous association with each other resulted as much from Lady Hamilton's ambition as from Nelson's passion.<sup>32</sup> Through the Bishop of Marseilles' *Mémoires* we know that the famous "one-eyed and one-armed"<sup>33</sup> British Admiral made a rather poor impression upon Eugene: "We saw him at close range in Palermo, at the home of the Russian Ambassador. He came there . . . to play *quarante-et-un* with shiny guinea pieces and lost them with complete indifference. We could easily see that, although he was a great naval officer, and no one could deny him that, he was, on the other hand, neither handsome nor particularly friendly; in fact, he was quite ordinary looking."<sup>34</sup>

The passionate love of the hero of Aboukir for Emma Lyons who, at the age of thirty, and after multiple love affairs, became the lawful wife of Ambassador Hamilton when he was almost seventy, plus Caroline's warm friendship for her, made it pos-

sible for this scheming trollop, who was fanatical "to the point of absurdity,"<sup>85</sup> to become the actual ruler of Naples and Sicily, at that time. The Queen, who, shortly afterwards, was to be consumed by a rekindled flame of love for her next-to-the-last favorite, St. Clair, felt no scruples about being seen everywhere with the "adulterous couple."<sup>86</sup> In fact, during the lavish celebrations held in honor of the retaking of Naples, Caroline had placed the effigies of Nelson and milady in the Temple of Victory and, to complete the picture, added that of Hamilton.<sup>87</sup> While the Ambassador and the King spent their time hunting, the two Messalinas mixed business with pleasure by directing the affairs of the kingdom and, at the same time, enjoying a continuously gay life in Nelson's company. All three detested the Revolution and made no secret of their warmongering. However, because they sometimes allowed the fire of their zeal to cool while they went off to feed the fires of their passions amid Palermo's sinful pleasures, ironically enough, they were the very ones who helped Napoleon to realize his imperial ambitions. The little Corsican owed his career to the moral lassitude of the Commander-in-Chief of the British flotilla in the Mediterranean. As Roger de Damas correctly concludes in his *Mémoires*:

No doubt, without that lassitude, the usually watchful and alert Nelson would have intercepted the frigate which bore Caesar and his fortunes from Egypt to France. Bonaparte should have erected monuments to milady Hamilton and should have given her first mention among the fortunate freaks of fate that led him to the throne. That fact is as true as it is bizarre.<sup>88</sup>

Nelson's grave neglect of his duty dimmed the lustre of the glory he achieved at Aboukir and partially destroyed the effects of that magnificent victory. Although his influence over the queen was advantageous to England's foreign policy by giving Britain control over Sicily, the scandal he created reached the point where it began to offend British respectability. In vain had friendly warnings reminded him that Palermo was not the land of Venus and that Renaud should tear himself away from the enchanting embrace of Armida.<sup>89</sup> His fleet's discontent and Lord Paget's in-

vestigation finally forced His Majesty's government in May, 1800 to recall at one and the same time both Nelson and the Hamilton menage.<sup>40</sup> The heartbroken queen accompanied her precious friends as far as Leghorn, on her journey to Vienna where she hoped to revivify the coalition.

THE KING OF THE TWO SICILIES AND THE FEAST OF ST. ROSALIE

The Incomparable's departure for Austria did not deprive the Mazenods of her financial help. Beginning with September, 1799, they had been receiving 12 onces each month. As Charles-Antoine wrote to his friend de Marrenx-Montgaillard,

It amounts to about six louis which, in a modest way, provides for the clothing, food and lodging of five people, and yet, it is a large sum in view of the great number of needy people for whom she must provide and the meager resources at her disposal for doing so. So excessive are the demands made upon her charity that she would need a miracle similar to that of the loaves and fishes to take care of everyone. Furthermore, she gives us these twelve onces with so gracious and kind a manner and makes so many apologies for not being able to do more that our grateful hearts are as fully satisfied as they are deeply moved.<sup>41</sup>

Since the manner of giving means far more than the gift itself, the queen's way of helping Charles-Antoine noticeably increased the value of her gift. Although her "other gratuities were dispensed through her agents, ours was the only one," stressed the President, "which she chose to give personally and directly."<sup>42</sup> During her absence, "this flattering distinction had its drawback," M. de Mazenod confided to his wife in 1802, "since distance, as well as her many duties, caused delays in the payments. However, our friends, the Talleyrands helped us out in these delays by giving us advances."

Thus, Charles-Antoine did not suffer materially on account of these delays; nor could he have suffered mentally. Certainly, there was no need to fear that Marie Caroline would be likely to forget his wants since she had come to his aid so spontaneously on the occasion of his sickness. In the same letter to his

wife, the President wrote: "Of her own accord, she sent me everything I needed for paying the doctors and surgeons as well as for taking care of medicine bills and the rise in the cost of living."<sup>43</sup> The kind gifts she gave him were indeed most opportune; however, of far more importance than the financial help she gave him periodically was the Incomparable's gesture through which the President felt a touching and moving comfort.

Because of his family's indebtedness to its benefactress we can understand why Bishop de Mazenod, in telling of his sojourn at Naples and Palermo, makes no mention in his *Mémoires* of the licentiousness of the Queen's court. Very reserved when speaking of Lady Hamilton whose "story"<sup>44</sup> he felt it was pointless to tell, he spoke of the Queen even more discreetly. Eugene, however, was not ignorant of the bad example she gave since, in Sicily's high society, her scandalous conduct was widely discussed and, if the truth be known, just as widely imitated.

Did he ever meet Caroline? In view of the association he enjoyed with the Talleyrands, the Cannizzaros and the Vintimilles, everything seems to indicate that he did. However, even though Charles-Antoine's letter telling of the twelve onces which Caroline personally put into his hand shows with certainty that the President had direct contact with Her Majesty, neither the family letters nor the Bishop's *Mémoires* show that Eugene had any such contact. The only thing we know for certain is that he did meet the King on several occasions during the festivities which occur during July in honor of the patron saint of Palermo, Saint Rosalie.<sup>45</sup> The long description which the Bishop of Marseilles devoted to these festivities makes no mention of the Queen's being present at either the profane or the sacred solemnities. We may conclude therefore that his undated account of these festivities refers either to the year 1801 or 1802 when Caroline would have been on her way to Austria, or living in Vienna.

Saint Rosalie's feast falls on July 15. Since a mere vigil was much too short a time to prepare for such a great feast, the celebration began with a procession on the eleventh of that banner month.<sup>46</sup>

To honor the saint they constructed what you might call a mobile Arc de Triomphe. It was an enormous float reaching as high as the tallest house. Standing on the very top of the float and towering over everyone's head was the statue of the saint. Seated on the level directly below the statue were the musicians who made a valiant effort to play their noisy instruments during the whole time that the float was in motion. I watched them from the second-floor balcony of Prince Granmonte's palace. The balcony was high above the street and I remember remarking that the musicians were on a level with us as they passed by. The float was drawn by twelve yoke of oxen gaudily decorated and decked out in some kind of costume. Two hours before dark, the float started on its journey. Beginning at the Felice Gate at one end of long Cassero Street which runs parallel with the seashore it then moved along the entire length of the street whose beautiful homes and palaces were decorated with gorgeous tapestries hung from the windows. Just as darkness was setting in the float arrived at the New Gate at the opposite end of Cassero Street. The crowd milling about created a great congestion and opened up only to let the float pass by. Shortly before nightfall, the city was illumined and, so as not to interfere with the strollers who wanted to view the sight (and that meant the entire population), carriages were not allowed on the street after the float had passed. Two hours later, or to be more exact, two hours after sunset, fireworks were set off on the shore of la Marine, opposite the Prince de Butera's palace. The king was invited to watch them from there and came, accompanied by his entire court. I was present also at that part of the celebration. Naturally, during social gatherings of that kind, abundant refreshments of sherbert and cookies were passed around.<sup>47</sup>

On July 12, Cassero Street became a race track. Since it was a straight line, it was ideally suited for such a purpose. Eugene was a guest at the Prince de Vintimille's palace on July 12 and 13 when it was the privilege of the prince to play host to the king. His Majesty derived great enjoyment from watching these races. A unique feature of the races in Palermo was the running of the horses without any riders. The animals were spurred on by sharp thorny balls attached to their backs and this method of goading them on as they ran was made even more effective by

the frenzied gestures and shouts of the many spectators lining the street.

As on the previous night, the king amused himself at cards until the brightly lighted float began its return trip over the same route it had taken the day before. Likewise, as on the previous day, the musicians never stopped blaring their noisy symphonies to the great satisfaction of the people roaming the street. The refreshments were as abundant at the Prince de Vintimille's as they had been at the Prince de Butera's. Following his usual custom, the King left at midnight. It was then that the crowd on Cassero Street gave way to a procession of carriages which lasted for more than an hour. After that, every one went home to rest before the next day's events.<sup>48</sup>

On the 13th, there were more races on Cassero Street. The King returned to the Prince de Vintimille's palace. I was there also. We stayed at the Prince's until it was time for the second display of fireworks, which, as before, were set off down at the seashore and which the King watched again from the Prince de Butera's palace. On this occasion, as on the other, the Prince gave a party in the King's honor, with games, refreshments, and a grand ball that lasted until dawn. Once again, Cassero Street and the seashore were brightly illumined etc. etc. . . . In short, it was a repetition of the night before.<sup>49</sup>

Late in the afternoon of the 14th, there were "more horse races on Cassero Street; the people never seem to tire of them. Again, the King was a guest of the Prince de Vintimille." However, once the refreshments were over, religious ceremonies took the place of fireworks, illuminations, and gay evening parties. Ferdinand IV stayed at the Prince's until 10 o'clock and then went to the Cathedral. We followed him there to assist at First Vespers in honor of Saint Rosalie. The Cathedral's illumination was of incomparable beauty with more than seven thousand candles transforming the church into a flaming vault. It was beautiful beyond words. So enchanted was the King that he shook hands with President Paterno and praised him highly. He had been in charge of the rebuilding of this church and most likely of the entire celebration of the feast. Vespers were sung in parts and, consequently, were very long. The noisy confusion caused by the crowd

hardly allowed for any recollection and so we felt no qualms about leaving to go to supper, since we wanted to be present later on for the procession of the carriages which took place that evening, as on the others, amid the dazzling lights of the street's brilliant illumination.<sup>50</sup>

By way of contrast, the 15th, which is the feast day itself was reserved exclusively for religious ceremonies. We had to be at the cathedral early in order to find a good seat because the Royal Chapel was being held that day. That is what they call the King's official presence at the solemn mass which is celebrated on certain important feast days. The feast of Saint Rosalie was one of them. On such days, the king would arrive accompanied by his entire court. At the coronation ceremony before the mass the crown was placed upon his head and he was clothed in the royal mantle. He then ascended the throne which was raised higher than usual and he recited the confiteor of the mass with the officiating bishop. After the confiteor he was incensed at the throne, still wearing the crown. He wore it again while the Gospel was being read, apparently to show his willingness to defend the Word of God against all enemies. All these ceremonies of the Mass edified me. They gave a pious close to a succession of celebrations and holidays which were more or less directly intended to honor the patron saint of Palermo.<sup>51</sup>

It was not only at Palermo that he came into contact with the King of the Two Sicilies; he was also present when Ferdinand IV attended the famous parade of tableaux at Monreale: "All the people of Palermo and its environs" flocked into this small town renowned for the mosaics in its cathedral, to see this celebration. "I say 'see'" stressed the Bishop of Marseilles, "because the principal part of that celebration was a pageant; I shall describe it in a moment. The king accepted the invitation to be present and came accompanied by his three daughters who were close to my age; Marie-Antoinette, the youngest, Marie-Christine, and Marie-Amelie who was my age, born in the same year as I. I was very close to them when we watched the famous pageant go by."<sup>52</sup> Leading the pageant was Divine Justice preceded by several members of a military band and escorted by Eve, holding a fig-leaf in her hand and by Adam hiding his face; next

came Redemption carrying a cardboard cross and dragging Death and Sin in chains as they went through dreadful contortions. Following them were Pestilence, Famine, War, Earthquake along with the principal figures of the Old Testament from Cain and Abel up to the great prophets Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel and Daniel. Virginity and Humility led the way for the Virgin and the Infant Jesus who, in turn, were followed by the Magi walking between two symbols, the Light of the Gospel with torch in hand and Idolatry carrying a broken censor and surrounded by puppets. Then came Herod, the Jewish Doctors of the Law, the Apostles, Christ and the sick He had cured while behind them moved the procession to Calvary led by Judas and some prison wardens. The final tableau of the pageant was a triumphal chariot in which Religion sat enthroned upon a globe, treading under-foot several impious or heretical books. Atheism, Heresy, Superstition and Free-Thinking, along with their adherents, were dragged behind the chariot; Atheism's hands were tied behind his back and in his mouth was a cross-sword; age-old Heresy, the ugliest of them all, was crowned with serpents and held a bridle-bit and pen in his mouth; Superstition was dressed like a Fury; Free-Thinking was symbolized in several ways. All four of them were followed by a troop of their adherents; atheists, heretics, libertines and people given to superstition. Bringing up the rear were some musicians and a squad of cavalry. An odd parade where so many bizarre things passed before your eyes, concluded Bishop de Mazenod who, nevertheless, found nothing interesting in this dramatic production.<sup>53</sup>

#### EUGENE REMEDIES THE DEFICIENCIES IN HIS CLASSICAL FORMATION

This survival from the medieval drama in which personified vices and virtues were interspersed with the saints of the Old and New Testaments had but one effect upon Eugene and that was to startle, or better still to shock him. At that time, Chateaubriand had not yet revived an appreciation of the Gothic cathedral by using the word Gothic in an enthusiastic and complimentary

sense; the same word which the Renaissance and its following centuries had scornfully applied to the art of a period they considered barbarous. Trained by teachers of the classical school and in Italian cities where the baroque and rococo flourished, the young Count could not appreciate the Middle Ages. Furthermore, he knew nothing of the literature of that same period, although that should not surprise us when we consider that even Corneille was unknown to him in 1801. This would be hard to believe if he himself did not affirm it in his correspondence. This particular deficiency in his intellectual training becomes all the more shocking with the realization that, at nineteen years of age, he knew nothing of *Le Cid*, Horace, *Cinna*, and *Polyeucte*. It is hard to understand how the Barnabites at Turin, Don Bartolo at Venice, and his father and uncles at home, had allowed him to be deprived of an invigorating acquaintanceship with the dramatist Corneille who so extolled the triumph of the will. This incredible omission clearly reveals to what extent the riches of French poetry and prose remained foreign to this uprooted young man.

Fortunately, through his association with the Duchess of Cannizzaro, the young Count finally became aware of this grave gap in his education, a gap which the self-assured young man never suspected of being there. Not all the time spent in the company of his "other mother" was employed playing "marriage," the only card game he knew. Much of it was spent reading to her, especially from the works of Racine: "I really enjoy it," he wrote to his father in a letter which contained admiring and somewhat offhand judgments on the relative merits of the plays composed by Corneille's great rival. "Which one is the best?" wondered the young Count who was not exactly averse to giving opinions, and giving them with trenchant authority: "I prefer his tragedies in which no one dies to those in which everyone has to be buried."<sup>54</sup>

The astute M. de Mazenod, hinting gently, perhaps too gently, tried valiantly to tone down his son's enthusiasm, and warned him once more against hasty and intolerant viewpoints. The lesson was given with a master's touch:

You say that you plan to submit your reading to my judgment; that could prove very advantageous to you. Not that I wish to make myself out to be more learned than I am, but, age, experience, and habits of study, perhaps qualify me for counselling you wisely. You seem to give Racine the praise he merits. I recall that, this past winter, you read some of his plays and thought they were poor. At that time, I assured you that you were wrong and very likely you felt that I was prejudiced. Now you are beginning to see that I was right, and you will reach the same conclusion about many other things provided you take the time to examine them attentively and reflectively. As for Racine, he is indeed a great tragic poet. His verse is incomparable, as are his plots, his character-portrayal and his purity of diction. However, all his plays breathe strongly of love and, thus, their reading could prove dangerous to young men in view of the effeminate and languid tone that characterizes them. When you get the chance, read Corneille, and then tell me what you think of him. I daresay you will see how different he is from Racine. It seems to me that you who are so intolerant of any weakness in yourself should appreciate, even more than others, the beauties of Corneille. In spite of his outmoded style and his many flaws of which Racine is free, he still has traits of grandeur, nobility, courage, and loftiness which no poet before him ever possessed, and which you will seek in vain among those who came after him. But, to get back to Racine: I congratulate you for having been able to discover at your age that love is too dominant in his plays. That is one of the faults for which he has been justly criticized, although you should keep in mind that Racine had a very delicate soul and he painted character as he felt. Furthermore, those delicate feelings sprang from the lovely relationship he enjoyed with a wife who was most loving and whom he loved very much.<sup>55</sup>

This last explanation which safeguarded Racine's morality rather than historical accuracy, enabled M. de Mazenod to gloss over the unsavory memory of Duparc and Champmesle.

It does not seem that Eugene derived the profit from these wise counsels that his father had anticipated. First of all, he refused to be swayed from his admiration for Racine: "I am not acquainted with Corneille," he replied, "but, I like Racine, and therefore I take the liberty to come to his defence."<sup>56</sup> And, although he agreed to examine Corneille with attention and reflec-

tion, as M. de Mazenod had recommended, the notes he compiled on his favorite author clearly show that the method he used in his examination was hardly that suggested by the President, namely, plot, character-development, and versification. Plot was restricted to a broad résumé of the story without any attempt to analyze the structure of the play, or to discover the essentially psychological motives behind it. As for the study of character development, *Andromaque*, for example, was almost entirely omitted. Even the characterization he did study was reduced to a few general appraisals, as was the case with *Eriphyle* who was abruptly dismissed with "interesting." *Phédre* fared a little better, but, here again, after stressing briefly that Racine's originality lay in his sympathetic treatment of the heroine, he went back to generalizing by adding, "Far be it from me to go into all the details and bring out everything I admire in the role of *Phédre*. If I were to do that, I would have to write out the play in its entirety." <sup>57</sup>

Similar reflections, combined with quotations repeatedly borrowed from la Harpe testify to a quick wit, but they also reveal a total lack of intellectual discipline, and for that we have no right to condemn him too quickly, since the young Count's knowledge of these works of literature was self-acquired. The majority of his contemporaries, Lammenais, for example, suffered the same deficiency, and for the same reasons. What Eugene needed was a good taskmaster who would have compelled him to express his ideas in an orderly manner, and to respect the rules of composition. Sooner or later, his spontaneity and talents would have freed him from the strict literary forms a student must necessarily go through if he is to go beyond them.

M. de Mazenod, who felt somewhat guilty for having given so little attention to his son's education, not only supplied Eugene with wise rules for the study of Racine, but also tried to train him in the art of letter writing. In a *harum-scarum* sort of way, the young man wrote everything just as it came into his head. There was colorful originality in what he wrote, but no style. The President pointed out misspellings, incorrect terms, and calous expressions which might belie his son's true warmhearted-

ness. The President even went to the trouble of writing a complete exposition of how to compose a letter. He addressed it to his daughter, but really intended it for the young Chevalier, and he made sure that Eugene read it before it went off to Ninette. The art of letter writing, it said, requires both theory and practice, and Charles-Antoine then went to great lengths to explain each of the two requisites.<sup>58</sup> Sad to say, the son never went beyond practicing the art, while his father not only practiced it, but made a thorough study of it. The President's correspondence, which was always polished, careful, and made from a preliminary draft, is excellent proof that he knew the theory. It is indeed regrettable that the son did not derive greater profit from his father's fine culture, a culture Eugene would never match. Save while he was at Naples, the boy had lived very little with his father. The Zinellis at Venice, and later, the Cannizzaros at Palermo, had taken full charge of the youth. Furthermore, the President was just reaching the age when experience and refinement are ill-suited to a method, which, for a time, becomes necessary in a young man's training. Youth loves bold, geometrical lines, sharp divisions, and clear-cut, positive statements, and Eugene's absolute character made it even more difficult for him to appreciate delicate shades and a sense of the relative that comes only through study and experience. Crushed by misfortune, M. de Mazenod had lost his parliamentary trenchancy. On the other hand, his son, who was blunt and possessed all his original dash, had inherited from the businesslike Joannis family a greater taste for action than for reflection. Intellectually, the father was superior to the son by reason of his superior talent, but it was a talent that was too restricted to juridical knowledge and would always remain that of a man from the judge's chamber. In political and practical matters, he showed to disadvantage. His son, who was to found the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, was more a leader than a philosopher and diplomat, and possessed all the qualities necessary for training men and for achieving results, and, one day, was to excel in government, administration, and organization. His style of writing, although less concerned with nuances, variety, and finesse, than

that of his father, would however, bear the vigorous stamp of clear-cut decisions and dauntless energy. The original dynamism of the father's mind had given way to a sad passivity while the son's enthusiasm, although taking on softer tones, would never lose any of its vigor. And yet, the future Bishop of Marseilles would never fill the gaps left in his early studies. He was always to lack that intangible element of harmony and finish which distinguishes a man of solid culture. This intellectual deficiency would make him one with the clergy of his day, who, by losing leadership in the field of knowledge hindered a magnificent movement of religious restoration.

In Sicily, Eugene not only strove to remedy the startling insufficiency of his literary knowledge but also took up the study of history by plunging into two deep works; *The Lessons of History, or Letters of a Father to his Son on Interesting Topics of World History*, by Abbé Philippe-Louis Gérard, comprising eleven volumes, and *Ancient History*, by Charles Rollin, comprising twelve volumes. He was presuming a little too much, for if his notes are any indication, he quickly tired of them. He went no farther than Moses in Abbé Gérard's work and, as for Rollin's *Ancient History* he stopped with Volume II at the Fall of Carthage.<sup>59</sup> He never covered the centuries that lay ahead.

These must have been the "austere tomes" to which he referred when he spoke of "labored and often wearisome studies." Fortunately, the relaxation he needed after such a painful excursion was supplied by a book entitled, *Reason, Folly, a Matter of Opinion*. This story book then replaced the history book without, however, satisfying him completely. Although he found some of the stories charming or pleasant, others seemed absurd or of galling stupidity. He found fault with "Courtesans" and "Poulets Sacres," for example, because the author made concessions to the anti-religious and anti-aristocratic prejudices in vogue at that time. Another story entitled, "Sparta in Paris" would have redeemed these faults because of its fine criticism of the morals and customs of revolutionary Paris, but the author spoiled it by going into an interminable, moral, economic, dry, abstract and completely boring dissertation. "And yet," he added, "you might

bear with the thing, if you were sure that, after a certain amount of effort, you might eventually understand what the author is trying to say."

Actually, this dry, abstract, and completely boring dissertation which he found absolutely unintelligible appears, in our own day to be particularly rich in social advances. No doubt, that is why the young critic who was blind to the social problems of that day, and even more to those of the future, disposed of the work with scornful arrogance. He was no more able to grasp the true nature of the Industrial Revolution whose rumbles were just beginning to be heard than he was ever able to grasp the true nature of the French Revolution of 1789. Hence, the judgments he made, judgments that almost shock us today.

How can you look upon a work as anything but a joke, when the author tells you in all seriousness that a man whom he politely calls a machine-worker is automatically deprived of all intellectual activity by the mere fact that he does mechanical work, year after year, as if the work he does with his hands prevents him from thinking of anything but that work? He spins the flax and winds the spool; therefore, he cannot think. What logic! I need only appeal to my own experience to prove the absurdity of that reasoning. In the countries I have visited, I have gone into many factories of every kind, and what did I see there? Workers, so accustomed to the jobs they had been doing for several years that, for the most part, they relied almost entirely on their hands to perform these tasks while their minds were being occupied with entirely different matters; were being used for joking, backbiting, and every other kind of conversation with their fellow-workers. Furthermore, this mental activity can be carried on as well, and even better, by the factory worker than by the farm worker, since the latter who usually toils alone, sometimes spends entire days laying out his long straight furrows without saying one word to living soul.

How could an author ever persuade us that the factory-worker, any more than the farm-worker, is under the servile yoke of a harsh master? Is it because he holds that the factory-worker looks upon his salary as a gratuity? Show me the factory worker who does not consider the salary he receives anything but what is due to him for his time and labor. And show me the employer who would have the

nerve to pretend . . . Or does the author think that the factory worker lives under the constant fear of being discharged? Does he think that while the peasant who cultivates the earth is sure of never going hungry, the factory worker, on the other hand, not knowing how to do anything except the insignificant job to which he has been assigned, will find himself doomed to die in abject poverty if he quits his present employer? There might be some semblance of truth to this if there were only one factory in the world. But, the worker who leaves one factory will soon find employment in another, doing the one kind of work he knows how to do . . . It follows from what I have just said that everything the author puts forth on this subject lacks common sense. The rest of the chapter seemed sensible enough; but, once again, all those fine ideas about economy, which he repeats *ad nauseam*, lead nowhere. If the ideas are so good, tell them to the government since the government alone can put them into execution, but don't bother the people who have no need of reforms which are usually nothing more than verbose ravings.<sup>60</sup>

This passage deserved to be quoted in its entirety, as it typifies not only a mind that gave ready judgments on everything, even in matters on which he was ignorant, but also a mentality of a whole class. Eugene, like all the others of his class, favored the exclusively agricultural economy of the *ancien régime*. At a time when all the ancient institutions were still existing in Sicily and when mechanical production was still limited there, his lack of understanding is explainable and excusable. Unfortunately, the same lack of understanding persisted down through the years and prevented the Bishop of Marseilles from grasping the meaning and significance of the tragic events of 1848.

Although the intellectual training Eugene de Mazenod received outside his native land was responsible for the aforementioned gaps, on the other hand, it enabled him to learn and become thoroughly versed in the musical language of Italy. "Without being prejudiced," wrote his father to Ninette, "I can assure you that he speaks and writes Italian with more elegance and purity than do most of the Italians themselves. He knows it incomparably better than his native tongue."<sup>61</sup> In fact, because of his mastery of the tongue, he was commissioned in 1801 to re-

wise the text of a work translated from the French into Italian by an Italian scholar. "He acquitted himself of it with great success," declared the President.<sup>62</sup> From a letter Eugene wrote to Don Bartolo, we know that the work was a treatise in three volumes, entitled, *The Authority of the Two Powers*, published by Canon Pey in 1781. The author's anti-Gallican and anti-Jansenistic views must have been the persuasive motive for the young Count's collaboration in this work since it would diffuse throughout Italy principles that were dear to the heart of Don Bartolo's disciple. Even in these doctrinal differences, Eugene remained a champion of the *Ancien régime* when the autocracy of absolute monarchy in the eighteenth century had put the spiritual independence of the Church and the authority of the Pope in such great jeopardy. After the fall of the monarchy, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, which was to influence all modern systems of government, posed the same problems between Church and State, but, under new forms which the young man failed to recognize. Only later did Liberalism find in him as resolute an enemy as had Jansenism and Gallicanism, both of which were tame compared with Liberalism.

Thus, in spite of his worldly life at Palermo, Eugene continued to study. Lacking method and guidance, his intellectual training achieved only relative results which would never adequately remedy his deficiencies. His moral life, however, benefited greatly from these self-imposed studies. Don Bartolo, with whom he corresponded until 1802, wisely advised him to impose this salutary discipline upon himself: "Are you studying? Are you keeping busy?" he asked over and over with almost irksome insistence.<sup>63</sup> Following this advice in the midst of all the pleasures and distractions of Sicilian life had its reward, and, in this respect, we know that Eugene proved faithful to the advice of his revered teacher.

#### EUGENE'S SPIRITUAL LIFE AT PALERMO

Was he equally faithful to the teacher's spiritual program? "Nothing against God; Nothing without God." M. de Mazenod

often pointed out his son's defects of character; his apparent coldness of manner, his extreme self-assurance, his assumed airs, his manner of "cracking the whip" at the young Magrat girls whose silly conduct irritated him, his hasty utterances, and, above all, his fits of temper. The President wrote to the guest at Colli:

I recommend that you try to be much more gentle and amiable. I do not mind telling you that I was somewhat disturbed by the little fuss that occurred the day that I last visited you; which, by the way, I have mentioned to no one here. Fundamentally, no doubt, you were right; but, being right isn't all that matters. You are also expected to observe certain amenities and I was not at all pleased with the way you acted on that occasion, speaking very brusquely and peevishly slapping your gloves on the table. That was not the way to act, my fine lad. I tell you this, not for the sake of reprimanding you but because I have an obligation to see that you learn how to conduct yourself in society. . . . And so, put an end to these hasty, or better still, these conceited outbursts. If you give the least bit of thought to the scene that occurred the other day, I am sure you will agree that you should have acted more like a gentleman. I insist upon this, but with the tenderest affection.<sup>64</sup>

Ninette also took the liberty of lecturing her brother, but in a very gentle manner:

From what you and your friend write concerning the way you pass your time, it seems to me, my dear, that you have no lack of amusements. . . . Aren't you afraid of leading too gay a life? You used to be very pious once upon a time; you wouldn't even shake hands with ladies unless they were very old. If you have lost your high ideals, then I am afraid that I shall have to give you advice, you who give so much of it to others, and God will bless me for it, too. Most likely it is not the only advice I shall ever give you, but even now, I can hear you sputtering at the liberty I have taken, and so, I won't say anything more except to assure you that nothing can ever change the affection we owe each other; and to keep you from giving me tit for tat, I stand on my tiptoes to reach your lips and kiss you very affectionately.<sup>65</sup>

Ninette need not have been worried, nor Don Bartolo, for that matter. Eugene was very careful while he lived in Sicily not to

imitate the bad example of the local aristocracy. Girls and young ladies wasted their time flitting about the refined and handsome young Count and his association with "persons of the fair sex," as he later called them, gave him no cause for self-reproach in the eyes of God. After mentioning "the depraved morals of Palermo's high society," his *Mémoires* then add,

I shall say nothing further about them. I wish only to acknowledge the infinite goodness of God whose powerful grace constantly safeguarded me in the midst of all these very grave dangers by inspiring me with not just an aversion but a sort of horror for every kind of dissipation capable of leading me to the disgustingly bad behaviour I deplored in others. Thanks be to God, my conscience was extremely delicate in this respect.<sup>66</sup>

What about the second point in Don Bartolo's spiritual program, "Nothing without God"? Did he practice it with equal fidelity? Certain passages of his *Mémoires* justify our affirming it, at least for some periods of his sojourn in Palermo and under certain circumstances:

I was far from taking part in these amusements; much to the contrary. It is a strange thing, but whenever I found myself in the midst of it, its noisy music and its completely worldly gaiety, I would feel my heart contract and sadness would take hold of me; whereupon I would slip off to some quiet spot and there, away from all those who seemed foolish to me, I gave myself over to serious and even melancholy thoughts, almost to the point of weeping. Several times acquaintances of mine came upon me unexpectedly while I was in this mood and, unable to understand it, they tried to draw me out of it. It was simply that I was out of my element. I felt as though I were being forcefully thrust into a world towards which I felt no attraction. I hated the dissipation I saw all around me, for it was repugnant to all the yearnings in my soul for an entirely different kind of happiness. The greater the dissipation I saw in others, all the more strongly did I yearn for the opposite. That is the only way I can explain this phenomenon.<sup>67</sup>

We know, therefore, that in 1800 or 1801, during the St. Rosalie festivities, with which this passage is related, far from seeking what Pascal termed "diversion" in the glittering and

gay excitement of aristocratic evening parties in order to escape emptiness and remorse of soul, Eugene felt, to the contrary, an acute need of God. But the question still remains: was his spiritual life as fervent in Palermo as it had been in Naples and Venice, and, as Father Rey claims, without any reservation whatsoever? <sup>68</sup> If we can judge by the letters he received from Don Bartolo, it seems to have been so, at least until May, 1802. In reply to a letter Eugene had written to him, the former teacher wrote on November 29, 1801, "Your letter gave me the sweetest consolation by revealing your great generosity of heart and your fidelity to those religious and pious sentiments which God has inspired in you." <sup>69</sup>

This generosity of heart was especially quickened by the inspiring example of his "second mother," the Duchess of Cannizzaro: "She mothered the poor and afflicted," wrote the President to his wife.

For a number of years, she enjoyed a personal income of 80,000 livres and she used all of it for performing works of mercy and for paying her husband's debts which were tremendous. Altogether, before she died, she had paid 400,000 livres of those debts and had given enormous amounts to charity. She made my son the confidant of all her plans and had him carry them out by distributing all her charity.<sup>70</sup>

The good example of his "second mother" and his personal contact with the poverty he was helping her to alleviate were of great benefit to Eugene by impressing upon him the tragic evil of the waste that went on all around him. The father, evidently, took great satisfaction in dispelling Mme. de Mazenod's fears for her son, by discreetly stressing how unnecessary were the peremptory orders she had sent to both himself and his son in a letter dated September 20, 1801:

I, too, have a little advice to give Eugene, and you will do well to see that he carries it out. He must avoid expensive tastes and the vanity that encourages them. For all the greater reason, must he avoid gambling and women. I should be very grieved to discover that he had lost the pious sentiments of his childhood.<sup>71</sup>

The President must also have derived a certain satisfaction in hinting to the self-centered Marie-Rose that she, in her turn, would so well to imitate the Duchess of Cannizzaro who was such an admirable wife, generous to the poor, and eager to pay all her husband's debts.

The young Count's charity found an outlet not simply in the tactful and enthusiastic distribution of the Duchess of Cannizzaro's alms but in an equally enthusiastic attention and devotion to the sick. In February, 1802, when the Baroness Talleyrand had every appearance of being in grave danger Eugene hastened to her side.

I assure you that I was indeed proud of my son, under the circumstances. He forsook all the enjoyments of the Carnival, as well as others, to come and stay at the home of our good friends and to care for the dear patient with skill, devotion, and affection. And this wasn't the only time he did such a thing. He has done just as much for other friends on several occasions, which only goes to prove how kind he is.<sup>72</sup>

This must have been so, for we know of one case, in particular, when the daughter of the Puget family who lived in the same house where the President and his brothers lived, died in his arms,<sup>73</sup> and this, in spite of contagion, since it was a case of tuberculosis. Nothing however could frighten this young infirmarian from giving devoted care to the sick as events in later life were to prove only too convincingly.

In May, 1802, the same warmth of heart that was such a great source of consolation to Don Bartolo also proved to be the intensifying element of the young Count's grief, caused by the death of his "second mother." On Friday, the eve of her death, wrote M. de Mazenod to his wife,

the Duchess went to confession, intending to receive Communion on Saturday, as was her usual custom. Instead of receiving her Maker that Saturday, it was the Maker Who received her soul into His bosom, for, she was truly a saint, as anyone who knew her would tell you. My poor disconsolate son stayed with her from Friday until two o'clock Saturday morning. Since she complained of difficulty in breathing, he asked her to have one of the maids stay in the room with

her. She felt this was unnecessary. At five o'clock that same morning, she rang, and complained of great discomfort, and they gave her a sedative, after which she told them that she wanted to rest. My son went to her room about eleven o'clock that morning and the children informed him that she was still sleeping, whereupon he went to the Countess of Vintimille's for a haircut. During his absence, the good Duchess awoke, and they had her drink a cup of bouillon which she immediately threw up. She then fell back dead in the arms of the daughter who had given it to her. My son returned at that same moment, only to find his kind friend, his "second mother" dead. You can imagine what his and our grief must have been. Nothing we could do could bring her back to life. . . . I couldn't possibly tell you, all the acts of kindness which my son performed under those sorrowful conditions. They have increased enormously Palermo's general esteem and affection for him. Suffice it to say that his conduct was highly admirable. He is still like a son and a brother to the family. Both the father and the children asked him to wear mourning with them, and like them. He has gone to the country with them where they receive no visitors except ourselves.<sup>74</sup>

On May 9, Fortuné, who had also gone to Colli because of illness, added more words of praise for Eugene: "Without resorting to flattery," declared the canon, "I don't believe anyone could behave more prudently and more wisely than Eugene does in the midst of all these sad and painful circumstances."<sup>75</sup>

The heartache revealed in Eugene's letters, show to what extent the young Count was affected and stunned by his grief:

This wound will never heal. I was awake all night. I shall never be able to shed enough tears for such a kind mother. The only pleasure I derive from people's company is listening to them talk about this cherished jewel whose loss will always be my greatest misfortune; this mother whom I have lately known only to lose her. Everywhere I go, I am reminded of her. At times I seem to see her walking, or calling to me to walk with her; at other times, I have a feeling that she is beside me, listening intently to what I am reading. I could not possibly list the many sorrows which, so to speak, increase and multiply with every step I take.<sup>76</sup>

So as to while away the sleepless hours, Eugene buried himself in *The Nights* by Young.

A wonderful man, and, what is more important, the finest and most sympathetic friend I could possibly have at the moment. We both share the same feelings, and I am intrigued that, a hundred years before my time, he had the exact same thoughts I now have. His writing is sublime and makes for reflective and satisfying reading.<sup>77</sup>

One could justly expect that a disciple of Don Bartolo would have sought elsewhere than in Young for the spiritual consolation he needed, but, his correspondence of that time reveals no sign of any religious sentiment whatsoever. M. de Mazenod did his best to bring the great principles of faith to his attention:

While letting your tears flow freely and giving yourself up to your grief, you must not overlook the strong motives you have for easing your grief. They stem not only from your religion but also from the tender love you felt for the worthy deceased. Better than anyone else, you knew her virtues and the saintly Christian life she led . . . hence, my dear son, knowing that she must be in heaven at this moment enjoying her reward in the beatific vision, you must also know that she is supremely happy. You loved her and desired her happiness, did you not? Well, she is now enjoying a happiness that will never be taken from her, a happiness all of us sigh and hope for, because of the infinite goodness of our Supreme Maker. This should be a very effective, and I daresay, a very consoling thought for us who, thank God, possess the unalterable truths of the true faith.<sup>78</sup>

Wanting Eugene to hold fast to this very effective and consoling thought, rather than seek consolation in Young whom the President considered a wrong and even harmful medicine for the soul as well as for the body of his son, he wrote to Eugene, advising him: "You should discard this reading which pleases you so much. In nourishing your grief, it serves only to prevent the effect of the remedies which doctors prescribe for relieving sorrow."<sup>79</sup> The wise Fortuné, who was then living at Colli, had given Eugene similar advice, but in vain. He, too, would have preferred that his nephew throw aside *The Nights*, which in spite of all he had tried to tell him, has turned him within himself. "But, you know without my telling you," added the Canon, "that with all his excellent qualities, our Count is a self-opin-

ionated individual, and finds it extremely difficult to follow the advice of a poor old-fashioned canon from the Provinces.”<sup>80</sup> The young Count’s health now became impaired by the blow which had struck his heart. The illness was moral as well as physical, resulting in a sluggish and lukewarm spiritual life. His biographer, Father Rey, writing in the hagiographical style of his time, explains that, after the death of the Duchess, Eugene

no longer enjoyed the advantage of constantly witnessing the virtues of this noble woman whose spiritual and motherly advice had helped him in maintaining his fervor. Consequently, although he continued to fulfill his religious obligations, he neglected those regular practices which act as ramparts for the soul, and safeguard sanctity.

This statement contradicts others he had made before.<sup>81</sup> Eugene’s confessor at that time, was Msgr. Bonnarò, distinguished for his virtues and noble birth. Very often, the young Count visited the Olivella home where he made the acquaintance of several others who loved him and actually held him up as a model for the other young people. Nevertheless, he, himself, felt that much of his former fervor had vanished.<sup>82</sup> And, therein lay the preparation, if not the actual beginning, of the moral and spiritual crisis which the future Father de Mazenod was to stress repeatedly and dolefully in his intimate notes.

#### EUGENE’S RETURN TO FRANCE

For warmhearted people, sorrow is often the most fearful and fatal of dangers. Such people resist the exterior attractions of social life and succumb to interior depression by drawing within themselves. Their inner fortitude either slackens or is stretched to the breaking point, and their souls go into turmoil. Little by little, courage gives way to disgust and discouragement which creep into even prayer itself. And, because prayer then offers only an abstract and hidden fortitude as a substitute for external and sensible happiness, they are in grave danger either of considering it inefficacious or of lacking the necessary courage

to persevere in it. And so it was that, when Eugene had all the more need of grace to persevere in his "nothing against God," he slackened in practicing his "nothing without God."

During his last months in Sicily, his grief over the death of the Duchess was intensified by a second sorrow which affected him even more personally. In obedience to the imperious demands of Mme. de Mazenod, the young Count had to return to France, and return alone, leaving his father and uncles behind him at Palermo. Owing to the influence of Roze Joannis, Citizen Bonnet (Mme. Joannis) and her daughters considered the three de Mazenod brothers undesirables. By the same token that it reunited him with his mother, Eugene's return caused a wider rift in the family circle.

Three years before, on the day following the coup d'état of Brumaire, Mme. de Mazenod had planned to have her husband and brothers-in-law repatriated along with her son. In an affectionate letter, written on December 21, 1799, but not reaching Palermo until May 14, 1800, she rejoiced: "We have all been overjoyed by recent events. If this change of policy holds, there is good reason to believe that soon we shall be reunited. I do not know what the new ruling will decree about the reinstatement of émigrés, but I fondly hope to obtain it for our friends."<sup>83</sup> On July 20, 1800, her feelings were still the same. Her "name had been practically taken off the list of émigrés. . . . There will be no difficulty taking care of the little one. I feel sure that I shall have managed it before this letter reaches you. . . . As for yourself, we are working hard and shall continue to do so until you finally have what we all want you to have." Since it would take a little time to have Charles-Antoine's name and that of his brothers removed from the list, Mme. de Mazenod felt that "the child should leave as soon as you can possibly arrange it. He will stop at the house of his grand aunt Mion where he will find all the papers needed for the rest of the journey."<sup>84</sup>

In November, 1800, the tone began to change. In everything pertaining to Eugene's return, Mme. de Mazenod sounded very imperative: "You and your papa would make me very angry," she wrote her son, "if you were not to follow the advice I gave

you in my preceding letters." As for her husband and her brothers-in-law, the following words surely imply a growing uncertainty: "Tell your father that I shall do everything possible to bring about his return, and I hope that, with a little more patience, I shall succeed, provided he still wants it. Fortuné can return whenever he wishes. As yet, I do not see the way clear for Uncle Eugene, but his turn will come."<sup>85</sup> On the 9th of the same month, a new letter indicated a certain impatience:

I cannot conceal from you that it is absolutely necessary for me to have the child here, and, if you received my other letters, he should even now be on his way. His grandmama is very anxious to have him here and has wonderful things planned for him which cannot be carried out unless he is with us. There are many other reasons for his being here, but it would take too long to enumerate them.

As for her husband and the Chevalier, neither of whom benefitted from the consular decrees, they were instructed to wait and see what effect the government's new measures would have:

Along with this fact, I feel it my duty, for your own sake, to acquaint you with another fact. I am sure you realize that your deceased father, you yourself, and your brothers, have many creditors. But what you do not realize, perhaps, is that these creditors have been wearying us with many letters. Some of these people are in a state of abject poverty, which should be a matter of concern for any feeling person. Others are commoners who are capable of grossly insulting their debtors and who, on occasion, have spared neither mama, nor my sister, nor myself. Were you to live under such conditions, you could not help but suffer great distress, since you would be unable to satisfy even your most pressing debts. Your only alternative would be to stay at Saint Laurent where you would be spared such annoyances. I feel, therefore, that if your present situation is bearable, you should not be in a hurry to leave it until we can find an easier way out of our difficulties.<sup>86</sup>

On December 21, 1800, her impatience gave way to irritation. When M. de Mazenod listed several reasons for opposing his son's return to France, he stirred up a hornet's nest:

I have communicated to your friend that part of your letter which concerned her. . . . She has authorized me to inform you that you

could have spared yourself the trouble of going into such a long discussion; that there is no need to answer your objections; that instead of having wasted your time explaining the reasons for your refusal, all you had to say was, "I do not wish to send you what you ask." Your friend then assured me that some of your objections were specious and that she had anticipated them even before she made her request, with the exception of the one regarding your state of health and your purse; that just as these objections did not deter her from making the resolution of which she informed you, neither should they deter you, unless you prefer your own satisfaction to the welfare of your family; that any delay on your part can cause even greater difficulties than those you now fear. . . . However, you are the master. You can say yes or no as you wish. You had to be told what was best under the circumstances so that a further regret will not be added to so many others of the past. You will be the one to answer for what happens in the future.<sup>87</sup>

By way of contrast, Mme. de Mazenod seemed to be much more amenable, on February 12, 1801. Someone arriving from Sicily "gave" her "a full account" of her family's situation, and la Presidente resigned herself to a delay:

If Zézé is as well provided for as they say, if his education, instead of being neglected, is taken care of better than it would be here, if the expense it entails you is reduced to practically nothing by the many kindnesses that are being shown him, I agree that I should not insist upon your sending him at this time. . . . If, today, I consent to his staying with you, it is only because of the completely new picture I have been given regarding his present situation and because I fear I might hurt his interests rather than help them, for I repeat what I have already said hundreds of times; my financial position is anything but enviable. I will not neglect, as you can well imagine, to seek the restoration of my dowry. I'm not sure that I shall succeed, and even if I do, do you realize how many creditors have prior claims upon my inheritance? This places me in a predicament from which it will not be easy to escape. However, to avoid any self-reproach later on, I shall leave no stone unturned.<sup>88</sup>

On May 10, M. de Mazenod, who, at that time, had not yet received the conciliatory letter, wrote with touching sadness:

Several points in your last letter have deeply touched me. No doubt, they are proof of your solicitude for me, and for that, I thank you. I shall not go into them, since, for my own part, I wish to avoid anything that would be painful to you in your sad and difficult situation. Better still, knowing how much you enjoy hearing from your son, I shall let him take up where I leave off in this letter so that he himself might tell you, what is in his heart. I assure you I have no wish to keep him here against his will, and so, in accordance with the instructions in your last letter, I shall have him leave just as soon as you show me why his presence with you is absolutely necessary.

My two brothers are determined not to leave the country (Sicily) until they are sure that their presence in the city (France) will not be a burden to their friends. Charles (Charles-Antoine) would have liked to go there, even though he fully realized how painful his position would be, particularly, in regard to his debts. He would have willingly accepted any humiliation or cross just to be near a wife and child who are very dear to him and whose presence and love would have compensated for everything. Since his desire was neither approved nor encouraged, he has decided not to leave his present location until his wife gives unmistakable proof that she will be happy to see him again. In view of present circumstances, that moment seems very far away. The only thing I ask is that my wife should not forget me, that my children should think lovingly of me, and that, from time to time, my wife should give me detailed news of her health for it will always be a matter of great concern to me. Since fate henceforth condemns me to be separated from my darling daughter, I also ask that she be allowed to write at least a few lines in each of the letters my friends send me. They will be my one great consolation. This, I beg of you, with all my heart.<sup>89</sup>

This distressing dialogue went on for some months. Sickly, nervous, and of a mercurial temperament, Mme. de Mazonod was, at times, conciliatory, and at others argumentative, depending upon her mood, but, even more, upon the influence being exerted on her. Certain of her letters reveal the hand of her cousin, Roze-Joannis and are characterized by a dry, harsh tone. Others which she composed herself were filled with complaints about her fatigue in writing, due to her poor health; it took her several days to recover from the strain. On the other hand, the President never lost his calm and dignity. Whether resigned,

affectionate, or sad, his answers revealed what he suffered, but they were never impatient, or harsh.

The decision was finally reached in June, 1802. A month before that, Marie-Rose had expressly stated her reasons. Due to the debts of their father who had died insolvent, Charles-Antoine and the Chevalier could not return to France until the children's interests had been settled. Fortuné must accompany Eugene, for whom a marriage partner has already been chosen, a young girl with an income of 25,000 livres, "an agreeable face, a fine figure" and "an extremely sweet and gentle disposition." Eugene will marry first, then Ninette; with their material interests safeguarded, Charles-Antoine and his brother Eugene can then think about returning to France and retiring to their lands of Saint Laurent, so as to be out of reach of their creditors.<sup>90</sup>

To his wife's letters of May 2 and 16, written, from beginning to end, in the cold style of a business letter without a single word of regret or consolation, the President wrote the following answer:

Knowing how kind you are, I realize how painful and distressing it must have been for you to mention in all your letters the details of my unfortunate business affairs. How your sensitive heart must have suffered from the necessity of informing me that my father died insolvent and that, overwhelmed with creditors of my own, I have no means of satisfying my father's debts; that there is no haven in your country where I can flee from these creditors, and that they await my return only to have me sent to prison. I have told myself all these things many times but I am no less touched that your tender concern for me and your fear for my safety force you to impress the truth of these things upon me. My gratitude increases twofold when I read that you include me among those you are struggling to feed at the cost of much thrift and self denial. I am indeed touched by this proof of friendship, but, since I know only too well what it must cost you, I have no wish to abuse that friendship. The hounding by my creditors, however painful it would be, is not what I should dread the most; sworn and known enemies are not the most fearsome. More than anything else, I should dread the grief to which I might expose you and my dear children. At any rate, I have already promised to comply fully with your wise advice. For the fine reasons you men-

tioned, as well as for many others which prudence forbids me to mention, I have decided to remain where I am. My younger brother has made the same decision. Fortuné will not make the trip either. As for Zézé, all I can say is that he will follow your orders, and that he will leave when you tell him and have sent his traveling expenses. I might add, and for very good reasons, that you must not send for him unless his presence with you is absolutely necessary.<sup>91</sup>

This meant a complete break and Marie-Rose intended that her husband should understand it as such for she left him practically no hope of ever again seeing her or her daughter until they met "in the Valley of Josaphat."<sup>92</sup> The antagonism between the Mazenod clan of three brothers and the Joannis clan under the influence of cousin Roze was now beyond repair. Feeling that Eugene was too attached to his father and uncles, the Joannis family wanted to get hold of the boy; besides, being impelled by an inordinate love of worldly goods they also wanted to get their hands on the entire Mazenod fortune<sup>93</sup> so that all of it might go to Mme. de Mazenod and her children, leaving Charles-Antoine and his two brothers nothing.

Eugene knew all about this family crisis since M. de Mazenod confided everything to his son "whose prudence far exceeds his years and whose affection is our one great consolation."<sup>94</sup> The young man's heart was too sensitive not to have suffered cruelly from all this. Divided between the joy of being reunited with his mother and Ninette and the sorrow of being separated from his father and uncles, the young Count felt his heart torn to the very core. The affection both families felt for him, instead of bringing them closer together, served only to set them farther apart, and consequently confused the boy in his attempts to solve the dilemma. Filial love is a many-colored thing and cannot be expressed by any mathematical formula. All things being equal, a son's love for his father is never the same as the love he bears his mother.

This rivalry which is a common enough occurrence among families, was especially intensified in Eugene's family because of social complications. Like most aristocratic marriages of that day, Charles-Antoine's had been one of convenience and the

financial problems which arose as a result of it were bound to cause friction between the spouses. It was a marriage that united two different social classes of strongly different mentalities and cultures, resulting therefore in a conflict between the bourgeois mind with its particular interests and the aristocratic mind with its scorn for business affairs and money matters. In large measure, the Revolution had ruined Charles-Antoine, stripping him of his office, robbing him of his possessions and depriving him of his inheritance through which he had hoped to be restored to his former state. It also made him an exile forcing a separation between him and his wife that was destined never to end. Their particular tragedy was the outgrowth of a general tragedy which made the antagonism between their individual psychologies all the more acute. It was both a family tragedy and one of an era.

The liberal measures adopted by the Consulate with its policy of reconciliation, amalgamation and synthesis would naturally have fostered the hope that the drama would end happily. Two days before the coup d'état of Brumaire, Madame de Mazenod, counting upon an early reunion with her "friends" had surmised in which direction the new regime would move, but for personal reasons brought out above, the President and his brothers, in spite of the concessions made to émigrés, renounced their intention of going back to France. Thus, Eugene was unable to profit from these liberal measures which could have helped to restore his family life. The disappointment did not improve matters between the intransigent royalist and the government of Bonaparte. The young count felt a strong repugnance towards becoming the Corsican's subject and, because of this, delayed his return for a long time. In the end, however, he resigned himself to the steps demanded by law and, on August 12, 1802, to obtain his passport, signed his name to the Act of Submission before the Commissioner of French Trade Relations at Palermo, promising "to be loyal to the French government established by the Constitution and to abstain from any direct or indirect correspondence or relation with the enemies of the State."<sup>95</sup> One can well imagine what such an oath must have cost the young man.

In order not to compromise the recovery of his lawful inheritance and to comply with the insistent urgings of his sister-in-law, Fortuné also consented to take the oath but it was not "without a fierce repugnance and very deep sorrow."<sup>96</sup> The Concordat of 1802, far from reconciling him with the First Consul, actually aroused him to a high pitch of indignation: "Article three, which you quoted for me," wrote the canon to M. de Mazenod, "seems frightful to me and I am dismayed when I think of the terrible consequences that will inevitably flow from it. Such an agreement is entirely without precedent and is contrary to all true principles."<sup>97</sup> Article three was the one that compelled all the *ancien régime* Bishops who had been nominated by the King to resign, and, for that reason, aroused the legitimist to the very peak of consternation.

As might be expected, Eugene was even more categorical than his uncle, and, on May 28, 1802, he wrote:

I send you the news sheets, my dear papa. They contain the Legate's Brief for granting a plenary Indulgence to all Frenchmen. If this is the only thing needed to wash them of their crimes, then I can only say that there must be no end to Apostolic powers. Speaking for myself and without any fear of sounding irreligious, I question the validity of such a pardon, and I demand unconditionally the complete restitution of everything they have stolen. No restitution, no pardon. A worthy canon from the Bishop's palace, whom I met today, was definitely not of this opinion. Much to the contrary, he was enthusiastic in praising the Pope's handling of this matter, and called the Concordat a masterpiece of politics in which the Pope showed superlative ingenuity. You know how outspoken I can be. I considered his opinion too outlandish to let pass, but I had no desire to argue with him because he is one of those creatures who, for no other reason than ignorance, think they know everything. What was I to do, then? Simply what I did; that is, I spoke bluntly: "Monsieur l'Abbé," I said to him, "no matter what you say, the Pope, on this occasion, has made himself *sporcificato*." [A Sicilian word which means that a man dishonors himself when he performs base actions.] Needless to say, he couldn't make any answer to that, and our conversation ended there.<sup>98</sup>

It was the second time the young man had presumed to put a canon in his place. Once before, at Naples, he had tangled with

one of those venerable dignitaries; but, while, on that occasion, he had defended the Sovereign Pontiff when he had been criticized for multiplying processions, instead of multiplying his armed troops, here, at Palermo, the young Count took the liberty of criticizing the Pope with a condescending, indeed with something of a coarse tone. Whereas, in earlier days, when Pius VI was sympathetic to the Crusade against the Revolution, it was very easy to practice loyalty to the Pope, now, however, Don Bartolo's disciple was not at all hesitant about taking an opposite stand against Peter's Successor when Pius VII, in his struggle to restore religious peace, had rallied to the New Regime. That the Pope should break the alliance between the Altar and the Throne, and sanction the authority of the usurper and his consular government shocked him deeply. In view of the circumstances, his attitude was simply that of the émigrés as a whole, and of Louis XVIII in particular, who wrote to his representative Delamare: "Any agreement which the Head of the Church might make with Bonaparte would only further condone usurpation and deprive the King of the support of the Church."<sup>99</sup>

Far from having debased himself, Pius VII, concerned only with the spiritual, for which he was responsible, had risen above purely temporal interests and partisan hatreds. At that time, Eugene held far more earthy views. In his condemnation of the treaty between Rome and Paris, Fortuné argued canonically that the general resignation of an entire episcopate was without precedent in history and this argumentation carried great weight with the Pontifical Court. Eugene, however, invoked political and material arguments. He was unable to fathom why the Pope should break the ties between the cause of the Royalty and that of the Church, why he should dispense with restitution to those who were forced to pay for church property that had been stolen by the State, and why he should grant indulgences to thieves. This violent reaction, resulting, at one and the same time, from his monarchical fervor and his aristocratic mentality, undoubtedly shows that he was a bit foggy in his religious ideas at that time.

We cannot blame him too much, however, since the young

Count was completely disorientated and his health was impaired as a result of all his crises. On August 17, he was pronounced seriously ill "of intestinal gripe and steadily increasing bile attacks," accompanied by nosebleeds, vomiting of bile, and lack of perspiration. Once the perspiration was restored, the sweating became so profuse that "in the short space of two days," wrote the President, "we had to give him a change of nightshirt fourteen times; they looked as though they had been soaked in a bucket of water."<sup>100</sup> These "discharges" saved his life, but left him extremely exhausted. Emaciated and drawn-looking, the young man recovered so slowly that, even after twelve days, the only walking he could do was to the church to hear mass. Fortunately, the Duke of Cannizzaro gave him the use of his carriage which enabled him to enjoy several hours of riding each day. On September 21, Monsieur de Mazenod still felt dissatisfied with his son's recovery and was amazed that the regular doctor had not prescribed any purgative: "It all seemed barbarous to me," he wrote, "but I had to abide by the decisions of these soothsayers. Today, my son begins taking a bitter syrup from which good results are expected."<sup>101</sup> Evidently the syrup succeeded in curing the "morbid disease," for, in October, when the convalescent finally recovered, he embarked for Marseilles on Captain Reinier's ship.

The leavetaking was heartrending: "My son's departure took place on the eleventh of this month. He showed so many signs of affection, regret, and compassion, that our hearts were equally touched and broken by them. We had to do violence to ourselves to conceal our emotions and to keep up his spirits," wrote M. de Mazenod to Baron Talleyrand, October 19.<sup>102</sup> Holding back their tears, the President and his two brothers escorted Eugene as far as the Port, and after the adieux, stood for a long time watching the boat bear him off to France. Then, with bent backs and drooping shoulders, the three disconsolates silently returned to their lodgings which now seemed like a "desert."<sup>103</sup> Their exile loomed up sadder and heavier than ever.

## Chapter Seven

# *The Lights and Shadows of Provence*

### RETURN TO FRANCE

Eleven years of exile, and Eugene was finally returning to his Fatherland; seven years of separation from his mother and sister, and now the long-awaited reunion. Yet, when the moment arrived for Captain Reinier's ship to leave port and sail out to the open seas, the separation from his father and uncles suddenly seemed so cruel to him<sup>1</sup> that all his happiness at the thought of returning to France completely vanished. His tears, mingling with those of his father and uncles, were like a heavy mist blurring the happy faces of the loved ones he had pictured waiting eagerly for him on the far off shores of France, and he could feel nothing but the weight of the immediate moment with its depressing gloom of an indefinite and brutal separation. Tear-filled eyes never see the far-away.

Perhaps it was just as well that his picture of the approaching reunion became clouded, or better still, that he did not know at that moment what the future held in store for him, since the years immediately ahead were to bring him grave and dangerous trials. Provence, a country of contrasts, has its sparkling light, but it also has its gloomy darkness, and before emerging into the light, the young man would have to grope his way in the darkness, and, for all we know, be led astray in it. It was to be a period of crisis and painful maturing which, after sufficiently disorientating him, would eventually bring about salutary results and point him towards his ultimate destiny in life.

From the very outset, the journey proved physically and

morally depressing. His first night on board seemed interminable. He suffered from the cold, "a beastly cold"<sup>2</sup> and to keep warm he had to wrap a blanket around his shoulders. Bundled up in this inelegant apparel, he was anything but the picture of a man of distinction. He suffered also from hunger, having been served a "tasteless dinner: soup and a sorry piece of bully; that's all."<sup>3</sup> But above all, he suffered from the heartache of being separated from his father and uncles and could find no way to ease the sorrow or stop the tears. At one o'clock in the morning he wrote:

I have been trying every way I know to distract myself, but it's to no avail. My dear Papa and my good Uncles, how my heart longs for all of you! When I think of all the many annoyances I have caused you I feel like a criminal. You no more deserved these than you did any others. However, you know that I have always loved you. You are constantly in my thoughts. If only I could press you to my heart at this moment! How wretched I feel! My tears are falling on the paper and make it impossible for me to write. I embrace you but, sad to say, I can do so only in spirit.<sup>4</sup>

Being unable to sleep, the young voyager grew irritable at the little headway Captain Reinier was making. Although the winds were strong enough when the voyage began, they died down shortly thereafter and were followed by a dead calm. When they started up again, their direction, although favorable for sailing towards France, kept the ship from entering the harbor of Cefalu where a cargo had to be taken on board. From one o'clock in the morning until six the ship had to maneuver, make tacks and stand still. The passenger then became peeved at the winds: "Fine for going to Marseilles but they are putting up a fight to keep us out of Cefalu!"<sup>5</sup> And this brought Cefalu in for its share of the grumble: "that devil of a Cefalu wasn't worth the trouble of losing so much time in the first place."<sup>6</sup> At dawn, they finally reached shore.

The Count's irate disposition even blinded him to the charms of this harbor town: "Nothing to see in this miserable town except the former Bishop's mausoleum where he is de-

picted in marble giving one of his garments to a beggar.”<sup>7</sup> Not a word about the magnificent Romano-Byzantine Cathedral built by the Normans during the twelfth century. Instead, he describes the dinner given him by the police captain of the town. The captain was a client of M. Bouge, for whom Eugene’s uncle, the Chevalier, worked as a salesman in Palermo, and he treated the young guest royally. The whole meal must have been a rich one, judging by the abundance of desserts, “six different kinds.” For once, Captain Reinier’s passenger did not leave the table hungry.

However, when the boat set sail again, the noble Count went back to a steady diet of a small piece of bully in the morning, and a celery salad in the evening. “This rascal Reinier,” wrote M. de Mazenod to the Baron of Talleyrand, “must have taken a few lessons from our treasurer, Fortuné.”<sup>8</sup> To shrink his brothers’ stomachs, the good canon had reduced their evening meal to a “dish of bitter and detestable boiled quince.”<sup>9</sup> If he had so desired, Eugene could have left abundantly supplied with food, since his Sicilian friends wanted to shower him with gifts. “But,” reported his father, “as he has a rather noble soul, one that is even a bit proud and impulsive, he thanked them but refused.”<sup>10</sup> He did accept some chocolate and preserves but these were hardly enough to satisfy an appetite sharpened by the ocean air and he soon regretted not having taken something more substantial; some ham, for example, which would have been “just what he needed.”<sup>11</sup> Such a niggardly menu helped to make the voyage rather disagreeable, to say the least.

Adding to all his woes, on Saturday, October 16, a storm arose while they were between Sicily and Sardinia, and battered the ship for four hours, putting it in grave danger. As Fr. Rey wrote later:

The sea became so rough that the waves flooded the ship. It was impossible to control the ship since the helm was completely submerged. Eventually it was raised up, but the rain came down in torrents and the thunder turned into one long incessant roar causing the ship to tremble violently. During all this tempest, the sailors, gasping for

breath, had to bail out the ship constantly, since the hull took in an enormous amount of water. Realizing he could do nothing, Captain Reinier grew fearful. His log records that during the two consecutive hours in which the storm raged, the wind had spun the compass the full circle. Finally the winds took a fixed direction and the danger was over.<sup>12</sup>

The rest of the crossing was comparatively calm, and they came in sight of the Island of Elba on October 20, and on the 24th, after thirteen days of difficult navigation, Eugene de Mazenod disembarked at the Port of Marseilles. His eleven-year exile had finally come to an end.

It ended with a sad disappointment, however, for there was no one at the wharf to greet him. He searched in vain among the faces of the crowd for his mother, his grandmother or his aunt, all of whom had repeatedly told him how eager they would be to see him again. Not seeing any of them there, he looked again, but with no more success, for some relatives or friends from Marseilles whom his mother might have sent in her stead with a letter of affectionate welcome containing precise information as to how to reach her. With a feeling of emptiness and abandonment, the young man stood there, a stranger in his own land. It was a sad contrast to his departure from Palermo where his father and uncles had affectionately pressed around him until the very last moment. By that very token, the heartbreak of his departure had been both softened and intensified and the remembrance of that departure now made the absence and silence of his Aix family all the more noticeable and unexplainable. Instead of the joy he had anticipated, his return to Provence brought a sharp stab of disappointment.

Fortunately, the President had taken the wise precaution of referring his son to a representative of the Bouge Company which had business dealings in Palermo. After first reporting to the Commune to present his passport, Eugene then went to the home of M. Reboul to learn whether or not Mme. de Mazenod was awaiting him in Marseilles. M. Reboul informed him that he did not know but that everything had been arranged for his lodgings and that he would bring him directly

to the home of Madame Estieu who was eagerly waiting to welcome him. The Bouge representative also obligingly offered to reopen the mail pouch which was about to be sent to Sicily so that Eugene might enclose a letter to his father. The young man then scribbled a few hasty lines, assuring M. de Mazenod of his safe arrival and promising to give him all the details of his voyage by the very next post. To be on the safe side, he also scribbled two lines to his mother and sent them by a rural postman who was then setting out for Aix.<sup>13</sup> When this was done, M. Reboul conducted Eugene to the home of Mme. Estieu who welcomed him very cordially.

There at least some of the mystery was explained and cleared away. Eugene found a "small note" from his mother, pointing out everything he was to do.<sup>14</sup> Mme. Estieu even expected that la Presidente would arrive at any moment and would also be lodged at her home with Eugene. He also found a "nice letter from the ever-loving Babet,"<sup>15</sup> his aunt, Madame de Pierrefeu. Arrangements had been made after all, but, in spite of his happiness on discovering it, the young man still felt the impact of his first reactions. They had been too painful and violent not to have left him with disturbing and unavoidable impressions. He spent the afternoon visiting with Monsieur Samatan, giving him news of his son, and with Mlle. Samatan and M. Samatan's sister-in-law, who was anything but what the French term implies; la belle-soeur. The reception she gave him was as frosty as Lapland itself.<sup>16</sup> That evening, after treating his guest to an excellent dinner, M. Estieu took him to the theatre where *The Ambassador of Tunis* was playing, but, worn out after his long voyage and a day fraught with mixed emotions, Eugene evidently found little enjoyment in the play. Having to stand during the performance and being deprived of the comfort he had grown accustomed to in Italian Opera Houses, made it even less enjoyable.<sup>17</sup> After returning from the theatre, literally numb, he composed a letter to his mother at midnight, so that it might go off in the morning's mail. "My brain is completely befuddled, and the best thing I can do is to go to bed," he concluded, "for I am thoroughly exhausted."<sup>18</sup>

One can easily imagine the emotions he experienced waiting for her reply or her arrival. Four days went by without a word from her or any sign of her. Hearing from an indirect source that his son had waited from October 25 to October 28, "without receiving a word from any of you or seeing any of you,"<sup>19</sup> the President later wrote to his wife that this strange behavior was incomprehensible and demanded an explanation. It was the son who furnished it on January 9:

I arrived at Marseilles expecting to find some of my family waiting there for me. I found no one nor did I hear from anyone. I wrote, but received no answer. I stayed in Marseilles for four days taking care of business matters but I received no letters during the whole time I was there. Naturally, I was quite disturbed. However, I presume that their letters had gone astray for I felt that since they had received my letters they must have answered them, and I had received no answer.<sup>20</sup>

Whether it was negligence or, better still, zeal on the part of the Secret Service which kept a strict watch over the mail of émigrés and their families, at any rate, he held the postal service fully responsible.

After putting his papers in order and delivering the messages his father had written to some friends and acquaintances, Eugene gave up waiting. On October 28, he decided to go to Aix even though he had no assurance of finding his mother there. He may have left his disappointment unmentioned so as not to sadden the President but we may justly presume that he was not merely "disturbed" but was deeply hurt. A whole series of mistakes and mishaps were discovered too late to prevent an angry interpretation from being put upon Mme. de Mazenod's apparent silence and unconcern. The baneful mystery was eventually solved but not before it had cast a shadow upon Eugene's arrival on French soil. Symbolically enough, that first disappointment was the advance messenger of others which were to make his sojourn increasingly sad.

## THE TRANSFER OF THE FAMILY PROPERTY

Expecting to live at Aix with his mother, grandmother, sister, aunt and cousin in the Joannis family on Papassaudi Street, the young repatriate was soon to learn that he could not remain there. Although the law made residence surveillance compulsory for returned émigrés, it still allowed them to choose their own domicile. However, so that he might escape military conscription without it's being too heavy a burden on the family budget, Mme. de Mazenod had him set up residence at Saint-Laurent where he could secure a replacement for less money; already the money question! La Presidente, therefore, hurried her son off to her mother's home at Saint-Julien where she had him wait until Uncle Roze could accompany him to the seigneurial country house. Thus, on November 27, after spending two weeks at Saint-Julien, Eugene left for Saint-Laurent with his guard-of-honor. Once his name was inscribed on the list of citizens of that commune under the number 41, he was granted a passport, signed by the mayor which entitled him to return to Aix or to any other of the Republic's communes for business reasons.<sup>21</sup> Citizen Mazenod, fils, was finally allowed to return to the capital of Provence shortly before Christmas.

In June, 1803, he was again forced to leave Aix and "in a hurry." Young men of his class were being conscripted there and the municipal authorities, claiming that his domicile was at his mother's house, insisted that his exemption from military service should come from that city. The young chevalier therefore sped back to Saint-Laurent to establish once and for all that his domicile was in that village as was proved by a certificate of the mayor testifying that the young man's name was on the list of conscripts from his commune. This precaution allowed him to escape active military service with a minimum of expense: "It will cost less than a hundred crowns," he wrote to his father, "and in the Bouches du Rhône some replacements have cost fifty, sixty, even up to a hundred louis."<sup>22</sup>

Such a substantial saving was well worth a few sacrifices. Moreover, money was not the only thing he felt he was saving. The young Chevalier thought that the length of his exile would be considerably shorter there, since the raising of conscriptees would take very little time in the Basses Alpes. However, the levée, as it was called, kept being postponed until November 14, thereby prolonging his supposedly brief exile for more than five months—months that became interminable and demoralizing.

During all the time he was in Italy, with the exception of his sojourn at Naples, Eugene had not suffered from boredom. At the College of Nobles in Turin and at the Zinelli home in Venice, studies had filled up his days. Even at Palermo, his private studies and reading had served as a wholesome balance for the amusements, walks, receptions, and parties which the grateful Cannizzaros felt were a small recompense to make to the guardian and companion of their sons. He had never suffered from lack of affection and attention from his father and uncles. In the palace of the Duchess of Cannizzaro, whom he regarded as his second mother, and in palaces of the local nobility where he was welcomed as a friend, the young Count, far better provided for than his father and uncles, led the showy and prosperous life of high Sicilian Society.

What a contrast with Saint-Laurent! The place was palatial, certainly, but it was also empty and falling apart, and it was there that he spent the long tedious weeks, deprived of companionship, books, even the presence of his family, for, at that time, Mme. de Mazenod was away on a trip with her cousin Roze, and even after she returned to Aix, she neglected to visit her son. Idleness weighed heavily upon him and loneliness more so:

At this moment [August 1, 1803] I feel anything but young. Sagging beneath the weight of my twenty-one years, after camping here at Saint-Laurent for more than a month, I feel like a decrepit old man. Is there any cure for boredom? I don't know of any except keeping busy, and how can I keep busy? The harvest is in and a bad one at that; one that the farmers won't buy. Is it reading? The only books

left here are two small novels, *The French Mercury* and *The Gay Mercury*, and novels don't interest me. Or should I read antiquated miscellanies? Perhaps, my dear Papa, I might escape my loneliness if I spent the whole day writing to you; . . . even that solution would be impractical unless I were bent on boring you to death, as the Italians say.<sup>23</sup>

Far from accustoming himself to the long and empty hours, Eugene became more and more bored: "Non ne posso piu, carissimo papa; son morto di noia e di melancolia." (I have had my fill, my dearest papa; I am dying of boredom and loneliness), he declared September 21, 1803. "I have been in this place now for three long months, lonely as a mushroom, bored by the country and its inhabitants, desirous only of leaving it, and unable to do so, and, what is worse, not knowing when this exile will end."<sup>24</sup>

A month later, he wrote to Mme. de Mazenod who had shown little concern for his loneliness, "Before returning to France, had I foreseen that I should have to dwell on the mountain apart, I would never have left where I was, for what mainly prompted me to make the move was my desire to be near you and to live with you."<sup>25</sup>

Finally, at the end of December, the young chevalier was able to inform his father, "I have left that hateful solitude after five months of exile; they seemed more like five centuries. But, at least . . . I can make the boast that my long holocaust saved my mother about fifteen louis. . . . Oh well, my papers are in order and I am duly and legally dispensed from all future conscription."<sup>26</sup> Thanks to an agreement with two compatriots whose combined help furnished him their quota, he succeeded in procuring a replacement, actually at a reduction, by paying them a hundred crowns<sup>27</sup> which took care of each and every one of his obligations. As soon as he obtained the prefecture certificate, testifying that he was dispensed from the levée,<sup>28</sup> Citizen Mazenod, fils, wasted no time getting back to Aix.

The five months spent at Saint-Laurent had given him only too clear a picture of the family estate; buildings falling apart, the tower in ruins, the suites plundered and stripped of all fur-

niture, and the lands poorly cultivated. Moreover, he had a good opportunity to learn, first-hand, how the tenant farmers, the laborers, and the peasants acted and thought, and hence, why it was impossible to restore the property to its former state. Eugene made a valiant effort to secure restitution from those working in the granary, and to prohibit free pasturage and piping of water "from our leaky reservoirs."<sup>29</sup> In fact, he even tried to collect certain feudal taxes which, in days gone by, the Legislative Assembly had submitted to bids;<sup>30</sup> but the unyielding severity of his character and youth scarcely earned him any respect for his most legitimate rights. Far from impressing the peasants, his aristocratic airs only antagonized them: "I make a brief inspection of the harvest each day, and trust that my presence will discourage any thievery. All day long, I amble about with a long cane in one hand and an umbrella in the other, and, just between the two of us, acting like the Lord of the Manor," he wrote to his father, with a smugness that revealed what little grasp he had of the new order.<sup>31</sup> He couldn't have given a worse portrayal of the *ancien régime*, a regime held in horror by the peasants who had gained so much from the Revolution.

In spite of the airs he affected, the "Lord of the Manor" must still have been inwardly mortified, walking about the ancestral estate with his cane and umbrella, for the estate had changed titles and no longer belonged to the Mazenods, but to the commoner, Marie-Rose Joannis. The transfer had been necessary in order to recover the Mazenod fortune which, after the death of President Charles-Alexandre, had been sequestered, due to the emigration of the three heirs, Charles-Antoine, Charles-Fortuné, and Charles-Eugène.

Advised and directed by Roze Joannis, the grandmother Joannis-Bonnet had skillfully maneuvered the recovery of the lands and building which had become national property. Unable to prevent the sale of the chateau and garden of Saint-Laurent in July, 1796, she bought them back for the sum of 17,000 francs through an intermediary, a friend named Sextius Julien. Her intervention successfully prevented the rest of the inheritance from being auctioned. By means of delaying tactics, it was held off un-

til the end of the Directoire, and in 1800, thanks to the lessening of restrictions consequent to the coup d'état of Brumaire, her daughter was then able to recover from the deceased father-in-law's inheritance the 98,000 livres, equal to the value of her trousseau, diamonds and ready cash, which she had entrusted to his administration. A year later, her petitions and legal steps achieved results; on May 11, 1801, the main house, valued at 13,293 francs, was turned over to her, and on June 21 of the same year, the four houses of Saint-Laurent, valued at 63,000 francs.<sup>32</sup> Thus, all M. de Mazenod's property became the property of la Presidente, and Eugene could truthfully inform his father, "You now have nothing."<sup>33</sup>

Charles-Antoine still retained, however, the exclusive right to administer his wife's fortune, since he and Marie-Rose "had been married under the laws of a general Constitution." Mme. de Mazenod therefore, unable to give the necessary delegation, would experience "the greatest difficulties, not only in managing her business affairs, but also in obtaining her revenues."<sup>34</sup> Her one solution to the problem was a divorce, which, under the provisions of the Law of September 20, 1792, was the only means by which she could obtain her lawful autonomy. This law allowed, as cause for divorce, the emigration of one of the married parties. During the Revolution, many wives, who had either stayed in France or had returned after their husbands' emigration, made use of this expedient in order to save their family possessions. Although Mme. de Mazenod succeeded in recovering the family fortune without resorting to this procedure, which was an approved custom at that time, she had no other way to acquire the civil power needed to administer that fortune. Thus, on April 25, 1802, Marie-Rose-Eugenie Joannis went before the mayor of Aix, with four witnesses and "asked in a clear voice to have her marriage dissolved." Her divorce was immediately granted by decision of Mayor Brignon.<sup>35</sup> Henceforth, in the words of the civil formula, she became a "spouse free to exercise her rights." Naturally, the divorce was purely civil and, in her eyes, implied no breaking of the religious contract.

For all practical purposes therefore, all that M. de Mazenod

inherited was his debts; the Joannis family had generously given up all rights to that part of his inheritance. His father's debts amounted to about 165,000 livres while his own came to about 118,000, bringing the sum total to 283,000 livres.<sup>38</sup> Since his creditors could no longer seek payment from his divorced wife, they would either have to seek it from him or sue him.

With the bulk of the family fortune saved, Eugene and his sister were guaranteed their inheritance. Instead of inheriting from their father they would now inherit from their mother. Materially the effect was the same; morally, however, this transfer of the property giving all the assets to la Presidente could not help but hurt the children. Because of the great inequality resulting from it, the situation actually brought about the final break in the family circle while bringing out into the open the antagonism that existed between the Mazenod and Joannis clans.

#### A SHATTERED HOME

Naturally, the Joannis family could not be blamed for the legal skullduggery to which they were forced to resort if they were to protect the Mazenods' immovable fortune from the laws which decreed the confiscation of émigré property. This tightly-woven *Tunic of Nessus* allowed no other way of escape. To discover it, then to utilize it, took a great deal of skill, and, on that point, neither M. de Mazenod nor his son had any argument.

However, only perfect understanding between the spouses and their families in an atmosphere of trust and affection could have counteracted the disadvantages accruing to Charles-Antoine from such a well-handled operation, ruining him as it did financially and legally and depriving him of his marital rights. He had nothing and was no longer recognized as anything. But, rather than attempting to comfort him, not the least effort was made to spare his feelings. Every opportunity was used to remind him that he no longer mattered, and the worst part of it all was that his wife who had been indoctrinated by the Joannis clan joined the chorus to convince the poor exile of his insignificance. It was the final result of what the president called a "system," put

into operation at the time of his marriage and pushed to its inevitable conclusion after the failure of his marriage. Nor was he the only victim of this system; his brother-in-law, Dedons de Pierrefeu suffered the same fate and for the same reason.

Being an extremely jealous mother-in-law, Mme. Joannis feared that her daughters would love their husbands more than herself and she did everything in her power to keep both daughters under her control. Aided and abetted by her nephew Roze whose motto was "divide and conquer," she was able to rule over the whole clan.

Under this baneful influence, Marie-Rose was like a stranger to Charles-Antoine:

My wife alone with me, and my wife surrounded by her relatives, are two entirely different persons. The former is an angel; the only way I know to describe the latter is to borrow your own words; for just as your children are the opposites of mine, so too, is my wife the opposite of yours.

When she left for Provence for the sake of saving the family fortune, Marie-Rose, who had been like an angel at Turin and Venice, fervently declared that no one would ever change her feelings. "But," remarked her husband bitterly, "after she arrived at Aix, her family used every means possible to poison her mind against me."<sup>37</sup>

Eugene took for granted that once back in France he would be able to reunite his parents who, at heart, still loved each other and that he could do away with the legal, material and moral obstacles which hindered the return of his father and uncles. Putting them at rights with the consular decrees would be easy since the liberal measures enacted by Bonaparte made it possible for émigrés to obtain their amnesty. The inheritance of his granduncle, Charles-André which Eugene was making every effort to recover, would take care of their traveling expenses and help them to become settled when they first arrived in France. The only remaining obstacle was the most delicate of the three; how to dispel the ill feelings existing between the spouses? Mme. de Mazenod was not one to accommodate herself to the wishes of her son and the rest of the Joannis family even less.

In May, 1803, under pretext of a trip for the sake of her health, Marie-Rose set out in the direction of the British Isles with her cousin Roze who was on his way to London on business matters. With the breaking of the Amiens peace treaty they were prevented from reaching their destination and decided therefore to extend their stay at Paris and later at Vichy, finally returning to Aix at the end of three months. The President found this rather strange, to say the least, and his son undertook to dispel his suspicions concerning Mme. de Mazenod's attachment to her cousin Roze by giving the president anything but a flattering picture of the man:

A tall man with an unattractive face, sunken eyes, a monstrous nose, hollow cheeks, a big empty mouth in which, try as you might, you couldn't find more than three and a half teeth; light grey hair, harsh voice . . . why go on? He is a veritable mass of decrepitude. And that, my dear Papa, is the Adonis by whom you kindly suppose my mother has been smitten. Does this accurate and truthful picture suffice to put your fears at rest?<sup>38</sup>

Eugene might just as well have saved his banter. The record shows that this "mass of decrepitude" was not wholly without charm. As a matter of record, we know that the Jansenistic Roze, who must have lacked efficacious grace from time to time, fathered at least one illegitimate child.<sup>39</sup>

M. de Mazenod was willing enough to look upon this trip, or, as he called it, this "escapade," simply as an indiscretion on the part of his sick and flighty wife, and to put it down as "caprice." However, he was anything but tolerant about the conditions his wife laid down for his return. Around the end of 1805, a letter, which allowed for no misunderstanding whatsoever, clearly explained to Eugene the main reasons why his father was determined to prolong his exile; reasons which, up to then, the President had kept to himself:

It is enough to cite you only one of ten reasons, each of which outdoes the other, and that is that your mother simply did not want her brothers-in-law or her husband near her. She explained her reasons only too clearly to allow for any doubt on our part. According to her plan, after we had fulfilled the legal formality of placing our-

selves under the surveillance of the sub-prefect at Aix, we would then be expected to live at the home of friends . . . or rent some private home. This would have been a heartache for both you and us, and, at the same time, a matter of public scandal. None of us here had any taste for such a thing. Once, when she feared that we were planning to return, your mother wrote to us in no uncertain terms that she would absolutely refuse to allow your uncles to live in her house, even were they willing to pay rent, and as far as I was concerned, she would welcome me only on condition that I retired to Saint-Laurent while she lived at Aix. Surely you can see that such an arrangement which in no way seemed to offend her delicate feelings, in no way suited ours. Living at a great distance at least spares us an inequality which would be only too noticeable were we to be near each other. I leave it to you whether, for the sake of such an unedifying spectacle, we should have been eager to sacrifice what little we have here that keeps us from going hungry and leave here without knowing where the next penny was coming from, not only to pay for our voyage but also to provide for our living expenses when we would have settled down.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, Eugene was forced to renounce indefinitely all his plans to reunite the family. The prospect for the future seemed all the more distressing since he could not acclimate himself to conditions in the Joannis household. The women dominated the house completely. No doubt, they loved him but it was a far different kind of love from that of his father and uncles who were much more broadminded, more cultured and more generous. The Joannis affection was of the possessive type; overgenerous in reprimands and advice, picayune in prohibitions and orders, autocratic and rather narrowminded. Failing to make sufficient allowance for masculine psychology, and for a personality that had already developed, it made the mistake of putting too tight a rein upon a young man who had become accustomed to a certain independence, and it tried to rob him of all initiative. These unconscious and common-enough blunders were made all the worse by the family's secret determination, which, nevertheless, could not help but betray itself. In place of the profound influence his father and uncles exercised over the young man, and which the Joannis family resented, another had to be substituted,

in order to correct the defects of his former training, which had left him too much latitude and given him, along with his exaggerated ideas, a taste for the easy, soft, expensive, and worldly life. Simply and solely, they intended to bring him into harmony with the rhythm, dimensions, and mentality of his maternal family, and, for his own good, to make a true Joannis out of this young man who was too much a Mazenod.

Through certain remarks his friends and acquaintances had inadvertently made, and through their attitude and behavior, Eugene soon realized that these family antagonisms were making a pawn of him, and it caused him to compare the reserve, tact, refinement, and equanimity of his father and uncles with the imprudent pressures under which he was living at Aix. Not that he was not shown real affection in Aix; it was simply that he preferred the way it was shown in Sicily, and for that no one could blame him.

To spare his father any added sorrow, Eugene took great precautions to conceal his family troubles; but there were times, even in spite of his efforts, when he was unable to avoid telling the President how much he suffered from his absence. His tears stained the paper when he wrote: "I miss you! I say that a hundred times a day. Nothing yet has been able to fill the void in my poor heart which constantly and inconsolably grieves over this sad and tragic separation."<sup>41</sup>

Up to September, 1805, he did succeed in concealing the sorrowful secret of family conditions at Aix. Then, however, under strong tension, to use his own expression, he exploded. During her sojourn in Paris, Mme. de Mazenod had written to her husband, giving him the impression that their son did not want to return to Aix, and such a supposition made the young man indignant. After reassuring the President, he added:

Can it be that no one understands me? Is it conceivable that my own mother does not appreciate me? That may sound insolent to you, but they force me to say it. To be perfectly truthful, my mother tries my patience, when she complains before she has anything to complain about. She should have—and they'll end up by making me bad enough to wish to inflict it on her—I repeat, she should have

a son like many others I know; then she would really have something to complain about. Must I sing my own praises around here, or write out my own defense? It's a sorry state of affairs when my own family does not share the opinion everyone else has of me, and it's a justly deserved one, I might say. Why not be honest about it? If fulfilling every duty, forsaking every distraction, and practicing self-restraint on every occasion, if all these are enough to entitle anyone to a good opinion, why do they want more? My mother can thank God that my principles are too solidly grounded ever to permit me to put them aside. For, she can be perfectly sure that were my behavior something put on, I would long ago have indulged in any pleasure I might have gained from showing her the difference between a son like myself, and one such as they could very well force me to be . . . but, she need have no worries on that score. I do not doubt that my mother loves me very much, but, by doing so, she is merely fulfilling an obligation imposed upon her by nature; I might say by gratitude also, since no son could love his mother as I love mine. Perhaps the family here doubts this because I love others besides my mother. Let me make myself clear. There is no obligation which says that I should love no one but my mother; but, because I do love others, this family imagines, in fact it is convinced, that I love her less than I should, and one member of the family (he is evidently speaking here of the Uncle Roze) dared to berate me for it. In all fairness to my mother, she has never given me any cause to suspect that she feels this way; and yet, there is small consolation in that, since, far from sparing my feelings, they have let me know from time to time that I have no voice in the family, and will have none until after my mother, *who now gives all the orders*, dies. And it hurts me very much to hear my mother say, "You can do as you please when I am gone." I know mama means well, but she is wrong in trying to apply a general rule to a case that warrants exception. She wants me to feel that I am completely dependent upon her, and, therefore, that I should behave accordingly. You know me fairly well. Do *you* think this precaution is necessary? Do you think it is even wise for anyone to resort to means of this kind? Frankly, if I were more heartless and had no regard for what pleases or grieves this family, don't they realize that I could soon become independent of them? Good Heavens! Again I say, how little they know me. They trust in weapons of which I have very little fear, while, all the time, their guarantee of victory lies in my heart.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, as M. de Mazenod had forewarned him, Eugene felt "the evil effects of the poisonous system which had also left its permanent scars" upon the President himself:

And so, they have dared to accuse you of loving your mother less than others; meaning myself, of course. How pitiful! Of course you love your mother and father with all your heart, and they both love you as well; but, as each one's affections are marked by his personality, my love is more demonstrative and trustful, while your mother's is more reserved and cautious, and yet, each love is equally lively and tender. For a long time, I, too, was revolted by all that pettiness, but I have now reached the point where it no longer affects me, for I am convinced that when your mother says such things, it is not her heart that is speaking, for she is indeed a kind-hearted person: rather it is her mind which does not delve too deeply into things, or look at things in a broad manner. It is a mind that is easily swayed and easily prejudiced . . . Do as I do . . . Take things as they come and people as they are. Don't let anything disturb you, and keep acting as you have been doing, especially since you know that although her methods may be wrong, she is at heart a kind person, she loves you, and is incapable of ever hurting you.<sup>43</sup>

And thus, Eugene was advised to resign himself to this situation just as his father before him had done. However, his resignation was far less than his father's had been, because he literally wilted in the home of Mme. Joannis on Papassaudi Street. The strained atmosphere of the house gave him a feeling of suffocation. Before his return to France, in 1801, his sister, Ninette, had written to him that all anyone "hears them talk about in this house, from morning to night, is business, lawsuits, and household problems. I find it rather dull, but I suppose these things are important." She added, "no one talks about anything except what he is interested in."<sup>44</sup> Eugene's patience wore thin, however, when he saw that business and material interests were monopolizing all the thoughts and conversation of the household. His Sicilian friends, his uncles, and his father, who was a true man of culture, had opened up far different vistas to him.

The situation might have been tolerable had he been able to profit from the calm that usually accompanies a dull, dry life,

but in that electrified atmosphere there was tension on all sides. At times the sick and moody Mme. de Mazenod was a whirlwind of activity and at other times was either bursting out into fits of anger or sinking into spells of depression.

I suffer greatly when I see her in that condition; she must have an acrid fluid in her blood because a bath always seems to soothe her nerves. What especially aggravates her condition is her extreme vivacity; the least little thing stirs her up and any sort of disturbance has a bad effect upon her. She runs, goes here and there, upstairs and downstairs, and always acting like a fifteen-year old. She tries to do everything until she works herself up to such a pitch that she is exhausted. The next day she feels strong again and the whole business starts all over: off to the country-house, the garden, the cellar, the attic. Actually it is sometimes impossible to keep from laughing. Everyone lectures her; they tell her to spare herself, to let others do things for her and not to become worked up. She listens to all of them, agrees with what they say, and at the first opportunity proceeds to forget everything they told her. At night when everyone retires, I follow her to her room and stay with her a little while to make her laugh. She is indeed the sweetest person I know; kind and delightfully naive. All the same, though, I have to watch out for her bad days since on those days she scolds and becomes angry at the least thing.<sup>45</sup>

Mme. de Pierrefeu too, was even more excitable than her sister and added to these nervous fits.

My grandmother cannot make a single observation without her younger daughter's becoming hysterical, and were it not for the grief it causes my poor grandmother it would be enough to make you go into gales of laughter. She yells, screams, threatens to do away with herself, accuses her mother of always showing partiality to her older daughter; in short, she goes through every kind of wild nonsense. During her last performance, I had to break down her door, pick her up bodily from the floor, put her on a sofa, force her to swallow some water, grab a large fan and wave it over her, while all the time I had the greatest difficulty to keep from laughing whenever I looked at my sister over in the corner making all kinds of funny faces at me.<sup>46</sup>

Eugene may have caused his father to think that this "foolishness" amused him but he did not think so himself and eventually he became weary of it. His sister Ninette who was sweet, well-behaved and well-acclimated to the surroundings was able to adapt herself to the household and was content to distract herself with her piano, arithmetic, grammar and history lessons, and her strolls to the country-house or in the garden. She resigned herself to going out very little because "Maman and Grandmaman think that nice young ladies should not be seen too much in public." 47 On the other hand, her brother who had been accustomed to a broader and freer life in Sicily more and more resented the routine to which he was subjected.

Disappointed by his family life, the young Chevalier became equally disillusioned by the sombre, serious and stiff social life at Aix. 48 When he first returned to his native city after his exile at St. Laurent, he felt as if he had been released from prison, for Aix had many distractions to offer: "Lovely Aix has so many delights," he wrote to his father. "Twice a week we get together at the Odeon for singing and dancing. By the way, they don't call it the Odeon any more; it is now known as the 'Circle Sextius.' Very often we also attend musical comedies. Did I say musical comedies? They're more like bad operas." He was evidently disappointed in the performance of *The Jealous Lover*, and later by *Tonnelier*, to which "we all went eagerly expecting to see something wonderful. A chariot race would have been more musical than the concert they inflicted on us. Were it not for Mlle. Gallifet's artistry, *Tonnelier* would have been equally bad." These rather unmusical performances, fortunately, were enlivened by rivalries and feuds between the stars and the cast, and, therefore, provided some added amusement. "All this bickering delights the audience and, speaking for myself, the only reason I go to these things is to have a good laugh." 49

After enjoying himself, at the expense of the artists who were more conceited than talented, and who wooed the public by upstaging one another, and after dancing with the young ladies of his social class who lavished their most charming smiles upon the dashing young chevalier, Eugene began to weary of

these worldly vanities which opened his eyes to the meanness, selfishness, petty jealousies, and the all too human narrowmindedness. Instead of giving him the hoped-for remedy for his boredom, this excitement left him with a depressing feeling of emptiness, melancholy, indeed even nausea, and he declared that he felt more alone in the midst of all this social life than when living a hermit's life at Saint-Laurent. In getting away from it, and withdrawing more and more within himself, he eventually reached the point where he found himself fleeing from the very thing he had once been seeking. "In my frequent solitary walks," he wrote to the President, "I pretend that I am conversing with you people, and I find myself speaking your names. I am fast becoming a misanthrope, for I can truthfully assure you that nothing amuses me. I have a strong case of loathing for this country."<sup>50</sup> A month later, he added: "Quaesto paese non mi conviene, and that is why I have developed a distaste for everything. Sometimes three weeks go by without my having gone anywhere except to visit la Poire. I repeat: Quaesto paese non mi conviene."<sup>51</sup>

#### EUGENE'S PLANS FOR MARRYING AND SETTLING IN SICILY

To escape the Joannis atmosphere, which he found increasingly uncomfortable, and free himself from the boredom which the charming city of Aix had failed to remedy, Eugene then began looking for a way to establish his own living quarters. His first solution was one his mother had in mind: a profitable marriage which would enable him to live lavishly on the revenues of a very substantial dowry. In this, he was simply conforming to the noble traditions of the old aristocracy, which tried to dignify the essentially commercial character of this rather shoddy custom by falling back on the genteel language of heraldry; *The coat of arms must be kept from tarnishing.*

At this period of his life, our young hero had no other ideal than to trade his good looks and his nobility for glittering gold pieces. Less brutal than Mme. de Grignon, he did not talk of "fertilizing" his lands; nevertheless, his realistic admissions would

shock anyone today who failed to recognize the interdependence of his mentality, surroundings, and times. He reduced the establishment of a home to what he called a "business transaction," and even wrote it down as a "deal."<sup>52</sup> M. and Mme. de Mazedon took the same attitude, for their own marriage had been arranged in this manner and, despite their own sad experience, they still clung to this ruinous concept.

With Eugene, as with them, the family fortune came first: "I want a rich wife, *richissima e buona*," he wrote to his father.<sup>53</sup> Moral qualities, therefore, took second place, and did so as a matter of course, while riches were given the first and highest consideration. No mention whatever of love. Taking his mother and aunt as criteria, he knew only the least attractive side of feminine nature. The trials of the President seem to have made him somewhat of a woman-hater. To his father, who exhorted him to follow his example and become a good father and husband, he replied in the same letter, "It's not that I have any great desire to have children, *ma la moglie* (or even a wife). Ah! this wife-business is a terrible thing."<sup>54</sup> A year later, he summed up, in two lines, all his ideas at that time concerning the essentials of married life: "I see now that I will never marry because dowries in this country are not large enough, and I cannot, I must not, commit this madness unless it be with a wife who is in a position to put all my affairs on a sound basis."<sup>55</sup> Thus, thanks to the shortage of such prospects, Eugene was saved from this act of madness.

Not that he did not have any opportunities. As a matter of fact, he had two. Before his return to France, while he was in Sicily, his mother had found him a partner who was "richer beyond all expectations."<sup>56</sup> Since the young girl had "a lovely face and a fine figure," he was not opposed to the idea, and even put aside his aristocratic prejudices. The "sort of aversion," which the prospective bride's father displayed "towards the one-time privileged class," and her blood-relationship with such common stock as a candy merchant named Ginesy, a notary, and others like them, all this did not seem insurmountable. "All the details were about to be settled," he wrote from Aix to his father, February

12, 1803, when the young Jauffret girl died "of consumption." He mourned her passing bravely: "The plan fell through; let's forget it."<sup>57</sup>

Mme. de Mazenod and Uncle Roze, however, kept on trying. They immediately started another campaign to find him the wealthy girl of their dreams, and were making no more success when, in January, 1805, a new plan suddenly took shape. Unfortunately, it was due to flounder just as suddenly. The young anonymous girl, who was proposed through an intermediary, undoubtedly "had many fine qualities"; her family was middle-class, but her dowry was only about 60,000 francs, 40,000 of which would come on the day of the marriage, and the other 20,000 on the death of the parents.

As soon as my mother heard what the dowry was, knowing exactly what I demand in this respect, she answered the ambassadress quite honestly, that I was only twenty-two years old and had very little desire to be married at the moment; furthermore, that I was about to do some traveling; that she greatly appreciated the kindness of the people who were interested in me, but that she thought it better that they look elsewhere. They didn't tell her who the young lady's parents were. . . . You can imagine how interested I was in all this. Forty thousand francs, when I want 150,000! And middle class! How do you think that fits in with my plans? If they can't do better than that, I'm afraid that I shall die a virgin, if you'll pardon the expression.<sup>58</sup>

All this is indeed a far cry from the pious explanations which attributed his reserve, at that time, towards "members of the opposite sex," to a priestly vocation, faithfully guarded in the deep recesses of his heart. In all truth, Eugene at that time no longer had any thoughts of the vocation which had been awakened ten years earlier, while he was under the influence of Don Bartolo. His matrimonial negotiations which were inspired and regulated by money interests alone would be sufficient proof of that. But, a plan he devised for settling in Sicily provides even further proof of it; not only because of the purpose he had in mind, but especially because of the mental attitude he revealed.

In September, 1804, with conventional language that can

easily be decoded, Eugene gave his father the plan conceived by his friend, Zezoti, for creating a brilliant situation for himself in Sicily. "This young Venetian, of whom you are very fond, and in whom I am deeply interested" was none other than Eugene himself. In view of his character and because of the political situation, there is no future open to him in his own country. Zezoti has indeed

been blessed by nature with a noble soul and lofty sentiments. Uncompromising with anything that threatens his honor, he would rather die a thousand deaths than commit the least base action. However, he happens to be in a delicate position. He knows only too well that, with a noble ambition like his, he will never be able to succeed under the new government of Venice<sup>59</sup> without debasing himself to some degree in his own eyes. The means he would be forced to use, the companions with whom he would have to associate, and the positions which, at the moment, are the only ones available to him, all these, in short, are repugnant to his nature. Consequently, since he feels little attachment to his own country, he would willingly settle in any part of the world, provided that, while making himself useful to society, he could, at the same time, achieve his purpose in life. And so, it will not come as a surprise to you that, feeling the way he does, he has in mind the states where his father has been living for over seven years. That is where he would prefer to settle down and establish himself firmly; where he would like to make a living and, at the same time, assure his father and his father's brothers of the same. His intentions are the noblest, I assure you, and he trusts in God's help. Meanwhile, he will do everything possible to bring this about.

The influence of the Talleyrands and of his Sicilian friends at the Court of Naples will easily secure a lieutenancy or captaincy for him in the Palatine Guard. Once this essential detail is taken care of, the Zezoti ladies, who will never allow him to leave unless they are absolutely sure that, by opposing him, they would harm his future, will not then stand in his way. Any other motive for his leaving would, in their eyes, be shallow. After the women have given their approval, all will go well, for, subsequently, when Zezoti's mother will have seen how secure his position is, it will not be difficult to persuade her to do what she would have done, had he married; by that I mean, dispose of the land of Saint-Arosto. The money from

the sale of this land will permit Lieutenant Zezoti of the Palatine Guard to purchase a nice estate in Sicily. Thus, with a commission and a fief, this young man will become an integral part of Sicilian society. The advancement procured through his good conduct, along with the patronage of a certain influential person, will put him in a position to ask for, and perhaps obtain, a key position at Court. When that happens, then will he indeed be able to congratulate himself for having refused to resign himself to his misfortune; then will he be able to say; "I was born for a noble purpose. God gave me esteemed parents who excellently acquitted themselves of all their responsibilities. He gave me sufficient will-power to follow fearlessly in their footsteps. The demon of trouble and discord once hurled me down from the pinnacle to which I aspired before I had a chance to reach it; but, faithful to my first calling, I have always envisaged glory as my purpose in life and the esteem of honorable people as my reward. If I have attained the former, it is proof that I have merited the latter." <sup>60</sup>

This, therefore, was the only vocation that Eugene had in mind at that time. Motivated by class consciousness even more than by personal ambition, the young chevalier wanted simply to restore his aristocratic status of which the Revolution had robbed him. It mattered little to him that, to become part of the Sicilian court nobility, he would be obliged to join the service of a nation allied with the English and at war with his own nation. "When I say 'leave,' I mean 'become a citizen of another country,'" <sup>61</sup> he wrote, without the least flicker of an eyelash at using the term "se depaysé" in its full juridical meaning; namely, to break away completely and forever from his own country. For him, the France of Napoleon, where he was called "Citizen Mazenod, fils," was no longer France. Why, then, should he scruple at changing his nationality, indeed at going over bag and baggage to a camp which supported the good cause by fighting the Usurper and principles of equality which he symbolized. Increasingly stiffened by his emigration and the trials he encountered after his return to France, his aristocratic code clouded his patriotism just as fully as it blotted out his priestly vocation. He wanted simply and solely to recover his rank.

The prospect of being reunited with a son, whose absence was such a cause of sorrow to him, did not deter M. de Mazedod from pointing out certain defects in the mirific plan devised by Zezoti. No doubt, in Sicily, everything could have been arranged as planned, although "in the Palatine Guard, one does not start out with the rank of Lieutenant, but rather as a private soldier. One could always find an advantageous place for Zezoti in one corps or in another, thanks to his friends, the Partannas, "since both husband and wife are very close friends of the two people whose influence counts the most here." Once he was naturalized, nothing could prevent him "from attaining the honors and acquiring fiefs and baronial estates," especially if he brought enough money with him to pay for them in cash. But Charles-Antoine was very much afraid that there would be almost insurmountable opposition on the part of the Zezoti women. Taking into account Signora Zezoti's system,

it is certain that never will she, any more than her mother, consent to the son's coming to live near his father. Less still, could either of them be persuaded to give the whole or any part of their property in exchange for a pension. Zezoti must have no illusions on that point. Since they hold the purse strings, they will never loosen them in order to further his plan, which to me, therefore, seems lacking in essentials. Zezoti will see the truth of all these things when circumstances permit him to visit his father. He may not think the ladies will put any obstacle in his path, but I think they will fight the idea just as much and as long as they can. I hope I'm wrong.

Eugene, therefore, must guard against giving the least inkling of his real intentions. He should speak simply about taking an ordinary voyage to see his father and uncles again. After he arrives in Palermo, if he is fully convinced that he can succeed, he will take counsel with these latter concerning the best means of bringing the Zezoti ladies around to his viewpoint. Only under these conditions would there be any hope of success. Were he to confide his real plan to his mother and grandmother at this time, before he has any guarantee of gaining a position in Sicily, he would bring about fatal consequences; first of all, the women would never let him leave, and secondly, they would make things

so difficult for him in disposing or ordering his money interests, that his chances for carrying out any of his plan would be nil from then on, and his father would be inconsolable if, on his account, his good and respectable son were to suffer the least harm to his interests and just rights.<sup>62</sup>

Eugene saw the wisdom of the President's words and promised to follow his advice faithfully. Furthermore, before informing the Zezoti ladies, he had to secure the indispensable passport as a prerequisite; failing which, the whole plan would fall apart. "Young men of his age, particularly those in his position," he wrote to his father, "find it most difficult to procure a passport."<sup>63</sup> A short time later, a sojourn at Vienna (Paris) raised his hopes of surmounting this obstacle by giving him the chance to enlist the aid of some influential people. It so happened that his aunt, Mme. de Pierrefeu, had to go to the capital, at the beginning of the summer, to find a boarding school for her son, and she invited Eugene to accompany her, with all expenses paid. Zezoti couldn't have asked for anything more providential.

#### THE VOYAGE TO PARIS

Mme. de Pierrefeu availed herself of every means to make the journey pleasant and stylish. Instead of taking the uncomfortable public coach, she hired a private carriage, which required six days to reach Lyons, going by easy stages and thereby allowing her a restful sleep each night. Two more days were spent going to Chalon-sur-Saone by water-coach, "a very pleasant boat which was decorated like a pretty salon, furnished very nicely in crimson velvet, with the beams painted gray."<sup>64</sup> At Chalon, Madame, her son, and her nephew took the mail coach, which was the express of those days; it was also very expensive, but with a full gallop of its horses it brought them to Paris in less than 70 hours.

Then began the round of visits and the search for a decent boarding school. Mme. Dedons was interested first of all in finding her son a college that would offer him all the necessary guarantees; at the end of a month she succeeded, but it was only with

the greatest difficulty, and after scouring "the four corners of the city." <sup>65</sup> There were plenty of boarding schools, but the majority of them were disgraceful; no manners, no morals, and very little instruction." <sup>66</sup> Eugene informed his father:

Several have at their head priests who are either married, or living in open concubinage. One might say of their boarding schools, "*by their fruits you shall know them.*" Added to all the disorder that prevails there, the pupils are taught such deplorably bad principles that the other day a young man blew his brains out apparently because he was tired of living. What a terrible thing! <sup>67</sup>

One school seemed a little better than the others "inasmuch as it was directed by a good priest, albeit an Oratorian. Because of his emigration, this priest had been able to purify himself of the stain which the bad conduct of his order had attached to almost all its members." <sup>68</sup> Notwithstanding this purification, however, Madame de Pierrefeu did not feel that the heir to the Pierrefeu dynasty should be entrusted to his hands.

Thanks to Mme. de Montmeyan and her contacts, the marquise finally found a school which appeared to be excellent. It is directed "by respectable priests. They have mass every day, an excellent atmosphere, good food, and nothing seems to be neglected regarding the pupils' education. Furthermore, several very reputable people have given it the highest praise . . . The Principal of the school is a priest about forty years of age and has other priests assisting him. Their only motive is to do good by training young people, and they are not the least interested in making money." <sup>69</sup> Madame therefore decided on this institution "governed and directed by several priests of the Congregation of Saint-Sulpice," <sup>70</sup> and situated near the suburb of Saint-Germain.

While helping to find a place for his cousin, Eugene also busied himself with his own problems. Although Mme. de Pierrefeu's main purpose in going to Paris had been to put her son who was a mediocre pupil, in good hands, Eugene's main purpose in accompanying her was to secure the passport that would

gain him entrance into Sicily and he therefore had to find someone to help him.

The Talleyrands in whom Eugene had put high hopes, since they were in a good position to deal with the foreign minister, were of no help to him, and, consequently, he simply paid them a courtesy call at their chateau of La Ferte Saint-Aubin, feeling obligated to do so because had it not been for them "we would surely have starved to death in a foreign country."<sup>71</sup> Cardinal de Belloy, the Archbishop of Paris, also disappointed him when Eugene met him in the Botanical Gardens. The Cardinal, of course, welcomed him most cordially, "presenting him to those around him as the grandnephew of his dearest friend."<sup>72</sup> He also invited Eugene to dine with him every Friday. However, Eugene immediately realized that the only thing he could hope for from this ninety-seven-year-old wonder was his weekly soup and fish. Why expect anything more when the old man had not even thought of providing Fortuné with the least benefice.

On the other hand, Portalis, the Minister of Public Worship, at whose home Eugene frequently dined, was as obliging as possible.

I visit him often, and we sometimes roam about the salon for an hour and a half and sometimes even two. You can see, therefore, that we have ample time to talk about many things. Although he has a reputation for showing only meager hospitality I think he put himself out a little more for me than for others, since he offered to be of service to me whenever I decide upon a career. First of all, let me make it clear that, personally, I want nothing from him, and it wasn't for myself that I spoke to him. But, I allowed him the privilege of advising me concerning my career so as to make it easier for myself to speak in behalf of others I had in mind. To begin with, he advised me against the diplomatic corps (the only profession that might have tempted me in former times) because, as he said, one does not make any money in that profession. Much to the contrary; one must spend more and more as one is promoted and eventually made chief of the corps. He knows that I abhor the magistracy and so he decided it would be a good idea if I went into public administration. He told me that after I had gone through a short period of briefing

he would be able to guarantee me a sub-prefecture. This, in substance, is what he believed best for me. When Fortuné returns, Portalis will make it his duty to find a suitable appointment for him and, as far as that goes, no doubt he will, for he has charge of these appointments. As for my father, Portalis admits that it will be difficult to find a place for him since he was never meant to occupy any secondary spot. However, if he is willing to settle in Paris, Portalis could, without any difficulty, provide him with a clientele which would give him a start and would noticeably increase because my father's talents would be sure to bring him success. In a short while, navy captains and admirals are to be awarded a retirement pension which will amount to no less than 1,200 francs for my uncle Eugene, and certainly he will be satisfied with that. So you see, even were I to pick and choose as it suits my purpose, I would still be sufficiently provided for, since, leaving myself out, I see positively a bishopric for Fortuné, an income of at least 2,000 crowns for my father and 1,200 francs a year for Uncle Eugene, all of which, joined to the money they will receive when they return will give them a decent and comfortable living and put them in a position where they will not be dependent upon anyone.<sup>73</sup>

Someone other than Eugene might well have jumped eagerly at such tempting proposals, but the young aristocrat took a cautious attitude and stood firmly on the defensive. Portalis, by wishing to be of service to the Mazenods, was not acting purely out of kindness. His friendship with the family, the kind feelings they had shown him "which he had in no way forgotten"<sup>74</sup> his well-known favoritism to fellow-Provençals; none of these was his real reason for offering help. Simply and solely, he wanted to serve Napoleon's policies since the Corsican had decided to rally the ancient nobility to his side and did not hesitate to offer a price for their good-will.

As for the young chevalier, he was determined to accept no position whatsoever from the new government. His aristocratic mentality made such a thing repugnant to him and his honor and pride made such base conduct unthinkable. Because of the Joannis family and the debts his father had incurred, he knew that the president would not return to France, and that his two uncles would refuse to be separated from their brother. Hence,

Zezeoti clung to the plan which would reunite him with them and at the same time assure him of a position in Sicily. Portalis was wasting his time using his customary powers of persuasion on this young aristocrat, for, in spite of his eloquence, the minister failed to convince his guest although the young Count kept the minister from knowing it. He even bent a little so as to keep Portalis from seeing through his little game. Later on, his father was to express his admiration for the son's ability to prove himself, under the circumstances, such a skilled diplomat.<sup>75</sup> Eugene assured Portalis that he was deeply touched by the offers the minister made him, as well as by the friendly feelings that were expressed so warmly. "But, at the same time," he wrote, "I gave no consent to any proposal and, like a good dutiful son, I refused to make any commitments without first consulting my father."<sup>76</sup> It was by means of this last proviso that the matter of the passport was introduced. Under guise of consulting M. de Mazenod, Zezeoti could, if he had the passport, return to Palermo and carry out his plan.

Portalis, anxious to see his friendly offers accepted, was only too glad to support a request motivated by such a purpose. He therefore took it upon himself to intervene personally with Fouché, the minister of police, to secure the all-important passport. However, the latter "replied that he was actually forbidden to grant such a request to anyone because of the circumstances which you know only too well," wrote Eugene, in a crestfallen mood. "And that is what happened to the voyage I was sure I could make. It fell through; and here I am, prevented from seeing you until heaven knows when."<sup>77</sup> He had reasoned that the only thing needed to clear away every obstacle was to have an important man, like Portalis, intervene for him. Actually, the latter's intervention could not have been anything but harmful to his request, since Fouché never forgave Portalis for taking the supervision of public worship away from him, and, being extremely anti-clerical, never ceased to oppose the minister's policies, which he felt were too favorable to the Church. He took every opportunity to paralyse the minister's power, and the circumstances invoked in Eugene's case served Fouché's systematic and treacher-

ous malevolence only too well. Zezoti had knocked on the wrong door and, ironically enough, became the victim of the trick he had played on his unsuspecting patron.

The pseudo-Venetian had counted on leaving Aix in February, 1806, to attend the carnival at Milan and Venice, Lent in Ramagno and Tuscany, and Holy Week in Rome; after that he planned to see Naples again and reach Palermo by the pachetto or mail boat; Palermo, "truly the Promised Land where he had left the dearest part of himself." Instead, he now had to renounce all his dreams: "All those beautiful things made impossible for want of a half sheet of paper."<sup>78</sup> Thus, his trip to Paris, which was made principally to obtain his passport, ended in failure. He now had to return to Provence and once again be cooped up in Papassaudi Street, where, after three months of such an agreeable and exciting stay in the capital, everything seemed even more mournful, more narrow, and more niggardly than ever before. The young man felt more and more out of his element, and literally raged at the thought of the most beautiful years of his youth rolling by in idle obscurity, and he despaired of ever finding the least way out of a situation that was fast becoming intolerable and, at the same time, permanently hopeless. Everything he had tried to do had resulted in an impasse; he had failed to repair the broken home in Aix; in France, he had failed to obtain a post or an office compatible with his principles and his honor; he had likewise failed in his recourse to what he considered the last resort, marriage; finally, he had failed to rejoin his father and uncles so that he might carve out a career for himself in Sicily. Was he, therefore, to pine away indefinitely at the home of his grandmother Joannis?

#### THE INTERIOR CRISIS

This lengthy and harsh trial with the Joannis family at Aix was aggravated by an interior crisis affecting his religious life. The two were closely united and it was no mere coincidence; rather, it was a case of interpenetration and interaction. The first crisis could not help but pave the way for the second; namely,

sadness, boredom and distaste, with their ever-present danger of paralysing the soul; while the second made the first more sorrowful and dangerous for want of spiritual consolation.

The early biographies of the Bishop of Marseilles make no mention of this interior crisis. In Eugene de Mazenod's retreat notes he stresses that it lasted for "several years," but other than that he gives no precise information on the dates which mark its beginning or its end. By cross-checking, we can correctly put its end on Good Friday, 1807, the date of his "final conversion,"<sup>79</sup> but we can arrive at only an approximate date for its beginning. It goes back, perhaps, to the final months he spent in Sicily, but certainly no farther, for up to that time the young Chevalier continued to persevere in his pious dispositions. And even at that time, there was merely a slight weakening of these dispositions and a faint indication of the crisis that was to come. Therefore, it was around 1803, at the earliest, that the interior struggle began, a struggle that was to reach its climax, it seems, around 1805 or 1806.

Nor are the documents any more explicit on the nature and gravity of this struggle. True, there is an overabundance of texts in which the Founder of the Oblates refers again and again to his sorrowful experiences but the interpretation of these admissions poses such delicate problems that one hesitates to be too explicit for fear that one might open the wrong doors by using the wrong keys. Under the circumstances, if at the very least we are to touch on the exact solution, it would seem that the wisest method of pursuing the problem is to follow the uneven path of the available evidence.

Apparently, the crisis did not concern Eugene's faith since his faith remained as dogmatically intolerant and as intellectually strong as it was when he left the Zinellis; which explains his constant parry of arms with Roze Joannis, an obstinate and dyed-in-the-wool Jansenist. It also explains why the young champion of orthodoxy commenced private studies if he was to effectively counter his adversary who was indeed a formidable one. These studies were devoted almost exclusively to the doctrine of Grace and to the controversies surrounding the Roman decisions,

since, as far as Eugene was concerned, the whole religious question centered around the Five Propositions and the Bull, *Unigenitus*. The young controversialist had clearly seen that by dint of subtle argument and resistance in defending the *Augustinus*, the Jansenist sect which was his pet aversion reached the point where it destroyed the authority of the Pope in both doctrinal and disciplinary matters. Following tradition, Zinelli's disciple held to the ancient principle *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*.<sup>80</sup>

He held just as firmly to traditional arguments in proving the divinity and titles of the Church. However, this did not prevent him from acknowledging a certain efficacy in the new apologetic of Chateaubriand, even though he considered it inadequate. There is nothing shrewder or richer in delicate meanings than the notes he composed in 1805 on the *Génie du Christianisme*: "M. de Chateaubriand proposes," he wrote,

to convert unbelievers by proving to them that of all the religions that ever existed the Christian religion is the most poetic, the most human, and the most favorable to liberty, the arts, and literature. He is convinced he must bring all that enchants the imagination and captivates the heart to the aid of this same religion, against which these very things had once been used as weapons. He builds the structure of his work on these foundations and thereby hopes to convert his readers. Undoubtedly, his intentions are laudable, but I don't think he will succeed in convincing anyone by using such arguments. He will, perhaps, succeed in creating an interest in such a lovable religion, but it will always be necessary to go elsewhere to prove that the Christian Religion comes from God, that God alone is to be adored for Himself, and that one should prefer this religion to any other because it is the only true one, and the only one God recognizes. When such essential doctrines are involved, one needs solid proofs and not slight arguments of plausibility. It follows, therefore, that Chateaubriand will be able to prepare the way for conviction, and go a long way in doing so, but he will never convince with the weapons he has chosen.<sup>81</sup>

Fundamentally, Sainte-Beuve said the same thing later, in his critical studies of "the poetic defender" of Christianity. The religion of the Romantics could lead up to the door of Catholi-

cism but, while being of service to Christianity, it will fail to step over the threshold.

All the same, at the end of his notes, after he had finished reading Chateaubriand's work, Eugene acknowledged that the apologetic method of Chateaubriand, which was perfectly adapted to the public and to the purpose he set out to accomplish, showed itself efficacious and beneficial. He even went so far as to explain and excuse the inadequacy of the author's method:

If M. de Chateaubriand had undertaken his work to convince unbelievers of their errors, perhaps he would have given more attention to the decisive proofs which we can use abundantly against the enemies of Religion. . . . The author was not interested, as he himself says, in following the method mapped out by the ancient apologists. He was less concerned with convincing the mind than with touching the heart, in which perhaps he was not wrong, for I am convinced that many readers, who are incredulous only because of thoughtlessness and lack of taste for dry, abstract proofs, stop reading as soon as they perceive the least sign of didactic reasoning, whereas, they always enjoy reading anything that appeals to their feelings. As for the Sophists, who are the inveterate enemies of God and of Christ, it would be useless to try to show them the truth in the first place, since they themselves know the futility of their sophisms. They know that their arguments have been destroyed a hundred times over, and still they continue to use them. Thus, it follows that it would have been a waste of time for Monsieur de Chateaubriand to compose a work for the purpose of convincing the sophists. It was something else again, to present the Christian Religion under its most attractive guise, so that the flock that had been led astray might be brought back, and to begin his presentation by having this same Religion respected and loved; a Religion that had been scorned simply because it was not known. In this respect, he has succeeded.<sup>82</sup>

While rejoicing that Chateaubriand had achieved such happy results, Eugene, however deemed those results incomplete, and even uncertain. The Christian Faith does not rest upon the moving sands of emotional impressions, but upon the firm bedrock of the traditional proofs of reason, which alone have objective value, and which alone infallibly answer the attacks and objections of the "Sophists." As a matter of fact, it was due to these same

traditional proofs that Eugene himself escaped being blinded by the deceptive lights of the philosophers of his day, with the result that the philosophy of the nineteenth century was no more able to make any inroads into his "credo" than was Jansenism.

As for his moral makeup, it, too, was beyond reproach. Although Mme. de Mazenod sometimes complained of his character in a general way, and of his expensive tastes, she still paid full homage to his conduct. Mme. Dedons de Pierrefeu, during her trip to Paris, also acknowledged that his conduct was irreproachable. And when the father, who was deeply concerned about his boy, increased his warnings and counsels, Eugene assured him that there was nothing to worry about on that score. This did not prevent the President, however, from giving his son, with as much realism as kindness, a detailed account of the scarcely edifying pranks of Eugene's Sicilian friends, in order to put the boy more surely on his guard against the libertines and the unmanageable and gambling young people of the day.<sup>83</sup> During Eugene's sojourn at the paternal manor of Saint-Laurent, there was nothing to fear:

I beg you to believe, my esteemed and very dear father, that I am not like the Parisian Seigneur you mentioned, who once lived at Saint-Laurent, and I have not even attempted to find out whether "the shells of these fillies" scratch; there is no credit due me there, for the country nymphs smell like a dung-hill and their skin must be impregnated with a triple layer of that culled essence.<sup>84</sup>

Even the city nymphs of Aix, who were free of that same essence, held no attraction for him. As for the ladies of loose virtue, who were found in abundance at the Palais Royale in Paris, they disgusted him as much as did their "filthy passionate lovers." Thus, his conduct, while he lived at Paris in the midst of all its pleasures and dissipations, was as prudent and moderate as it was in the narrow confines of the province. "To tell the truth, I don't think there's much merit in all that," he added, "for unless one were the most unbridled libertine, it would be impossible for the snares that are set for young people, or even more so for old roués, to make the least impression."<sup>85</sup> In a completely

different vein, the notes of his ordination retreat in 1811 bring us the same guarantee; for, although the future priest, while meditating on the parable of the prodigal son, confessed to having squandered his father's patrimony, he immediately added, "Not with the daughters of Babylon, however, since the Lord, through His incomprehensible goodness towards me, has always preserved me from that kind of filth." <sup>86</sup>

Precious as they are, however, these reliable data have only a negative value. They limit the problem, but do not get to the bottom of it. Now, on the other hand, of those texts which exclude this double weakness, those which throw light upon the others come from a later period and are not restricted to the epistolary style of writing. They are meditations, and meditations which were made during retreats, either on his entrance to the Seminary or on the eves of his various ordinations, or, finally, in 1814. Drawn up between 1808 and 1814 in a very different language and atmosphere, and with a mentality which differentiates them still more from those of 1804 and 1807, the notes in which they are found demand, from a good critical viewpoint, a judicious interpretation of their contrite avowals. Since space forbids citing them in their entirety, we limit ourselves to essential passages. In the retreat made on his entrance to the Seminary. (1808):

. . . I must deeply humiliate myself in view of the iniquities which should have closed the Sanctuary gates to me forever . . .

The realization of my sins

would be fruitless, if it were not accompanied by a sincere, constant, and extreme sorrow for having been so frightfully ungrateful to a God, a Father and a Saviour, Who has predisposed me by so many blessings since my earliest childhood. Yes . . . I shall review all the excesses of my life . . . after realizing that I have betrayed, sold, abandoned, crucified the Just One, I would be my own worst enemy were I ever again to forsake His holy Presence.

. . . My soul

must offer itself each day as a holocaust to thank Him for having snatched me from the clutches of the demon, from the jaws of Hell;

it must be abased . . . prostrate with grief at the thought that . . . for the sake of my Soul, this Master . . . has revealed His power, in order to draw me away from vice . . . I fondly trust . . . that Our Lord Jesus Christ has restored me to His good graces by confirming the sentence of absolution I received when . . . I confessed the errors of my whole life . . .

The notes closed with resolutions to do penance. This penance will chastise

this body which has been the miserable instrument of my sinfulness, and has dragged my soul into excesses which made it the unrepentant enemy of God. . . . But, in order to follow the advice of Saint Francis de Sales, who once said that it is not so necessary to depend upon punishing the body, a miserable donkey not entirely to blame, as it is to repress the will, I shall strive especially to discipline my mind, stifle the disorderly desires of my heart, and make my will submissive . . . In a word, not having imitated Saint Aloysius of Gonzaga in his innocence, and being too cowardly to imitate him in his great penances, I shall strive . . . to imitate, as closely as I can, his spirit of mortification and abnegation . . .

In the notes of his retreat for the Priesthood (1811)

Miserable sinner that I am, who am I to want to love purity, and even holiness? I know, by my past iniquities, what a completely different choice I made. I vowed myself to the devil and his wicked works. He is the master I served, the one I loved . . . thus, I am a sinner; I know it well; a great, a very great sinner . . . I shall meditate . . . on the sin, the horrible, execrable mortal sin into which I plunged myself for so long a time, or to put it better, the empire in which I remained enslaved for several years . . . Behold how I have insulted your love . . . by my crimes I hindered your designs on me; and my soul scorned you . . . turned away from you and plunged into a filthy mire from which it would never have escaped if, in order to fulfill all your merciful goodness in my regard, you had not worked miracles in my favor. . . . Although You created me, simply and solely to love You, I outraged Your love by an uninterrupted repetition of wicked acts. And You, Infinite Majesty, offended and outraged by this miserable worm, by this mass of rotteness, which dared to rise up against You . . . instead of crushing it and casting

it down to the lowest depths of Hell, You waited for my contrition; You pressed me to Your Heart, the same Heart I had clawed in my mad rage . . . I am convinced, therefore, that I never truly loved You. And whom did I love instead? The devil. Yes, the devil was my god. It was to him that I sold my whole being . . . I delivered myself to the devil to be his slave. And this is the monster You have taken in to Your Sanctuary. . . . My face is in the dust and my lips are pressed to the earth; my soul has been crushed and I am completely helpless . . . God has put up with me and made it seem that He did not notice the abominable outrages I never ceased to commit against Him. He has always remained the same with me. He opened His loving Heart to me; Monster that I was, instead of casting myself into His Heart so that all my crimes might be washed away there, I tore His Heart cruelly. How long did it take for this prodigious feat of love on the one hand, and this barbarous folly on the other? I can easily see that all my life I have made illicit use of creatures, at least until the time of my conversion. Instead of using them as they were intended to be used, I made them my last end. . . . The uppermost thought in my mind is that I am worse than any sinner I know. This is no exaggeration for I can prove it simply by remembering my numerous sins and my abuse of so many graces. . . . Like the prodigal son, I left my Father's house after filling His cup to the brim with every kind of bitter drink, even while I lived with Him. I wasted my patrimony, if not with the daughters of Babylon, since the Lord, by His incomprehensible goodness, has always preserved me from that kind of defilement, at least while dwelling within the tents of sinners after I left my Father's home. I wandered around arid deserts, and, reduced to begging, I tasted and fed on the husks of the swine I had deliberately chosen as my companions. Did I have a single thought of returning to my Father . . . ? No! Always, it had to be He who came to lift me up . . . to take me out of the mire into which I had sunk, and from which I could not pull myself. . . . Forever blessed, oh My God, be the sweet violence which you finally imposed upon me! Without that masterful stroke I would still be lying prostrate in my cesspool, or I might even have perished there.

Retreat of 1814. Meditation on the purpose of the Ecclesiastical State:

. . . I a priest! I, who, for such a long time, for several years, knowingly, deliberately, and obstinately, was the slave of the devil, the

enemy of God, lo! I am the minister of that same God . . . I am a priest! Am I not the same one who lived in mortal sin and who persevered in that frightful state without any thought of leaving it? . . . And for how long a time was it?

Meditation on the Kingdom of Jesus Christ:

I have been . . . called to the colors of the King, to fight His enemies, who are mine as well. I was enrolled under His banner from the time of my birth, at the moment of my baptism . . . but hardly had I reached the age of reason when, deceived by the enemy, I passed over into his ranks. I was soon recalled to duty but, my sojourn among the rebels, by accustoming me to the idea of revolt, gave me a taste for independence, and even though I lived in the very camp of the King, and was nourished at His table, I was still guilty of collaborating with the enemy. This disloyalty soon brought me to open desertion, and once again I forsook the banners of my Prince to fight in the enemy's ranks. I stood out all too prominently there. I was equal to the best of them. With one single exception, all their tactics were familiar to me. That one, thanks be to God, was most repugnant to me, but, undoubtedly, I would finally have learned that also, if the Lord, who, from then on, had His sights on me, had not preserved me from that final misfortune. He spied on me to save me. He captured me at a time when my thoughts were farthest from Him, and, binding me more by the bonds of His love than by those of His Justice, He brought me back to His camp. Once before, blind, senseless creature that I was, I had escaped Him; but this time it was forever. Yes, forever, forever.<sup>87</sup>

All the early biographers of the Bishop of Marseilles found these passages so startling that they covered them with a cloak of silence; but, although one has no right to set them aside, one does have a duty to study them closely, before taking them in their strict literal meaning.

First of all, these meditations do not have the precision of an examination of conscience, such as one makes for confession. Here, Eugene is not using the language of moral theology. To interpret his expressions according to the strict terminology of theological principles would add to and go beyond their meaning. Rather is he speaking the traditional seminarian's language of spirituality, particularly that of the French School, which,

through its reaction to the naturalism and optimism of the Renaissance, stresses the misery of man without God, in order better to exalt the grandeur of man with God. Impressed by its vocabulary, which was quite new to him, the young pupil of Saint-Sulpice Seminary uses and misuses it with the untrained mind of a novice who carefully recites a well-learned lesson without delving too deeply into the meaning of the words.

Eugene's absolute temperament, his love for trenchant assertions, and his youthful zeal, made his words even more exaggerated. And why should not allowances be made for the lively impressions he experienced? More than one priest will relive his own experiences on reading these lines with which, in 1808, he began his retreat meditation at the end of his vacation:

Knowing only too well how unworthy, how very unworthy I am to live with the saints who comprise the faculty of this truly heavenly house, I must deeply humiliate myself at the sight of the iniquities which ought to have closed the gates of the sanctuary to me forever.

The vast contrast between the atmosphere of the Seminary and that of Aix was too severe a change in temperature not to have caused a shock, followed by a certain amount of fever. Thus, no expression seemed too exaggerated to point out the antithesis between this "heavenly home," and the "mire" of iniquity into which he had formerly plunged; between "living among the saints" and living "under the tents of sinners." The discovery of an entirely new life, which ruthlessly altered his perspectives, could not help but exaggerate the judgments he made concerning his past life. The ordination retreats shook him no less, and even revealed a certain tension in the candidate, for the approach of the priesthood gave him an even more acute feeling of complete unworthiness.

Finally, his delicate conscience, the rigorous expressions used in moral theology, and his own personal rigorism due to the Jansenist influence of the Joannis family . . . all these caused him to exaggerate the material gravity of his faults. Through the letters he wrote from the Seminary to his young sister, who had just been married,<sup>88</sup> we know that he regarded dancing and at-

tending the theatre as mortal sins. Consequently, and in no uncertain terms, he forbade these things to Ninette under pain of damnation. It was a period of history when, just as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they looked upon actors and actresses as public sinners, and refused the sacraments and church burial to anyone in this class; no one ever thought of having, as we do today, a militant Catholic Action group among these people. Now, while he was at Aix, the Chevalier de Mazonod attended balls and plays given by high society, and such worldliness afterwards appeared monstrous to him. Can we guarantee that at the time he enjoyed these pleasures he looked upon these things in the same way, and that, in the technical language of theologians, he classified them, without any reserve, as occasions of sin forbidden "sub gravi"?

His infidelity to his vocation caused him to have equally violent regrets; for a teaching that was then prevalent enough held that one was obliged, in conscience and under pain of mortal sin, to obey the call of God.<sup>89</sup> Having originally chosen the path of the priesthood during the time he was in Venice, and having abandoned it during the ensuing years, Eugene, therefore, applied to himself the strict interpretation of the words of the Gospel, "Whosoever has put his hand to the plough and looks back is not worthy of the Kingdom of God." If, before he even entered the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, he gave his mother as his reasons "the designs of the Master Whom we are all obliged to obey under pain of damnation,"<sup>90</sup> the fervor he experienced during his retreats at Saint Sulpice could only make him more convinced regarding this rigorous theory and his personal culpability.

Only God, in all understanding and justice, can measure human responsibility exactly. Even if we make allowances for the psychological, literary and social nature of their context, the contrite meditations of the young cleric of Saint-Sulpice are lacking in too many elements to warrant reaching a clear conclusion. There is just as great a risk of falsifying his assertions by overly minimizing them as there is by taking them in their strictest meaning. However, although the margin of truth wavers indeci-

sively between these two extremes, we know that his Christian life did suffer an undeniable slackening, and by no means was he exaggerating when he spoke of "tepidity." Undoubtedly, his outward practice of religion remained regular, but, overcome by sadness and tepidity, lonesome and weary of the empty pleasures of the world, more preoccupied with the temporal than with the spiritual, Eugene de Mazenod lost his taste for prayer, and drew farther apart from Christ.

The hour finally came when Christ took hold of him again forever. The lights then shone so brilliantly and so piercingly that at last all the shadows were dissipated like a winter fog when the sun of spring appears.

#### EUGENE DE MAZENOD'S CONVERSION

Although he overstressed his faults during his retreats, Eugene de Mazenod, by way of contrast, became very reticent concerning what he called his conversion; and, in so doing, he was merely conforming to the spirituality of his times, a spirituality which our own day considers too negative. Unfaithful in this respect to the real spirit of the French School, that epoch was too unmindful of the fact that freedom from sin is only one of the means of attaining supernatural life—our true end. The principles of asceticism predominated, while the splendors of sanctifying grace, which Berulle, Olier, and Condren had glowingly extolled, were scarcely ever mentioned. The main concern of the day was to snatch souls from the devil by inspiring them with a horror of evil, and a fear of eternal damnation. To attract souls and elevate them to God by revealing the ineffable beauty of union with Him, seemed unessential to them. Theirs was the heritage handed down from the eighteenth century, which misunderstood and even belittled true mysticism; and the Romanticism of the nineteenth century made this divergence all the greater by replacing mysticism with a vague sentimentality that was empty and artificial. This explains why the young chevalier gave so little positive affirmation concerning his return to God. He acknowledged that he had left the "mire" and the "cesspool"

in which he had been wallowing, but said nothing of the supernatural life which was reborn in his soul and flourished there. He likewise acknowledged that he had escaped his tepidity, but in no way did he qualify his new fervor. All we know, from his own words, is that the reawakening of his vocation brought about all these things, and did so progressively.

Through a letter he wrote to his mother in April, 1809, we learn that this reawakening began towards the end of 1806,<sup>91</sup> and, through another letter in March of the same year, we also know that, "impelled more forcefully than ever by the grace" of "consecrating" himself "entirely to the service of God" Eugene began "to emerge from his state of tepidity," and tried "by means of greater fervor to merit new graces from the Lord."<sup>92</sup> The second meditation of his retreat of 1814, "Motives Which Oblige Us to tend Towards Our Last End," gives conclusive proof that he had struggled a long time to regain what he had lost:

I looked for happiness outside God, and, to my sorrow, for too long a time. How often, in my past life, did my torn and tormented heart turn back in desperation to its God Whom it had abandoned. Shall I ever forget those bitter tears which the sight of the Cross drew from my eyes one Good Friday? Ah! They welled up from the depths of my heart, and I was unable to check them. So abundant were they that I could not hide them from the people attending that impressive service. My soul was in mortal sin, and it was this that caused my sorrow. That moment seemed so different from others of its kind which I have sometimes experienced. Never was my soul more relieved, and never did it feel happier. And it was simply because, during this shower of tears, in spite of my grief, or better, by reason of it, my thirsting soul reached up to its Final End, to God, its only God, Whose lack it felt so keenly. Why say more? Why try to describe what I felt, when all I need do is think of it, and my heart is filled with sweet consolation.<sup>93</sup>

This meditation provides ample proof of the frequent transports he experienced; all of them of a varying and unequal happiness. That of Good Friday, which he recalled with a very special emotion, differed from the others only in its greater intensity and its more sensible character. Furthermore, it was not the

only time when the "convert" was gifted with knowing the difference between the experimental knowledge of evil and the experimental knowledge of God. To isolate this experience from all the others, by separating the only passage which refers to it from those passages which refer to these others, would be to risk mistaking its real nature and its real significance. Because of the expressions "sweet violence" and "masterful stroke," which Eugene used in order to give God all the credit, one could not, without evident exaggeration, liken his conversion to that of Saint Paul, when, stricken to the ground on his way to Damascus, he discovered Christ; nor, simply because he referred to his future guide, old Father Magy, as his "angel of peace" could one liken his conversion to that of Augustine, in the garden of Milan, where the song of a child moved him to free himself forever from the bodily passions which enslaved him. Eugene's conversion did not have the same suddenness, nor was it of the same dramatic and spectacular character. It developed slowly and quietly, and the young man gradually became aware of it by making progress one day and backsliding the next, backsliding he looked upon as infidelities.

Less sudden than we might be led to believe, were we to take certain of his expressions literally, his conversion was also less complete than he, himself, at first believed it to be. Undoubtedly, from then on, he avoided the faults which he called mortal sins; but there was still a great deal of work to be done in transforming his mentality, profoundly influenced, as it was, by pride and aristocratic prejudices, for, at that time, his class-consciousness affected even his vocation. After enumerating the supernatural motives behind his decision to enter the priesthood—the Will of God, the salvation of souls, the scarcity of priests—he then added, with typical aristocratic condescension, "likewise, the thought that the Church now finds its ministers only in the lower classes . . . quickened a certain instinctive nobility in my soul." <sup>94</sup>

Finally, his resolution to enter Holy Orders was not wholly without misgivings. If his desire for the priesthood was reanimated and progressively quickened, he still had his uncertainties,

doubts, and hesitations; "from then on, Oh Lord, as You are my witness," he wrote in 1808, "my eyes were fixed upon the sanctuary of Your Son and, although I still did not dare to say for sure that this was one day to be my portion, at least I sighed for the blessed moment when it would please You to let me hear Your call."<sup>95</sup> To his mother who, on her part, thought his vocation was only a passing fancy, he affirmed in March, 1809, "For about a year, I kept pondering the designs that God might have in my regard."<sup>96</sup>

After those long months of reflection, during which the young Chevalier had redoubled his fervor so that he might see the light, the moment came when he determined to act. Before making any final decision, Eugene went "to Paris to seek the advice of one of the finest spiritual directors of that day,"<sup>97</sup> Father Duclaux, a Sulpician. In addition, he went to Marseilles, expressly to reveal all his inner feelings to a saint who was also an experienced counsellor, the old Jesuit Magy. Several conferences, lasting several hours, with this "angel of peace,"<sup>98</sup> and followed by correspondence,<sup>99</sup> resulted in this clear cut assurance: "Further reasoning and searching become useless in view of so many related circumstances; your vocation is as luminous as the full noon of a bright summer day."<sup>100</sup> "The desire that has overpowered you does not come from the senses, since it is opposed to the senses, but is rather a light from Heaven."<sup>101</sup> After that, "it was no longer possible for me," wrote Eugene, "to doubt that God wanted me for the ecclesiastical state, to which, in spite of circumstances, or perhaps because of them, He gave me a definite attraction."<sup>102</sup> As a result of this certitude, he made his decision joyfully and peacefully.

#### HIS CHARITABLE WORK AMONG THE PRISONERS

It would not be too far-fetched to see some connection between Eugene's spiritual evolution and the short but very active role he played in the charitable works among the prisoners at Aix. At any rate, the coincidence is so striking that it deserves to be mentioned. First established in 1686 by the Confraternity

of White Robed Penitents, and then made autonomous in 1698, this charitable organization extended its activities throughout the whole of Provence by a ruling of February 28, 1712. Its purpose was to assure necessary spiritual and material assistance to the prisoners. Before 1789, it consisted "of 15 directors, all distinguished for their piety and chosen from among gentlemen, lawyers, procurators, notaries, bourgeois and resident merchants of Aix."<sup>108</sup> These directors gathered every week under the chairmanship of the officer of the week, called the *Semainier*, who gave the others a report on the visits made to the prisons, the needs of the prisoners, and the distributions that were made that week. Taken over by the municipality in 1792, suppressed in 1796, re-established in 1797, and reorganized in 1803, the organization was in need of what Eugene called "regeneration." De Fortis, the Mayor, therefore, resolved to add six new directors to the board: "Demazenot fils," Tassy, Decanis, Vial, Dol, and Barnéoud, all of whom brought new life to the organization.

Installed on December 30, 1806, "Demazenot fils" immediately assumed the duties of the *Semainier*, and, in this capacity, presented, on January 6, 1807, a report that had the Mazenod touch, and seems to have somewhat startled his colleagues who were accustomed to less clear-cut and less emphatic reports.

In no uncertain terms, the young committeeman denounced the baker for the abuses which the members of the organization had very prudently ignored up to that time. First abuse: We must be

scrupulously exact in seeing that the baker hired to provide bread for the prisoners does not underhandedly slip in bread that has gone bad; having noticed this abuse the first day he carried out his duties, and having made complaints to the baker, the *Semainier* was promised by the said baker that it would not happen in the future, and, actually, the bread was excellent all the rest of the week.

Second abuse: "allowed to creep in, one that can have dangerous consequences and, hence, one which must be remedied immediately"; at the end of each quarter the said baker presents a statement on the amount of bread delivered, but no one verifies the accuracy of this statement.

To help us proceed correctly, the baker should be obliged to present, along with this quarterly statement, the day by day delivery slips, signed by the officer of the week. Verification would then be made and, in this way, we can be sure of the accuracy of his statement.

Eugene then denounced the deplorable condition of the temporary prisoners, particularly the conscriptees who had been taken from one regiment to another before reaching their final destination.

These were the prisoners who had gone into hiding in order to escape conscription, and had eventually been arrested by the police. They "not only lack food, but the majority of them are almost stark naked." The *Semainier* proposes, therefore, that an annual collection be conducted, with the permission of the mayor, and that part of the funds collected be used in purchasing "trousers, shoes, hats, etc . . . for distribution among the wretched needy who are shunted from prison to prison."

Finally, the *Semainier*, anxious to make sure the prisoners received spiritual help, which was also one of the purposes of the Organization, observed

that there exists an inexcusable neglect of religion, if not a deplorable spirit of irreligion among many of the prisoners who dispense themselves from attending Holy Mass without any legitimate reason, and, hence, it would be advisable to exhort the prisoners very strongly to fulfill such a sacred duty.<sup>104</sup>

The board of directors agreed to take some action only on the first three points; they decided that the honorable officer of the week "will punctually observe the rules and instructions relative to the furnishing of bread," and "that the baker's quarterly statements will be signed only after due verification." They likewise decided that the mayor be requested to reestablish the house to house collection in the city for the benefit of the needy prisoners," and that part of it "be applied to set up a stockpile of footwear, clothing, etc . . . and that they be distributed in proportion to the needs of the prisoners." On the fourth point, however, the directors were exceedingly more cautious. They agreed

that the irreligion of some of the prisoners is blameworthy, but, since coercive measures are not within our powers, it seems more advisable to be doubly zealous in exhorting the prisoners to fulfill a duty that is very necessary and indispensable for people in their situation.

They advised that each *Semainier* exhort "all the prisoners to fulfill their obligations as Christians by attending divine services."<sup>105</sup>

This did not deter Eugene de Mazenod. At the session on January 20, the last point was again brought to the floor and, this time, the directors decided to take measures to increase the attendance of prisoners at Sunday Mass:

It has been decided to make a number of tags, equal to the number of prisoners; these tags will be printed with the seal of the organization, and carry the word "soup"; on each Sunday and Holy Day of Obligation, as the prisoners leave at the end of Mass, the *Semainier* will give each prisoner, who will have assisted at Mass, one of the aforementioned tags, which will be returned at the distribution of soup; he will strictly see to it that soup will be given only to those who return the tags to him, testifying that they were present at the Mass which will have been celebrated in the prison chapel.<sup>106</sup>

The adopted measure worked out poorly, and, at the meeting of March 24, "Demazenot fils," the outgoing *Semainier*, denounced the tricks practiced by the prisoners in circumventing the system. After stating that "everything was orderly during the week," and that "the bread was of good quality," Eugene added:

Would that I could also give a favorable report concerning the eagerness of the prisoners to fulfill their Christian duty by attending Mass. There is a group of men in the prison who believe that they are above this precept. I have seen at Mass only two of those who, in prisons, think themselves the higher class, and look upon themselves as being superior to those they call the scum, simply because they were able to pay the six centimes needed for being assigned to a room. As for the so-called "scum," most of them heeded my exhortations. However, since this did not include all of them, I felt it my duty to learn who the delinquents were, in order to impose the prescribed punishment upon them. This is how I went about making sure that they did not escape my vigilance. I had a list of prisoners drawn up and took the trouble of calling out their names, one after

the other. Each one was permitted to leave only after I had called out his name, and those who did not answer the roll call had a small check mark put after their names, and they did not share in the distribution of the soup, which took place in my presence. The astonishment which this measure caused proved to me that this method is preferable to that of the tags, which they had found ways of circumventing. The only precaution necessary is to keep an eye on the one who has charge of distributing the soup, since, by giving double rations to the comrades of those whom we have judged it proper to punish, he would render our precautions useless. But, inasmuch as every advantage resulting from this just severity would vanish, if all of us did not follow a uniform mode of action, I beg my colleagues not to let their zeal slacken the least bit in regard to this measure.<sup>107</sup>

Thus, on his own initiative, Eugene inaugurated a system of control which he took for granted all his colleagues would follow.

He likewise succeeded in providing the draft dodgers with essential clothing. We know that on January 28, he was commissioned, along with two other directors, to buy, "for the time being, a dozen pairs of second-hand underwear, a dozen pairs of tapped shoes," and on March 10, "some linen material for three dozen men's shirts, and two dozen women's chemises, twenty-four bed sheets, ten blankets, twelve Cadiz winter cloaks, twenty straw mattresses, twelve caps, twelve bolsters, and twelve hand-towels," being helped in all this by an organization known as "The Ladies of Charity."<sup>108</sup>

He was not so successful with Carles, the baker, however. Much to the contrary; the man's abuses, which "Demazenot fils" had dared to denounce, became worse than ever. In spite of repeated warnings, the baker persisted in exploiting the prisoners, for he evidently enjoyed a certain protection. He even went to the extent of insulting the *Semainiers*, when they complained to him about the bad quality of his bread. The administrators finally became aroused when one of their recently named directors, Jerome Vial, resigned his duties in September, in protest against these intolerable insults, and they then decided to give an ultimatum: one of two things—either Mayor de Fortis will replace the baker, or he will dispense the members from verifying the man's deliveries.<sup>109</sup> However, the said Mayor de Fortis

was determined to maintain the status quo, arguing that the *Semainier* had all the power that was needed to exercise effective control.<sup>110</sup>

Meanwhile, like his colleague Vial, Eugene de Mazenod handed in his resignation. But, while Vial had given as his reason the impossibility "of adequately fulfilling the obligations which each of us assumed when we accepted the duties that we were called upon to share equally,"<sup>111</sup> Eugene, on the other hand, contented himself with giving, as his reason, domestic affairs, "which are absorbing all the time, he would like to devote to the charitable works to which he had been called."<sup>112</sup> Did he, too, feel that it was useless to try to help the prisoners through a mode of action that was meeting insurmountable obstacles, as well as disinterest on the part of his colleagues? Did someone hint that his youthful zeal was somewhat excessive and out of keeping with the traditional reserve of the organization? Whatever the case may have been, no one tried to stop him from resigning. If the prisoners lost out, the "Charitable Works" recovered its placid ways, for according to the reports made at its future meetings, the organization confined itself to strictly administrative tasks and signed their checks without being too much concerned about human and Christian charity.

At least the experience had proved useful in revealing to Eugene a material and moral misery he never even suspected of existing. Did it inspire him, even at that time, with a desire to consecrate himself to the poor and the abandoned? There is no document to prove it, but there is nothing to prevent anyone from supposing that the suffering of the prisoners spurred on his generosity at a time when God was asking him to sacrifice all his worldly ambitions, or that, later, the remembrance of those unfortunates helped, partially at least, to point his vocation in the direction of the humblest of ministries. Furthermore, that special vocation was to shine forth brighter and brighter and become more and more purified during his seminary days; and his spiritual life, which had been re-invigorated along with his vocation, was to progress along the same route and with the same tempo.

## Chapter Eight

# *Spiritual and Intellectual Training at Saint-Sulpice*

MADAME DE MAZENOD AND HER SON'S VOCATION

Mme. de Mazenod had not the least suspicion of her son's decision. While he was a boy at Venice, she had heard him clearly express his intention of becoming a priest, but after that time there had not been a word. Even then she had not taken it seriously since it was so obviously nothing but a passing fancy inspired by the Zinellis. Their influence over the boy was due, for the most part, to the strict watch they kept over him, so that, once he stepped out into the world, their influence over him ceased and with it the passing fancy. Furthermore, la Presidente had already made her own plans for Eugene's and Ninette's future. It was all arranged that Eugene who was the sole heir to the family name would marry in order to ensure the continuance of the line and, through the fortune his wife would bring to the marriage, would reestablish the family's social position. As for Ninette, she was well-dowered and would have no trouble finding a rich marriage partner in Provence. Since their noble family had no other son or daughter, the Church could not hope for either of the children. Mme. de Mazenod would be as shocked as she would be disappointed when she learned of her son's decision to enter the seminary, and, to soften the blow, it was necessary to prepare her for it gradually. Furthermore, her objections had to be anticipated and, if need be, her opposition overcome.

No one could do this more effectively than the uncle Roze. In spite of Eugene's understandable antipathy toward the obstinate Jansenist, and even more so, in spite of the part this same troublemaker and money-grabber played in ruining President de Mazenod and breaking up his home, Eugene sought his help and delegated him to make the first overtures. The man's consummate skill and his unparalleled influence over Marie-Rose who was like putty in his hands, were sure to achieve the desired results. She was bound to lend a favorable ear to this cousin whom Charles-Antoine peevishly, even jealously, called her "spiritual director." Once the uncle's authority was brought to bear upon Mme. de Mazenod, then Ninette, whom Eugene had also brought into his confidence, would lend her delicate charm "to soften anything" his mother might "find too harsh in his decision."<sup>1</sup>

Once the main theme was sounded and repeated, albeit on two different tones, the young chevalier then undertook to develop it fully at his grandmother's home where he was then living.

My dear Mama, before I spoke to you of the designs which the Merciful God has in my regard, I wanted to have my uncle discuss them with you so that you might see them in their true light and thus save your tender heart, which I know so well, from being unduly alarmed. No matter how carefully we try to express our thoughts in writing, we still find it difficult to foresee every objection or even the various ways of looking at a thing. That is why I asked my uncle, who is a good man, to acquaint you with the designs of the Master Whom we are all obliged to obey under pain of damnation, and to answer any objections you might bring up. In short, I wanted him to speak to you first so that, by explaining my reasons to you, he might obtain your approval of a plan which must surely have come from God since it has survived the trials demanded of any inspiration that appears to be out of the ordinary, and since it has the approval of all those who take God's place in my regard.

It now remains for me, my good, sweet mother, to banish any fears you may have that this kind of life is too harsh for me. God never exacts sacrifices here on earth that are beyond our strength. This will not be an agonizing separation, a departure with no return. No indeed! and God is witness to what I say; He is simply asking me to renounce the world where it is well nigh impossible to save

one's soul, so widespread is apostasy there. He is asking me to devote myself in a special way to His service so that I might rekindle the fire of faith which has all but died out among the poor. In short, He is asking me to prepare for the day when I can do everything He demands of me for His glory and for the salvation of souls redeemed by His Precious Blood.

You can see from what I have just told you, my dear Mama, that all this can be accomplished here in our own country, and that, far from renouncing my family, I shall remain all the more attached to it. If I were to stay in the world, settle down, take a wife, establish a home and have children, far from strengthening the bond that unites us, these attachments would very likely weaken it. One thing is certain; since these new attachments would be of the same nature as our attachment to each other, that is to say, equally commanded by nature, they would only be detrimental to the love I want to keep exclusively for you.

I don't think that you really and truly attach too great importance to seeing my name perpetuated in this vale of tears. Time was when this vanity slipped into my heart and all but caused me to forfeit every grace which the Lord was holding in reserve for me. But, I no longer see, and doubtless neither do you, the need to have our names inscribed anywhere but in the Book of Life.

What does it all come down to, then, and what are we actually offering the Lord? A few months separation. In other words, for the sake of the Good God, and in conformity with His Holy Will, we shall merely be making the same sacrifices we make a hundred times a year without the least benefit to our souls.

I shall say nothing more on the subject at this time. We shall discuss it more in detail when I return to Aix.

Goodbye, my sweet mother. I love you very much and I embrace you and Eugenie with all the love of my heart.<sup>2</sup>

The arrival of her son, almost immediately after the arrival of his letter, saved her the necessity of writing to him. Of the conversation that took place between mother and son when Eugene returned to Aix, we know absolutely nothing. We do know that his grandmother gave veiled support to his cause when she wrote to la Presidente with great piety and wisdom on July, 1808:

I miss our dear Eugene very much. His company was very sweet and agreeable and his virtues have endeared him to me more than I can

tell you. It was only right that he should have gone back to you. Now that he has written to you of his plans, you must be eager to see him, to make sure he realizes all the sacrifices demanded by such a great undertaking. One needs absolute certainty to follow a vocation to such a holy state. Without any intention of opposing the Will of God, a mother still has every right in the world to demand proof of the calling her children wish to follow. Make sure you burn my letters and don't leave them lying around on tables where they can be read by the curious.<sup>3</sup>

As it so often happens, this advice of prudence was not followed by the one for whom it was intended; and who are we to regret it?

Mme. de Mazenod had no desire to oppose the Will of God and consented to her son's entering the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, but only because she felt it was merely a test and a trial. It would be some time before la Presidente accepted a vocation which had caught her completely by surprise and had upset all her maternal plans; even in 1809, she "regarded it as a misfortune."<sup>4</sup> As for Charles-Antoine, the interrupted mail service and the obstacles the war put in the path of communication with Sicily, made it impossible to inform him at that time. Only in 1810, after Eugene's ordination to the subdiaconate, would he learn of his son's decision, and then, only through a chance remark made by Alexandre Amyot.

#### SAINT-SULPICE, A NEW SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

On October 12, 1808,<sup>5</sup> Saint-Sulpice Seminary opened its doors to Eugene de Mazenod. It was no longer located opposite the Church of Saint-Sulpice, in the immense buildings constructed for its use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At first the Revolution had confiscated these buildings and no amount of pressure had been able to bring about their recovery; then Bonaparte, eager to embellish his capital city and feeling that the buildings violated architectural harmony, ordered them to be demolished so that the beauty of Servandoni's main door of the Church of Saint-Sulpice might show off to better advantage. Thus, with the buildings gone, the Sulpicians were

forced to carry on their work of training priests elsewhere. Father Emery, their Superior General, after establishing temporary and makeshift quarters at la Vache Noire in 1800, and at the Hotel Fleury in 1803, decided to buy the old Christian Doctrine Building on Pot-de-fer Street, now known as Bonaparte Street, so that he might give the Seminary some sort of stability.

The new premises, which were of very modest dimensions, were sufficient for the community whose membership had long since been reduced and unified. Before 1789, a great many seminarians and the social hierarchy of the time demanded that they be divided into separate and distinct houses according to birth, fortune, and future membership in the high and low clergy. It was a threefold division; the Major Seminary, the Minor Seminary, and the Robertins. The Major Seminary was reserved to the nobles, who were charged a high tuition and were assured major benefices; the Minor was reserved to the commoners of ordinary means; as for the Robertins, they received scholarships solely on the basis of intellectual and moral excellence. Thus, there was class distinction even in preparing for the priesthood.

After the Revolution, it was out of the question to reestablish this segregation. Whereas formerly, in order to secure substantial benefices for its younger sons, the aristocracy had been very eager to find a place for them in the Church, since by law, these sons were entitled to only a small share of the family inheritance, now, however, the same aristocracy showed little enthusiasm for giving its sons to the priesthood. In 1801, only two nobles entered Saint-Sulpice Seminary, one of whom, M. de Quélen, later became archbishop of Paris. In 1803, only one entered; five in 1804, seven in 1805; five in 1806; six in 1807; five in 1808, and two in 1809. None entered in 1802. With such skeleton numbers, it was impossible to restore the old status of the Major Seminary. Consequently, the sons of the *grands seigneurs* had to be mixed with those of the middle class which, proportionately, was hardly any more generous than the nobility in giving its sons to the Church. In fact, the enrollment as a whole was very spotty. From 1801 to 1805 the number of entrants varied between twenty-three and twenty-seven each year. It rose to

thirty-four in 1806, fell to twenty-six and twenty-eight in 1807 and 1808, reaching forty in 1809.<sup>6</sup> Because a certain number of pupils abandoned their studies for the priesthood, and because the course of studies was limited to three or, in some cases, even two years, Saint-Sulpice's total enrollment, according to Portalis, was only forty-nine in 1804, fifty-seven in 1805, with all the candidates coming from twenty to thirty different dioceses. 1810 was marked by a noticeable improvement when the enrollment went up to one hundred; of this number, sixteen were Parisians.<sup>7</sup>

The seminary was unique inasmuch as it took in recruits from all over France, and, as in the days of the ancient regime, was the only seminary which trained clerics belonging to the nobility. In view of this, the figures mentioned give a true picture of the overall situation existing at that time, and, therefore, prove interesting not only in relation to the religious history of France but also in relation to the personal formation of Eugene de Mazenod. To take them on face value would be to risk seeing in them merely a supplementary proof of the extreme shortage of vocations which, at that time, was universally deplored by the Bishops, and even by the Minister of Public Worship. Taken from a spiritual viewpoint, however, they reveal a definite progress. On the one hand, although the vocations were few, they were genuine vocations, inspired solely by supernatural motives, and they were completely selfless since the priesthood no longer held out promises of benefices and offered instead an apostolate of toil in the midst of contradiction and poverty. On the other hand, there was no longer a division between the clergy of the aristocracy and that of the commoners, which introduced class distinction and class antagonism into the one priesthood of Christ. By stripping the Gallican Church of its wealth, and by making ecclesiastical honors accessible to all without any distinction of birth and rank, the Revolution at least put an end to the errors and abuses which were as damaging to Catholicism as they were contrary to its spirit. Characterized as "satanical" by the ex-Jesuit Barruel, the Revolution at least had that advantageous (some even have called it providential) result.

At the new Saint-Sulpice, where traditions of the French

School were carried on, the candidates were more disposed than were their predecessors to receive, acquire a taste for, and live the teachings of their professors concerning the dignity, responsibilities, and exigencies of the priesthood. For two centuries, imitating Berulle, Condren, and Olier, these professors determinedly opposed the false ideas of their times by repeatedly telling their students that one does not enter Holy Orders to be served, but to serve; that one does not become a priest to seek after benefices, but to render to the Father, through the Son, in the light of the Holy Spirit, the worship of adoration which is due to Him, to devote himself to the ministry of souls, and to consecrate himself to the conversion of sinners, as Christ did, by detachment, poverty, and humility. Up to the time of the Revolution they were able to rectify individual viewpoints, but they failed to make any headway in correcting the collective mentality, which considered the system in use ever since 1516 as the traditional and normal one. The Major Seminary, that of the nobles, which was most favored by that system, was more interested in high honors than it was in the sublime heights of Berulle's theology. We know, only too well, the laxity into which that particular group fell during the eighteenth century, and the obstacles that had to be overcome by the reforms introduced by M. Emery.<sup>8</sup>

At la Vache Noire, at the Hotel Fleury, and at the Christian Doctrine Building, the task of the Superior was made much easier. His reduced community no longer included a Dillon or a Talleyrand; on the contrary, it comprised a select group of students whose only concern was to give of themselves. Furthermore, the students, as a whole, were noticeable for their maturity. Seminarians below the age of twenty were the exception; the majority ranged from twenty-three to twenty-six years of age, some of them twenty-eight, thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-five, thirty-nine; a few were even forty and forty-two years of age. They were not youngsters fresh out of college, but young men whom their years and experience with the Revolution had made more serious-minded. This explains the pungent remark made by Father Emery when, in 1809, Father Boyer's nephew, Denis

Affre, who later became Archbishop of Paris, was presented for admission to the Seminary. The boy was only fifteen and his short stature made him look even younger. Gazing at the youngster before him, Father Emery asked him, "Monsieur, did you bring your nurse with you?"<sup>9</sup>

The remark could, in no way, have applied to Eugene de Mazenod. He had already passed his twenty-sixth birthday, and, with his tall, noble bearing, made a favorable impression upon everyone he met. A portrait made about that time, brings out his distinguished appearance, his fashionable style of dress, but above all, his look of strength: long hair, straight and wiry, with each side of the head combed evenly and horizontally after the manner of the Emperor Titus, heavy sideburns set in the same style and with the same skill and haughty negligence, the whole coiffure framing a strong face; the forehead partially covered by a mass of locks arranged with careful disarray on the left side; the nose standing out in sharp contrast to a declivity in the cheeks accentuating it all the more; lips that seem ready to utter a lively repartee; between the points of the collar surmounting a finely pleated shirt-front, a chin giving the impression of will power; the wide collar of the frock coat standing very high at the back of the neck and the lapels crossing one another over a bulging chest. Everything in the portrait contributes toward accentuating the aristocratic allure of the entire ensemble. And yet, an expression of sadness has crept into the face of this high-born young man, who is conscious of his worth and superiority and seems quite sure of his ability. Suffering has already left its mark upon him.<sup>10</sup>

The character portrait Eugene made of himself on his entrance to the Seminary, for the purpose of enlightening his spiritual director, Fr. Duclaux, confirms and completes the details brought out by the engraved portrait made by Gilles Chretien in 1805.

I am of a quick, impetuous nature. When I desire things, I desire them very intensely and the least delay makes me suffer . . . I become impatient at obstacles which prevent my desires from being

fulfilled and no hardship seems too great in overcoming the most difficult of these obstacles. Headstrong in my wishes and feelings, the mere appearance of a contradiction makes me bristle. If the contradiction persists and I am not firmly convinced that I am being opposed for my own good, I flare up and then my soul seems to develop a new resiliency; that is, I acquire a sudden and strange glibness in expressing ideas which come to me in a rush, while, ordinarily I have to search for them and find difficulty in expressing them. I have the same ease in expressing my ideas when I feel strongly about a thing and wish to make others share my feeling. By a strange contrast, if, instead of opposing me, people give in to my wishes, I am lost for words.

I have always had a pronounced candour which causes me to brush away every kind of compliment whenever it shows the least sign of being insincere. Out in the world, people accommodated themselves to my ways . . . Since experience has shown me that I am seldom mistaken in my judgments, I have to guard carefully against pronouncing them unnecessarily . . . In spite of all that I have just said about myself, it is almost unbelievable how sensitive my heart is, but it really is, even to extremes . . . I idolize my family. I would suffer anything for certain members of my family, and this is no exaggeration because I would willingly and unhesitatingly sacrifice my life for my father, my mother, my grandmother, my sister, and my father's two brothers. As a general rule, I feel an intense love for all those who love me, provided their love matches mine. When it does, my heart feels gratitude to the utmost degree. This feeling has always been so exquisite that I have never mistaken it. I have always desired the perfect friend, but never have I met one, at least as far as I know. It is true that I am difficult to please, for just as I am disposed to give much, so, too, I demand much . . .

Nevertheless, there is nothing of a carnal nature in all these desires for they spring from the noblest part of my heart. One of the strongest proofs of this is that my heart has always disdained any intimate friendship with women, since this kind of friendship springs more from the senses than from the heart. Nor does social standing influence the love I bear for those who sincerely love me. I am unbelievably affectionate toward the servants who are sincerely devoted to me. I find it painful to be separated from them, and leaving them was heartbreaking. I am deeply interested in their happiness and do everything I can to secure it for them. And I do

it not out of magnanimity or nobility of soul; only with those towards whom I feel indifferent do I act in this manner. Rather it is done out of affection, tenderness, yes, even love . . .<sup>11</sup>

Eugene, therefore, was fully aware of his own natural virtues as well as his faults opposing these virtues. Furthermore, he knew what had to be done to correct the faults and develop the virtues; but, as it too generally happens, he was much less aware of what we, today, would call his class mentality, and consequently, felt little need to rid himself of it.

The biographers of the Bishop of Marseilles, in their treatment of his life up to that period, attached little importance to this "sociological reality."<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, their failure to recognize its importance puts their readers in danger of poorly understanding one whole side of his character and of even more poorly appreciating the metamorphosis, relative certainly, but still very real, which took place in this young nobleman after he came to Saint-Sulpice, steeped as he was in prejudices that sprang from his noble birth and from ideas he had acquired in his aristocratic environment. Through the experience gained in handling modern problems and from the writings of sociologists, we, today, have a better knowledge of the important role played by this "social thinking which, at a given period," as Jean Guilton writes,

goes on within us without being exclusively our own thinking, although the line of demarcation between thoughts that are strictly our own and those that we share in common with others is, in this case, difficult to determine. Mentality is collective thinking; as such, it puts us into immediate communication with a group that is not confined to any one place or to any one time, and makes us see things through a particular frame of reference and by the simple application of ordinary intellectual processes without, however, any necessity to reflect upon the problem or to consider it from all angles. It must also be noted that one who shares this collective mentality is not conscious of doing so. Like any idiosyncrasy, it is not a conscious act. Furthermore, just as the discovery of a personal mania automatically puts a person in a position to correct it, so too, the discovery of a group mentality is at one and the same time the act by which one can escape the hold it has upon him.<sup>13</sup>

"This mentality," adds Father Rouquette, "implies not only a certain number of mental habits and ready-made judgments of values, but it also implies spontaneous and instinctive reactions and behaviour."<sup>14</sup> "A clear knowledge of the impulses of a mentality," he continues, "has the same liberating power in collective behavior that it has in deep-seated individual behavior. It brings about, as it were, a kind of sociological psychoanalysis and necessarily results in a change in behaviour."<sup>15</sup>

This explains why many Christians, failing to reach a clear knowledge of their mentality, maintain an impenetrable wall between their faith and religious morals on the one hand and the mental habits of their environment on the other; habits which so often conform very little to either their faith or their morals. Undoubtedly there are people who, for their own convenience, purposely keep up this unawareness, even though they could, if they really desired, arrive at clear knowledge. But, how many others remain enslaved to "collective behaviorism" through lack of intelligence? And even of those who think they have rid themselves of it, how many have actually succeeded in realizing complete liberation?

Now, if by his conversion of 1807, Eugene de Mazenod found a way out of his tepidity and sin, in no way does it mean that he had also broken away from the mentality common to émigrés. And yet, why be astonished at this, in view of his origins and education, the social standing of those with whom he associated during his exile, and the limited circle of his social life at Aix? Even in matters pertaining to the Church, the young Chevalier held fast to the ideas of the ancient regime which he had been taught to worship. Around the time he returned to Provence, he expressed regret that Fortuné, through his absence, had missed the opportunity of being promoted to canon or vicar general by Bishop de Cice,<sup>16</sup> and, for a long time after, continually strove to promote the interests of this younger son of the Mazenod family since, by his social rank, he had every right to the mitre. And he was also highly indignant that the stately chapter stalls of St. Sauveur Cathedral were being occupied by common "yokels."<sup>17</sup>

On one point, however, Eugene soon began to escape the hold this mentality had on him. At Palermo, he had berated a Sicilian canon for daring to approve the agreement reached by Pius VII with Bonaparte. Now, it is Fortuné against whom he turns in justifying the same treaty. With Eugene, rallying to the defense of the Concordat by no means meant rallying to the defense of the Corsican's Imperial Regime. As a loyal monarchist, he considered Napoleon a usurper; but, as a child of the Church, the interests of Religion and obedience to the Holy See, came before everything else. His clearer understanding of the situation, along with his ultramontane principles, made the first inroads into the mass of preconceived ideas he brought with him from his exile: "There are two kinds of opinions; political and religious," wrote the young Chevalier.

Anyone is free to think as he wishes concerning political matters; he may even remain silent when his politics differ from everyone else's; I do it myself. But this is not the case with religious opinions. If you are a Catholic, you are not allowed to pick and choose or follow your own inclinations. You are obliged to adhere to the decisions of the divinely appointed teacher, and if there is a schism, the side that is not with Peter goes astray. Such is my invariable way of thinking, and I would still think that way even should a decision contrary to my views be handed down by the Roman Tribunal. How much greater therefore should my loyalty be, now that I see with my own eyes that everything was done for the best and has worked out for the best? Keep in mind that one does not get so clear a picture of things from a distance as he does from close up. So great was the evil and so much were the consequences to be feared that there would have been no remedy if the head of the Church delayed in making great concessions. Far better to lose a leg than to lose the head and with it life itself. The comparison, I assure you, is an apt one. With conditions as they were, it was the duty of everyone, especially every ecclesiastic, to give full support to the views of the Sovereign Pontiff. After all, what was his objective? To preserve the Faith in France. And how could his aims have been realized, if bishops and priests had insisted on demanding what it was impossible for him to obtain? I have no intention of deciding here whether or not the Bishops who refused to hand in their resig-

nations did wrongly, but I do say, without any fear of contradiction, that if the other bishops had acted as these did, atheism and the most frightful schism would have reigned in France, and both these evils would have resulted in a general abandonment of all religious principles. Why? Well, the wolf doesn't guard the flock as the shepherd does. Furthermore, knowing the falsity of schismatic teaching, we also know that people eventually stop listening even to the little moral truth the schismatics might be able to give them. Thus, it follows from all that I have said, that, in ten years, the very concept of religion would have vanished from France. No need to prove this point, because you can't deny it.<sup>18</sup>

Why Fortuné should have refused to seek a bishopric when his nephew could have used his influence to procure one for him along the lines of that given to the aged Bishop of Venice, that is, a diocese where there was very little schism—this Eugene could not understand.<sup>19</sup> Here however, family ambition played no part in urging his uncle to accept a see, nor did the ancient regime. Instead, it was the welfare of souls and the encouragement that ought to be given to good intentions of the government, "which sincerely desires to root out all the schisms and heresies which have either sprung up since the Revolution or have grown in size, such as the Martinists, the Convulsionists, the St. Medard Illuminists."<sup>20</sup> In Eugene's opinion, the difficulties of the task, far from frightening his uncle, should actually have made it impossible for the Canon to avoid it: "What! When one wears the livery of Jesus Christ, should one fear anything? And should one not hope in Him who strengthens us all? Let us recall for a moment my duties as a Christian, and yours as a priest, and then, let us examine our consciences and see if we need to reproach ourselves for an excessive modesty which might easily degenerate into faintheartedness."<sup>21</sup> This polemic did not sway the Canon who still felt a holy horror of the Revolution and continued his friendly association with the priests who remained loyal to their exiled bishops in London.<sup>22</sup> This difference of opinion between the uncle and nephew, who, up to then, were in such perfect harmony regarding their sense of values, confirms even more the nephew's unmistakable evolution whereby he was already be-

ginning to give the spiritual priority over all his political and aristocratic preferences.

One might reasonably think that two years later, his conversion with its fresh impact would have achieved a "sociological psychoanalysis." But, with astonishing contradiction, although the young chevalier wrote his mother that he wanted to become a priest "so that he might strive to rekindle the fire of faith that had all but gone out among the poor," he still admitted in his *Mémoires* that a "certain noble instinct" in his soul had taken added vigor from the thought that "the Church was drawing its priests only from the lower classes."<sup>23</sup> His desire to consecrate himself to the lowest class of mankind was by no means free of class consciousness. The "old man" so often mentioned in his meditations was dead only to sin. The purifying process had yet to be completed, and to accomplish that, he needed God's grace and Saint-Sulpice.

#### ON THE PATH TO DETACHMENT

One should like to be able to give the entire picture of Eugene's spiritual evolution at Saint-Sulpice and to specify exactly how much of it was due to the Holy Ghost, to his teachers, his surroundings, and his individual efforts. But, progress along the path of the supernatural is never fully revealed. What has come down to us from his notes and letters written at that period either fails to enlighten us sufficiently, or puts us in danger of seeing things in a false light; for, these documents contain gaps, extravagant language, and a verbiage typical of a novice. Furthermore, allowances must be made for a temperament and personality that were quite pronounced and for reactions that were very lively. Nevertheless, we can attempt at least a rough sketch of the interior workings of his soul, and mark certain stages in his spiritual journey.

There was nothing of the speculative in Eugene de Mazenod and he remained a practical man throughout his entire life. Apparently, Berulle's metaphysics went over his head. With Eugene, it was not a case of proceeding from the doctrinal to the

practical; much to the contrary, it was through the practical that he came to know the doctrinal, and his only use of the doctrinal was to make it serve the practical. His advance in the practice of asceticism, which logically resulted from his past experiences and his newly acquired lights, would gradually lead him to a deeper knowledge of the essential principles taught by his professors and would give him a clearer picture of the ideal of perfection demanded of the priest, by virtue of his union with Christ the Priest, Christ the Apostle, and Christ the Victim.

Everything pivots around that first impact of his initial retreat on entering the seminary. The contrast between his old environment and this new one, which seemed "heavenly" to him, gave him a keener and clearer consciousness of his sinfulness and unworthiness. So also the contrast between a clergy such as he pictured it, mediocre and tepid, and the clergy he now met in his new surroundings, showed him what priestly sanctity could and should be. To bring himself up to its level, therefore, the young seminarian determined to reform his evil nature which he blamed for having formerly dragged him down to the practice of sin, and which he feared one day might again enslave him. He also resolved to imitate the models of perfection whom he now saw before him every day so as not to fall to the level of ecclesiastics whom, due to his hatred of the Revolution, he judged with unjust and extreme severity.

Consequently, his first resolutions insisted on penance, expiation for his faults and remedying his spiritual sickness. Mortification, rather than intimacy with God, seems to have been his major preoccupation at that time, and he inaugurated a harsh program which he followed for the rest of his life. In October, 1808, he wrote,

I know only too well that I should imitate those blessed and holy penitents who mortified their flesh in proportion to the pampering they had formerly shown it. Being as culpable as they, and even more so, since I not only imitated but outdid them in their bad conduct, I should, therefore, use the same means they employed to appease the anger of God and satisfy His justice. But this is where all my cowardice comes to the fore . . . This body of mine, inwardly straining

against the restriction which the soul has imposed upon it, thanks to the all-powerful grace of God, strongly rebels of being the instrument of its own punishment. Much to the contrary, it makes every effort to shake off this salutary yoke which keeps it in a subjection that will be of great profit to it on the Day of Judgment. . . . It is a never-ending battle that I must wage from morning to night. This, then, is what I propose to do until more time in the seminary will have helped me to discover new ways of mortifying myself:

In the morning, no sooner will the cleric appointed to wake us have left my room than I will jump to the foot of my bed so as not to start the day by an act of sloth, what they call, hugging the bed covers.

During meditation, I will remain on my knees not only for the first quarter hour, but also for the second when we are allowed to stand, regardless of how uncomfortable I may find it. If for some reason I must sit down, I will permit myself this comfort only while the others are standing. . . .

At dinner, I will never take a second portion of any one dish, and even should the portions be small, which rarely happens, I will simply take an extra piece of bread. . . . Since all Fridays are days of fast for me, I will absent myself completely from breakfast. However, since the discipline of the house forbids me to absent myself from dinner and since, contrary to my usual practice on fast days, I shall be obliged to eat something at that meal, I will deny myself something at lunch so that my body will not escape the punishment inflicted upon it.<sup>24</sup>

During his seminary days, Eugene decided to increase the number and the rigors of his fasts, and drew up the following list and menu:

1. All fast days commanded by the Church. On these days, I must take only one meal, and, unless there is pressing need for doing otherwise, I will eat nothing in the evening. This applies only to special days of fast, such as the Ember Days, or vigils, since, on fast days during Lent, with the exception of Good Friday, I shall be allowed the collation consisting of bread alone in the evening.

2. I shall fast every Friday of the year. For the present I am mitigating this fast and am permitting myself a piece of bread and a pear, or an apple, or a small bunch of grapes, or any other fruit,

fresh or preserved; understanding, of course, that it will be only one of these things.

3. On the vigils of special feast days or special days of devotion, the fast will be the same as the Friday fast I have just mentioned.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the days mentioned above were the vigils of the feasts of the Apostles, the Blessed Virgin, and his favorite saints. And so, the list rose to the imposing total of 120 fast days each year; which was twice the number prescribed by the Church at that time.

A short time later, he increased his bodily mortifications by rising at four in the morning, an hour before the community, and would have deprived himself of any heat whatsoever if his spiritual director had not obliged him to warm his room slightly since it was literally ice-cold:

I am bundled up like a Turk, for it is freezing cold. I am in front of the fire which my superiors have ordered me to keep in my room; this writing should give you an idea of how cold my hands are. Even in spite of the fire, my room is so cold that the water in my shaving bowl has frozen completely; and yet, my room is warmer than the others for it is directly over the kitchen. Yesterday, the thermometer read 10°.<sup>26</sup>

Evidently, his fireplace was no raging furnace especially since he himself avowed that during the whole winter he had not burned more than nine or ten francs' worth of wood,<sup>27</sup> altogether, a little less than half a cord.<sup>28</sup>

As the rigors of this harsh asceticism increased, so too did the motives behind them broaden. To his original motives for practicing penance, namely, expiation for his faults and mastery over his body, were added others that were more theocentric and apostolic, namely, reparation for the outrages of sinners, and the conversion of sinners. He thereby, identified himself more closely with Christ, the Priest, Who, by His Sacrifice on the Cross, offered Himself a Victim to His offended Father, and by shedding His Blood purchased salvation for all His guilty brethren.

The practice of penance also entailed the practice of poverty. The young chevalier's aristocratic traditions and personal tastes

had given him a liking for the outward trappings that stressed the quality of his birth and high rank. Before entering the seminary, the heir to the Mazenod fortune always felt his heart constrict whenever he passed the magnificent mansion which had once belonged to his father and grandfather while they were Presidents in Parliament, but which was now occupied by rich upstarts; and he found it no small vexation to be confined within the plain bourgeois home of the apothecary Joannis family. The long months he had spent in the solitude of Saint Laurent may have been marked by loneliness and boredom, but at least they had afforded him the satisfaction of surveying his own lands and of dwelling in his own seigneurial manor. His expensive clothing, linens and jewelry were a source of displeasure to his mother who considered these things extravagances. With the young nobleman, however, nothing was too fine or too expensive when it came to keeping up with the latest fashions. The most meticulous care was given even to his hair styling, his sideburns, and his dress, so that everything might do justice to his titles and name, and show off his noble bearing to best advantage.

However, from the moment he entered the seminary, Eugene renounced all these superfluities by way of mortification, and during his first retreat, made the following resolution:

To punish myself for the easy and aimless life I led in the world and for the attachment I felt for certain of its vanities, my cell will be poor and my outward appearance simple. . . . I will be my own servant, clean my own room . . .<sup>29</sup>

His cell, which he was now obliged to furnish out of his own pocket, was the model of poverty, and the new Seminarian contented himself with the strict minimum: "a webbing cot, a mattress and bolster, a commode, a table, a small secretary, four cane chairs, a pitcher, water-jug, glasses, and a chamber pot."<sup>30</sup> Even that bare minimum was reduced in 1812:

Strictly speaking, I have hardly anything. The miserable treadle-bed I had, was mislaid during vacation, and I have borrowed one. Everything consists of little more than a simple mattress, a table, three rickety cane chairs; that's all. And yet, I do not miss my beautiful

room at Aix, since it no longer suits my taste, nor does it fit in with the simplicity I hope to practice for the rest of my life.<sup>31</sup>

Also, the care of his room was simplified accordingly. Besides, he took care of it himself. Before the Revolution, at the Major Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, the sons of aristocratic families brought their valets with them so as not to demean their high state by performing any servile work. As a concession to that tradition, the newly formed seminary, which mixed the nobility in with the bourgeois, allowed the seminarians, at an added fee, to hire the personnel of the house to keep their cells in order. Eugene, however, made no use of this convenience, even though it was in keeping with the *ancien régime* whose passing he regretted so much. Undoubtedly, his sense of economy and his filial consideration had much to do with it, since Madame de Mazenod felt that a heavy financial problem had been imposed upon her by his vocation which had upset all her plans, and which meant therefore that "expenses had to be kept down." But, first and foremost, it was a spirit of self-denial which influenced his "taking care of his own needs"; "Regardless of whether it is done in order to live more in conformity with evangelical poverty, or to reduce, as much as I can, the expenses I am causing you," he wrote to his mother, "I have absolutely refused to employ a servant to take care of my room."<sup>32</sup> The order in which he stated his motives is a fair indication of their excellence and importance.

Out of a spirit of poverty, the future priest was also to be "plainly dressed." A cassock of plain material, a woolen cincture, and straight hair; that is how the Abbé de Mazenod dressed and would always dress. "To be perfectly truthful," he added, "I don't see why men always want to adorn and pamper a miserable carcass which one day will be food for worms, and which is never less submissive than when it is catered to. And what is merely pitiable in men as a whole, becomes monstrous in men who take up the Cross of Christ."<sup>33</sup> On one occasion when a watch was offered to him, his only concern was that it should keep good time: "I don't care at all about the style of the thing."<sup>34</sup> As for the gold chain they wanted to give along with it, he refused it as being

a useless commodity; ordinarily, the only reason anyone uses this kind of ornamentation is that others might see it. A ribbon will do just as well. When I was out in the world, I had a great desire for a gold chain; today, it would embarrass me. Besides, the tastes of a Churchman should of necessity be different from those of a layman, and, in this respect, God has indeed blessed me.<sup>35</sup>

Even disregarding all this, anyone can see how incongruous a solid gold chain would be with clothes of "coarse material, especially these sorry breeches which are well over three years old."<sup>36</sup>

Eugene's detachment even reached the point where he became indifferent to the family possessions that had formerly meant so much to him. No more those riches which proclaimed his titles and his noble blood!

It doesn't matter to me whether I live in a hovel or a mansion. Once upon a time, I might have been dismayed at seeing the paternal home pass into other hands. Today, it is unimportant to me, and I put no more value upon that pile of stone than I put on the land of Saint-Laurent which I would just as soon you had already sold.<sup>37</sup>

All of which must have caused Mme. de Mazenod to wonder if this was really her son, so completely had he changed.

Necessary though it was, this outward practice of asceticism was still only a means to an end. Through interior mortification, it had to lead to the denial of the will. Thus, Eugene determinedly strove to bring his "proud, headstrong, and wilful" nature into submission.<sup>38</sup> Here again, the memory of his sins and the psychological effect produced upon him by the seminary surroundings, were more responsible for his resolutions than any speculative consideration:

After a worldly life of being praised, coddled, feted, and shown every consideration by all those with whom I associated, I shall be ever grateful to God that, after such a life, I found myself mixed in with a group of people who, by their more virtuous lives, draw attention to themselves and away from me. Were they not more conspicuous than I, even the equality would delight me since it would leave me unnoticed. . . . I shall especially rejoice because here I shall not have the reputation for brilliance and learning that I enjoyed when I was out in the world. My studies, I hope, will be fruitful, but they

will still be studies in which I shall not be able to excel, since I have little or no facility in speaking the Latin language. Besides, I have never restricted myself to formal methods of study and I am too old to think of cultivating new habits of study. This humiliation will be the best thing in the world for me because vanity is as much alive in me as ever.<sup>39</sup>

Eugene did not limit himself simply to striving for self effacement in the midst of this equality where all his talents were over-shadowed. He also acted as though he were the least worthy of all his fellow-seminarians by reason of his past iniquities:

I shall always look upon myself as the least perfect in the seminary, and by no means must I think that this is mere supposition on my part. Much to the contrary; there is an immense difference between me and my fellow-students, for none of them could possibly have as many faults as I have, nor do any of them perform as little penance as I do, even though I have far more need of it than they. If others could see me as I really am, no matter how charitable they might be, they should still find me insufferable . . . Humility, humility . . . this, more than anything else, must be the secure foundation stone of my salvation.<sup>40</sup>

But, his initial program was not to remain a dead letter. We know that as early as 1809, for all practical purposes, this noble cleric thought of serving in none but the lowest ranks of the Church, and sincerely wished to devote himself to the humblest of ministries:

I repeat, it will be in Aix and its diocese that I shall labor. And, since I have fully determined never to make the least move either directly or indirectly toward becoming a bishop, I will never leave the place to which I am assigned except to go to country places for missionary work. That will be my only vacation.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile, he rejoiced that his superiors had assigned him to teach catechism in Saint-Sulpice parish to a class that was considered the least attractive and most difficult of all, in view of

the weak aptitude of its members. They are the poorest of the parish, children of tavern-keepers and crawling with lice. The seminary authorities feel that perhaps I shall be able to put new life into this failing body, and so they have chosen me as its head. They tell

me that it is only temporary and that eventually I shall be assigned to a better group, but, as far as I'm concerned, I am perfectly satisfied to be with these wretched paupers and I shall make every effort to bring them back to God. Tomorrow we shall make each other's acquaintance and, please God, become good friends.<sup>42</sup>

From then on, *Elegi abjectus esse in domo Dei mei* was to be his motto, and it soon replaced the motto on his family coat of arms, *stimulo dedit aemula virtus*. Although he still sketched his coat of arms in his notebook whenever classes were over his head or bored him, the time came, close to the end of his seminary course, when he had a new scroll drawn above a small design which expressed his inclinations exactly:

My armorial bearings were drawn above my father's *president à mortier* mantle, taken off and carelessly thrown over a stone bench and the judge's cap along with the count's coronet reversed; a wooden cross and a crown of thorns rise above this armorial design, taking the place of those ornaments I swore to renounce by trampling them, as it were, underfoot. There you have the secret of my vocation illustrated perfectly.<sup>43</sup>

As the young Provençal seminarian began to divest himself of his selfish inclinations and his aristocratic mentality, that vocation became proportionately more clear cut and more selfless. Consequently his spiritual life aimed at priestly perfection along the path of self renunciation so dear to the heart of Father Olier, the founder of the Sulpicians; for, if the simple Christian has the duty of self renunciation, then for a much stronger reason does the priest have that duty. "There must be nothing of self in a priest, for self must be changed into Jesus Christ Who makes it possible for the priest to say at the altar, 'This is My Body' just as if the Body of Jesus Christ were the very body of the priest, himself."<sup>44</sup>

#### THE MASTERS OF SAINT-SUPLICE AND THEIR STUDENTS

Through this ascetical renunciation of self with all that it entailed both individually and sociologically, Eugene de Mazenod

found it easier to assimilate the spiritual teaching at the seminary and to fit in smoothly with his new environment.

Of his teachers, two especially left their marks upon him; Father Emery and Father Duclaux. The former was not his spiritual director but from what the Bishop of Marseilles wrote to Father Faillon in 1842 we have a fair idea of the influence Father Emery exerted on Eugene's seminary life:

My whole seminary training was made under him and he always showed a special regard for me, due, no doubt, to the recommendation of the late Bishop de Cice, Archbishop of Aix, who honored me with his friendship and who had given our good superior an exaggerated and biased picture of me. I was twenty-five when I entered the seminary and Father Emery always treated me as a man of mature judgment. He made it easy for me to approach him and through our close association I was able to appreciate not only his kindheartedness but also his deep wisdom, his keen discernment, his priestly virtues, and over and above all else, his love for the Church, which at that time, was being so cruelly persecuted. . . . I used to drop into his room for a visit every day, even if only for a moment, and he always gave me a cordial reception. I don't think he ever allowed anyone but myself to speak to him about his health of which he took very little care. Toward the end of his life a scab formed on the back of one of his legs as a result of a sore that had festered. Due to his rigorous spirit of penance, he used to find tearing the stocking away from where it adhered to the sore an ideal way to punish himself. He would listen to no one's advice in this regard, nor would he consult any doctor about it. As a matter of fact, I don't think he ever consulted a doctor in his whole life. Out of deference to me, however, he agreed to let me wash the sore with what I seem to recall was quinquina; but not without first making a few good-natured quips about my pretensions at being a doctor. I took care to the good old man during his last days as a way of repaying him for the freedom with which he allowed me to approach him and speak openly to him like a son to a father.<sup>45</sup>

A good judge of values, the old Superior General of the Sulpicians put complete confidence in his young subject whom he familiarly called Mazenod, discarding the "Mister" and the "de" of his name. Not only did he trust Eugene with the secrets of

the underground movement to support the cause of the captive Pius VII and the persecuted "Black Cardinals," but he also entrusted him with the secrets of his spiritual life, as was proved when he had Eugene transcribe his retreat resolutions for him. More than likely, the conversations between master and disciple were not confined to ulcerous sores, or even to the affairs of the Church. The man who reestablished both the Society and the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice was too zealous in maintaining their great traditions not to have inspired his daily visitor with a reverence for them. Father Emery was a practical and realistic man; even a bold innovator when it was a question of accommodating himself to the historical evolution then taking place and of putting the necessary adaptations into operation, while, at the same time, rejecting the dangerous ideas prevailing at the time. Thus, he was willing enough to accept the rupture of the ties between the Monarchy and the Church and to recognize the government born of the Revolution. But, in matters pertaining to priestly formation, he strictly followed the policies of his predecessors and gave every evidence of the most deep-rooted, some would even call it, the strictest conservatism. Far from experimenting with new methods, he employed in their entirety, those which were traditional, as if 1789 had changed nothing. The Revolutionary upheaval, far from shaking his attitude, made him all the more determined to adhere to the old method of training seminarians for the priesthood. The more militant priestly life became in a world that was in the full process of transformation, so much the more did it need solid and firm foundations.<sup>46</sup> As in the days of Louis XIV, "the first and last objective of the seminary was simply a deep-rooted life in God through Christ Jesus."<sup>47</sup>

Nothing better illustrates the "deep reverence he had for the earlier members of his Congregation"<sup>48</sup> and for their spiritual teachings than the following anecdote which Bishop de Mazenod related to Father Faillon:

The printer, Mossy, of Marseilles, put out a new edition of the *Examens Particuliers* of Father Tronson. Mossy wrote to me, asking

to have his edition sold in the Seminary, and sent me a copy to present to Father Emery. He thought he was doing a great honor to the Superior General by printing on the frontispiece of the book, "Reviewed and corrected by Father Emery." When Father Emery read those words, he stamped his foot and became highly indignant; "Reviewed and corrected by Father Emery!" he fumed. "Who is this stupid fellow who could print such a thing? And who is Father Emery to correct Father Tronson?"

I knew of no way to calm him down; "Very well, mon Pere" (I always addressed him in this way when we were conversing familiarly), "I shall simply write to Monsieur Mossy and tell him that if he wants us to buy his book, he will have to change his frontispiece."

"That won't do. The letter will get there too late. By that time he will already have sold some copies of the edition. Could anything worse be done to Father Tronson! The very idea! Father Emery correct Father Tronson! . . . Wait! I have an idea. You know Monsieur Portalis well, do you not?"

"Very well," I said.

"Good! Go to him right away. Bring him this book, and ask him in my name to send orders to Marseilles immediately, forbidding the sale of this edition just so long as this misleading title remains."

I didn't lose a minute, and, in my eagerness to please him, I actually ran to the home of Portalis, where I informed the Minister of my Superior's displeasure along with the reason for it. M. Portalis promised me that Father Emery's demands would be granted and that the directive would be sent that very day. I was happy to give Father Emery the good news and thereby pacify his outraged modesty. The frontispiece was corrected and the entire edition was placed in different Seminaries to the great satisfaction of the imprudent printer who had blundered so badly trying to flatter our holy Superior.<sup>49</sup>

We may justly presume that a man of such utter simplicity must have taken every opportunity to enlighten Eugene on the great doctrine of the priesthood, as taught by his venerated predecessors. His private conversations which were much on the relaxed side must have complemented the enlightenment the young man received from the Superior General's spiritual readings, given several times a week. Strictly speaking, only the word "spiritual" applied to them since they were readings in name only. Instead

of droning the text of some pious author, he gave conferences of his own and for his listeners these were far more profitable. The recollections which these same listeners sent to Father Faillon and which he compiled in 1842 all attest to the vivid impression produced by the man's stirring words. With deep and sincere conviction, often in colorful language, he constantly dwelt upon his favorite themes. His words carried all the more weight because of his personal example since before, during, and after the Revolution, this man whom even the great Napoleon admired and to whom he referred as "the little priest," desired to be nothing but a simple priest. To him, the only thing that mattered was the service of God for God. He was never able to tolerate the idea, according to his own words, of making the Church "a means instead of an end." Each of his subjects knew the magnificent role this man played with such great courage, balance and modesty.

Sometimes, pupils who are slow to appraise things form accurate opinions of their teachers only with the passing of time. Not so Eugene de Mazenod. He quickly recognized the exceptional worth of this priest whom he was always to look upon as a father. The word picture which the young man drew of his superior around 1810 bears this out beautifully: "This society (Saint-Sulpice) was rekindled from the ashes through the devoted care of the revered Father Emery. After struggling against all the storms of the Revolution without being submerged by them, and after solely and singly preserving the Catholic religion in France at a time when it was about to be entirely banned all over the country, he devoted himself to the work of the Seminary with the hope of cultivating in the Church's nursery young plants to replace those which had withered and died in her Sanctuary. To leave himself completely free to carry on this sacred work, he refused, on three separate occasions, three bishoprics that were offered to him. The great piety, profound learning, and wide experience of this venerable old man made him the voice of the clergy in France. Impervious to any selfish interest whatsoever, his sole concern was the common good, and, without passion or bias, he often succeeded in bringing it about when the

more clever despaired of it.”<sup>50</sup> This judgment which history would later confirm, does as much credit to the pupil who formed it so accurately in advance, as it does to the teacher himself, and it proves to what extent the disciple understood the Master.

Father Duclaux, the second of Eugene’s professors to leave his mark upon him, did not enjoy the breadth, stature, and forceful personality of Father Emery, but the depth of his interior life, his experience in directing souls, his moderation, balance, and equanimity made him a master in the spiritual direction of seminarians and priests alike. “Everyone,” wrote Picot, “admired his rare humility, his thorough goodness and his unalterable serenity.” He “never talked about himself and never spoke evil of anyone. Added to these virtues was his rare knowledge. No one spoke more fluently or more eloquently on spiritual matters and no one dealt with cases of conscience more prudently or maturely.”<sup>51</sup> By their very contrast with Eugene’s temperament, these qualities and virtues made him especially suited for the young man’s spiritual direction; for Duclaux’s soul was elevated enough to prevent him from smothering the Provençal seminarian’s generous urges, and yet was sufficiently balanced to enable him to control the impulses of this young Provençal who was too much inclined to follow the first urges of his zealous temperament. The director was exceedingly successful in controlling the spirited thoroughbred, sometimes checking him, at other times spurring him on. Furthermore, his penitent made the task easier for him. First of all, by his self-renunciation; in the resolutions he made during the retreat of 1808, we read,

In struggling more and more against this self-love, I will neglect no opportunity to stamp it out, even indirectly. Thus, I must rejoice that I have made myself known to my spiritual director as I am and even as I used to be; a great victory which God’s grace helped me to win (and one that my self-love tried to prevent me from gaining by specious reasoning). I must also be willing at all times to make even the most humiliating admissions provided my director feels that they are, I won’t say necessary, but simply profitable.<sup>52</sup>

Harmonizing with this complete openheartedness was also a complete obedience. Eugene submitted his resolutions, decisions,

plans, and viewpoints to his "saintly" director and the latter's advice was in his eyes, the expression of the Divine Will itself. Actually, instead of setting down a law and commanding, Father Duclaux gave discreet suggestions. His advice was gentle and was in keeping with his manner, and fortunately so, because that manner was perfectly suited to his disciple; an imperious and abrupt attitude might have made him rebel. Their mutual trust transformed their spiritual relationship into friendship, and even into a pious intimacy that was to continue after Eugene's ordination and return to Aix.

The other Sulpicians under whom he lived were remembered simply as professors; however, of far more importance to him than their rather diversified knowledge, were their regularity, their spirit of prayer, their virtues and their priestly qualities. Concerning Father Garnier who taught him Hebrew, Eugene wrote: "He knows Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, Arabic, Armenian, Chaldean, Greek, Latin, German, English, French, and I know not what other languages; and thrown into the bargain, he knows how to be a holy priest."<sup>53</sup> This offhanded "into the bargain" was his way of stressing what was essential in his eyes.

Thirty years later, recalling his teachers to mind in a letter to Father Faillon, he paid them this magnificent tribute:

I shall always be grateful to God for the blessing of having lived for several years under the direction and, I may say, in the friendship of men like Father Emery, Father Duclaux, Father Montagne; and, although he is still living, let me also add the name of Father Garnier. It seems to me that, through them, were handed down the finest and holiest traditions of the Church and the most inspiring examples of every priestly virtue. It would indeed be criminal to let the memory of these holy men of God die out with our generation.<sup>54</sup>

Eugene could not help but gain very much both spiritually and humanly from his contact with his fellow seminarians. Their origins were most varied since Saint-Sulpice traditionally took in students for the priesthood from all over France, and even from foreign lands. In 1808, the diocese of Paris, which was the mother diocese of the Seminary, furnished the largest number of vocations, amounting to about twenty pupils; very meagre, however,

considering the needs of an immense capital like Paris. The others came from the most diverse regions, especially those where vocations were a little more abundant at that time; Brittany, Vendée, Normandy, Massif-Lyonnais, Massif-Central. The dioceses of Rennes, Coutances, Versailles, Amiens, Lyons, Cahors, Saint-Flour and Bayonne did better than the others with about ten from each of them. Le Mans gave eight, Mende and Besancon seven, Angers six, Grenoble five, Nancy and Metz four, and Orléans three. The North, East, and Southeast were not represented at all, and the other *Départements* gave only one cleric. Because of the war between England and France, there were no English-speaking gentlemen but there was one Spaniard, three Belgians, two Swiss, one Rhinelander and one Pole.

Social classes and mentalities were equally diversified. Among the older students were men of high rank: d'Arbou who later became Bishop of Verdun; de Bonald, a future Cardinal; de Solages, future Prefect Apostolic of Madagascar; de Gualy, future Archbishop of Albi; de Forbin-Janson, future Bishop of Nancy. Entering the Seminary in 1808 with Eugene de Mazenod was Simony de Broutiere who had received tonsure in 1781 when he was only eleven years old and had once been a tutor of the Duc de Sully. The following year, 1809, the arrival of a Polish nobleman, Szadurski, produced somewhat of a sensation:

Among the students we are privileged to have is a Polish seigneur, who is my age. He is the eldest son of an immensely rich family; his father has twenty-four thousand vassals or serfs. At least, the Church is a bit compensated for the abandonment, or should I say, the horror with which the so-called cultured class flees her sanctuary, when she finds beneath her forsaken banners a few individuals who, apart from their role as Ministers of Christ, automatically inspire respect by their education and birth.<sup>55</sup>

This smug reflection might lead us to think that the nobles among the clerics, at that time, formed a group separate from the rest of the community which was 85 percent bourgeois. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Sulpicians made the fusion of their pupils obligatory, and the members of the staff,

with Father Emery at their head, set the example, especially during recreation and walk periods, by mixing with everyone regardless of rank. From the very outset, the future Bishop of Marseilles was edified by this thoroughly Christian "equality" by which he was treated like everyone else. In 1839, he still remembered his delightful association with teachers and fellow-students alike, an association that was always marked by the warmest cordiality:

I can assure you that during the five years I spent at Saint-Sulpice, I traveled upon those waters of charity without encountering a single reef. Those with whom I lived were all honest-hearted and were sincerely grateful when ever I showed them any charity. Thus it was, that while I was at the seminary, both Fathers and pupils . . . gave unmistakable proof of their gratitude for any advice I gave them which, on every occasion, was prompted solely by my affection for them and which therefore proved my love for them.<sup>56</sup>

After his seminary days, he actually reproached himself for having, like Saint Augustine, loved too much to be loved, and he regretted that he had not fought against "a feeling that was much too human" the weakness of which he did not realize at the time.<sup>57</sup>

The avowal shows how much the young cleric enjoyed his association with his fellow-seminarians. Such an environment was bound to contribute to his overall formation and he soon began to expand in the friendly and trustful atmosphere. What surroundings could have been more agreeable and at the same time more beneficial than that exceptionally choice community whose very diversity proved an advantage to him! His viewpoints which were somewhat narrowed by his heredity, education, aristocratic and Provençal prejudices, began to broaden. He learned to understand and appreciate other mentalities, confessed his ignorance of many things, and often had to admit his inferiority, thereby ridding himself of the superiority complex which had made him a proud, self-willed, and imperious young man. Finally, his spiritual life profited from the holy emulation by which his confrères strove to rival one another in perfection of soul and generosity of heart. Father Gosselin, who entered the seminary in

1809, and who was Father Emery's first biographer, has justly emphasized "the excellent spirit" which then animated the whole community: "Never, perhaps," he wrote, "had the seminary seen such a happy gathering of remarkable vocations as those it saw during the years following the Concordat."<sup>58</sup> Judging by Eugene de Mazenod's vocation, we can well believe it. And so, the young noble found himself in easy and harmonious association with his fellow-students and teachers alike, borne, as it were, on the current of fervor which made it easy for all of them to follow closely behind Christ, their Priest and Saviour, while sharing His internal life.

#### THE INTERIOR LIFE OF EUGENE DE MAZENOD

*Vivere summe Deo in Christo Jesu!* To live entirely for God in Christ Jesus! Such indeed was the essential goal of Sulpician training, and, in the words of Father Olier, its first and last end. Asceticism and self-denial could prepare one for that goal, the seminary atmosphere could predispose one for it, but only prayer could lead one to it. In view of the shortage of priests and the urgent need to relieve the situation immediately, Father Emery resigned himself to an abbreviated seminary course of studies. He felt, however, that nothing was more urgent than bringing back to the seminary schedule the entire hour of meditation that had once been an integral part of its daily exercises. The excellent dispositions of the pupils made it easy for him to leave the initiative up to themselves. Not wishing to use his authority to impose it upon them, he simply declared that if the community voluntarily requested it he would gladly restore the ancient custom. His discreet offer was accepted with the eagerness he had anticipated and in this way the wise Superior was able to grant the seminarians what he had skillfully maneuvered them into desiring.<sup>59</sup>

Throughout his entire life, Eugene de Mazenod remained faithful to the Sulpician hour of meditation, and he incorporated it into the Rule of the Oblate Congregation by assigning half the hour to the morning exercises and the other half to the eve-

ning. He also retained the magnificent prayer of praise to the Trinity which precedes that hour each morning in Sulpician Seminaries. As for the method in carrying out the exercise; from the very beginning he followed, and later transmitted to his own Congregation, the one which had become traditional at Saint-Sulpice and which stemmed less from the mystical Father Olier than from the practical Father Tronson who jealously held to time-proven methods.

1. Preparation
2. Body (Adoration, Communion, Cooperation)
3. Conclusion.

Father Duclaux introduced him to this method which had been in use since the early eighteenth century and which he had codified into a small tract that remained unpublished and unedited for a long time after his death.<sup>60</sup> He also taught Eugene the mechanics of the device so that he might use it until such time as the Holy Ghost would substitute His own inspirations for these mechanical steps and enable him to arrive finally at the simplicity of union.

In the words of St. Theresa, "before the fountain sprang forth," Eugene began "to force its waters." We do not know how effective this formal method was for him or how long he had to follow the method which was more Ignatian, even more Cartesian than it was Berullian, but there is no doubt that these long meditations aided his asceticism, intensified his spiritual life, penetrated his soul with a priestly spirituality typical of his Sulpician teachers, and prepared the way for a less formal method of prayer which, off and on, led him to the fringes of mystical experience. In any case, his ordinations, if we can judge by his letters and notes, gave him extremely vivid flashes of illumination accompanied by a feeling of joy and a closer contact with Christ the Priest. These brief mystical glimpses surprised and delighted him and, as he advanced to each holy order, God's hold upon him became proportionately stronger.

So evident was his vocation that Father Duclaux authorized him to receive tonsure only three months from the date of his

entrance into the seminary. In his eagerness to enter the clerical state, however, the young chevalier immediately requested his Ordinary for the dimissorial letter without first informing Mme. de Mazenod; it was not until December 1 that he notified her. Taking for granted that she already knew about it, Bishop de Cice mentioned the dimissorial letter to her during a visit she paid him in order to entrust a letter for Eugene to the archbishop's nephew who was about to leave for Paris. La Presidente was as startled as she was disturbed:

I did not let on, but I was stunned for the moment. How so, my dear child? Only four days after you entered the seminary, you promised to make no decisions for two years, and here you change your mind without saying a word to me. You wish to assume these obligations and yet you say nothing to your father, although you could, if you really tried hard enough, find some way of having a few lines reach him. Why all the hurry, my friend? What is the reason? If God wants you to persevere in these feelings, two, and even three years from now, will be soon enough to come to a decision; and, if this is not the state for which God has destined you, after you leave the seminary you will still be able to save your soul even though it be in the lay state. M. de Janson is acting far more wisely by waiting awhile. I am amazed that superiors do not restrain such youthful zeal in their subjects. Had I been alone with the Archbishop, I would have demanded a fuller explanation of all this. I am terribly disturbed about the whole thing although I haven't mentioned it to anyone. Do me the kindness to take no further steps and to make no more decisions without first informing me.<sup>61</sup>

Mme. de Mazenod was becoming less and less resigned to her son's vocation; by no means had she given up hope of seeing Eugene settle down in the world as her daughter had just done by marrying Count Armand de Boisgelin.

La Presidente's reprovals and objections, however, had no effect upon Eugene's resolution. On December 17, 1808, he assumed the clerical garb and received first tonsure along with Denis Affre, Joseph Delabigne de Villeneuve, François Icard, and Augustin Gaillardon. The following day, in a letter intended to pacify and convince his mother who flinched before such sacri-

face, he revealed the graces with which God had rewarded his renunciation of the world:

I shall not discuss the ceremony of my admission to the Sanctuary; that would take me too far afield because there is no end to what we can say whenever we speak of something that occupies all our thoughts. All I can say is that the Lord's generosity is indeed boundless when He rewards us so lavishly for the paltry gifts we offer Him. To come right down to it, what does this world really amount to? Far from thinking that we make a great sacrifice when we give it up to God, we should deem ourselves very fortunate that He should deign to accept the sacrifice of something that is contemptible, mean, and harmful, in exchange for what is noblest and most consoling, namely, Himself. If men only knew this gift of God! And yet, how could they? How could minds mired in filth ever thrill to such exalted concepts? We should indeed be thankful to God for the mercy He has shown us and we should try to merit His continuing goodness by humbly conforming our wills to His and by zealously serving Him and bringing others to serve Him.

I hope that you will unite your own fervent prayers to those of the whole Church in asking God to bless her with ministers worthy of serving Him in these calamitous times. Judging by the consolation and joy that came to me at that happy moment when I chose God as my portion, the prayers of the faithful must have indeed been fervent. Oh, how true it is that one moment of love spent in the house of the Lord is preferable to years of false happiness which one enjoys or rather, thinks he enjoys, in the abodes of sinners. Poor worldlings! . . . how we should pity them and how compellingly should charity move us to pray that God will graciously grant them graces which they perhaps deserve more than we.

But, enough! Enough! I will never finish if I recount all the many and varied feelings that I experience when I speak of these things.<sup>62</sup>

Six months later, on May 27, 1808, Eugene de Mazenod received the four minor orders from Cardinal Fesch: "called minors" wrote the young cleric, "not because the Church considers them unimportant but only because they are minor when compared with the orders she calls 'major.' In the eyes of faith, however, great indeed is the dignity that is to be conferred upon me, all un-

worthy as I am.”<sup>63</sup> On the day after this ordination he still dwelt upon the signal honor which God had just conferred upon him:

Those who witnessed the ceremony found it magnificent; to describe the feelings of those who were the object of admiration of those attracted by piety to the church of Saint-Sulpice—that would be impossible. Would that you had been there, my dear Maman! You would have had the joy of seeing your son raised to dignities which elevate him far above the powerful rulers of the world: guarding the Lord’s temple has been confided to me; the Holy Eucharist itself has been entrusted to my care; I now have power to cast out demons from the bodies of the possessed and I also have the privilege of preparing those things which are used in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Had you been there, my dearest Maman, I am sure that you too would have fervently begged the Lord to make me worthy of so many honors and to prove even more worthy of others which are being kept in reserve for me. I must confess that I feel an amazing confidence, but, since it does not rest upon my own strength but is based solely upon the merits and mercy of Our Blessed Saviour, nothing will ever be able to shake it. I think that the reason I am so conscious of my sins is that I might make amends for them by devoting myself wholly and entirely to the service of Him Who has repaid my many offences against Him by an increase of His love.<sup>64</sup>

Through closer intimacy with Christ, the young man in minor orders now began to experience a gentle strength. Although less thrilling than at the time of his first tonsure, grace was simply becoming stronger and more deeply rooted.

The subdiaconate which sanctified his permanent offering of himself to God on December 23, 1809, marks a new stage in his intimate union with God and one finds him using language typical of a kind of prayer far more ecstatic than that which the good Father Duclaux had taught him:

A day, a thousand million times happy, on which I had the inexpressible happiness of exchanging a miserable, much-abused freedom for the sweet and precious bondage through which one gains mastery and possession of all those treasures that are hidden from the devotees of the world and its vanities! While prostrate on the floor during that part of the ceremony in which the Church earnestly

begged God to send His Spirit with all His gifts upon us, I, on my part, fervently begged Him to bless you and to help you understand that in willingly offering your son to the Sovereign Lord of the Universe, you were not losing him but were actually gaining him for all eternity. Much as I should like to, I could not possibly describe the joy which the Lord showered upon my soul on that blessed day. The happiness one feels at that moment is beyond telling. And you must not think for a moment that this feeling is superficial and shallow and therefore that is why it cannot be expressed. By no means! This state which comes through the grace of ordination is stable and permanent; an habitual state of the soul. Since it is wholly divine, however, it defies description. It is a kind of spiritual plenitude, a soaring towards God, a delight which intoxicates the soul. Why try to describe it? I can only repeat that it is a great happiness which one feels intensely but cannot explain even to oneself, let alone to others. Let no one ever again tell me what a great sacrifice I have made.

Good Heaven! Where is the sacrifice when you give practically nothing and receive everything? So clearly did I perceive this during my ordination to the subdiaconate that I asked God through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints who were being invoked at that moment to graciously crown all the mercies He has already shown me by granting me the privilege of offering a liberty and a life that are His by so many previous rights.<sup>65</sup>

Six months later, on June 16, 1810, Eugene was advanced to the diaconate. A letter sent to his mother on the preceding Pentecost Sunday shows how fervently he prepared

to receive the Holy Spirit Who will come to me through the imposition of hands. . . . On Saturday morning, the vigil of the feast of the Holy Trinity, the Spirit of Fortitude will descend upon me and I shall be raised to the eminent dignity of the diaconate. People of the world do not appreciate what pertains to this part of the character that will reach its fullness in the priesthood. We, however, who by the grace of God look at things through the eyes of faith know that the diaconate is above all meriting on man's part; that, considering only the sublimity of its functions, there is no one, no matter how great or virtuous he might be, who ought not to esteem himself the happiest of men if his whole life were to be spent solely in the exercise of these functions; as was the case with so many great

Saints who gave added lustre to the first ages of the Church. It is true that, in her present needs, Holy Mother Church cannot grant a desire for such a life even though it might be prompted by a humility she loves dearly; but, it is also true that she still considers the diaconate a very exalted order for which one cannot prepare too carefully or too fervently. I must bring this letter to a close or I might get too far away from the feelings which now thrill me and that would be out of keeping with the spirit of retreat and recollection which demands that I garner carefully all the manna which the merciful God is pleased to send me so that I might savor them and meditate upon them.<sup>66</sup>

In a letter he sent to his mother three days after his ordination to the diaconate, June 19, 1810, the Abbé de Mazenod lacked the time to dwell upon the joys and graces of that ordination: "I won't say one word (about them), because if I so much as begin talking about merely one of the joys that have captivated my heart, I shall never end this letter." The real purpose of the letter was to acquaint Mme. de Mazenod with grave news that could very easily have "disturbed" her, had she learned of it "without knowing all the circumstances": "The Congregation of Saint-Sulpice has been disbanded." The young deacon had only a short time to clarify this statement if he was to take advantage of the departure of one who "was leaving at four o'clock the following morning" and would bring to Aix "information that could not be trusted to the mails." Nevertheless, the last lines of his hasty account which furnishes us with many touching details concerning Father Emery's departure and farewell ceremony, clearly show how deeply Eugene's soul was penetrated by the grace he received from "the imposition of hands": "Naturally, we tremble when we see the terrible judgments that God is visiting upon France and the whole of Europe, but, the spirit of fortitude we received at ordination will enable us to overcome all things. These disasters have not changed my mind in any way and I shall leave Paris no sooner or later than I had planned."<sup>67</sup>

One last step remained to be taken—the one that would bring him into the "very holy but very fearful priesthood."<sup>68</sup> Originally, the Abbé de Mazenod had hoped to shorten the canonical

periods of waiting. On February 28, 1809, he had written to his mother, "After I have received the subdiaconate, I hope that, God willing, I shall soon thereafter be a priest, since everything seems to justify my seeking a dispensation from the canonical periods of waiting."<sup>69</sup> In 1810, however, he announced his decision to put a year's interval between his diaconate and his priesthood.

There was a twofold reason behind this postponement. The first was the need he felt for a more thorough spiritual preparation:

I could not possibly have too great an intercessory power before the Throne of God ahead of time for the happy but fearful day when my miserable person, in spite of its unworthiness—and a great unworthiness it is—will be clothed with the priesthood of Jesus Christ. The nearer I approach it, the more do I want to defer it; certainly not because I do not desire it, for it is the object of all my desires, but simply because the closer this shining mantle comes to me, so much the more does the brightness of its rays reveal how unfit and unworthy is the one who is to be clothed in it.<sup>70</sup>

Besides being anxious to perfect his spiritual preparation, Eugene also wanted a more complete training in theological studies thereby "equipping himself to fruitfully fulfill all the duties" demanded by the service of the Altar:

Hence, it would be unthinkable for me to add to the large number of those unfortunate priests who haven't half the knowledge they need for carrying out their ministry, and who will be judged severely and mercilessly for all the faults they commit or cause to be committed because they neglected to learn what they were obliged to know.

Ecclesiastical knowledge embraces so many subjects that no one should think it can be acquired in a hurry and, as the expression goes, on the fly. I don't deny that there are many things which I could learn by myself after ordination, but aside from the fact that I'm sure the Archbishop has no intention of allowing me to devote plenty of my time to study . . . don't you think that the vast experience of my seminary directors is of any value? Theirs is the kind of learning that is not found in books, and is rare even among priests who have spent many years in the ministry. What perhaps would be sufficient knowledge for the majority of priests would not

be sufficient for me. This should be clear to you since you, yourself know that people, realizing who I am, and what my position, my social standing is, have a perfect right to exact, (in fact they do exact), that my education be above the ordinary. Who is more likely to be asked to settle the doubts and difficulties that are constantly arising than the priest who is more prominent than others by reason of his birth and who, most likely, will be consulted by other priests. And so, if I am to perform my ministry fruitfully, this further instruction is absolutely necessary. A moment's reflection on this point will clearly show you what it would take me an hour to explain. People are only too ready to scorn our holy religion, without ignorance on my part furnishing them with plausible motives for calumniating it . . . And the slightest suspicion that I might be lacking in just one part of the knowledge which the faithful, and even ecclesiastics, have a right to expect from an educated man whose standing forbids him to neglect any part of his instruction, would not such a suspicion nullify entirely the little good I dare to hope will be accomplished through my ministry? <sup>71</sup>

Thus, after wishing her son would delay his tonsure and subdiaconate, Mme. de Mazenod now became impatient to see him receive the priesthood. Having given up hope of seeing Eugene return to the world, she felt that the least he could do would be to come and live with her, and as soon as possible. Hence, her insistence that he reduce his period of studies to two years so that he might hasten his ordination.

Roze-Joannis shared, if not actually inspired, his cousin's views:

No one can tell me that Eugene has to spend three years in the Seminary. If he spends all that time there, it is only because he himself wants to . . . If I were in your place, I would urge him to spend only two years in Paris. His Excellency, the Archbishop will certainly agree that the decision in this matter is entirely up to your son. Should a letter to that effect be needed, he will not refuse to write it.

Five days later, on July 14, he added,

I am sure that His Excellency, the Archbishop, will gladly agree to Eugene's spending only two years at the Seminary. It is much to his

advantage to have a good priest a year earlier; all the more so because this particular young man is better trained than many others who might spend ten years at their theology desks.<sup>72</sup>

Mme. de Mazenod then tried to win Bishop de Cice over to her side. She was on cordial terms with His Excellency, and from time to time he had invited her and Ninette to have lunch with him. However, the Archbishop was quite careful not to interfere, and simply remarked that it all depended upon Father Emery and Eugene. Although somewhat disconcerted, la Presidente did not dare to press her request, and this brought another prodding from the imperious Roze:

I cannot understand why you remained silent when the Archbishop told you that it all depended upon Father Emery and Eugene. You should have replied right then and there that His Excellency was the only one upon whom it depended, since Father Emery would be only too glad to do what pleased His Excellency in this matter. That being so, you should have asked him to convey his wishes to Father Emery.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of all the steps Mme. de Mazenod took with Bishop de Cice, and in spite of her repeated appeals to Eugene himself the young man refused to give in, and, a year later, still held to his resolve, stating it in the most unmistakable terms:

God forbid that I should deliberately scorn any precaution which will assure the success of my ministry. With my weak virtue and my many imperfections, God's grace will have enough obstacles to surmount without my wishing to add extrinsic difficulties which can easily be obviated. I hope that people will lose sight of me as Eugene de Mazenod; that they will forget Eugene the man so that they will not confuse him with Eugene the priest. I intend to enter the lists only when I am fully armed and when I am morally certain that I shall not endanger the cause of religion that is to be entrusted to me. My first moves will be decisive ones and everyone will be watching them. . . . I assure you that, for myself, personally, I am not too concerned, and my makeup is such that, as a rule, I don't worry too much about this "what-will-people-say" business, which should prove that this wish of mine is sincere. But since I shall be a minister of Christ, my person, honor, and reputation will be so closely

identified with the Church that I must proceed carefully. I am sure that there is no further need, my dear Mama, to convince you of how important it is that I hold to the decision I have made; a decision that has the full approval of those who, by their experience and piety, are able to appreciate my reasons. So conscience-bound do I consider myself in this matter, that I would feel compelled to resist even the Archbishop, were his wishes contrary to this resolution.<sup>74</sup>

Thus, the Abbé de Mazenod intended to complete the entire course of studies which the needs of the time had reduced to two or three years.

#### THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION AT SAINT-SULPICE

With what frame of mind did he undertake these studies? What subjects did he study? How thorough were they? How important? These are questions that demand answering since the young cleric himself attached so much importance to them. Besides, Eugene de Mazenod's doctrinal training was not the only one involved. His particular case was but one of an entire group on which the religious history of that period confined itself to generalities; accurate, no doubt, but still too summary. That the doctrinal preparation given to future priests immediately after the Concordat and in the early part of the nineteenth century suffered grave deficiencies, everyone readily admits. But, up to now, there has been a lack of monographs which, in documented form, would have supplied us with the precise information we seek. As for the biographies of ecclesiastics who were ordained before 1814—Bishop Affre or Bishop de Quélen, for example—they treat the problem so sketchily that it is impossible to gain a clear picture from them.

However, the notes which the Bishop of Marseilles fortunately preserved from the courses he took at Saint-Sulpice, and better still, his teachers' handwritten courses which have recently been discovered by Father Noye, the archivist of Saint-Sulpice, furnish us with a certain number of details which can fill in at least part of this regrettable void. Although the limitations and nature of this present work do not permit us to reproduce the

technical inventory that was made for an overall analysis, its conclusions are worth noting. Without changing the established opinion regarding the religious education of that period, these conclusions will, nonetheless, throw a new light upon it. Furthermore, they will help us to understand the insufficiencies of that time by showing us what was inherited from the preceding century which restricted one's viewpoints, as well as by showing us the practical requirements of the moment which answered immediate needs at the expense of the future.

Before the Revolution, the Directors of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris were simply spiritual directors. Their seminarians were taught philosophy and theology by "those gentlemen of the Sorbonne." Within the Seminary itself, everything was restricted to conferences given by qualified assistants such as Father de Fontanges, future Archbishop of Toulouse, or the famous Canon Baston; which, therefore, permitted a more thorough assimilation of the lessons received at the "Alma Mater." After 1801, however, when Father Emery opened *la Vache Noire*, this system had to be abandoned since the Revolution had suppressed all schools of theology. Although Napoleon reestablished them after 1808, the shortage of teachers and, for greater reason, the open struggle between the Emperor and the Pope, made it practically impossible for the Sulpicians to trust the instruction of their seminarians to teachers appointed by the government. The Sulpicians, therefore, took over the theology and philosophy courses within their own seminary, as had been done before 1798 in provincial seminaries whenever the episcopal see lacked a university.

The Superior General chose the most competent of his brother-Sulpicians as Directors; Fathers Duclaux, Montaigne, Frayssinous, Boyer, and Garnier. In 1808, Frayssinous who was Professor of Theology left the seminary to undertake his celebrated lectures. Father Boyer who, up to that time, was head of the philosophy department, succeeded him in dogma and was, himself, replaced in philosophy by Father Baudry. They all excelled in learning, especially since Emery, Duclaux, Montaigne, and Garnier were products of the seminary of the Robertins

where the standards of learning were the highest. Duclaux and Montaigne were awarded doctorates by the Sorbonne. Garnier's brilliance was so exceptional while he was studying at the Collège de France that his teacher Lourdet wanted to yield his Chair of Oriental Languages to him. Father Boyer, who was much younger than the others (he was only forty-two in 1808), like Frayssinous, was studying at the Collège de Laon and preparing for his licentiate when the Revolution closed all schools of theology. They all owed their theological training, therefore, to the eighteenth century and their teaching showed it.

It was all the more noticeable because ever since 1789, persecution had made all intellectual pursuits impossible. The clergy of France gave fresh meaning to but a single argument in favor of the Church's divinity; martyrdom. With the exception of Father Garnier who was sent to America to found the Baltimore seminary, the Superior and Directors of Saint-Sulpice had truly suffered for the Faith. Granted that this heroic fidelity for which they, themselves, took no credit, was an education in itself, the fact still remains that not a one of them had been able to pursue any further studies. In restoring the Seminary to its old footing, as Father Emery expressed it, all of them clung to the traditional method of intellectual and spiritual training.

Their choice of textbooks bears this out. For Philosophy, they used only Valla's work.<sup>75</sup> Before re-editing this work whose "brevity, method, and clarity" were its chief recommendations,<sup>76</sup> Fathers Montaigne, Garnier, and Boyer had improved it and, what was more important, amended it to purge it of its Jansenism. For Theology, they used the latest textbook, that of Canon Bailly,<sup>77</sup> which was published in 1789. Bailly's treatise which soon became obsolete, while it possessed pedagogical qualities, bore the stamp of its time. It was reprinted in 1804 without the slightest alteration; changes in the work were to come later. Like Valla's Philosophy, Bailly's Theology remained in use in most of the seminaries of France until the middle of the nineteenth century. Its Gallicanism caused it to be put on the Index in 1852 "donec corrigatur."

In like manner, it was to the Theologians of the eighteenth

century that the professors of Saint-Sulpice generally referred in their courses. They principally quoted the Lazarist Pierre Collet, the Jesuit Paul-Gabriel Antoine, and Charles Vuitasse, all of them authors of textbooks of the eighteenth century. Incidentally, Eugene de Mazenod mentioned the works of these last two among the books he intended to buy. Among the authorities referred to in Apologetics, were Bishop Duvoisin, Cardinal de la Luzerne, Regnier, Bergier, John Leland, and Samuel Clarke; in Sacramental Theology, the Lazarist Brunet, the Dominican Drouin, and the Jesuit Bougeant; in moral Theology, Bishop de Boulogne, Le Clerc de Boberon, the Sulpician Claude-Louis Montaigne, and especially Suarez. Billuart and Petau were referred to only rarely, and Saint Thomas was practically ignored. As for Saint Alphonsus Liguori, although he was quoted, he exerted no influence.

Finally, the subject matter of their courses reflected the preoccupations that were prevalent around the end of the *ancien régime*. If Eugene de Mazenod's notebooks are any criterion, dogma properly so-called, fared very poorly. In fact, the young Seminarian's notebooks were listed under three headings: Apologetics, Sacramental Theology, and Moral Theology. Under Apologetics came treatises on Religion and the Church; under Sacramental Theology, treatises on the Sacraments in general and on each Sacrament in particular, with the exception of Confirmation; under Moral Theology, Human Acts, Conscience, Laws, Virtues, Sins, Justice, and Contracts. We should add to that a very short and unfinished treatise on Grace which was used principally to refute the errors of the Pelagians, the Semi Pelagians, the Protestants, and the Jansenists; also a treatise on Indulgences and one on Censures. There was nothing, therefore, on the treatises concerning God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, although, with the exception of the last, they were treated in Bailly's textbook, which perhaps was considered sufficient.

Undoubtedly, the whole of theology could never be covered in two or three years. The choice to which the professors resigned themselves appears all the more significant considering the

order of importance that was given to these three principal subjects. Apologetics held first place and Father Boyer's courses on Religion and the Church were the most developed and most detailed. The main concern of the time was the struggle against Protestantism, especially Deism, and thus it was more a negative defense than a positive constructive effort. Stress was put upon demolishing past errors with past methods, and there was comparatively little concern for actual problems and for suiting arguments to the aims and mentality of the present.

Boyer took his inspiration from Duvoisin,<sup>78</sup> a Professor at the Sorbonne before the Revolution whom Bailly also utilized to a great extent. Like Duvoisin, Boyer forgot that proofs need to be more than abstract to be convincing. Excellent in themselves, they can be nothing but muted chords if they fail to draw a response from the strings of the heart. Boyer's method, which was too exclusively intellectual and too limited in orchestration, failed to bring into play the many different scales which a great maestro would have used. Contrary to the rules laid down by Cicero, Boyer's method was limited to the *docere*, thus neglecting the *placere* and *movere*. No allowance was made for individual and social psychologies which would have made it far more effective. The lightning success of Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* failed to show Boyer, whose formation was too exclusively classical, the language that had to be spoken if one were to win an audience in those post-Revolution days. Weak though it was in itself, the argumentation of Chateaubriand's brilliant work could, nevertheless, have orientated Apologetics towards new methods and new presentation. Father Emery realized this, and, instead of quoting extensively from Bacon and Leibnitz—as was customary before 1789—in order to invoke the authority of these philosophers against the philosophy of the *Lumières*, he made great use of Chateaubriand thereafter.

In all fairness, however, it should be pointed out that Boyer, who was the most original of the professors then teaching at the Paris seminary, showed some awareness of the change that had taken place in the modern mentality. Whereas the eighteenth century was savagely hostile to the Church, the nineteenth cen-

ture showed, to the contrary, a complete indifference to religion; and this, in certain respects, was a far worse situation. The professor of apologetics introduced into his course an entire thesis which Bailly and Duvoisin never even thought of presenting. To combat what he considered a disturbing frame of mind, he proposed that this indifference "was contrary to reason, harmful to God, opposed to man's nature, temerarious or opposed to prudence, and contrary to the welfare of society." Although his proof for this thesis was purely subjective, at least he should be given credit for grappling with a new problem that was brought to the field of apologetics by conditions existing at that time. Thus, just as Frayssinous was doing through his Saint-Sulpice lectures, Boyer was paving the way for Lamennais who would surpass each of them while, at the same time, making use of their argumentation.<sup>79</sup>

Moral theology, no less than apologetics, took precedence over dogma. It was another heritage of the eighteenth century and was all the more burdensome since it was not just a case of giving prominence to moral theology; the very spirit of its teaching was affected by the divergencies of the former period. While they sacrificed delving into the riches of Faith in their defense of it, so too, in their defense of Christian morality, they sacrificed the developing of supernaturally vital principles essential for upholding and justifying this morality. The controversies over grace, and the decline of Scholasticism, had brought discredit upon dogmatic theology, causing it to be considered fruitless and of no importance. Thus, with the practical divorced from the doctrinal, moralism triumphed over dogma, resulting in a teaching that was too cut-and-dried, excessively juridical, and too dependent upon the natural law, with viewpoints influenced by constraint and punishment. Everything tended to impoverish and aridify religious life.

Rigorism added to the defects of this moralism. And yet, although the teachers at Saint-Sulpice who were the sworn enemies of Jansenism held for strict opinions, they began to show more lenient tendencies. True, they admitted neither the probabilism of the Jesuits, nor the equi-probabilism of St. Alphonsus

Liguori who, in a choice between law and liberty, declared in favor of liberty whenever the reasons for and against were of equal force. Instead, they all professed probabiliorism, favoring the law unless contrary motives prevailed over its rights. Regarding the administration of the sacraments, however, Father Montaigne followed much broader opinions than those of Bailly. He refused to admit that if a priest were to distribute communion while in the state of mortal sin, he would commit as many sacrileges as there were communicants; he held that a person who had unintentionally neglected to confess a mortal sin could receive communion without first going back to confession; he favored the opinion that it was permissible to say Mass without fasting in order to be able to give viaticum; he refused to make fourteen the required age before one could receive his First Communion; finally, he showed himself much less rigorous than his own textbook regarding occasional and habitual sinners, and he even went so far as to advise, as a remedy for the latter, the practice of frequent absolution and communion, using St. Philip Neri as his authority.

These were all old problems. Unfortunately, there were some very real new ones which had come in the wake of the Revolution and which had brought innovations into the legislative field. And they were problems which young priests would be frequently required to solve: problems concerning marriage, such as the validity of unions contracted during the Revolution, civil and religious marriage contracts, marriage legislation of the Napoleonic code and the code of Canon Law, civil and ecclesiastical impediments, dispensations, and divorce. There were also principles of justice such as payment of debts, borrowing on worthless promissory notes, Church property confiscated by the State, etc. These were all practical problems and very delicate ones at that time; and they were problems upon which, theoretically, French theology was at times undecided.<sup>80</sup> As for the aforementioned problems concerning marriage, one would need to know the history of Gallican Law, and the situation as a whole, to understand the confusion of ideas which reigned at that time due to the distinction between civil and religious marriage.

Enslaved by eighteenth-century methods by which the professors at Saint-Sulpice had themselves been trained, instruction at the seminary also suffered from the situation which the Church of France had to face in the wake of the Revolution. The past continued to weigh heavily upon this instruction, and the present limited its objectives by limiting its means. In fact, there had to be an accelerated course of studies if the seminary was to answer the call of distress sent out by the bishops to fill the ever increasing gaps within the ranks of a clergy that had tired and grown old, while, at the same time, these future priests had to be given what they would need in the pastoral ministry. Their teachers, therefore, were limited to what then seemed the bare essentials of required knowledge.

History was completely discarded and patristic theology suffered the same fate; what little knowledge the pupils possessed regarding the Greek and Latin Fathers came from a few passages quoted by their professors or mentioned in their textbooks. Canon Law was reduced to a study of censures. As for Holy Scripture, Eugene's notes give scarcely any idea of the course. La Mennais, we know, had soundly denounced the inherent danger in German critique<sup>81</sup> and Father Garnier, whom Renan would one day call "the most skilled French scholar in Biblical Exegesis such as it was taught among Catholics about a hundred years ago," was aware of the concerted effort being made in Protestant universities; however, "Sulpician modesty kept him from publishing anything" on the matter.<sup>82</sup> All we know definitely is that the Abbé de Mazenod attended his Hebrew classes, and that Father Emery advised his confrère to learn Arabic.<sup>83</sup> As for Father Boyer, the closest he came to teaching Scripture was in his *de Religione* where he simply defended the Bible against the attacks of Voltaire without bothering about the far more serious problems then beginning to arise.<sup>84</sup>

To accomplish their limited but practical program of studies, the Saint-Sulpice professors employed a method to which Eugene adapted himself very easily. The textbook served as a basis. Usually, the professors commented on it, supplemented it, or corrected it. At times, however, they discarded it completely and

gave their own personal notes. This was the case with Father Montaigne in *de Conscientia*, and even more so with Father Boyer in *de Religione* and *de Ecclesia*.<sup>85</sup> Classes were taught in French. For a while, Father Boyer made a valiant effort to conduct the classes in Latin but soon discarded the idea, most likely because of the rather summary education of some of his pupils. Evidently, neither the commentaries on Bailly nor the teachers' personal notes were dictated, since Eugene de Mazenod's notes were sometimes very incomplete. In fact, some of the pages were sprinkled with reflections and marginal doodling: "This whole thing wearies me," he wrote in that part of the treatise on Contracts which dealt with legal provisions in wills.<sup>86</sup> In *de Sacramentis*, the discussion on their manner of efficacy seemed "a most useless and insoluble question" to him;<sup>87</sup> he wrote his name in Hebrew on the covers of his notebooks, and his coat of arms emblazoned the austere tract on Laws.

On returning to his room after class, Eugene would write out a résumé of the notes he had taken, or, if certain treatises interested him more or seemed more important to him, he would make a detailed copy. He devoted special care to his notebook on Penance; so much so, that he must have recopied his teacher's notes word for word since they were written in polished Latin. Evidently, the young Provençal was not seeking knowledge for its own sake. More inclined to the practical than to the speculative, his main concern was to acquire the knowledge he would need for his ministry among the humble and the poor. We cannot say that he was overenthusiastic about it, but he was conscientious.

Certainly, the instruction he received was suitable for his essential requirements and nowhere could he have found better. La Mennais, while deploring the inadequacy of ecclesiastical studies in 1808, made a ready exception in favor of the Seminary that had been re-established by Father Emery: "I look all around me," he wrote, "and I see only one place in all France where such studies are truly cultivated; and that is Saint-Sulpice."<sup>88</sup> It is easy enough today to underscore the deficiencies of that day's theological training, but when we consider the actual conditions

of that particular period when it was necessary to build upon so many ruins with so few means for doing so, we cannot but admire the zealous efforts of those teachers for whom the Bishop of Marseilles maintained a constant and affectionate veneration.

#### AN ASSOCIATION OF PIETY AND ZEAL

To better imbue the entire seminary with a spirit of fervor, regularity, and industry with which they were eager to animate it, Father Emery and Father Duclaux sought the help of certain of their pupils whom they considered especially worthy of trust and more gifted with leadership. These pupils were the first to benefit from an apostolate which gave added vigor to their spiritual life while exercising a salutary influence over the entire student body. However, in order to keep their activities within bounds, the Superior and his assistant, Father Duclaux, grouped them into pious organizations which they both controlled *sub rosa*.

The first, with a larger enrollment, had official status; it was the Sodality founded by the Jesuit Father Delpuits "to revive an institution which had once borne great fruit in Jesuit colleges."<sup>89</sup> Its purpose was to train the members "in the practice of piety and in works of Christian charity"<sup>90</sup> under the protection of the Blessed Virgin. Originally, Father Delpuits' group was intended for young bourgeois students, but young nobles, from the Saint Germain suburbs, following the example of Mathieu de Montmorency, soon joined it. Strictly speaking, the Sodality was not intended for seminarians, but several pupils of Saint-Sulpice who had belonged to it before their entrance into the seminary, persuaded several of their fellow-seminarians to seek membership in the organization. Father Delpuits then asked Father Emery's permission to enroll them, and received this reply: "I should like to see the whole seminary enrolled in your Sodality, because those who belonged to it before they entered our seminary were in no need of training when they came to us."<sup>91</sup> Father Duclaux, who was Father Delpuits' confessor, was equally favorable to it.

Not only did the Superior General encourage his seminar-

ians to become members of the Sodality, but, as a concession to the lay members of the Sodality, he made "an exception to the rules of the Seminary which forbade bringing outsiders into places reserved to the community. Generally, he allowed these lay members to take part in the recreations and walks of the seminarians, and sometimes in spiritual exercises, since he felt that such mingling would be equally profitable to the seminarians and to these other members of the Sodality. The seminarians would benefit from it since it would put before them the edifying example of the young externs who were leading such a fervent life of piety in the midst of worldly dangers, and it would also be useful to the lay members, since, this contact with seminary atmosphere would nourish the seeds of several priestly vocations which had already begun to germinate out in the world. The Superior's hopes were realized. This friendly association between the seminarians and the young externs was at one and the same time a source of spiritual profit for the seminary and a great means for recruiting vocations. For several years, Father Delpuits' Sodality furnished Saint-Sulpice with a rather large number of recruits equally distinguished for their learning and fervor."<sup>92</sup> They could not help but transmit their fine spirit, zeal, and generous dispositions to the whole house. More than once Father Emery held them up as examples in order to facilitate discipline and create a favorable attitude towards certain measures which he judged desirable but which he preferred not to impose by his authority.

The favorable attitude adopted by the Superior General and Father Duclaux towards the Sodality and perhaps the influence of Eugene's compatriot, Forbin-Janson who had been a member of the Sodality since 1802, resulted in Eugene de Mazenod's joining it around October 30, 1808.<sup>93</sup>

Although Father Emery gave official approval to the Sodality, he merely gave permission for another missionary group which Forbin-Janson, the future Bishop of Nancy, Founder of the Holy Childhood, formed with several of his fellow seminarians at Saint-Sulpice. Even at that time, as Lacordaire was to bring out in the prelate's funeral oration, Forbin-Janson "had made

the whole world his horizon and still found it too narrow.”<sup>94</sup> His apostolic yearnings had as their object more than merely re-Christianizing France. Perhaps the foreign mission chapel where the Sodality held its meetings inspired him with the thought that the aims of the Sodality should not be limited to the reconquest of Catholic soil but should also extend to the conquest of pagan soil. At any rate, Father Delvaux, S.J., who was then Forbin’s fellow student at Saint-Sulpice, relates that

China, that ancient and immense empire, soon loomed up as his portion. Scarcely had he entered Saint Sulpice when he began talking of nothing but foreign missions, specifically those of China. Rarely did he touch on this subject without being inflamed at the thought of the immense harvest which could be surely and easily reaped by a zealous missionary through the baptizing of abandoned Chinese babies. He spoke of it to everyone and at all times. It was his favorite topic of conversation with groups during formal recreations and walks, but more especially when he was with close friends whom his inspiring zeal had drawn to him.<sup>95</sup>

Feeling that his exhortations would be made the more effective if he could organize a group and have it recognized officially, he asked permission to organize it at the Country House at Issy, in the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace built by Father Emery near the small stone church where the celebrated Issy lectures on Quietism had been given by Bossuet, Fenelon, and Tronson.

His facile and glowing words were like so many fiery tongues inflaming the hearts of his listeners with the same zeal by which he himself was consumed. He inspired them with burning and great desires for the service of God, particularly in the foreign mission fields of China. By its simplicity and darkness, this chapel was a vivid reminder of the Catacombs and the recollection of those gatherings of the first Christians became all the more vivid to us when he displayed for our veneration innumerable bones of martyrs which he had piously and diligently collected, the greater number of which he had received through the kindness of His Eminence, Cardinal Caprara. When we heard his voice which, in those days, vibrated with an extraordinary vigor, a great desire for martyrdom became linked with our Apostolate. All of us owe much to him . . . Not

everyone belonging to his pious Association became missionaries or martyrs although several did have that honor; men like the pious and zealous Father de Chazournes who perished in a storm at sea while sailing to the Orient, and the good Abbé de Solages who was burned alive by the savages of Madagascar whom he had come to evangelize. However, almost all of us sighed for the martyr's palm and volunteered for the foreign missions. Those, such as de Janson, who were not allowed to refuse the Episcopacy became holy and courageous bishops. Several of these latter accepted the dignity only after they had founded new Missionary Congregations and had themselves done missionary work in their own country where the needs of that period following the great Revolution were as dire as those of infidel countries.

Among these bishops, Father Delvaux puts in a prominent place Forbin-Janson's friend and "alter ego," Bishop de Mazenod, Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, "who, even after he became Bishop of Marseilles, still dreamed of embarking for the foreign missions of the Two Indies."<sup>96</sup>

It would be difficult to find a better explanation and a more certain indication of how much the Founder of the Oblates owed his missionary orientation to the gatherings in the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace. The testimony of Father Delvaux who was his fellow-student at that time, and like him was also a member of the same missionary group swayed by Forbin-Janson, is so clear and so categorical that it dispenses one from any further commentary. The day was to come when Eugene would fully realize what he more or less clearly glimpsed at that time.

This Missionary Association of Forbin-Janson which was more restricted in its membership and broader in its horizons than the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, carried on its activities openly, and, as with the Sodality, everyone knew of its existence and knew who were its members. The same could not be said of still another organization. This group was extremely restricted and entirely secret, and eventually counted Eugene de Mazenod among its members. In fact, he would one day direct it. The files in the archives of Saint-Sulpice reveal the fact of its existence, and the minutes-book of its meetings<sup>97</sup> which has fortunately

been found, allows us to determine its aims as well as its organization and enables us to study its progress.

This group was known as an "Association of Piety," and was designated by the letters Aa. It was "formed at the Paris seminary of Saint-Sulpice on October 9, 1801." Through its records, the "network of secret influences"<sup>98</sup> which more or less affected the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin can now be revealed.

Like the Sodality itself, the Aa owed its foundation to the Jesuits. It combined the elite of the college students, chosen from among the theologians and philosophers, for a double purpose; to improve its members spiritually and to orientate them towards an apostolate. "The two purposes were equally important and interdependent and were patterned after a new concept which had become the soul and *raison d'être* of the Society of Jesus."<sup>99</sup> While the Sodality had a large membership, each Aa was composed of only a few members ranging in number from ten to twenty who were carefully selected from among the members of the Sodality where, in the words of Father de Bertier, they formed a kind of "super-Sodality,"<sup>100</sup> whose purpose was to give added support to the aims of the Sodality without appearing to do so, since, unlike the Sodality, the Aa was essentially secret. Originated by the Jesuit Fathers, it was "usually"<sup>101</sup> directed by one of them. Each Aa, following democratic procedure, abided by the rule of the majority. The "moderator" who was generally a member of the Society of Jesus, acted only as an advisor, and respected its self-government.<sup>102</sup>

Certain groups modeled after the Jesuit Aa were founded independently of it. This was particularly the case with Societies of Piety or Aa's composed of the more fervent pupils in Sulpician seminaries, and Father Rouquette carefully differentiates them from the official Aa which

was the direct charge of the Society of Jesus. The Aa refuses to recognize any Association as an Aa if it has no connection with it. The reason is clear; the Aa is like a plant that thrives in wide open surroundings with plenty of fresh air. Only with difficulty can it be transplanted to a seminary hothouse where its growth is bound to be very stunted and where it can easily gnarl itself into a clique, or

even worse; two entirely different groups, the Aa of a restricted seminary and the Aa of an unrestricted college.<sup>103</sup>

Nevertheless, although it was not officially connected with the Jesuits, the Aa of Saint-Sulpice was strongly influenced by their spirit during Father Emery's superiorship. The Superior General had once been a pupil of the Jesuits and had always remained strongly attached to them. Furthermore, when he began the reformation of the Major Seminary in the eighteenth century, he enlisted the aid of a group which included Varin, Charles and Maurice de Broglie, Villele, Tournely, Samboucy, and Grivel, and they were the "seeds from which were to spring the Fathers of the Faith who, along with the Priests of the Sacred Heart founded by Father de Clorivière, would restore the Society of Jesus in France."<sup>104</sup> It might also be pointed out that the new Aa of 1801 which was aimed at helping the Sulpicians to restore the seminary to its traditional spirit, just as the former Aa of 1782 had helped them to reestablish the Seminary, was formed a few months after the Sodality was formed, and had, as its permanent moderator, Father Duclaux who was Father Delpuits' confessor.

The principal aim of this Association is to form within the seminary a group of very pious ecclesiastics who will observe the seminary rules perfectly and who, by their personal example, advice, and prayers, will help to maintain a strong fervor within the community.<sup>105</sup>

The first objective, therefore, was to give added impetus to the spiritual formation of the members of the Aa. Consequently, they drew up an entire program which would benefit their personal piety. This piety will be based upon a "solid devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (art. 1)" and upon a devotion "honoring the mysteries of the God-Man," particularly "those of His childhood and hidden life." (art. 11) Its aim will be a deep interior life (art. 13) nourished by frequent communion, preferably on Fridays and Saturdays for the members in honor of the hearts of Jesus and Mary, on another day of the week for the entire community, and on feast days of certain

Saints. It will sustain its strength and find its identification in certain practices over and above the exercises prescribed by the seminary regulation.<sup>106</sup>

Other articles intermingled with those just mentioned relate to the apostolate that was to be carried on within the seminary. The members of the Aa were expected to be examples of "all the virtues, especially humility, obedience, and modesty, in the highest degree." (art. 4) They will endeavor to win the friendship and confidence of the members of the student body, so that by their counsels and wise advice, prudently conveyed, they might excite the students to piety and fidelity to the rules." (art. 7) In recreation, "they will keep watch over themselves and those with them in order to prevent anything that might be harmful to the spirit of charity and unity." (art. 8) Finally, their piety which will be "sincere, cordial, calm, even-tempered, amiable, cheerful, considerate, charitable, patient, and gentle" will adapt itself to everyone, will endure all things, and bear all things, "in order to win all hearts and attract them to the love of Our Adorable Master." (art. 14)

A meeting held once every two weeks will allow the members to discuss "the most suitable means for accomplishing the aims of their Association. Each of the members, beginning with the oldest and continuing down to the youngest, will take his turn presiding over these meetings" (art. 18) and each meeting must not "under any condition last more than a half hour without the express permission of the Superior of the seminary." (art. 19) After the reading of the rules, "each one will suggest what he feels will be useful for the spiritual advancement of each of the members individually, or of the community as a whole. All adopted resolutions will be recorded and submitted for the approval of the Superior. All matters foreign to the aims of the Association will be banned from discussion; even those which might have a bearing on progress in studies." (art. 20) Once the resolutions have been adopted, the President "will make a few observations, as much to explain the rules of the Association as to encourage practicing them with renewed fer-

vor." (art. 21) Attendance at meetings is compulsory unless one has been expressly excused by Father Superior. (art. 22)

Originally composed of only five and then six members, the seminary Aa passed a resolution in July, 1803, at the suggestion of Father Duclaux to add two more members; its total membership never went beyond eight seminarians. To fill the vacancies caused by departures from the seminary, all the members voted in the election of new members. All choices were submitted to Father Duclaux, and very often, the names they submitted were those he, himself, had suggested. Moreover, he frequently assisted at their meetings and, sometimes, held them in his own room.

According to the deliberations that were carried on up to Eugene de Mazenod's admission in December, 1810, it seems that during the first years of its existence, the Saint-Sulpice Aa devoted itself principally to the sanctification of its own members. Whenever Father Duclaux attended their meetings, he confined himself mostly to pious exhortations and then discreetly withdrew, "thus allowing the members more liberty in expressing their opinions and asking questions."<sup>107</sup> Often, however, the Assembly begged him to do them "the fervor of remaining."<sup>108</sup> In his absence, one or another of the members addressed a few edifying words to his confrères. As for the influence they exerted over the other seminarians, the Record Book up to 1807 makes mention of only one instance: "March 15, 1802; two members delegated to speak to those who are introducing a slight disorder into the community."

Starting in 1808, however, the Aa seems to have been more concerned with accomplishing its second purpose as listed by the Rule, for, in January, 1809, the members admonished one another against "neglecting the new students. Father Superior showed us that this is one of the principal aims of our Association and is the most beautiful way to practice Christian Charity." In the course of the year, the same point was discussed several times since it was judged to be so essential. On two separate occasions Father Duclaux exhorted the members on this same matter, and on November 14, after the reception for M. Gosselin and M.

Phelipon, he made a particularly earnest appeal to stimulate the zeal of both old and new Associates.

Father Superior pointed out the aim of the Association and the forceful motives that should stir its members to move about more frequently among the new arrivals at the seminary whose virtue, as yet weak and languid, needed support and encouragement. One of the truest and most striking thoughts he put before the members in order to inflame a spirit of charity and zeal among themselves and the members of the Congregation was that seven or eight seminarians, if they were animated by that type of zeal, could easily foster fervor throughout the whole community and could bring about an exact observance of the Rule without any necessity on the part of the Fathers to do or say a thing.

The members of the Aa also began now to concern themselves more and more with encouraging leadership on the part of their confrères:

November 28, 1809; The remarks made concerning the discipline of the seminary and the fervor of its members were again mutually discussed by the Associates. February 3, 1810; Fraternal correction was made and observations concerning the community were discussed. Perfect observance of the Rule is greatly encouraged when looked upon as a very efficacious means of re-animating the spirit of fervor among the students of the Seminary.

We can easily understand why, henceforth, the Saint-Sulpice Aa insisted principally on the greater influence its members were expected to exert upon the seminary. Saint-Sulpice was feeling the repercussion of the struggle between Napoleon and Pius VII. Because of his courageous defence of the rights of the Pope, Father Emery, along with his entire staff, was ordered to leave the seminary in June, 1810. The Superior General complied immediately but influence was exerted to defer the departure of his colleagues with the result that they obtained a year's grace and were allowed to stay on at Pot de Fer Street until October, 1811.

Their work, however, was no less seriously jeopardized, since a certain confusion and vacillation began to appear among their pupils, causing the faculty to wonder what would happen to

these young people once they were confided to other hands. Consequently, in order to restore calm to the community and to guarantee that its traditions would be carried on after he and his fellow-Sulpicians departed, Father Duclaux, understandably enough, exhorted the Association to redouble its efforts so that, through its members, the Jesuit spirit would be maintained. And it was precisely during this crisis, in December, 1810, that Eugene de Mazenod joined the Association with the Polish Prince Szadurski who, like Eugene, was a member of the Sodality. Both were elected on December 7, 1810, and were "joyfully" inducted at the reception given in their honor. Each of them made his act of consecration to the Sacred Heart. More than likely, Father Duclaux used his influence to have this one of his spiritual sons admitted to the Association, since he had the greatest confidence in him. He knew the young man's generosity, courage, and fervor, knew how steady and dynamic he was, and most likely counted upon him to bring new life into the entire group. Eugene came up to expectations.

Thus, a month later, at the meeting of January 22, 1811,

M. de Mazenod told the members of the assembly that the Aa was not sufficiently zealous in maintaining fervor in the seminary, that the members were satisfied with simply perceiving the abuses in the seminary without taking steps that might remedy them. The members acknowledged the truth of this observation and made a resolution to circulate as much as possible among the new arrivals at the Seminary in order to bring a note of piety into their conversations and to eradicate a collegiate attitude and certain habits of worldly behavior which young men often enough bring with them to the seminary. The members also resolved to work in pairs as much as possible so that they might control the conversation more easily and make the aforementioned measure more effective.

It was not, however, until a short time after the reopening of the school year in October, 1811, that Eugene really made his influence felt in the Association of which he had then become Secretary. At the end of the retreat which opened the school year, the directors were advised by the Minister of Public Worship that they were to leave the Seminary. Undoubtedly, the tragic news

had a sharp effect upon the community. With encouragement from Father Duclaux, Eugene therefore, urged the assembly at its October 21 meeting over which he presided, to adopt certain measures which the situation demanded.

The assembly did not consider it feasible today to discuss fraternal correction. It felt that it was more urgent to decide on methods whereby the pristine spirit of the Association might be restored at the earliest possible moment, and in the most efficacious manner, since there is no doubt that it has weakened imperceptibly for several years. Realizing the critical circumstances surrounding the seminary on the eve of losing the help and holy example of its beloved and saintly Directors, the assembly could not hide from itself that it would be partly responsible for the laxity that might creep into the seminary if it did not make every effort to exercise in the strongest way possible that hidden influence which the prestige of all the associates and their continued reputation for regularity enable them to exert upon the community.

It was thus unanimously resolved: 1. That there be a redoubling of zeal and fervor, in such a way that the example of regularity given by the associates will be powerful enough to maintain a spirit of piety and the most exact fidelity to the rules and that they cope with every breach of the rules which either the ill will or the thoughtlessness of lukewarm students might threaten to make in it. 2. That M. de Mazenod acquaint himself with all the minutes of the previous meetings as they are recorded in the minutes-book of the Association and that he make a report at the following meeting concerning the discussions that will have to be taken up or renewed, or to which something will have to be added, due to present circumstances. 3. That the assembly meet again in extraordinary session a few days hence to hear the above-mentioned report and to come to the quickest decision possible concerning the important matters of the Association.

On the following October 26, Eugene presented the report requested by his confrères. But, since more than a half hour was needed to discuss the findings, it was resolved "to meet in extraordinary session the next walk-day, October 30." That day after gathering for common prayer in the Chapel of Our Lady of

Grace, the members of the Association left the country house in a group, and after reciting the Rosary and the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, discussed, as they walked along, the different means whereby they might best accomplish the good which the Association had in mind. They exchanged observations about the different members of the student body and suggested what they thought might be the most advantageous way of helping these students, making allowances for differences in temperament. This analysis also proved useful in determining who would be the most suitable for admission into the Association. Finally, they exchanged friendly admonitions concerning one another's shortcomings which needed rechecking.

It seems quite certain, therefore, that the Aa of Saint-Sulpice intended to become more vigilant and more active. And it also seems that it engaged in a system of surveillance, reporting, and control, inspired no doubt by excellent motives, but, at the same time, difficult to manage with tact and restraint. The gravity of the situation, the desire to continue the work of the banished Sulpicians in maintaining regularity and fervor, the need to ease the tension caused by Napoleon's religious policies, and the growing vacillation within the community itself, explain why Eugene de Mazenod and his colleagues in the Association, engaged in this method of action. No doubt, some action had to be taken; the difficulty lay in knowing how to go about it. As Father Rouquette observed, "The usual regulation of these seminary groups," such as M. Bertrand cites,<sup>109</sup> "explicitly prohibits everything that resembles informing on their fellow students by the members of the secret Association. This same essential care is taken also in the Jesuit Aa's."<sup>110</sup> Eugene de Mazenod and his confrères certainly had no intention of running to the superior or to the other directors with information they had gathered or had learned from one another. The new method they inaugurated to reinvigorate their group could, nevertheless, have run the risk of creating an atmosphere of mistrust within the seminary which would have been contrary to the aims of the Aa.

Immediately after returning to the seminary from their walk, the associates opened their meeting under the presidency of M.

de Mazenod. Once again, he read his report as well as "the minutes of the different past meetings whose importance demanded that they be brought up again before the assembly." The following decisions were then reached: 1. in favor of our Holy Father, the Pope, whose name "omitted unintentionally, no doubt," was added to article 12 of the rule. The Sovereign Pontiff will share in the prayers which the associates offer for bishops, priests and the whole Church; 2. the number of pious practices which were successively introduced by former members will be decreased and, so as not to be burdened with too many prayers in common, "the association will limit itself henceforth to what was originally fixed by the rule, that is to say; prayers to the Sacred Heart will be restricted to the short prayer, *Cor Jesu Flagrans* and the psalm *Miserere* recited on Thursdays before the Blessed Sacrament." 3. to help the members guard more carefully against their faults, since they must give perfect example at all times, public fraternal correction was instituted, with each of the members rising in his proper turn to remind the others "in a spirit of fraternal charity and with the most gentle dispositions" of the faults of which they may or may not have been conscious. Finally, to the original rule drawn up in 1801, they added a supplement, the last article of which restated their obligation to observe "the most inviolable secrecy regarding the Association's activities and even its very existence, either inside or outside the seminary." It involved, therefore, complete reorganization, and the assembly unanimously approved all the articles proposed by Eugene de Mazenod.

He was not present at the meetings which took place on the 2, 11, and 18 of December, 1811. He missed the December 2 meeting because of a mixup regarding the place of the meeting, and was absent from the other two because of his departure for Amiens to receive the priesthood. The record of all three meetings shows definite evidence of grave concern on the part of both seminarians and teachers. On Wednesday, December 11, the "extraordinary" meeting over which M. Tharin presided, was taken up wholly and entirely with discussing the plans of the directors of the house, the best means for restoring peace of

mind and of holding on to the most outstanding members of the seminary during the year, so that studies and piety would suffer as little as possible from the loss of so many excellent guides who have been obliged to abandon the Seminary.<sup>111</sup>

Shortly after the new year began, Eugene de Mazenod had to resign from the Association since he had but recently received the priesthood and was immediately named one of the directors of Saint-Sulpice. However, like his colleagues, Tharin, Teyseyre, and Gosselin, who were also appointed to succeed the expelled Sulpicians, he continued to cooperate with the Association in maintaining the traditions of the dispersed sons of Olier, and in leading more energetically than ever, the good fight against Napoleonic Caesarism.

Saint-Sulpice had been struck a severe blow for its fidelity to the Church of Rome. Closely associated with Father Emery's resistance movement, just as he was in so many other matters, Eugene de Mazenod would carry on his work by serving the cause of the captive Pius VII and his exiled Cardinals.

## Chapter Nine

# *Saint-Sulpice Seminary at the Service of the Pope and the Roman Cardinals*

### THE SEMI-GALLICANISM OF SAINT-SULPICE SEMINARY

The secret activities of the Aa and similar groups were not restricted to the area these groups aimed to sanctify, but were extended beyond these limits and took on a militant character to defend the rights of the Church. In the eighteenth century, the societies known as the "Amitiés" of Savoy, Switzerland and Italy took up the fight against Freemasonry, "using the latter's own weapons of secrecy and the free press."<sup>1</sup> During the Revolution, the Aa of Toulouse directed "the resistance movement against the Revolutionary oath."<sup>2</sup> Working with Father de Clorivière and his secret society of the Heart of Jesus, the Aa of Paris organized retreats and ordinations at the Irish College of Mont Ste. Genevieve which was exempt from the laws of the Constituency since it was foreign property. During these retreats, Mlle. de Cice, Superioress of the Secret Congregation of the Daughters of Mary, along with her sisters, took care of the temporalities. A link between the Aa of Paris and that of Poitiers enabled candidates for ordination to travel without any interference; it was through this link that Father Coudrin reached the Capital for his ordination to the priesthood.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning in 1808, this mysterious network, which had been carried on, reorganized, and expanded, put itself at the service of Pius VII who had been stripped of his Papal States, and brought captive to Savona. The secret groups then joined in a

concerted effort to uphold the freedom of the Holy See against Napoleonic usurpations. About the time of the imprisonment of the Holy Father, Eugene de Mazenod was active in that clandestine campaign which the Imperial Police were powerless to halt. However, it was not as a member of the Aa that he became involved in the struggle, for, at that time, he was simply a member of the Sodality. Rather, it was through Father Emery who enlisted his help; a good proof of the confidence the Superior General had in de Mazenod's zeal, courage, and discretion.

Father Emery became the head of the resistance movement in Paris, and the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, where Gallican doctrines were being taught, took such a decided stand in favor of Papal authority that its attitude which, apparently, had little logic to it—Consalvi's *Mémoires* and those of Pacca, bear this out—delighted and, at the same time, puzzled all the Roman cardinals. More than once, Eugene de Mazenod questioned Father Boyer's teaching and wrote on the margin of the notes from the course Boyer gave on the Four Articles of 1682, "Father Boyer is Gallican." And yet, although the young Provençal was ultramontanistic, in practice his ideas were strongly in accord with those of the Superior General.

Father Emery held to a semi-Gallicanism. The experience he gained from the Revolution and the errors in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had shown him, as it did many others, the unwarranted interference that resulted from the famous *Maxims* of 1682.

I am surprised that the Liberties still find such warm partisans among ecclesiastics in view of the fact that these same ecclesiastics have suffered from the abuses of these Liberties, and also in view of the fact that the Constitutional Church today uses them in its fight against the Church.<sup>4</sup>

He criticized just as strongly Napoleon's use of them in the clauses of his treaty. Not that the Superior General rejected the Liberties; he simply wanted them to be correctly understood and reasonably interpreted, so that they might remain within just limits. Between the tendencies of Second Order Ec-

clesiastics, who were leaning towards ultramontanism, and the usurpations of the Emperor, he took, in 1807, a middle-road position, that of a moderate Gallicanism, the only type of Gallicanism he considered valid.<sup>5</sup> Thus, he published at that time Fleury's *New Treatises*, in order to restore the author's original text which had been tampered with by eighteenth-century editors in a deliberate attempt to falsify his teachings. In restoring Fleury's original treatises on Gallicanism, however, it was not simply to correct a flagrant dishonesty which had hurt the memory of this historian; he also wanted to use Fleury as an authority for the *via media* he persistently clung to. The work was a manifest proof of his devotion to the Apostolic See and by presenting Gallicanism in an acceptable form, it gained him the cautious congratulations of Cardinal Antonelli and the thanks of Pius VII.<sup>6</sup>

This, therefore was the semi-Gallicanism which Father Boyer was then teaching at Saint-Sulpice in the courses he gave in 1809-1810. As much for giving a true picture of Eugene de Mazenod's ultramontanism as for throwing light on the crisis and the apparent contradictions of that time, it becomes important to discuss the principal theses which the professor upheld in his classes.

First of all, he held unconditionally for the spiritual independence of the Church by proving the following thesis: "Secular princes have no authority whatsoever in things spiritual." The prince, he explained, has no right to interfere in the teachings of the Church or in any of its particular dogmas. If he accepts (the Church) in his kingdom, he accepts it as it is, that is, invested with a supreme and infallible authority guaranteed by its divine character, and, far from having the authority to direct it or bring it under his subjection, he himself must submit to it. He has the obligation to pay it all the respect due to Him Who has sent it. In whatever pertains to its authority, he must obey it as he would the voice of God and protect it with all his temporal power . . . Consequently, it becomes clear how to interpret that favorite maxim of modern politics, "The Church belongs to the State and not the State to the Church."<sup>7</sup> It is true that the Church belongs to the State but only in the sense that it is a

physical part of the State; that it dwells there with all the rights with which its pastoral ministry has endowed it and with all the independence God has given it in things spiritual. The Gallicans were fond of citing a title which certain Fathers of the Church applied to secular princes, that is, "external bishops"; but, as Fénelon pointed out in his oration at the coronation of the Elector of Cologne, the external bishop must not encroach upon any function of the internal bishop. He must stand with drawn sword at the entrance of the Sanctuary and guard its liberty; he must protect the Church against innovators and heretics, but not oppress it by interfering in its administration.<sup>8</sup> There was nothing new about this stand for it agreed completely with the ecclesiastical Gallicanism of the *ancien régime* which, on this point, was so opposed to parliamentary and royalist Gallicanism.

To this thesis condemning the interference of autocratic monarchies, Father Boyer added a second which dealt with the abuses of jurisdiction committed by the French Constituent Assembly in the name of the People whose delegate it claimed to be:

The people have no sovereign power over things spiritual. . . . If this power belonged to the people it would be either by Divine institution or by the nature of things. Certainly, the people do not possess this power through divine institution . . . nor do they possess it by the nature of things since spiritual power belongs essentially to the supernatural order and does not have its source in the people. We agree that the people have a right to elect their own ruler, to choose their magistrates and to establish taxes; but, to administer the sacraments and to confer grace—these are not in their power.<sup>9</sup>

Granting that neither the prince nor the people have any authority over the spiritual, does that mean, therefore, that the Pope's authority over the Church in doctrinal and jurisdictional matters is completely autocratic? Boyer certainly recognized the Pope's primacy of honor and jurisdiction but added "the authority which stems from this primacy is essentially monarchical tempered somewhat by the aristocratic."<sup>10</sup> It remains, therefore, to determine the exact meaning of this tricky formula which Boyer borrowed from Tournely, the famous theologian of the Sor-

bonne. In Boyer's eyes, how closely did it resemble that other formula so dear to the hearts of the Gallicans: "The Council is superior to the Pope?" He gave the answer himself:

By saying that the Council is superior to the Pope, we do not mean that the Council separated from the Pope can put itself above the Pope, but what we do mean is that the Council presided over by the Pope can make decrees which would bind the latter and which he would have no power to abrogate at will. In other words, the laws passed by the Ecumenical Council are not the same as those which Sovereign Pontiffs make individually and which they have the power to modify or change. In this sense, the laws of the Council are above the power of the Pope. Note well that this applies only to questions of discipline since we know that there can be no question regarding the dogmas of Faith. This meaning which we give to the proposition that "The Council is superior to the Pope" is also the meaning Bossuet gave it. We grant that certain Gallicans have gone further, but we have never supported their views. The Council is superior to the Pope in the sense that a General Council can bind him by its decrees. This is the meaning we give to it and it seems to harmonize perfectly with the primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff. Why not? No one quarrels with the idea that a State which is governed by a ruler and certain groups of its subjects can make laws which bind that ruler irrevocably.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, Boyer held that the superiority of the Council over the Pope was restricted to questions of discipline, and by stressing that point he toned down the meaning of the principle invoked by Gallicanism.

As for those things pertaining to dogmatic definitions, he likewise maintained a relatively moderate position. In matters of Faith, the Ecumenical Council needed the Sovereign Pontiff's confirmation of its decrees to make them infallible. However, contrary to what the ultramontanists hold, this confirmation which is an "essential part of the Council's infallibility" is not "the whole source" of its infallibility. As for the case of a Council separated from the Pope, envisaged by certain extremist Gallicans, Boyer declared that it was "inconceivable." Neither in fact nor in theory is it possible:

The case of a Pope opposing a Council's resistance to heresy has never yet occurred, and in discussing the infallibility of the Pope we have already established the principle which states that the promise of infallibility also covers this indefectibility.<sup>12</sup>

Does this mean, therefore, that the Pope also enjoys personal indefectibility? On this point, as on all others, the Saint-Sulpice professor sought a *via media* between the ultramontanists and the Gallicans. Although he did not accept the ultramontane thesis concerning the personal infallibility of the Pope teaching *ex cathedra*, he did recognize the validity of their criticism of Gallicans who vehemently attacked infallibility without being able to invoke, in favor of their doctrine, anything but a distinction between the Holy See and him who occupies it: "that is to say," Boyer explained, "that while holding the Pope to be fallible, they claim that the Holy See is indefectible."<sup>13</sup> This distinction between the infallible *seat* and the "one occupying the seat" seemed absolutely unacceptable to him: "It must be rejected," he affirmed; "it cannot be held that the Roman Church is indefectible independently of the infallibility of the one who governs it."<sup>14</sup> In this respect, he agreed with the ultramontanists.

Apart from this concession, he separated from them without, however, adopting the thesis of extreme Gallicanism which admitted the possibility of a Pope persevering in error and opposing the Ecumenical Council:

It must be said that the reason why [the Roman Church] is indefectible is that he who governs it, even though he be subject to error, indeed, even though he is capable of teaching it in a dogmatic Bull, will never stubbornly persist in error, and will never be a heretic. . . . This was the interpretation that Bossuet gave it.<sup>15</sup>

Boyer was here referring not to Bossuet's *Defence of the Declaration of the Clergy*, a posthumous work of the Bishop of Meaux, but to his *Sermon on the Unity of the Church* and also to the *New Tracts of Fleury* edited by Father Emery. According to his opinion the problem of the Pope's personal infallibility is purely theoretical and brings up questions that can be freely discussed in the schools. His personal opinion, which was in accord with

that of Bossuet, was considered by him as *probabilior*. Besides, the Fourth Article of 1682, according to the interpretation he attributed to Bossuet, did not settle the argument and left the matter open to discussion. He contented himself with simply furnishing a practical rule: "The consensus of the Church is necessary if the decrees are to become absolute rules of faith."<sup>16</sup>

What of the Sovereign Pontiff's jurisdiction? After rapidly passing over the Pope's undeniable prerogatives, Boyer devoted most of his discussion to those which remained debatable and thereby tackled the burning problems of the day. The first was the canonical institution of bishops. That the Pope has this power there can possibly be no doubt. "In the actual state of discipline, the Pope enjoys the right to create bishops." It is a question, therefore, of knowing whether or not this right is an essential part of his office, a right which he exercises by virtue of the power he received from Jesus Christ or whether he exercises it simply as a minister of the Church.<sup>17</sup> According to Boyer, jurisdiction comes directly from God and

the Pope is merely the delegate of the Church which, through him, creates all the bishops who are named. To uphold the contrary, as the ultramontanists did, would be to give the Pope unlimited power, which has no foundation either in Scripture or in Tradition.<sup>18</sup>

After giving proofs from Scripture and Tradition to support his thesis, the Sulpician professor concluded that "the right to create bishops is not an essential prerogative of the office of Pope, but a privilege given to him by the Church ever since the thirteenth century."<sup>19</sup>

By virtue of this principle which, for him, was undeniable, Boyer went on to affirm that the Sovereign Pontiff could not give up this right without a new decree of a General Council, with the result that the Gallican doctrine became his best guarantee of authority. He even used it as an argument *ad hominem* against Napoleon who invoked the Declaration of 1682. Since only the General Council has jurisdiction to change this disciplinary law, no segment of the Church gathered together in a national council has any authority in the matter, even "in case of

necessity"; for example, if the Pope "for evil reasons" refused "the bulls appointing bishops of a kingdom."<sup>20</sup>

Boyer was no less opposed to the argument that a particular segment of the Church could "go back to the ancient discipline *as a temporary measure*, provided it returned to the common law as soon as the circumstances which necessitated this measure" would cease. Such would be, for example, the danger of anarchy and of total ruin. "Absolutely not," said Boyer,

and my answer will always be the same. No measure can be justified which might be a revolt both against the Church and the Pope, nor can it be made legal by any reason or by any eventuality. In fact, no matter how disastrous you might suppose the condition of this particular Church to be, a case such as this would still remain that of a subject rising up against his ruler, a small fragment trying to make itself greater than the whole. Such conduct on the part of a particular church would all the more be condemned, since in this case it is a question of jurisdiction, and in matters of jurisdiction there can be no substitute, not even the will of the Sovereign.<sup>21</sup>

Historical precedents were cited to support this thesis: The Revolution in Portugal, the Quarrel of the Regale. It was, for all practical purposes, a condemnation of Napoleon's motive for convoking the National Council of 1811. The most intriguing feature of Boyer's proposition is that he used the Gallican doctrine as his authority and cleverly turned it against the claims of the Emperor.

The second prerogative that was contested: that the Pope was above all laws and all customs in cases of necessity. "I say," stated Boyer,

that we ought to put it among his undeniable prerogatives, since the Gallican Church, which would be the only one able to contest it with any validity due to the terms of the Declaration of 1682, has just formally recognized it by accepting the last Concordat. In fact, what power has not the Pontiff used in the Concordat? There has not been an example of it in all Church history. To destroy instantaneously an immense Church and completely reform it, to depose all its bishops and pastors, change all its Sees, and declare the ownership

of all property of secular and religious clergy transferred forever; these were the results of the Concordat. But since it was a question of saving France and preventing schism, everything was licit. To save the State there is nothing that cannot be sacrificed, and the reason is that the safety of the fatherland puts it above all laws.<sup>22</sup>

When Father Emery was summoned by Fouché and reproached for having attacked the Gallican doctrine by editing the *New Tracts of Fleury*, he made use of the same *argumentum ad hominem* to justify his stand.

Finally, in examining the Four Articles, Father Boyer touched on a question which the Gallicanism of the *ancien régime* had never raised, but which the undertakings of Napoleon had made very actual: Is the Bishopric of Rome an essential part of the dignity of the head of the Universal Church? The Emperor who was determined to force the Pope to establish his See in the new capital of the Western Empire had declared, quoting his favorite dramatist Corneille, "Rome is no longer in Rome, it is where I am."

On the contrary, Boyer taught unconditionally that there was an indissoluble union between the Episcopal See of Rome and the dignity of the Supreme Head of the Church. No doubt, he observed, there are certain theologians who hold for the contrary thesis and think that since the union established between the See of Rome and the dignity of the Head of the Church "was made by Peter, simply by virtue of his purely human authority," it amounts to nothing but an "ecclesiastical institution; hence the Church can always change it as she pleases."<sup>23</sup> While agreeing that Saint Peter "united the Bishopric of Rome to the Primacy of the Universal Church, through a purely human authority," the Saint-Sulpice professor refused to draw a conclusion from it which would support the claims of the new Caesar: "No matter what was the nature of the choice made by Saint Peter, the Church no longer has the right to break the union which has been established between the See of Rome and the dignity of the Head of the Church." Between the two a divine link has been established:

Any one will admit that if Jesus Christ had expressly said that the Head of His Church would always be the Bishop of Rome, there would be no difficulty in this regard. Well! if He did not say so expressly, He did so at least virtually and indirectly. In fact, He did say that the Head of the Church would always be St. Peter's successor. Now, no one can be called the successor of St. Peter except he who receives the whole succession of St. Peter, that is to say, who succeeds to his See as well as to his Primacy. Therefore, only in Rome will the head of the Church find his succession. He must therefore succeed to his See in order to succeed to his person. Let no one say that an essential distinction must be made between two things in the succession of St. Peter, one divine and unchangeable, which is the Primacy of the Universal Church, the other purely human, which is the Episcopacy of Rome! . . . I answer that He Who said successor meant universal successor, and he would not be a universal successor of St. Peter who would not succeed to his See of Rome.<sup>24</sup>

It must be added that this opinion agreed with the teaching of the Councils, and Boyer cleverly entrenched himself behind the teaching of the Council of Constance which was the favorite authority of the Gallicans.

As a last point, he added that even if the Church could "make a drastic change by breaking the union existing between the Church of Rome and the Primacy of the Church, it is morally certain that it will never do so, because it will always be an Apostolic Institution made sacred by an unbroken period of eighteen centuries; something that could not be thrown over lightly," because such a measure would shake "the faith of the people who would find it hard to believe in the Church if they were told that it was no longer the Roman Church. However, this is not a question of faith."<sup>25</sup>

At that time, the Gallican Boyer needed courage in the chair of Theology of Saint-Sulpice to uphold all these theses which harmonized with the same reasons by which the imprisoned Pius VII energetically opposed Napoleon. M. Emery needed it even more "to speak the unvarnished truth in the presence of the most formidable of all Caesars,"<sup>26</sup> when the famous meeting of the bishops and highest dignitaries of the Empire took place at

the Tuileries, on March 17, 1811. In paying homage to this simple priest, who defended the honor of the ecclesiastical state, when the terrified prelates had all remained silent, Cardinal Consalvi perfectly described the stand Father Emery took.

Although he held for *Gallican Maxims* in whatever harmonized with Gallican liberties and privileges, and with the famous Four Articles of 1682, Father Emery held for them, however, with all the moderation that could be hoped for in one professing such a doctrine, whose *principles* he certainly defended, but whose conclusions he rejected.<sup>27</sup>

The Cardinal could have added that Emery made use of these very same principles to reject the conclusions Napoleon attempted to draw from them. The Emperor could make no rebuttal, for the Superior General not only utilized the Four Articles against Napoleon's thesis, but also quoted Bossuet, whom the new Caesar took as his authority for legalizing his religious policies. Thus, we gather that, although he did not share their doctrines, M. Emery was actually on the side of the ultramontanes. In fact, the solution to the problem united them in their struggle to give energetic support to the cause of the Pope.

#### SAINT-SULPICE, THE CENTER OF RESISTANCE TO CAESARO-PAPISM

Even more than the mildness of his Gallicanism, personal contacts had helped the editor of Fleury to establish a mutual confidence between himself and the exiled Roman cardinals. For want of knowing each other well enough, the Italian and French clergies nursed mutual prejudices against each other. After acknowledging the prejudices of his youth against the French nation, Cardinal Pacca added in his *Mémoires*:

If the French priests had lived for a longer time in Italy, and the Italian priests in France, every difference of opinion between the clergies of the two nations would have disappeared. The two persecutions which were waged in France and Italy, causing the French priests to flee to Italy, and the Italian priests to seek refuge in France, brought the sons closer to their mother and, I might say, effected a

kind of family reconciliation. For a time, between the clergy of Italy and that of France, there had been a discord which weakened the esteem they should have had for each other. It seemed impossible to many members of the Italian clergy that one could think and act correctly in Church matters when one upheld, in addition to the famous Four Articles, the liberties claimed by the Gallican Church. They had formed this opinion from reading French works tainted by Jansenism, and from the decrees of parliaments where, under the guise of Gallican liberties, erroneous principles and maxims were advanced which leaned towards schism and sometimes even heresy, and which the moderate Gallicans actually abhorred, grieving that such a calumny had been hurled against them. The French priests lacked, just as some even today lack, a true understanding of our Roman doctrines which they termed ultramontanistic. From several conversations I had with worthy ecclesiastics in France, I discovered that the Roman clergy were thought to hold exaggerated opinions on the exercise of the Pope's primatial jurisdiction, and I noticed that they were completely astonished when they heard me express opinions they never expected me to hold.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, through better acquaintanceship, the Italian and French clergies eventually rid themselves of their mutual prejudices. The Italians, as Pacca brought out in his *Mémoires*, discovered the worth, dignity, and pastoral zeal of the French clergy,<sup>29</sup> while the French clergy, as a whole, changed the bad opinion they had of the Italian clergy, thanks to their contact with the cardinals and bishops from the Peninsula, "among whom were found men of rare merit."<sup>30</sup>

This fortunate association did away with a lack of understanding of each other which sprang from a misinterpretation of the exact principles professed by both sides, as well as from an effective psychological state due to national temperaments. The errors and brutalities of Napoleon, the common determination to guarantee the independence of the spiritual, and the affectionate veneration they all felt for Pius VII, succeeded in achieving unity between the men from the Roman Curia and the clergy of France.

Eugene de Mazenod was the perfect choice to act as mediator between M. Emery and the cardinals brought to Paris, and

he established a tie between them that was equally discreet and effective. On the one hand, he had the complete trust of the Superior General, since, in spite of their doctrinal differences in the matter of Gallicanism, both saw eye to eye when it came to the defense of the rights of the Pope summoned by the Emperor. On the other hand, the "Purpurati" or cardinals, found everything in this young nobleman's favor; he spoke their language, loved their native country, knew how to deal with the Italian psychology, and professed a resolute and militant ultramontanist. Unlike other French ecclesiastics, who knew little of the transalpine mentality, this young cleric who was as much at home in peninsular surroundings as he was in those of Paris, encountered no difficulty in understanding the Italians and being understood by them. Somewhat out of their element on the banks of the Seine where, as Consalvi had pointed out in 1801, perspectives are not the same as they are on the banks of the Tiber, the Italian Princes of the Church would naturally lend a favorable ear to this one-time émigré, whom a long exile had acclimated to their country.

Three months before the arrival of their Eminences at Paris, Father Emery had brought Eugene into the secret bureau of information, which he organized at the Seminary in order to diffuse the latest information throughout France and to acquaint the country with opinions and documents relative to the trials and prerogatives of Pius VII. Originally, the Superior General had entrusted the transcription of this secret information to no one but the directors; when their number became inadequate for this task, he soon added a few trustworthy seminarians. Thus, as early as September, 1809, the Superior General enlisted the aid of his favorite Mazenod.

It so happened that at this very time, Mme. de Mazenod did not want her son to come to Aix for his summer vacation. No doubt the traveling expenses (400 francs) seemed out of all proportion to a short stay of six weeks, wrote Ninette

But, of all the objections that can possibly be made, there is only one worthy of any credence, and that is that before joining the

clerical state, you could not have given it too much reflection, and that if you come here next August in clerical garb, you will be exposed, so to speak, to the danger of not being able to leave the clerical state, since once this first step is publicly known, it will more than likely make you ashamed to change your mind. Without the garb you would have left yourself free and would have had all the more time to reflect on your decision.<sup>31</sup>

To be more truthful, Mme. de Mazenod, who was still opposed to Eugene's vocation, had no desire to see her son appear in Provence clothed in the soutane which she fervently hoped he would soon discard. Although her attitude grieved the new cleric, at least it proved providential for him. The two months' vacation, August and September, which he spent at the Seminary's country house with the Superior General and Father Duclaux, enabled him to take an active part in the clandestine campaign for the cause of Pius VII and thereby acquainted him more intimately with the La Mennais brothers as well as with all the groups helping Father Emery in the secret resistance movement.

Beginning in 1806, the La Mennais brothers had come into contact with Saint-Sulpice Seminary, through the instrumentality of Bruté de Remur. Like Jean-Marie La Mennais, Bruté was a member of the Sodality. He was also a friend of the La Mennais family. Desirous of helping the cause of the Church, Jean-Marie and his brother decided to devote themselves to study.

On November 13, 1807, from four in the afternoon until five-thirty, after putting down on paper a "rush of vague ideas," Félicité decided to ask Father Garnier or Father Emery to bring some order out of this minor chaos.<sup>32</sup> Later, about the beginning of 1809 he also submitted to the Superior General the manuscript of his *Reflections sur l'état de l'église de France pendant le XVIII Siècle*, requesting comments. At first glance, Father Emery detected the author's talent: "He has a fine talent for writing, which is a great advantage," wrote Father Emery to Bruté, "for it is not enough simply to assemble material; it must be worked upon and presented under the most agreeable form." The work "suggests exceptional ability and hence he can be of

great help to the Church which in a few years will be in dire need of ministers capable of defending her.”<sup>83</sup>

Encouraged by these words, Bruté addressed the following lines to Jean-Marie on July 6, 1809: “One last thought; during this vacation, why don’t you and your brother find a couple of weeks to spend at Issy with Father Emery. He will give you his impressions, his latest information and his views on the Church, while I make my retreat with Father Duclaux.”<sup>84</sup> On the following July 24, Teyssyre made a similar suggestion:

We should have much to discuss on the affairs of the Church which could not be prudently put in writing. Come and see us then during the vacation, your brother as well as yourself. Father Duclaux would make the visit well worth your while, and I cannot tell you how pleasant it would be for me. The seminary vacation begins August 15, and Father Duclaux will spend it at Issy.<sup>85</sup>

Only Jean-Marie, however, accepted the invitation. And thus it was that in what was once the hunting-lodge of Queen Margot, Jean La Mennais met Eugene de Mazenod for the first time.

Meanwhile, through secret channels, the Superior General had received Pius VII’s Bull excommunicating Napoleon, and the moment appeared opportune for speeding its text to Brittany through Bruté and his companion from St. Malo, Jean-Marie:

He directed M. l’Abbé de Mazenod to make a copy of it and he commissioned my esteemed friend Bruté and myself to bring it to our province and have it circulated there. M. Bruté hid it in the crown of his hat, and when we reached Vitré, we did as the venerable Father Superior had told us.<sup>86</sup>

After the vacation, Eugene now continued to work in the writing room of the seminary. On free days the Superior General gathered his trusted helpers in his room, and while their schoolmates were taking a walk to Issy, the group under his direction copied down the pieces of information he passed on to them: “In spite of the dangerous and sad circumstances surrounding it,” the correspondence bureau “wasn’t without its lighter moments. At 4 P.M. the Superior General had cakes, chocolate, and beverages brought in;

we then relaxed and took time out for refreshment; then back to work, and, in the evening, the incriminating documents were ready.”<sup>87</sup>

Converging upon this writing room was a whole network through which Eugene came into contact with the various secret associations cooperating with the Sodality. It was as a member of the Sodality that the Abbé de Mazenod recopied the Bull of excommunication which two other members, Bruté and Jean-Marie La Mennais, distributed throughout Brittany. Jean-Marie was also a member of the secret Society of the Sacred Heart, founded by Father Clorivière,<sup>88</sup> and Bruté, during his seminary days belonged to the Aa. Last but not least, “the turntable of this secret information center” so Father de Bertier enlightens us, “was at Lyons, under the direction of that city’s Sodality. From Lyons to Paris the channelling was as follows: Franchet d’Esperey who was to become Chief of Police under Villèle, and who was then employed in the main office of the tax collector, received the letters which his confrère, Berthaut du Coin, brought him from the Pope’s residence at Savona. He then sent them, perhaps under guise of his administration, to his compatriot Claude Vanney, a clerk employed by the banker Audiffret; the clerk then brought them to the Abbé Perreau.” Through Perreau who was “the most dynamic and resolute of the small resistance group at Paris” (according to Savary, he was the most active agent of this whole deep conspiracy), the information reached the Abbé d’Astros who was the last link of the chain; it was he who communicated it to Father Emery.

Berthaut, who twice made the journey from Savona on foot, and who was received personally by the Holy Father, devised a relay system which operated between the “gilded cage” of the Sovereign Pontiff and the capital of the Empire. The letters which Pius VII’s valet Andrea Morelli slipped into the hands of the Abbé de la Bruyère, reached the Abbé Rey, Vicar General of Chambery, who sent them on their way to Lyons.

In January, 1811, the papers which were seized at the home of M. de Coin disclosed the names of some of those who either received

him into their homes or helped him in other ways; at Chambery, the Abbés Rey and de la Palme; at Turin, the Abbé Bruno Lanteri, the Abbé Daverio, the engineer Conradi, the paymaster Injardi, Baron de Sinsan, prefect of the Palace of Prince Borghese; at Mondovi, Renato d'Agliano and Demetrio Cordero de Montesemolo. . . . Such was the network which, more than likely, had to change its arrangements very often.<sup>39</sup>

And it was through this same network that Father Emery obtained the correspondence emanating from the Head of the Church in order to have them recopied and distributed by his secret information bureau. The Sodality of Lyons, on its part, secretly printed in 1809 the *Authentic Correspondence of the Roman Court with France from the Invasion of the Roman State to the Capture of the Sovereign Pontiff*.

Thus, an entire campaign was waged for the defense of Pius VII, and participating in it were the young people of the Sodality, the Aa's, Saint-Sulpice, the La Mennais brothers, and the societies of Father de Ciorivière. Joining their ranks in May, 1810, were the "Knights of the Faith" who had already been active as members of the Sodality; grouped together henceforth into a secret association, the latter intensified their activities. However, this resistance movement which Father Emery wanted to keep strictly religious started to veer towards the political. At the same time that they were giving full support to the Altar, these Knights were also striving to undermine the Empire in order to bring the legitimate Bourbon dynasty back to the Throne. While putting their salons at the service of the Pope, the loquacious gentlemen and ladies of the suburbs of Saint-Germain, of whom the Superior General of Saint-Sulpice spoke with irritation, confused the two causes which Emery was trying to keep separate. Consequently the groundwork was laid for a fatal confusion which was to seriously jeopardize the Church during the whole period of the Restoration.

If later, the Abbé de Mazenod, like the high and low clergy as a whole, was to fall in line with this system, it was not so in 1810-1811 when he held strictly to the line of conduct mapped out by his spiritual father. The "little priest" whose opposition

was directed solely against the encroachments made by the temporal power upon the spiritual power, and who was loyal to the government, the same "little priest" whom the great Emperor admired and feared, found in the young Provençal cleric, the most devoted, courageous, skillful, and dependable of all his trusted helpers.

#### SAINT-SULPICE AND THE ROMAN CARDINALS

The new Caesar was not satisfied with deporting only the Sovereign Pontiff whom he secretly planned to install in the Capital of his Empire; he likewise decided to transfer the entire Sacred College to Paris.

The Pope's exile and the exodus of the cardinals were two related phases of the same Napoleonic campaign. The Emperor thought that, once the cardinals became accustomed to living on the banks of the Seine, they would eventually attract Pius VII there.<sup>40</sup>

Thus the entire Vatican with Peter's successor would establish headquarters near Charlemagne's successor. The transfer was put into action in a progressive way. On September 7, Cardinal Doria "and practically all the cardinals who had been made French subjects by Napoleon's conquest of Italy and who no longer lived in their own dioceses,"<sup>41</sup> received orders to start their journey. In November, the order was extended to the cardinals of the Kingdom of Italy who were living in their own dioceses; a short time later to all those belonging to the Curia.

Now, beginning in November, Eugene de Mazenod came into contact with those of the cardinals who arrived first. "For several days, now, I have been going out in the morning, after class, to see some cardinals whose acquaintanceship can be of great value to me" he wrote to his mother.<sup>42</sup> The fear of the "darkroom" where his mail could be censored prevented him from being any more explicit. But, we can readily surmise that he did not undertake these visits on his own initiative and for his own advantage, since these irregular and frequent excursions needed the Superior's permission and Eugene himself did not un-

dertake them without regretting "this distraction . . . too great and too prolonged for one who was so soon to have the happiness of receiving the subdiaconate."<sup>43</sup> We must presume therefore, that he was sent to the home of the aforementioned Cardinals by Father Emery himself in order to secure their advice, and transmit the Superior General's information to them.

Actually the situation was becoming more critical. Cut off from his advisors, and deprived of his liberty, Pius VII refused to appoint the bishops named by Napoleon to seventeen vacant sees. The difficulties which those elected by His Majesty were encountering in their dioceses, deprived as they were of all jurisdiction, and the confusion resulting from them, put the Emperor in an extremely embarrassing situation. Every attempt to shake the Pope's resolution met with the firmest resistance on the part of the courageous Pontiff. Napoleon who expected to bring "this foolish old man"<sup>44</sup> to terms sought support and enlightenment therefore from among his bishops and clergy. On November 16, he convoked an ecclesiastical advisory board and commissioned it to solve the problems resulting from his entanglements with the Holy See. This board was composed of two Cardinals, Fesch and Maury, the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Trèves, Nantes, Evreux, and Verceil, Father Fontana and "Sieur Emery."

Sieur Emery, chosen because he "knew his business" was not at all flattered by this fearful honor; but, being forced to accept it, he quickly decided "to speak his piece honestly, realizing that very likely he would suffer for it."<sup>45</sup> Thus, the Superior General assisted regularly at the sessions: "I do not believe," he wrote, "that there is a more important or more decisive commission anywhere."<sup>46</sup> We can understand, therefore, why the anguished "Sieur Emery" had recourse to the regular advisors of the Pope for the enlightenment he so sorely needed, and we can also understand why he wanted to keep them informed of the very heated arguments he was having with the "doctors" of the board, particularly with the Emperor's theologian Duvoisin. However, prudence prevented him from making direct and frequent contacts with the cardinals since Fouché was waiting to ensnare and destroy him. The accordance of dates allows us to

conjecture that, under the circumstances, Eugene de Mazenod served as his intermediary.

By gathering the Princes of the Church within his capital, Napoleon hoped to win them over to his views and, through them, bring Pius VII to his knees. Undoubtedly, some of them were responsive to his overtures and "were put on display" at receptions and official dinners to the great disgust of Consalvi and Pacca<sup>47</sup> and it was these who leaned towards conciliation. "On the contrary, 'the majority' seem to have crowded into the little 'pontifical court' which carried on deliberations at Cardinal di Pietro's quarters behind the Pantheon."<sup>48</sup> Pius VII had actually delegated his powers to this Cardinal whose brave firmness endeared him to His Holiness. While the other cardinals resided in their hotels on *rues de l'Université, de Grenelle, Jacob, du Bac, and S. Dominique*, all of which were in the aristocratic quarter of Paris,<sup>49</sup> di Pietro, with his secretary Fontana, took up lodgings at the Irish College of Mont Ste-Genevieve; during the Revolution this college was the center of a very active Aa connected with the province by an extensive chain of links.

It seems quite likely that Eugene was in frequent touch with di Pietro judging by the following account:

One day, Napoleon made his dissatisfaction with this Cardinal so clear that the frightened Principal of the College lost no time warning the prelate that his presence could endanger the whole establishment and that he would have to leave his retreat within twenty-four hours. At this very moment, the Abbé de Mazenod who later became Bishop of Marseilles, entered the Cardinal's suite and found His Eminence at the foot of his crucifix, praying fervently—"I am asking God for the strength to bear the cross He is sending me," said the prelate to the young Abbé. He then told the young cleric how, at that moment, he had neither shelter nor any means of support. M. de Mazenod reassured him, and immediately informed him of Madame de Soyecourt who had become a good angel for the most illustrious victims of misfortune. He then left the Cardinal and, went straightway to the Carmelite convent to inform Mother Camilla of the embarrassing situation, informing her also of the assurances he had already

given His Eminence. . . . Delighted at being able to shelter a Prince of the Church within her walls, she thanked him for having thought of her and authorized him to inform His Eminence that he would be welcome to use the external quarters of the convent. Two days later, Cardinal di Pietro with his secretary and two servants, took up residence at the Carmelite convent, in a suite which the Reverend Mother Camilla had furnished for him.<sup>50</sup>

In thus appealing to Mme. de Soyecourt, Eugene had come to the right door, for, the Carmelite Monastery which had been re-established in the old convent of the Carmelites at Father Duclaux's advice, was also a center of resistance to the Emperor's religious policies, and, since its restoration, had been in close communication with Father Emery.

Shortly afterwards, the Abbé de Mazenod became engaged in something more than merely providing lodging for Cardinal di Pietro. When, in June, 1810, Napoleon exiled to the provinces the thirteen black cardinals who had refused to assist at his marriage with Marie-Louise, Eugene actively collaborated in the work of assisting them. Not only had the Emperor stripped them of their purple robes, but he had also confiscated all their property, and so it was necessary to find resources for them. Mathieu de Montmorency and the Abbé Legris-Duval then established a "Fund for the Confessors of the Faith" from donations they solicited and gave to their Eminences, everything being done with the utmost secrecy. Here again, united for the same task were members of the Sodality and of the Aa, Knights of the Faith who had been founded just a short time before, and noble ladies from the aristocratic suburbs of Saint-Germain; in the list of the noble-hearted men and women who answered Mathieu de Montmorency's appeal, Geoffrey de Grandmaison gives the name of Charles de Mazenod a prominent place among those of the Chevalier de Thuisy, the Abbés de Bonnefoi, Perreau, de Selve, d'Haulet, de la Palme, Rey, and Tournefort, Adrien de Montmorency, Martial de Lomenie, Comte de Roucy, M. de Grosbois, the Princesses de Poix and de Chimay, the Duchess de Duras, mesdames de Paravicini, de Raffin, Leclerc, and Saint-Fargeau, the Marchioness de Croisy and the Marchioness de Cordoue, the

Countess de Saisseval, Mmes. de Choiseul and de Quinsonas.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no document enabling us to know exactly what the future Bishop of Marseilles did in this collective effort; his modesty has concealed his achievements in this regard. Only one letter, to Cardinal Gousset, written very much later, gives us a slight idea of his very frequent and very intimate association with the Cardinals, and also gives us an idea of his fearlessness in contacting them each day while throwing Fouché's sleuths off the scent:

While only a deacon and then as a young priest, I had the privilege, despite the most active surveillance of a suspicious police force, of devoting myself to the daily reports connected with the service of the Roman cardinals, who at that time had been brought to Paris and shortly after persecuted because of their loyalty to the Holy See. The good fortune of being useful to these illustrious exiles and of being increasingly inspired by their spirit more than compensated me for the danger to which I was continually exposed.<sup>52</sup>

All these illustrious exiles, particularly the black cardinals, would one day prove their gratitude for Eugene's devotion to them during their ordeal, in spite of the danger he faced. In after years he was able to count on them, just as then they counted on him. Very much in favor at the Quirinal, the Founder of the Oblates, Bishop of Icosia and Bishop of Marseilles was to enjoy complete confidence in Rome and profit from the highest patronage. The services which he formerly rendered, in the midst of extremely critical circumstances and the reputation for militant ultramontaniam which he enjoyed among the *zelanti* were to make him a *persona gratissima*, one who was readily listened to and always favorably received. It was to make his future undertaking that much easier.

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF SAINT-SULPICE

Three days after striking at the cardinals who, in vindication of the Pope's exclusive right to decide on the validity of the marriages of princes, refused to assist at Napoleon's marriage with

Marie-Louise, the Emperor then turned his guns on Father Emery and the Sulpicians. That Napoleon was never able to catch the clever Superior outright in no way meant that he was any less suspicious of Emery's active support of Pius VII and the uncompromising cardinals. Thus, on June 13, he ordered Saint-Sulpice Seminary to change hands and to change its face as well . . . "no Sulpician was to be employed there and M. Emery was to cease all his functions immediately."<sup>53</sup> The decree was communicated to the interested parties by the vicars general of Paris on the following June 16, after the ordinations, during which Eugene de Mazenod received the diaconate. From a letter in which he was able to express himself freely, since it was to be delivered "safely" and personally into the hands of his mother by Mme. Simon, the sister-in-law of a young priest, we learn of the newly-ordained deacon's sharp reaction.

After imprisoning the Pope, exiling the cardinals, scattering them, two by two, among the different cities of the Empire, despoiling them of the insignia of their office, and confiscating their property, the Emperor has now lowered his sights upon the Congregation of Saint-Sulpice, which has always been known for its attachment to the Roman Catholic Church and its pure doctrine . . . After the Emperor appointed Father Emery to the Committee of Bishops, who were called upon to give a decision on several questions proposed by His Majesty, Father Emery, who has never listened to any voice but that of his conscience in everything he did, had the courage to fight all the unreasonable, if not heterodox, claims of the French government in its conflicts with the Pope and in other religious matters.

This holy man, comparable to the greatest that can be found in Christian antiquity, foresaw that his person and his Congregation of Saint-Sulpice (which he considered far more important than his person) because of the great good it accomplishes, could and even would be destroyed. But, following the first of all duties, which is to be true to one's conscience, he steadily persisted in defending the principles that clearly were being endangered. From then on, his fate was sealed, and last Wednesday the bomb exploded. The Emperor, by a decree, ordered the Seminary to change its policies and its staff; he ordered Father Emery and the other directors to withdraw in twenty-

four hours and forbade any Sulpician from being retained in the newly organized seminary. The vicars general, at a loss to replace our worthy Fathers in such a short time, requested a few days of grace. It was only with difficulty that Cardinal Fesch obtained these few days. Father Emery has already left and the others are ready to do so momentarily. The Seminary is desolate and all Catholics of Paris are in extreme consternation. It is the most severe blow that could have been struck at religion. There is nothing secret about the government's reasons; the Sulpicians are being destroyed solely because they are attached, as every Catholic must be, heart and soul, to the Holy See, the Holy Roman Church, Mother and Head of all Churches.

Yesterday, our good Superior bade farewell to the assembled community. No one could describe the heartbreak of that farewell. Even though his face was calm and serene, the tears that fell from his eyes betrayed what was going on in the depths of his heart; the sobs of many of his sons (there are about a hundred of us) prevented us from hearing all the words which each one present would have liked to have engraved upon his heart in flaming letters. Never will this picture be erased from our memory. It was the most touching scene I have ever witnessed. Everyone there would have liked to respond to his words of farewell, which were similar to those which Saint Paul spoke to the faithful of Ephesus, but no one said a word. "Dear Father," I finally cried out, with all the grief that oppressed me, "don't leave us without giving us your blessing!" At these words, the sobs redoubled, and we all fell to our knees spontaneously. Moved to the very depths of his heart, and overcome by tears, he said: "As you wish," as if violence had been done to his humility. He then stretched his hands towards the crucifix at the back of the room and, with eyes fixed upon our Saviour from Whom comes all strength, he asked God's blessing upon us. You can appreciate why this scene took away any desire for supper and why, afterwards, the appearance of the community, in the refectory, was nothing but pure formality.<sup>54</sup>

With M. Emery now retired to Issy, the directors were granted a delay, for the vicars general demanded

the time that was absolutely necessary to replace the Sulpicians with ecclesiastics who would combine with their teaching ability a taste for the serious and diligent life of the seminary, and to whom we can wisely, usefully and honorably, on our part, confide the Seminary of

the Capital, which is the center of young talented students from every diocese.<sup>55</sup>

Bigot de Preameneu, the Minister of Public Worship, gave in to these excellent reasons.

Nevertheless, it amounted simply to a respite, and although this temporary situation was made less precarious by the fall from favor of Fouché, the sworn enemy of Saint-Sulpice, the most severe precautions were imposed in order not to bring new harsh measures upon the Society of the Sulpicians. It was, therefore, decided that directors and seminarians should not spend their vacations at the country house where the Superior General was living, but at the seminary in Paris. There was nothing inviting about the prospect of staying in the capital during the summer heat, and thus, like the majority of his fellow seminarians, Eugene de Mazenod preferred to return to his family whom he had not seen for two years. Besides, his family could no longer object to his return for the same reasons they had given before, since his subdiaconate and diaconate permanently bound him to the service of the Church.

We possess little information on the few weeks he spent among his kinfolk. We know simply that his mother, his sister and brother-in-law, and even Roze-Joannis, were glad of his return; that he was shown "every evidence of friendship, esteem, and affection" by his fellow townsmen; <sup>56</sup> that he had several conversations with his "very pious Archbishop," as Father Duclaux referred to him, and that he was deeply affected by the death of Bishop de Cice, and kept in touch with his spiritual director, who gave him prudently reassuring news on the situation at the seminary.

#### THE DEATH OF M. EMERY

On returning to Saint-Sulpice for the opening of the school year, in October, 1810, the Abbé de Mazenod was overjoyed to find his Sulpician teachers still there; the vicars general of Paris were in no hurry to replace them and the government reluc-

tantly allowed them to continue functioning. Father Duclaux filled the position of Superior; his confrères, Fathers Montaigne, Boyer, Garnier, were in charge of spiritual direction and classes. Only Father Emery had officially left the Seminary, but, even though his living quarters were in a house on nearby Vaurigard Street, he spent his days at the Seminary and, for all practical purposes, remained its "heart and soul."<sup>57</sup> Eugene continued to see him and to work with him just as he had done before, and thus found himself intimately associated with the final struggle which the courageous old man waged with every last ounce of his strength.

The school year, from 1810-1811, was a particularly dramatic one. Scarcely had the retreat ended when, on October 14, the Emperor's appointment of Cardinal Maury as Archbishop of Paris was made known. The promotion of such a controversial figure to the Primatial See of France increased the gravity of the situation created by the denial of Papal Bulls to those elected by Napoleon. The canons of Notre Dame, in view of His Majesty's demands, consented to delegate the chapter powers to the Cardinal, but d'Astros pointedly reminded His Eminence that, canonically, he was not their Archbishop. This caused, first of all, a violent argument with Napoleon at the Reception on January 1, and then a search of d'Astros' home, where they discovered a letter from Pius VII, which had been sent through secret channels and which contained a formal condemnation of the Cardinal's usurpation. D'Astros was then imprisoned at Vincennes and terror reigned in ecclesiastical circles. "They say Cardinal di Pietro has been arrested," wrote Emery to Bausset, January 12, 1811; "also a Prelate named di Gregorio and Father Fontana. Madame de Soyecourt, the Carmelite, is being detained at police headquarters."<sup>58</sup>

Far from easing the crisis, these harsh measures served only to increase the tension. To find a way out of the predicament in which he now found himself, Napoleon therefore decided to make another attempt and called together a second Ecclesiastical Committee, ordering it to furnish him a substitute for canonical appointment. As in 1809, he added Sieur Emery to the cardinals

and bishops. Although Napoleon knew that Emery's rigorous conscience would cause him to be a nuisance, he still hoped, in spite of the little priest's time-proven independence, to win him over.<sup>59</sup>

However, Sieur Emery proved as firm and resolute in this second committee as he had in the first. He specifically declared that he was strongly opposed to the gathering of the Council which the Emperor was planning for the purpose of opposing the Pope with those whom he called "my bishops." The thought of the Council became a nightmare to him, since everything would depend on energetic opposition on the part of the prelates. He therefore redoubled his efforts to enlighten and stiffen these prelates, and his secret office of information multiplied its copies of letters and documents which he then distributed among them.

Having witnessed this excessive work which brought about Father Emery's death, Eugene wrote to Mme. de Mazenod shortly afterwards: "Accustomed to good health for 79 years, he overtaxed his strength, and from four in the morning to nine in the evening he gave himself unstintingly to the most tiring occupations, never allowing himself the least rest or relaxation."<sup>60</sup> Even more than this killing work, the grave concerns, caused by the critical situation, completely exhausted the courageous old man. "For nearly three months," added the Abbé de Mazenod, "the misfortunes of the Church, which he was trying with all his power to remedy, had so affected him that he unceasingly grieved over them; his sleep was ruined, and when he couldn't sleep he got up and threw himself back into his work."<sup>61</sup> In vain was he advised to "take some rest and not to overtax his strength by these constant vigils." "How can you expect me to be calm," he answered, "in view of the dangers threatening the Church?"<sup>62</sup>

Up to the very end, M. Emery used every ounce of his strength to defend the authority of the Pope. Beginning with the famous session at the Tuileries, on March 17, 1811, when Napoleon, in preparing for the Council, had gathered together ministers, high officials of the Crown, state councillors, cardinals and bishops, for two hours Emery held his own against the Emperor and, to defend Pius VII, skillfully and vigorously used

the imperial catechism and the immortal Bossuet as weapons against him. His mastery and courage won him admiration from all sides, but the long and difficult joust completely exhausted him. In paying homage to him, Consalvi and Pacca pointed out in their *Mémoires* that his death was caused by this supreme effort, adding that he could not have ended his career "at a more glorious moment in the eyes of the world, or a more meritorious one in the eyes of God."<sup>63</sup>

In fact, a month later, on April 16, the Abbé de Mazenod was suddenly summoned by M. de Tournefort: "He told me," recalled the Bishop of Marseilles in a letter to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842,

that he didn't know what had happened to our Superior, but that, on entering his room, he had found him as if he were half asleep in his chair, and that he had scarcely answered his greeting. This greatly surprised M. de Tournefort and persuaded him that he was sick. I rushed instantly to Father Emery's apartment and, as an excuse for my sudden appearance in his room, I brought along a document for him to legalize.

I entered his room and found him slumped in his chair. I spoke to him, but he had difficulty answering me. To rouse him a little, I gave him the paper and asked him to sign it. Without raising his head, he took the pen I offered and scribbled his signature; it was the last one he ever wrote, and it was hardly legible. Frightened by his condition and feeling that he was on the verge of a stroke, I rushed out of his room and ran to Father Giraud's room—he was bursar at the time—urging him to go to Father Emery's rooms while I went for a doctor. I asked Father Giraud for the name of Father Emery's doctor; he told me that the Superior had none, and that it would be a severe trial for him to be forced to see one. I went to the nearest one I could find and brought him with me; his name slips me at the moment. Meanwhile, Father Emery had recovered somewhat and, attributing his condition to fatigue, asked to go for a rest at Issy. He was coming down the stairs to get into the carriage when I arrived with the doctor, whom I had forewarned about the Superior's repugnance to medical aid. The doctor played his part well. He went up to Father Emery, as if to shake his hand, and tried to test his pulse, but the foxy old man saw through it and said jokingly

to us, "Well, now! If he isn't testing my pulse!" I answered laughingly, "It is a common practice with doctors." Scarcely had M. Emery left than we all agreed with Father Giraud that I, too, should go to Issy, to spend the night there; which I did.<sup>64</sup>

When I arrived at Issy, I declined to lie down, in spite of the bursar's urging, and I spent the night in the library, next to the patient's room, without his knowing it; I was afraid that he might slip away from us suddenly. The following day, which was a Wednesday, he was determined on getting up in spite of his extreme weakness. It was impossible to stop him from saying his office, and he also insisted on saying Mass, actually dragging himself to the Chapel. It was heartrending to see a venerable old man, almost eighty years of age, unable to put one foot before the other, supported by two people, making his way towards the altar where he was about to offer the sacrifice of his life to the Lamb who was to be immolated by his failing hands. I had the privilege of serving that last Mass. What a moving experience it was to see the old priest, almost in his last agony, celebrating the Sacred Mysteries with renewed faith and love! I shall always remember it. He had the greatest difficulty finishing the Mass, and it was only sheer courage that enabled him to reach the end of it. After Mass his sickness grew worse and he was brought back to Paris, where four of the finest doctors were called in for consultation and pronounced his condition hopeless.<sup>65</sup>

I never left him after that. No doubt you already know the touching scene that took place the following day. From evening on, we could no longer make him take the least thing to drink. He kept imagining that it was past midnight, and since he was determined to say Mass he wanted to remain fasting. In the morning he insisted on getting up. We did everything possible to stop him, but his mind was made up. We tried taking away his trousers but he kept demanding them, and he became so worked up over what looked like trickery to him that we felt we had to give them back to him. He dressed with our help, and with much pain. Since he was bent on going to the gallery opposite his room, we did our best to make him swallow a few drops of water. However, we didn't have the heart to insist when we saw how violently he kept turning his head away with his mouth tightly shut. No longer knowing what course to take as we helped him on his way towards the door, we sent for the Venerable Father Duclaux so that he might order the old man not to expose himself to death by his persistence. "Well, yes!" said the holy old man,

“a priest must die at the altar,” and all the while he kept shuffling towards the door. Then Father Duclaux, summoning up courage such as he most likely had never displayed in the presence of his revered Superior, said to him, “It cannot be!—And why?—Because I shall forbid anyone to serve the Mass.” At these unexpected words from Father Duclaux, who perhaps had never spoken like this in his whole life, Father Emery stopped in his tracks, stared sadly at Father Duclaux, said nothing, and turned back. He then consented to lie down and take something to drink. From that moment on, he declined rapidly. When he received the last rites, he was too far gone to be able to speak.<sup>66</sup>

After his death, it was decided to bury him at the country house at Issy, in the Chapel of Loretto, which is in the center of a park adjoining the garden he had purchased three weeks before.<sup>67</sup>

Not that I claim the glory of having thought of it first, although it could very well be, but I think I was one of those who persuaded Father Duclaux to preserve his heart. I assisted at the operation which took place during the night and was performed by Doctor Laennec, assisted by another doctor whose name escapes me; he was later head of the Institution for the Blind.<sup>68</sup>

After helping to wrap the corpse in its shroud, I then hastened to the rooms of the acting superior, to seek permission for myself and my classmates to carry the precious remains of our venerable Father to the place of burial. Father Duclaux, fearing that it would be too strenuous, or thinking, perhaps, that my classmates might not be of the same mind, begged me not to take it to heart if he refused my wishes. I didn't give up. I gathered all the deacons and subdeacons and, in a body, we asked him not to refuse a favor which would be a consolation to all of us and a source of edification to the whole city. After a few protests, he gave in. So deeply was his heart touched that tears came to his eyes.

The funeral services were held in the seminary chapel. Bishop de Montpellier officiated. Cardinal Dugnani, the Archbishop of Malines, the Bishops of Old Quimper and New Quimper, Bishop de Troyes, and a great number of pastors and priests all assisted at the Office of the Dead. I had charge of seating arrangements in the chapel, and it was only with great difficulty that I was able to make room for everyone. When the hour for departure finally arrived, six of our seminarians took hold of the bier while all the rest of the community followed after, two by two, carrying their surplices on

their right arms and wearing their birettas. I walked behind the bearers so that I could have them relieved without interrupting the procession. Everything had been so well planned that there was perfect order. With a little maneuvering I was able to relieve each bearer without anyone's being forced to stop. The spectators along the way, deeply impressed by everyone's recollection, gazed in reverent silence at a scene that was something entirely new for Parisians.

When we arrived at the Vaurigard gates, the cross was elevated. We then put on our surplices and began to chant psalms, and continued them all the way to Issy. There is no need to say anything further about the funeral procession, because several newspapers carried a detailed account of it. It would be very difficult to describe the effect produced in the garden, and under the trees, when six of the Fathers sadly bore the body of their revered Superior. It was almost as though Religion had taken possession of the Champs Elysées which has long been the domain of poets. We crossed a path which Father Emery had recently planted with trees of which he had spoken to us with a chuckle only a short time before: "My sons, you will see these trees grow. It is not likely that I shall enjoy their shade, but then, I shall see Heaven before you do." God grant that when we do reach Heaven, it will be after a life as fully deserving as his.<sup>69</sup>

#### THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF 1811

The death of Father Emery occurred before the assembling of the National Council. On April 21, 1811, Napoleon summoned all the bishops of France and Italy to provide "promptly" for the situation created by vacant sees, which were becoming more numerous "every day." "In France and Italy, just as in Germany," the episcopacy was being threatened by extinction, and, therefore, the Emperor wanted "to prevent a state of affairs that was so opposed to the welfare of religion, the principles of the Gallican Church and the interests of the State."<sup>70</sup> He intended not so much to consult the prelates as to force his own solution upon them, and use them to obtain Pius VII's capitulation.

The Abbé de Mazenod was one of the Masters of Cere-

monies at this Council, whose dangers he had often heard M. Emery denounce; his knowledge of the liturgy, his talent for organizing and his grasp of Italian, equipped him for these functions in which he acted as assistant Master of Ceremonies along with a few other seminarians from Saint-Sulpice. They were under the general supervision of the three head Masters of Ceremonies, Quelen, Sambucy and Feutrier, who were the official chaplains of the Emperor, everything, meanwhile, in conformity with the ceremonial drawn up by Bishop de Pradt, Archbishop of Malines.<sup>71</sup>

Evidently, Eugene took part only in the inaugural session of June 17 at Notre Dame, for the bishops showed such firm determination that an enraged Napoleon, on the morning of July 10, decreed the dissolution of the far from docile assembly. The only plenary session, therefore, was the opening one, magnificently set up, but showing immediate signs of general opposition. While escorting the prelates to the choir stalls of the Basilica, the Abbé de Mazenod had the joy of meeting again his old pastor from Venice, Msgr. Milesi, who had become Bishop of Vigevano:

This good bishop could not restrain his joy at meeting his adopted child again, and finding him a deacon at the age of 28. Disregarding the place and circumstances, he threw his arms around me and pressed me tenderly to his heart. I was as deeply moved as he, and everyone was mystified by it all. If they only knew! More than one of them would have wept with us.<sup>72</sup>

If, up to that time, the young Deacon had shared Father Emery's fears, his mind must have been put at ease on that day when he heard the courageous speech of Bishop de Boulogne, and the profession of Faith boldly pronounced by Cardinal Fesch, and then by all the prelates successively:

I acknowledge the Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, Mother and Mistress of all Churches. I promise and swear true obedience to the Supreme Roman Pontiff, Successor of Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

"Repeated ninety-five times, this simple formula turned into an impressive demonstration and the crowd assisting at the Assembly was gripped by it."<sup>73</sup>

The individual committee meetings held behind closed doors in the salons of the Archbishop's residence were not governed by the ceremonial drawn up by Bishop de Pradt; but, entirely secret as these meetings were, the public had a fairly exact and complete knowledge of the resistance that was being met by the Emperor's theologians. Oral and even written communications were circulated, as well as reports which, at times, were favorable to Napoleon's claims and at other times unfavorable. Eugene de Mazenod must have handled very important documents relating to the debates that were waged; the Bishop of Marseilles' papers give evidence of that. He perhaps recopied them by hand in the Communications Office at the Seminary, in order to have them circulated by his friends of the Sodality, the Aa, and the Knights of Faith.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, that part of his *Mémoires*, relative to this period of his life, has totally disappeared; it is the part that could have put the stamp of certitude upon what seems very probable. One cannot but regret the loss of such essential source material for his biography; and perhaps even for history in general.

The zeal displayed by the Abbé de Mazenod, during all this crisis, must have worried his family. No doubt they did not know exactly to what extent the young deacon was endangering himself, for Eugene scrupulously maintained a strict secrecy regarding his clandestine activities. However, his associations with the cardinals were known on Papassaudi Street, as witness this short note from Roze-Joannis to his cousin Marie-Rose: "I thought that before July came Eugene would be a priest. There was no necessity for his returning to Paris at that time, unless it was because Cardinal Mattei needed him there."<sup>75</sup> The stalwart Jansenist conceded that his nephew fought

on the side of Knowledge and Truth.<sup>76</sup> But, since he is completely "Jesuitized," the old prejudices which sway him and which are fortified and intensified by his Sulpician training lead him far astray.

Now, it is far better to know nothing than to be wrong in what you know, and to be ignorant of true principles.<sup>77</sup>

Because he lacked the knowledge of these "true principles" Eugene could not take a sane attitude towards the cause of Pius VII. He forgot, for example, that Napoleon's usurpations in Church matters were simply the result of usurpation on the part of the Popes in political matters. Both sides were wrong, and Port-Royal's staunch disciple felt it his duty to enlighten his cousin, Marie-Rose, on the correct teaching, shortly after some fruitless house-searches were made at Aix, in the home of a certain Guigues:

It is a good thing that they didn't find any correspondence with Savona. Besides, it saves the secular power from making another blunder, for it definitely has no right to prevent the members of the Church from corresponding with their Head in purely spiritual matters. . . . Unfortunately, the Popes want to be temporal princes, and, hence, the Prince of a State can look upon correspondence with another Prince with whom he has broken off relations as being unlawful and he has the right to punish such correspondence. Thus, the mistake the Popes have made backfires upon the Church because these political liaisons with a secular prince prevent, and in a certain sense even destroy the Church's union with her spiritual Head, inasmuch as both powers are combined in the same person. That is what comes of these abuses.<sup>78</sup>

Roze-Joannis even went so far as to hold that the Pope's ordeal was providential:

When one recalls the enormous power which the Popes possessed in former times, and the extravagant claims they made, and then sees the low state to which Pius VII is now reduced, it is difficult not to recognize the hand of God in this abasement.<sup>79</sup>

Poor Eugene, who "thinks he has the truth . . . is deliberately closing his eyes to the light"<sup>80</sup> by refusing to read "the Port-Royal books which give such a touching and sublime treatment of Religion . . . The ghost of Jansenism frightens him, and that is what makes me fear for him. With his frame of mind, why shouldn't I be fearful of the dangers he will face in

his chosen state of life?"<sup>81</sup> "God grant," the Jansenist uncle reiterated a year later,

that these erroneous principles do not cause him to make many mistakes, for such mistakes are bound to be serious in his ministry, and they could be avoided if only he followed less extreme principles. Judgment Day will reveal who is right and who is wrong.<sup>82</sup>

These very sombre and pessimistic views of her cousin, preaching the vengeance and justice of God, made a greater impression upon Mme. de Mazenod than did his theories concerning the rights of secular powers.<sup>83</sup> The thought of "Judgment Day" helped in no way to reassure her about her son's future, and, in view of the threat of persecution, the moment seemed a particularly bad one for receiving the priesthood. Unable to put any obstacle in the path of Eugene's vocation, particularly since he became increasingly more determined, she therefore tried again, as she had done before at the time of his tonsure and subdiaconate, to delay his ordination, alleging as her reasons the perils of the moment. But the young deacon refused to recognize such reasons:

Your motives for wanting me to delay cannot be considered. You, yourself, know what St. Paul said of Christians, and of himself, that theirs is not the spirit of fear; on the contrary, in the diaconate, the Holy Spirit is given to us *ad robur*, that is to say, to arm us against all kinds of fear and weakness. It is a wine of strength which, in these times, particularly, rains down upon our souls, and unless we hinder it by our sins, it necessarily produces its effect because, not in vain has the Holy Ghost come upon us.<sup>84</sup>

On March 31, 1811, he added, "Do they honestly think that when I entered the ecclesiastical state I did not foresee what is now taking place?"<sup>85</sup>

However, the Abbé de Mazenod did postpone his ordination to the priesthood but it was not fear that held him back; much to the contrary. "Circumstances," he wrote, "far from frightening me, only make me more courageous; and these circumstances would have persuaded me to change my mind and not put off receiving the priesthood which alone will render me useful to the Church, had I not been convinced that my usefulness will

be all the greater because of this postponement.”<sup>86</sup> Nor was it any feeling of unworthiness which led him to make the deferment, even against the urgings of the directors of Saint-Sulpice. “You will never know,” he confided to his grandmother on July 24, 1811, “how many battles I had to fight to keep from being ordained a priest. Fortunately for me, I had a reason which far outweighed every objection. Certainly any objection on the grounds of personal unworthiness falls through if obedience directs us to ignore it.”<sup>87</sup>

His real reason, the one which finally convinced his teachers, was something Eugene could not trust to the mails; it was repugnant to him to be ordained by Cardinal Maury, the illicit Archbishop of Paris, who had been condemned by the Pope. Every urging failed before his unshakable resolution. Thus, in October, 1811, the Abbé de Mazenod, still a deacon, began a fourth year at the Seminary, to complete his studies and his ecclesiastical formation.

#### THE DEPARTURE OF THE SULPICIAN

Soon added to these motives was another, a rather sad *a fortiori*, which determined him all the more to prolong his sojourn in Paris; it was the expulsion of the Sulpicians. On October 14, taking advantage of an opportunity to send a letter through Father Charles, Eugene was able to “discuss more freely” the imperial command, which had been sent to his teachers a few days before:

Our directors have definitely been sent away from the Seminary and must return to their own homes. They leave laden down with merit before God, and our hearts go with them. Our eternal tribute to them is that, without a single exception, they have always been, for each of us, the example and model of every Christian and priestly virtue. Their departure makes it imperative that I remain here. My leaving at this time would cause the greatest drawbacks since my example might influence others to leave also. At the present moment, the Government is keeping a close watch on everything that goes on in our Seminary, and since I am one of the most prominent in the

house, in a certain sense, perhaps even the most prominent, my departure would create a scandal that couldn't be ignored. What is even more important, the welfare of the house, and consequently of the Church, demands that I stay. Thus, everything obliges me to remain here; the glory of God, the good of the Church, the edification of my fellow students, and my own good. Only our natural feelings will suffer from this decision; for I feel very certain that it will sadden you a little; yes, my good Maman and the pain it will cause you is the only thing that makes it difficult for me. In all my personal sacrifices, the only thing that ever bothers me is the sorrow you may suffer from them, since the good God enables me to bear all my personal trials with very little trouble; but, can we expect to reach Heaven without paying something for it? Of course not! And so, let us put all these setbacks at the foot of the Cross of our dear Lord. Many times during the day let us offer up everything we do to please Him, and after that, let us be at rest.<sup>88</sup>

The Abbé de Mazenod was here simply assuming his share of the task Father Duclaux had assigned to the members of the Aa: "by example, advice and encouragement keep up the morale of the pupils of the house, who have been seized by a sort of panic." As Secretary of the Aa, he had to be more faithful to this advice than anyone else; besides, his teachers had designedly chosen him. They were leaving the Seminary, one by one, since the vicars general of Paris were allowed to space the departures over a period of time. Each one's replacement was made at the time of his departure. Father Jalabert succeeded Father Duclaux as Superior; Tharin succeeded Father Montaigne as Professor of Moral Theology; Gosselin succeeded Father Boyer as Professor of Dogma; Teyseyrre succeeded Father Garnier as Scripture Professor and Eugene de Mazenod, although but a Deacon, was named a director and Master of Ceremonies. Now, if we keep in mind that Father Jalabert founded an Aa at Paris in 1823, and another at Bordeaux in 1832,<sup>89</sup> that Tharin, Gosselin, Teyseyrre, and Mazenod belonged to the Aa at the Seminary, the reason behind these choices becomes very clear. Solely and simply the Sulpicians hoped that after their expulsion the traditional spirit of Saint-Sulpice would be maintained by the newly ap-

pointed staff and to guarantee this, they had recourse to those in whom they had the greatest confidence and whom they had prepared beforehand, in anticipation of the events that were to occur. As at Father Emery's departure, Eugene de Mazenod was chosen to deliver the farewell address to the Directors.

Beloved Teachers! Take with you the assurance that never will the remembrance of your good deeds be erased from our hearts. Would that you were able to look into these hearts . . . you would see engraved on each of them the firm resolution to faithfully follow the holy rules which you have transmitted to us. Giving as guarantee for our word the love and gratitude you justly deserve from us by so many counts, we protest with one accord that henceforth, as in the past, peace, unity and harmony will reign in these places; that we shall all put forth every effort so as not to fall away from the fervor which your presence among us enabled us to maintain. And, if human weakness should at times threaten to make us slack, we shall restore one another's fervor with all the memories you are leaving with us. Finally, by our conduct we will show the world that the Directors of Saint-Sulpice have inspired their pupils with no other feelings except those of the most tender piety, no other principles except those of the most complete submission to authority, and, in a word, with no other doctrine but that of the Church.<sup>90</sup>

Here once again, Eugene proved a true disciple of Father Emery: "If the house of Saint-Sulpice is to be destroyed," the Superior General once declared to one of the persecuted Roman cardinals, "it could not perish for a more beautiful cause than that of the Roman Church."<sup>91</sup> Actually, the house of Saint-Sulpice was not to perish, for the young professors who replaced the Sulpicians expelled by Napoleon, were to preserve the seminary's regularity, fervor, and fidelity to the Roman Church. It was no small honor for the Abbé de Mazenod to be judged worthy to succeed them in such critical times.

Less aware of the honor than of the responsibilities of a task which, in itself, was very burdensome for one of his inexperience, and made even more so by a combination of circumstances, Eugene looked upon this unexpected nomination as the clear expression of the Divine Will. He, therefore, readily ac-

cepted the mission they confided to him and renounced all his plans in order to conform himself to the designs of Providence. Consequently, instead of postponing his ordination, the young deacon now decided to receive the priesthood as soon as possible, since his duties as a director demanded it. For this reason he immediately searched for a bishop whose principles agreed with his own.

Thus ended, sooner than he expected, his priestly and theological formation. Thus, also, was his life orientated in a totally unforeseen direction. In place of beginning his ministry serving the humble and the poor, the Abbé de Mazenod would continue to carry on the noble traditions of Father Emery at Saint-Sulpice.

## Chapter Ten

# *Ordination and First Years in the Ministry*

### THE PRIESTHOOD

As a seminarian incardinated in the Diocese of Aix, Eugene de Mazenod could have quietly sought a bishop other than Cardinal Maury to ordain him; but, as one of the directors of the seminary which was under the immediate control of Napoleon's Archbishop of Paris, he had to take certain precautions against causing a public scandal. His Eminence would never have tolerated his illicit ministry to be openly rejected by the seminary's Master of Ceremonies, nor would the Emperor have been any less tolerant of such an insult to his chosen one. The shrewdness and friendship of Msgr. de Demandolx, Bishop of Amiens, made it possible to keep up appearances while at the same time satisfying the young deacon who refused at any cost to have his priesthood conferred upon him by an intruder.

Bishop de Demandolx was a native of Provence. While vicar general for Bishop de Belloy, he had been a colleague of Eugene's grand uncle, Charles-Auguste-André, and his family had once been associated with the Mazenods in business affairs. These long-standing associations, therefore, explain why the prelate took such a friendly interest in his young compatriot whom he frequently met during the National Assembly of 1811. Furthermore, Eugene had a high opinion of this bishop due to the prelate's courageous stand throughout the Assembly in supporting the rights of the Pope regarding the spiritual investiture of bishops. Whether, at that time, Eugene had given the Bishop of Amiens

his reason for deferring his ordination to the priesthood and personally expressed his desire to be ordained by him, or commissioned his friends Sambucy, Janson, and Szadurski to solicit this favor in his name during a visit they made to Amiens, we do not know. At any rate, Bishop de Demandolx sent the following invitation to the Abbé de Mazenod on November 25, 1811; "evidently one that had been prearranged" between them as an honorable cover up for his determination "to escape the imposition of hands by the usurping Archbishop of Paris":

You surely haven't forgotten, my dear Abbé, that during my last stay at Paris, you kindly promised to come and spend a few days with me here at Amiens. But, lo and behold! your vacation is over and you haven't put in an appearance, although in September, if memory serves me right, you could have accompanied M. de Sambucy when he brought M. de Janson and a Polish ecclesiastic to see me. However, you certainly must realize that I am not taking "no" for an answer, and you now have a perfect opportunity to make reparation for your peccadillo. Since you are planning to receive the priesthood this coming Christmastide, why not receive it from me? Perhaps my request seems something of an imposition inasmuch as I am asking you to make the trip in the dead of winter, but I feel that you owe me this not just because of my lifelong association with your family, but more especially because of the friendship I have always felt towards you from the time I first knew you. Yes, indeed! You cannot imagine how delighted I should be to impose hands upon you and thus be the instrument God will employ to confer the priestly powers upon you. Come, then, if it is at all possible, and if you have the dimissorial letter permitting you to seek the bishop of your choice.<sup>1</sup>

This gracious diplomacy cleared away all the difficulties. Eugene gladly accepted Bishop de Demandolx's invitation, and, at the beginning of Advent, went off to Issy for his ordination retreat which he began with Father Duclaux and ended at the Amiens seminary.

At last, God has granted my wishes by giving me the opportunity of making the kind of retreat I have always dreamed of making. So far, not one has ever fully satisfied me. How fervently I have hoped that God, in His mercy, would give me just such an opportunity at

this decisive moment when I must be perfectly disposed to receive the sublime and fearful priesthood of Jesus Christ! May I profit from this special grace by purifying my soul and emptying my heart of all creature-love, so that the Holy Ghost, finding no more obstacles to His Divine operations, may reside within my soul in all His fullness filling me through and through with such a love for my Saviour, Jesus Christ, that I will live and breathe only for Him and be consumed by the fire of His love while I serve Him and make known to others how lovable He is and how vain it is for men to search elsewhere for that peace of heart which can be found in Him alone. Oh my Saviour! Oh my Father! Oh my Love! Grant me but one thing; that I may love You! For I know full well that having Your love, I have everything. Give me Your love! <sup>2</sup>

We possess only the first part of his notes during this retreat which was to empty his heart of attachment to creatures so that he might better prepare it for Divine Love. These very detailed notes concern a series of meditations patterned after Father Judde, on Sin, the End of Man, the Use of Creatures, Death, Judgment, Hell, and the Parable of the Prodigal Son. The entire second part was reduced to a very brief résumé:

After these meditations on the purgative life resulting in resolutions which the grace of God enabled me to make, I then meditated upon Our Lord Jesus Christ to Whom I must, and will, conform, with the help of His grace. I dwelt upon Him as my Redeemer, my Leader, my King, my Master, my Model, and my Judge.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of this very scant information, however, we have a fair idea of the enlightenment he received from his more contemplative periods of prayer because of what the newly ordained priest wrote to Father Duclaux on the very evening of his ordination day: "These last few weeks, I seem to have come to know Our Lord Jesus Christ more intimately. What must it be to know Him perfectly!" <sup>4</sup>

The grace of the priesthood made this intimate knowledge of Christ the Priest all the more keen and vivid:

Oh my dear Father, there is no longer anything but love in my heart. I write you at a moment when, in the words of the Apostle which he must have used at just such a time, "I superabound." If the con-

stant grief for my sins still weighs upon me, it simply means that love has now given it a new meaning. How could I ever have offended You, My God, Who now appear so full of charms? Is it possible that a heart which loves You as mine does now could have ever grieved You in the least possible way? Two fountains of tears well up peacefully and gently and my soul is caught up in an ecstasy which cannot be described any more than the other experiences that are taking place within me. I do not know what it is, or how it is, but I do know that I deserve to be cast into hell if I ever again offend the Good God deliberately, even by the least venial sin.

I am a priest! One must be a priest to know what that means. The very thought of it sends me into transports of love and gratitude, and if I think of what a great sinner I am, love becomes all the greater. *Jam non dicam vos servos . . . Dirupisti vincula mea, tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis. . . . Quid retribuam Domino. . . .* These thoughts are like so many fiery darts inflaming my heart which up to now has been so cold.

The newly ordained priest even began to wonder how he could ever say mass on Christmas day if his ordination could have such an effect upon him: "They will surely notice the workings of grace in my soul. It is the only thing that worries me. I almost wish (not that I would ever ask) that I were not so sensibly moved and for such a long time."<sup>5</sup>

More briefly but with the same emotion the young priest wrote to his mother on December 21,

My dear sweet Maman; the miracle has taken place. Your Eugene is a priest of Jesus Christ! These few words sum up everything. It is with the most sincere humility, with my face in the dust, that I announce such a great marvel accomplished in such a great sinner as myself. Dear Maman, it is beyond my power to say anything more. These joyful moments which have been given to me through the grace of such a great sacrament are precious beyond words and I must remain completely recollected so that I might savor the happiness and consolation which the good God is pleased to send me. . . . What can I say? My tears flow, or rather they fall in torrents. By right, they should never cease for they spring from the tenderest of love and are simply the expression of a gratitude that I shall bring with me into eternity.<sup>6</sup>

According to a custom that had come down from the time of Louis XIV, the Abbé de Mazenod spent several days after his ordination on retreat to prepare for his first mass which would take place on Christmas, "that lovely night when our adorable Saviour was born in a stable." <sup>7</sup> He arranged to say his three Christmas masses in the Amiens chapel of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and applied the following intentions:

The first mass at midnight will be for myself that I may obtain pardon for my sins, that I may love God above all else and have the most perfect love for my fellowman, that I may feel extreme sorrow for having offended such a kind lovable God, that I may gain the grace to repair my faults, that I may save souls by living wholly and solely in the service of God, that I may be filled with the spirit of Jesus Christ, that I may gain final perseverance and even martyrdom, or at least death in the service of those stricken by the plague or any other kind of death that will bring glory to God and save souls; my second mass, at dawn, will be offered for the soul of my very dear grandmother that it may be freed from Purgatory [Madame Joannis had died a few months before his ordination.]; my third mass, on Christmas day will be offered for my father, my mother, my sister, my two uncles, my niece, my brother-in-law, my cousin, and all my other relatives *in globo*, for all their spiritual and temporal needs, especially for their conversion or final perseverance.<sup>8</sup>

Evidently, in spite of the joy and glow of his priesthood, his spirituality remained that of his time, fundamentally centered upon the fight against sin and the struggle for salvation.

So impressed was Bishop de Demandolx by the young priest's fervor that, to guarantee his career as the ancien régime had formerly done, he offered to make Eugene his vicar general: "You will help me to administer this vast diocese," he told him; "you will be free to organize charitable works and devote yourself to preaching. . . . I am beginning to feel the weight of my years; in me you will have both a father and a friend; one day you will close my eyes in death . . . and God will make you my successor to the See of Amiens." Although deeply touched by the sentiments behind such a flattering proposal, Eugene declined the honor, giving his age and inexperience as his reasons,

since it would mean "going directly from the desk of a seminarian to the office and dignity of a vicar general." He further pleaded his commitments with Saint-Sulpice, and the Bishop of Amiens felt he had no right to insist. What the Abbé de Mazenod really wanted was to hold fast to his resolve not to accept any dignity whatsoever so that he might devote himself wholly and entirely to the ministry of the humble and the poor.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, before following this special vocation, he had to devote himself entirely to the work which, at Father Duclaux's suggestion, had been entrusted to him by his Sulpician teachers. With this in mind, therefore, the newly ordained priest spent the last days of his retreat before his first mass, tracing out the ideal of perfection he would have to exemplify if he was to train and edify young clerics:

Since it seems to be God's will that I remain at the seminary this year and help to preserve the spirit of piety which our good Sulpician Fathers sought so hard to instill there, I shall submit to what Providence seems to demand of me. And so as not to render fruitless a ministry which Divine Providence has entrusted to me, I shall live in such a way that my example will speak far more eloquently than my words and suggestions. To this end, I shall try with God's help to keep myself renewed in the spirit of the priesthood. First of all, I must impress upon myself that the priesthood is a state of perfection which demands of those who are fortunate to be clothed in it a scrupulous fidelity to the least promptings of the Holy Ghost, an extreme horror of sin, no matter how slight it may seem, a great purity of heart and of intention by seeking only God and His glory, the salvation of souls, and my own progress along the path of perfection. I shall neglect none of the means which Masters of the spiritual life suggest for reaching this end, the only one to which I must aspire. For that purpose, I must efficaciously resolve to fulfill all my duties, first as a priest, and secondly as a Director, since these duties have been imposed upon me.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE DIRECTOR OF THE SEMINARY OF SAINT-SULPICE

The Abbé de Mazenod took up these duties at the beginning of January. With the last of the Sulpicians gone from the

seminary, Eugene's return after the Christmas vacation brought to completion the new professorial staff made up of his friends Tharin, Teyssyre, and Gosselin. The situation was perforce a delicate one for the young directors since, by the very fact that Father Duclaux and his colleagues had shown confidence in them, they became suspect in Cardinal Maury's eyes. Given to boastful and rash words, His Eminence had threatened to go to Napoleon and demand the dismissal of those he contemptuously called "Sulpician helpers."<sup>11</sup> No doubt, reflection convinced him that it was wiser to tolerate the undesirables; his incumbency was causing enough trouble already without adding any new outbreak of resentment.

A turbulent blunderer, the Cardinal intended, however, to assert his authority over the seminary and to supervise the training of the seminarians according to his own methods. His ideas in this regard were original, to say the least. One would think that, under the circumstances, such an educated man, in his determination "to institute reforms,"<sup>12</sup> would have started with those that could not be criticized. But,

convinced . . . that good penmanship would one day be useful to these future priests, he conceived the brilliant idea of replacing the second half-hour of meditation with a class in penmanship. As might have been expected, the students became indignant and turned the whole affair into a joke. Libelous manuscripts suddenly appeared, making fun of the Cardinal or denouncing his invalid powers. Instead of feigning indifference, Maury brought hatred upon himself by going to the police and proposing that spies be sent to the seminary to trick the culprits into betraying themselves.<sup>13</sup>

The documents found in the archives do not indicate what turn the affair took, but we can be certain that the spies deputized by the Archbishop could not have had the least chance of discovering which of the seminarians were leading the opposition, since, while intensifying their activities, the members of the Aa also redoubled their precautions by throwing an impenetrable cloak over their activities which were secretly directed by the faculty. Maury was right when he spoke of "Sulpician helpers." In fact, he did not know how right he was. What he did not know, and

fortunately so, was that these helpers were not all to be found among the directors but among the students also. Nor did he suspect to what extent the professors he had named to succeed the banished Sulpicians were in league with these students. The record-book of the Seminary Aa, while permitting us today to pierce this mystery, also reveals the role that was secretly played at this juncture by the Abbé de Mazenod.

In the assembly of the Aa of January 15, 1812, Eugene de Mazenod was replaced as secretary by M. de Janson. To fill the vacancies caused by the resignation of Tharin, Teyssyre, and Mazenod, two, and only two new members, Cassou and Fillion, were elected; for, as it was pointed out on January 2, "if they elected any more at that time, they might bring about a change in the policy of the Association and for that reason they felt it desirable to keep a suitable interval between receptions."

A week later, on January 22, they held an extraordinary session described as "important." At this session,

the most effective way to accomplish the purpose of the Association was explained to them and a certain number of persons who needed guidance were assigned to each member. M. de Janson, in his capacity as president, set forth the motives for holding the meeting, namely, to acquaint the Association with the different students of the seminary who needed the help of the Association either for charitably correcting a mild vulgarity of manners, or (and this was the principal motive) for bringing these students back to the observance of the Seminary rule by inspiring them and helping them in their spiritual advancement. To make sure that they overlooked no one to whom they might be useful, a complete list of the members of the student body was drawn up. One of the associates then read the list and paused each time any of them wanted to make a comment. The secretary wrote the names down, classifying them as the Assembly saw fit. Reviewing the list again, they crossed out the names of a very small number of students to whom they felt remonstrances would be practically useless. They then distributed the rest among the associates, being careful to confide to each of them those over whom they could hope to wield the most influence, and making sure that there would always be at least two or three members assigned to the same student, since experience has proven that during con-

versations or recreations, very little progress was made when there were not at least two members to steer the conversation and bring about an agreement of views. Furthermore, members charged with the same student were expected to confer frequently among themselves whenever they felt it would be of profit and would not be prejudicial to the report they had to make to the Assembly. These important deliberations consumed all the time allotted to the session and, with the Superior's permission, forced an extension of time. One of the members was assigned to give each of the associates an individual list of his particular charges. The associates must learn the names by heart and then destroy the lists at the earliest possible moment.

On January 31, after the reception held for M. Fillion and M. Cassou, Secretary de Janson handed each of the "two new brother-members" a list of students recommended to their vigilance. He also went "into some detail regarding the precautions they would have to take, and the little tricks they could employ to gain the confidence of the students." Finally, on February 17, "the remarks made about the various members of the community were lengthy and important. Much time was devoted to finding a remedy for the abuses caused by a certain group who were fond of gathering around the stove." And so it seems that the Saint-Sulpice Aa increasingly stressed the new orientation decided upon in December, and it also seems that its zeal for maintaining fervor and regularity was leading to organized spying and cell-building. That is why M. de Janson, on January 31, had appealed to the associates "to accomplish among the other members of the student body the good which the Association had in mind and which is its principal aim."

There is good reason to believe that, in spite of the precautions recommended to the associates, this concept of what was beneficial to the community aroused and inspired some defiance since, at the end of the scholastic year, the Association was forced, out of prudence, to make the meetings less frequent:

Monday, June 15; M. Cassou, President, pointed out the reason for the postponement, to wit: twelve days ago, they planned to hold the session in M. Tharin's room, but, even though all the members had

gathered there without M. Tharin's being present, the most profound silence had to be observed while an importunate visitor persisted in rapping on the door for a quarter-hour. This proves how helpful it is when the occupant of the room where the gathering is to take place is present, for he can then dismiss anyone coming there to look for him or, as is often the case, to loiter there.

There then followed a marginal annotation: "June 3 assembly not held; Association in danger of being exposed; remedy pointed out to prevent any future recurrence."

During vacation, the Aa still carried on its activities, and to facilitate matters, before the departure of the students on August 13, M. de Janson again assigned to his confrères the students they were to watch over secretly during their sojourn at the country house at Issy.

He proposed, first of all, a most important matter for their consideration; a new allotment of several members of the community who might need the help of the Association, especially during vacation. They then voted by voice the small number of those who were to be divided among the associates vacationing at Issy and the secretary was instructed to make only a general list. This would replace the preceding lists which he will be very careful to burn.

Eugene de Mazenod was fully aware of all the methods used by the Aa thereafter in maintaining the traditional spirit among the seminarians by way of a hidden control, for we read in the minutes of September 4,

The assembly was held at Issy, in the room of M. de Mazenod; although the latter has been a priest for some time, he still wishes to participate in the deliberations. In addition to its ordinary business, the assembly discussed certain members of the community who needed careful supervision. Especially pointed out were the irregularities that could result if certain lukewarm seminarians were to continue to bring into the house news sheets and books rented indiscriminately and in large numbers at questionable bookstores. It was agreed that one of the associates should prudently and charitably warn those who seem to be disturbing and even changing the traditional spirit of the house in this manner.<sup>14</sup>

However, even though the young director of Saint-Sulpice was fully aware of the system which the members of the Association were using at that time, he was not the author of it, for, the system was not in practice during Eugene's term as secretary. It was inaugurated only after his departure; from the time M. de Janson succeeded him and took over the direction of the Aa. Its initiative was due to the future Bishop of Nancy whose burning zeal was unquenchable. Nevertheless, although it seems certain that the Abbé de Mazenod was not the initiator of a method which would later lead to grave abuses, bring discredit upon the Aa, and provoke some very regrettable incidents at Toulouse,<sup>15</sup> it is still true that he allowed it to be introduced and practically approved it.

In those days, de Janson exercised a strong influence upon his fellow Provençal, and evidently held him under the sway of his zeal and apostolic enthusiasm. Only through experience would Eugene learn to guard against extravagances typical of dynamic temperaments. In those early years, however, he saw in his friend nothing but the magnificent gifts that were later acclaimed by Lacordaire in the prelate's funeral oration:

In the natural order he was gifted with nobility, riches, and learning, and in the supernatural order with the still more precious gifts of apostolic zeal and charity. It was too rich an endowment not to have had a beneficial counterpoise somewhere in his makeup. As long as he held no post, as long as he was able to say, *I am only a private soldier and zeal is my only badge* the less luminous part of his nature remained submerged, as it were, beneath the glowing halo of his rare merits.<sup>16</sup>

With the passing of the years, the same halo lost its glow, and the Abbé de Mazenod was to discover in his former comrade of the Aa certain deficiencies which ultimately brought about his surprising resignation in 1830 as Bishop of Nancy. However, lack of moderation is only partially revealed within the walls of a seminary where youth has not yet been exposed to the harsh realities of life. Considering what was at stake in the campaign waged against Napoleon and his Archbishop Maury, there were

bound to be times when zeal would get out of hand. All these circumstances, added to the fact that the hastily appointed successors of the Sulpicians lacked sufficient maturity, explain why the Saint-Sulpice Aa took on this new character. No one denies that these young men, fresh from their ordination to the priesthood, were not the equals of their revered teachers in prudence, moderation, and wisdom; but neither should anyone be astonished by it.

Of far more importance than his activity in the Aa, which had now taken on a questionable role, was the inspiration the new director brought to the seminary by his personal example. Those students who chose him as their spiritual director were fortunate indeed, inasmuch as the blessings of his absolutions made them the recipients of the freshly bestowed graces of his priesthood, while his friendly chats with them enabled them to share in his recently felt impressions. He applied himself to their formation with an inspiring zeal, firmness, and devotion. Moreover, his priestly ministry extended even beyond the Major Seminary into the Minor, which had recently been established "as a means of safeguarding boys who showed signs of a priestly vocation, while at the same time assuring them a classical training in an atmosphere of piety; something that could scarcely be found in the secular secondary schools of that day."<sup>17</sup> This wise innovation was due to Cardinal Maury, whose titles were illegal, but whose administration was often marked by intelligence and success. Established in the buildings of Saint Nicolas du Chardonnet, and put at the disposal of the diocese by the government, the "Little Seminary" comprised about a hundred pupils, "almost all of whom came from very modest families."<sup>18</sup> One of its young professors, "the Abbé Martin de Noirliu, who died as pastor of Saint Louis d'Antin, always delighted in telling Bishop de Mazenod that he had been his first penitent at the minor seminary."<sup>19</sup> The letters that were sent to the Bishop of Marseilles by his former spiritual sons and preserved by him, all concur in expressing the gratitude and attachment these sons always retained for their spiritual father.

Thus did he cooperate in saving Saint-Sulpice. In spite of

the difficulties encountered, the scholastic year actually went by under satisfactory conditions: "Our seminary is doing fairly well," wrote Teyssyre to Jean-Marie La Mennais; "as well as can be expected when the hands that guide it are so inexperienced. We have learned through painful experience and after many mistakes that the sanctity and wisdom of a seminary director are not acquired in a few days but come only after a lifetime of work."<sup>20</sup>

Fruitful as his ministry was at the seminary, the Abbé de Mazenod soon began to think of leaving Saint-Sulpice. In fact, on May 6, 1812, he informed the nominated Archbishop of Aix, Monseigneur Jauffret, that he intended to return to Aix in the near future. Delighted, the prelate replied,

It was a pleasure to learn from your letter of May 6 that nothing will prevent you from returning soon to this diocese. The principles and sentiments you manifest assure me that in the present state of things you can be of real service to the Church of Aix. I know your zeal, and I shall be delighted to furnish you with the opportunity to practice it in the works of the ministry. I shall deem it a pleasure to guide you in the first steps of your career.<sup>21</sup>

In August, the Chevalier Provana di Collegno, a member of the Italian *Amicizie*, dispatched a number of works to Aix for his dear friend who had requested them, all of which dealt with the pastoral ministry: Zaccaria, Segneri, Benedict XIV, Turchi, Marchetti, Gerdil, Sermons of Saint Leonard of Port Maurice and d'Orsi.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, Eugene finished out the year at Saint-Sulpice and spent the entire vacation with the students at Issy. When classes reopened on October 12, the resigning director, freed of all his obligations, was then able to return to Provence to realize the ideal he had set for himself in an apostolate of serving the poor and the humble of Christ's flock. There was a brief delay in his departure, caused first of all by "a very short retreat," and then by some business matters that had to be settled,<sup>23</sup> all of which detained him for a whole week. Not until October 22, therefore, did he finally make his way to Aix in a second-hand carriage. The carriage made it possible for him to

say mass every day of the journey. He planned to sell it when he reached Aix, or else give it as a wedding gift to his cousin Dedons de Pierrefeu who had married Mlle. Amélie de Demandolx on the preceding September 29.

Paris, at that moment, was being rocked by the conspiracy of General Malet who had vainly tried to overthrow the imperial regime immediately after the disastrous failure of the Russian campaign. Terrified because he had been caught napping, poor Savary who had played the dupe, redoubled his zeal and vigilance. The nervous and frazzled sheriffs he rushed into the capital, seeing imaginary conspirators at every turn, suspected even Saint-Sulpice of conniving with the enemies of Napoleon. On the same day that the Abbé de Mazenod's carriage passed through the Enfer Gates of Paris on its journey south, Father Lacombe, the seminary bursar, received a call that was anything but social. The reason for the call was the bursar's former ties with a certain Lafon who was also implicated in the Malet conspiracy and was thought to be "hiding in the seminary." While searching among Lacombe's papers, they opened a letter Eugene had left with him to give to M. de Bourdeille: "I was most happy" wrote Lacombe, "that there was nothing in it which could have caused the least trouble; otherwise, it might have compromised me as well as yourself. This should give you a pretty fair idea of the trouble I was in."<sup>24</sup> The day following this house search, Cardinal Maury paid a personal call of his own. One might have reasonably feared that the prelate had come to conduct his own private investigation in order to supplement the one that was made the day before, for the Emperor's appointee who had rallied enthusiastically to the cause of the Empire, lent his pastoral support to Fouché's successor, Savary, whenever it was needed.<sup>25</sup> In this particular case, however, it was very likely that his intervention was intended to calm a much disturbed community and to clear teachers as well as pupils in the eyes of the Government, because the Prince of the Church declared that he was "satisfied with the decorum of the young men" and left without changing anything in the house regulation.<sup>26</sup>

Besides, neither the bursar nor the directors had any hand in the Malet affair, nor for that matter did the Abbé de Mazedod. The odd coincidence that one might see in Eugene's departure and the lamentable fiasco of the coup d'état organized by the Republican General, Malet, was purely accidental. A month and a half before that, the young priest had already decided upon the time around October 20 as the date for his return to Provence and so Savary's police could not possibly have found any motive for investigating his movements. With his mind set at ease regarding the seminary by the letters of Lacombe and Tharin, Father de Mazedod felt no regrets at giving up the duties which he had exercised there as a temporary measure and which the greatly aggravated political crisis had rendered even more delicate. Thus, even political events helped to direct his steps along the path which Divine Providence had mysteriously and progressively marked out for him for the exercise of his priesthood, and which his generosity of heart inspired him to follow at the cost of complete renunciation.

#### A PROGRAM FOR AN APOSTOLIC AND PRIESTLY LIFE

And so he returned to Aix, firmly determined to devote himself exclusively "to serving the poor and the children."<sup>27</sup> His apostolic spirit and his desire for total self-renunciation led him to seek the humblest of ministries, and for that he had the wholehearted approval of Father Duclaux who had discerned the supernatural character of this attraction. He had no intention, therefore, either of taking part in the administration of the diocese or of joining the metropolitan chapter, as his uncles had done. Nor did he intend to limit his activities to those of a Concordat parish, since they seemed too restricted and too poorly suited to a life of conquest for God. Instead, he wanted to be free to devote himself to what we today call the works of the ministry. With an astute appreciation of the religious situation, the young priest clearly realized that the Church of his day was not sufficiently answering the actual need of a post-Revolutionary era; that it was barely reaching practicing Catholics who had re-

mained faithful to the Church and was doing very little beyond that. Besides, Bonaparte, by concluding the Concordat, had no intention of re-Christianizing France, but simply intended to placate those who had kept the Faith. It was not that the clergy lacked zeal, but, reduced in number and grown old, it was burdened with an overwhelming task on the one hand and, on the other, knew nothing but outmoded pastoral methods. With his youthful and dynamic temperament, Eugene aspired to greater initiative, and, in spite of his loyalty to the *ancien régime*, he was keenly aware of the changes that had to be made.

It now remained to be seen if the authorities of his diocese, where so many parishes were without pastors, would not want to utilize him in filling part of the void. Demands and requests were arriving at the Archbishop's house from all sides, and the lack of priests which was growing more and more serious made it impossible for any priest to be without official assignment. Nevertheless, the Abbé de Mazenod easily gained Bishop Jauffret's approval of his plan. Jauffret, whom Napoleon had named Archbishop of Aix, administered the Church in that diocese by delegation of the diocesan chapter until such time as the Papal Bulls confirmed him. Eugene also found sympathetic understanding on the part of the vicars general, Guigot and Beylot. Taken by itself, his desire to work in the most abandoned places was nothing but praiseworthy, especially since Father Duclaux fully approved it. It may be that, secretly, the vicars breathed a great sigh of relief over this ready-made solution, since this noble, who was such a dynamic individualist, would not be easily regimented; better to keep him out of the ranks.

At any rate, it was not long before they were given a proof of the young priest's intransigence and independence. At a formal dinner during which a venerable Canon erroneously kept calling Monseigneur Jauffret "Archbishop," Eugene, rising to his feet, declared, "Monseigneur, I protest the use of this title; and I feel sure that you do also. If not, I shall feel obliged to leave the table and withdraw, for I cannot be a party to schism." One can easily imagine the stunned silence that followed this protest. Very calmly, and not without a certain amount of courage, Bishop

Jauffret immediately answered, "Father de Mazenod is correct. I certainly am not the Archbishop of Aix; I am merely its capitulary administrator."<sup>28</sup> In spite of Eugene's rebuff which the Bishop handled gracefully, relations between the two men were always congenial. Much against his will, and only because of the express order of the Emperor, Bishop Jauffret had come to Provence a year after Napoleon had appointed him, and even then, it was only with the hope that he would obtain canonical approval. Failing to receive the Papal Bulls, he returned to Paris at the end of 1813, under pretext of carrying out his duties at the Grand Aumonerie. During the thirteen months he spent at Aix, he had proved himself a zealous, patient, and skillful administrator.<sup>29</sup>

The former director of Saint-Sulpice Seminary returned to Provence with a program for his personal life that was as sharply defined as that which he had drawn up for his apostolate. In fact, as early as April 22, 1812, he had written to his mother about his plans:

I have already acquainted you with my plans which are nothing more than the result of the obligations of my state in life. Priests today are not like the abbés of old; we have been ordained solely to serve the Church, and consequently every moment of our time belongs to the Church, and any moment which is not devoted to prayer, study, or the exercise of the sacred ministry is, as it were, time stolen from the service to which we have all consecrated ourselves, knowing full well the obligations we have assumed. That is why no one must imagine that when I come back to Aix, my time will be taken up visiting, entertaining, or taking part in the activities of what is called polite society. . . . I want none of that. My whole life has been planned in advance and nothing will deter me from it, because it was something I decided upon in the presence of God and only after I had given it full deliberation and had recognized its excellence. And so, that's settled. People can call me rude, if they wish; even uncivilized; it won't bother me just so long as I am a good priest. And if they try to bolster their argument by citing the conduct of other priests, far from weakening my resolve, they will only strengthen it further. My conscience and my God; these will be my judges and my rule of conduct.<sup>30</sup>

His original design had been to settle down at the Joannis country house and to have his household managed by a Trappist Brother, most likely one of the dispersed monks from the Abbot de Lestrange's Monastery which Napoleon had dissolved because of its loyalty to Rome. But, either because he wanted to reduce expenses or because he wished to accede to his mother's wishes, he consented to take up living quarters on Papassaudi Street with Brother Maur. Madame de Mazenod was given to understand, however, that her son "who had a duty to strive for perfection"<sup>31</sup> fully intended to lead a life strictly in accord with his ideal. And in order that all his days "might be replete in the eyes of the Lord,"<sup>32</sup> the young priest imposed the following regulation upon himself during a retreat at the Major Seminary of Aix: "Rising, about 4:30. From five to six, vocal prayer followed by meditation taken from the works of Father Olier, and a short reading of Holy Scripture. Mass at 6:00 followed by Thanksgiving; a short time later, recitation of Prime from the Divine Office; reading of the Martyrology, and a half-hour of Sacred Scripture; study until lunch; before lunch recitation of Terce, and after lunch recitation of Sext and study of Theology. 2:00, Recitation of Nones. 4:30, Vespers and Particular Examen. 5:00, Dinner. 7:00, Compline and Visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Until 9:00, diverting but instructive reading followed by Matins and Lauds. 9:00, half-hour of spiritual reading with the family, followed by night prayers. 10:00, retiring.

This regulation gives a good idea of how completely all his time, with the exception of those hours given over to needed relaxation and sleep, belonged entirely to God.

Father Duclaux gave unqualified approval to this tight and austere program. He wrote to his "dear and more than dear friend, Father de Mazenod":

I am delighted with what you told me concerning your manner of life. Don't change a single iota of it unless it is absolutely necessary. This is what should be done by every priest who wishes to earn the confidence of the people. If our people never see us doing anything but our priestly work and are convinced that study and prayer take up the remainder of our time, then will we priests enjoy the

respect which is due to our sacerdotal character. Be thankful to God for the good that will result from your manner of life, for, such a life will gain you many graces and will give much weight to your words and your teaching. And should the devil try to twist things to his own purpose by tempting you with feelings of vanity, resist his suggestions and let your humility increase in proportion to the praise people give you.<sup>33</sup>

THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE CLERGY AND THE EVANGELIZATION  
OF THE POOR

The good Sulpician was equally delighted by the good influence his spiritual son exercised over the local clergy. At the start of 1813, the young Abbé founded an Aa at the Aix seminary from which the Sulpicians had likewise been expelled by the Emperor. On March 10, the Aa of the Paris seminary held an extraordinary session "for the purpose of listening to a letter from Father de Mazenod in which their former confrère gave interesting details of the flourishing fervor of the Aa he had recently established at the Aix seminary."<sup>34</sup> The letter, which had been written to his friend Forbin-Janson, related the initial difficulties and the happy results of that organization which his priestly zeal had inspired him to form:

I send you the rule which has produced such good results in our seminary. You will notice that it is based upon the one we, ourselves, followed. In fact, I incorporated ours in its entirety; but, I also felt that it would be beneficial to add the rest and experience has borne me out in that respect. Few things in life have consoled me like the progress this seminary has made since this useful organization was established here. Judging by what everyone told me, it had fallen into an alarming laxity. Not that there was anything morally wrong; but piety, and especially the spirit of piety, it seems, was banished from the seminary along with those who had worked so hard to inspire it. With the establishment of the Association, however, everything changed. At first, they made fun of the neophytes. Let me repeat; morally, there was nothing wrong. The whole trouble was simply an extremely frivolous conduct, a sovereign neglect

of all the rules, no spirit of piety whatsoever. Naturally, once the Association was established, one could not help but notice such things as punctuality, recollection, exactitude, in the smallest matters, renewal of fervor, increase in frequenting the Sacraments, etc. Those who were seen striving for perfection were called *mystics* and it was claimed that there was little chance of their persevering. But, in a short time, these same neophytes drew everyone to them by their constancy, their good example, and, no doubt, their prayers; so that, now, it is a question of who will imitate them the closest. One would gladly travel a long distance just to witness these youngsters at recreation. They're really like angels. They constantly talk of God and are forever singing hymns, and this in groups of twenty-five or thirty. Walk days are almost like retreat days. They use their free time gathering in small groups for spiritual reading, or saying the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, even though it isn't part of their regulation. In short, their free days are almost entirely taken up with acts of piety. It makes me weep with joy. You would have to see their meetings to believe how beautifully they are conducted; their humility and charity correcting one another, their resolutions of amendment, their zeal to correct and help the other students to become better, and their gratitude to God for having procured such an efficacious means of salvation for them. I assure you that I never leave their little gatherings without feeling a strong desire for my own perfection, because of the example of these angels.<sup>35</sup>

Not only did the Abbé de Mazenod renew his fervor and regularity at the Aix seminary which had suffered from a certain vacillation after the expulsion of the Sulpicians, but, being as deeply concerned with the sanctification of the local clergy as he was with the training of young clerics, he and "a few other priests held conferences and discussions on the duties of the priesthood," and Father Duclaux warmly congratulated him for it: "Read the life of Saint Vincent de Paul," he wrote to Eugene, "especially the section that treats of the Saint Lazarus Conferences which were held every Tuesday, the first of which deals with the priestly spirit. If you can make these conferences a regular thing, you will have rendered the greatest of all services to the City of Aix."<sup>36</sup>

Much as the wise Sulpician was delighted by these initiatives,

he rejoiced even more that his cherished disciple still continued to follow the salutary advice he had formerly given him:

I cannot repeat too often what I have already told you many times, for, your example will make a deep impression upon all the priests and pious faithful of your diocese. Don't make yourself out to be a reformer but rather a priest who is very exact and very zealous in observing all the rules of priestly conduct. Look neither to the right nor to the left, but let God and His Church be your sole concern in everything you do. You cannot possibly imagine what a strong impression is made by pious conduct when it is accompanied by all the charms of virtue, or what confidence and respect is engendered by it. It sustains the strong, holds sway over the weak, reproaches the wicked, and gives joy to those who fear and love God.<sup>37</sup>

After a few months' preparation by deep recollection and study, Eugene de Mazenod began his preaching at Aix. One can guess with what curiosity the people of his social class awaited his first sermon. Naturally, everyone took for granted that this young nobleman, whose father had once been President at the Court of Aids of Provence, would make his debut in one of the more distinguished pulpits of the city, and that his sermons would be couched in an elegance of diction suited to the high social standing of his listeners. When it was announced that at six o'clock each Sunday morning during Lent, the Abbé de Mazenod would deliver informal instructions to artisans, servants, and paupers, at the Church of the Madeleine, and in the Provençal tongue, the city's high society made no secret of its astonishment, disappointment, and even its indignation. To catechize the lower classes, and "in a patois," was not that an outright renunciation of nobility on the part of the gentleman priest? Eugene did not think so. On his return to France, "while still a layman, he had been shocked by the state of abandonment in which the poorest classes were living."<sup>38</sup> Most of them did not attend Church, and those who did assist at Divine Services gained very little from the classical-type sermon they heard, since it was poorly adapted to their intellectual level, their mentality, and their way of life. As a result, an abysmal ignorance of religion was gradually turn-

ing the people away from Christianity. It was a situation that demanded remedying. More than ever before, his *evangelizare pauperibus* thrust itself upon him. Scorning any desire for eloquence or worldly acclaim, the Abbé de Mazenod devoted himself to these abandoned souls and addressed them in their own tongue, using a direct approach to bring them the message of His Master, Christ.

When he entered the pulpit at six o'clock on the first Sunday morning of Lent, the Madeleine was filled to overflowing. There is no text of his first instruction, since, like any good Southern Frenchman, Eugene de Mazenod excelled at improvising. He simply jotted down a few notes, trusting to his own inspiration for the development of themes which were very briefly sketched, but upon which he had meditated for a long time. The outline we have, however, is all we need for knowing what style of preaching he adopted at the very outset of his oratorical career. His whole exordium deserves to be quoted:

During this holy season of Lent there will be numerous instructions given to the rich and the learned. Will there be none for the poor and the unlearned? Through the kindness of the Pastor (of this church), there will be . . . What a pity it would be if anyone failed to take advantage of them!

The Gospel must be taught to all men and in a way in which it can be understood. The poor, that precious part of the Christian family cannot be left uninstructed. So important did our Saviour consider them that He took great pains to instruct them personally and, as one of the proofs of His Messiahship, pointed out that the poor were having the Gospel preached to them: *pauperes evangelizantur*. . . .

Our sermons will be given in language that even the least educated will understand. Like the father of a family, we shall gather our children about us and reveal a treasure we have for them . . . Courage and perseverance will be needed to acquire it. They will have to brave the scorn of their fellowmen or else they will be as foolish as those who lived in Noah's time. The scoffers of our day will perhaps ridicule the effort you make to assure your salvation and to save your souls from the deluge . . .

With his purpose and his method thus defined, the preacher then went into his subject matter. To prove the supernatural grandeur of their state in life to his humble listeners, he placed the doctrine of Catholicism which exalted that state in opposition to the maxims of the world which belittled it. Nothing could have been more adapted to the conditions and problems of his listeners, nor could anything have been more suited to draw them to Christ Who was their only hope of gaining what the upper classes refused them in their misery:

Artisans! how does the world look upon you? In its eyes, you are a class of people who were meant to toil laboriously all your lives in an obscure occupation which deprives you of your independence and makes you dependent upon the whims of those from whom you must solicit employment.

Servants! What are you in the eyes of the world? A class of people enslaved by those who pay your wages, subject to contempt, injustice, and even ill treatment on the part of exacting masters . . . who think that they have the right to treat you harshly simply because of the niggardly salary they pay you.

And you farm hands and peasants! What are you in the eyes of the world? No matter how valuable your work may be, your worth is determined simply by the strength of your arms; and if those who hire you give any attention to the sweat of your brow, distasteful as it is to them, it is only because they wish to see it enrich the earth.

And what shall we say of you paupers who are forced by the injustice of men and the harshness of fate to beg for your pitiful sustenance and to grovel before the rich while you plead for the bread you need for staying alive? The world looks upon you as the scum of humanity, intolerable to look at, and it turns away from you to avoid being moved with pity for your condition in life, since it has no desire to ease it . . .

That is how the world looks upon all of you. That is what you are in its eyes. And yet, until now, you have been willing to grovel before that same world, and you willingly choose it as your master. What can you expect from such a master but insults and contempt?

To contrast the true teachings of the Church with this contemptuous attitude on the part of the world, the preacher next addressed this stirring invitation to his listeners:

Come then, and learn what you are in the eyes of God! All you poor of Jesus Christ, you afflicted, unfortunate, suffering, infirm, diseased etc. . . . you who are crushed by misery; my brothers, my very dear brothers, my revered brothers, listen to me. You are the children of God, the brothers of Jesus Christ, co-heirs of His eternal kingdom, the cherished portion of His inheritance. In the words of Saint Peter, you are the Holy People; you are Kings; you are Priests; in a certain sense, you are Gods! *Dii estis et filii excelsi omnes!*<sup>39</sup>

Essentially, it was but a repetition of Bossuet's famous sermon, *The Eminent Dignity of the Poor in the Church of God*. The purpose of this revision, however, was not to correct the viewpoint of rich aristocrats who clung to the false principles of their times. On the contrary, the nobly born preacher wanted to restore the Christian viewpoint of the humble people and thereby restore their confidence, hope, and courage in Jesus Christ. From the very outset, he knew what kind of language to employ with these listeners who were so different from people of his own class. His eminent priestly zeal, common sense, and ardent charity gave his words such persuasive power, warmth, and penetration, that his success was overwhelming. The crowds increased to such an extent that, on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, the Abbé de Mazenod felt obligated to thank "his revered brothers, the poor," who had flocked to the Church in such great numbers to hear him:

We placed the success of this Lenten Course in the hands of God and our hopes were not deceived, since we have seen with our own eyes that the sacred message which was brought to you through our ministry has been received with enthusiasm. God be praised for it, my brothers! I feel so overjoyed because of it that I cannot refrain from mentioning it. Feeling, as I do, that I have been called to be the servant and priest of the poor, and hoping to devote my life to their service, I cannot help but be touched by their eagerness to hear my voice.<sup>40</sup>

The success of these early morning Lenten sermons for the common people proved how wrong were the biased and ill-willed predictions that had been made, and the cynics of the Aix draw-

ing rooms had to swallow their words. For once, agreeing with his nephew in religious matters, Roze Joannis could not refrain from expressing his satisfaction

on learning of the admirable effects of zeal which were produced by the Christ-like spirit which inspires you. The graces He communicates to you so abundantly are not for you alone but are also meant for the welfare and salvation of many. The Church, today, more than ever before, has a great need of ministers who, by their teaching, will rekindle the Faith that has been extinguished, and, by their example, will serve as models for the flock and awaken pastors from their apathy. I am fully convinced that God has raised you up among us for that double purpose. By practicing as well as teaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as you are doing, you will prove to certain doubting Thomases that you have entered the Sanctuary not through any human motives, but through a God-given vocation. May it be that God, Who is infinitely kind and merciful towards all men, has ordained that I be related by blood to a minister after His own heart so that by his powerful intercession he might gain me forgiveness of the many sins of which I know I am guilty.<sup>41</sup>

It almost seems as though the Jansenist saw in the preacher at the Madeleine an authentic disciple of his cherished Port-Royal. Actually, the Abbé de Mazenod, was purely and simply proving himself an authentic disciple of the French School which had originally inspired the reformers of the first Abbaye des Champs, before it started changing the Berullian doctrines.

By blessing the first endeavors of Eugene's ministry, God rewarded his generous self-denial and confirmed his special vocation. His victory was even a victory of the Provençal tongue itself. This elder sister of the Italian language, which the local nobility termed a jargon and which the revolutionists had sought to suppress as being opposed to national unity,<sup>42</sup> assumed a new dignity because of the splendid manner in which he handled it. Years later, those who promoted the revival of the Provençal tongue gratefully paid due homage to this nobly born priest who braved every prejudice in order to restore it to the pulpit and to utilize the deep-toned softness of its warm harmonies in the service of Christ.<sup>43</sup>

## WORK WITH YOUNG PEOPLE AND IN THE PRISONS

The common people were not the only ones who lacked a knowledge of religion. The young people of France as a whole, were being educated without any religious instruction in schools and colleges controlled by State Universities, with the result that the activities of the clergy who were limited to teaching catechism and conducting church services met with indifference and even hostility. Aware that the future of the country depended upon the safeguarding and training of these young people, and encouraged by the success of his Lenten course, the Abbé de Mazenod decided to form a Sodality at Aix which would ensure the perseverance of these youngsters by enlightening them in their faith.

Such an initiative was not without its dangers. Hostile, on principle, to every organized group, Napoleon had not only forbidden what he called "coalitions" of workers under the most severe penalties, but, beginning in 1809, he had also forbidden any religious groups which he suspected might give support to Roman resistance. Father Delpuits' Sodality was dissolved, as were the Fathers of the Faith, the Sulpicians, and all the "itinerant missionaries." The Association known as the "Oeuvre," which was founded at Marseilles in 1799 by the Abbé Allemand, met the same fate. In going counter to the Imperial edicts, the preacher of the Madeleine was running many risks, especially since the police had marked him as politically dangerous.

It is a difficult undertaking and I fully realize what it entails. It is actually dangerous since what I plan to do amounts to opposing with all my might the insidious policies of a suspicious government which persecutes and destroys anything that does not support it. However, I have no fear because I am putting all my trust in God and am seeking only His glory and the salvation of souls redeemed by His Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be honor, glory, and power for endless ages.<sup>44</sup>

Father de Mazenod, therefore, had no intention at all of remaining indifferent to the perils facing young students in the Imperial institutions of learning:

The soil of France is covered with lycées, military schools, and other institutions of learning where godlessness is encouraged, immorality at least tolerated, and materialism promoted and applauded. This gloomy picture is a frightening but a true one and I could make it even more gloomy without any fear of exaggeration. Over and above what everyone can see for himself, I have countless other reasons for what I claim.

The young priest's anti-Bonapartism increased to such an extent that he imputed to "the impious Bonaparte" and "his infamous government" a plan

to wipe out the Catholic Religion in all the countries he has usurped. Since the oppressed people's attachment to the Faith of their Fathers prevents him from promptly executing his detestable plan which he considers essential to his diabolical politics, it now seems he is satisfied to let time, and the means he has taken, achieve the desired results. What he counts on most is the destruction of the moral fibre of the youth. His success, so far, in this regard, is frightening. Should I be persecuted, and should I fail in the holy crusade to stem this torrent of iniquity, at least, I shall not have to reproach myself for not having tried. What means shall I employ in order to succeed in such a great undertaking? None other than what the seducer himself has used. He believes that only by perverting the youth of France will he succeed in corrupting France. And so, it is toward the youth that he directs all his efforts. Very well! I, too, will concentrate on the youth. I will make every effort to preserve the young people from the evils that are threatening them, some of which have already affected them. And I will do it by inspiring them early in life with a love for virtue, respect for religion, a taste for piety, and a horror of vice.<sup>45</sup>

With this same end in view, therefore, the Abbé de Mazenod formed a Sodality at Aix. Out of prudence, however, the group did not bear that forbidden title. It was called simply "The Holy Association of Christian Youth." Care was taken not to make it publicly known even under this designation and its activities were camouflaged by making it appear to be an ordinary gathering of youngsters. Beginning with the very first meeting attended by the first seven members, all of them high school pupils, it was agreed "in view of the unfortunate conditions of the times,

to limit religious exercises to a minimum and to conceal them under the guise of games.”<sup>46</sup> The first sessions were held at the *Enfant Hunting Lodge*. Later, during vacation time, the members gathered in the recreation yard of the *Major Seminary* and held all their meetings there until the *Mille* family offered them the garden of their home at the entrance of the city for their games, and the house itself when the weather was inclement.<sup>47</sup>

Thanks to these prudent precautions, the *Holy Association of Christian Youth* aroused no suspicions on the part of the imperial police and was able to carry on its activities until the fall of Napoleon. Essentially, it was a religious organization aimed at forming “a body of very pious young people.” Although it could not adopt the framework and rules of the *Sodality* as established by *Father Delpuits*, it was however, imbued with its spirit as is evident from the original rules which the *Abbé de Mazenod* drew up as a temporary guide until more favorable times allowed him to model his *Sodality* on that of *Father Delpuits*.

At first, the *Association* limited its membership to about twenty, since a certain number of black sheep who had slipped into the fold had to be eliminated. Its maximum membership of about a hundred was not to be reached until the period of the *Restoration*. Each meeting consisted of an instruction and the recitation of a decade of the *Rosary*, with the *Abbé de Mazenod* devoting his entire afternoon to his young people. Like typical youngsters from the *Midi*, they took a warm liking towards him.

As soon as he appeared, they all rushed upon him; one would take hold of his neck, the other his cincture; this one would kiss his hand, and that one his cassock. As for the *Abbé* himself, he showed them the love and affection of a real father . . . ; he treated a cobbler’s son as cordially and affectionately as he did the son of a high court official.<sup>48</sup>

Shortly after the founding of this *Sodality*, he also began a new apostolate, that of serving the prisoners. The former director of the *Charitable Works of the Prisons at Aix* volunteered his services as chaplain for the prisoners deprived of religious aid. He visited them almost every day, striving to instruct, encourage,

and convert them. If the results of his work were not always commensurate with the zeal he put into it, at least he could take consolation from having brought back to God an unfortunate woman called "la Germaine" who had been condemned to death: "This guilty woman had drawn the horror and indignation of the people upon herself because of the enormity of her crimes," relates Father Martin in his *Mémoires*.

So moved was she by the Abbé de Mazenod's exhortations that she made a complete conversion and showed such excellent dispositions that, contrary to what was usually done at that time, the Abbé de Mazenod permitted her to receive communion. The people's attitude toward her changed when they saw her advance toward the scaffold giving the most touching proofs of her repentance. The exhortations her deeply moved confessor addressed to her, as he walked by her side, sustained her courage, and more than one voice in the crowd was heard blessing the charitable Apostle who had been such an efficacious instrument in this miracle of grace.<sup>49</sup>

#### THE RETURN OF THE POPE AND THE CARDINALS

While the Abbé de Mazenod was devoting himself so zealously to the ministry of the young people and the prisoners, Napoleon's star was visibly setting. On his return from Moscow, Bonaparte had made a supreme effort to straighten out the home situation by concluding a new concordat with Pius VII, thereby hoping to rally Catholics to his side and, at the same time, realize all his imperial ambitions. Provence, which had been deeply stirred in 1809 when the captive Holy Father had passed through,<sup>50</sup> received the news of this agreement with the most heartfelt joy. Wrote Roze-Joannis:

I am too interested in the peace of the Church, not to say something about the great news which interests all the faithful and which makes everyone in Avignon rejoice. Accepting the invitation of the Minister of Public Worship, the Bishop of Avignon left yesterday for Fontainebleau. Undoubtedly, he will return with the Pope. The Pope's lodgings are being prepared, but since they won't be ready for a month, it is planned to have him stay at the Prefecture in the mean-

time. Rumor has it that a committee has been named to settle the boundaries of the States which have been given the Pope in full sovereignty. I shall wait until the details of the Concordat are publicly announced before I pass judgment on that particular clause. Meanwhile, I share Eugene's joy and that of all the children of the Church.<sup>51</sup>

Roze-Joannis was very wise in reserving his judgment; actually, the Pope was not to be installed at Avignon. He had simply signed a proposal which the government had presented with singularly bad faith as a definitive treaty. Pressed by the liberated cardinals, the Sovereign Pontiff, little by little, took back all the concessions which he felt had blemished the Papacy.<sup>52</sup> Thus, Napoleon's supreme attempt backfired, and while the anarchists of the Midi conspired to reestablish the Republic,<sup>53</sup> the royalists of Provence exploited the discontent of Catholics with the imperial regime in order to clear the way for the restoration of the Monarchy.

Napoleon was no more successful in reestablishing the military situation which had become shaky due to the Russian catastrophe. After a few temporary successes, his German campaign ended in defeat at Leipzig, and, in January, 1814, the victorious allies forced their way across the Rhine. The first effect of the invasion was to oblige Napoleon to hurry Pope Pius and the cardinals into the South. On February 7, after a long detour through Toulouse, the Pope reached the outskirts of Aix on his way back to Savona. Official orders forbade his passing through the city since it was feared he would be acclaimed there. Instead, it was planned to have his carriage arrive by the Avignon Road and reach the Obitelle Gate by way of the suburbs; after a change of horses, the carriage was then to go directly to Italy.

However, the fervor of the people of Aix upset all the plans of the Imperial authorities, and, as might be expected, the Abbé de Mazenod proved to be one of the most eager to receive the Vicar of Christ in triumph. A few days later, on February 10, 1814, using a certain Madame Ginod, 15 Petit Lyon Street, Faubourg Sainte-Germaine, as a cover up, he wrote to his friend

Forbin-Janson telling of the enthusiastic welcome which the capital of Provence had given the liberated Pope:

Too many things prevent me from attempting a long letter, and even if this one may never reach you, I am not going to postpone it any longer, because I want to give you news of myself. I am feeling well, apart from a sore on my heel, which I developed while escorting the carriage of the Holy Father. I was holding on to the door which, as you know, is very close to the wheel; but, that's only a minor thing. I was only too happy to be able to hold on to that spot for such a long time, in spite of the inconvenience.

On Monday, the 7th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, we were alerted that the Holy Father would arrive at noon. The rumor spread like wildfire and immediately all shops closed down. In spite of the wind which was acting like an enraged schismatic that day, everyone ran out to meet him. Not only did big fat women<sup>54</sup> like ourselves brave the wind; even the youngest and frailest little misses ran pell-mell with the rest of the population out beyond the city limits where the Holy Father was expected to pass. Those who had given the orders that he was not to make any stops or even pass through any city if it were possible to avoid it, evidently failed to realize that the inhabitants knew how to get out of the city. The fact remains that only the dying remained behind. As soon as the Holy Father appeared, a great shout went up from all sides: "Long live the Pope; Long live the Saintly Pope!" They took hold of the bridle, stopped the carriage and then practically carried both the carriage and the horses. It was an immense crowd and yet it wasn't an unruly one. The joy, love, and respect expressed with all the warmth typical of Southern temperaments were so clearly portrayed on all faces that the Holy Father wept as he kept watching them, and blessing them. I cut through the crowd until I reached the door of the carriage and I remained there until the horses were changed at a station outside the city. My old crouny, the one you met at Grenoble, was with me. She lost her shoe and both of us lost our bonnets in the shuffle. We didn't get them back until after we returned home. What a picture that carriage made, bearing the most precious person in the world and moving along through fifteen or twenty thousand people who kept shouting words of affection that would have touched the heart of any good father. It was positively thrilling. When evening came, I took a carriage and rode all night, so as to be on hand when he awoke in the

small village where he had been obliged to spend the night. I don't need to tell you what took place there, but I must tell you what touched me more than anything else; the devotion of the people when they rushed upon the bed on which the Holy Father had lain, so that they might kiss it.

And that was how they received this man whom our worthy prefect wanted to welcome as if he were a bourgeois. Wherever he went, he was treated like a Saint.<sup>55</sup>

More favored than their Pontiff, the cardinals were then permitted to enter the cities which were teeming with enthusiasm, since they would not be likely to cause the same demonstrations as those the Holy Father's presence might have occasioned. The day after the Sovereign Pontiff had electrified Aix,

Cardinal Dugnani, nick-named "Comme ca, comme ca," arrived, heart-broken that he had not overtaken his and our Holy Father. He could stay here only one night. He travels with a policeman sitting beside him and has been ordered to go to Brignoles. He has no information about his fellow cardinals except that they, like himself, received their orders to leave, but he doesn't know what their destination is. The arrangements made for him are strange, to say the least; Brignoles is only a poky little place, nine leagues from Aix.<sup>56</sup>

Through a letter which Cardinal Dugnani later wrote to Eugene from that "poky little place," we know that the Abbé de Mazenod received the Cardinal at his home, presented him to his mother, and placed himself at the complete disposal of His Eminence in order to render him all the necessary services:

Please accept all my thanks and rest assured that I shall take advantage of your very kind offer if the need arises. At present, I lack nothing. I have nothing but praise for Brignoles. Everyone here has treated me most kindly. The pastor is an excellent man and is forever showing proof of his solicitude for me and his eagerness to be of service to me. By this time, you will have heard of all that was done for the Holy Father at Nice on the day that he stayed there; the details are very consoling. His Holiness left yesterday morning and took the land route. It is said he is going to Genoa. Most likely Cardinal Mattei will not come here at this time. He has gone to Alais. Delighted to have met your mother. Please extend my best wishes

to her and rest assured of my highest esteem and most tender affection etc. . . .<sup>57</sup>

Cardinal Dugnani was not the only one of the Princes of the Church to whom Eugene offered assistance when they were sent into the South of France. On April 17, 1814, Cardinal Louis Ruffo wrote from his enforced residence at Grasse,

The opening lines of your letter, which informed me of your long and serious sickness, saddened me a great deal, for ever since I met you and conversed with you, I have held you in the high esteem and affection which all your fine qualities merit. Now that you are well on the road to recovery, I can thank the Good Lord for restoring health to you. Perhaps your crown needed a few pearls.

The Cardinal then went on to thank his correspondent for the generosity and courtesy that had been shown him, and added, "I live in the constant hope that I shall recover my full freedom and be able to continue my journey home. Providence will not fail me now just as it has never failed me in the past. Please do not deprive or stint yourself because of me."<sup>58</sup>

As for Cardinal Mattei, who was forced to stay at Alès, he would not pass through Aix until about the middle of May. Unfortunately, all his correspondence with Eugene de Mazenod was lost, but at least we know that he was deeply grateful to the young priest for his tireless and courageous devotion. Father Duclaux, writing to his disciple on February 23, 1813, informed him, "I had the happy privilege of meeting Cardinal Mattei on several occasions. He often enquired of you, and several times asked to be remembered to you."<sup>59</sup>

#### VOLUNTARY CHAPLAIN TO THE AUSTRIAN PRISONERS

The allied invasion not only forced Napoleon to send the Pope and the Sacred College into Provence in order to deprive the allies of the honor of liberating them, but it likewise forced him to concentrate the Austrian prisoners of war in the South of France. Aix was assigned about two thousand as its quota. Shortly after their arrival, an epidemic of typhus broke out in

the crowded barracks and death claimed a large number of them. Both the chaplain and the doctors fell victims to the disease which they contracted at the bedsides of the prisoners. On hearing this, the Abbé de Mazenod volunteered his services to the diocesan administration in order to replace his fellow priest, and, with complete disdain for the danger involved, gave every attention to the most critical cases, consoled them, prepared them to meet their Maker, and administered the last rites to them.

It was not long before he himself contracted the disease. Instead of putting a halt to his ministrations and checking the first stages of what they termed "prison sickness," the undaunted apostle refused any care. Burning with fever, and shaking with the chills, he still made his rounds among the Austrian prisoners and even presided over a meeting of the Sodality on March 6. On March 10, completely exhausted, he was finally forced to take to his bed. In spite of his robust constitution and the medical care that was given him, his condition became so critical that on the 14th he requested viaticum and Extreme Unction.

Dismay then took hold of all his beloved children in the Sodality, and, like true children, they hastened to give him proof of their filial affection:

As soon as I received the last rites, they were informed of it at the school. Immediately all the members of the Sodality asked to be excused from class and then rushed to the church of Saint John where preparations were being made to bring me viaticum. They were all given candles, and when the procession started, the prefect and vice prefect served as acolytes while the youngsters arranged themselves two by two directly before the priests. I don't know how many people later on told me that the faces of these young ones clearly revealed what was going on in their hearts at that moment, when it seemed that they were about to lose one whom they looked upon as their best and dearest friend. I attribute the extraordinary crowd that was present when I received the last rites, as much to the recollection and the touching sight they made in that moment of their reverence for God and their affection for me, as to the concern my fellow townsmen felt for me.

When they saw my condition and noticed how difficult it was for me to pronounce a few words before receiving the Body of Our Lord, their sorrow knew no bounds, especially since the few words I was able to utter were devoted to them. Later, when they were informed that I had lost consciousness two or three hours after receiving the Sacraments, they became deeply alarmed.

It was then that their faith and trust in God came to the fore. (May the Good Lord always preserve these virtues in them!) Not only did they come to my door several times a day for the latest news of my condition, which became more alarming each day, but they quickly perceived that only God could grant what was now beyond the medical skill of doctors. And so they turned to the Supreme Ruler of all things, and, putting all their hopes in the powerful intercession of the Most Holy Virgin, Saint Joseph, and their other favorite saints, they began those prayers which, along with others that were charitably offered for me, snatched me from the very jaws of death.

How could God not have been touched by the fervent, trustful, and persevering prayers of these young people begging Him to restore their father to them. All those who witnessed it were unable to hold back their tears and felt compelled to join them in this act of charity and true filial piety.

I feel that I should mention at this time a circumstance which made their prayers even more meritorious. All this happened during the month of March, a time when the winter cold is particularly severe. (Oh! If only those dear souls could read what is in my heart as I write these lines!) So that the work of mercy they were performing for me would not take any time away from their studies, they arose before dawn, and in spite of the freezing temperature went to church very early each morning to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which they themselves had requested at the expense of their meagre savings—savings they had originally intended to use for their own little pleasures. At night, when classes ended, they gathered again at the Church of the Madeleine to make a novena which, in a certain respect, had turned into a public devotion.<sup>60</sup>

The Lord finally granted the wishes of these dear children and restored my health. Before long, I was able to go to the Madeleine myself and give thanks to God at the foot of those same altars where prayers had been fervently offered for me. On May 3, the Feast of the Finding of the True Cross, I gathered all the members of the

Sodality in the Church of the Madeleine to assist at the Mass I was going to say for them at the altar of the Holy Cross. (I had been saying Mass at home since April 20.) Before beginning Mass I spoke a few words to them. They were words which came straight from my heart and their own hearts readily responded to them, for I simply urged them to join with me in expressing as perfectly as we could, during the Holy Sacrifice, the love and gratitude we owed to God, the Father of Mercy, Who never turns a deaf ear to the prayers of those who trust in Him completely. *Non est oblitus clamore pauperum.*<sup>61</sup>

On the very day that the Association of Christian Youth celebrated the restoration of its founder's health, His Majesty, King Louis XVIII reascended the throne of his ancestors after making a solemn entrance into his City of Paris.

\* \* \*

The restoration of the Monarchy fully gratified Eugene de Mazenod's desires, since he had never abandoned his loyalty to the King, but had grown more and more hostile to the Corsican persecutor of the Pope and the Church. What was more important, however, it marked the close of a period of preparation in his life. By the most diverse and seemingly least direct routes, God had brought him to where He wanted him. And no one will ever understand or justly judge the man and his work if one does not take into account those things to which the Founder of the Oblates owed so much: the fiery and generous country of Provence; the city of Aix which typified, even to its architecture, its factious but serious parliament; the drama of the Revolution which had such an effect upon his childhood; the trials connected with his exile in the land of Italy and the trials subsequent to his return to a completely different France; and finally, his own spiritual crisis and the national religious crisis of his day which, under Father Emery's direction, associated him from the very beginning of his seminary training with the struggles of the Gallican Church to uphold the freedom of Pope Pius VII and the rights of the Church of Rome.

From his cradle, he was History's child; a fortunate but fearful privilege which favored him with rich experiences but—such is the rule—experiences purchased at the high price of heartache and sorrow. Involved, thereby, in the drama of a time when so many things perished or came into being, he found himself astride two epochs whose mentalities, minds and hearts put them at odds with each other. Consequently, why should anyone be astonished that Eugene de Mazenod, who was linked to the past by so many family and social ties, had not succeeded when his King returned to the throne, in achieving the necessary synthesis of the heritage of the *ancien régime* and the contributions of the New Regime? Time, much striving, and a certain number of mistakes would all be necessary before he could, by virtue of his eminent priestly spirit, raise himself above the human level and thereby pass from his own wisdom into the “realms of Divine Wisdom, the only true wisdom.”<sup>62</sup>



# Notes

## Chapter One

1. Aix, Arch. dép., Parish Registers of the Church of the Madeleine, vol. 58.
2. Henri Brémond, *La Provence mystique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1908) 2.
3. Brémond, *Ibid.* 1.
4. *Ibid.* 8.
5. *The High Magistracy*: This was the group known as the "Grandes Robes" and they will be referred to as such throughout the book. It was the class of French nobility known as the "Nobility of the Robe."
6. *Court of Accounts, Aids, and Finances*: One of the sovereign courts in existence before the Revolution. The Court of Accounts was the administrative tribunal set up to judge and audit the accounting of State revenues; the Court of Aids judged on matters pertaining to indirect taxes; the Court of Finances judged on cases concerning the finances of the State treasury.
7. Godefroy de Montgrand, *Armorial de la ville de Marseilles*. (Marseilles 1864) 112.
8. *Royal patent of Nobility*: Called also "Royal Letters of Ennoblement" or "Letters Patent of the King." By means of these letters patent, one's ennoblement (ascendancy to noble status) was officially sanctioned by the King and permanently assured by him. By the same act, one's heirs were also assured noble rank.
9. Henri de Jouvencel, *L'Assemblée de la noblesse du baillage de Forez en 1789. Étude historique et généalogique* (Lyons 1911) 390-402.
10. Joseph Billioud, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille de 1515 à 1599* (Paris 1951) III, 2 192.
11. *Ibid.* 186-187.
12. M. P. Masson, *La Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1936) III, 745.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Étienne Mazenod, a native of Saint-Chaumont, and an apothecary, was brought to Marseilles by his uncle, François Mazenod, who had settled there before 1559 and had married Laynette Montagne, who was of German extraction. Her father, Hans Montagne, was a locksmith and smelter of bombs. "Étienne Mazenod married Laynette's niece, Madeleine Montagne, daughter of Jacques Montagne who, as a bombardier became famous because of his skill during the two sieges waged against Marseilles by the *Imperials* in 1524 and 1536." (Pierre Bertas, *fiches manuscrites, dossier Mazenod, Marseille, Arch. communales, Fonds Bertas, 223*). Étienne Mazenod made his last will and testament, November 14, 1564. Marseille, Arch. dép. Fonds Marie Ferraud, 380, E 41, fol. 382sq.

15. *Consul*: The name given to two officials who represented the executive power in a given city or municipal government. They were chosen each year and were known as "First Consul" and "Second Consul." At the time specified here, Charles Mazenod was Second Consul.
16. *Seigneurie*: A term implying ownership of land plus the right of being called "Seigneur." Any noble who lacked a seigneurie was considered a noble of inferior rank.
17. J. Billioud, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, III, 209. The Lordship de Beaupré belonged to the territory of Signes (today, the Département of Var) in the diocese of Marseilles.
18. *Ibid.* 208.
19. *Nobility of the Sword*: The highest rank of nobility. It was so called because its members were entitled to wear a sword. It was the genuine aristocracy of France before the Revolution.
20. Charles-Alexandre served in the first company of the Musketeer Cavalry from May 3, 1735 to June 25, 1739. Cf. sworn testimony of the Marquis de Jumilhac, capitaine-lieutenant. Aix, Méjanes, B. 51.
21. *Nobility of the Robe*: A rank of nobility lower than that of the sword but still part of the genuine aristocracy in the eighteenth century.
22. Aix, Arch. de l'Université, Régistre des actes des gradués, 17, fol. 540<sup>v</sup> and 542<sup>v</sup>.
23. M. P. Masson, *La Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I, 68. *The Livre de raison* of Charles-Alexandre, begun in 1754 informs us that the office of president brought fixed wages paid by the King, as well as perquisites which were distributed four times a year.  
 According to L. Wolff (*Le Parlement de Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Aix, 1920, pp. 228, 233) the wages represented the revenue from capital laid out in the purchase of the office. They were taken from the salt tax treasury and paid out very irregularly; the office-holders did not collect the whole of it since their wages were not exempt either from the head tax or from the two sous tax that was levied upon each livre earned during the year. Between 1752 and 1760, Charles-Alexandre received a yearly wage of 1,522 livres, 16 sous. In 1775, his yearly wage amounted to 1,553 livres, and in 1776, it rose to 1,602 livres, 3 sous. As for the perquisites, they consisted of a share in the fees paid by litigants to the clerk of court and divided among the magistrates by the said clerk. They consisted also of a share of the remuneration made for their assistances and appearances. Added to these were the monies paid by the national treasurers and by the agents appointed to collect the salt tax. From 1752 to 1778, Charles-Alexandre's perquisites varied annually between 1,274 livres and 2,604. The highest amount of his total revenue for any one year was 3,900 livres, in 1778. (Cf. *Livre de raison* of Charles-Alexandre de Mazenod, begun in 1754. Fol. 134 and 156. Aix, Méjanes, B. 49.)
24. The same *livre de raison* of Charles-Alexandre gives us information regarding his mode of living and his domestic staff. While a housekeeper, cook and maid took care of the general household duties, the members of the family, that is to say, M. de Mazenod the father and his wife,

and M. de Mazenod the son and his wife, each had two personal servants. For the ladies a chambermaid and a personal maid, and for each of the men a footman and a valet. Beginning in 1779, a governess was employed for the children. The cook's wages between 1775 and 1790 went from 150 livres to 250 a year; the maids' wages rose from 30 to 75 livres. The male staff received a set wage of 90 livres and the wages of the other women-servants remained at 75 livres. In 1789, the total amount of wages paid was 970 livres. It was a very unstable personnel except for the servants attached to Madame de Mazenod and her daughter-in-law. From 1755 to 1790, 22 cooks and 31 serving girls came and went.

25. *Particularism*: A composite of several things: dogmas, privileges, exemptions and prejudices of a class or of a province, jealousy maintained. It was often a cause of conflict between the king or the royal government and the nobles of a certain province; sometimes even between the entire class of the nobility and the king or his government. It was so-called because it was peculiar to a class whose members boasted of the *particle* "de" before their family name; e.g., *de* Mazenod. Much of the particularism of a province sprang from an ancient constitution of that particular province; e.g., the Constitution of Provence.
26. *Commendatory or Court Abbés*: The title given to those who, although they were not members of the clergy, had the right to the use and enjoyment of the profits of an Abbey provided they did not impair its substance.
27. Charles-Alexandre paid a life annuity of 300 livres to his aunt, a nun of the Presentation. This continued until August 25, 1761, the date of her death. He established the same annuity for his sister Anne-Blanche, the Benedictine, until her death in 1765. (Cf. *Livre de raison*, fol. 185-186. Aix, Méjanes, B. 49.)
28. Paul Ardouin, *Le Jansenisme en Basse-Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup>. La Bulle Unigenitus dans les diocèses d'Aix, Arles, Marseille, Frejus, Toulon (1713-1789)*. (Marseille 1936) I, 9.
29. *Semi-Pelagians*: Semi-pelagianism was a teaching first put forward by Cassian, Abbot of Saint Victor at Marseilles, in the fifth century. It amounted to a compromise between the orthodox teachings of the Church on grace and salvation and those of the Pelagians who held that there was no such thing as original sin and that man does not need grace because the will of itself can avoid sin and merit heaven.
30. *Ibid.* 8.
31. *Molinism and Molinosism*: *Molinism*, first scientifically developed by the Spanish Jesuit, de Molina, purported to reconcile grace and free will. It sought the ultimate solution of the difficulty in the created free will but precisely as prepared and assisted by Divine Grace; *Molinosism* was a system propounded by Molinos, the founder of Quietism. He taught interior annihilation as the means of obtaining purity of soul and perfect contemplation and peace. He also taught that impurity is not sinful insofar as the sensual man, instigated by the devil, is concerned.

32. *Ibid.* 9.
33. *Augustinus*: The theological tract which gave birth to Jansenism and in which the Jansenists developed doctrines taken from Saint Augustine regarding grace, free will and predestination. Its main teachings were: 1) Human nature has been radically corrupted by Original Sin; 2) Man, not being free to resist either the delights of grace or those of concupiscence, does good or evil irresistibly (although he wills it), according as he is dominated by grace or by concupiscence; 3) Christ did not die for all but only for those who are predestined for salvation; 4) The sacraments can be received only after long and severe preparation; 5) God should always be addressed with fear and trembling.
34. *Ibid.*
35. H. Brémond, *La Provence Mystique* 5-6.
36. E. Ripert, *La Provence* (Paris 1929) Coll. Les Provinces françaises 83.
37. P. Ardouin, *Le Jansenisme en Basse-Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* I, 10.
38. E. Ripert, *La Provence* 83.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Port-Royal*: Originally, a Benedictine Abbey for women at Chevreuse, near Versailles. It later became (seventeenth century) a fortress and center of Jansenism. The original Port-Royal was known as the *Abbaye des Champs*. Another Port-Royal was established at Paris, but it is of the first that the author speaks here.
41. *Gallicanism*: A body of doctrines which found particular favor in the French (Gallican) Church, and which tended to limit the power of the Pope in favor of the French bishops. It also unduly extended the power of the State over ecclesiastical affairs. It was particularly strong in France before, during and immediately after the Revolution.
42. Bourgoing de Villefore, *Anecdotes ou Mémoires secrets sur la Constitution Unigenitus* (Utrecht 1732) II, 137.
43. P. Ardouin, *Le Jansenisme en Basse-Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II, 89.
44. *Correspondance de M<sup>sr</sup> de Belsunce* (Marseille 1911) 235, note 1.
45. Bishop de Belsunce to Abbé de Gay, November 20, 1722. *Id.*, p. 235.
46. *Ibid.* December 26, 1722, 236.
47. *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Constitution Unigenitus*, année 1737, p. 177, n<sup>o</sup> of November 9.
48. *Unigenitus Constitution*: So called because the first word of the Papal Bull condemning Jansenism is *Unigenitus*. Not only did it condemn certain doctrines of the Jansenists as heretical, but it became a central incident in the struggle between the Church and the French government over the Gallican "Liberties," i.e., that the French hierarchy was not subject to the Pope in disciplinary matters.
49. Bishop de Belsunce to M. des Galois de la Tour, May 18, 1737. *Correspondance de M<sup>sr</sup> de Belsunce*, 342-343.
50. *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, année 1737, 177, n<sup>o</sup> of November 9.
51. Bishop de Belsunce to Galois de la Tour, May 18, 1737. *Correspondance de M<sup>sr</sup> de Belsunce*, 343-344. *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, année 1737, 177.
52. Bishop de Belsunce to Galois de la Tour, May 18, 1737. *Correspondance de M<sup>sr</sup> de Belsunce*, p. 344.

53. *Ibid.*
54. P. Ardouin, *Le Jansenisme en Basse-Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II, 89.
55. *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* for the year 1738, p. 175, November 4 issue. Cf. also the year 1737, p. 190, November 30 issue.
56. Abbaye des Champs: Cf. note 40.
57. *Cordicoles*: Those who practiced devotion to the Sacred Heart.
58. Rey, I, 8—He was continued in office as vicar general by Bishop de Belloy, on September 10, 1775.
59. Jacques Casanova, *Mémoires*, Raoul Vèze, Paris, 1931-35, XI, 145. The testimony of historians regarding the personality of Alexandre de Boyer, the Marquis d'Éguilles, is contradictory. "With his odd character," wrote M. Bouyala d'Arnaud in conclusion, he seemed "like someone out of a fictional biography" whose virtues come so close to being faults that it is impossible to say which they are. "And so it is that one is never able to take certain people seriously because a mischievous sprite has dropped a grain of whimsy and a grain of smugness into their natures without seasoning them with a further grain of good humor, and that always produces a puffed-up individual." (A. Bouyala d'Arnaud, *Un gentilhomme provençal au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; le marquis d'Éguilles*, found in *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, II, 59ff.)
60. *Lay Jesuit*: This name, which, in French is *Jesuite de robe courte* (short-robed Jesuit) was first given to the boarding students of the Jesuits because they wore a robe similar to the Jesuits but one which came only down to the knees. Later, the name was given to those laymen who helped the Jesuits in temporal matters. J. Casanova, *Mémoires* XI, 145.
61. J. Casanova, *Mémoires* XI, 146.
62. P. Ardouin, *Le Jansenisme en Basse-Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II, 288.
63. Paul Cottin, *Un protégé de Bachaumont. Correspondance inédite du marquis d'Éguilles (1745-1748)* (Paris 1887) cx.
64. *Fronde*: The civil war which took place in France during the minority of Louis XIV between those at Court (Anne of Austria, Cardinal Mazarin) and Parliament. There were two phases of the Fronde: one called "the old Fronde" (1648-1649) and the second called "the young Fronde" (1649-1653). It is of the latter that the author speaks here.
65. *First President*: The head or one of the heads of an assembly such as Parliament, or of one of the sovereign courts.
66. Abbé Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence* (Paris 1776-1786) IV, 536.
67. Jacob-Nicolas Moreau, *Mes Souvenirs (1717-1797)* (Paris 1898-1901) I, 273.
68. Paul Gaffarel, *La Fronde de Provence* found in *Revue historique*, V, for the year 1877, 36.
69. Provençal dialect for, "Long live the King; draw your sabres."
70. *Ibid.* 38.
71. *Ibid.* 39.
72. Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence*, IV, 538.
73. Canons J. H. Albanès and U. Chevalier, *Gallia Christiana novissima*.—

- Histoire des Archévêches, Évêches, et Abbayes de France* (Valence, 1899-1920) II, Marseille, col. 669, n° 1068.
74. Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence*, IV, 557.
  75. *Ibid.*
  76. *Ibid.* 568.
  77. *Ibid.* 587.
  78. *Ibid.* 589.
  79. *Ibid.*
  80. *Ibid.*
  81. *Ibid.* 592.
  82. *Commune*: a territorial division administered by a mayor, assisted by a municipal council.
  83. A. Fabre, *Les Rues de Marseille* (Marseille 1867-1869) II, 443.
  84. *Ibid.* I, 183.
  85. J. N. Moreau, *Mes Souvenirs* I, 119. Regarding the opposition between Parliament and the Court of Accounts, see J. Viguier, *Les debuts de la Révolution en Provence* (Paris 1895) 328-332.
  86. *Ibid.* I, 111.
  87. *Ibid.*
  88. *Ibid.* 119.
  89. *Ibid.* 119-120.
  90. *Ibid.* 122-123.
  91. *Ibid.* 123.
  92. Anti-Molinism: Cf. note 31.
  93. M. P. Masson, *La Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup>* II, 477.
  94. *Ibid.* P. Ardouin, *Le Jansenisme en Basse-Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup>* II, 101.
  95. According to the record of receipts kept by the Collège Bourbon at Aix, and the record of receipts of the Collège Chauvet of Marseilles, Aix, Méjanès, B. 51.
  96. *Gregoire*: Bishop Henri Gregoire who became head of the Constitutional Church and took the forbidden oath before the Revolutionary Constituent Assembly.
  97. E. Méchin, *Annales du Collège Royal Bourbon d'Aix* (Aix 1892) III, 458. *Soluta oratio* and *stricta oratio* designate *prose* and *poetry* respectively.
  98. *Ibid.* 469-471.
  99. *Ibid.* 174.
  100. Aix, Arch. de l'Université, *Registre des Actes des Gradués*, n° 18, fol. 1077 and 1143, record of June 20, 1763 and June 16, 1764. On June 27, 1764, Charles-Antoine was among the candidate lawyers allowed to plead before Parliament. Aix, Méjanès, B. 79.
  101. Charles-Antoine did not purchase his office. His father, Charles-Alexandre through an agreement with Madame de la Roquette, October 13, 1770, contracted to cede his own office as president in due time to this widow's son. By virtue of this agreement Charles-Antoine succeeded the deceased M. de la Roquette, President of the Court of Accounts, and both he and his father sat in Parliament at the same time. (Copy of this agreement is at Aix, Méjanès, B. 79.) As things turned out, when

Charles-Alexandre, stricken by total blindness, was forced to resign in 1777, his office did not pass on to the son of Madame de la Roquette, but to Pierre-Jean Boyer, a son of the Marquis d'Eguilles, the latter being a friend of Charles-Alexandre.

102. This decree of February 23, 1771, wrought radical changes. The magistrates, who no longer had to purchase their offices, became public servants, immovable of course, but named by the king and paid by the State. Through the abolition of fees, justice became gratuitous. The new system was short lived. Louis XV's demise almost immediately brought about the fall of Maupeou, and Louis XVI, urged on by his close advisors, quickly re-established the old Parliaments in November, 1774. Charles-Alexandre and Charles-Antoine, after being Presidents *a mortier* for three years, then resumed their former positions at the Court of Accounts.
103. *a mortier*: a rise in dignity for a president of Parliament and one which entitled him to wear the mortar cap, which was a round cap of black velvet flat on top and shaped like a mortar bowl. When Charles-Alexandre and Charles-Antoine became presidents *à mortier* of the Maupeou Parliament, they were entitled to wear their mortar caps of the magistracy in the sessions of that new parliament.
104. Aix, University Archives, *Registre des Actes des Gradués*, n° 13, fol. 309.
105. *Ibid.* *Registre des délibérations*, n° 100, fol. 183v.
106. *Ibid.* *Registre des Actes des Gradués*, n° 17, fol. 213, 241, 252.
107. *Ibid.* *Registre des délibérations*, n° 101, fol. 236. François Joannis, elder brother of Joseph-Thomas, after completing his law studies, became a practicing lawyer; he died ten years before the Revolution, at the age of 68. Another brother, Jean-Baptiste, born in 1720, entered the Doctrinaire novitiate in Avignon when he was seventeen years of age. His dimissorial letters for the diaconate and priesthood bear the date of December 13, 1752. We have three of his notebooks from a course in physics which he taught in 1756-1757. His sermon notes show that he preached missions from 1752 to 1755, and from 1757 to 1771, at Cavaillon, Orange, Gap, and Mende. "For more than twelve years" afterwards, he was Pastor of Saint Jean du Faubourg at Aix, and then retired to Cavaillon in 1788. It was there that, after taking the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy as Chaplain of the Hospital, he retracted it on October 16, 1795, in the presence of four witnesses "as contrary to the discipline of the Church and its dogma, in obedience to the command of the Sovereign Pontiff in his Brief of April 13, 1791." He died at Aix, November 30, 1800. (For those documents see Aix-Mejanes, B 3, B 4.)

Of the daughters of Jean-Baptiste Joannis, one of them, Françoise, was a religious at the convent of Saint Elizabeth at l'Isle-sur-Sorgues (Vaucluse); another, Marie, married sieur Roze of the same locality and bore him a son, François-Joseph Roze called Joannis, who later became the confidant and advisor of his cousin, Mme. de Mazenod.

108. Aix, Arch. dép., 303 E 495, fol. 683-691.
109. *Ibid.* fol. 690v-691.

110. M. P. Masson, *La Provence Mystique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. II, 422.
111. *Ibid.*
112. These two portraits are now at the Boisselin home at Aix-en-Provence.
113. In 1804, the president explained to his son Eugene the enormous task he had undertaken: "I had in mind several large works all relative to our province . . . the first of which was a history of the disputes which had troubled the various tribunals of our region, namely, Parliament, the Court of Accounts and the Court of Aids, the Treasurers of France, the Lieutenants of the Seneschal's Courts. . . . In giving the history of these disputes, my aim was to throw light on the facts, to make known whatever decisions the Kings had made in these disputes, and to determine the limits of each tribunal's jurisdiction, so that any future dissension could be avoided and a general agreement attained. The titles of these works were to be: (1) The Court of Accounts and Parliament; (2) *The Court of Accounts and the Treasurers of France*; (3) *The Court of Accounts and the Bailey-Courts or Seneschals*. I had already had 3 volumes bound in-folio which were entitled *The Court of Accounts and Parliament*. These three volumes were to have been followed by several others so that the history of these disputes might be completed down to the present day. . . . The first of these would have amounted to at least ten or twelve volumes in-folio." (Letter of the president to his son, November 15, 1804. Aix, Méjanes, B. 69.) "The second . . . was to have been a compilation of all the deliberation of the States of Provence. To accomplish this, I decided to spend my mornings and evenings for more than a year in the provincial archives at the City Hall, making both a summary and an exact transcription of all these deliberations. The result of all this was a very large stack of notebooks written in longhand. You will find these notebooks tied with a string and you will find in them all the deliberations that were made since about 1530. It would have been an admirable and unique collection and would have been continued from 1100 down to our own day. . . . I tore many a register to shreds. . . . I flattered myself that with work, time and patience I would have completed my project. But, the Revolution made it impossible." (Letter of December 6, 1804. *Ibid.*) What remains of these works of President de Mazenod has been preserved in the Arbaud Museum and in the Méjanes Library at Aix-en-Provence. Thanks to them, we have copies of documents that were destroyed "under the Reign of Terror." The registers of the Court of Accounts "especially the older ones made of parchment, were turned into cartridges for the army over a period of six months. The loss is absolutely irreparable," wrote the president to his son, November 15, 1804. (*Ibid.*) Certain of these registers dated back to the year 1000 A.D.

### Chapter Two

1. Marcel Provence, *Le Cours Mirabeau* (Aix 1953) 178.
2. This domestic (the term is used here in its best sense) was the widow Anne Feraud whom Eugene and his sister affectionately called "Big

- Nanon." She died at Palermo, on March 30, 1811; she had entered the employ of the Mazenods as a chambermaid, February 19, 1783 and accompanied them into exile.
3. Taken from Eugene de Mazenod's notes on his character, 1808. Rome, Post., DM-4.
  4. The president wrote to his daughter: "If you resemble me, as I have been assured you do, you must have a kind heart and a certain amount of intelligence, but at the same time, you must also be prompt and strong-willed. On the other hand, these same characteristics of vivacity, promptness and strong-will, if not checked, become a source of displeasure to those whom one loves the most and by whom one is most loved. They also become a source of chagrin to the one who possesses them. I know this only too well from my own many sad experiences and I have much for which to reproach myself in this regard . . ." (M. de Mazenod to his daughter, November 27, 1801, *ibid.*, FB 1-4).
  5. Letter of Eugene de Mazenod to his mother, March 31, 1811. St. Martin M 1.
  6. Marcel Provence, *Le Cours Mirabeau* 183.
  7. The reforms proposed by Calonne were of a fiscal and administrative nature. To remedy the treasury deficit, the minister planned to substitute a territorial subsidy for the "vingtième" or the income tax. This territorial subsidy was to be a tax levied in proportion to the revenues received from lands. It allowed for no exemptions and, therefore hit the privileged classes, that is, the nobility and the clergy. Calonne further proposed, as a means of bringing the king's subjects into a greater participation in the administrative branch of the government, that advisory assemblies be instituted in places where elections were held. These assemblies would be known as municipal, district and provincial assemblies, all elected by property-owners without any distinction as to order. Since these reforms were sure to come up against deadly opposition on the part of parliaments which would refuse to register the edicts (a necessary condition for their being carried out), Calonne took his case to an assembly of notables, that is, the more influential personages of the kingdom, under the delusion that the latter would approve his plan. Instead, the notables rejected the territorial subsidy which infringed upon their privileges; with equal determination they also refused to admit property-owners to vote without distinction of order in the municipal, district and provincial assemblies. Calonne was then forced to resign. Brienne who had brought about his downfall and succeeded him in office also tried to have the same reforms accepted by the notables, but he fared no better than his predecessor. Consequently he was forced to request parliament to register the royal edicts concerning these reforms. The frenzied opposition of the sovereign courts brought about their adjournment *sine die* May 8, 1788. Along with the adjournment, it also brought about judiciary reforms which curtailed the authority of the said courts. However, supported by the high clergy, the aristocracy and the mobs they had stirred up, the parliaments defeated Brienne and he, too, was dismissed from office, August 24. He

- was replaced by Necker who withdrew the edicts Brienne had proclaimed on May 8 and then re-instated the parliaments. Hostile to reforms, the aristocracy had actually won out over the authority of the king who then found himself forced to convoke the States-General. In regard to all this matter, cf., A. Mathiez, *La Révolution française* (Paris 1954) I, chap. 2; G. Lefebvre, *La Révolution Aristocratique* Cours de Sorbonne (Paris n.d.).
8. Charles de Ribbe, *Pascalis, Étude sur la fin de la Constitution provençale (1787-1790)* (Paris 1854) 119.
  9. *Ibid.* 119-120.
  10. Georges Guibal, *Mirabeau et la Provence en 1789* (Paris 1887) 37.
  11. *Ibid.*
  12. *Ibid.*
  13. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 120.
  14. *Ibid.* 121.
  15. *Ibid.* 122.
  16. *Ibid.* 122.
  17. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau* 37.
  18. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 122, n. 1.
  19. *Ibid.* 122.
  20. Pascalis demanded: 1) the gathering of an assembly that would truthfully represent the three Orders of Provence, since, in the States of Provence, neither the non-fieffed nobles nor the lower clergy was represented, and the communities were insufficiently represented; 2) the abolition of tax exemptions. D'André, Counsellor to Parliament, and de Levesque a former president of the Court of Accounts, who had taken over the leadership of the non-fieffed nobles, pressed for recognition of the third estate's demands. See J. Egret, *La Prérévolution en Provence, 1787-1789*, found in *Annales historiques de la révolution française*, 26 (1954) 101, 111-113. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* Chap. VI. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau* Chap. I.
  21. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau* 144. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 149-150.
  22. Using the *Journal du Parlement*, kept by Fauris de St. Vincent, as his authority, Ch. de Ribbe writes concerning M. de Mazenod and the part he played at the gathering of the States in 1788: "This man showed himself to be especially well-versed in the study of law and of the Provençal constitutions." (*Pascalis* 87.)
  23. Two hundred and five fieffed nobles showed the necessary credentials for admission to the States of Provence of 1788. (Cf. G. de Montgrand's *Liste des gentilshommes de Provence qui ont fait leurs preuves de noblesse pour avoir entrée aux États tenus à Aix de 1787 à 1789 . . . d'après les procès-verbaux officiels*. Marseilles, 1860.
  24. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau* 17, 38. The Provençal constitution based the administration of Provence upon three hierarchical bodies: the community council of each parish chosen, as were the consuls, by all the inhabitants; over the community councils were the viguier councils which acted as intermediaries between the community councils and the States. These vigueries or provost councils were 22 in number; added

- to them were the viguerie councils called "adjacent lands," e.g., Marseilles and Arles. Their deputies had the right to be present at the assemblies of the States but were not entitled to vote. The viguerie councils were made up of the first consul-mayors from each community and were presided over by the first-consul mayor from the principal town of the county. Finally, the States of Provence formed the high municipal council of the province. "From the time the States were suspended (1639), all administrative power," wrote Pascalis, "and all jurisdiction over cases affecting national freedom were concentrated in the general assemblies" of communities that were held at Lambesc. These assemblies were made up of the archbishop, the procurator-né; six assistant procurators from the three orders, the first-consul, the assessor and the second-consul of Aix, and deputies from the 36 communities. While the States had been, as J. Egret expresses it, "the stronghold of the aristocracy" (*La Prérévolution en Provence* found in *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 26<sup>e</sup> année, 98) the general assemblies of the communities were, on the contrary, dominated by the third estate. The general assemblies deliberated, voted taxes but could not interfere with the affairs of the province. The executive power was invested in a group composed of the consuls of Aix, the fiefed-noble attorneys of Provence, the archbishop and the assessor, a sort of attorney-general of the States. The last named was generally chosen from among the former lawyers of the parliament. The lawyer Pascalis was the assessor in 1887. Regarding these institutions of Provence, see; Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis. Étude sur la fin de la Constitution provençale*, Chap. II; M. Raoul Busquet, *Les Bouches du Rhône, Encyclopédie départementale* published under the direction of P. Masson, III, *Les Temps Modernes* (1482-1789). (Marseilles 1921) 448ff.
25. The Province of Dauphiné had been stirred up to support the Parliament of Grenoble (its principal city), and, on June 7, known as the "day of the tiles," the revolt broke out at Grenoble to prevent the dissolution of its parliament. A central committee, led by Mounier and Barnave, demanded the restoration of the States of Dauphiné and for that purpose convoked a preparatory assembly which Marshall de Vaulx, the Commandant of the province, authorized. In this Assembly which gathered at Vizille, in the chateau of Claude Perier, July 21, the clergy, aristocracy, and third estate agreed to modify the traditional framework of the States of Dauphiné to the advantage of the third estate which, from then on, had twice the traditional number of representatives. The third estate of Provence wanted to have the States of Provence follow Dauphiné's example. When those States were re-established in 1788, Pascalis had already demanded that the third estate should have 60 deputies in the States, as against 16 of the Clergy and 30 of the Nobility. (Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 88.) Regarding the Assembly at Vizille, see J. Egret, *Le Parlement de Dauphiné et les Affaires Publiques dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Grenoble, 1942, II, *Le Parlement et la Révolution Dauphinoise*, 281-296.
26. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 159.

27. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau* 51.
28. *Ibid.* 109.
29. J. Égret, *La prérévolution en Provence, Annales historiques de la rév. française* 26 (1954) 119.
30. *Ibid.* 119.
31. *Ibid.* 122
32. Fauris de Saint-Vincent, *Journal du parlement de Provence* 569, Aix, Méjanes, ms. 1037. In a mémoire concerning his father, composed in 1815 and referred to by him in a letter to the president on December 3 of the same year, Eugene recalled a remark made by M. Julien, a professor of law at the Faculty of Aix before the Revolution: "When they mentioned President de Mazenod's name to him, he remarked that de Mazenod was the most level-headed man in the magistracy." (Eugene to his father, December 3, 1815. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.) On one occasion, in the year 1804, the president himself had confided to Eugene with a touch of bitterness, "I know my strong points and my weak points and with no desire to humble or exalt myself unreasonably, I know that with brain and memory, with right and sound judgment, with a great deal of clear ideas, honesty and goodness of heart, a great aptitude for my profession, and with everything strengthened by a good education, excellent studies and extensive reading, I possessed whatever was needed for doing many things and for doing them well; and I marvel that I advanced so far in my career without having done anything. That is due, no doubt, to circumstances which, as one writer expressed it, always make man their plaything." (M. de Mazenod to Eugene, October 4, 1804, *ibid.*)
33. Jules Viguier, *La convocation des États généraux en Provence* (Paris 1896) 45-46. Cf. also 42-43.
34. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 175-176.  
J. Viguier, *La convocation des États-généraux en Provence*, 75-78.
35. Wrote the president to his son: "If you should come across any of the printed memoirs which I composed at the time of my deputation to the States-General, send them to me." (M. de Mazenod to Eugene, August 1, 1814. Aix Méjanes, B. 69.)
36. Marseilles, Arch. dép., C 111, fol. 319. Quoted by J. Viguier, *La convocation des États généraux en Provence*, 85. Regarding all these facts, see 71-88.
37. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau* 141-150, 202, 277.
38. *Ibid.* 277.
39. J. Égret, "La prérévolution en Provence," *Annales historiques de la révolution française*, 26 (1954) 124.
40. Memorandum of the fief-possessing nobles transmitted to Louis XVI, April 9 by the Duke de Bourbon. Quoted by J. Viguier, *La convocation des États généraux en Provence*, 90.
41. A bequest from the Duke de Villars had enabled the college "to acquire a botanical garden," in 1786. E. Méchin, *Annales du Collège Royal Bourbon d'Aix* (Aix 1892) III, 397. Certain programs of formal assemblies for the distribution of prizes inform us that to the rhetoric course

- were added courses in cosmography, natural history (*Ibid.* 483, 490) modern history divided into 10 periods, even local history under the guise of "historical eulogy for the illustrious men which the city of Aix has produced." (*Ibid.* 491.) We should point out, however, that natural history was given a certain poetic and apologetic treatment: "Is God less admirable in His creation of plants and fruits than in His creation of the heavens? Do the appearance, use and taste of plants proclaim a Sovereign Providence? . . . Does not the variety of flowers deserve our admiration? Is that of fruits any less worthy of it? . . . What is particularly noticeable about the structure and multiplicity of fish? Do the variety, songs, and plumage of birds merit particular attention? . . . In which animals do we find a greater similarity to human reason?" And finally, "What do you notice particularly about *formicaleo*?" Such were the principal questions which the MM. Bompuis, Pomier, and de Saint-Pierre had to answer in their jousts with French eloquence of the "demonstrative variety," while students of rhetoric at the Royal Collège Bourbon of Aix, under the direction of the Priests of Christian Doctrine, August 20, 1776. (*Ibid.* 490-491.)
42. According to the report made by the Provincial Visitors in 1789 and 1790, and entered into the *Livre du Coffre; Recette*, fol. 107 and 113<sup>v</sup>. (Marseille, Arch. dép., D 10) and also entered into the record book of the deliberations carried on by the Chapters. (*Ibid.* 19, H 2.)
  43. Father Colomier's report of May 18, 1790, recorded in the *Livre du Coffre; Recette*, fol. 113<sup>v</sup>, Marseilles, Arch. dép., D 10.
  44. Report of August 7, 1789, fol. 107, *ibid.*
  45. The treasurer's account book reveals that on April 18, 1789, the same day on which Eugene de Mazenod entered the Collège Bourbon, 111 livres were paid for the first quarter of his boarding expenses. (fol. 105, *ibid.*) The memory prize he received on August 12, 1789, was a brief biography entitled, *Le Modele des jeunes gens*, written by Claude le Pelletier de Sousi, a philosophy student at the University of Paris and published in 1789 by the Abbé Proyart according to the Mémoires preserved at the Saint-Sulpice Seminary and made known by Father Emery.
  46. G. Lefebvre and A. Terroine, *Recueil de documents relatifs aux Séances des États généraux* (Paris 1953) I, 106.
  47. J. Viguier, *La Convocation des États généraux en Provence* 92.
  48. *Réponse au mémoire concernant les titres et les faits relatifs à la députation de la Noblesse de Provence* (1789) 11 and 18.
  49. Bouche to the commissioners from the communes of Provence. Versailles, May 31, 1789, quoted by J. Viguier, *La Convocation des États généraux en Provence* 92, n. 2. For his part, Bouche published a reply to the fief-possessing nobles: *Question soumise à la décision des États généraux, ou réponse au mémoire de Louis-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon-Condé, duc de Bourbon, prince du sang, des marquis de Janson, de Grimaldi, de Sabran, du conte de Sade, des présidents de Lauris, de Jouques, et de Mazenod, se disant députés de la Noblesse de Provence*. Versailles, 1789. Mirabeau also raked them over the coals in the first

issue of the leaflets he hurled at the public under the title, *États généraux*, and gave a detailed report of the whole affair.

50. J. Viguier, *La Convocation des États généraux en Provence* 92.
51. Bouche to the Commissioners of the Communes, Versailles, July 18, 1789; quoted by J. Viguier, *La Convocation des États généraux en Provence* 93.
52. *Ibid.*
53. For a discussion on the mentality of the Provençal aristocracy, see *Les Bouches-du-Rhône, Encyclopédie départementale, III, Les Temps modernes* (1482-1789), 854-855.

### Chapter Three

1. Printed at Aix, Mourret Brothers, in 1789.
2. G. Lefebvre, *La Grande Peur de 1789* (Paris 1932) 215.
3. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis*, relevant paper, n° 10, 308-310.
4. Jules Viguier, *Les débuts de la Révolution en Provence* (Paris 1895) 109.
5. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 219-220.
6. J. Viguier, *Les débuts de la Révolution en Provence* 49.
7. R. Busquet and J. Fournier, *Les Bouches-du-Rhône. Encyclopédie départementale, V, La Vie politique et administrative* (Marseille 1929) 6.
8. *Ibid.* 8.
9. *Ibid.* 9-10.
10. *Lettre du clergé séculier et régulier de la ville d'Aix à M<sup>sr</sup> l'archevêque d'Aix, député à l'Assemblée nationale*, April 21, 1790 (Aix, Calmen, 1790).
11. *Profession des religieux de la ville d'Aix, adressée à MM. les maire et Officiers municipaux de la même ville*. June 20, 1790 (Aix, Adibert, 1790). *Serment civique de MM. les Curés et Vicaires des paroisses de la ville d'Aix*, June 21, 1790. This oath was preceded by a statement made by M. Tardieu, assistant priest at the Church of the Madeleine, in the name of all the signers.
12. *Rétractation des Prêtres du Collège Bourbon, qui ont signé la lettre du Clergé séculier de la ville d'Aix à M<sup>sr</sup> l'archevêque, en date du 21 avril*. June 21, 1790. Aix, adibert, 1790.
13. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 253-254.
14. E. Méchin, *Annales du Collège Royal Bourbon d'Aix*, III, 406-407.
15. *Ibid.* 408.
16. *Ibid.* 409-411.
17. Also hit by the decree of September 7, 1790, the Courts of Accounts definitively disappeared only with the decree of July 4, 1791; as a matter of fact, it was necessary to provide beforehand for a new system of bookkeeping. Cf. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 321.
18. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 246.
19. G. Guibal, *Mirabeau et la Provence. Deuxième partie, du 5 mai, 1789 au 4 avril 1791*. (Paris 1891) 375-380.

20. J. Viguier, *Les debuts de la Révolution en Provence* 145-154.  
Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 254-255, 259-260.  
G. Guibal, *Mirabeau et la Provence, Deuxième partie* 380-387.
21. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 264.  
G. Guibal, *Mirabeau et la Provence, Deuxième partie* 390.
22. *Ibid.* 390-391.
23. Report made by the King's agents, February 23, 1791. Paris, Arch. Nat., F<sup>7</sup> 3659-1 n<sup>o</sup> 318.  
G. Guibal, *Mirabeau et la Provence. Deuxième partie* 395-399.  
Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 266-267.
24. *Ibid.* 271.
25. *Procédure prise par le Tribunal du district d'Aix sur les plaintes rendues par M. l'accusateur public, querellant en séditions, voies de fait et Contre-Révolution, d'après les événements arrivés dans la dite ville le 12 décembre 1790.* Aix, Mourret, 1791, 25-26  
G. Guibal, *Mirabeau et la Provence, Deuxième partie* 404.
26. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 271.
27. *Ibid.* 256.
28. *Procédure prise par le Tribunal . . .*, 95, 102.
29. His interrogation did not figure in the proceedings. Of all the accused non-members of the Lyonnais Regiment, the only one to appear at the enquiry was sieur Duveyrier, an officer of the Coast Guard.
30. Aix, Hôtel Boisselin, MJ II-6.
31. Ch. de Ribbe, *Pascalis* 275. Several suspicious letters had been seized at the home of Pascalis, and among them, one from the President to Pascalis, dated the preceding October 19, dealing most likely with matters concerning the Constitution of Provence. Cf. *Procès-Verbal de paraphe-ment de onze lettres* of January 3, 1791. Marseille, Arch. dép., L 3244.
32. *Procédure prise par le Tribunal . . .*, 84. Négrel, which is located on the Saint-Maximin Road, today bears the name of Chateauneuf-le-Rouge.
33. *Procédure prise par le Tribunal . . .*, 162.
34. *Missions*, 1866, 114. Fortunately, this section of the Bishop of Marseilles' *Mémoires* which is missing today, has been published in part by Father Rey, O.M.I., in *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée* V, pp. 109ff., under the title: *Souvenirs de Famille*.
35. E. Méchin, *Annales du Collège Royal Bourbon d'Aix*, III, 415.
36. *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie du serment prête dans l'église du faubourg de cette ville par les curés de la dite paroisse et fonctionnaires chargés de l'éducation publique du collège Bourbon de cette ville d'Aix*, Marseilles, Arch. dép., L 822, 7-14.

The following signed the register: ". . . Sicard, Priest of Christian Doctrine, Principal of the College; Poulle, Priest of Christian Doctrine, Professor of Physics; Christine, Priest of Christian Doctrine; Morel, the elder, Doctrinaire, Professor of Poetry at the College; Thomassin, of Christian Doctrine, Professor at the College; Topin, Priest of Christian Doctrine, College Professor; Vincent, Doctrinaire, Professor of the fifth

- form; Benoît, Professor of fourth form; Gigognan, Professor, Doctrinaire; Carbonel, prefect of the boarding school; Dejoux, Professor, Doctrinaire; Morel, the younger, Professor of Oratory; Gaudibert, Doctrinaire; Imbert, Doctrinaire."
37. E. Méchin, *Annales du Collège Royal Bourbon d'Aix* III, 393, n. 1.
38. Georges Fleury, *La Faculté de médecine de l'Université d'Aix au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Marseille 1928) 16-17.
39. *Missions* 114. (Cf. Note 34, *supra*.) In spite of what the Bishop of Marseille himself indicated in his *Mémoires* (*ibid.*) 1791, and not 1790, must be put down as the date of his departure from Aix. The receipts register of the Collège Bourbon actually specifies that Eugene's boarding expenses for the year 1790 (424 livres) were paid in full but that only one month's expenses were paid in 1791. Thus, the child must have left the College, either at the end of January (perhaps because his teachers had taken the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy), or some time during February, 1791. (Marseille, Arch. dép., D 10, *Livre du Coffre. Recette*. 105-117.) If Holy Saturday was the day he arrived at Nice, then the date of his arrival was the 23rd and not the 3rd of April, and the date of his departure from Aix must be deferred until the 20th of that month. His uncle, the Chevalier, who came to Aix to take Eugene to Nice, was still at Aix on the Monday of Holy Week, April 18, 1791, as is evidenced by his last handwriting on the pages of his blind father's account book. (Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ III-1.) Since he was only a child at the time, the fact that it was the vigil of Easter would have impressed itself upon his mind more forcefully than any precise date. By reason of this reference to Easter, the error regarding the year caused the Bishop of Marseille to err on the exact day and month of his departure from his native city.
40. *Missions*, 114-115.
41. *Ibid.* 115. — Mme. de Mazenod, her mother and her sister, must have left Aix at the beginning of June, 1791, as the pages of President Charles-Alexandre's account book give us reason to believe. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ III-1.
42. *La Poire* was the family nickname of the Marquis Boniface-Jean-Louis-Denis de Périer, Counsellor to the Parliament of Provence and boyhood friend of M. de Mazenod. By a play on words with the Provençal meaning of the name, a pear (*poire*), adorned the family coat of arms.
43. M. de Mazenod to la Poire, August 12, 1803. Rome, Post. FB IV-1.
44. Emmanuel Vingtrinier, *La Contre-Révolution, Première période 1789-1791* (Paris 1924-25) II, 285-290.
45. M. de Mazenod to the Prince de Condé, November 28, 1791. Chantilly, Musée Condé, série Z, vol. 24, n° 67.
46. On November 9, 1791, the National Assembly had summoned the exiled French princes to return to France before January 1, 1792, failing which, they would be considered guilty of conspiracy and their possessions would then be sequestered. The property of ordinary émigrés did not become subject to sequestering until February 9, 1792. There-

- fore, in November 1791, M. de Mazenod, although an émigré could still take steps to sell his lands.
47. M. de Mazenod to the Prince de Condé, January 2, 1792. Chantilly, Musée Condé, série Z, vol. 24, n° 119. The Prince de Condé declined M. de Mazenod's offer, and his "sense of the delicate" deprived the president of the "satisfaction" he would have felt had the offer been accepted. His reply to the president caused the latter to shed "abundant tears."
  48. On the night of August 4, the nobility relinquished its fiscal privileges and feudal rights. Certain rights were abandoned without any indemnification (legal rights, honorific rights, the right to hunt and fish, the right to own doves, banalities, rights to exact manual labor, etc. . . ); others were compensatable, such as, feudal taxes, feudal rents, natural rights or rights of succession, all these being considered real rights granted to the property-owning seigneurs in exchange for tenure given the peasant who worked the land for his own benefit. Regarding the obstacles which the peasants of Provence put in the path of redeeming these real rights, see J. Viguier, *Les débuts de la Révolution en Provence*.
  49. The register which contains the statements concerning the liquidation of offices of the Court of Accounts of Provence (Aix-en-Provence, Musée Arbaud, MF 21) puts at 78,406 livres the entire value of the president's office. Of this sum, M. de Mazenod owed "to the mass of his creditors" 40,000 livres (his father had paid only half the 80,000 livres which represented the value of his office at the time he acquired it). The nation therefore owed Charles-Alexandre only 38,406 livres. On April 6, 1791, the Office of Liquidation paid them 7,407 livres in promissory notes.
  50. Rome, Post., FB IV-3 — For the year 1790 alone, principally in February and April, the president (for unknown reasons) personally borrowed 59,413 livres, and this from the year 1777 to 1789 when his debts amounted to only 52,678 livres. In other words, an average of 4,389 livres for each of these 12 years.
  51. M. de Mazenod to the Prince de Condé, November 28, 1791, and January 2, 1792. Chantilly, Musée Condé, série Z, vol. 24, n° 67 & 119.
  52. Cardinal Gerdil, born at Samoens de Faucigny in Savoy, June 23, 1718, entered the Barnabite Congregation after studying at their colleges of Thonon and d'Annecy. As Professor of Philosophy at Macerata, in 1737, and then at Casale, he dedicated a few philosophical theses to the Duke de Savoy. These, along with his two volumes against Locke, brought him to the attention of the Court of Turin. In 1739, he occupied the Chair of Philosophy at the university of that city, and five years later, that of Moral Theology. His religious superiors elected him provincial of the colleges of Savoy and Piedmont. The King of Sardinia appointed him tutor to his grandson, who became Charles Emmanuel IV. Clement XIV, having made him a cardinal *in petto*, at the Consistory of April 26, 1773, Pius VI made him consultor to the Holy Office, Bishop of Dibona and admitted him to the Sacred College on June 27, 1777. Sub-

sequently, Prefect of the Propaganda, member of almost all the Roman Congregations, Cardinal Gerdil enjoyed the highest regard in Rome. He died there on August 12, 1802. Cardinal Gerdil was a member of practically all the Academies of Italy and of several literary societies of Europe, among them, the Royal Society of London. Passionately devoted to study, indefatigable in his work, and endowed with robust health, he composed a great number of French, Italian and Latin works, admirable for their learning, good common sense, conciliatory spirit and a sincere love of truth . . ." (Hoefler, *Nouvelle Biographie générale* (Paris 1857) XX, coll. 208).

Outstanding among his scientific works were: *Éclaircissements sur la notion et la divisibilité de l'étendue géométrique, en réponse à la lettre de Monsieur Dupuis* (Turin 1741)— *Dissertation sur l'incompatibilité de l'attraction et de ses différentes lois avec les phénomènes, et sur les tuyaux capillaires* (Paris 1754). His finest work was the treatise *L'Immortalité de l'ame démontrée contre Locke et de la défense du sentiment du P. Malebranche contre ce philosophe* (Turin 1747-48) 2 vols. — Regarding education, he wrote the *Anti-Émile ou Réflexions sur la théorie et la pratique de l'éducation contre les principes de J. J. Rousseau* (Turin 1763).

53. Regarding this matter, see M. Orazio, B. Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti dal 1700 al 1825* (Rome 1925) 380-381. Father Scati negotiated with the Royal delegate the conditions for taking over the college, and Father Brucco, the Superior-General, at a meeting of his Council, approved these arrangements on August 5, 1791. (Rome, Arch. des PP. Barnabites, *Acta consultationum Praepositi Generalis*, Pars II<sup>a</sup>, 1756-1804.)
54. L. Scati, *Regolamento del Reale Collegio dei Nobili di Torino* (Turin 1791). Introduction.
55. *Ibid.* art. vi.
56. The agreement to take charge of the College entered into the *Acta Collegiorum*, XII, *Provincia Pedemontana, Acta Taurinensis Nobilium Collegii, 1792-94*, fol. 399, Rome, Archives of the Barnabite Fathers.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Regolamento*, art x.
59. *Ibid.* art. xix.
60. *Ibid.* art. ii & iii.
61. *Ibid.* art. iv.
62. *Ibid.* art. xxi.
63. *Acta Collegiorum*, XII, *Provincia Pedemontana, Acta Taurinensis Nobilium Collegii, 1792-94*, fol. 399<sup>v</sup>, Rome. Archives of the Barnabites.
64. *Missions*, 116. (Cf. note 34, *supra*.)
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.* 117.
67. This information comes from a record of his studies delivered under oath by Father Scati, March 4, 1797, in the presence of the Royal Judge Martini and legalized successively at Turin by Jacob, Chargé d'affaires of the French Republic to the Court of His Sardinian Majesty, and

- then by Aillaud Consul-General of the French Republic to Venice. Rome, Post. DM I-4.
68. Eugene to his father, May 10-13, 1803. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
69. *Missions*, 117-118. Father Rey puts this operation definitely between Eugene's First Communion and his Confirmation. (*Ibid.*) If such is the case, the sojourn of M. and Mme. de Mazenod at Turin was prolonged even after June 3. A family creditor (Beaucaire, also called Ragot, to M. de Mazenod, September 24, 1803. Rome, post., FB IV-3) referred to a letter which the president had addressed to him from Turin, June 8, 1792. Two months later, that is to say around the end of August, threatened by the approach of the revolutionary armies, the father and mother left Nice where they had returned. In September, General d'Anselme concentrated his army at the outskirts of the city and on the 29th of the month, entered it. Émigrés had been flocking to Nice, especially since the month of April; Consul Leseurre mentioned 1500 people. The number of ecclesiastics had tripled in September, going from 400 to 1200. Regarding this matter, see A. J. Rance-Bourrey, *Les émigrés français à Nice*, found in *Nice historique*, VIII, 86-91. 1906.
70. C<sup>te</sup> d'Espinchal, *Journal d'Émigration* (Paris 1912) 177-178. Also, J. Turquan, *Les femmes de l'émigration, deuxième série* (Paris 1912) 250.
71. M. de Mazenod to la Poire, August 12, 1803. Rome, Post., FB IV-1.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.* The village where the Mazenods first took refuge was Pianezza, a little more than six miles west of Turin and situated on the Dora Riparia. Cf. the president's letter to Emile Dedons, October 24, 1814. Aix, Hotel Boisgelin, MJ II-4.
74. Adrien Pascal, *Le Clergé du diocèse d'Aix pendant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Aix-en-Provence 1925) 8.
- Canon Fortuné retired to Lyons after this attempt on his life and lived there from July 15, 1791 to August 31, 1792, carrying on the diocesan administration of Aix through correspondence. Cf. *Arrêté qui relève de la déportation le citoyen Charles-Fortuné de Mazenod*, 15 fructidor, an V (September 1, 1797). Marseilles, Arch. dép., 1 Q 74.
75. In a letter to Alziari, October 1, 1796, M. de Mazenod expressed his regret that he no longer benefited from the generosity of a princess whom he did not name specifically. His brother Fortuné, however, revealed in a letter written much later, in 1818, that it was the "Countess d'Artois from whom aid was received." (Fortuné to the President, December 14, 1818. Rome, Post., FB V-3.)
76. M. de Mazenod to Alziari, October 1, 1796. Aix, Méjanès, B 72.

#### Chapter Four

1. G. Lefebvre, *La Révolution française*, Coll. Peuples et civilisations, XIII (Paris 1951) 413.
2. A communication sent to Citizen Commissar of Foreign Relations by the Plenipotentiary Minister of the French Republic to the Republic

- of Venice, 28 floréal, an II (May 17, 1794). Paris, Arch. Aff. Étrang., Correspondence politique, Venice, vol. 251, fol. 181. Massena had occupied the Tende Pass May 9. (G. Fabry, *Histoire de la campagne de 1794 en Italie* (Paris 1905) I, CDII.)
3. M. de Mazenod to la Poire, August 12, 1803, Rome, Post., FB IV-1.
  4. *Missions*, 119.
  5. The State Inquisitors of Venice to the Representative of Venice at Turin, December 9, 1793. Venice, Archivio di Stato, B 172, doc. 216.
  6. Note from the Representative of Sardinia at Venice, passed on to the State Inquisitors by Abbé Cattaneo, October 13, 1794. Venice, Arch. di Stato, B 580.
  7. List of passports issued from April 19 to April 26, 1794. Venice, Arch. di Stato, B 172, doc. 222. On May 4, Count Graneri sent a very laudatory attestation in behalf of the President and his family: "President de Mazenod from Aix-en-Provence, in the course of the three and a half years he sojourned here in His Majesty's States, along with his wife and family, has always conducted himself in such a way as to merit the esteem of the government and of all reputable persons; so much so, that His Majesty was pleased to admit the President's son to the Royal College of Nobles where he remained until his departure from Turin. Having had the pleasure of knowing him personally, we gladly forward this character reference to him." (Rome, Post., DM I-4.)
  8. Paris, Arch. Aff. étrang. Correspondence politique, Venice, vol. 251, fol. 182.
  9. *Missions*, 119-123. Towards the end of December, 1798, Joseph de Maistre, also fleeing from the French, took the same river route from Turin to Venice under the worst conditions. Cf. *Lettres et opuscules inédits du comte J. de Maistre. Notice biographique par son fils le comte Rodolphe de Maistre* (Paris 1851) I, x-xii; R. Johannet, *Joseph de Maistre* (Paris 1932) 164-167.
  10. *Missions*, 123-124, 135. A report given to the State Inquisitors by Antonio Santelo, a policeman, informed them, May 16, 1794, of the arrival at Venice of a bark that well might have been that of the Mazenods. See G. Comisso, *Agenti segreti venetiani nel 700. (1705-1797)* (Milan 1942) 238-239.
  11. *Missions*, 124.
  12. *Ibid.*
  13. *Ibid.* 136.
  14. A. Bailly, *La sérénissime république de Venise* (Paris 1946) 336.
  15. *Ibid.* 337.
  16. *Missions*, 138. For a more detailed picture of Venetian life in the XVIII century, one may consult two great works: S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, VIII and IX; and P. Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica* 2<sup>e</sup> édition. Turin, 1880. Cf. likewise P. Monnier, *Venise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, 1907.
  17. *Missions* 126.

18. Rome, Arch. Romanum S.J., *Paccanaristae* 8, *Societatis Fidei catalogi* 1797-1805, fasc. C, p. 251.
19. *Missions*, 138.
20. *Missions*, 126-127.
21. *Ibid.* 127.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.* 128.
24. Rey, I, 25-26.
25. *Missions*, 128.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* 129.
28. Bishop Jeancard, *Mélanges historiques sur la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée* (Tours 1872) 68. That Eugene read the edifying letters at Venice, as Bishop Jeancard attests, is corroborated by other indications. It was at Venice in 1751-52 that there appeared for the first time the Italian translation of several collections of these letters. From the same city came a second edition in 1755. See R. Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Münster 1916) I, 460, 474. With Don Bartolo, Don Pedro and Father Zauli, his confessor, Eugene lived in an atmosphere permeated by the traditions of the Company of Jesus and he was well-informed about their work. Finally, Father Zinelli, in order to persuade his disciple into following him, brought out in his final letter of April, 1802, the progress that was being made outside Europe by the Society of the Faith which he had joined: "We are making admirable progress in France and England, and we also have established foundations in Trinidad and Canada." (Rey, I, 44.) However, Father Rey, the historian of Bishop de Mazenod, seems to support another interpretation. He states that in the course of his research, he discovered among the papers of the Founder "an autographed manuscript bearing this suggestion on the first page: '*Collection of edifying and pious letters,*' and below these words, 'Property of Eugene de Mazenod.'" "This collection" Father Rey points out, "consists of letters dealing with the period of the Revolution known as the Reign of Terror. The names of the one who wrote them and the one for whom they were destined are indicated only by initials, but, we found it easy to identify them and to establish that the true author of these letters was the celebrated Abbé Reimonet (1765-1803) and that he wrote them to Abbé Rémuzat (1730-1816)." "Did Eugene," wonders Father Rey, "collect these letters during his emigration? Did he find them at Aix? We cannot say for certain, but the first hypothesis seems to us to be the true one. The émigrés were better able to communicate with one another than with France, and Eugene's two uncles, being Vicars General of Marseilles and Aix, had to be kept informed concerning the essential matters affecting those two dioceses." (Rey, I 49.)

This hypothesis, which the biographer had not taken into consideration in the first draft of his text, is not unlikely. But must it be concluded that the *Edifying Letters* read by Eugene while he was at Venice, were those of M. Reimonet to M. Remuzat and therefore that the

explicit testimony of Bishop Jeancard must be abandoned? It is difficult to believe that Bishop Jeancard would have confused a simple collection of handwritten letters, of very different content matter, with a work as well known and widely circulated as the *Lettres édifiantes* consecrated to the foreign missions of the Company of Jesus.

29. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Tamburini, October 2, 1855. Rome, Post. Lm. Tamburini.
30. *Missions*, 129. Nicolas Paccanari, on August 15, 1797, was elected Superior of the new community which he had just founded and which, under the name of the *Society of the Faith of Jesus* purposed to restore the Jesuit Order. *The Society of the Sacred Heart* which was founded by the Abbé de Tournely on October 15, 1794 for the same purpose, and which had taken refuge at Hagenbrunn, merged with the Society of Faith in April, 1799, and accepted Paccanari as Superior General. On February 13, two months before this merger took place, Don Pedro Zinelli had entered the Society of the Faith of Jesus and Don Bartolo had followed him March 5. Both were born at Venice, Don Bartolo on April 12, 1766 and Don Pedro on March 15, 1772. They pronounced their simple vows together at Hagenbrunn, July 31, 1799. The necrology of the Society relates that from his very first years Don Bartolo had shown great piety and an unusual aptitude for studies. When he became a priest, he preached and taught catechism and gained the confidence and affection of the Patriarch of Venice, who often consulted him in the most difficult matters. After Don Bartolo's entrance into the Society of the Faith, Paccanari placed him in charge of preaching in the Italian church in Vienna. On his return to Italy, to Loretto, he was appointed head of the missions and, in a year and a half, his renown earned him the confidence of the people to whom he preached the Gospel. Of outstanding virtue, strongly devoted to the Society, deeply humble and warmly charitable, plagued at times by scruples, he distinguished himself by his zeal. He died at Rome, July 3, 1802, in the house of St. Sylvester on the Quirinal and was interred in the church of the same name beneath the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. His brother, Don Pedro, was secretary to the Superior General and in 1804, was stationed at the novitiate of St. Sylvester in Rome. He died at Padua, June 11, 1806. Don Bartolo did not live to see the Society's dismemberment which began in 1804 with the double secession of the Fathers of the Faith in France and England. Two years later, the Society was completely dispersed when Paccanari because of his dissoluteness was condemned by the Pontifical Court to ten years' incarceration at the Castel San Angelo. Cf. Arch. Romanum, S.J., *Paccanaristae* 8, *Societatis Fidei catalogi 1787-1805*.
31. *Missions*, 142.
32. Rey, *Souvenirs de famille*, *ibid.*, 129.
33. The book treated of general rules for the cultural training of young men. It was re-edited at Paris in 1776. The copy Eugene had while he was at Venice and which he embellished with his profession of faith

is now at the General House of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Rome.

34. Father de Mazenod to Father Courtes, December 6, 1825. *Missions*, 1872, 179. He even wished that the Church would recognize the eminent sanctity of Don Bartolo, by bestowing the honors of the altar upon him: "His cause for beatification would have been introduced long ago" he continued in the same letter, "if the Society of which he was a member had not been dissolved because of the misconduct of its head, the notorious Paccanari who ended so badly after beginning so well. . . . Apparently, God did not wish to glorify His servant here below. If he had been a full-fledged Jesuit, these good Fathers would have made somewhat more effort." (*Ibid.* 179-180.)
35. Mme. de Mazenod and Ninette were supposed to return to France by way of Marseilles. The president and Eugene accompanied them as far as Leghorn. When they arrived in that city, a letter from M. Joannis forewarned them that if Marie-Rose "disembarked at Marseilles, she would be arrested and that it was necessary that she enter France through Switzerland. I returned to Bologna," explained M. de Mazenod, "where I had written to Fortuné to come from Venice and join us so that he might accompany his sister-in-law to Switzerland, where he had already sojourned. That is where we parted." (M. de Mazenod to la Poire, August 12, 1803. Rome, Post., FB Iv-1.)
- From Lausanne, where Fortuné left them, la Presidente and Ninette reached Lyons and were lodged there at the home of the Marquis de Perier.
36. Aix, Arch. communales (section révolutionnaire), LL 112, fol. 39.
37. Marseilles, Arch. dép., L. 608 A.—The District of Aix acknowledged this petition on the 19 frimaire an. III (December 9, 1794).
38. *Ibid.*
39. Madame de Mazenod to Eugene, November 1, 1795, Rome, Post., FB I-7. Within the family circle, Eugene's name was shortened to Zézé, and his sister was called Ninette.
40. Aix, Arch. communales (section révolutionnaire). LL 115, fol. 10.
41. Paris, Arch. Nat., F7 4936.
42. *Missions*, 131-32. The granduncle's death certificate is preserved at Venice, Arch. parrocchiale San Silvestro, Death Register volume 8 (1786-1801).
43. M. de Mazenod to Alziari, October 1, 1796, Aix-Méjanes, B. 72—The account book kept at Venice by the President, beginning with October 1795, makes mention of a monthly pension of 178 livres, 3 sols, that is, 2,137 livres 4 sols a year (in Germinal francs, 2,109 francs, 21) which was paid out to him regularly from October 1795 to September, 1796. On March 27, 1797, the account book which closed on the following August 20 mentions "received for the continuance of pension 169 livres, 5 sols." (Aix, Méjanes, B 70.)
44. J. Turquan, *Les femmes de l'émigration, Deuxième série* (Paris 1912) 285.

45. Family account book of the Marquis d'Arlatan, 5, Aix, Arch. privées de la famille Savy.
  46. Aix, Méjanès, B. 72. The livre, Venetian silver coin, worth 0 francs 51 (cf. H. Cavalli, *Tableaux comparatifs des mesures, poids et monnaies modernes et anciens . . . comparés avec le système métrique français et les poids et mesures anglais* (Paris 1874) 231), the fund rose to 4,004 francs, 52, in Germinal francs.
  47. Agreement of May 11, 1795, *ibid.* That is, in Germinal francs, 2,002 francs, 26.
  48. The d'Arlatan family record, 6, Aix, Private archives of the Savy family.
  49. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, October 16, 1795. Lestang to M. de Mazenod, November 27, 1795. Aix, Méjanès, B. 72. Regarding the colony of Marseillais emigrants at Leghorn, see the *Mémoires historiques de M. le Chevalier de Fonvielle, de Toulouse* (Paris 1824) III, book VII, chap. II.
  50. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, July 21, 1795, Aix, Méjanès, B. 72.
  51. *Ibid.*
  52. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, December 11, 1795, *ibid.*
  53. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, July 21, 1795, *ibid.*
  54. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, September 25, 1795, *ibid.*
  55. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, February 26, 1796, *ibid.*
  56. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, December 25, 1795, *ibid.*
  57. *Ibid.*
  58. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, August 7, 1795, *ibid.*
  59. Lestang to M. de Mazenod, January 15, 1796, *ibid.*
  60. Arnulphy to M. de Mazenod, February 26, 1796, *ibid.*
  61. Series of receipts from June 19 to December 15, 1796. Aix, Méjanès, B. 72.
  62. M. Baron to d'Arlatan, October 31, 1795. Aix, Private archives of the Savy family.
- The departmental archives of Lyons, during the Revolutionary period, kept an official record of the seals that were "affixed," beginning in November 23, 1793, "to the door of Citizen Tourret's store" located "at the home of the said Citizen Tourret, number 19, in the arrondissement of Plâtre; the store contained linen goods, knitted goods and small wares." (Lyons, Arch. dép., I Q 681.) The Tourret family whose father and older son were practicing lawyers was persecuted at the time of siege of Lyons, in 1793. The older son was arrested (Lyons, Arch. dép., 42, L 107) and the younger son, obliged to flee into Switzerland, made several acquaintances there which made it possible for him to enlarge his business in that country. (Aix, Méjanès, B. 71.)
63. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, December 3, 1796. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
  64. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, April 22, 1797, *ibid.*
  65. Another letter of M. de Mazenod to Tourret, April 22, 1797, *ibid.*
  66. *Ibid.*
  67. M. de Mazenod to Baron, July 16, 1796, *ibid.*
  68. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, April 22, 1797, *ibid.*
  69. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, February 4, 1797, *ibid.*

70. M. de Mazenod to Turret, January 28, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 71. The sequin, a Venetian gold coin, was worth 12 francs-germinal. Cf. H. Cavalli *Tableaux comparatifs des mesures, poids, et monnaies modernes et anciens.* (p. 231.) Thus, 100 sequins were equal to 1200 francs.
71. M. de Mazenod to Turret, February 4, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
72. "We enclose, herewith," he wrote, "the design for the stole dress you requested. You cannot possibly imagine the effect which the design will produce by being embroidered. Believe me, it will be magnificent! We have made it especially for you. This stole dress, embroidered on very beautiful buckram material and with ample fullness, would cost more than 900 French livres here. . . . A dress of the same type which we have sent to the Court of Russia was sold for more than 1400 livres. It is both practical and elegant." (Turret to M. de Mazenod, March 3, 1797, *ibid.*)
73. *Missions*, 141.
74. L. Pingaud, *Un agent secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire, le Comte d'Antraigues* (Paris 1893) 103.
75. The plenipotentiary minister of the French Republic at Venice to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, 5 prairial, an. II (March 24, 1794). Paris, Arch. Aff. étrang., Correspond. politique. Venice, vol. 251, fol. 190. After the peace treaty of Basel which brought a halt to hostilities between Spain and the French Republic in 1795, Las Casas was transferred to London. D'Antraigues then left the Spanish Embassy at Venice so as not to compromise the government of Charles IV which was officially at peace with the Revolutionary government, and he passed over to the service of the Russian Embassy. He still maintained his Spanish citizenship and "his freedom of access to Las Casas' successor, Campos. The latter gladly came to see him and talk with him." (L. Pingaud, *le Comte d'Antraigues* p. 111.) He found in Campos a friend, a confidant, and even an assistant. (Boulay de la Meurthe, *Quelques lettres de Marie-Caroline* found in *Rev. d'Hist. diplomatique*, t. II, 1888, p. 517.)
76. Cattaneo to the Inquisitors, May 17, 1794. Venice, Arch. di Stato, B 580.
77. The Inquisitors to the Abbé Cattaneo, May 22, 1794, *ibid.*, B 187 doc. 218.
78. Casotto to the Inquisitors, May 22, 1794. Venice, Arch. di Stato, B 563.
79. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, III, Paris 1939, coll. 78.
80. *Ibid.*
81. S. diGiacomo, *Lettre di Ferdinando IV alla duchessa di Floridia (1821-1834)* (Palermo 1914) I, 18-19.
82. Caroline to d'Antraigues, June, 1798, published by Boulay de la Meurthe, *Quelques lettres de Marie-Caroline*, contained in *Rev. d'Hist. diplomatique* II, 1888, 547.
83. Memorandum attached to the letter for M. D'Albertas, November 25, 1816. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-4.
84. M. de Mazenod to Baron, August 13, 1796. Aix, Méjanès, B. 71.
85. Baron to M. de Mazenod, September 3, 1796, *ibid.*

86. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, February 11, 1797, *ibid.*
87. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, March 25, 1797, *ibid.*
88. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, March 18, 1797, *ibid.* On March 10, the President included in his letter a few observations on the articles that were to be sent; after speaking of "mesh waistcoats for men and women," he added, "Besides these mesh waistcoats, the women wear a great deal of mesh material in different shades of flesh color and in white, which covers the bosom, reaches as far as the throat, and is laced in the back. Along with that, they also wear sleeves or gloves of mesh of the same color, which extend four or six inches above the elbow. The purpose of all this is to match the natural color of the flesh and, in this way, the women although they are clothed, look naked.
89. M. de Mazenod to Baron, July 16, 1796. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
90. M. de Mazenod to Baron, July 30, 1796, *ibid.*
91. Vizian to M. de Mazenod, December 31, 1796, *ibid.*, B 72.
92. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, January 14, 1796, *ibid.*, B 71.
93. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, January 7, 1797, *ibid.*
94. Transaction with Vizian, January, 1797, *ibid.* B 72. In other words, 9, 867 francs-germinal.
95. *Missions*, 132.
96. *Ibid.* 132-133.
97. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, April 22, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.* Actually, the passport for Naples which they were to use in November, was signed on May 11, 1797, by the Chevalier Antoine Micheroux, Minister of the King of the Two-Sicilies to the Republic of the Serenissime. It was issued in behalf of "Charles-Antoine and Charles-Louis de Mazenod, brothers, to the son of the first and to a chamber maid." (Rome, Post., DM I-4.)
100. A. Bailly, *La République de Venise*, 429.
101. A. Bailly, *La République de Venise*, 426.
102. *Ibid.* 427.
103. Hippolyte de Laporte, *Souvenirs d'un émigré de 1797 à 1800* (Paris 1843) 19-20; L. Galibert, *Histoire de la République de Venise* (Paris 1847) 541.
104. L. Galibert, *Histoire de la République de Venise* 543.
105. M. de Mazenod to Citizen Tourret, May 20, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Missions*, 133.
108. M. de Mazenod to Citizen Tourret, May 20, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B. 71.
109. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, May 20, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B. 71.
110. *Ibid.* June 3, 1797.
111. *Missions*, 270.
112. *Ibid.* 133.
113. Bonaparte to the executive body of the Directoire, 27 pluvoise, an. V (February 15, 1797). *Correspondance de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>* (Paris 1859) II, 429.

114. *Missions*, 133.
115. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, August 5, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B. 72.
116. From 1795 to 1798 only Saint-Sauveur Church was officially open to public worship at Aix. A decree of 1<sup>er</sup> prairial an. IV (May 20, 1796) had ordered the "closing of all public places of worship within the commune"; but, in 1797, Saint-Sauveur was reopened, and two orthodox priests celebrated Mass there. (T. Sabatier, *Souvenirs rétrospectifs sur les deux évêques Roux et Aubert* found in *Documents sur Charles-Benoit Roux, publiés par A. M. de la Tour-Keirié* (Aix 1889) 202.)
117. Marseilles, Arch. dép., L346. On July 23, 1792, a general assembly of the administrative, municipal and judiciary authorities of Marseilles "had decreed that all priests who had refused to take the oath" were to be put "on board immediately and shipped to a foreign country." (A. M. de la Tour, *Documents sur Charles-Benoit Roux*, 154-155.)
118. On this date, the Central Administration of the Bouches-du-Rhône decreed that Charles-Fortuné de Mazenod was to be considered a deported priest, that his name was to be temporarily taken off the general list of émigrés, that all sequestering of his property was to cease, and that his natural heirs were to be temporarily entitled to inherit his property. . . ." (Marseilles, Arch. dép., L 350.)
119. *Ibid.* I Q 74.
120. According to this law, the confiscation decreed against emigrants did not apply to "deported or imprisoned ecclesiastics"; "their possessions or the value of them" were to be "returned without delay to the aforementioned ecclesiastics who have been lifted from the status of deportation, reclusion, or civil death, and their rights of citizenship restored."
121. Around 1795, his furs, including a black bear-skin muff *en boîte*, had been seized and appraised. (Marseilles, Arch. dép., 2 Q 93.) His furniture, pictures and mirrors had been sold September 8, 1794, for the sum of 637 livres, 5 sols. (*Ibid.*, 2 Q 122.)
122. Rome, Post., DM I-5.
123. An affidavit made by Leopold Scati, Rector of the College of Nobles of Turin, and signed in the presence of Judge Martini, March 14, 1797, and corroborated by three witnesses, certifies that Eugene de Mazenod entered the said College in October, 1791, and that he remained there until February 7, 1794. Another affidavit made by Don Bartolo Zinelli on April 22, 1797, and legalized by Maderni, a notary, declared that the same Eugene de Mazenod applied himself daily to studies, beginning in 1794, at the home of the signee. Finally, a third affidavit, dated April 26, 1797, and signed by merchants, bankers or Venetian agents, testifies that Eugene de Mazenod had engaged in commerce at Venice with his father since 1794. These three affidavits were duly certified on May 1, 1797, by the Consul-General of the French Republic at Venice, Joseph Aillaud, *ibid.* DM I-4.
124. *Ibid.* DM I-5.
125. Rome, Post., DM I-4.
126. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, August 5, 1797, Aix, Méjanès, B 72.

127. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, July 28, 1797, *ibid.*
128. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, August 5, 1797, *ibid.*
129. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, August 11, 1797, *ibid.*
130. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, June 3, 1797, *ibid.*, B 71.
131. *Ibid.*
132. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, July 1, 1797, *ibid.*
133. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, May 27, 1797, *ibid.*
134. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, August 12, 1797, *ibid.*
135. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, August 12, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
136. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, September 23, 1797, *ibid.*, B 72.
137. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, August 12, 1797, *ibid.* B 71. *Missions*, 1866, p. 265.
138. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, October 7, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 72.
139. *Missions*, 269.
140. *Ibid.* 144.

#### *Chapter Five*

1. *Missions*, 266.
2. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, October 7, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 72.
3. *Missions*, 265.
4. *Missions*, 265-267.
5. M. de Mazenod to Baron, January 23, 1798. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
6. *Missions*, 267-268.
7. M. de Mazenod to Baron, January 16, 1798, Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
8. *Missions*, 268-269.
9. M. de Mazenod to Baron, January 8 and 16, 1798. Aix, Méjanès, B 71.
10. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, January 9, 1798, *ibid.*, B 72.
11. Alvisé Manin to d'Arlatan, December 16, 1797, *ibid.*
12. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, January 9, 1798, *ibid.*
13. Marseilles, Arch. dép., L 372.
14. List of émigrés who embarked on 4 germinal an. VI (March 24, 1798). Paris Arch. nat., F<sup>7</sup> 3341.
15. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, January 16, 1798. Aix, Méjanès, B 72.
16. Marseilles, Arch. dép., L 372.
17. *Ibid.* L 361, Paris, Arch. nat., F<sup>7</sup> 4936.
18. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, September 22, 1798. Aix, Méjanès, B 70.
19. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, January 9, 1798, *ibid.*, B 72.
20. Fortuné de Mazenod to d'Arlatan, December 4, 1797. Aix, Méjanès, B 75.
21. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, November 21, 1797, *ibid.*, B 72.
22. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, January 9, 1798, *ibid.*, B 70.
23. Tourret to M. de Mazenod, September 23, 1797, *ibid.*, B 71.
24. Tourret to M. de Mazenod, May 26, 1798, *ibid.*
25. Agreement reached and signed at Pisa, June 21, 1798. Aix, Méjanès, B 71. In germinal francs, the total value of the merchandise sent amounted to 51,263 francs, 79. The money received for the merchan-

- dise came to the sum of 33,038 francs, 83, thus creating a deficit of 18,244 francs, 95. The debt of the partners, therefore, rose to 12,421 francs, 39.
26. Tourret to M. de Mazenod, June 21, 1798, *ibid.*
  27. Tourret to M. de Mazenod, May 5, 1798, *ibid.*
  28. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, April 17, 1798, *ibid.*
  29. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, September 22, 1798, *ibid.*, B 70.
  30. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, April 17, 1798, *ibid.*, B 71. In other words, 592 germinal francs.
  31. An undated account sheet found among the president's business papers furnishes us with a complete list of the Venetian debtors, and a letter sent by M. de Mazenod to Tourret on May 22, 1798, enables us to assign this list to the time when the accounts were drawn up, namely, June of that year, *ibid.* B 71. According to the list which mentions 12 debtors, the sum to be recovered was 67,038 Venetian livres (in germinal francs, 34,189 francs, 38. It was apportioned thus: 4 accounts of money owed personally to M. de Mazenod; total, 23,258 livres. (11,861 francs, 58) 8 accounts owed to the firm in Tuscany, total, 19,206 livres. (9,795 francs, 06) 5 accounts owed to the Tourret company, total, 24,574 livres. (12,532 francs, 74) Vizian owed far more than any other debtor, with a sum of 47,815 livres. (24,385 francs, 65.)
  32. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, June 12, 1798. Aix, Méjanes, B 72.
  33. M. de Mazenod to Tourret, May 15, 1798, *ibid.*, B 71.
  34. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, January 9, 1798, *ibid.* B 70.
  35. M. de Mazenod to Marrenx-Montgaillard, December 1, 1799. Aix, Méjanes B 70.
  36. The Marquis d'Arlatan confided to the president: "M. d'Antraigues' arrest was indeed strange. It seems to have been voluntary on his part; perhaps it was even arranged. . . . He is now at liberty, either after escaping by himself or after being allowed to escape. His liberty is rather remarkable inasmuch as one always guards well what one wants to guard and this is especially true of Bonaparte. . . . The conclusions being drawn from all this is that M. d'Antraigues is either the dupe of Napoleon, or a coward willing to save his skin at any cost, or, maybe even a traitor. I repeat, and I give you my word; this is what is being said and not something I made up." (D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, November 21, 1797, *ibid.*, B 72.)
  37. Boulay de la Meurthe, *Quelques lettres de Marie-Caroline*, taken from *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, second year, 1888, 520, n. 2.
  38. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, January 30, 1798. Aix, Méjanes, B 72.
  39. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, January 9, 1798. Aix, Méjanes, B 70.
  40. *Ibid.*
  41. D'Antraigues to M. de Mazenod, January 26, 1798, *ibid.*
  42. Boulay de la Meurthe, *Quelques lettres de Marie-Caroline*, *Rev. d'Histoire dipl.* (1888) 522.
  43. Boulay de la Meurthe, *Quelques lettres de Marie-Caroline*, *Rev. d'Hist. dipl.* (1888) 522.

44. L. Pingaud, *Un agent secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire. Le Comte d'Antraigues* (Paris 1893) 209.
45. Boulay de la Meurthe, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*
46. G. Bianco, *La Sicilia durante l'occupazione inglese (1806-1815)* (Palermo 1902) 24.
47. Roger de Damas, *Mémoires* (Paris 1912) I, 351.
48. G. Bianco, *La Sicilia durante l'occupazione inglese*, 22-25.
49. R. de Damas, *Mémoires*, I, 315, 351.
50. Alissan de Chazet, *Mémoires, souvenirs, oeuvres et portraits* (Paris 1837) II, 6.
51. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, April 7-10, 1798. Aix, Méjanes, B 70.
52. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, September 22, 1798, *ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. D'Antraigues to M. de Mazenod, October 27, 1798, *ibid.*
55. Very likely, the pension amounting to 12 onces each month and paid by the Queen herself to M. de Mazenod did not begin until September, 1799. Cf. letter of M. de Mazenod to Marrenx-Montgaillard, December 1, 1799. Aix, Méjanes, B 70.
56. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, November 28, 1798. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin MJ II-1.
57. *Missions*, 271.
58. *Missions*, 271.
59. Thanks to the chevalier de Galembert. he was able to make three trips: one to Vesuvius, another to Herculaneum and Pompeii, and a third to Caserta, of which he has left a long account in his *Mémoires*. See *Missions*, 275-279.
60. *Ibid.* 271.
61. D'Arlatan to M. de Mazenod, November 21, 1797. Aix, Méjanes, B 72.
62. *Missions*, 1866, 272.
63. *Ibid.*
64. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, April 7-10, 1798. Aix, Méjanes, B 70. A right-angled triangle was the symbol that was used among the initiate to designate d'Antraigues. In this regard, see *Mémoires et documents, France*, v. 588 & 590, where documents 84 and 181, identified as those of d'Antraigues, are signed with this triangle. Paris, *Arch. Aff. étrang.* We have here used asterisks for this symbol.
65. *Missions*, 273-274.
66. Ship's Captain Charles-Eugène de Mazenod, after entering the navy in April, 1765, according to a brief summary of his years of service, "shipped out six months before the War of 1778 and did not return ashore until six months after the Peace of 1783, all of which amounted to a period of more than six years at sea. During this time, he took part in all the American campaigns under the command of M. de Grasse and M. de Vaudreuil"; he served on Le Souverain under Commander de Glandevès. "On March 2, 1782, he was awarded the Cross of Saint-Louis for having led the attack and taken part in the various battles leading to the capture of Saint-Christophe." (Mémoire sent by President de Mazenod to his son in a letter dated February 4, 1815.

The president directed that the mémoire be sent to Toulon. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.)

67. *Missions*, 273.
68. Don Bartolo to Eugene, January 24, 1798, quoted by Father Rey, I, 36.
69. Don Bartolo to Eugene, May 12, 1798, quoted by Father Rey, I, 38.
70. Don Bartolo to Eugene, March 12, 1798, *ibid.*
71. Don Bartolo to Eugene, July 21, 1798, quoted by Father Rey, I, 38-39.
72. Caroline to d'Antraigues, June, 1798. Boulay de la Meurthe, *Quelques lettres de Marie-Caroline*, *Rev. d'Hist. dipl.*, 1888, 546-549.
73. R. de Damas, *Mémoires*, I, 274.
74. While Ferdinand IV was hastily signing his name to a few decrees aimed at putting the affairs of the kingdom in order, "the Queen," as Alphonse Sansone observes, "spent her time writing letters to her daughter and Lady Hamilton, seeking the help of Lord Nelson, turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of the courtesans who wanted to flee with her and sending notes to her most faithful and devoted friends. These notes had been prepared in advance and they pictured three cupids, one of which was under a cypress tree blowing a trumpet, and the other two beckoning to come aboard with these words written in the Queen's own handwriting: 'Embark, I beseech you. M.C.' " (A. Sansone, *Gli avvenimenti del 1799 nelle due Sicilie* (Palermo 1901) XIV.)
75. *Missions*, 1866, 280-283.
76. *Missions*, 1866, 283.

### Chapter Six

1. *Missions*, 284.
2. Dispatches of January 4 and 5, 1799. Naples, Arch. *Real Segretaria, Reali dispacci 4 gen. 1799-1828 giu. L800, filza la, fasc. 1 and 2.* See A. Sansone, *Gli avvenimenti del 1799 nelle due Sicilie. Nuovi documenti* (Palermo 1901) 11.
3. Acton to Prince deiLuzzi, January 7, 1799. *Ibid.*, *Real Segretaria, Incartamenti*, filza 3,386. Voir A. Sansone, *Gli avvenimenti*, 12.
4. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, June 24, 1799. Aix, Méjanes, B 70.
5. *Missions*, 284.
6. *Missions*, 284. These 25 ounces were very likely part of the help which the Queen granted the President from the time Talleyrand and d'Antraigues interceded for him. In terms of the germinal franc, the ounce of Sicily, which was a gold coin of the realm, was worth 13 francs. (Cf. H. Cavalli, *Tableaux comparatifs des mesures, poids et monnaies modernes et anciens* . . . (Paris 1874) 214.) It therefore amounted to a sum of 325 francs.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.* 285.
9. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Sicily was visited by many French travelers and was the inspiration of many works of fiction written by the Romanticists. In this regard, see H. Tuzet, *Voyageurs*

*français en Sicilie au temps du Romantisme (1802-1848)*. Coll. *Études de littérature étrangère et comparée* (Paris 1945).

10. *Missions*, 285-289.
11. *Missions*, 289-290.
12. *Ibid.* 293-294.
13. *Ibid.* 294.
14. Eugene to his father, October 25-26, 1799. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
15. Eugene to his father, before October 18, 1799, *ibid.*
16. Eugene to his father, October 21 or 22, 1799, Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
17. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, October 22, 1799, *ibid.*
18. Eugene to his uncle Charles-Eugène, October 29, 1799. Rome, Post., FB I-3.
19. Eugene to Canon Fortuné, between October 22 & 25, 1799, *ibid.*, FB I-2.
20. Eugene to his father, October 18, 1799. Aix, Méjanès, B 69. In a letter to his daughter in 1802 M. de Mazenod wrote concerning Eugene: "The Italians call him 'Eccellenza' with great emphasis, *il conte, il continuo*." M. de Mazenod to Ninette, October 9, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-2.
21. Eugene to his father, October 18, 1799. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
22. Eugene to his father, October 21-22, 1799, *ibid.*
23. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, October 25, 1799, *ibid.*
24. *Missions*, 1866, 290-291. On this matter, see R. de Damas, *Mémoires*, I, 315-316. Hippolyte d'Espinchal, *Souvenirs militaires (1792-1814)* (Paris 1901) I, 37-64. The testimony of these two memorialists differs, however, on one point. Roger de Damas puts the Duke de Berry's visit to Palermo before the departure of Marie-Caroline for Vienna; the Duke "left Sicily when the Queen left it." According to Count d'Espinchal, however, the Queen was absent during the entire sojourn of the Prince who, he says, embarked at Naples for Sicily June 11 and left Palermo, September 12, 1800.
25. *Missions*, 272-293.
26. M. de Mazenod to d'Antraigues, May 1, 1798, Aix, Méjanès, B 70.
27. D'Antraigues to M. de Mazenod, October 27, 1798, *ibid.*
28. M. de Mazenod to Marrenx-Montgaillard, December 1, 1799. Aix, Méjanès, B 70.
29. Marrenx-Montgaillard to M. de Mazenod, May 17, 1799, *ibid.*
30. Marrenx-Montgaillard to M. de Mazenod, June 3, 1799, *ibid.*
31. Marrenx-Montgaillard to M. de Mazenod, October 18, 1799, *ibid.*
32. R. de Damas, *Mémoires*, I, 309.— Regarding the Ambassador of Russia, see H. d'Espinchal, *Souvenirs militaires*, I, 66-67.
33. R. de Damas, *ibid.*
34. *Missions*, 274.
35. *Ibid.* 273.
36. A. Bonnefons, *Une ennemie de la Révolution et de Napoleon, Marie-Caroline, reine des Deux-Siciles (1768-1814)* (Paris 1905) 217, 276.
37. R. de Damas, *Mémoires*, I, 309.
38. *Ibid.*

39. R. Palumbo, *Maria-Carolina, Regina delle due Sicilie. Suo Carteggio con Lady Emma Hamilton* (Naples 1877) 46-47.
40. *Ibid.* 128.
41. M. de Mazenod to Marrenx-Montgaillard, December 1, 1799, Aix, Méjanès, B 70. In germinal francs, this pension amounted to 156 francs a month.
42. M. de Mazenod to his wife, February 26, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Missions*, 273.
45. *Missions*, 294.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.* 294-295.
48. *Ibid.* 296.
49. *Missions*, 1866, 296.
50. *Ibid.* 296-297.
51. *Ibid.* 297. In these same *Mémoires*, Bishop de Mazenod tells how the king, "insatiably fond of this sport" of horse racing, organized a horse race at his own expense and how for several Sundays and holidays, "his courtiers provided this pastime for him." (*Ibid.* 297-298.)
52. *Ibid.* 299.
53. *Ibid.* 299-301.
54. Eugene to his father, November 7, 1799, Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
55. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, November 11, 1799. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
56. Eugene to his father, November 14-17, 1799, *ibid.*
57. Notes on Racine. Rome, Post., DM II-5.
58. M. de Mazenod and Eugene to Ninette, March 12, 1802, *ibid.*, FB I-4.
59. Notes on history. Rome, Post., DM II-1.
60. Notes on *Raison, Folie*. Rome, Post., DM II-5. The work in question is that of the historian and journalist, Pierre-Edouard Lemontey (1762-1826), *Raison, Folie, chacun son mot, petit cours de morale mis à la portée des vieux enfants* (Paris an IX 1801).
61. M. de Mazenod to Ninette, November 27, 1801. Rome, Post., FB I-4.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Don Bartolo to Eugene, November 29, 1801, quoted by Father Rey, I, 44.
64. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, November 19, 1799. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
65. Ninette to Eugene, October 26, 1801. Rome, Post. FB I-4.
66. *Missions*, 294.
67. *Ibid.* 295-296.
68. Rey, I, 45.
69. Don Bartolo to Eugene, November 29, 1801, quoted by Father Rey, I, 44.
70. M. de Mazenod to his wife, May 14, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
71. Madame de Mazenod to her husband, September 20, 1801, *ibid.*
72. M. de Mazenod to his wife, February 26, 1802, *ibid.*
73. M. de Mazenod to his wife, August 13, 1802, *ibid.*

74. M. de Mazenod to his wife, May 14, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1. The President's letter states that the Duchess died on May 1. However, the death register of *San Nicolo la Kalsa* parish in Palermo, states that she died on April 29, about 44 years of age.
75. Fortuné to M. de Mazenod, May 9, 1802. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
76. Eugene to his father, May 2 and 3, 1802, *ibid.*
77. Eugene to his father, May 10, 1802, *ibid.*
78. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, May 2, 1802, *ibid.*
79. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, May 16, 1802, *ibid.*
80. Fortuné to M. de Mazenod, May 16, 1802. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
81. Rey, I, 46.
82. *Missions*, 302.
83. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, December 21, 1799. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1. These lines were written in invisible ink.
84. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, July 20, 1800, *ibid.* Also written in invisible ink. Mion designates the grand-aunt Amyot, whose maiden name was Marianne Bonnet. She resided in Tuscany.
85. Mme. de Mazenod to Eugene, November 1, 1800. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
86. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, November 9, 1800. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
87. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, December 21, 1800, *ibid.*
88. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, February 12, 1801. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
89. M. de Mazenod to his wife, May 10, 1801, *ibid.*
90. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, March 29, 1802. Rome, Post., FB I-7. May 2 and 16, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
91. M. de Mazenod to his wife, June 11, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
92. *Ibid.*
93. M. de Mazenod to the Marquis de Perier, called La Poire, August 12, 1803. Rome, Post., FB IV-1.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Paris, Arch. Nat., F<sup>7</sup> 6024.
96. Fortuné to the Baroness de Talleyrand, August 13, 1802. Aix, Méjanes, B 75.
97. Fortuné to M. de Mazenod, May 10, 1802, *ibid.*, B 69.
98. Eugene to his father, May 28, 1802, *ibid.*
99. Louis XVIII to Delamare, November 16, 1800, taken from Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la négociation du Concordat* (Paris 1891) I, 101-102.
100. M. de Mazenod to his wife, September 3, 1802, Rome, Post., FB I-7.
101. M. de Mazenod to Baron de Talleyrand, September 21, 1802. Aix, Méjanes, B 70.
102. M. de Mazenod to Baron de Talleyrand, October 19, 1802, *ibid.*
103. Fortuné to Eugene, October 15, 1802. Rome, Post., FB I-2.

## Chapter Seven

1. Eugene to his father, October 13, 1802. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Eugene to his father, October 13, 1802. Aix, Méjanès, B. 69.
8. M. de Mazenod to the Baron of Talleyrand, October 19, 1802, *ibid.*, B 70.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Eugene to his father, October 13, 1802, *ibid.*, B 69.
12. *Missions*, 304.
13. Eugene to his father, October 24, 1802. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
14. Eugene to his mother, October 24, 1802. Rome, Post., FB 1-7.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. M. de Mazenod to his wife, December 10, 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-1.
20. Eugene to his father, January 9, 1803, Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
21. Passport issued by the Mayor of Saint-Laurent, 17 frimaire, an XI (December 8, 1802). Rome, Post., DM I-7.
22. Eugene to his father, July 15, August 31, 1803. Aix, Méjanès, B. 69.
23. Eugene to his father, August 1, 1803, *ibid.*
24. Eugene to his father, September 21, 1803, *ibid.*
25. Eugene to his mother, October 24, 1803. Rome, Post., FB, I-7.
26. Eugene to his father, December 4, 1803. Aix Méjanès, B 69.
27. As its quota for the year XI, the District of Riez had to furnish 20 enlisted men. Thirteen of those eligible, including Eugene de Mazenod, in order to avoid being conscripted, had to pay for replacements. To do so, they banded together in units of two or three for each replacement, and thus secured six substitutes who were then accepted. Lots were then drawn for the other fourteen from the remaining thirty-nine who were subject to the draft. (Cf. Levée des conscrits de l'an XI et de l'an XII. Registres de la mairie de Riez, 2 et 4 décembre, 1803. Rome, Post., DM I-6.) By an agreement made before a notary, 26 brumaire an XI (November 18, 1803), the messieurs Mazenod, Escudier and Jauffret contracted to pay their replacement 920 francs, 420 of which they paid immediately and the remaining 500 of which they put in the hands of M. Jauffret to be sent to the replacement when he fulfilled his part of the agreement by his presence in the army. Digne, Arch. dép., 2 E, Fonde Riez Etude Quinson, Sixte Bausset, art. 125.

28. Certificate of Brigadier-General Alexandre Lameth, Prefect of the Basses-Alpes, 24 brumaire, an XII (November 16, 1803). Rome, Post., DM I-6.
29. *Livre de compte ou Mémoire de nos opérations . . . à Saint-Laurent (1802-1807)* 47, Rome, Post., FB II-8. By "free pasturage" or, as it was known, "Common land rights," was meant the right to have one's flocks graze on another's land when it was left unploughed after the grain or hay had been harvested.
30. This tax, or "cens" was sums due to the Lord of the estate for lands over which he held straight rights. These taxes were paid by the peasants who were allowed only the use of the land. "As for these taxes," wrote Eugene to his father, "no one wants to pay them." January 27, 1804. (Aix, Méjanes, B 69)
31. In this letter, Eugene used the verb "ravauder" intransitively whereas the intransitive meaning of this verb is "to roam about the house, to putter about the house or to do house-cleaning." However, he intended it to mean "coming and going for the purpose of inspecting and surveying." Cf. "Litré," *Dictionnaire de la langue française*.
32. Mme. de Mazenod was not permanently crossed off the list of émigrés until 28 prairial an IX (June 17, 1801), and therefore, was not fully entitled to validate her rights until that time. However, as early as 28 vendemiaire an IX (October 20, 1800) she brought out in a petition to the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône that, of the 120,000 livres which constituted her dowry, 22,000 consisted of various capitals and revenues recorded in the Great Book of the Public Debt. The remaining 98,000 had been paid in ready cash, coffers and jewels, to her father-in-law, Charles-Alexandre de Mazenod. She asked, therefore, that this latter sum be paid to her out of what remained of her late father-in-law's inheritance. Charles Delacroix, Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône, following a decision of the Prefect of Orne (13 messidor, an VIII — July 2, 1800) confirmed by the Conseil d'Etat, 15 fructidor, an VIII (September 2, 1800), awarded Madame de Mazenod, 21 floréal, an IX (May 11, 1801) the main house valued by the appraisers at 13,293 francs, 50. Similar steps taken in the Basses-Alpes achieved equally successful results on the lands of Saint-Laurent. These lands consisted of four properties covering an area of almost 760 acres and valued by the appraisers at 63,000 francs, according to extant farm leases. The Prefect of the Basses-Alpes, 2 messidor an IX (June 21, 1801) relinquished to "Citizen Marie-Rose-Eugénie Joannis, spouse of Mazenod, henceforth and forever" the four properties mentioned above, "reserving to her the right to appeal, as she will see fit, to gain the full amount of what remains due to her out of her father-in-law's inheritance." For all these documents, Rome, Post., FB III-2. Officially, Mme. de Mazenod therefore recovered possession of part of her dowry, namely, 76,595 francs, from the property of Charles-Alexandre. In fact, the entire available portion of the latter's property was handed over to her.
33. Eugene to his father, November 5, 1802. Aix, Méjanes, B. 69.
34. Draft of Mme. de Mazenod's petition to M. Chapuis, Secretary-General

of the Prefecture at the close of 1801 or the beginning of 1802. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ, X-2.

35. Registers of births, marriages, and deaths, an x. Aix, Arch. communales (Section moderne), E<sup>1</sup> 2.

"You need not worry concerning the manner in which your wife recovered her dowry," Fortuné confided to his brother, the president, years later, in 1819. "I have spoken to the one who directed her in the whole affair and it was made unassailable by due process of law. Not only could no creditor have any claim on what was ceded to her but he could not plead the clause of the general agreement contained in her marriage contract because they made sure that the separation between her and her husband was legalized." (Fortuné to M. de Mazenod, February 6, 1819. Rome, Post., FB VI-1.)

36. This sum comprises only the capital that was borrowed and does not include the accruing interest. These 283,000 livres amounted to 279,321 francs germinal.
37. M. de Mazenod to the Marquis de Perier, called *la Poire*. August 12, 1803, Rome, Post., FB IV-1.
38. Eugene to his father, July 15, 1803. Aix Méjanes, B 69.
39. François-Joseph Roze-Joannis, born at l'Isle about 1752, an Oratorian, died at Grans, November 18, 1836.

"He had a natural son, Félix-Eugène Roze-Joannis, born at Grans about 1810, who was a wholesale merchant and who died at Grans, August 21, 1854. (Files of the Marquis Eugène de Boisgelin, Aix, Musée Arbaud, dossier 2184-A-1.)"

40. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, October 3, 1805. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
41. Eugene to his father, March 6, 1803, *ibid.*
42. Eugene to his father, September 3, 1805, Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
43. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, October 31, 1805, *ibid.*
44. Ninette to her father, October 3, 1801. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-2
45. Eugene to his father, February 16, 1803. Aix, Méjanes, B 69
46. Eugene to his father, August 31, 1803, *ibid.*
47. Ninette to her father, October 3, 1801. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ II-2
48. A.-C Thibaudeau, *Mémoires* (1799-1815) (Paris 1913) 104.
49. Eugene to his father, January 27, 1804, Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
50. Eugene to his father, March 9, 1804, Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
51. Eugene to his father, April 12, 1804, *ibid.* La Poire designates the Marquis de Perier, a friend of the family.
52. Eugene to his father, January 18, 1805, *ibid.*
53. Eugene to his father, May 10, 1804, *ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. Eugene to his father, February 12, 1803, *ibid.*
56. Mme. de Mazenod to her husband, January 17, 1802, Rome, Post., FB I-4.
57. Eugene to his father, February 12, 1803. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
58. Eugene to his father, January 18, 1805. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
59. In this ciphered correspondence, Venice designates Aix, and Vienna means Paris.
60. Eugene to his father, September 21, 1804. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.

61. *Ibid.*
62. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, October 25, 1804, *ibid.*
63. Eugene to his father, December 21, 1804, *ibid.*
64. Mme. Dedons to her mother, Mme. Joannis, June 15, 1805. Rome, Post., FB I-6.
65. Madame Dedons to her sister, Madame de Mazenod, July 27, 1805, *ibid.*, FB I-7.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Eugene to his father, August 16, 1805. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
68. Eugene to his mother, July 4-12, 1805. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
69. Mme. Dedons to her sister, Mme. de Mazenod, July 27, 1805, *ibid.*
70. Eugene to his father, August 16, 1805. Aix, Méjanès, B 69. More exactly, by former pupils of Saint-Sulpice.
71. Eugene to his mother, August 6, 1805, Rome, Post., FB I-7.
72. Eugene to his father, November, 1805. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
73. Eugene to his mother, August 6, 1805. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
74. Eugene to his father, October 11, 1805. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
75. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, November 28, 1805, *ibid.*
76. Eugene to his father, October 11, 1805, *ibid.*
77. Eugene to his father, October 11, 1805, Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
78. Eugene to his father, November 1, 1805, *ibid.*
79. J. Morabito, *Je serai prêtre. Eugène de Mazenod. De Venise à Saint-Sulpice (1794-1811)* (Ottawa 1954) 55-60, 100-104.
80. In 1806, Eugene de Mazenod composed a refutation of the Jansenist theories which was typical of his trenchant and decisive manner. Several times he referred to the *Abrégé chronologique des principaux événements qui ont précédé et suivi la Constitution Unigenitus* (written by Abbé Nicolas Le Gros, and published at Utrecht in 1730, according to A. Barbier in his *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*). He quoted also the *Oeuvres posthumes de M. l'Abbé Racine* of which work he owned an abridged edition published at Avignon in 1759. The profession of faith which he wrote out and put at the head of this last-named work clearly reveals his own firm beliefs: "This book is a gem. It, alone, will suffice to expose the minds of these dangerous sectarians who have been disturbing France for more than a century and a half. The utter monstrosity of the principles contained in this book (it is a résumé of a more voluminous and unorthodox work of the Abbé Racine) and the horrible conclusions one cannot escape drawing from it actually make it safe for any reader, no matter how little instructed he may be. As a matter of fact, I think it can be useful, inasmuch as the author brings out into the open the monstrous principles which the sect professes. . . . As witness of my faith, Eugène de Mazenod, 1806." He perhaps intended the refutation for his uncle Roze-Joannis with whom, as he declared, "he very often got into discussions on these matters; for you can be sure that he neglected nothing that might present the teachings of this sect in their most attractive light." And he added in a note: "One day, he told me that I was cut out to be a Jansenist, and that,

in view of my firm and resolute character and my strict principles, he was astonished that I was not one of the most zealous Jansenists." In 1808, Eugene set down under the title, *Conversations avec un Janseniste sur les convulsions*, the revelations he received from his uncle concerning a meeting of the convulsionists at Paris at which the latter had been present in 1782 or 1784. As Bishop of Marseilles, Eugene still preserved a note from this period entitled *Comédie du cimetière Saint-Médard ou faux miracles du diacre Paris*. Cf. Notes on Jansenism. Rome, Post., DM II-6.

81. *Remarques sur l'Ouvrage intitulé La Génie du Christianisme* (Aix 1805) *ibid.* DM II-6.
82. *Remarques sur . . . la Génie du Christianisme*. Rome, Post., DM II-5.
83. M. de Mazenod to Eugene, December 10, 1802. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
84. Eugene to his father, January 27, 1804, *ibid.* The Parisian seigneur referred to was Éléazar de Mazenod who belonged to the Briarde branch of the family. Eugene's reference to him was prompted by an amusing anecdote his father had related in a previous letter: "I don't blame you at all for trying to find some sort of distraction by hiring girls to shell almonds and teachings them a few songs. To help you with your choir work I am sending you a little song which your good grandfather composed for a nephew of his whose name was the same as ours. He had brought this nephew from Paris to spend the winter in Provence. During the evenings, the Parisian Seigneur amused himself by teasing the girls who had been hired to shell almonds. One day, . . . my father . . . after composing a little poem, immediately sang it to the seigneur:

Cette bande  
Des amandes  
T'aurait-elle égratigné?

Les coquilles  
De ces filles  
Pourraient de trop près  
T'écorcher le nez.

M. de Mazenod to Eugene, December 29, 1803, *ibid.*

85. Eugene to his father, September 22, 1805, *ibid.*
86. Retreat of 1811. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
87. Retreat notes of 1808, 1811, and 1814. Rome Post., DM IV 1 & 2.
88. Cf. Letters of Eugene to his sister, December 4, 1808 and February 9, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-4 (copies). Among the other works on this subject, one may consult that of Abbé Gauthier entitled *Traité contre les danses et les mauvaises chansons* (Paris 1769); re-edited several times, even after the Revolution.
89. In regard to this rigorist thesis, cf. J. Lahitton, *La Vocation sacerdotale* (Paris 1914) Fourth ed., 243-245; also the brochure of A. Perbal, O.M.I., *La Vocation obligatoire?* (Brussels 1922).
90. Eugene to his mother, June 29, 1808. Rome, Post., FB 7. This was the

major argument Eugene gave to his mother to persuade her to accept his vocation.

91. "Next Christmas," he wrote, "it will be three years since I have been examining this matter to ascertain if this vocation comes from God." (Eugene to his mother, April 4-6, 1809. Rome, Post., FB I-7.)
92. Eugene to his mother, March 23-24, 1809, *ibid.*
93. Retreat of 1814. Second meditation. Rome, Post., DM IV-2.
94. Quoted by Rambert, I, 47. Cf. also the letter of Eugene to his father, December 7, 1814. Aix, Méjanes, B 69.
95. Spiritual conference at the Seminary, 1808. Rome, Post., DM V-1.
96. Eugene to his mother, March 23-24, 1809. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
97. *Ibid.* He definitely refers to Father Duclaux, for he states precisely, "in whose hands I am at this moment."
98. *Ibid.*
99. Unfortunately, this correspondence has been lost. We have only excerpts copied by Bishop de Mazenod himself. Father Augustin Magy died at Marseilles, February 25, 1814, at the age of eighty-eight. (Marseilles, Registres de la paroisse Saint-Ferréol, 1814.)
100. Excerpts from the letters of Father Magy; first and second letters, March-August, 1808. Rome, Post., LM Magy.
101. *Ibid.* August, 1808.
102. Eugene to his mother, March 23-24, 1809, *ibid.*, FB I-7.
103. Paul Bagarry, *Notice historique sur l'oeuvre des prisons d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix 1908) 20; cf. also 11-18.
104. Minutes Book, no. 11 (an XIII-1813). Aix, Arch. de l'oeuvre des Prisons, preserved in the Archives of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society.
105. *Ibid.* Meeting of January 6, 1807.
106. *Ibid.* Meeting of January 20, 1807.
107. Minutes Book, no. 11, meeting of March 24, 1807. Aix, Archives of the Organization of the *Oeuvre des prisons*.
108. *Ibid.* Meeting of January 28 and March 10, 1807.
109. *Ibid.* Meeting of September 29, 1807.
110. *Ibid.* Meeting of October 13, 1807.
111. *Ibid.* Meeting of September 29, 1807.
112. *Ibid.* Meeting of October 6, 1807.

#### Chapter Eight

1. Eugene to his sister, June 21, 1808. Rome, Post., FB I-4 (copy).
2. Eugene to his mother, June 29, 1808. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
3. Mme. Joannis to her daughter, Mme. de Mazenod, July, 1808. Aix, Hôtel Boisselin MJ V-1.
4. Eugene to his mother, October 11, 1809. Saint Martin M 1.
5. Eugene to his mother, February 28, 1809, *ibid.*
6. According to the *Catalogue des élèves qui sont entrés au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice depuis 1801 jusqu'en 1809*. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice.

7. J. Leflon, *Monsieur Emery, II, L'Eglise Concordataire et impériale* (Paris 1946) 216.
8. J. Leflon, *op cit.*, I, 99-137.
9. *Ibid.* II, 216.
10. This portrait was made during Eugene's sojourn in Paris in 1805, by the engraver Gilles-Louis Chretien (1754-1811). It was engraved according to the Physionotrace process of which he was the inventor. Writing to his father about the portrait on December 26, 1805, Eugene remarked, "You feel that the 54 francs I spent to have my portrait engraved were well spent, while I feel nothing but despair in telling you that I might just as well have thrown them into the gutter. I am furious with this M. Chretien. From the perfectly accurate resemblance he first drew, he produced an engraving which is anything but a resemblance. I counted on his flattering me, but instead, he did a skillful job of making me completely ugly. He put a monstrous distance between my nose and my mouth, obligingly provided me with an undershot jaw, and judged it fitting to add a double chin. The whole caricature gives me a low-slung face, enormously long and frightfully defective. . . . Since different people pretend that in spite of all these defects, they can still recognize me in the portrait, I am sending you one" of these engravings. (Eugene to father, December 26, 1805. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.) For his visit to Portalis, the young man had been forced to outfit himself stylishly: "Accustomed early in life," he confided to his father June 15, 1805, from Paris, "to maintaining a proper dignity in everything, and especially in the matter of dress, I still cannot bring myself to wear the frilly shirt-fronts that have come back into style. . . . You won't find any of these frills in my wardrobe. . . ." And so, "today I shall have to chase around to all the merchants in search of some muslin material . . . With rigging of that kind, I shall be properly presentable at the home of Madame Portalis." (Eugene to his father, June 15, 1805, *ibid.*) It was in that costume, made to fit the occasion, that Eugene sat for his portrait, the original of which today belongs to Mlle. Aliette de Boisgelin.
11. Rome, Post., DM IV-4.
12. This expression is used by Father R. Rouquette, S.J., in his *Problèmes d'Action catholique, A.C.O. et A.C.I. 1954* taken from *Etudes*, V. 283, November, 1954, 250.
13. Rouquette, *ibid.*
14. Rouquette, *op. cit.*, 250.
15. *Ibid.*, 251.
16. Eugene to his father, November 26, 1802. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
17. Eugene to his father, January 9, 1803, *ibid.*
18. Eugene to his father, August 16, 1805. Aix, Méjanès, B 69.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. One of these Abbés, the Abbé Taillet, had come across Fortuné again at Palermo, an old comrade of his from their Sorbonne days, and

after the Abbé's departure from Sicily, he continued to correspond with the Canon. In a letter from London, October 10, 1806, he informed Fortuné of the death of Monseigneur Bernier, the Bishop of Orléans. Speaking of this Bishop, he stated, "It is quite certain here that ever since the Concordat," Bernier "had been in constant touch with the Archbishop of Aix (Cice) and that the two of them conspired against the ancient Gallican Church and were joined in this conspiracy by Bishops Boisgelin, Barral, and d'Osmont, etc. . . . It is your present archbishop, therefore, who is partly responsible for the new order, or disorder, and you have done wisely not to align yourself with the diocesan administration of that dangerous and scandalous prelate who has been successively constitutional and concordatist, democratic, monarchian, and even outwardly royalist, and who has now become the obsequious valet of the Corsican usurper. I much prefer to see you at Palermo living in straightened but honorable circumstances than harnessed to the carriage of this man who, from the day he was born, has been nothing but a schemer." (The Abbé Taillet to Canon Fortuné de Mazenod, October 10, 1806. Aix, Méjanes, B 75.) For his own part, Canon Fortuné drew up a note with the approval of his nephew, December, 1818, from which we learn that "at the time of the Concordat of 1801, when he was urged to return to Paris by Cardinal de Boisgelin and Portalis, the Minister of Public worship and an old friend of the family, who wanted him for an episcopal see, he refused their repeated urgings, convinced that he would not be able to accomplish any good in those difficult circumstances." (Fortuné to his brother, the President, December 31, 1818. Rome, Post., FB V-3.) At that time, he was destined for the Archbishopric of Avignon; so Father de Mazenod was to learn in 1817, how, we know not. "But," commented the President to his brother, "you would have had to take the oath of fidelity to the usurper and that would have been just as abhorrent to you as it would have been to the rest of us." (M. de Mazenod to Fortuné, March 7, 1818, *ibid.*, FB V-1.)

23. Quoted by Rambert, I, 47.
24. Retreat of October, 1808. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
25. List of fasts approved by his spiritual director, and contained in his retreat notebooks. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
26. Eugene to his mother, December 25-26, 1808. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
27. Eugene to his sister, March 6, 1809, *ibid.*, FB I-4 (copy).
28. Eugene to his mother, January 21, 1809. Saint-Martin, M 1, At Paris a load of wood amounted to about two cords.
29. October retreat, 1808. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
30. Eugene to his mother, March 23-24, 1809, *ibid.* FB I-7.
31. Eugene to his mother, June 26-30, 1812. Saint-Martin, M 1.
32. Eugene to his mother, February 28, 1809, Saint-Martin, M 1.
33. Eugene to his mother, January 6, 1810, *ibid.*
34. Eugene to his mother, March 23-24, 1809, Rome, Post., FB I-7.
35. Eugene to his mother, May 29-30, 1809, Saint-Martin, M 1.
36. Eugene to his sister, August 22, 1812, *ibid.*

37. Eugene to his mother, May 29-30, 1809, *ibid.*
38. October retreat, 1808. Rome Post., DM IV-1.
39. *Ibid.*
40. October retreat, 1808. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
41. Eugene to his mother, April 4-6, 1809, *ibid.*, FB I-7.
42. Eugene to his mother, February 4, 1809. Saint-Martin, M 1
43. Bishop de Mazenod's *Journal*, March 31, 1839. Rome, Post., JM.
44. M. Olier, *Œuvres complètes* published by Migne. Paris, 1856, III<sup>e</sup> Partie, *Du Sacerdoce*, chap. vii, col. 721. Father Tronson published this treatise for the first time in 1675; it was in keeping with the writings and the mind of J. J. Olier.
45. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice, D. E. IV, fol. 139-140.
46. J. Leflon, *Monsieur Emery*, II, 230.
47. M. Olier, *Pietas Seminarii*, n<sup>o</sup> 1. *Œuvres complètes*, col. 1245.
48. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice, D. E. IV, fol. 145.
49. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice, D. E. IV, fol. 145-146.
50. Eugene to his mother, June 19, 1810. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
51. *L'Ami de la Religion*, 54, December 8 and 12, 1827, 118, 132.
52. October retreat, 1808. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
53. On the reverse side of a letter which Father de Mazenod received from Father Garnier, November 4, 1813. Quoted by Rey, I, 141, note.
54. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice, D. E., IV, fol. 146.
55. Eugene to his mother, October 11, 1809. Saint-Martin, M 1. In this letter, he added; "The number of seminarians has increased considerably this year; I feel sure that we'll have close to a hundred."
56. Bishop de Mazenod's *Journal*, March 31, 1839. Rome, Post., JM. Teyssyre, who had once studied at the *Ecole polytechnique*, remarked, in a letter to his sister, "All these young men are on the whole, very kind. One gives me books, another brings me a curtain I need, and still another is very accommodating in helping me or bringing me what I need for class. The charity which is evidenced here from morning to night is indeed a beautiful thing." (Quoted by Paguella de Follenay, *Monsieur Teyssyre* (Paris 1882) 161.)
57. Bishop de Mazenod's *Journal*, March 31, 1839. Rome, Post., JM.
58. Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery* (Paris 1862) II, 118.
59. J. Leflon, *Monsieur Emery*, II, 218.
60. Father Duclaux, *Traité théorique et pratique de l'Oraison mentale à l'usage des personnes pieuses* (Paris 1838).
61. Madame de Mazenod to Eugene, December 8-11, 1808. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ I-1.
62. Eugene to his mother, December 18, 1808. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
63. Eugene to his mother, May 10, 1809. Saint-Martin, M 1.
64. Eugene to his mother, May 29-30, 1809, *ibid.*
65. Eugene to his mother, January 6, 1810. Saint-Martin, M 1.

66. Eugene to his mother, Pentecost (June 10) 1810. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
67. Eugene to his mother, June 19, 1810, *ibid.*
68. Eugene to his mother, Pentecost, 1810. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
69. Eugene to his mother, February 28, 1809. Saint-Martin, M 1.
70. Eugene to his mother, December 1, 1810. Quoted by Rey, I, 114-115.
71. Eugene to his mother, April 14, 1810. Saint-Martin, M 1.
72. Roze-Joannis to Madame de Mazenod, July 9 and 14, 1809. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ VIII-3.
73. Roze-Joannis to Madame de Mazenod, July 14, 1809, *ibid.*
74. Eugene to his mother, April 14, 1810. Saint-Martin, M 1.
75. *Institutionum philosophicarum cursus, ad usum studiosae juventutis praesertimque seminariorum, accommodatus* (Paris 1808) 3 vols. in-12.
76. *Mélanges de Philosophie, d'Histoire, de Morale et de Littérature*, V, 1808, 35.
77. *Theologia dogmatica et moralis ad usum seminariorum* (Dijon 1789) 8 vol. in-12; re-edited at Lyons in 1804. Eugene de Mazenod, according to the references in his notes, made use of the first edition in its entirety.
78. *De Vera Religione ad usum Theologiae candidatorum . . .* (Paris 1785) 2 vol. in-12.
79. F. de La Mennais, *Essai sur l'Indifférence en matière de religion* (Paris 1817) chap. ix-xii.
80. In the treatise on contracts, the Sulpician professor stated three divergent opinions concerning the payment of debts which were contracted through promissory notes. Some think "that one can wipe out the debts by paying their face value because the law has the right to fix the face value of monies." Others are of the opinion that "further compensation is due since the law did not foresee the present depreciation" of paper money. Finally, there are those, M. Boulogne, for example, who judge that re-embursement can be made in promissory notes if one had been himself re-embursed in this way, the public weal demanding this "deferred-payment system"; otherwise, it would result in damage falling entirely upon innocent people. The professor unconditionally rejected the first opinion, held for the second as being the "most commonly followed opinion," without, however, excluding the third which "is not contrary to reason." (Cf. Notes of Eugene de Mazenod, *Treatise on Contracts*, 65. Rome, Post., DM III-5.) As for marriages contracted before constitutional priests during the Revolution, the professor made a distinction between those "performed by intruders" and those "performed by pastors who took the oath." If we can judge by Eugene de Mazenod's very fragmentary notes on this treatise, he resolved marriage cases as follows: Marriages performed by intruders are null, by reason of clandestinity "if at the time they were performed, the contracting parties could have had recourse to their pastors"; they are valid if it were not possible to have recourse to the pastor or to another priest possessing the required faculties.

Marriages performed by pastors who had taken the oath to the Constitution are valid "if it were not possible" to have recourse to one of Catholic priests who were authorized by the Ordinaries; otherwise,

they were null. Cf. Eugene de Mazenod's notes on Marriage, 18-19, *ibid.* DM III-10.

On the Gallican law concerning marriage, one might consult the following works:

Claude Blondeau, *Bibliothèque canonique . . .* (Paris 1689) 2 vol.

Van Espen, *Jus ecclesiasticum universum hodiernae disciplinae, praesertim Belgii, Galliae, Germaniae et vicinarum provinciarum accommodatum* (Louvain 1700).

Louis de Héricourt, *Les lois ecclésiastiques de France dans leur ordre naturel et une analyse des livres du Droit canonique conférés avec les usages de l'Église gallicane* (Paris 1771). (First edition was published in 1719.)

Durand de Maillane, *Dictionnaire de droit canonique et de pratique bénéficiale conféré avec les Maximes et la Jurisprudence de France* (Paris 1761) 2 vol.

On this same subject, see also the recent study of Canon Edward Fournier, *l'Origine du vicaire général et des autres membres de la curie diocésaine* (Paris 1940).

81. F. de La Mennais, *Réflexions sur l'état de l'Église en France pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1808) 141.
82. E. Renan, *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse* (Paris 1884) 269.
83. L. Bertrand, *Bibliothèque sulpicienne ou Histoire littéraire de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice* (Paris 1900) II, 164.

In 1810, in a letter to his mother, Eugene mentioned a supplementary class "in pastoral theology and the administration of the Sacraments" for the benefit of those "in Orders." (Eugene to his mother, May 11, 1810. Saint-Martin, M 1.)

In 1809, he announced with a certain air of triumph: "One of our Fathers here is a very good doctor. . . . My uncle (Roze-Joannis) does not suspect that, upon my return to Aix, he will have to fill me in on my medical knowledge. All joking aside, last Wednesday, our doctor professor gave me and a few other volunteer confreres some introductory ideas regarding blood circulation. He plans to continue this brief course in medicine each Wednesday; he wants us to be able to detect a fever; something that will be useful in the ministry. . . . Would you ever have thought that I would come to the seminary to learn how to test a pulse? I have often wanted to know how to do it and since God has given me the opportunity to learn how to do it, I must take advantage of it." (Eugene to his mother, May 10, 1809, *ibid.*)

84. Father Boyer went into great detail to answer the criticism and objections put forth by Voltaire and the Philosophers. How, for example, could Noah's Ark have held all the animals? "The mathematical computation of several scholars," replied the professor, "has demonstrated that the capacity of the ark was amply sufficient for it. Butter, Wilkins, and Pelletier," he explained, "have examined the number and measured the size of all the known animals. They have determined how much room and how many supplies were required for them, "keeping in mind the holds and accesses to each cage." The result of this research has

proved "mathematically that the dimensions spoken of in Genesis were more than sufficient." As for the actuality of the flood, Father Boyer maintained against the Philosophers that it "is strictly demonstrated," first and foremost by "the interior state of the globe." This cataclysm "caused a complete upheaval in the world's mechanism." The vegetation and the confusion of shell-fish mixed in together, the remains of sea and land animals which had been buried in the interior of the earth, are relics of the flood and, as it were, "commemorative medals" of it. "It is impossible to explain such chaos if one does not admit a general and violent inundation which displaced everything, disarranged everything, confused everything." To support his statements, he cited the admission of Peter Pallas, the Academician of Saint-Petersburg. See *Traité de la Religion*, note-book no. 4, 38-43. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice.

Nothing illustrates more conclusively the folly of trying to show, at the start of the nineteenth century, the harmony between the Bible and Science.

85. Handwritten courses of Fathers Montaigne and Boyer, *ibid.*
86. Eugene de Mazenod's hand-written notes concerning the treatise on *Contracts*, 55. Rome, Post., DM III-5.
87. Notes on the treatise *De Sacramentis*, 25, *ibid.* DM III-6.
88. F. de La Mennais, *Réflexions sur l'état de l'Église en France pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 141.
89. G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier (1782-1864) et l'Énigme de la Congrégation* (Paris 1948) 37.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *La Congrégation de la Très Sainte Vierge à Paris (1801-1828)*. Notice historique d'après des documents inédits. ms. Chantilly, Arch. des Jésuites de la Province de Paris, *Congrégations mariales*. Dossier 6869.
92. Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, II, 118-119.
93. *Catalogue des Congréganistes, I (1801-1817)*, 62, Chantilly, Arch. des Jésuites de la Province de Paris, *Congrégations mariales*. Around 1806, the two friends, Mazenod and Forbin-Janson, sealed a mutual pact of friendship. Eugene wrote to the latter on March 12 of that year: "In proposing that we tighten the bonds that already unite us as Christians, by way of a special union which is very apt to flatter me, you have merely seconded what I, myself wished for with all my heart . . . Judge accordingly . . . whether or not I willingly subscribe to the agreement to be your loyal and faithful friend all my life. It is a title that I shall prize most from now on." (Paris, Arch. de la Sainte-Enfance, papiers Forbin-Janson.) On the following April 16, Forbin ended his letter with a firm assurance of his "friendship through which I shall be . . . all my life your devoted and faithful servant." (Quoted by Rey, I, 75.)
94. Quoted by Father Lesourd, *Un grand coeur missionnaire, Mgr. de Forbin-Janson (1785-1844)* (Paris 1944) 279.
95. *Annales de la Sainte-Enfance*, II (1848-1850), 526.
96. *Annales de la Sainte-Enfance*, II, 526-527. The Abbé de Mazenod had also benefited from this distribution of relics. At the heading of an

acknowledgement of the relics, which he wrote January 10, 1835, when he was Vicar-General and Bishop of Icosia (his list mentions 120), he stated: "On the death of His Eminence, Cardinal Caprara, who was Legate *a latere* of His Holiness, Pope Pius VII, to the French Government, I accompanied Abbé de Forbin-Janson, who is now Bishop of Nancy and Toul, to the palace of His Eminence, in order to obtain the relics of the Saints from the Cardinal's auditor, Bishop Vadorini, since the relics were kept at the palace of the Cardinal-Legate. Bishop Vadorini very graciously granted our request and handed these precious relics over to us. Father Forbin-Janson and I then divided them between us."

97. *Registre pour servir aux délibérations de l'Association de piété formée dans le séminaire de Saint Sulpice de Paris le 9 Octobre, 1801* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
98. G. de Bertier, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier*, 42.
99. R. Rouquette, art. *Congrégations secrètes*, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* II (Paris 1953) coll. 1485.
100. G. de Bertier, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier* 40.
101. R. Rouquette, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II, coll. 1494.
102. *Ibid.* coll. 1494-1495.
103. R. Rouquette, *op. cit.*, coll. 1505.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Règlement de l'Association de piété. *Registre pour servir aux délibérations* fol. 1. Paris, Arch. Saint Sulpice.
106. The rule actually provided for several pious practices suited to the Associates. Reception of the Holy Eucharist on Fridays and Saturdays in honor of the Hearts of Jesus and Mary. (art. 2). Another weekly Communion for the community and for the maintenance of a spirit of fervor within its bosom. (art. 3). Each Thursday, the recitation of the psalm *Miserere* before the Blessed Sacrament to make amends for the irreverence, sacrileges and profanations committed against it. (art. 9). Gathering in spirit within the Hearts of Jesus and Mary when the hour strikes by reciting the prayer *Cor Jesu flagrans amore nostri, inflamma cor nostrum amore tui!* (art. 10). Other mystical gatherings after lunch, before the particular examen, on returning from recreation and after the reading of the subject for meditation. (art. 15). Finally a special devotion to Saint Joseph, Saint John, all the Apostles, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Charles, Saint Aloysius Gonzaga, Saint Teresa, Saint Francis de Sales and Saint Vincent de Paul, by receiving Communion on their feast days. (art. 16).
107. Meeting of August 10, 1803. *Registre pour servir aux délibérations* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
108. *Ibid.*
109. L. Bertrand, *L'Âa cléricale, son histoire, ses statuts, ses mystères*. Mystériopolis (1893) 59.
110. R. Rouquette, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* II, coll. 1505.
111. For all the citations from the minutes of the meetings, cf. *Registre pour servir aux délibérations* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).

## Chapter Nine

1. G. de Bertier, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier*, 40.

At the start of the nineteenth century, Turin became a particularly active center of secret religious associations. They were led by Father Bruno Lanteri who animated and directed three parallel groups. *L'Amitié Chrétienne*, founded between 1778 and 1780 by Father de Diessbach was composed of men and women who strove to save souls principally by distributing good books. *L'As Cléricale*, introduced at Turin by Abbé Murgeray in 1781 was composed of theology students living outside the seminary, and it aimed at helping their personal sanctification. *L'Amitié sacerdotale*, inaugurated by Father Diessbach in 1782 was made up of clerics in Major Orders and young priests. Its purpose was to prepare them to preach missions and retreats and train them for the Apostolate of the Press. Diessbach and Lanteri inspired these three associations with an ardent attachment to the Roman Church and a complete devotion to the Sovereign Pontiff. Lanteri composed several writings in support of the Pope against the Organic Articles, the Imperial Catechism, the National Council of 1811, and the Fontainebleau Concordat. These writings were clandestinely distributed by the Amitiés and the Aa. Lanteri and his Associates (among whom were the Abbés Loggero, Daverio, and Guala, the Marquis Tapparelli d'Azeglio, the Chevalier René d'Agliano) not only gave financial help to Pius VII, prisoner in Savona, but also sent him several documents, e.g. the Acts of the Second Council of Lyons, which enabled the Holy Father to draw up briefs and letters for the defense of his rights and those of the Church.

When, in March, 1811, after l'Affaire d'Astros, Lanteri was ordered to retire to his country house, the three Associations, cut off from their leader, ceased to function and disappeared. It wasn't until after 1814 that they were re-formed under new names. Regarding this matter, see *Servi Dei Pii Brunonis Lanteri . . . Positio super introductione Causae et super virtutibus* (Romae 1945) *Sacra Rituum Congregatio, Sectio historica* No. 63.

2. R. Rouquette, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* II, coll. 1493.
3. A. Lestra, *Les secrets du clergé clandestin. Le Père Coudrin* (Paris 1952) 70.
4. J. Leflon, *M. Emery*, II, 304.
5. *Ibid.* 306-307.
6. *Ibid.* 309-310.
7. It was in the name of this principle that the legist Camus defended the legitimacy of the civil Constitution of the Clergy at the Constitutional assembly.
8. P.-D Boyer, *Traité de l'Église. Prerogatives de l'Église*, chap. II, art. 2 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice, ms.)
9. Boyer, *op. cit.*, *Prerogatives de l'Église* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
10. *Ibid.* *De l'autorité du Pape*.
11. *Ibid.* *De la supériorité du Concile sur le Pape*.

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.* *De l'infaillibilité du Pape.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Boyer, *op. cit.*, *De l'infaillibilité du Pape* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
16. *Ibid.*  
This interpretation was proposed by François Diroys, the theologian of Cardinal d'Estrée, the Ambassador to Rome. It was later "accepted by Bossuet in his *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani* and still later was taken up by Bossuet's apologists," notably J. Emery in his *Nouvelles Opuscules de M. l'abbé Fleury* (Paris 1807) 175-180. However, A.-G. Martimort considers that the interpretation was not a valid one. *Le Gallicisme de Bossuet* (Paris 1953) 473, n. 4.
17. Boyer, *Traité de l'Église, De l'autorité du Pape* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Boyer, *op. cit.*, *De l'autorité du Pape* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
23. *Ibid.* In his treatise on the Church, this discussion came after the question of the superiority of the Council over the Pope.
24. Boyer, *op. cit.*, *De l'autorité du Pape* (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
25. *Ibid.*
26. Cardinal Consalvi, *Mémoire inédit sur le Concile national de 1811* (Paris 1895) 17.
27. *Ibid.* 17-18.
28. Cardinal Pacca, *Mémoires*, trans. by L. Bellaguet (Paris 1833) II, 209-211.
29. *Ibid.* 209.
30. *Ibid.* 214. Cardinal Pacca felt that the cardinals and prelates who accompanied Pius VII at the time of Napoleon's coronation had been carelessly selected. "They went to Paris, the leading capital of the world . . . and they brought there prelates lacking in external dignity, in no way capable of making a good impression, lacking not only what the French call 'bon ton' but also that affability and those charming manners which are now indispensable in the society of persons of high rank." (*Ibid.* 213.)
31. Madame Armand de Boisgelin to her brother, Eugene, March 28, 1809. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ I-2.
32. C. Maréchal, *La jeunesse de La Mennais* (Paris 1913) 204-208.
33. M. Emery to Bruté, March, 1809. Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice. Cahier lettres Emery-Bruté (copies), lettre XXVI.
34. Bruté to J.-M. de La Mennais, July 6, 1809, Jersey, Arch. des Frères de Ploërmel, *Dossier Bruté de Rémur*, 18 B, 14.
35. Teyseyrre to J.-M. de La Mennais, July 24, 1809, *ibid.*, *Dossier Saint-Sulpice*, 16 B 8.
36. J.-M. de La Mennais to M. Faillon, May 22, 1846 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice) D. E., IV, fol. 1041. From information contained in a letter

that was received at the Seminary, Eugene gave his mother news of the Pope, making use of safe channels completely beyond the control of the postal authorities. "Here is the news of the Pope as recent as July 25; I can vouch for its authenticity. Since Our Very Holy Father absolutely refused to agree to any of the proposals that were made to him, all of which were contrary to his conscience, a forced entry was made into his palace through the windows. The general presented a paper to him, giving him the choice of either signing it or departing. The Holy Father read the paper carefully, touched it to his lips as though it were a decree of Divine Providence, and with a firm voice, replied, "My breviary, and then we shall leave." He was carried off from Rome by night and care was taken to keep him from passing through the large cities of Italy, at least as much as possible. He finally arrived at Grenoble after traveling 125 miles without any rest. He had only one cardinal with him. When they reached Grenoble, he and the cardinal were separated and the Pope was taken all alone to the prefecture. Since the people were clamoring to see him, they had him make an appearance on the balcony, preceded by several policemen and followed by the police commissioner with the mayor at his right and the prefect at his left. There was a remarkable look of serenity on his revered countenance. He hasn't let up on any of his accustomed austerities and the day that the letter from which I have extracted all this information was written, all he had for dinner was one egg and a piece of crawfish. No wonder the policeman assigned to guard him said that he would gladly feed the Sovereign Pontiff for ten sous a day. The Pope and the two members of his party, adds the letter, haven't a crown among the three of them. And yet, he is still completely resigned and his face radiates the peace that reigns in his heart. There you have what is definitely known regarding the Holy Father. (Eugene to his mother, August 6, 1809. Rome, Post., FB I-7.)

37. J. Leflon, *Monsieur Emery*, II, 395.

38. G. de Bertier, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier*, 41.

39. G. de Bartier, *Un épisode de la résistance catholique sur le 1<sup>er</sup> Empire: l'affaire d'Astres*, found in *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, XXXV, 1949, 52-53.

See the same article, 54-58, regarding the circumstances surrounding the arrest of M. d'Astros, January 1, 1811, which brought about the destruction of the entire network and the arrest of most of the members. Arrested at Paris were Abbé Perreau and de Vanney; at Lyons, de Berthaut du Coin, Franchet d'Espérey and Aynès; at Chambéry, the Abbés Rey and de la Palme; at Turin, the Abbé Lanteri and Daverio; and finally, at Savona, Andrea Morelli, the valet of Pope Pius VII.

40. V. Bindel, *Le Vatican à Paris (1809-1814)* (Paris s.d.) 37.

41. Napoléon to Bigot de Préameneu, September 7, 1809. *Lettres inédites de Napoléon 1<sup>er</sup>* (Paris 1897) I, 357.

42. Eugene to his mother, November 29, 1809. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ I-1. Shortly before the beginning of 1810, Eugene wrote, "Once again,

- I almost forgot to tell you that the saintly Cardinal Mattei, for whom I am acting as interpreter and secretary, directed me to convey his compliments to the pastor of Saint-Esprit Church. . . . We both have the same spiritual director for I felt that I was doing him a favor by procuring for him the same excellent confessor that I have, and the profit he is deriving from him is indeed edifying; he goes to confession every Friday. I accompanied this venerable cardinal — who almost became a Pope — to all the convents of nuns in Paris. He derived a great deal of pleasure from it. (Eugene to his mother, February 23-24, 1810, Saint-Martin M 1.)
43. Eugene to his mother, November 29, 1809. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ I-1.
  44. J. Leflon, *La Crise révolutionnaire 1789-1846* (Paris 1949) XX, contained in *l'Histoire de l'Église*, edited by Fliche & Martin, 255.
  45. M. Emery to Bausset, November 20, 1809 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice) D. E., VII, fol. 647.
  46. M. Emery to Bausset, December 20, 1809, *ibid.*, fol. 648.
  47. *Memorie del Cardinale Ercole Consalvi, a cura di Mons. Mario Nasalii Rocca di Cornelliano* (Roma 1950) 95-97.  
Pacca, *Mémoires*, I, 336.
  48. V. Bindel, *Le Vatican à Paris* 42.
  49. *Ibid.* 40-41.
  50. *La Réverende Mère Camille de l'Enfant-Jésus, née de Soyecourt* (Paris 1935) 389-390.
  51. G. de Grandmaison, *Napoléon et les cardinaux noirs (1810-1814)* (Paris 1895) 103-104.
  52. Bishop de Mazenod to Cardinal Gousset, July 21, 1852, quoted by Rey, II, 423.
  53. Paris, Arch. Saint Sulpice, D. E. I, fol. 257.
  54. Eugene de Mazenod to his mother, June 19, 1810. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
  55. The Vicars-General of Paris to Bigot de Préameneu, June 15, 1810. Paris, Arch. nat., AF IV 1047.
  56. Father Duclaux to Eugene de Mazenod, August 25, 1810, quoted by Rey, I, 108.
  57. J. Leflon, *Monsieur Emery*, II, 463-464.
  58. M. Emery to Bausset, January 12, 1811 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice) D. E., VII, fol. 721.
  59. L. Madelin, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (Paris 1946) X, 83.
  60. Eugene de Mazenod to his mother, May 2, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
  61. *Ibid.*
  62. Rélation du docteur Pigne, October 12, 1842 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice) D. E., XII *bis*, fol. 5.
  63. Consalvi, *Mémoire inédit sur le Concile national de 1811* 19.  
Pacca, *Mémoires* II, 45.
  64. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice) D. E., IV, fol. 140-141.
  65. Eugene de Mazenod to his mother, May 2, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
  66. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842. Paris, Arch.

- Saint-Sulpice, D. E., IV, fol. 141-142. Father Emery died on April 28, the second Sunday after Easter.
67. Eugene to his mother, May 2, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
  68. Bishop de Mazenod to Father Faillon, August 29, 1842. Faris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice, D. E., IV, fol. 142.
  69. Eugene to his mother, May 2, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
  70. Letter of the Emperor to the bishops to gather in Council, April 25, 1811. Rome, Post., DM VI-2 (copie de l'abbé de Mazenod).
  71. Bishop Ricard, *Le Concile national de 1811*. (Paris s.d.) 123, 137.
  72. *Missions*, 132. Regarding Bishop Milesi, see L. Mazzini, *Vigevano ed i suoi Vescovi* (Mortara 1893); G. Occioni-Bonaffons *Francesco-Maria Milesi, patriarca di Venezia, Nota biografica* (Udine 1884).
  73. L. Madelin, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* X, 117-118.
  74. Eugene de Mazenod preserved among his papers a certain number of documents relating to the Council: *Report of the Archbishop of Tours concerning the delegation sent to Savona in the month of May, 1811. Note composed by order of and in the presence of His Holiness, read and then sent to the Bishops appointed to the Commission. Project instruction, or order sent by the Emperor to the Bishops of the Commission. Summary report of the special congregation appointed to arrange a reply to the message of His Majesty, the Emperor and King, presented to the general congregation of the Council, July 10, 1811. Proposals made on July 27, 1811, by His Excellency, the Minister of Public Worship to the Archbishops and Bishops who were each summoned by letter to his residence.* Eugene was equally careful to preserve two memoranda dealing with matters pertaining to the Council: *Details concerning the juggling for power and the conduct of the Bishops at the national council of 1811. What the writer thinks of the proposals as well as of the plan of the decree put forth by the Minister of Public Worship when, on July 27, 1811, a few days after the National Council was dissolved, he gathered the bishops at his residence.* Rome, Post., DM VI-2.
  75. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, April 8, 1810. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ VIII-3.
  76. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, January 3, 1810, *ibid.*
  77. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, January 13, 1811. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ VIII-4.
  78. *Ibid.* The "Guigues" of whom Roze-Joannis speaks could easily have been M. Guigou, the Vicar General of Aix. As a matter of fact, the Prefect Thibaudeau relates in his *Mémoires* how he received the order to make a personal "search of the residences of the vicars general of the diocese, who were suspected of receiving the briefs" from the Pope "and of being ready to circulate them." (A.-C. Thibaudeau, *Mémoires*, pp. 290-291.)
  79. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, February 22, 1810. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ VIII-3.
  80. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, August 3, 1810, *ibid.*
  81. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, February 7, 1810, *ibid.*

82. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, March 22, 1811. *Ibid.*, MJ VIII-4.
83. Roze-Joannis had taken it upon himself to write a "short treatise (of 200 pages) on the rights of the secular government over the Church," Letter to Madame de Mazenod, January 13, 1811, *ibid.*
84. Eugene to his mother, March 2, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
85. Eugene to his mother, March 31, 1811. Saint-Martin, M 1.
86. Eugene to his mother, March 31, 1811. Saint-Martin, M 1.
87. Eugene to his grandmother Joannis, July 24, 1811. Quoted by Rey, I, 120.
88. Eugene to his mother, October 14, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
89. R. Rouquette, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II, col. 1493.
90. Rey, I, 126.
91. M. Hervy to Father Faillon, 1842 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice) D. E., IV, fol. 412-413.

### Chapter Ten

1. Bishop de Demandolx to Eugene de Mazenod, November 25, 1811. Quoted by Rey, I, 127. On October 28, 1852, Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Bishop de Montals, the Bishop of Chartres, "More than forty years ago (it was in 1811) I had the honor of being presented to you. I was on my way to Amiens to be ordained to the priesthood by an old friend of the family, Bishop de Demandolx. I wanted to avoid the imposition of hands that I would have had to accept from Cardinal Maury had I waited for the ordinations at Paris. Frankly, I was in no way eager to be ordained a priest by that Eminence, and, since I had already become a director of the Seminary, due to the exile of our good Sulpician Fathers, I had to resort to a little sleight of hand in order to carry out my plan." (Bishop de Mazenod to Bishop Clausel de Montals, October 28, 1852. Marseilles, Arch. Archévêché. *Correspondance administrative*, 1851-1858, 61.)
2. Retreat before the priesthood. Rome, Post., DM IV-1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Eugene de Mazenod to Father Duclaux, December 21, 1811, quoted by Rey, I, 131.
5. Eugene to Father Duclaux, December 21, 1811. Quoted by Rey, I, 130-31.
6. Eugene to his mother, December 21, 1811. Rome, Post., FB I-7.
7. *Ibid.*
8. The Abbé de Mazenod's intentions for his three Christmas Masses. Rome, Post., DM IV-1. Eugene's maternal grandmother, Madame Joannis, had died on August 15. What he wrote to his sister gives us a glimpse of his affection for his "good mamette": "I won't begin this letter by telling you how I felt when I received the crushing news of the death of one I held most dear; it would only needlessly increase your own sorrow without diminishing my own in any way whatsoever." (Eugene to Madame Armand de Boisgelin, September 7, 1811. Saint-

Martin, M 1.) After he became a priest, he continued to pray for the repose of her soul: "Every day," he confided to his mother in June, 1812, "I mention her name in the *memento* of my Mass and once a week I offer Mass for her. That is how I acquit myself of the debt of gratitude I shall always owe her because of the more than maternal tenderness she always showed me." (Eugene to his mother, June 26-30, 1812, *ibid.*)

9. Rey, I, 133. On March 31, 1839, the Bishop of Marseilles recorded in his *Journal*: "I declined the offer of the venerable bishop who ordained me to keep me with him as his vicar general and friend; those were the very expressions he used when he honored me with that proposal. On the blessed day of Christmas, 1811, a memorable one for me since it was on that day that I had the privilege of offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the first time, I refused this touching invitation, which betokened his goodness, so that I would not be swerved from the vocation which urged me to devote myself to the service and welfare of souls towards whom I felt a love akin to the love Christ felt for all men." (Rome, Post., JM.)

"This holy bishop," he again confided to Bishop Clausel de Montals in 1852, "was so delighted to see the grandnephew of his old friend, the Abbé de Mazenod, who had been his colleague in the office of vicar general of Marseilles, that he proposed on the very day of my ordination to make me part of his administration by kindly offering me the position of vicar general. . . . The agreement which my confrères Teyseyrre, Tharin, Gosselin and I had made with our venerable teachers Duclaux, Boyer, etc. . . . to take their places at the Major Seminary during their exile, and the vocation which was urging me to institute missionaries for evangelizing the poor of our rural districts, deterred me from accepting such a generous invitation of the good Bishop of Amiens." (Bishop de Mazenod to the Bishop of Chartres, October 28, 1852, Marseilles, Arch. Archévêché, *Correspondance administrative*, 1851-1858, 61.)

10. Resolutions made as a director at the Seminary, December, 1811 or January, 1812. Rome, Post., DM IV-2.
11. L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon*, IV, *La Religion* (Paris 1907) 326.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.* On this subject, see Maury's letter to the Minister of Public Worship, November 3, 1811, published by Lanzac de Laborie in *La Domination française en Belgique*, II, 399-400.
14. *Registre pour servir aux délibérations de l'Association de piété* (Paris Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
15. P. Droulers, S.J., *Action pastorale et problèmes sociaux sous la monarchie de Juillet chez M<sup>or</sup> d'Astros, archevêque de Toulouse* (Paris 1954) 191-193.
16. Lacordaire, *Oraison funèbre de M<sup>or</sup> de Forbin-Janson*, August 28, 1844. Quoted by P. Lesourd, *Monseigneur de Forbin-Janson 1785-1844* (Paris 1944) 278-279.

17. L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon*, IV, 327.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Rey, I, 134; II, 716. Speaking to his mother of his many occupations, the Abbé de Mazenod wrote to her in June, 1812, "the day after tomorrow is the day on which I hear the children's confessions. Friday and Saturday, as usual, I have more confessions at the Minor Seminary. Sometimes I spend six hours at a time in the confessional there." (Eugene to his mother, June 26-30, 1812. Saint-Martin, M 1.)
20. Teysseyrre to Jean-Marie de La Mennais, March 3, 1812. Jersey, Arch. des Frères de Ploërmel, *Dossier Saint-Sulpice*. 16 B 13.
21. Bishop Jauffret to the Abbé de Mazenod, June 15, 1812, quoted by R. Reboul, *Un archevêque nommé d'Aix, évêque de Metz, et ses frères* (Aix 1896) 51.
22. Le chevalier Provana di Collegno to the Abbé de Mazenod, August 30, 1812, quoted by Rey, I, 137.
23. At least, such were his intentions on September 24. On that date, he apprized his mother that he would not leave Paris "until after October 15, since the vacation will not end until the 12th. I want a few days to myself to clear up some business matters in Paris, and to make a very short retreat, even if it is only for three days. I plan to stay three or four days at Lyons, and two, or at least one, at Avignon, to see my aunt." (Eugene to his mother, September 24, 1812. Rome, Post., FB I-8.)
24. Father Lacombe to the Abbé de Mazenod, November 25, 1812. Quoted by Rey, I, 148. As a member of the Sodality, Abbé Lafon had distributed the Bull of Excommunication along with Noailles, Bertier, and Montmorency. It was because of that that he was arrested September 19, at Bordeaux. Regarding this matter, see G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier*, 44-45. He was associated with the Knights of the Faith, although his membership in that order remains doubtful. Regarding his role in the Malet conspiracy in which "he represented the royalist element," see, *Ibid.* 63-64.
25. Observing that, on the same day, Napoleon had gone ahead with two further nominations, his own to the archbishopric and Pasquier's to the prefecture of police, Maury "kept repeating over and over" to the latter, "who became annoyed by this vulgar expression of joy, 'The Emperor has just filled two of the greatest needs of his Capital; with a good police force and a good clergy, the public peace is assured, for, an Archbishop is also a prefect of police.'" (*Mémoires of Chancellor Pasquier*, published by the duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier. (Paris 1893) I, 415.) It is a matter of public knowledge that on January 1, 1811, after the violent scene which took place between Napoleon and d'Astros, Maury escorted his vicar general, still dressed in his choir robes, to the Ministry of Police, and using his own carriage to take him there. When they arrived at the Ministry, Maury then escorted d'Astros into Savary's office, whereupon Savary put him under arrest and subjected him to a long interrogation. Cf. J. Leflon, *Monsieur Emery* II, 497-498.
26. Tharin to the Abbé de Mazenod, November 11, 1812. Quoted by Rey,

- I, 140. "We are being threatened," confided Teyseyrre to Jean-Marie de La Mennais on the preceding August 9, "with certain changes in the regulation for next year. But, I hope that Divine Providence will preserve this last refuge of the ecclesiastical spirit from these fatal innovations which would banish order and fervor from it." (Teyseyrre to Jean-Marie de La Mennais, August 9, 1812. Jersey, Arch. des Frères de Ploërmel, *Dossier Saint-Sulpice*, 16 B 15.) As Father Tharin's letter to Father de Mazenod testifies, the cardinal gave up the idea of imposing these innovations; his enthusiasm, no doubt, dampened by the doubtful success of the penmanship course.
27. Bishop de Mazenod's *Journal*, March 31, 1839. Rome, Post., JM. "When I returned to Aix," notes Bishop de Mazenod, in the above entry, "the Bishop of Metz who was then the administrator of the diocese asked me what I wanted to do. There wasn't the slightest thought in my head of capitalizing on my social standing by hinting that I would like what everyone at that time found reasonable. . . . I therefore told the Bishop of Metz that my only ambition was to consecrate myself to the service of the poor and the children. Thus, my first struggle was my work in the prisons and my apprenticeship consisted of gathering the children around me so that I might instruct them." (*Ibid.*)
  28. Rey, I, 147.
  29. The only open opposition Bishop Jauffret met in the diocese of Aix came from Abbé Turlec. The bishop was a friend of the Mazenod family and from the time he arrived at Aix, Eugene was convinced that Jauffret would eventually receive the Papal Bulls. When the vicar general Guigou, after co-operating with this prelate, later criticized him for his intrusion, Cardinal Mattei answered: "He is, nevertheless, a good bishop. He enjoys the esteem of the Holy Father." On this matter, see R. Reboul, *Un archevêque nommé, Evêque de Metz, et ses frères*, 40-60.
  30. Eugene to his mother, April 22, 1812. Rome, Post., FB I-8.
  31. Eugene to his mother, September 24, 1812, *ibid.* Regarding his plan to establish his household at the Enclos, cf. his letter to his mother October 14, 1811, *ibid.*, FB I-7.
  32. Daily regulation, December, 1812, *Ibid.*, DM IV-2.
  33. Father Duclaux to Father de Mazenod, February 23, 1813. Quoted by Rey, I, 152. Cf. Rambert, I, 117-118.
  34. *Registre pour servir aux délibérations de l'Association de piété*, March 10, 1813, fol. 55 (Paris, Arch. Saint-Sulpice).
  35. Father de Mazenod to Forbin-Janson, May 12, 1813. Paris, Arch. de la Sainte-Enfance, Forbin-Janson papers. Contrary to that of Saint-Sulpice, this Association of Piety, established at Aix by Father de Mazenod was not a secret one.
  36. Father Duclaux to Father de Mazenod, February 23, 1813, quoted by Rey, I, 152.
  37. Father Duclaux to Father de Mazenod, November 22, 1812, Rey, I, 143-144.
  38. Rambert, I, 122.

39. Rome, Post., DM V-3.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Roze-Joannis to Father de Mazenod, March 13, 1813, *ibid.*, FB II-1.
42. On 16 prairial an II (June 4, 1794) Grégoire, on behalf of the Committee on Public Education, gave the convention a report on the teaching and unification of the French language in which he recommended the abolition of all patois. That same day, the convention adopted his report as well as an *Adresse au peuple français* proposed by the Constitutional Bishop of Loir-et-Cher. Grégoire banned dialects, terming them "jargons which are the left-over scraps of the feudal system and the tombstones of slavery," the survivals of the provinces which were responsible for "deadly divisions" among our citizens, the speech of "political federalism." "The language," he declared, "must be one, like the Republic; from the North to the Midi, over the whole expanse of French territory, conversation, like hearts, must be harmonious" and only one language is fit for "free men," "the language of liberty." (Reprinted from the *Ancien Moniteur* XX, 646-652, 662.)
43. Regarding this matter, see A. Brun, *Un précurseur du Félibrige (M<sup>or</sup> de Mazenod)*, found in *Mémoires de l'institute historique de Provence* II, 1925, 189-203.
44. *Journal des délibérations, lois et coutumes de l'Association de la Jeunesse chrétienne, établie à Aix, sous les auspices de la Très sainte Vierge*, le 25 avril, 1813. Introduction. Rome, Post., DM VIII-2.
45. *Journal des délibérations*. . . Introduction. Rome, Post., DM VIII-2.
46. *Ibid.* April 25 meeting, 1813.
47. *Ibid.* December 5 meeting, 1813.
48. *Recueil de deux lettres écrites par M. de . . . touchant M. l'abbé de Mazenod, supérieur des Missions de Provence et directeur de la Congrégation de la Jeunesse chrétienne* (Aix, May 6, 1817) 4. Rome, Post., DM VIII-3.
49. *Mémoires* of Father Martin, quoted by Rey, I, 158.
50. Regarding this topic, see A.-C Thibaudeau, *Mémoires*, 272-273.
51. Roze-Joannis to Mme. de Mazenod, February 9, 1813. Aix, Hôtel Boisgelin, MJ VIII-4.
52. J. Leflon, *La Crise révolutionnaire*, XX de *l'Histoire de l'Église*, Fliche & Martin, 271.
53. Regarding the conspiracies of the anarchist party in Provence, see A.-C Thibaudeau, *Mémoires*, 299-305, 324-346.
54. An expression which designates girls or women who are very plump. Cf. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*.
55. Father de Mazenod to Madame Ginod, February 10, 1814 (Paris, Arch. de la Sainte-Enfance). Forbin-Janson papers. This Mme. Ginod was evidently a fictitious addressee, used as a cover up for Forbin-Janson.
56. *Ibid.* It refers to Cardinal Dugnani, who was nicknamed "comme ça, comme ça."
57. Cardinal Dugnani to Father de Mazenod, February 14, 1814. Rome, Post., LM Dugnani.
58. Cardinal Louis Ruffo to Father de Mazenod, April 17, 1814. *Ibid.*, LM

Ruffo. — This Cardinal Ruffo must not be confused with his kinsman, Cardinal Fabrice Ruffo who, in 1799, aroused all Calabria to chase the French from Southern Italy.

59. Father Duclaux to Father de Mazenod, February 23, 1813. Quoted by Rey, I, 153.
60. *Journal des délibérations de l'association de la jeunesse chrétienne*. "March 6, (1814): Interruption occasioned by the director's sickness. Details concerning what was done during that sickness." Rome, Post., DM VIII-2.
61. *Ibid.* "May 3, (1814): Assembly in the Church of the Madeleine to assist at a mass of thanksgiving for the recovery of the director."
62. B. Pascal, *Pensées et Opuscules*, L. Brunschvieg, Jr. édition, pensée 793, 696.

# Bibliography

## I. HANDWRITTEN SOURCES \*

### A. PRIVATE ARCHIVES

#### 1. Archives derived from the Boisgelin family.

(Historical note): Bishop de Mazenod's one and only sister, having married Marquis Armand de Boisgelin, all the papers preserved by the family became, on the death of the Bishop and his sister, the property of the Marquis' descendants and heirs.

On account of successive allotments and donations, as well as of a recent classification, all the Boisgelin archives are actually divided into five classes:

*a & b*) The two branches of the family which issued from Marquis Eugene de Boisgelin reserved to themselves all the family papers, as well as the major part of the dossiers, derived from the Mazenods and their relatives by marriage, posterior to 1790.

These archives are kept either at the Boisgelin family home in Aix-en-Provence or at the Chateau de Saint-Martin-de-Pallières (Var).

*c*) The departmental archives of Var, at Draguignan, have preserved some fragments which affect this department and that of the Alpes-Maritimes.

*d*) The Méjanes library of Aix-en-Provence possesses several dossiers concerning the Bouches-du-Rhône, notably the Mazenod, Joannis and other papers previous to the Revolution, as well as the dossiers which concern the Mazenods' emigration to Italy.

*e*) Finally, the archives of the Postulation Office of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate have secured divers family documents which touch on their Founder and his uncle, Charles-Fortuné.

#### *Summary inventory:*

Since these Boisgelin archives represent the principal source of the present volume it was deemed useful to furnish a brief glimpse of the dossiers that were consulted. A like principle ruled the classification of the five sources mentioned above: grouping by families and by members of each of the families.

\* Of the numerous sources consulted mention is made here only of those which contributed to the first volume of the biography.

a) *Hôtel de Boisgelin, Aix-en-Provence.*

- MJ I Bishop Charles-Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod: 13 dossiers containing manuscripts and correspondence with, (1) his mother, (2) his sister, (3) Roze-Joannis, (4) Armand de Boisgelin, (5) Louis de Boisgelin, (6) Eugène de Boisgelin, (7) Mme. Eugène de Boisgelin, (8) Césarie de Boisgelin, (9) other Boisgelins, (10) divers members of the Damas family, (11) different other correspondents, (12) varia, (13) correspondence of Oblates and Canons of Marseilles with the Boisgelins.
- MJ II Charles-Antoine de Mazenod (+1820): 6 dossiers of correspondence with, (1) his wife, (2) his daughter Eugénie, (3) Mlle. de Sainte-Marguerite, (4) & (5) different other correspondents, (6) varia.
- MJ III Mazenod: 5 dossiers, (1) Charles-Alexandre (+1795) and Charles-Auguste-André (+1795): different manuscripts concerning the management of their possessions, (2) Charles-Louis-Eugène (+1835) Correspondence and manuscripts, (3) Charles-Fortuné (+1840) Correspondence, (4) Eugénie de Mazenod: Notes and letters, (5) Different other Mazenod correspondence with the Boisgelins.
- MJ IV Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod, née Eugénie Joannis (+1851) 4 dossiers of correspondence with her daughter, Mme. Armand de Boisgelin (+1867).
- MJ V Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 5 dossiers of correspondence with: (1) her mother, (2) her sister, Mme. Dedons de Pierrefeu, (3) & (4) Alexandre and Victor Amyot, (5) different other Amyots.
- MJ VI Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 3 dossiers of correspondence with M. Aubert, and one dossier of manuscripts and contracts with M. Baret.
- MJ VII Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 4 dossiers of correspondence with Bausset, Armand de Boisgelin and different other Boisgelins.
- MJ VIII Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 4 dossiers of correspondence with: (1) Amyot Dedons, (2) Lambot, a businessman, (3) & (4) Roze-Joannis.
- MJ IX Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 4 other dossiers of correspondence with her cousin Roze-Joannis.
- MJ X Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 3 dossiers of different correspondence.
- MJ XI Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: 4 other dossiers: correspondence, tax records, cancellations from the list of émigrés, invoices.

- MJ XII Mme. Charles-Antoine de Mazenod and Amyot: 2 dossiers of accounts and various matters concerning Mme. de Mazenod; 2 other Amyot correspondence.
- MJ XIII Amyot-Bonnet: 2 dossiers containing different Amyot manuscripts; two other correspondence of Pierre Bonnet.
- MJ XIV Bonnet-Dedons de Pierrefeu Joannis: 5 dossiers of correspondence and different manuscripts.
- MJ XV Joseph-Thomas Joannis (+1795) and his wife, née Bonnet (+1811): 2 dossiers of correspondence of M. Joannis and the management of his possessions; a third dossier of correspondence of Mme. Joannis with her brother Pierre.
- MJ XVI Mme. Joseph-Thomas Joannis: 1 dossier of the Bec lawsuit and other different correspondence.
- MJ XVII Mme. Joseph-Thomas Joannis and Joseph-François Roze-Joannis, (+1836): 3 dossiers of correspondence and manuscripts concerning Mme. Joannis; a fourth dossier of correspondence and manuscripts of Roze-Joannis.
- b) *Chateau de Saint-Martin-de-Pallières (Var).*  
 M 1 and 2 Bishop Charles-Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod: Correspondence, instructions and discourses.  
 M 3 Correspondence of different members of the Mazenod families and of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate with the Boisgelins.
- c) *Departmental archives of Var, Draguignan.*  
 A file containing papers on the management of the Ginasservis mill and their other business transactions in the Var before the Revolution.
- d) *Méjanes Library, Aix-en-Provence.*  
 The following list of sources quoted is a provisional one; it will figure, nevertheless, in the general catalogue of the manuscripts with the final enumeration.
- B 1 Different members of the Joannis family.  
 B 2 Jean-Baptiste Joannis, Doctor (+1737): personal papers.  
 B 3 & 4 Jean-Baptiste Joannis, Doctinaire (+1800): Miscellaneous, correspondence, conferences and sermons.  
 B 5 to 8 Joseph-Thomas Joannis: personal papers.  
 B 9 Mme. Joseph-Thomas Joannis, née Catherine Bonnet.  
 B 10 to 13 Jean-Baptiste & Joseph-Thomas Joannis: medical papers and courses.

- B 14 to 23 Laugier family (a branch of the Seigneurs of St. André).
- B 24 to 42 The Laurans Peyrolles family.
- B 43 & 44 Different members of the Mazenod families.
- B 45 Charles-Joseph de Mazenod: management of possessions, correspondence.
- B 46 Charles-Vincent de Mazenod (+1739): management of possessions, correspondence.
- B 47 to 61 Charles-Alexandre de Mazenod: account books (47-50), correspondence (51-56) pensions and receipts (56-58), land of Saint-Laurent-du-Verdon (Basses-Alpes) (59-61).
- B 62 to 68 Charles-Auguste-André de Mazenod: Account-books (62-66); correspondence (67); Sacristie of Saint-Sauveur at Aix and canonry of Lambesc (68).
- B 69 to 73 Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: correspondence with his son, Charles-Joseph-Eugène (69); Different correspondence (70); commercial operations at Venice (71 & 72); French course in Sicily and history notes (73).
- B 74 & 75 Charles-Fortuné de Mazenod: correspondence, principally with the Baroness de Talleyrand.
- B 76 Charles-Louis-Eugène de Mazenod: different documents and commercial papers.
- B 77 sq. Charles-Alexandre & Charles-Antoine de Mazenod: papers concerning the Court of Accounts of Provence.
- e) *Postulation Office of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Rome.*
- FB I Bishop Charles-Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod: 10 dossiers of correspondence with: (1) his father; (2) his uncle Fortuné; (3) his uncle Charles-Eugène; (4) his sister; (5) different other Mazenods; (6) his grandmother, Mme. Joannis; (7) to (10) his mother.
- FB II Bishop Charles-Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod: 3 dossiers of various correspondence and a fourth with notes on Saint-Laurent-du-Verdon; (5) & (6) voyages and miscellaneous; (7) Oblate correspondence and correspondence of the Canons of Marseilles with Mme. de Mazenod; (8) management of Saint-Laurent.
- FB III Claims of the Mazenods upon different debtors and various claims upon Charles-Alexandre de Mazenod; 4 dossiers.
- FB IV Various claims upon Charles-Antoine, Charles-Fortuné and Charles-Louis-Eugène de Mazenod; 5 dossiers.
- FB V Charles-Antoine & Charles Fortuné de Mazenod: 3 dossiers of letters exchanged in 1818.

- FB VI Charles-Antoine and Charles-Fortuné de Mazenod: 3 dossiers of letters exchanged in 1819-1820.
- FB VII Bishop Charles-Fortuné de Mazenod: 3 dossiers of correspondence; a fourth relating to the elevation of his nephew to the episcopate; a fifth of varia.
2. Archives of the Postulation Office of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Rome.
- LM Letters of Bishop de Mazenod (names of the receivers listed alphabetically).
- JM Mémoires and Journal of Bishop de Mazenod (chronological order).
- DM I Family documents and those connected with his youth, 8 dossiers.
- DM II Writings from his youth: 7 dossiers on history, literature, philosophy, theology, etc.
- DM III Notes from his seminary courses at Saint-Sulpice: Apologetics, Sacred Scripture, Moral Theology, 11 dossiers.
- DM IV Spiritual notes, principally retreat notes, 7 dossiers.
- DM V Notes for instructions and conferences, among others for spiritual conferences during seminary days, instructions according to the unabbreviated catechism of Saint-Sulpice, instructions given in the Provençal tongue at the church of the Madeline during Lent of 1813, 7 dossiers.
- DM VI Different notes, among others, those on the preliminaries of the National Council of 1811, on the Council itself, and on the canonical institution of bishops, 4 dossiers.
- DM VII Personal titles: ordinations, testimonial letters, etc., 4 dossiers.
- DM VIII Association of Christian Youth of Aix: statutes, deliberations, etc., 3 dossiers.
3. Parish archives.
- Parish of Saint Ferreol, Marseilles: parish registers of 1814.
- Parish of San Nicolo la Kalsa, Palermo (Sicily): Record of baptisms, marriages and deaths for the year 1802.
- Parish of San Silvestro, Venice: Death register, vol. 8 (1786-1801).
4. Archives of Saint-Sulpice Seminary, Paris.
- List of students who entered Saint-Sulpice Seminary from 1801 to 1809.
- Handwritten courses of Fathers Boyer and Montaigne (1809-1810).
- Register of the deliberations of the "Association de piété" formed at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice of Paris, October 9, 1801.
- Material collected for the Life of Father Emery; 12 volumes.
- Notebook of letters of Father Emery, Madame Bruté, and the Abbé Bruté (copies).

5. Archives of the Society of Jesus.  
 Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu: Paccanaristae 8, Societatis fidei catalogi 1797-1805.  
 Archives of the Jesuits of the Province of France, Chantilly (Oise): Congrégations mariales.
6. General Archives of the Barnabite Fathers, Rome.  
 Acta consultationum Praepositi generalis, 1756-1804.  
 Acta Collegiorum: Acta Taurinensis Nobilium Collegii, 1792-1794.
7. Archives of the Brothers of Ploërmel, Jersey.  
 Dossier Saint-Sulpice: 16 B 8, 16 B 13, 16 B 15.  
 Dossier Bruté de Rémur: Cahier Bruté 18 B.
8. Archives of Societies.  
 Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, Aix-en-Provence: Archives of the Society for working among the Prisoners, Register of Deliberations an XIII (1813).  
 Pontifical Society of the Holy Childhood, Paris: Letters of the Abbé de Mazenod to the Abbé de Forbin-Janson (1806-1817).
9. Archives of the Savy family, Aix-en-Provence.  
 Papers of the Marquis Boniface-Martin-Alexandre d'Arlatan: Family record book and correspondence.

#### B. PUBLIC ARCHIVES

1. National Archives, Paris.
 

AF IV 1047	Reports of the Minister of the Interior, Public Worship, 1810-1811.
F7 3341	Lists of émigrés 1792-1815 (Ardennes-Bouches-du-Rhône).
F7 3659-1	Personal and moral statistics. Departmental series (1790-1830) Bouches-du-Rhône.
F7 4936	Departmental series of the dossiers relating to emigration: Bouches-du-Rhône.
F7 6024	Emigration: certificates of amnesty.
2. Archives of Foreign Affairs, Paris.  
 Political correspondence, Venice, vol. 251, the year 1794 (Noël, plenipotentiary minister, Jacob, Chargé d'Affaires; Lallement, envoy).  
 Mémoires and Documents, France, vol. 588 & 590. Documents relating to emigration.
3. Departmental archives of the Basses-Alpes, Digne.  
 2 E Riez files, Quinson's study, Sixte Bausset, art. 125 (7 *brumaire* X-5 *complémentaire* XIII).
4. Departmental archives of the Bouches-du-Rhône.  
*Aix-en-Provence:*  
 Parish registers of the church of the Madeleine, Register 58 (1777-1783).  
 303 E 495 Study of Jean-Honoré Estienne, registre 1775-1778.

*Marseilles*

- D 10 College of Aix directed by the Congregation of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine. Treasurer's account book. Receipts.
- 380 E 41 Marie Perraud files. Study made by Hector Antelmy (1564).
- 19 H 2 Doctrinaires of Aix. Deliberations 1774-1791.
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