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“One of the Pillars of the
Building Started”**

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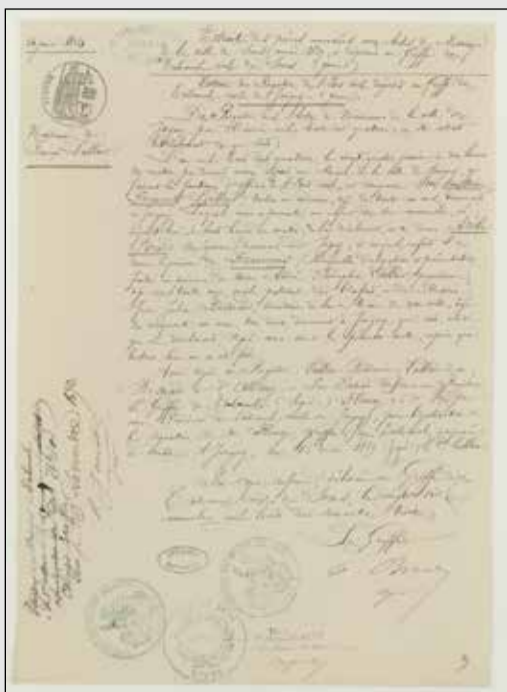
Raymond Sickinger, Ph.D.

BIO

RAYMOND L. SICKINGER, Ph.D., received his doctorate in History from the University of Notre Dame in 1978. Former Director of the Feinstein Institute for Public Service, Chair of the Department of Public and Community Service Studies, and Chair of the Department of History and Classics at Providence College, Dr. Sickinger has served in a variety of administrative and teaching positions over the course of 46 years. Currently, he is Professor Emeritus of History at Providence College. He has been published previously in *Vincentian Heritage* and in other journals such as *Parliamentary History*, *The Journal of Popular Culture*, and *The Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*. His biography, *Antoine Frédéric Ozanam*, published in 2017 by the University of Notre Dame Press, won the award for best biography from the National Catholic Press Association in 2018. Dr. Sickinger currently serves as Chair of the National Leadership Task Force of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul and sits on the Society’s National Board of Directors. He has been an active member of the Society since 1985 and has been a member of the Society’s National Board of Directors since 2005. He has helped to produce numerous materials, videos, and webinars for the formation of the Society’s members and its leaders.

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A copy of François Lallier's birth certificate.

Courtesy of the author

In an 1883 letter to Frédéric Ozanam's brother, Alphonse, Paul Lamache spoke of the beginning of the first Conference of Charity. According to Lamache, Frédéric Ozanam was certainly the primary founder with "a noble motive," but Lallier was his close second. He described François Lallier as the person "who was by his persevering zeal and habits of order, one of the pillars of the building started." He confessed that he owed "a lot to both of them, and [I] thank God."¹ His remarks certainly provide significant evidence that Lallier's contributions were essential to both the foundation and the growth of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul formed fifty years earlier in 1833.

Born 24 January 1814 in Joigny, France, François Lallier came from a family of talented men. His father was a doctor, one of his uncles was president of the court in Joigny, and the other was headmaster at the Royal High School and vicar general of Sens. Their influence encouraged him to succeed in school. Lallier pursued his studies, hoping to achieve a degree in law. By 1836 he had reached his goal, completing a doctorate in law at the University of Paris.² While he matriculated in Paris at the Sorbonne, Lallier joined the first Conference of

1 "Lettre de Paul Lamache à Mgr. C.-A. Ozanam," Grenoble, 1 July 1883 in *Sacra Congregatio Pro Causis Sanctorum Officium Historicum, Frederici Ozanam, Patris Familias Primarii Fondatoris Societatis Conferentiarum S. Vincentii a Paulo, Disquisitio, : de Vita et Actuositate Servi Dei*, (Rome: 1980), 408–409.

2 "Extrait du discours prononcé devant la Société archéologique de Sens dans sa séance du 3 janvier 1887 par M. G. Julliot, son président," in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Sens*, t. xv, (Sens: Imprimerie de Ch. Duchemin, 1892), 301. Hereafter cited as *Bulletin de Sens*. I want to thank Ralph Middlecamp, President of the National Council of the US, for providing me with a copy of an English translation of the French text. A copy of Lallier's birth certificate that I have received clearly indicates that the correct date of his birth is 24 January 1814.

Charity in 1833 and served as the secretary general of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul beginning in 1837. Once he left Paris in 1839 for Sens, Lallier embarked upon a successful career in law. He not only remained involved in the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in Sens, but he also became a perfect example of a professional person who is deeply engaged in his community and who helps to transform it, just as Ozanam and the early members of the Society had envisioned.

Toward the First Conference of Charity

It was while he was studying law in Paris that Lallier first met Frédéric Ozanam. Like Ozanam, Lallier sought out other Christian students in Paris, a religious wasteland at that time. He noticed Ozanam speaking out in class, challenging statements that disparaged religion. After class he found him with a group of young men: “As I left the law school ... I noticed that a small group of students ... were standing on the footpath near the Rue Soufflot. In the middle of the group was one who spoke warmly, and who was listened to. Who is, I asked myself, this young chanticleer [*sic*] to whom those fellows pay so much attention?—I recognized Ozanam. ... When the others had dispersed ... we two resumed the conversation, exchanging views, getting to understand one another better.”³ They soon became fast friends. As Kathleen O’Meara notes, “It was not long before the chance acquaintance ripened to a friendship which lasted without a cloud until Ozanam’s death.”⁴

It was Ozanam who convinced Lallier to enter the Conference of History in 1832. As Lallier mentioned, “The energetic and enlightened faith of Ozanam had long since suggested to him the idea of a federation of studies and labors among young Christian men. He saw a means of realizing his project, in the History Conference, and he never lost an opportunity of bringing new members to it.”⁵ In March of 1833, Ozanam wrote to his mother: “I have ... a circle of friends who gather every day in worthwhile enterprises and whom I love as brothers, from the old childhood companion, good Henri; to Lallier, that excellent young man; Lamache the soul of an artist; and practically a knight, Cherruel, the converted Saint-Simonian ... What delightful hours we have spent together speaking of country, family, religion, science, literature, legislation ... What satisfaction to be with

3 Right Reverend Monsignor Louis Baunard, *Ozanam in His Correspondence* (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society, 1925), 42–43.

4 Kathleen O’Meara, *Frederic Ozanam, Professor at the Sorbonne, His Life and Works* (New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company, 1891), 43.

5 François Lallier, “The Origin of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, From the Recollections of Its Early Members,” reprinted from *Bulletin*, March 1882 (Toronto: Printed for the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, at the “Irish Canadian” Office, 1884), 8. For the French version see *Origines et Fondateurs de la Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul* (Paris: Ettighoffer-Raynaud, 1960), 12. Hereafter cited as *Origines et Fondateurs*.



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Engraved portrait of Paul Lamache.

From *Les Contemporains*, 19 September 1897.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

sometimes about thirty young men at the famous M. Cornbalot's sermon, or the evening gatherings at M. de Montalembert's."⁶

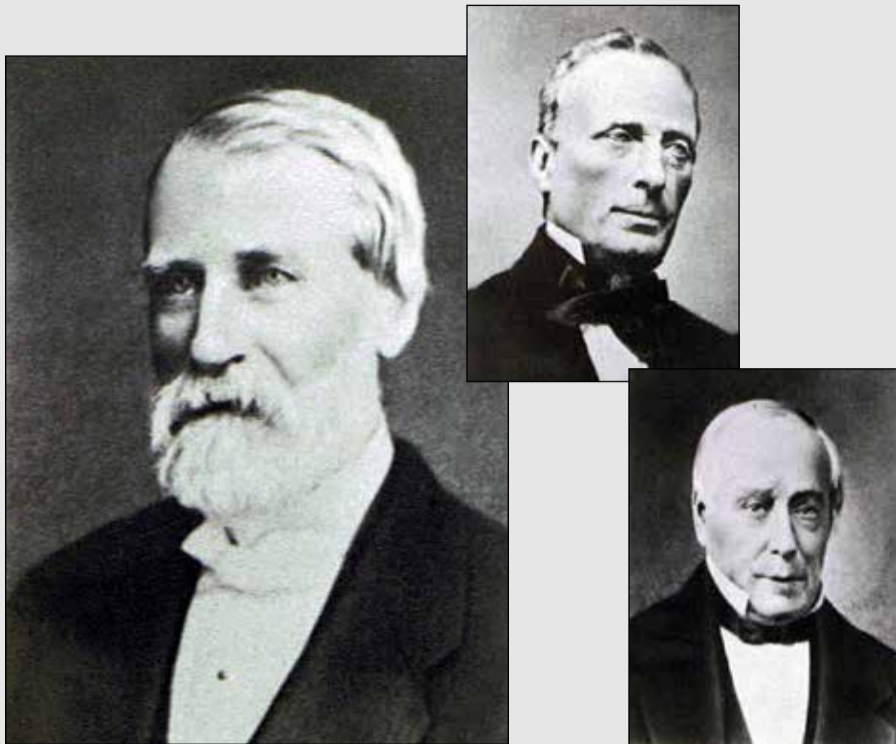
It was out of this Conference of History that the first Conference of Charity of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was formed. Later in the nineteenth century, Lallier was asked to write about the origins of the first conference using the recollections of surviving members. In that document, Lallier claimed that Auguste Le Taillandier was the first person to suggest a gathering of Christians concerned with doing good works. Lallier quoted him: "I would much prefer another kind of meeting, where contention and controversy would be banished, and which would be composed only of Christian young men, engaged together, and solely about good works."⁷ Taillandier's suggestion, however, was not acted upon until Ozanam enthusiastically embraced it in response to attacks on Catholicism in the Conference of History. According to Lallier's account, Ozanam opened his heart to his friends: "How sad it is to see Catholicism, to see our holy mother the Church, thus attacked, ridiculed and calumniated. Let us of course remain in the breach to face the attacks. But do you not feel, like me, the desire, the necessity for having, outside this combative conference, another meeting consisting exclusively of Christian friends and wholly devoted to charity? Does it not seem to be time to join action to words, and to affirm by words the vitality of our faith?"⁸

Ozanam, Lamache, and Lallier then took the initiative and acted upon Taillandier's

6 "Letter to his Mother," 19 March 1833, in Joseph I. Dirvin, C.M., (trans. and ed.), *Frederic Ozanam: A Life in Letters* (St. Louis: Society of Saint Vincent de Paul Council of the United States, 1986), 35. Hereafter cited as Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*. For the original French text, see *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam: Lettres de Jeunesse (1819–1840)* by Léonce Célier, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, and Didier Ozanam (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1960), vol. 1, n. 55, 99. Henri most likely refers to his cousin, Henri Pessonneaux.

7 "The Origin of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul," 9. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 14.

8 *Ibid.*, 10. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 14–15.



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Portraits of Auguste Le Taillandier (1811–1886), Jules Devaux (1811–1880), and Emmanuel Bailly (1794–1861).

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

proposal. Lallier also noted in his history that it was Ozanam who suggested adding two additional members—Felix Clavé and Jules Devaux. Ozanam was “immediately asked by his colleagues to invite those two young men” who “accepted unhesitatingly.”⁹ The young men then sought the advice of the older Emmanuel Bailly, who agreed to let them meet at the office of the *Catholic Tribune*, where he was the editor; it was located in the Rue du Petit-Bourbon—Saint-Sulpice, No. 18. All seven members (Bailly, Ozanam, Lallier, Lamache, Taillandier, Clavé, and Devaux) agreed that “the whole rule of human life was summed up in obedience to the Commandments of God and filial love for the Catholic Church, the guardian of those commandments.”¹⁰

Although debated by some historians, there are those who think the young men may have received advice from Sister Rosalie Rendu as they began to visit those in need in their homes.¹¹ As Lallier recollected: “[I]t would be imprudent to entrust such or such a poor family indiscriminately to any visitor. But in the infinitely varied number of the poor, it is always easy to find some to whom a visit would not present any inconvenience, even for the most inexperienced young man.”¹² After their first meeting in the spring of 1833, they decided to meet every Tuesday at eight o’clock. By the middle of December, they had chosen a secretary and prepared minutes of all meetings. Lallier also remembered that during their first months together, five-franc pieces were dropped into the weekly collection: “These

9 *Ibid.*, 10–12. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 15–16.

10 *Ibid.*, 12–13. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 16–17.

11 Jules Devaux, for example, was charged with obtaining a list of those who required help from Sister Rosalie Rendu, a Daughter of Charity in the Mouffetard District. See Gérard Cholvy, *Frédéric Ozanam: Le christianisme a besoin de passeurs* (Perpignan, France: Éditions Artège, 2012), 62–63.

12 *Ibid.*, 11. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 16.

five-franc pieces, shown by the treasurer, caused a sensation; each of the young men knew he gave nothing but a small coin. These five-franc pieces represented the value which M. Bailly was good enough to attribute to some articles, chiefly bibliographic, supplied by the majority of the members of the Conference to the *Catholic Tribune*.”¹³

Besides undertaking home visits to those in need, Lallier recorded that the members of the newly formed conference were instrumental in advancing the cause of a series of Lenten talks at the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Lallier was one of a team of three composed also of Frédéric Ozanam and Paul Lamache. The three visited Archbishop Hyacinthe Louis de Quélen of Paris, eventually succeeding in their quest by Lent of 1834. Interestingly, membership in the Conference of Charity “more than doubled” after that first Lenten season.¹⁴ He further recollected that he and other members, including Ozanam, agreed to help the bureau of benevolence in the twelfth arrondissement by freely accepting “the official duties of commissioners of charity.” In the Rue des Boulangers in the Quartier Saint-Victor, Lallier visited the even numbered dwellings between one and twenty, while Ozanam visited the odd numbers. For several years, they continued this service. In 1836, Lallier assumed the duties of deputy administrator in the divisions of Monsieur Ratand and Monsieur Scellier-Beccaria.¹⁵

Lallier’s history of the early origins confirms that it was in February 1834 that the conference officially chose Saint Vincent de Paul as its patron. It was Le Prévost who made the motion; it was followed by a second motion from Ozanam to recognize the Blessed Mother as patroness. Both motions passed unanimously. As a result, the conference added a prayer to their patron and patroness at each meeting. They also designated the feast of Saint Vincent de Paul (then 19 July) and the feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December) as special feasts to observe. In April, the members of the first conference of charity were given the opportunity to view Saint Vincent’s sacred relics. Sunday, 13 April 1834 was the anniversary of the translation of the relics of the famous French saint. Emmanuel Bailly arranged for sixty members to visit the chapel of the Lazarists located on the Rue de Sèvres on the day before, 12 April. Lallier described that extraordinary experience:

After having heard Mass, [we] ... went into the next room, where the body was clothed in its sacerdotal vestments. It was quite easy to see the features and profile of the face, beneath the veil that covered them. All present knelt and prayed with great recollection. Then each person advanced in turn to kiss the feet of him who, like his Divine Master, had gone about doing good on earth. In the presence of these holy relics the thoughts of the young associates

13 *Ibid.*, 15–16. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 20–21.

14 *Ibid.*, 18–21. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 23–27.

15 *Ibid.*, 16–17. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 21–22.



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Portrait of François Lallier (1814–1886).

Courtesy of the author with permissions from CGI

ascended without difficulty to the invisible world, whence the glorious soul of their Patron Saint could see and bless them.¹⁶

By November of 1834, the first conference had grown to one hundred members.¹⁷ The first conference grew larger as early as 24 April 1834, and Lallier, Ozanam, and Devaux, concerned by the recent rapid growth in the size of the conference, “consulted together for more than an hour, walking on the Place du Pantheon.” According to Lallier’s account, “For the first time they asked each other if it would not be desirable to divide the Conference into sections, in each of which they would know each other better, and when it would be possible to have again the charm and intimacy of earlier times.”¹⁸ The division into sections proved at first to be a contentious issue because there were strong feelings among the members both in favor and against the division. But by the spring of 1835, the split into sections occurred through an amicable process. As Lallier reports, “One of the first measures adopted by the sections when they met, was the printing of tickets for the poor, bearing the name of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. These tickets were henceforth to replace those given before by the Sisters of Charity.”¹⁹ It is a sign of the confidence of the newly formed Society that it decided to take such a bold step. On Sunday, 19 July 1835, the newly formed sections came together to celebrate the feast of their patron saint in the chapel of the Lazarists: “A great number of members went to Holy Communion at the nine o’clock High Mass. They went again to vespers at half-past two. The general meeting was held at eight o’clock in the

16 *Ibid.*, 21–22. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 27–28.

17 Raymond L. Sickinger, *Antoine Frédéric Ozanam* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017), 66, 72.

18 *Ibid.*, 23. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 29.

19 It is important to note that Soeurs de la Charité (Sisters of Charity) and Daughters of Charity were the same—the Company of the Daughters of Charity.

evening, in their usual hall.” The split did not seem to cause permanent harm or ill feelings. In fact, by the end of 1835, the number of members grew to 250. By then the Society had also formed a library and a clothing depot to help those they served.²⁰

Monsieur Bailly now “resolved to give a regular written rule to the Society of Charity.” Lallier, whose written French was most precise, received the charge to write a draft. The final product was adopted on 8 December 1835, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Because the Society had decided to divide into sections in that same year, Emmanuel Bailly now took “the title of President-General of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, appointed Leprevost as Vice-President-General, Brac de la Perrière as Secretary-General, and Devaux as Treasurer-General. These four members formed the Council of direction of the Society.” To ensure proper communication, periodic written letters were circulated to the conferences beginning in 1837. As Lallier commented at the end of his “recollections,” the members continued “faithful to their programme,” which was “to learn to know, and love each other” and to “learn to know, serve and love the poor of Jesus Christ.”²¹

Secretary General of the Society

In 1837, François Lallier replaced Brac de la Perrière as secretary general of the Society. One of his primary duties was to prepare the circular letters sent to conferences to bind them together, to instruct them on important issues, and to collect reports on their activities. His dear friend Ozanam offered him the following advice in his new role: “As Secretary General, you are after M. Bailly, the Society’s soul. The unity, and from it the vigor and perseverance, of the different conferences depend on you. Attend particular assemblies frequently; see the presidents from time to time; take part in the meetings of the administrative council; prod sometimes the excessive tranquility of the president general; do not neglect correspondence with the provincial conferences.” He further advised:

If you think as I do, when a conference fails to write by a designated date, you should write to it yourself a little in advance of the next date, to ask it to be more faithful in communicating. No longer allow the circular letters to be delayed too long. The one you sent me two months ago was very good and responded to an urgent need; visiting families is not as easy as it seems; instructions in this regard are extremely useful, and it would be good to repeat them.²²

Again in 1838 Ozanam cautioned his friend: “It is your duty, by age and office in the

20 *Ibid.*, 26–30. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 32–37. Lazarist is the name given in France to the Congregation of the Mission priests who were founded by Saint Vincent de Paul. In Paris, they were at first located in the priory of Saint-Lazare.

21 *Ibid.*, 31–32. For the French text, see *Origines et Fondateurs*, 37–39.

22 “Letter to François Lallier,” 5 October 1837, in Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*, 120–121. For the original French text, see *Lettres*, vol. 1, n. 160, 283–84.

Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, to reanimate it from time to time by new inspirations which, without harm to its primitive spirit, foresee the dangers of too monotonous a uniformity.”²³ Lallier took all of this advice to heart.

Not surprisingly, one of the first things Lallier wrote about in his new role as secretary general was the importance of friendship among members: “You know that one thing especially supports and strengthens us in this world—it is the thought of having near us friends on whom we can rely for advice and example. ... You have indeed felt the power of such a Christian relationship, when you adopted our prayers and mode of proceeding. ... You have, therefore, become our brothers in order to share and make us sharers in Christian intimacy. We shall all profit ... by this precious advantage derived from our faith.” In the same letter, he discussed the effectiveness of spiritual alms:

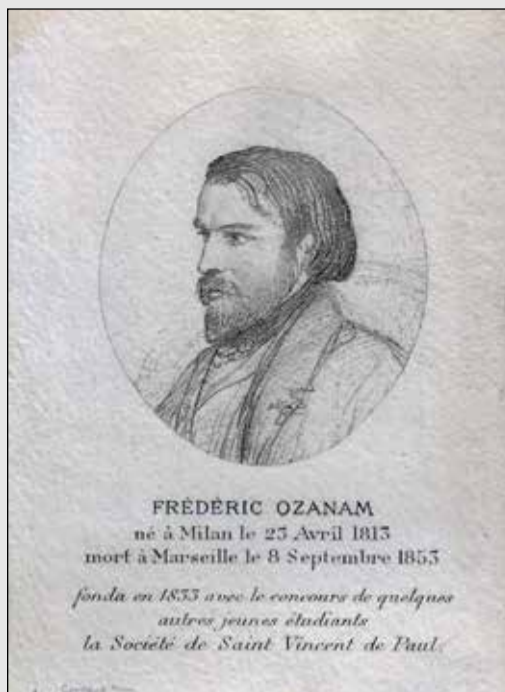
Others hope to relieve without believing. They throw at random a few handfuls of money that the poor despise as mere crumbs and are of no avail. We, too, offer very little, because we are little and because true charity is always poor like those whom it relieves. But we have the charity of the heart that can multiply our mite a hundredfold, and the poor who feel such things welcome us with honour.²⁴

In August of 1837, Lallier instructed the Society’s members on the importance of building friendships with those served: “We tell the poor that ... we hope to be able to afford them some assistance” and, especially if they were not afraid of a religious group, then “a friendship is soon formed.” He cautioned them that they should never be considered as simply “relieving officers coming from the workhouse, and calling every week to deal out regular doles, but rather as friends and advisers to be applied to in the hard and painful emergencies of life.” According to Lallier, “If we feel happy when visiting the poor, those representatives of Jesus Christ, if we love them, if we willingly sacrifice a little of our time in order to be useful to them, we may hope to be loved by Him who asks of us nothing but a little love. ... Thus, the work that we undertake of our own accord is a means of improving ourselves: it is a new tie that binds us to virtue.” Furthermore, Lallier criticized those with grandiose schemes to relieve the poor; he stressed the importance of the simple home visit:

Much is said in our days about improving the condition of the poorer classes, and there daily springs up a multitude of systems for so doing, not one of which is applicable, merely because the authors of them do not even suspect how matters stand in reality. ... How can we do so ... unless we have examined and probed the wound which we undertake to heal? We shall ... be indefatigable in visiting the poor, because we are convinced that it is, in our days, one of the

23 “Letter to François Lallier,” 7 February 1838, in Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*, 131. For the original French text, see *Lettres*, vol.1, n. 169, 296.

24 “Circular-letter of M. Lallier, Secretary-General,” 1 March 1837, in *The Manual of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul*, 21st ed. (Dublin: The Superior Council of Ireland, 1958), 114, 120. Hereafter cited as *Dublin Manual*.



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Prayer card of Frédéric Ozanam.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

best methods of serving both them and ourselves.²⁵

Throughout the Society's history, the circular letters have remained an important source of inspiration and instruction. They constituted a primary example of promoting transparency and solidarity within the fledgling Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. They provided a way to identify significant shortcomings as well as celebrate successes. Using a cogent organic image, Ozanam once described these letters as "brotherly communications" that "are like the circulation which keeps life in the Society."²⁶ It is evident that like Ozanam, François Lallier saw these circular letters as vital to the new Society. His contributions to them helped to form its members and steer the Society on an even course in its early days. When Lallier stepped down from the position of secretary general of the Society in 1839, his successor, Louis de Baudicour, praised him: "The departure of our friend Lallier is a fatal blow this year to Our Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. He was for us the last representative of the founding nucleus of Our Society, which was, so to speak, soul and life."²⁷

Continuing Friendship and Correspondence with Frédéric Ozanam

In an 1838 letter to Lallier, Frédéric Ozanam described the crucial importance to him of their early student friendships and his lasting memories of them: "Those friendships formed under the auspices of faith and charity, in a double confraternity of religious discussion and benevolent works ... feed on remembrance ... [A]ll those humble scenes of

25 "Circular-letter of M. Lallier, Secretary-General," August 1837, in *Dublin Manual*, 205–08.

26 "Letter of Frédéric Ozanam," 27 April 1838, in *Dublin Manual*, 120. For the original French text, see "To the General Assembly of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul," 27 April 1838, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam: Supplément et Tables*, Édition critique sous la direction de Didier Ozanam (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1997), vol. 5, n. 1372 [173 bis], 71.

27 Quoted in Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée, *Les Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul au XIX^e siècle: Un fleuron du catholicisme social* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2008), 61.

our student life, when they come back to me in the half-light of the past, have an ineffable charm for me.”²⁸ Like Ozanam, Lallier, too, placed an equal value on friendship:

What are all the treasures and glories of the world, beside the invaluable benefits of friendship and virtue? ... I could not help but write to my parents that I saw only one ... goal in the existence of man, to love God and neighbor; that all the rest seemed to me only a means to reach this end, that it should not be surprising to see myself ... so fond of receiving letters from my friends.²⁹

Even after the early days of the first conference, Lallier and Ozanam remained close friends. For Ozanam, Lallier “was, and always continued to be, the strong religious spirit to whom the friend unbosomed his weakness and his tenderness.” Ozanam even hoped to convince Lallier to live in Lyon in order to be close to him; he lovingly chided his friend for not being a Lyonnais: “That is all that is wanting in you.”³⁰

The two friends exchanged visits in 1837, 1839, and 1840. In the latter year, Ozanam traveled to Sens, where Lallier then resided. On his return, he spoke of this trip to several of their mutual friends. Ozanam teased Lallier that their friends all began to picture Lallier’s young son as “already clothed with the ... gravity” of his father, and they laughed together about that incongruous image.³¹

In 1840, it was to Lallier that Frédéric turned for advice as he struggled with his decision to enter the priesthood or to marry. Lallier provided wise counsel:

Do you feel the courage to live alone in chastity? That’s the whole question. If you have this courage, choose the holy career you want to undertake: be a priest, a doctor, a missionary, a preacher; be a pilgrim of science and of faith ... be what will please God. You will bear more than one privation: but your mind will be more exact, your soul firmer, your heart greater. Nothing will prevent you from noble attachments, from those sweet and pure affections that strengthen: but the purity of the body must be complete ... chastity is both a pain and a reward.

28 “Letter to François Lallier,” 17 May 1838, in Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*, 139–40. For the original French text, see *Lettres*, vol. 1, n. 175, 304–06.

29 “Letter to Frédéric Ozanam,” Joigny, 29 October, 1836, in *Dossier Correspondance active et passive de François Lallier (1814–1886)*, Frédéric Ozanam Correspondance passive, Archives Laporte Ozanam, Fonds donné à la BnF (NAF 28199), 7. Transcriptions made between 2003 and 2008 by Raphaëlle Chevalier Montariol, aided by Christophe Montariol. I am grateful to Ralph Middlecamp, the president of the National Council of the US, for receiving a copy of these letters. Hereafter cited as *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*.

30 Baunard, *Ozanam*, 347. Gérard Cholvy refers to their friendship as “une grande amitié.” Cholvy notes that there is a remarkable richness in the correspondence between these two men. See Gérard Cholvy, *Frédéric Ozanam: L’engagement d’un intellectuel catholique au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 223, 225.

31 *Ibid.* For the original French text, see “Letter to François Lallier,” 21 June 1840, in Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*, 187, and *Lettres*, vol. 1, n. 241, 409.

Lallier understood that marriage had its own rewards that should be acknowledged:

If you have any doubt about yourself, if you are not sure that you can fulfill a devout mission, if you are worried about your health, and need to re-immense your soul in the things of the earth ... listen to the proposals that are made to you. If you lack strength, remaining in solitude, you would be lost. Being married on the contrary, father of a family, you will do less, no doubt, for the generality of men, but you will have, in a restricted circle, a real, useful action, which will do good to others and so much to yourself.

The last piece of advice Lallier offered weighed the costs one would have to bear if one married:

You will often have to be with your wife, and with your children, when the good God has given you the remarkable grace to send you off. The work you do in the silence of an office will only have more charm for you; you will always love your friends; you will like, as I do, to write to them and receive their letters; but, again, this work will be restricted. It will only be best, if your vocation is really marriage and fatherhood: but if it is not, it will be worth nothing.³²

Lallier never told his friend what to do but rather raised all the issues that he needed to consider before making his final decision. To the chagrin of the Dominican priest, Lacordaire, Frédéric chose to marry and marry well. François Lallier, however, supported his dear friend's decision, rejoicing in the happiness Frédéric found with Amélie Soulacroix.

These two friends did much more than simply tease each other or share information and news. They confided both their deepest joys and sorrows. In 1843, Ozanam rejoiced at the birth of Lallier's second child: "I congratulate you upon your second paternity. ... I am glad to know that your children are well. How God blesses those two little angels He has placed under your roof; it is already the first blessing and a rare one today to have a father like you."³³ One year later, Lallier lost his young daughter. He wrote an anguished letter to his friend:

[O]ur poor little girl got sick in her turn last week, and on Sunday, 18 August, at eight o'clock in the evening, there was one more angel in the heaven with God. My wife gave her care during the day; at night, I have been vigilant to obey with the utmost accuracy the prescriptions of the doctor. Everything was useless. There was enteritis, measles, meningitis, what do I know? The poor

32 "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Sens, 20 February 1840, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 30–32.

33 "Letter to François Lallier," 16 May 1843, in Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*, 339, 340. For the original French text, see *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam: Premières années à la Sorbonne, 1841–1844*, Édition critique de Jeanne Caron (Paris: Celse, 1978), vol. 2, nn. 488, 450, 452.

child has had continual convulsions since Saturday at noon, and her life was extinguished before the eyes of her mother and mine. My poor wife is broken-hearted, and I need all my courage to properly support this severe ordeal.

Lallier asked for his friend's prayers, and he expressed his profound grief:

Yes, the burden of life is heavy to bear, it is overwhelming. Blessed, a thousand times, the will of God who has sent us, to help us, his only son whose hand comforts us and strengthens us. Tell Madame Ozanam to pray for Henriette. She needs it, she deserves it. She did not know what death was . . . until the last moment she kept hope, and now she is still trembling sometimes and almost believes she will see her child again. Ah! My dear friend, what a treasure of miseries and beauty comprises the heart of man and it is true that this king of creation is worthy of all the love of the son of God!³⁴

Ozanam immediately sent his friend "a consoling letter wet with tears." He opened with this touching phrase: "My dear friend, God visits those most whom He loves best." He praised Lallier for his deep faith and the trust in God he exhibited throughout this ordeal: "My dear friend, it is of faith that, Christian families, marriage, paternity, all those sacred ties exist in order to people Heaven. You had already one saint in Paradise, your mother; you will now have an angel in your daughter. Between them they will keep your place for you. If you find that you have too long to wait to join them, remember that thirty years will soon pass; you and I know what that means."³⁵ When Lallier heard of the first miscarriage of Amélie Ozanam, he also was quick to comfort his friend and assure him of God's goodness:

I believe ... that the sovereign wisdom of God is not only intended to test us in the afflictions it sends us; I still believe that most of the time these afflictions preserve us from many evils. We do not know ourselves physically or morally: we can never say positively, it is for our happiness or our misfortune that God has allowed this or that. ... Say, if you will, that I am selfish, but pious and good as it is, could not Madame Ozanam, sick and sad, offer her illness and sorrow to God for those who need her graces and especially for us?³⁶

And on the occasion of Amélie's second miscarriage, Lallier readily offered these additional words of consolation: "The true prayer is that of broken hearts, not of those who complain, who regret, who reproach, but of those who resign themselves, who offer the pains and tears which they are filled to the divine will of God who bring this drop of water, as a precious

34 Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Sens, 24 August 1844, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 63.

35 Baunard, *Ozanam*, 347–48. Apparently, this letter, described and quoted by Baunard, is 1844 and not 1842. Baunard is clearly mistaken about the date. See "Letter to François Lallier," 27 August 1844, in *Lettres*, vol. 2, n. 573, 599–600.

36 "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Villeblevin, 3 June 1842, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 42–43.

treasure ... Admirable teachings of the Christian religion, the truth of which every day reveals to us in all the events of life.”³⁷

Ozanam was finally able to greet his dear friend with joyful news, the birth of his daughter Marie in 1845. He asked Lallier to be her godfather.³⁸ In August, he described to him how delighted he was to return home after a long day to his loving wife, Amélie, cradling their cherished daughter in her arms. At the end of this correspondence, he begged his dear friend to pray for his goddaughter as well as her father and mother, proclaiming that now “there is a sacred bond that unites us before God and before man.”³⁹ Gratitude for Lallier’s “good wishes and prayers for our little angel” was openly expressed in a December letter. Ozanam assured Lallier that “she owes you in some measure her wings, for terrestrial angels have none other than those of Faith and Love, which are conferred on them in the Sacrament of Baptism. ... Your name is one of the first which shall be formed on her lips as soon as she will begin to pray.”⁴⁰ Lallier remained faithful to his charge even after Ozanam’s death. In a letter to Marie (January 1854), just four months after her father’s death, he offered this advice: “My dear little Marie, I received your Happy New Year letter. It gave me great pleasure. I thank you for your wishes and I compliment you on your writing and your spelling. Be always good, my child, and very obedient: especially love your Mama and your Grandmama. You know that angels are good spirits who always do the will of God and love him. Mimic them: be an angel in the house of your good mother, that God may console her and bless you all. Farewell, my child, I embrace you as I love you, with all my heart.”⁴¹

During their years of friendship, Lallier received more from Ozanam than simply letters. Frédéric and Amélie welcomed into their home Lallier’s son, who lived in Paris at the *Poiloup Pension*. He became one of the family. There is a reference to him in an Easter Week letter in 1852: “To-day, Wednesday in Easter Week, we have your Henri with us after a long Lenten captivity. He is growing in mind and body, is always gentle and does not scorn to take part in the games of our little daughter. We are about to take them with us to the Champs-Élysées. The weather is glorious and if we succeed in locating Punch and Judy, the

37 “Letter to Frédéric Ozanam,” Sens, 1 May 1843, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 50–51.

38 Baunard, *Ozanam*, 231.

39 For the original French text, see “Letter to M. Lallier,” 27 August 1845, in “Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam,” t. 2, Frédéric Ozanam, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre et Cie, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1865), 11:89, 91 and *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam: L’engagement (1845–1849)* Édition critique sous la direction de Didier Ozanam (Paris: Celse, 1978), vol. 3, n. 639, 122–23. See also Baunard, *Ozanam*, 231, 348.

40 Baunard, *Ozanam*, 231–32. See “Letter to M. Lallier,” 30 December 1845, in “Lettres Ozanam,” *Oeuvres Complètes* (1865), 11:95. See also *Lettres*, vol. 3, n. 656, 150.

41 “Lettre à Marie Ozanam,” Sens, 7 Janvier 1854, in *Lettres échangées entre François Lallier (1814–1886) à Amélie Ozanam (1820–1894)*, the originals are in la BnF Fonds Laporte-Ozanam, n. NAF 28 199. I am grateful to Ralph Middlecamp, President of the National Council of the US, for receiving a copy of these letters.



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The Gothic styled Cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Sens in Sens, France.

Courtesy of the author

children will have touched the pinnacle of earthly happiness.”⁴² Henri had a loving home away from his own home in Sens.

As Frédéric Ozanam became increasingly ill in 1852, Lallier wrote to him these words of encouragement and resignation:

Your suffering touches me deeply and I pray God to make your sickness a mild and light yoke. ... Yes ... when we are in pain, we need friendly words to help us, the faith of others to strengthen ours, the prayers of a brother to soften our troubles. I bring you my little sermon and I warn you that I will pray to God a little stronger than usual for you, my dear friend. There is a bit of selfishness in my act: ... you will make a small prayer to God for my sake, which he will hear immediately because he has an ear for those who are suffering, and he will answer soon, because he sends us suffering only in order for us to be worthy to pray and to be heard.

Later in that same year, Lallier penned these words of advice for his suffering friend:

God ... never leaves us without the help of his grace: but we are at a time when he asks us more than ever: he needs to collect merit to motivate the good he wants to do or stop the evil he wants to prevent. Let us not refuse him the weak and miserable offering which he asks us to join in the infinite treasure of the merits of Jesus Christ, of his only son. He asks you for your health for a time, he asks my child for life, give him what he asks of us, without counting

⁴² Baunard, *Ozanam*, 348. For the original French text, see *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam: Les Dernières Années (1850–1853)*, Édition critique par Christine Franconnet (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1992), vol. 4, n. 1133, 322.

him, without looking back, and put us whole in his hands.

Ozanam's death in September of 1853 left a huge void in Lallier's circle of friends. As Baunard notes, the correspondence between Lallier and Ozanam provides many examples "in which the human and the divine are blended harmoniously."⁴³ Their letters form a rich tapestry of profound friendship woven over a lifetime of intimate sharing.

Life in Sens

In 1839, Lallier had married his wife, Henriette Delporte, departed from Paris, and settled permanently in Sens. There he became a well-known judge. As one account of his career indicates, "He made use of his learning and spent much time on the judge's bench, in the public prosecutor's office, and in offering counsel, always placing his legal duties before his personal interests." At first, Lallier worried about receiving any appointments because he was Catholic: "I am beginning to despair of getting a final place in the Court of Sens. I was already too Christian ... The Presidency of the Saint Vincent de Paul Conference. ... will give me the coup de grâce."⁴⁴ By 1846, however, Lallier held the position of king's assistant attorney, while in 1852 he began his service as a judge. By 1857, he was acting president on the bench at Sens, a position he loved. During his legal career spanning forty-seven years, Lallier was "eternally honored in the Court of Sens." One of the magistrates who knew him commented at his funeral in 1886 that François Lallier "was one of those worthy and loyal magistrates who have a love for the law, a passion for justice, a sense of duty and a firmness of character." He was awarded the prestigious Cross of the Chevalier in the Legion of Honor in 1873 for his many years of valuable public service. Pope Pius IX also bestowed upon him a cross when he made him a Knight of Saint Gregory the Great in recognition of his work as a magistrate, scholar, and religious leader.⁴⁵

Life in Sens, however, was not always perfect. As a kind and honest man, Lallier had his share of frustrations that he expressed to his good friend Ozanam. In September 1840, he penned the following words: "I think that I will have to take a bath of conscience: otherwise I die. Pray to God especially for me."⁴⁶ Less than a year later, he confided his frustrations with provincial towns: "Ah! My dear friend, in these poor provincial towns, where impiety and immorality reign, inseparable and hideous companions, how little we find we can or want to love!" Lallier feared that there was not enough thought of God and religion: "O my God, we need you and think little of you! ... [T]here are only two houses in which I feel light-hearted: in my own and in that of God, in that of God especially, because ... God is

43 "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Sens, 7 November 1852, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 89–90.

44 "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," 28 and 30 July 1844, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 57.

45 *Bulletin de Sens*, t. xv, 302.

46 "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Sens, 28 September 1840, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 36.

our childhood friend, and that with him ... one is happy.”⁴⁷ Despite these genuine concerns, Lallier managed to live a life filled with wonderful achievements because of his abiding faith in the goodness of God.

François Lallier was one of the original founders of the Archaeological Society of Sens, officially established on 17 April 1844. He remained a lifelong member. This Society provided an important community service by researching and preserving the history and the heritage of the area of Sens since early times. Much like the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, the Archaeological Society looked to Lallier for devising its first statutes. On 5 August 1845, the Archaeological Society of Sens was legally constituted with thirty members. Lallier became one of its first board members and served as archivist. He also served as both vice president and president. He was responsible for inaugurating the public lectures founded by the Society. The Archaeological Society itself provided solid evidence of the kind of work that Lallier undertook on its behalf: “In his memorandum written in 1845, published in the first volume of our *Bulletin*, he described for us the city walls in Sens, such as they were at that time, and made a study of seven Roman inscriptions, seventeen fragments of bas-relief and thirteen architectural items. This was then our entire lapidary museum. A final part of his memorandum is concerned with determining the date at which the city wall was built.”⁴⁸

Lallier’s Writings and Addresses

During his years in Sens, François Lallier delivered addresses on, or wrote about, significant social issues. In 1850, he produced an interesting memorandum on taxes. In it, he explored the roles of property revenue, capital, and work in the production of wealth. He argued that a single tax should replace the various taxes Frenchmen were required to pay. He published another article in 1852 that discussed how Christianity had helped to suppress slavery in antiquity: “In the meantime, let me briefly state that Christians, and I say the early Christians, did much more to suppress ancient slavery than is commonly believed. I even believe that it can be argued without temerity that this was one of the main causes of the long and bloody persecutions they suffered for three centuries.” Although Lallier was certainly aware that France, a Christian nation, was heavily involved in slavery, especially overseas, he was convinced that the answer to the problem rested with Christianity. Only by remaining faithful to the authentic message and principles of Christianity could France, and even Europe of his day, ensure the dignity and equality of every person regardless of class or color.⁴⁹

47 “Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam,” Sens, 18 July 1841, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 41.

48 *Bulletin de Sens*, t. xv, 303–304.

49 *Ibid.*, 305.



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Portrait of Michel Chevalier, between 1860 and 1870.

Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
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One of his more famous pieces actually appeared in the same issue of the *Correspondant* in which Ozanam wrote about the Franciscan Poets (1851). In his extended letter to the editor-in-chief, Lallier critiqued the teachings of Michel Chevalier. Chevalier (1806–1879) was a nineteenth-century economist and politician. He was editor of a utopian socialist newspaper, *The Globe*, and served in the government of Napoleon III. He was in large part responsible for the Anglo-French Commercial treaty of 1860.⁵⁰

Among other things, Michel Chevalier thought machines would eventually reduce the work of laborers and create a new utopia. Lallier claimed that Chevalier’s teaching on the labor law led only to an extreme socialism. He emphatically stated, “This teaching is radically wrong.” According to Lallier, “The work of man has not diminished on the earth, despite the introduction of machines, and that material well-being is a thousand leagues from what would be indispensable to elevate the largest class to the rank of the class patrician.” Chevalier overlooked the significant role of Christianity in Lallier’s opinion: “Christianity has not abolished the law of labor, but has singularly softened it. It is one thing to work for a master, it is another thing to work for oneself. The work of the free man, the father of a family who understands his duties and his Christian dignity, has an unknown nobility and charm to the slave of the times old. The Catholic Church, recalling the divine teaching of the first few days of the world, has made work, for all men, a means of atonement and at the same time redemption.” He further added that the Church “put laziness to the forefront of deadly sins; it is for her a proverb that idleness is the mother of all vices.” For Lallier, the Catholic Church knew “human nature better than does the work of Mr. Michel Chevalier,

50 For further information on Chevalier, see Michael Drolet, “Industry, Class and Society: A Historiographic Reinterpretation of Michel Chevalier,” *The English Historical Review*, vol.123, no.504, 1 October 2008, 1229–1271.

its opponent.”⁵¹

Lallier also attacked the materialism of Chevalier’s teachings: “It seems that man can live freely the life of intelligence and heart only when all his physical appetites are largely satisfied. The Saint-Simonians have contributed much to put this foolish idea in fashion. On the contrary, there is a commonplace of history and morality, that man is only as free in his intelligence and master of his heart as he is freed more from the servitude of his organs.” For Lallier, Christianity held the only authentic answer: “The formidable problems of poverty and wealth, labor and the needs of man, remain in all their integrity. Apart from the Christian solution, the enigma of the sphinx is indecipherable. The blind pursuit of material well-being produces unlimited production; unlimited production generates unlimited labor; unlimited work breeds stupidity and misery.”⁵²

On 22 November 1866, Lallier addressed a general assembly of learned societies in the French Department of Yonne. A copy of the address was published in the same year in Sens. In his talk, he compared the wages of winegrowers in Sens in the sixteenth century to those in the nineteenth century. He began in the following way: “‘There is nothing new under the sun.’ This adage, itself not new, is nonetheless true. In the constantly moving world scene, actors change, settings change, and events follow each other in a random way. But the essence of things remains the same. In all epochs of history, Man is moved by the same passions, and governed by the same eternal laws.” His comments that followed systematically outlined the developments and logically presented his argument. In essence, the winegrowers of the nineteenth century were not necessarily better off than their counterparts in the sixteenth century: “And if the wages of workers nowadays have not yet reached the wage rate of the year 1537, they are no longer very distant. The agricultural crisis, about which there has been much talk in recent days, will resolve itself, I do not doubt, by a pause in the price of rents and an increase in the price of labor.” Lallier critiqued modern political economy and came full circle with his theme at the end of his address:

Above all, if our century decides at last to substitute the motto of modern political economy: Produce and consume, for the Christian motto, Produce and save. When this result has been achieved, when the mass of the workers, satisfied, will be delighted with the wonders that the nineteenth century accomplishes for it every day, and will sing hymns to progress—if I am there, if we are there—I will not contradict, I will only ask permission ... to repeat in a whisper, thinking of the prosperity of our winegrowers of the sixteenth

51 F. Lallier, “Lettre à M. le Rédacteur en chef du *Correspondant* sur les tendances socialistes de l’économie politique moderne,” *Le Correspondant* (Paris: Librairie de Charles Douniol, Éditeur, 1851), 289, 294, 297.

52 *Ibid.*, 298–99.



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Postcard featuring Le Grand Séminaire de Sens, dated around 1905.

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century: “There is nothing new under the sun.”⁵³

Like his dear friend Frédéric Ozanam, François Lallier saw in the social traditions and teachings of the Catholic Church the answers to many of the pressing social problems of his day.

The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in Sens

When François Lallier moved to Sens in 1839, he neither forgot nor abandoned his connections with the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. He was instrumental in the formation of the Conference of Sens on 23 February 1844. The Conference members met every Friday, at eight o’clock in the evening, at Rue de Chesneau, No. 4. Minutes of the first general assembly, which Archbishop Mellon de Jolly of Sens attended and presided over, give an important glimpse of the activities of this fledgling conference.⁵⁴

On Friday, 26 July 1844, the assembly opened at eight o’clock in a hall located at the Grand Séminaire of Sens. The meeting began with prayer. Then one of the members read from the twenty-fifth chapter of *Combat Spirituel*. Because the secretary was not at the meeting, the president of the conference read the minutes of the last meeting. He then read a report of all the works of the conference since its start just five months earlier. The conference began in February with only three members, grew to six by the time of its official aggregation in March, and currently claimed eighteen active members and seventeen honorary members. At first the conference visited only two families with but forty francs

⁵³ M. F. Lallier, *Du Salaire Comparé Des Vignerons Sénonais Aux XVI Et XIX Siècles* (Sens: Imprimerie CH. Duchemin, 1866), 5, 36.

⁵⁴ “Procès-Verbal de la séance générale du 26 juillet 1844, copie manuscrite de François Lallier, jointe à la lettre des 28 et 30 juillet 1844,” in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 58–60.



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The author standing beside François Lallier's grave and a view of the headstone.

Courtesy of the author

in its treasury. However, five months later, more than 358 francs had been collected in the treasury and applied to helping those in need. The number of families visited had grown to sixteen; forty-five people had been served. The conference had expended much of its treasury (nearly 300 of the 358 francs) in helping those visited. The list included the following aid: vouchers for bread, flour, meat, sugar, rice, the purchase of necessary medications, rental assistance, and miscellaneous purchases of tools and raw materials.⁵⁵

Present for the report were some of the honorary members of the Conference, many of whom were “diocesan priests of the highest rank, knowledge and virtue.” The archbishop was thanked for his support, for remembering the Conference in a special mass, and for presiding over this first general assembly. At the end of the report, the Conference informed the archbishop:

[that the Conference members humbly thought it right] to tell you from the beginning, the result of our efforts is of little importance. We took literally the words of NSJC [*Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ*] who promised us that a glass of water given in his name would not be lost ... we will continue to love rather our little fraternal society, not because of its excellence and out of pride, but, to make use of the admirable comparison of St. Vincent de Paul, as well-behaved children love their poor and deformed mother, more than all other women even as remarkable as they are by their richness and beauty.

The archbishop also learned that “it is this tender affection for our Conference which made us wish this meeting, not because we have seen in it a brilliant and public demonstration ... but because it seemed to us ... a family reunion.” The minutes point out that the members of the Conference also wanted this opportunity to inform the archbishop and priests in Sens

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

about their work, to obtain advice from them, and, hopefully, to receive their support and blessings. The archbishop then spoke, encouraging all the members to continue to do their good work. He noted that the meeting truly felt like a family reunion.⁵⁶

At the end of the meeting, the Conference distributed the necessary relief to the various families that its members visited. The archbishop's secretary, Abbé Chaveau, closed the meeting with the following edifying thought: "The Conference will be a powerful means of emulation in virtue for each of its members." When the secret collection was held, it produced over 65 francs.⁵⁷

The Conference of Sens was fortunate to have a visit from Frédéric Ozanam in 1849. After his friend's visit, Lallier was thrilled to report the following: "Our ... Conference has flourished since your visit. We have admitted two new active members and two honoraria, and among them the Chief of Public Prosecutions. I cannot get tired of telling you that your appearance has had the best effect."⁵⁸ For Lallier, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was a deep personal commitment. He had written to Frédéric about how much the Society meant to him not long before he left Paris for Sens: "Our Charity Society becomes more and more dear to me every day, not that I do much: I am almost useless; but I see what has a purpose, a reach ... I also hope that it will grow further and that it will be one of the strongest links that should keep us together."⁵⁹ Those sentiments remained with him until the end of his life.

Conclusion

François Lallier was undoubtedly "one of the pillars of the building started," as Paul Lamache later claimed. He was instrumental in forming the first Conference of Charity, participated actively in its good works, provided it with a well-written Rule, and guided it with sound advice when he served as secretary general from 1837 to 1839. Little wonder that Louis de Baudicort referred to his departure in 1839 as a "fatal blow."

He was also a pillar of the Conference begun in Sens. Lallier carried the primitive spirit and the humble simplicity of the first Conference back to Sens and infused his new Conference with the same zeal he had experienced in Paris. The archbishop of Sens sensed immediately the tender affection the members had for one another and their Conference in that general meeting held in the summer of 1844. He witnessed a genuine "family reunion."

When the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was established in 1833, it was the hope of all the first members that what they had created would regenerate France. Ozanam had

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Sens, 21 June 1849, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 80.

⁵⁹ "Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam," Paris, 23 January 1838, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 14.

given clearest expression of this hope in 1841:

[H]ow can there not be given some hope to such a strength of association, exerted mainly in the large cities, in every law school, in every enlightened home, upon a generation called to fill a variety of offices and influential posts? ... [E]ight years ... [have raised] our number from eight to two thousand, [and] ... several of us without the help of intrigue and favor already move in the highest levels of society ... on all sides we invade the bar, medicine, the courts, the professorships.⁶⁰

It was a vision that young Catholic professionals would become deeply engaged in their communities and would thereby help to transform them. François Lallier not only shared this vision but was also the perfect model of it. When he left Paris for Sens, he immediately made a mark in the legal community of his new city and would have a long and honorable legal career. But he did not stop there. He brought the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul to Sens to help those in need in his community, he wrote on social issues that impacted both France and Sens, and he was instrumental in the creation of an organization, the Archaeological Society of Sens, that enabled the community of Sens to understand their rich and ancient past, appreciate present accomplishments, and look toward the future with purpose. Sens was transformed by his presence.

As the historian, Léonce Celier notes: “Hard-working, balanced, solid in his convictions and faithful to his friendships, [Lallier] has been, in all respects, a model of a Christian magistrate. He was especially an outstanding confrere of St. Vincent de Paul. Ozanam liked to lean on him: their correspondence provides much evidence, ‘He has exercised a profound and lasting influence and all readers of the Rule he conceived remain obligated to him.’”⁶¹ François Lallier was indeed a genuinely good and humble man who considered his faith as a precious gift. He was always willing to examine himself to become an even better person. Perhaps it is fitting to end this examination of Lallier and his life by letting him share one of his self-reflections that truly reveals the measure of the man: “Am I good? Am I virtuous? Ah! What vices, what miseries in me! O my God, support me, my God, give me strength, and virtue, and wisdom, and perseverance! Let me not be unworthy of my friends, and let the day of the fight find me in their ranks, last if you want it, but in their ranks so that I fight there for all that I hold more dear, for all that I loved most!”⁶²

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60 “Letter to Mademoiselle Soulacroix,” 1 May 1841, in Dirvin, *A Life in Letters*, 243. For the original French text, see *Lettres*, vol. 2, n. 310, 137.

61 Celier quoting Ozanam. Léonce Celier, “Les Fondateurs de La Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul,” in *Origines et Fondateurs*, 72.

62 “Lettre à Frédéric Ozanam,” Sens, 22 October 1839, in *Dossier Correspondance de François Lallier*, 28.

14 Janvier 1834



Naissance de
François Lallier

Extrait des pièces annexées aux Actes de Mariage
de la ville de Sens, années 1832, et déposés au Greffe du
Tribunal civil de Sens. (année).

Extrait des Registres de l'Etat civil déposés au Greffe du
Tribunal civil de Joigny. (année).

Des Registres des Actes de Naissances de la ville de
Joigny, par le nombre mille huit cent quatre-vingt, a été extrait
littéralement ce qui suit :

Le au mille huit cent quatre-vingt, le vingt quatre jours à dix heures
du matin, par devant nous, adjoint au Maire de la ville de Joigny, et
faisant les fonctions d'officier de l'Etat civil, est comparu : M. Christophe
François Lallier, docteur en médecine, âgé de trente un ans, demeurant
à Joigny. Lequel nous a présenté un enfant de sexe masculin, né
le au mille huit cent quatre-vingt, à dix heures du matin, chez la dame Adèle
Picard, son épouse, demeurant audit Joigny, et auquel enfant il a
donné le prénom de François. A laquelle déclaration et présentation
faite en présence de M. André Seraphin Lallier, propriétaire,
âgé de trente ans, oncle paternel de l'enfant, et de M. Marie
Jean Julien Bestnar, secrétaire de la Mairie de cette ville, âgé
de cinquante un ans, tous deux demeurant à Joigny qui ont, après
qu'ils ont déclaré, signé avec nous le présent acte, après que
lecture lui en a été faite.

Ainsi signé au Registre : Lallier. Bédouin, Lallier d. m.
Bestnar et d'Albrey. - Son Extrait conforme au Registre :
Le Greffe de Tribunaux, (Signé :) Fleury...
notre Président du Tribunal civil de Joigny, par légalisation de
la signature de M. Fleury, greffier pour le Tribunal, approuvé
ci. contre, à Joigny, le 23 mars 1834. (Signé :) L. Lallier.

En copie conforme, déposée au Greffe du
Tribunal civil de Sens, le vingt six
novembre mille huit cent trente et une.

Le Greffier
F. Fleury

Copie conforme au Registre de l'Etat civil de Joigny
le 23 novembre 1834
L. Fleury



Visé
le 27 novembre 1834
le Greffier de Sens
Dupont

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A copy of François Lallier's birth certificate.

Courtesy of the author

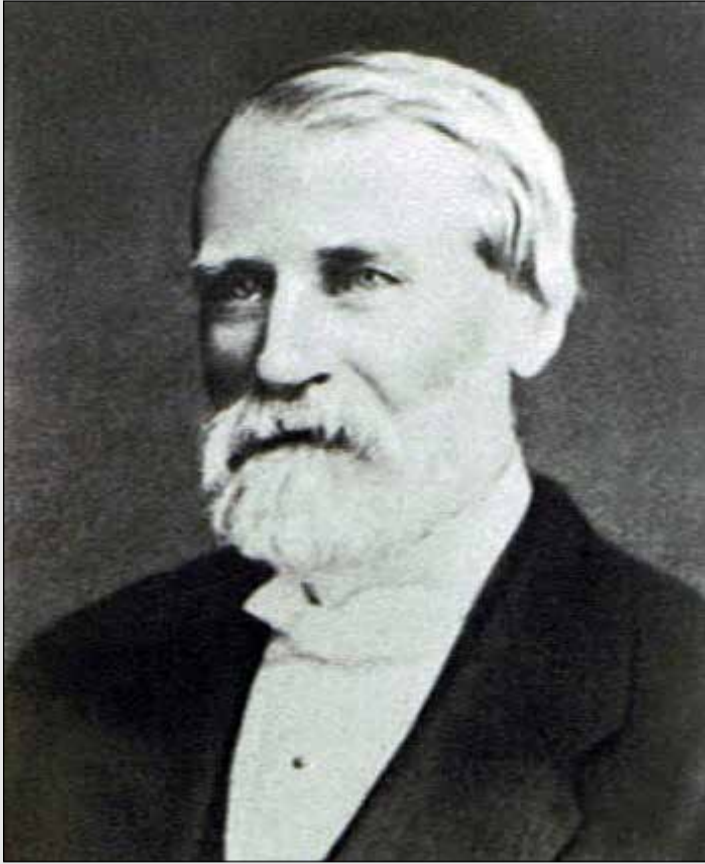


PAUL LAMACHE (1810-1892)

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***Engraved portrait of Paul Lamache.
From Les Contemporains, 19 September 1897.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Portraits of Auguste Le Taillandier (1811-1886), Jules Devaux (1811-1880), and Emmanuel Bailly (1794-1861).

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Portrait of François Lallier (1814–1886).

Courtesy of the author with permissions from CGI



FRÉDÉRIC OZANAM

né à Milan le 25 Avril 1813

mort à Marseille le 8 Septembre 1853

*fonda en 1833 avec le concours de quelques
autres jeunes étudiants
la Société de Saint Vincent de Paul.*

CHESPELLE, PARIS.

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Prayer card of Frédéric Ozanam.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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The Gothic styled Cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Sens in Sens, France.

Courtesy of the author



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Portrait of Michel Chevalier, between 1860 and 1870.

Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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Postcard featuring Le Grand Séminaire de Sens, dated around 1905.

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The author standing beside François Lallier's grave and a view of the headstone.

Courtesy of the author

Emmanuel Bailly: The Advisor and Friend of Christian Youth

Ralph Middlecamp

BIO

RALPH MIDDLECAMP served as the CEO of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul for the District Council of Madison from 1999 until his retirement on 31 July 2017. In 2017 Ralph was elected to serve a six-year term as the President of the United States National Council of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. He has served on the National Council's Store Committee and Communication Committee, and on the presenting team of the Society's national leadership development program, Invitation for Renewal. Ralph is a member of the Board of Directors of the International Council of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul based in Paris, France with the position of Vice President for Solidarity and Special Projects. He also serves on the International Commission for Historical Investigation for the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul and is a former member of the commission promoting the canonization of Blessed Frédéric Ozanam. A native of Wisconsin Rapids, Middlecamp received his B.S. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1974. He has served as a board member and president of Catholic Charities in the Diocese of Madison and was an organizer and former board member of the Community Meal Program and Luke House in Madison. Ralph is married to Dr. Cathy Hurt Middlecamp, professor emerita of the Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

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***Portrait of Emmanuel Bailly (1794–1861).
First President of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

*“You have accustomed us to look upon you as the rallying point, **the advisor and friend of young Christian youth.** Your past favors have given us the right to count on future ones. Those you have done for me encouraged me to hope for the same for my friends.”*

Frédéric Ozanam to Emmanuel Bailly
3 November 1834¹

The founders of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul are described as “six young college students and an older gentleman.” That older gentleman was Emmanuel Bailly, also known as Joseph-Emmanuel Bailly.² Today, Emmanuel Bailly is not well-known, even within the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. However, he deserves to be remembered for the significant contributions he made to the founding of the Society and to the restoration of Catholicism in post-revolutionary France.

Compared to the average age of today’s members of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, Monsieur Bailly would not be considered an “older gentleman.” At the time of the founding, he was thirty-nine years old, had been married for about three years, and had

1 Joseph I., Dirvan, C.M., *Frédéric Ozanam: A Life in Letters* (St. Louis: Society of Saint Vincent de Paul U.S. Council, 1986).

2 During this period in France, pious Catholic families frequently gave their children a first name of a favorite family saint, but they were known informally by the second name.

two infant children. Because of his stature and demeanor, he was regarded as older than his years and was given the nickname of “Père Bailly” by his young associates.³

The contributions of Bailly to the founding of the Society were largely ignored until recently because of an unfortunate dispute after the death of Frédéric Ozanam as to which of these fine men deserved to be recognized as the founder. Recent scholarship has reasserted the collaborative nature of the founding.⁴ The Society continues to recognize Ozanam as the principal founder but acknowledges the valuable contributions of all the founding members.⁵

Frédéric Ozanam gifted the Society with a bold vision, youthful enthusiasm, and an ability to attract like-minded young men to the cause. However, the Society would have not taken root without Bailly, who provided the new organization with his experience, his reputation in the community, and his access to financial resources. Recognizing the contributions of Bailly can provide insight for today’s “older Vincentians” who should embrace their role as mentors to a new generation. The collaborative nature of the founding gives value to the diverse contributions and talents of each member.

1. Formed by a Vincentian Heritage

It is not surprising that Emmanuel Bailly would imbue the young founders of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul with the spirituality and traditions of its patron and namesake. The family of his father, André, had a deep devotion to Saint Vincent de Paul. André Bailly was a loyal friend of the Lazarists, also known as the Congregation of the Mission, the society of priests founded by Saint Vincent de Paul. The name originates from the name of the congregation’s original priory, Saint-Lazare.

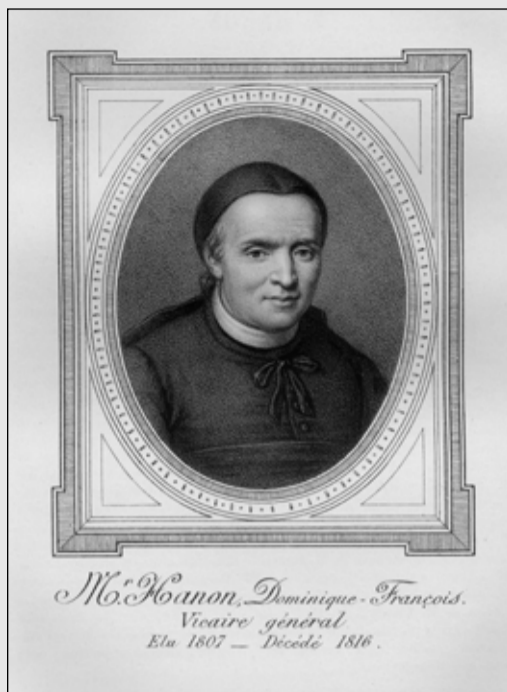
André’s brother, Nicholas Bailly, was a Lazarist priest who was killed during the French Revolution. He was the last superior of the major seminary at Amiens before the Revolution. Father Nicholas was captured while saying Mass and, while still vested, was thrown into prison. At age twenty-nine, this young priest died in prison in Amiens on 16 November 1793. The Bailly family was honored to have been entrusted with a collection of Saint Vincent’s original letters and documents to hide during the Revolution.

André Bailly and his wife, Reine Fauquenois, had nine known children, all of them boys. Emmanuel Bailly was the seventh child, born in Bryas, in Pas-de-Calais on 9 March 1794. André changed occupations many times to keep up with the financial needs of a growing family during the turmoil created by the Revolution. He started as a farmer on

3 Principal source for material in the article is from Rev. Pierre Jarry. “*Un artisan du renouveau catholique au XIXe siècle: Emmanuel Bailly, 1794–1861,*” (PhD diss., Thèses de la faculté de théologie d’Angers, 1971).

4 Charles Mercier, *La Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul, Une mémoire des origines en mouvement* (Paris: Harmattan, 2006).

5 The Rule of the International Confederation of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, Part I, 1.1 (St. Louis: Society of Saint Vincent de Paul U. S. Council, 2005).



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Engraving of Dominique Hanon, C.M.

Hanon served as Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission from 1807 to 1816.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

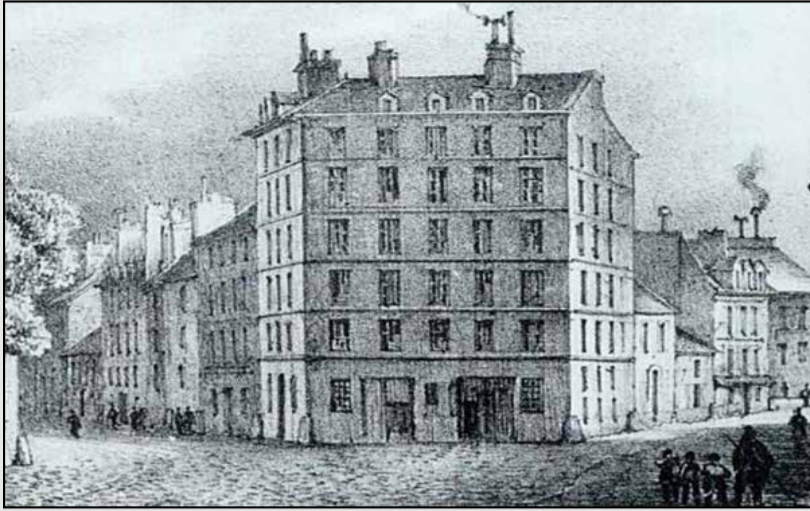
family land and took positions as a postmaster and as a trader before finally settling on the vocation of schoolmaster.

Emmanuel attended the Vincentian seminary in Amiens, as had his older brother, Ferdinand Bailly. Father Dominique Hanon was the new superior at the seminary of Amiens; he would later become superior general of the Lazarists. Hanon took an interest in the education of the Bailly brothers, which was not surprising as he was the successor of their martyred uncle. Ferdinand was unable to be ordained a Vincentian priest until several of the order's political matters were resolved with the Vatican and the French government. In the interim, he began to teach at the seminary at age twenty-one and was later ordained on 6 April 1811. During this time, Ferdinand most likely had his brother Emmanuel as a student and would remain a significant influence in his life for many years.

Emmanuel Bailly studied philosophy at the seminary at Amiens and later was educated by the Jesuits at Acheul. He began a novitiate with the Lazarists, but when his brother went to Paris to take vows, Emmanuel left the seminary and settled in Paris. At age twenty-five, he chose a vocation of service to the Church as a layperson, equipped with a good education and steeped in the spirituality and tradition of Saint Vincent de Paul.

2. Lay Vocation Mentoring Young Catholic Men

For a brief time beginning in 1819, Emmanuel taught philosophy at several small institutions. He also had a vision of creating a living environment for university students that was supportive of faith and intellectual inquiry. This was an aspiration in which he was influenced by the methods he had observed being practiced by the Jesuits at Acheul.



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11, Place de l'Estrapade, Paris.

The site of a Bailly pension and where Ozanam once lived.

*Courtesy of Ralph Middlecamp via
St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*

In November 1819, he rented a house at 7 rue Cassette, where he took in seven university students who, like him, were Catholics from northern France.

The next spring, Emmanuel was admitted to the ranks of the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, frequently referred to as “the Congregation.” Members of the Congregation participated in several divisions, including the Society of Good Studies and the Society of Good Works. At its founding in 1801, this sodality of laymen brought together about one hundred young Catholics who sought to combine intellectual studies and spirituality with good works. On 1 April 1820, Bailly became the organization’s 776th member.⁶

A decade later, many aspects of the Congregation would influence the structure of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. Bailly participated in the division in which members visited hospitals. After several years, he provided leadership as the division’s president. Bailly’s boarding house, or “pension,” attracted a growing number of young men—so much so that in 1821, he needed to add a second house. He contacted an old friend and seminary classmate, George Marino Leveque, about opening the second house at 17 rue Saint-Dominique d’Enfer. The two houses operated jointly, with Leveque being responsible for the administration and Bailly the studies and meetings. In addition to enlisting the residents in the discussions, they encouraged other students to participate and operated a reading room at 4 Rue Saint-Dominique. There, for a fee, students could come and read the news of the day. The boarding houses of Bailly outgrew their locations after several

⁶ The history of the Congregation, its development, subdivisions, and suppressions, is complex and more information can be found in Jarry, “*Un artisan*,” 91–105.

years. In 1825, he acquired from the Society of Good Studies the large facility at 11 Place de l'Estrapade that not only had lodging quarters but also a dining facility and meeting rooms.

After the fall of Charles X, the Congregation was suppressed and forced to disband. Bailly went on to found a new, smaller organization, the Conference of History. This initiative allowed him to become acquainted with some of the most brilliant young people of his day: Jean-Baptiste-Henri Lacordaire, François Lenormant, Emmanuel Alzon, Dom Prosper Guéranger, and Charles Baudelaire.

On Saturday mornings, the founders of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul participated in the Conference of History debates that Bailly organized in the auditorium of his building. It also would become the location of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul meetings starting in November 1833, as membership grew and after Bailly combined his newspaper with *L'Univers* and moved the office to 2 Place de la Sorbonne.

This is a description of the facility:

The Bailly boarding house was an immense building with a severe look, containing an amphitheater, located on the corner of la rue des Fossés-Saint-Jaques and la rue de l'Estrapade; a large garden stretched in the direction of the church Saint Geneviève, where you could find the town hall of the 5th arrondissement. The large spaces of the Bonnes Études occupied all of the ground floors of 11 and of 13, as well as the first floor of 13: there was a large amphitheater with 500 seats, a library, a newspaper office, meeting rooms and even a fitness room. One other important part was appointed to the lodging of the directors, professors, and domestic staff. The boarding house tenants never exceeded about 30 in number: they stayed, individually or in pairs, in fifteen to twenty rooms of only basic comfort.⁷

3. Marriage and Family

As a layperson with a vocation as a teacher and as a journalist, this did not leave Bailly much time to consider starting a family, nor was it in his nature to socialize in environments that were conducive to finding a partner. Bailly was in his late thirties when he married Marie-Apolline-Sidonie Vrayet de Surcy on 20 July 1830. The marriage was proposed by a friend of her brother, a Lazarist priest who also knew Emmanuel's brother, Ferdinand. After several months of negotiation, a formal contract was arranged that included—at her father's request to preserve the family name—adding her surname to his. Therefore, he has frequently been referred to as Emmanuel Bailly de Surcy.

The de Surcy family had minor noble roots and was financially secure. The marriage

⁷ M. Vincent, *Ozanam une jeunesse romantique* (Paris: Mediaspaul, 1994), 246.



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***Madame Marie-Apolline-Sidonie Vyrayet de Surcy;
Emmanuel Bailly's wife.***

*Courtesy of Ralph Middlecamp via St. Vincent de Paul Image
Archive Online*

was not one founded in mutual love; nonetheless, the couple grew in affection for each other. Sidonie had received a good education at a local convent. She was described as having unusual energy and as being a devout, charitable Christian who had received excellent domestic and business knowledge from her family.⁸ In good times and in bad, she would be a true partner for Emmanuel.

Bailly was married only days before the July Revolution of 1830. The regime that followed suppressed organizations such as the Congregation and the Society of Good Studies. The discussions and forums offered at the Pension Bailly also were suspended until 1831. During this period, Emmanuel and his wife found refuge with her parents in Berteaucourt (Somme), nine miles southeast of Amiens in northern France. Their first daughter, Marie-Adrienne, was born there on 4 September 1831. By November 1831, Bailly returned to Paris with his family to begin a new newspaper and to reestablish his Pension Bailly, where he tried to create a new version of the suppressed Society of Good Studies.

A few months later, a cholera epidemic hit that area of Paris, and Marie-Adrienne was stricken. In April, the family moved back to the home of Madame Bailly's parents. Marie recovered after several months. They chose to keep the family in Berteaucourt until after the birth of their son, Vincent de Paul, on 2 December 1832. Much of that time, Emmanuel most likely stayed in Paris because he needed to manage his business interests.

4. Publishing—Vocation and Mission

Under the reign of a new king, Louis-Philippe, the political environment stabilized. Catholicism was tolerated in the new regime but was not considered favorably, especially

⁸ Jarry, "Un artisan," 274.



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Engraving of Jacques-Paul Migne alongside copies of L'Univers.

Courtesy of the author

in Paris. Dedicated to protecting the reputation of the Catholic Church, Bailly continued to operate his boarding house for Catholic students from the provinces and encouraged gatherings for discussion. It was only a few months after reestablishing the boarding house and moving his family back to Paris that Bailly restarted the Conferences of History. These weekly sessions provided a venue for young people to have formal debates on the issues of the day, including the place of faith and religion in current culture.

For the next twelve years, Emmanuel Bailly operated several businesses. His wife took on a significant role in the day-to-day operation of Pension Bailly. Emmanuel certainly was involved, but it was during this time that he confirmed his career change from professor to publisher. Now, his attention was centered on operating a series of newspapers wrestling with the issues of the day and dedicated to the defense of Catholicism.

His first effort at newspaper publishing was *Le Correspondant*, which he began in 1829. In 1831, he replaced it with *Revue Européenne* and then launched the *Tribune Catholique* on 15 January 1832. He started that paper to offer a moderate alternative to the liberal religious paper *L'Avenir*, which had been published by Father Lammenais until it was suppressed by the Vatican.

In November 1833, Emmanuel Bailly decided to merge his newspaper, the *Tribune Catholique*, with a new startup paper, *L'Univers Religieux*. Father Jacques-Paul Migne had written a compelling prospectus for *L'Univers* in October 1833. He obtained more than 800 subscriptions, while Bailly's paper printed just over one hundred copies and he gave many of those away.

Bailly and Migne both wrote for the merged paper. Frédéric Ozanam and several of his friends also were commissioned occasionally to write articles. In 1835, Father Migne was publicly accused of plagiarizing his contributions from other newspapers. He also was

convicted of bribing a French postal official. To save the paper's reputation, he sold out his interest out to Bailly for 5,000 francs in 1836.⁹

The funds for the buyout mostly came from Emmanuel's brother Ferdinand. Emmanuel not only wrote and edited the newspapers, but also he owned the printing presses at 2 Place de la Sorbonne. The manager of the newspaper and printing works was Henri Vrayet de Surcy, Bailly's brother-in-law, who may also have contributed financially to the buyout. Emmanuel continued as publisher until 1839, when Montalembert rescued the financially troubled paper. In 1844, Bailly's role at *L'Univers* would be assumed by Louis Veillot.

5. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul

Bailly made the office of his newspaper, *Tribune Catholique*, a place where students could gather to read a wide selection of newspapers and update themselves on current events. This hospitality created an environment that promoted lively discussion, in which Bailly avidly participated. It was, therefore, quite natural that Frédéric Ozanam and his five friends should come to him in April 1833 to submit their plans for undertaking charitable work. Bailly was familiar with these students because they were regular participants in the debates that occurred as part of the Conferences of History held at his boarding house.

The first meeting of the Society took place in Bailly's newspaper office on 23 April 1833. It was Bailly who provided the format for the meeting, which included a reading and reflection on the Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis and ended with a hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Emmanuel Bailly agreed to assume the office of president at this meeting, and the group committed to assisting the impoverished of the area.

Bailly would arrange for Jules Devaux and Felix Clave to visit Sister Rosalie Rendu, a Daughter of Charity working in the Mouffetard area, to be instructed in the practice of visiting the poor in their homes. Bailly's wife had worked with Sister Rosalie and may have been a Lady of Charity. While some current historians dispute this connection, others believe Sister Rosalie encouraged the young men to take up this work, which was sometimes physically demanding.¹⁰

While Frédéric Ozanam's place as principal founder has been affirmed, the role Bailly played in the Society's establishment should also be recognized because he provided a meeting place, provided community connections and gave the group legitimacy. He also furnished stable leadership, offered guidance for avoiding civil and church repression of the

⁹ Father Migne went on to be famous for his massive publishing projects, including the Latin and Greek Patristics. His interesting career is documented in the book *God's Plagiarist*.

¹⁰ Gérard Cholvy, *Frédéric Ozanam : L'engagement d'un intellectuel catholique au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 243.

group and drew on past experience in similar organizations. He proposed creating the Rule to allow for orderly expansion and shared his knowledge of the spirituality of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Frédéric Ozanam was the founding member with the bold vision who saw the potential for the organization. He respected Bailly's role as the Society's first president, however, and trusted his experience. When Ozanam thought the original conference should split into two groups to grow and be more effective, he wrote to Bailly on 20 November 1834, "But do you not think that our charitable society itself in order to survive ought to make changes?... I am very rash to propose my young man's ideas to you who have a long experience in charity and who are so radically acquainted with our needs and those of the poor."

Frédéric was right to acknowledge that Bailly's experience was needed to guide the new group as it expanded. Because of our affection and admiration for a young Frédéric Ozanam, it would be easy to ignore the fact that he, like young people today, could frequently be impatient, naïve, and impractical. On 2 November 1834, Ozanam wrote a friend, Henri Personneaux, before he proposed the idea of expansion to Bailly: "Success is possible only by continual development and that not to go forward is to fall back. I then favor innovations, subdivisions of conferences, movement, and everything it pleases the benevolent brain of M. Bailly to produce.... I will accept whatever he wants me to do.... On my side, I will pressure him as much as I can and intend to write him incessantly to that end."

Ozanam's letter gives us insight into his youthful impatience. After two years, the group had grown to more than 100 members and was faced with the need to reorganize. In December 1834, the issue was passionately debated. Bailly maintained order and appointed two committees that proposed an agreeable solution in February 1835. The compromise was to meet in two separate rooms at Bailly's facility and gather together for socializing afterward. That compromise helped move the Society forward, and soon more conferences were formed in the city.

The expansion required the creation of uniform guidelines and in the spring of 1835, Bailly proposed adoption of a Rule. He provided Ozanam and François Lallier with a basic outline, based on his knowledge of the Rules that Saint Vincent de Paul had provided for his followers.

Much of what Monsieur Bailly did for the group, he contributed quietly in the background, and the young men were probably unaware of the pitfalls averted because of his experience and knowledge of local politics. Only small groups were allowed to meet after the suppression of the July Revolution of 1830. A working understanding with local Prefect of Police Henri Gisquet allowed Bailly to have outsiders participate in events at his



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Engraved portrait of Frédéric Ozanam (1813–1853).

Courtesy of St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

boarding house. Bailly was undoubtedly concerned that as the new Conference of Charity grew it might be considered a threat to civil order and be suppressed by local police.¹¹ Victor Hugo's novel *Les Misérables* provides insight into the fear local police had of meetings of radical young students. The novel highlights fictional students planning the June Rebellion of 1832, the summer before the founding of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Bailly understood that local Church leaders would also have concern about the Society. There was some latitude for small groups to meet as long as they were associated with parishes, but many clerics were wary of Bailly's work with these young students. They were aware that the delicate compromises reached with the government were always at risk of being dissolved. To gain support of the local clergy, Bailly invited Father Faudet, new pastor of the nearby church of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, to attend a meeting on 27 June 1835. A report of the group's activity, prepared by Colas Gustave La Noue, was presented. Father Faudet was impressed with the group and their work and assured Bailly that if he were attacked, Faudet would defend him.¹²

Groups of free-thinking young Catholics in France were also under scrutiny from the Vatican. Pope Gregory XVI's encyclical *Mirari Vos (On Liberalism and Religious Indifference)* was written on 15 August 1832. It condemned popular liberal beliefs, especially those of Father Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais, who was widely admired by young Parisian Catholics. The papal document states, "We are concerned you should recall that certain societies and assemblages seem to draw up a battle line together with the followers of every false religion and cult. They feign piety for religion; but they are driven by a passion

11 E. Lacoste, *P. Vincent de Paul Bailly Fondateur de La Croix* (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1913), 10.

12 Jarry, "Un artisan," 399.

for promoting novelties and sedition everywhere.”

Frédéric Ozanam and his friends found it difficult to distance themselves from the increasingly rebellious works of Father Lamennais. In a letter to Charles Hommais on 7 May 1834, Ozanam wrote, “There is no noise around us except about the new work of the Abbe de Lamennais....The intimate disciples of the great writer ...who know or follow him, break with him on this day, so that he knows he is alone. May God have mercy on him and forgive those who, by disgusting insults, have gradually sprouted this superior genius into a path of anger and error!” Only a month later, Pope Gregory XVI singled out Lamennais with another encyclical, *Singulari Nos*, subtitled “On the Errors of Lamennais.” Bailly launched his second newspaper, *La Tribune Catholique*, to offer a moderate alternative to the liberal religious paper *L’Avenir*, which had been published by Father Lamennais.

The visitation of the poor in their homes became the principal activity of the young Society. By the summer of 1836, the early members were working with 300 families but had also established a significant special work—a boarding house for ten children who were being trained as printing apprentices in Bailly’s shop. The conference rented a building on rue Grès and hired a married couple to manage the house. This sort of operation required the oversight of Bailly, who was aided by several of the student members. Even Madame Bailly became involved.¹³ This special work was difficult to maintain, however, and eventually disappeared.

The expansion of the Society was initially driven by students who ventured out into communities to pursue their careers and who wanted to establish the Society in those locations. Ozanam, with a large contingent of the early members, returned to Lyons and struggled to form the Society there. To accommodate the challenges they encountered, the Lyons Conference suggested to the Council General in Paris that certain changes should be made to the Rule and common practice.

Bailly saw the bigger picture and explained to Ozanam the challenges that the conferences in Paris encountered. Ozanam shared this with fellow conference member Amand Chaurand in a letter written on 19 November 1838:

I have spoken several times to M. Bailly. He told me of all the tribulations which the Society had suffered from some ecclesiastics who sought to seize it, and especially from a political party which wished to exploit it, or to disorganize it for its own benefit, this for the conference of St. Germain de Prés was the unfortunate result of a Legitimist enterprise, which has so cruelly compromised our existence, and which still threatens our tranquility. He added that the Company so far retains faithfully a dual religious and secular character, which alone can ensure its usefulness and multiply its efforts.¹⁴

¹³ *Ibid.*, 414.

¹⁴ Didier Ozanam, *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam Supplément et Tables* (Paris, Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul, 2013), 79.

Ozanam then offered this advice to the Lyons Conference members:

Concerning the communication I have given him of your last letter, he thinks it will be advisable to make the parish priest of Saint-Pierre understand the spirit which animates us and which alone distinguishes us from other associations: we must not be a charity bureau, nor a confraternity. But above all, guard against extreme parties, never to lose patience, long-suffering benevolence in interpretations, perseverance in reconciling divergent opinions, avoiding all that can grieve the hearts and stiffen the wills. These are the lessons which M. Bailly never ceases to give to those who surround him, and of whom he gives the first example. It is this force which seems to be inertia at first sight but which alone sustains and saves the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.¹⁵

Frédéric Ozanam's reference to the "inertia" of Emmanuel Bailly is a complaint younger members frequently have of the older generation. In this case, Ozanam acknowledged Bailly's prudent caution. The obligations of family and career can compete for a member's time. That is not always understood by younger members who are motivated to act. On another occasion, Ozanam encouraged his friend François Lallier to "prod sometimes the excessive tranquility of the president general."¹⁶ Sometimes, older Vincentians really do need prodding, or they risk losing the enthusiasm of the young.

As the Society grew, Bailly steadily provided advice through his circular letters on the issues that came to the attention of the Council General in Paris. A deeply held belief of the founders contributing to the ability to grow and spread was that "no work of charity is foreign to the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul." To this day, this phrase is found in the Rule of the Society.¹⁷ In his circular of 1 March 1842, Bailly encouraged a deep trust of the Holy Spirit: "Everyone is differently acted upon by Divine grace; everyone has his own way of doing good. Let us not impede the various manifestations of the Holy Ghost. Again our Conferences are found in various places and to do good, real good must be done according to the spirit, tendencies, and necessities of those places."

Bailly proceeded to summarize this reliance on the value of subsidiarity, still embraced in the Society's Rule: "We are all brothers; among us there are no masters to command the rest; we merely owe each other friendly and brotherly advice ... Nothing is so injurious to the unity and progress of a Society as a tendency to fear every manifestation, whatever it may be, to suspect from the first, or even reject, every idea that does not originate with ourselves, to subject to a rigorous and impossible uniformity the free and spontaneous action of our

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Frédéric Ozanam to François Lallier, 5 October 1837.

¹⁷ The Rule of the International Confederation of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, Part I, 1.3.



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Emmanuel Bailly pictured at desk. Photo owned by the international office of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, Paris.

Courtesy of Ralph Middlecamp via St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

Brothers.”¹⁸

Bailly frequently and strongly insisted that members must do home visits: “I cannot conclude this letter without this most earnest request: never neglect visiting the poor in their homes. The visiting of the poor in their dismal homes is the distinctive character of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul.”¹⁹

Warning conferences to avoid politics, Bailly wrote, “By being exclusively a Society of good works, outside or above all political parties, will the Society of St. Vincent de Paul live and continue to make good progress.”²⁰ He would repeat this advice regularly, using it as the concluding instruction in his final letter to the Society.

As Bailly’s personal and business lives became increasingly complicated, they diminished his ability to provide the leadership the growing organization needed. Still, Bailly would remain a mentor to the Society until his resignation in 1844. He regularly wrote and published the circulars advising members to maintain the practice of home visits, to avoid partisan politics, to avoid unnecessary publicity, to maintain the lay character of the organization, and, most importantly, to preserve the spirituality of the Society.

In his final circular, Bailly cautioned the Society not to lose its primitive spirit: “The Society of St. Vincent de Paul was begun by young men and for young men; accordingly a peculiar virtue seems attached to their action among us, while at the same time a great portion of the favor with which the public views our Society

18 *Ibid.*, Part I, 3.9.

19 Emmanuel Bailly, Circular Letter, 14 July 1841.

20 Emmanuel Bailly, Circular Letter, 1 December 1842.

comes from its being known to consist principally of young men. But, in order that it should continue recruiting among the youth in the schools and other walks of life, the young men must be in evidence among us; they must appear in the first rank.”²¹

6. The Legacy of Bailly’s Talented Children

The Bailly children were remarkable reflections of Emmanuel and Sidonie’s lives of faith and of the unique home environment they provided. The Baillys had six children:

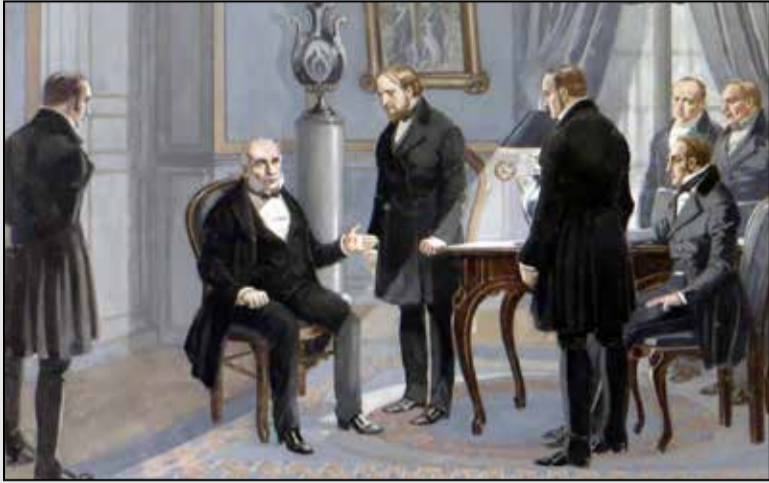
- Marie-Adrienne (1831–1854) intended to become a Carmelite nun but died at twenty-two while working in Poland as a governess.
- Vincent de Paul (1832–1912) was an Assumptionist priest and the founder of *La Croix*.
- Bernard (1835–1920) was the founder of Aid Society for Fishermen and the editor of *Cosmos*.
- Marie (1837–1906) was superior of the Daughters of Saint Chotilde.
- Sidonie (1840–1866).
- Benjamin (Father Emmanuel) (1842–1917) was an Assumptionist priest and superior general.

The Baillys’ eldest and youngest sons became priests in the newly formed Augustinians of the Assumption, founded by Emmanuel Alzon. Emmanuel Bailly didn’t live long enough to see either of his sons ordained. It may be expected that his sons would have joined the Congregation of the Mission, but the relationship between that order and the Baillys turned bitter while the sons were young men. Emmanuel Alzon, founder of the Assumptionists, was a friend of Emmanuel Bailly and a regular guest in his home.

Bailly’s oldest son, Vincent de Paul, was a member of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul as a young man. He had an early career as a telegraph operator and for a time was the personal telegrapher of Emperor Napoleon III. Vincent de Paul was entrusted with many important missions—private and diplomatic. To improve his international correspondence, he began to study foreign languages and law. A promising career seemed to lie ahead, but he developed other ambitions. In October 1860, he entered the Congregation of the Assumption; his younger brother Emmanuel joined him seven months later, shortly after the death of their father.

Father Vincent de Paul Bailly was one of the earliest members of the Assumptionist order. Like his father, he became a journalist dedicated to the defense of the Catholic faith. He was founder and publisher of *La Croix* and also founded the *Bonne Presse*, which printed numerous smaller publications. His aggressive stance would embroil him in the Dreyfus Affair in the 1880s. His opinions were stridently anti-Semitic and contributed to

21 Emmanuel Bailly, Circular Letter, 1 March 1844.



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Emmanuel Bailly with Frédéric Ozanam and companions.

Oil on board, artist unknown.

Courtesy of St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

the eventual banning of the order from France for several years.

The youngest son, Benjamin, took his father's name when he was ordained and was known as Father Emmanuel Bailly. He became the third superior general of the Assumptionists and presided over the order's reestablishment in France and significant expansion throughout the world, which involved travel to China and the United States.

The Baillys' middle son, Bernard, attended the French Naval Academy. After resigning from the service, he founded a fisherman's aid society that operated much like the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul and worked with the poor in fishing villages. Following the family's journalistic tradition, he was editor of *Le Cosmos* for many years, a magazine reviewing scientific developments of the day. He was the only child of Bailly to marry and have children.

A daughter, Marie, became Superior of the Daughters of Chlotilde. Marie lived her later years in Belgium and died there.

The children of Emmanuel Bailly followed in their father's footsteps and were significant participants in the renewal of nineteenth-century French Catholicism. This can be attributed to the faith and spirituality of their parents but also to living in a household that regularly hosted some of that period's most influential French Catholic leaders.

7. The Enterprises of Bailly

From the day Emmanuel Bailly opened his first boarding house on rue Cassette in 1819, he would create ventures that were entrepreneurial and promoted and defended the

Catholic faith. Unfortunately, he was not a very good businessman, but he was able to attract other interested investors.

Emmanuel's brother Ferdinand was his first supporter, providing financing for his boarding houses and later his newspapers. The money probably was not Ferdinand's to invest but rightfully was an asset of the Congregation of the Mission. Ferdinand believed in his brother's projects, however, and probably thought the financial resources he found at his disposal were being put to good use. At this time, the leadership of the Congregation of the Mission was in disarray, but Ferdinand eventually found himself in conflict with the Congregation's emerging leadership over these expenditures.

Another source of financial resources came from his marriage to Sidonie de Surcy. Her family was financially secure and undoubtedly helped support the family. Sidonie's brother Henri would join Bailly and become the manager of the actual printshop portion of Bailly's publishing enterprise.

Bailly's finances were thrown into chaos when his brother's contributions to his projects were called into question by the new superior of the Congregation of the Mission, Father Jean-Baptiste Nozo. This man had a long-standing dislike for Ferdinand Bailly. Ferdinand had been a contender for the position of superior general and held some views opposed to those of Nozo and his supporters.

Father Bailly was not without fault. There was a dispute concerning the legitimacy of his vows, an unwillingness to be accountable to the Congregation for questionable financial expenditures, and outright disobedience: "He [Nozo] accused Bailly of lacking respect for the superior general and of not fulfilling his responsibilities as superior (to say nothing of being visitor). Nozo then listed those points that he found particularly offensive: unauthorized loans, destruction of financial records, poor bookkeeping and inconsistent explanations for various financial transactions."²² These concerns led to Ferdinand Bailly's dismissal in 1838.

The dismissal resulted in a complex set of lawsuits for damages. Emmanuel Bailly would be pulled into this convoluted case, as would Sister Rosalie Rendu. To defend the reputation of his Congregation after losing the lawsuits, Nozo printed 3,000 pamphlets and distributed them to every French diocese, to magistrates, and to many governmental departments, particularly in Paris and in Pas-de-Calais, where the Bailly family originated. In 1840, Emmanuel decided to sue Nozo for defamation of the Bailly family's reputation. In his complaint against Nozo's brief, he objected most strongly to the allegation that he obtained the money improperly from his brother Ferdinand to purchase a house and a business.

22 John E., Rybolt, C.M., *The Vincentians: A General History of the Congregation of the Mission*, vol. 3 (Hyde Park: New City Press, 2013).

Sister Rosalie became involved in these cases several times.²³ She tried to help the Lazarists by persuading Archbishop Denis-Auguste Affre of Paris to use his influence to mediate the disputes. She asked the archbishop to persuade Emmanuel Bailly to drop his suit. Although she was a friend of Bailly, she disliked the scandalous publicity and was unsure of the veracity of some of Emmanuel's claims. Her efforts were too late to be of any use in the defamation suit. She continued to intervene with the archbishop, however, on matters pertaining to the Congregation of the Mission, and her "meddling" was not appreciated by the leadership of the Lazarists.

Emmanuel won a substantial settlement in this lawsuit but foolishly used this settlement money in 1842 to acquire the Hôtel de Clermont-Tonnerre on rue de Fleurus in Paris. A mansion near the Luxembourg Gardens, the hotel had been the residence of the King of Naples, Emperor Napoleon's brother-in-law. Hoping that revenues it would generate could support him in his retirement, Bailly purchased the mansion and rented out apartments. It was a poor investment.

Until 1839, Emmanuel continued as publisher of *L'Univers*. By 1838, without the financial backing of the Congregation of the Mission, the paper was in financial trouble and on the verge of bankruptcy—until Count Montalembert invested in it. In 1844, *L'Univers* came to be directed by the talented but strident Louis Veuillot. He became an antagonist to liberal Catholic writers such as Frédéric Ozanam and would eventually turn even on Count Montalembert, whose investments had saved the paper.

Emmanuel Bailly continued to make poor decisions. He supported the reintroduction of the Benedictines into Paris. He had a long friendship with Dom Prosper Gueranger, who reestablished the Benedictine monastery at Solesmes. In December 1843, the order's treasurer made a poor decision to purchase a property and Bailly acted as guarantor on the real estate deal. Gueranger did not encourage Bailly in this effort, and it also was opposed by Archbishop Affre of Paris. When the effort failed, Bailly was responsible for almost one million francs of debt. This was a final cause of his ruin.

8. The Unfortunate Final Years

In 1844, Bailly retired as the Society's president general. At this point, Bailly was fifty years old. He had lost ownership of the newspaper and still had six children at home between the ages of two and thirteen. The conflict with the Congregation of the Mission, his family obligations, and the state of his personal finances distracted Bailly from his leadership responsibilities and reflected poorly on the organization. After a difficult meeting on 25 February 1844, Jean Le Prevost wrote Bailly a frank letter encouraging him to resign. The

²³ Louise, Sullivan, D.C., *Sister Rosalie Rendu: A Daughter of Charity on Fire with Love for the Poor* (Chicago: Vincentian Studies Institute, 2006), 309.



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Jules Gossin (1789–1855).

The second president of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Courtesy of Ralph Middlecamp via St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

members of the Council General then requested his resignation and Ozanam was asked to present the request. Bailly was hurt by this and wavered for many weeks.

While Bailly resigned voluntarily, the “forced” nature of this resignation was not mentioned publicly. Quite the opposite, Ozanam publicly praised Bailly in a circular dated 11 June 1844 for his role as founder. Becoming a source of dispute after Ozanam died, the letter read in part: “It was he who supplied them with a place of meeting, who assisted them with his advice, encouraged them by his example: he taught them to draw near one another for mutual support, to recruit others, to help the poor....”²⁴

Supporters of the Bailly family, however, regarded the dismissal with disparagement:

It is true that Mr. Bailly had ruined himself in his printing business and had been declared bankrupt. Despite his virtue and his devotion he was not a businessman, let alone a printer and there is no industry more complex and difficult to manage, especially when the clientele is richer in ideas than capital ... at that time not being able to honor its business was degrading in the eyes of the liberal bourgeoisie. This explains the resignation of Mr. Bailly, but does not justify the conduct of his old friends when we know the reasons for the failure of this new Job who lost everything to give you everything.²⁵

Emmanuel stayed active with the Council General of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul at the insistence of his successor, Jules Gossin. The two men were close in age and had

²⁴ Frédéric Ozanam and Léon Cornudet, Circular Letter, 11 June 1844.

²⁵ M. Guy, *Vincent de Paul Bailly, fondateur de “La Croix”* (Paris: La Colombe, 1955), 17.

known each other as participants in the Society of Good Studies. In choosing Gossin, the Society recognized the need to continue to be led by a well-respected older member with organizational experience and a strong Catholic faith. Bailly kept in contact with several of the other founders and remained a member of the Council General until almost the end of his life in 1861.

However, the financial difficulties of Bailly were not over when he resigned as president general. A series of court actions, beginning on 22 August 1848 and ending in August 1849, led to an order to liquidate his assets. Bailly was forced to give up ownership of the property and management of the press at 2 Place de la Sorbonne. His brother-in-law, Henri, would take it over, renaming it after himself, H. Vrayet de Surcy Press.

Bailly's family was affected greatly. His wife, Sidonie—insisting that they would borrow no more money—took charge of major financial decisions. He had to sell the Hôtel de Clermont-Tonnerre and moved into a modest apartment at 5 rue du Petit-Bourbon. They would be forced to move two more times to smaller quarters. Their financial difficulties would also negatively impact the education and career options of the Bailly children.

Bailly would manage to occupy himself with a few small jobs. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul commissioned him to write a short biography of Saint Vincent de Paul. His old friend Father Migne found projects for him, including collaborating on a journal, *Le Moniteur Catholique*, recently established by the new bishop of Paris. Bailly took a position at the Library of Saint Genevieve as the interim conservator in September 1850. An entrepreneur to the end, he was reported to be making plans in 1850 to come to the United States to pursue new business interests. This would never happen.

Bailly lived almost eight years after Frédéric Ozanam died. These years were marked by a very public debate about who founded the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.²⁶ It began innocently enough with a posthumous testimonial to Ozanam by Father Lacordaire; in that address the priest attributed the founding to Ozanam. Louis Veillot was not willing to let this stand and disputed this claim in multiple *L'Univers* articles which were then publicly disputed by friends of Ozanam.

This debate was considered very detrimental by the Council General. Bailly was present at the Council General meeting of 25 February 1856, as Council members tried to defuse the issue. He repudiated “in measured terms” all claims to be the founder and agreed that it was necessary not only to “drop the polemic” but also to publish nothing more on the question. Nevertheless, it was decided to publish a note in the Society's “Bulletin” to affirm the collective founding of the organization.

It was a controversy that continued to haunt the Society even after the latter's death, especially in Paris, where both Ozanam and Bailly were well-known. These two friends were

26 Gérard Cholvy, *op. cit.* A detailed account of the controversy is given on pages 296–309.



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***The tomb of Emmanuel Joseph Bailly de Surcy.
Lès Thennes cemetery, Berteaucourt-lès-thennes,
France.***

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noted for their humility, and we could expect that they would have preferred to avoid this controversy. Recently, we have come to a better understanding of the roles of both men. There is little argument against the claim that Frédéric Ozanam was the principal founder, or animator, of the organization as we know it today, but clearly Emmanuel Bailly presided with wisdom over the Society's development during its first decade.

Emmanuel Bailly died in Paris on 12 April 1861. He was buried initially in the cemetery at Montparnasse. After his wife died, they were buried together in the Vrayet de Surcy family tomb in Lès Thennes, which was near her family estate. The grave is to the right of the entrance to the cemetery which is behind the church of Saint-Vaast de Moreuil.

9. Concluding Observations

Emmanuel Bailly lived at a time of great change in all the institutions of France. Systems of religion, education, commerce, and politics were all in a state of upheaval, and he was not afraid to take risks to make the world a better place. As a result, he was often in the shadow of famous people but was never quite famous himself. He was what author Malcolm Gladwell labels a “connector” in his book *The Tipping Point*.²⁷ Very often, Bailly's contribution to a project was his ability to share information and bring people together. Emmanuel Bailly and Frédéric Ozanam shared an ability to form relationships that would last a lifetime. The friendship and trust these two men had for each other formed the intersection of generations that made the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul thrive in a difficult environment. It is easy to see how each used their talents and abilities to found the Society, but they also brought their friends along with them—friends that spanned two generations.

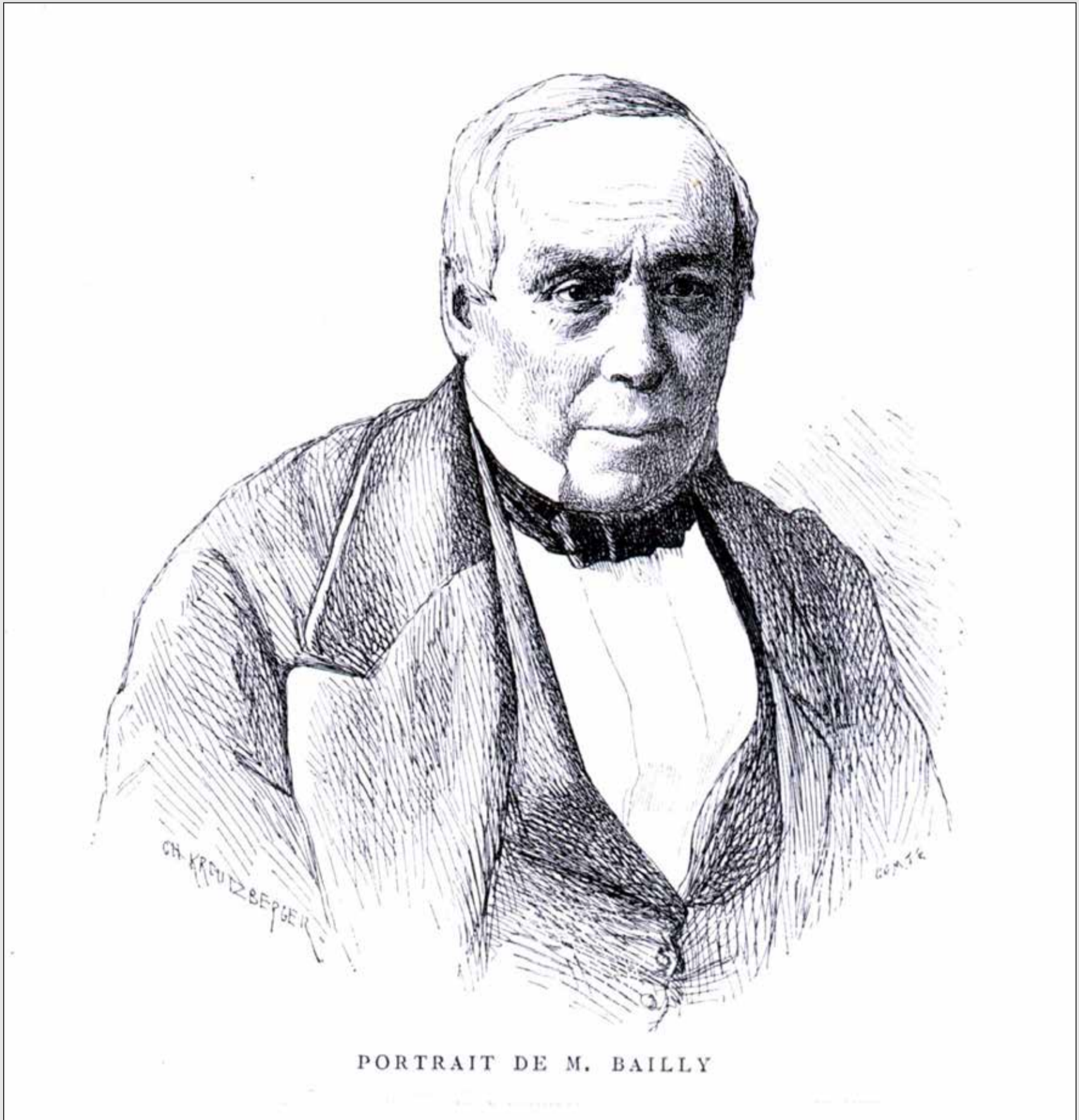
²⁷ Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point* (New York: Little Brown, 2000).

The talents of that collection of friends were also critical to the growth of this “conference of charity.” They were willing to participate in this new endeavor because Bailly and Ozanam were “connectors.” In this respect, Bailly and Ozanam together have offered us a useful model for the relationships and collaborations needed for the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul to continue to thrive in the challenging times each successive generation faces.

Emmanuel Bailly may have died in obscurity, but he lived a life that passionately promoted the renewal of Catholicism in France after the French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire. He was known by the most significant Catholic leaders of Paris as a loyal teacher, journalist, and organizer. He tried to establish institutions that would advance the position of the Catholic Church but did so with limited success. He was not a very good businessman. His vision was almost always more ambitious than his financial capacity to sustain the ventures he created.

The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul is the longest lasting of the organizations he helped establish. Unfortunately, his role in the founding would be clouded by disputes in his later years. Bailly was most successful as a mentor to young men who would affectionately give him the nickname of “father.” That was what he was to young men such as Frédéric Ozanam. More importantly, he was a beloved father to his own children, who would become significant leaders in the French Catholic community at the end of the nineteenth century. In his resignation message to the members of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, published in a circular on 11 June 1844, Bailly left us these words of inspiration: “Be of good courage gentlemen; united or separated, far or near, let us love each other, love and serve the poor. Much evil is being done; let us do a little good.”

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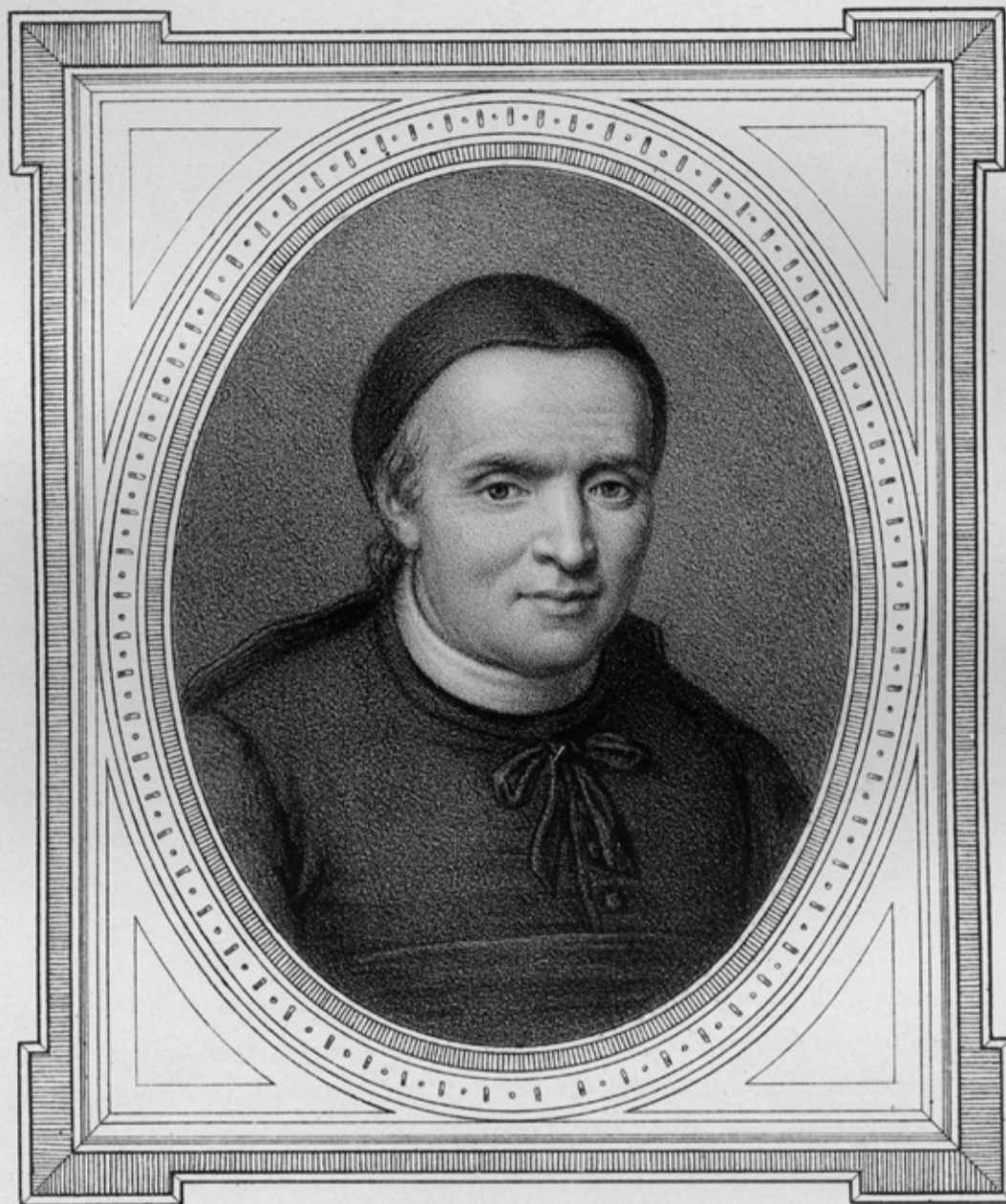


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Portrait of Emmanuel Bailly (1794–1861).

First President of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



*M^r. Hanon, Dominique - François.
Vicaire général.
Elu 1807 — Décédé 1816 .*

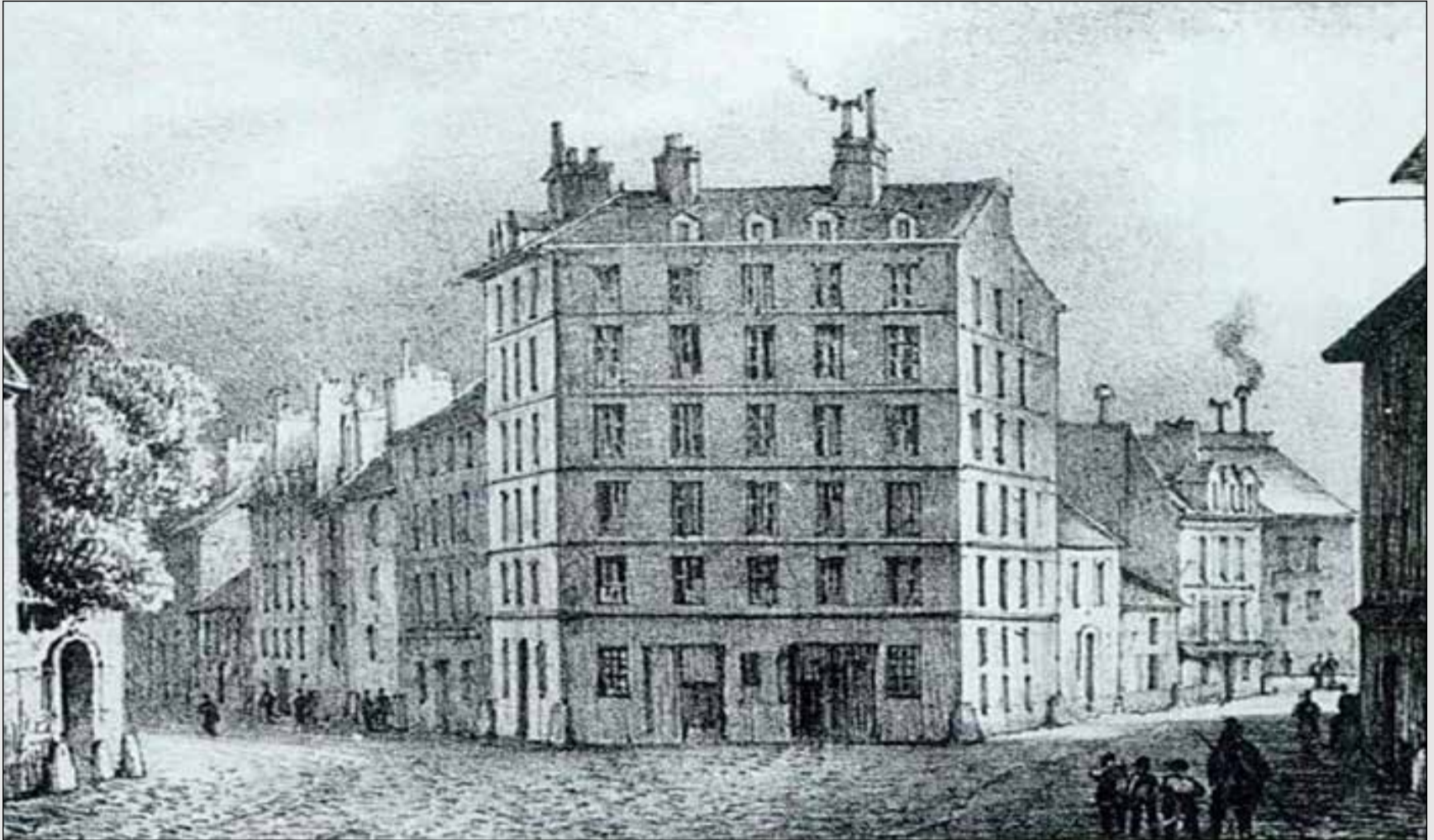
Imp. Lemercier & C^{ie} Paris .

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Engraving of Dominique Hanon, C.M.

Hanon served as Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission from 1807 to 1816.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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11, Place de l'Estrapade, Paris.

The site of a Bailly pension and where Ozanam once lived.

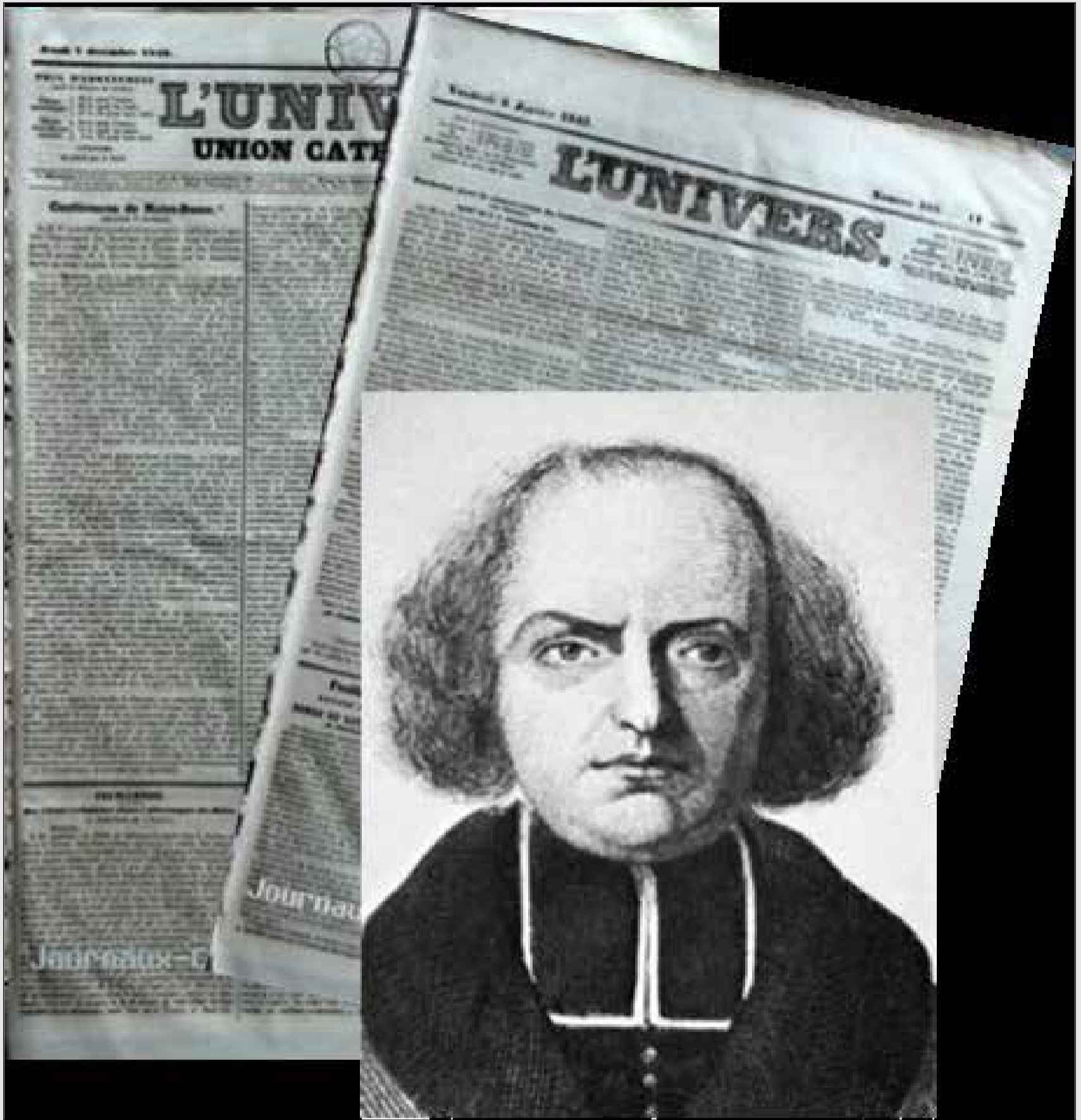
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Madame Marie-Apolline-Sidonie Vyrayet de Surcy; Emmanuel Bailly's wife.

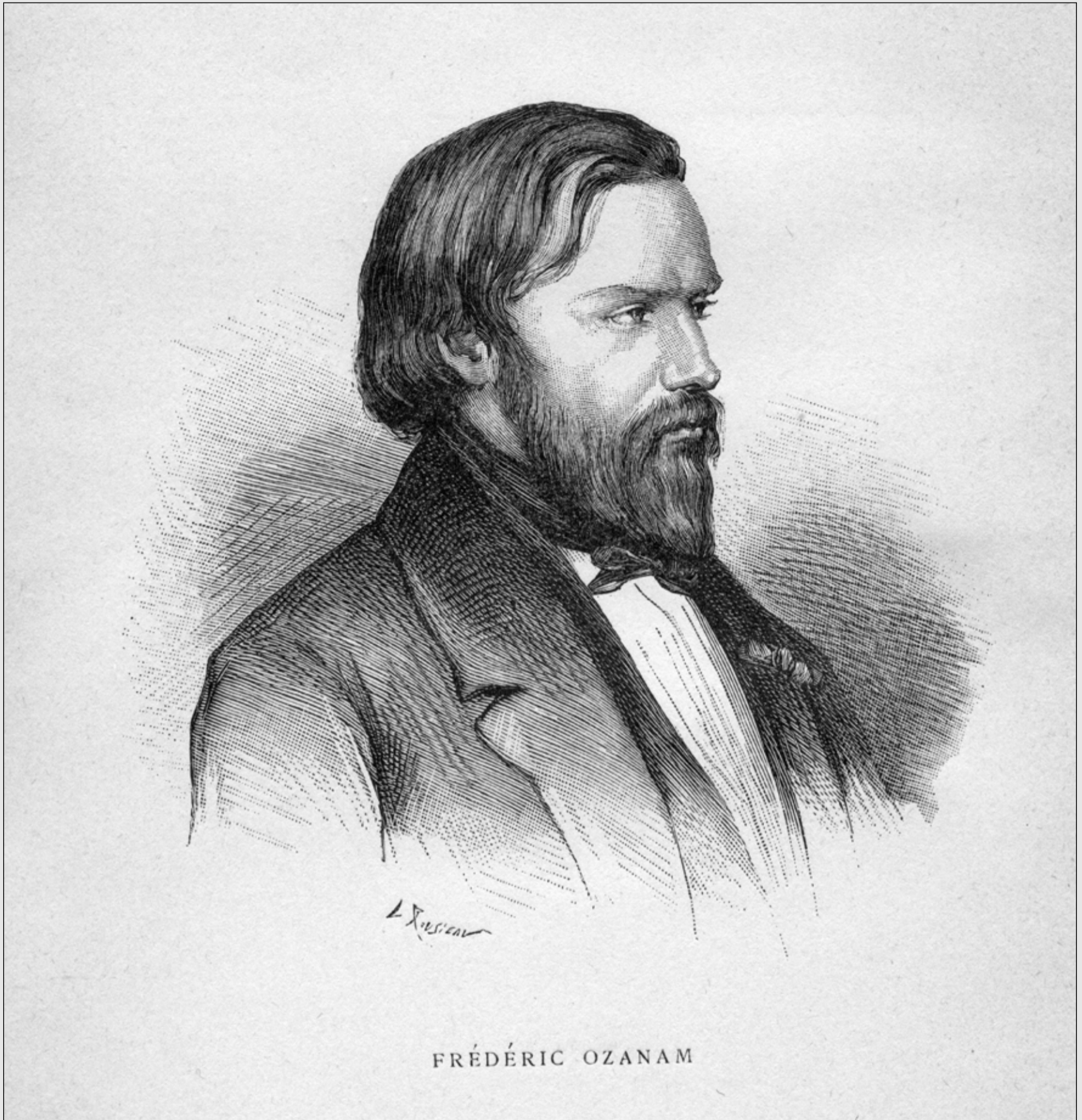
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Engraving of Jacques-Paul Migne alongside copies of L'Univers.

Courtesy of the author



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Engraved portrait of Frédéric Ozanam (1813–1853).

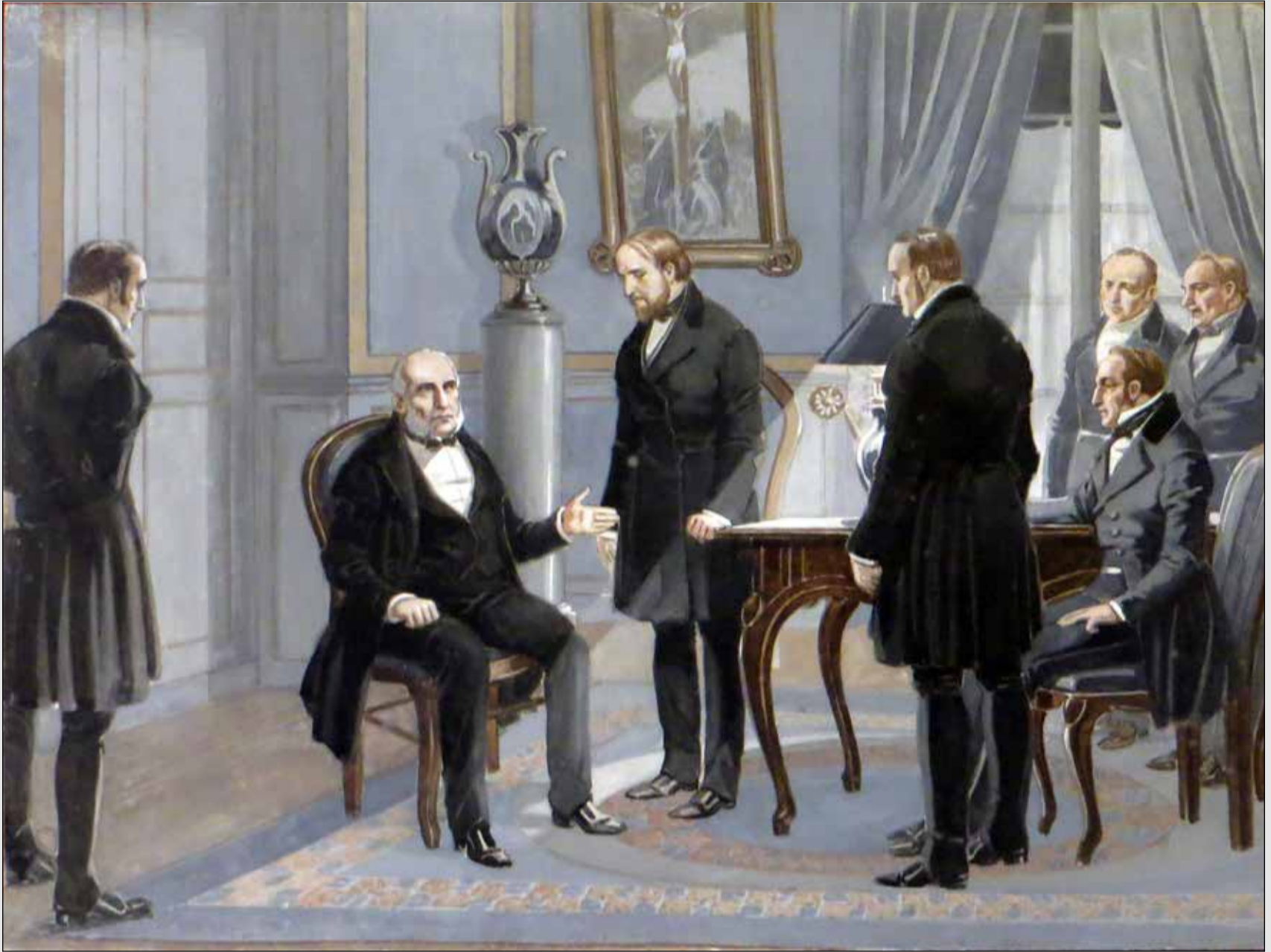
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Emmanuel Bailly pictured at desk. Photo owned by the international office of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, Paris.

Courtesy of Ralph Middlecamp via St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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***Emmanuel Bailly with Frédéric Ozanam and companions.
Oil on board, artist unknown.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Jules Gossin (1789–1855).

The second president of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

Courtesy of Ralph Middlecamp via St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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***The tomb of Emmanuel Joseph Bailly de Surcy.
Lès Thennes cemetery, Berteaucourt-lès-thennes, France.***

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“So that they may be able to live and die as good Christians”: The Early History of the Nom de Jésus Hospital in Catholic Reformation Paris

Alison Forrestal, Ph.D.

BIO

ALISON FORRESTAL, Ph.D., is Professor of History at the National University of Ireland, Galway (NUIG), and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy. She is a specialist in the history of early modern France and of the Catholic Church, and she has published multiple articles, monographs, and edited volumes focused in these areas. Her most recent book is *Vincent de Paul, the Lazarist Mission, and French Catholic Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

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In preparing this article, I benefited from the help of several people and would like to extend my appreciation to them. John Rybolt, C.M., assisted me with perplexing issues of translation, and offered stimulating comments on the content of the Rule. Lâm Phan-Thanh, the archivist at the Archives of the Congregation of the Mission in Paris, the members of the archival team at the Archives of the Daughters of Charity in Paris, and Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée, gave me samples of the handwriting of various individuals that I suspected of being involved in the writing of the document.

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Vincent de Paul catechizing the elderly poor at the Nom de Jésus hospice. Louise de Marillac seated across from him. Detail of oil on canvas painted by Frère André; original in Church of Sainte-Marguerite, Paris. Part of the tableaux of paintings commissioned for Vincent de Paul's canonization.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

By the mid-1650s, the pressing needs of the sick and poor in Paris had rendered the Daughters of Charity indispensable to the capital's population. For over two decades, they had ventured into its parishes to offer food, nursing, and spiritual instruction to the needy, expanding their efforts to try to keep pace with the increasingly urgent challenges of widespread and growing poverty. This included working in new as well as existing institutions and caring for a wide variety of people, including abandoned and orphaned children, galley convicts, “the alienated of spirit,” and the elderly.

Of these, the Daughters' care for children is particularly well-known because of its sheer scale, its poignancy, and the abundance of documentary evidence that has survived. It has formed the basis of the scholarly research of, notably, Susan Dinan and Margaret Flinton.¹ Much less famous and certainly far less analyzed is the Hôpital de Nom de Jésus, where from 1653 the Daughters were the primary caregivers. This is despite the fact that the establishment is directly associated with both Louise de Marillac and Vincent de Paul, survived until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, and was considered important enough to be the subject of one of the tableaux of paintings commissioned by the Congregation of the Mission for de Paul's canonization in the 1730s.² At the same time, however, the

1 Susan Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief in Seventeenth-Century France: The Early History of the Daughters of Charity* (Aldershot: 2006); Margaret Flinton, *Louise de Marillac: Social Aspect of Her Work* (New York: New City Press, 1992).

2 I would like to thank Dr. Simone Zurakowski for reminding me of this fact during one of our many engrossing conversations about Vincentian history.

documentary evidence for it has been until now scarce—there are hardly any references to it in de Paul’s surviving correspondence, and while they can be found more readily in de Marillac’s writings, they are often brief. More importantly, scholars have never had the Rule of Nom de Jésus to hand, meaning that the source with the greatest potential for revealing the thought processes involved in developing the institute, as well as the values, policies, and practices that characterized it, has never even been published, let alone analyzed. This article makes up for this shortfall, not only by providing a transcription and translation of the newly discovered “Rule for the Hospital of Nom de Jésus,” but also by offering a commentary on its historical context and its composition.

“Hospitals” in Seventeenth-Century Paris

The provision of care for the sick and poor in seventeenth-century Paris developed on an ad-hoc basis, the result of years of private and voluntary enterprise coupled with sporadic crown initiatives in the field. This meant that it was relatively easy for the Daughters of Charity to assume a prominent role in public welfare. In the first *vie* of de Paul, Louis Abelly noted that they worked in five “hospitals” in Paris by 1660, including the Nom de Jésus.³ These would not fit the modern definition of a hospital as an institute of professional medicine and health care, but the term hospital at the time was widely used to describe any institution that provided either shelter or medical care, or both, to pilgrims, the indigent, the ill, or the elderly on a short- or long-term basis. The Daughters reached out to a wide variety of people in their “hospitals,” supplementing the limited services already offered by other establishments, such as the Hospital of Mercy or La Pitié. At the time that the Daughters began to run the Nom de Jésus, La Pitié had 900 children under its roof, as well as 500 elderly women and 120 old men.⁴ However, in 1657 the crown approved the foundation of a general hospital in Paris, and La Pitié and a number of other smaller establishments were amalgamated into one enormous institution. Although the principal purpose of the general hospital was to confine the poor forcibly, rather than to shelter and heal, it was entitled to the title of “hospital” at the time. Some existing “hospitals” however, avoided the cast of its net, including the Nom de Jésus, which continued to exist as an independent and different type of hospital. Indeed, it offered an unusual form of supported living for adults of the period: its residents were not confined against their will there; they were entitled to

3 Louis Abelly, *La Vie du venerable servant de Dieu Vincent de Paul* (Paris: 1664), 2:349–50. The other establishments were the Hôtel-Dieu, the home for the foundlings, a hospital for galley convicts, and the Petites Maisons (which housed those “alienated of spirit”).

4 Richard Elmore, “The Origins of the Hôpital Général de Paris” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre-Dame, 1975), 187. Other large “hospitals” included the Hospital of Charity, run by the Brothers of Charity since its foundation in 1602, and the largest hospital for the sick, the Hôtel-Dieu.



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Hôpital Général de Paris or Salpêtrière, Paris; as seen from the river. Late seventeenth-century engraving. Collection of Science Museum Group, UK.

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visitors and days out, as well as to a small wage in return for the craft and other handiwork that they completed. As such, in its case, the term “hospital” might be best translated as a residential home and workshop for Catholics who could not live independently because of age, infirmity, or extreme poverty.

The Foundation and Early Operation of *Nom de Jésus*

In 1644, Vincent de Paul spent 11,000*l* on the purchase of a large dwelling and garden on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Lazare, known as *Nom de Jésus*. He soon found that he had entered a veritable legal storm when the owner of the property (Noel Bonhomme) refused to move out, and it was only three years later that he surrendered the property to the Lazarists, as the Vincentians were then known. For some years afterward, it may have stood empty, or at least without much purpose, until four Daughters of Charity and approximately forty other people took up residence in March 1653. Shortly afterwards, de Paul purchased a smaller adjoining building and garden to add to the new venture. It was only in October, however, that the funds for its survival were formally secured: at this point, an “anonymous bourgeois of Paris” presented 100,000*l* to reimburse the purchase price of the first house, as well as pay for further building works, furniture, the residents’ upkeep, and so on. The benefactor insisted that he remain anonymous, and de Paul guarded his secret closely.⁵ Fortunately for us, however, he also invested the money in the *cinq grosses fermes des*

⁵ The foundation contract can be found in the Archives Nationales, France, M53, 29 October 1653. Hereinafter Archives Nationales will be cited as AN. A second copy is held in AN, S6601. The discussion here is a summary of a more extended discussion of the foundation of *Nom de Jésus* in my recent book: *Vincent de Paul, the Lazarist Mission, and French Catholic Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 212–13.

gabelles (that is, in government bonds), and the accrued revenues left a paper trail in which the donor was named as Mathieu Vinot. He was an ordinary secretary to the queen mother, Anne of Austria, whom de Paul had most likely met while he was a member of the royal Council of Ecclesiastical Affairs/Conscience from 1643.⁶ Such was Vinot's regard for de Paul and his endeavours that he blessed the Lazarists with the most generous donation that they ever received under de Paul's superior generalship. Furthermore, Vinot stipulated in the contract that the superior general of the Lazarists should act as the director of the new establishment in perpetuity, along with two "bourgeois."⁷ But the terms did not mention the Daughters of Charity at all, even though four of them were already assigned to the establishment by the time they were agreed.

The original donor had a longstanding interest in the spiritual and material well-being of elderly people. In 1645, and independently of de Paul, Vinot had legally contracted to give 600*l* annually to the Incurables Hospital for the upkeep of three old men and three old women, and specified that, failing this, the money should be used to provide small houses in which they could live.⁸ His interest in the elderly was not later apparent in the contract for Nom de Jésus, which stated simply that Vinot's donation should be used to maintain "forty poor people of either sex". Even so, it was probably what had drawn him to de Paul, for his original 1645 donation was formally subsumed into that for Nom de Jésus in 1653 and, when it opened, at least some of its residents were indeed elderly, as a result.⁹ However, although Nom de Jésus eventually became a residence for the elderly only, it may not have begun as such, and this means that we should adjust our conventional history of it.

None of those involved in the foundation and early history of Nom de Jésus described it as a residence for the elderly,¹⁰ and the Rule itself suggests that it housed young people as well as old. Throughout, the terms *filles* and *garçons* are used to describe some residents, as well as *femmes* (women) and *hommes* (men) to identify others. In early modern France, *fille* and *garçon* could designate a youngster (*fille* could also mean daughter), but could

6 AN, S6685, "Registre," *passim*.

7 The agreement specified that these were to be chosen by the superior general and their predecessors, and the Rule reiterated this: AN, M53, 29 October 1653 (unpaginated). A number of these men can be identified in surviving documents held in AN M53, S6601, and S6114. The original two chosen by de Paul were Desbordes Godet, a royal councillor and auditor in the *chambre des comptes*, and *Le Sieur L'Obligéois*, a clothing merchant in Paris.

8 AN, M53, 6 February 1645.

9 AN, M53, "Extraict du Registre" (unpaginated).

10 The earliest reference that I have found to Nom de Jésus being a place exclusively for the elderly is in a manuscript history of it, dating from 1762 to 1787, and written by an unidentified Daughter or Lazarist. It stated that it had always been a "house for the retreat of respectable elderly": AN, S6114, "L'hôpital de Nom de Jésus" (unpaginated).



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Vincent de Paul and Daughters at hospital.
From a series of illustrations on Vincent's life
published by La Bonne Presse.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

also refer to a young adult or to an adult who had never been married.¹¹ However, at one point the Rule became more specific, when it referred to “les jeunes (young) garçons” who should follow the *hommes* into meals. While it is possible that *filles* and *garçons* were simply unmarried women and men, “jeunes garçons” must surely describe young men or boys.¹² Equally intriguingly, de Paul referred to children being at the establishment during the 1650s, although it is not clear if he meant that they were living there or visiting.¹³ If they were living there, perhaps they were youngsters who had been left abandoned or orphaned after they made their way to Paris from the war-torn northeast in the early 1650s; Nom de Jésus may have offered one of the few refuges that de Paul and de Marillac could find to feed and house them, and to ensure that they received the kind of training that would later ensure their livelihoods. In any case, other sources of evidence reveal that the residents included a range of individuals at different stages of their lives, such as Anne Boynemain, the widow of a shoemaker, an old man of eighty who had been abandoned by his children, and a younger woman who was admitted in 1664 at the age of forty.¹⁴

11 “Dictionnaire de Moyen France,” CNRS & Université de Lorraine, updated 2015, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>.

12 See my comments on the meaning of *garçon* and *fille* in the introduction. For ease of translation, I have rendered *garçon* and *fille* as boy and girl respectively in the translation that follows, but with the proviso that readers should be aware that their meanings in this context are uncertain.

13 Document 49, “Instruction to the Residents of the Nom-De-Jesus” [Summer 1653], in *Vincent de Paul: Correspondence, Conferences, Documents*, ed. and trans. by Jacqueline Kilar, D.C., Marie Poole, D.C., et al, vols. 1–14 (New York: New City Press, 1985–2014), 13A:174–79. Hereinafter abbreviated as *CCD*. This is an instruction that de Paul gave to the residents shortly after they moved in. He addressed the group at large as “children” (that is, children of God but not necessarily juveniles), but also explicitly referred to a child who was present, probably one of several.

14 AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated). While the average age of death was thirty-nine around this time in France, this figure is skewed by the high rate of child mortality. Many people lived well into their fifties and beyond.

The number of residents at Nom de Jésus waxed and waned after it first opened its doors to about forty entrants in 1653. Unfortunately, figures have not survived for every year of its early history thereafter, but we know that it had thirty-three in 1665, and twenty-three four years later.¹⁵ It regularly received requests to take in new residents, and the reduction was not because it did not serve a need in Paris at the time. Indeed, the only surviving register for entrants, which covers the years from 1659 to 1668, reveals that it admitted a total of sixty-four males and eighty-seven females during these years, and that its annual intake varied from lows of one male in 1665 and of one female in 1666, to a high of forty-six in 1662. Rather, the fluctuations can partly be explained by changes to the establishment's income in these years. In his *vie* of de Paul, Louis Abelly referred briefly to a drop in income around 1663–1664. This would have been caused by the crown's financial reforms of 1664, which enabled it to reduce the annual annuities due from the *rentes* into which the Lazarists had invested Vinot's original endowment.¹⁶ The effect was immediate: from 1659–1663, Nom de Jésus accepted eleven males and fifteen females annually on average, but this tumbled to averages of two males and three females between 1664 and 1668.¹⁷

Thereafter, it is clear from the patchy documentation that survives that Nom de Jésus struggled financially, even though its supporters made strenuous efforts to keep it afloat. Among these was Madeleine Viole, a longtime and prominent member of the confraternity of the Ladies of Charity at the Hôtel-Dieu since it was founded in 1634, as well as of the Confraternity of Charity in the parish of Saint-Benoît.¹⁸ Other *consœurs* helped to form a network of Parisians who recommended new entrants: the most active of these was Madame Anne de Traversay, who was responsible for the acceptance of at least six new residents between 1659 and 1668.¹⁹ The network also included *curés* of parishes in and near Paris, who came to know of the institute through prior connections to the Lazarists, Daughters and confraternal members: for example, the *curés* of Saint-Laurent²⁰ and Saint-Nicolas-

15 AN, S6114, “L’hôpital de Nom de Jesus” (unpaginated), and “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated).

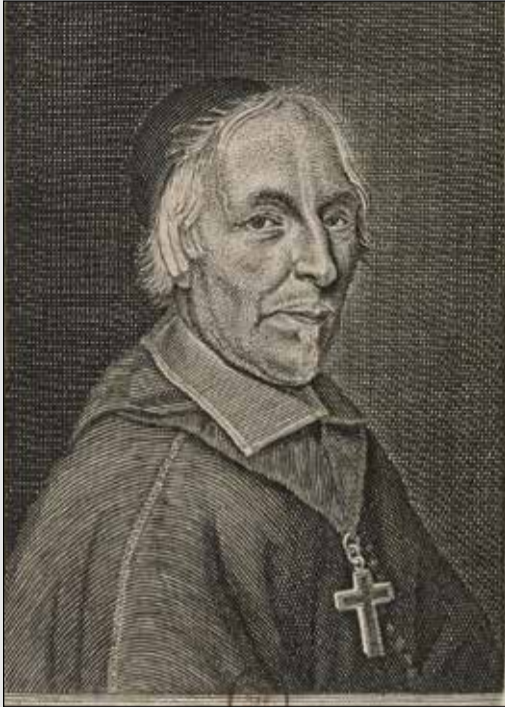
16 Not long afterwards, the superior general, René Alméras, lamented the negative impact that the crown's actions had also had on Saint-Lazare and other Congregation sites in a circular to his confreres: *Recueil des principales circulaires des supérieurs généraux de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Paris: 1877), 1:72–73 (23 March 1665). For the wider context, see Roger Mettam, *Power and Faction in Louis XIV's France* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1988), 262, and Vincent Pitts, *Embezzlement and High Treason in Louis XIV's France: The Trial of Nicolas Fouquet* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 111.

17 AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated).

18 AN, S6114, “Inventaire des Titres des fondation Et dotations Lettres patentes de lhospital du Saint nom du Jesus” (unpaginated).

19 This type of information can be gleaned from AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez,” which often records the name of the person who recommended the individual admitted to the establishment.

20 The *curé* of Saint-Laurent was Nicolas Gobillon, who later wrote the first life of Louise de Marillac, while she had been a member of the confraternity of charity in Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, and de Paul had been a close friend of Adrien Bourdoise, the founder of the priestly community who ministered there: Nicolas Gobillon, *La Vie de Mademoiselle Le Gras, fondatrice et première supérieure de la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité, servantes des pauvres malades* (Paris: 1676); Forrestal, *Vincent de Paul*, 68, 118–23, 184.



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Engraved portrait of Louis Abelly.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

du-Chardonnet made several recommendations in this period. A further set of activists was made up of officials attached to the Paris *parlement*, who may have encountered potential residents through their legal work; however, a few of these were also related to Ladies of Charity and this may explain their links.²¹ Of course, admissions also originated with the administrators and with the Lazarists and the Daughters themselves: the long-serving Lazarist Antoine Portail made at least two recommendations around 1660, and the establishment also housed some relatives of Daughters and Lazarists, such as the brother of Cécile Angiboust, who died there a few months after it opened.²²

The Rule

Among the documents on Nom de Jésus that survive in the Archives Nationales de France is a five-page manuscript titled the “Rule of the Hospital of Nom de Jésus.”²³ Although undated, it is preserved with other Nom de Jésus documents surviving from the 1650s and 1660s, and its script, spelling, and language are consistent with this period. In another file, an eighteenth-century note by a Lazarist or Daughter of Charity claims that the same Rule

21 For instance, Mademoiselle Viole and her brother, Jacques Defita, who was a lawyer in the Paris *parlement*, recommended Pierre Fadin for admittance in 1662. In addition, Viole’s husband, Jacques, was a parliamentary counsellor: AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated).

22 Letter 365B, “To My Very Dear Sister Cécile Angiboust,” 23 May 1653, *Spiritual Writings of Louise de Marillac*, ed. and trans. Louise Sullivan (New York: New City Press, 1991), 419, hereinafter abbreviated as *SW*. For further examples, see references in de Paul’s correspondence: L2931, “To Jacques Tholard, in Troyes,” 6 August 1659, *CCD*, 8:73; Document 175, “Council of 27 July, 1656,” *CCD*, 13b:348–49. Some elderly Daughters and Lazarists also spent their last years there, including the senile Jeanne Lepinte: *SW*, 77, n. 1.

23 AN, M53, “Reglement Pour lhospital du nom de Jésus.”

had been used in the establishment from its foundation.²⁴ If this is true, then this document may be the only surviving copy of a set of regulations used throughout the history of the foundation. Its content and format are much more advanced than a set of notes relating to the foundation that Louise de Marillac left for posterity. Although the editor of the *Spiritual Writings* surmised that she wrote her reflection around 1653, a more logical composition date would be late 1652. This is because de Marillac began her reflection by writing that her goal was “to contemplate the work before God ... in all its stages” from its beginning to its completion, which indicates that she composed it before Nom de Jésus opened, the contract was signed, or the Rule was written.

It is clear from what Louis Abelly wrote of Nom de Jésus that he knew something of its regulations and daily routine, for he gave a brief description of the residents’ lives and noted that the males and females ate their meals separately while listening to spiritual readings. He did not mention the existence of regulations or a rule for the institute, but another contemporary, Nicolas Gobillon, who published the first *vie* of Louise de Marillac twenty-two years later, claimed that Vincent de Paul had not only planned the foundation but had also written the rules for it. He went on to say that de Paul had then “entrusted” these to Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity so that they could manage the new enterprise.²⁵

Both Abelly and Gobillon give the impression that Nom de Jésus was entirely of de Paul’s making and infer that Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity did little but run it according to his directives. Abelly even went so far as to state that it was de Paul who undertook the minute work of purchasing the furniture, fittings, linens, and so on that it needed to fulfil its functions. Only one scholar, Margaret Flinton, has really recognized the incongruity of these claims, and she did so by pointing to the close attention that Louise de Marillac paid to the everyday operation of the institute after it opened, monitoring all of the goings-on there and keeping accounts of income and expenditure. She suggests that de Paul turned to de Marillac to organize the work, and that the practicalities were therefore the product of her “organizing genius.”²⁶ Not having the Rule to hand, Flinton was forced to rely on piecemeal sources to make this claim, but its recovery enables us to go further.

There are two writing hands in the Rule, but neither is that of de Paul or de Marillac. Nor are they those of their secretaries, or even of their direct successors as superiors of the Lazarists or Daughters (René Alméras and Marguerite Guérin respectively). However, the first writer had a script style which is familiar to historians of the period, a style which was

24 AN, S6114, “Inventaire des Titres des fondation Et dotations Lettres patentes de lhospital du Saint nom du Jesus” (unpaginated).

25 Abelly, *Vie*, 1:213. Gobillon, *La Vie de Mademoiselle Le Gras*, 45.

26 Flinton, *Louise de Marillac*, 123.



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Portrait of Louise de Marillac. Published in the 1769 edition of Nicolas Gobillon's La Vie de la Vénérable Louise de Marillac.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

often used by secretaries and copyists in the seventeenth century. This person (A) wrote down a draft of the Rule, before passing it to the second person (B). A probably copied from an earlier draft or wrote what was dictated to them. Upon receiving the pages, B added to the content, in the form of insertions and replacements which varied in length from single words to full sentences. B's handwriting is more cramped and more difficult to read, filling the margins and spaces in between lines, and the reader is often guided to B's additions by matching symbols. The layout suggests that this writer was not simply copying from another draft, but it is not possible to say if he or she wrote original material or what was dictated by someone else. If the latter, it is possible that the writing was done at the behest of Vincent de Paul or Louise de Marillac.

Problems of authorship aside, the Rule retains immense importance, and its composition and application were important milestones in the history of Nom de Jésus. First, it is important to note that it was identical in some basic respects to the order of the day that the Daughters followed in their nearby motherhouse during the 1640s and 1650s. At Nom de Jésus, the residents took their meals and examined their consciences or received penitential direction at the same times as the Daughters normally did. Practically, this meant that the Daughters in Nom de Jésus were still able to follow the motherhouse's rule as much as possible while carrying out their duties. But it also strongly suggests that de Marillac had a significant role in designing the Rule itself.²⁷

²⁷ For the order of the day followed by the Daughters, see Document 33, "Interrogation of Abbé de Saint-Cyran," 14–31 May 1639, *CCD*, 13a:125–26.

Second, it is possible to see how the scheme evolved by comparing the Rule to the preliminary reflection (mentioned above) that de Marillac wrote when the venture was first mooted. Though this was shorter and less thorough than the Rule, it shared some of its language, ideas, and emphases. Most notably, they both emphasise the importance of manual and skilled labor in the lives of the residents—but this principle is much more fully developed in the Rule, which provides detailed guidelines on the type, extent, and purpose of the daily labor. Its preoccupation with manual labor also bears comparison with a catechetical session that de Paul gave to the residents a few months after Nom de Jésus opened, in which he stressed to them that in working hard they followed the example of Christ.²⁸ A further parallel may be found in de Paul’s emphasis on knowledge of the faith for salvation, a connection that he made many times in different contexts.²⁹ But he also emphasised to the residents that the founder, Vinot, was especially concerned that they should be well instructed in the faith, because he was as concerned for the well-being of their souls as for the health of their bodies. Louise de Marillac also, to a lesser extent, dwelled on this in her notes, and it was probably a combination of all three opinions that ensured that the Rule punctuated the daily routine of the residents with bouts of instruction in the form of exhortations, catechism, and spiritual reading. Although mainly laypeople, their routine was as exacting in its own way as those of the Lazarists and Daughters, for it was designed to guard against idleness and to promote a grateful use of God’s gifts and habits of lay dedication and productivity that were pleasing to him.

While it is not surprising that the Rule is more elaborate than de Marillac’s early reflection, there are noteworthy points of divergence between the documents. The spiritual goals of Nom de Jésus were articulated much more fully in the Rule so that it was made clear that the routine was designed to support the “spiritual enrichment” and redemption of the residents. They were directed to live in harmony and order with each other as brothers and sisters, “dream[ing] principally of being a good Pauper, Living and dying as a good Pauper.” Furthermore, unlike the reflection or the foundation contract, the duties of both the Daughters and Lazarists are distinguished in the Rule. In this regard, an addition that writer B added to the text is striking, proving a desire to prevent any confusion or disagreement on the roles that they could expect to take. This person, either on his or her own behalf or that of someone else, inserted the word “spiritual” to the text in order to designate the type and extent of direction that the Lazarist superior general would offer within the establishment. Just below, the text already read: “Regarding instruction and the administration of the Sacraments both for the sick and the healthy, There will always be one of the Priests of the

28 *Ibid.*, 173–79.

29 For further discussion of this fixation, see my *Vincent de Paul*, 51–5, 103–06.

said Congregation who will attend there.” (Point 5). Evidently, it was considered essential to ensure that the Daughters who served there too were assured of their right to “have care of the Finances and Household, And [they] will serve the said poor corporally & spiritually, Corporally in giving them their food and distributing the clothes *with other necessities*; spiritually in distributing according to their ability their Instruction[,] & reception of the Sacraments to the sick as well as the Healthy, And especially by their good examples.” (Point 6).

The Rule devotes a great deal of attention to the “founder” and “benefactors” of the new establishment, something that did not hinder de Marillac at all in her notemaking. This is intriguing for several reasons. It suggests that she perhaps was not aware at the time that she wrote her notes of the exact nature of the negotiations in which de Paul was involved with Vinot, and that she may not have played any role in this aspect of the foundation. Further, the Rule’s distinction between the founder and the plural “benefactors” reveals that the founder Vinot was followed by other donors to the project soon after he made his gift, even though their names do not appear to have survived. Finally, the Rule elaborates greatly on the terms of the foundation contract where Vinot had specified that he was moved to make his gift by his “pure love of God and of that which Our Lord gave him for the Health of the poor.”³⁰ It frequently reminds the Nom de Jésus residents that they should remain eternally grateful for the opportunity to save their souls that their benefactors had ensured for them. But it also explicitly renders their bond into one of mutual dependence, when it instructs the residents to recite regularly two traditional liturgical prayers of redemption for the souls of the founder and benefactors: the *Retribuere Dignare*,³¹ and the penitential *De Profundis*, Psalm 129 in the Vulgate.³²

30 AN, M53, 29 October 1653 (unpaginated).

31 “May it please Thee, O Lord, to reward with eternal life all those who do good to us for Thy Name’s sake.”

32 The prayers that the residents were asked to recite were very common amongst the devout of the seventeenth-century French church, and some of them were recited by the Lazarists in the internal seminary around this time and afterwards: Archives of the Congregation of the Mission, Paris, “*Règles du Séminaire*” (1652).

The Rule (French and English)

Editorial Notes

- The manuscript of the Rule is unnumbered, but each page has been given a folio reference in the transcription and translation below.
- Words in italics indicate the hand of the second writer (B), who made revisions to the original text, and inserted words, phrases, and sentences, either in the main text or in the margin. To indicate where the text written in the margin should be added to the main body, the author used a set of different symbols: a loop knot, P, x, +++, ++, XX, A, B, ⊕, †, +, H, F. The texts below incorporate these additions as the author instructed.
- The transcription and translation follow the punctuation and spelling in the original French text, and changes have only been made when necessary for comprehension. These include substituting *u* for *v*; changing *dez* to *des*, and occasionally adding an apostrophe to a reflexive verb, such as *s'entretenir*). Where editorial changes have been made, this is indicated by [].
- Words between square brackets [] are added to the translation to facilitate comprehension.
- Illegible words are indicated by "...," and hardly legible ones by "(?)."
- Strikethroughs in the original text are left as such.
- Spots where the original paper was torn or otherwise damaged are noted in the endnotes.



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***Vincent and sisters with the sick-poor in hospital.
From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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***Original canonization engraving by Frère André,
and painting after the engraving, depicting Vincent
preaching at Nom de Jésus.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

Reglement Pour lhospital du nom de Jesus. Rule For the hospital of nom de Jesus.

Fo 1r

L'hospital du nom de Jesus a esté institué et fondé au fauxbourg Saint Laurent lez Paris par un Bourgeois qui par humilité n'a pas voulu estre nommé ni connu que par celuy qui a stipulé pour luy *dans le contrat de fondation*. Pour Elever des bons pauvres, qui puissent d'une manière particuliere Honorer tous iours Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ Comme Père des Pauvres, et verifier en leurs Personnes que Bienheureux sont les Pauvres & que le Royaume des Cieux leur a[p]partient.

2 Il sera tousiours composé d'hommes & garçons & de femmes & filles.ⁱ *Et autant qu'on ne pourra, n'y recevra que de personnes agees particulieurement les filles & des veufves. Et quant aux gens mariez ils ny seront pas admis si ce nest po[ur] quelq[ue] nécessite pressante une des deux*

Fo 1r

The Nom de Jésus hospital was instituted and founded in the faubourg Saint Laurent, Paris, by a Bourgeois who because of humility did not want to be named or wanted only to be known by him who stipulated^{xxxii} for him *in the foundation contract*. To raise the good poor, who may in a particular manner always Honor Our Lord Jesus Christ As Father of the Poor, and verify in their persons that Blessed are the Poor and that the Kingdom of the Heavens is theirs.

2 It will always be composed of men and boys and of women and girls.^{xxxiii} *And in addition, as much as possible, only aged persons[,] particularly girls and widows[,] will be received there. And as regards married people[,] they will not be admitted if one of the two parties does not have a*

parties et pour quelq[ue] temps. Jusques au nombre de quaranteⁱⁱ

3 Le nombre des personnes qu'on y pourra recevoir sera de 40. Scavoir 20 d'un sexe: Et autant de l'autre.

Si pourtant La Providence multiplie augmente la revenu, les personnes pourront aussi multiplier qu'oy qu'il y ait a craindre que le Multitude trop grande ne causeⁱⁱⁱ la confusion & le desordre. a quoy il faudra faire beaucoup d[']attention.

4 Ceux et celles qui voudront estre admis en cet hospital doivent avoir ces conditions: 1. Estre tellem[ent] Pauvres qu'il n'ayent pas moyen de gagner outrement leur vie de leur travail. 2. Nestre pas si infirmes Et cassés quils ne puissent s[']oc[c]uper a quelq[ue] petit ouvrage quand ce ne seroit que filer autour ou devider du fil & semblables. 3. N'estre point sujets a...^{iv} des vices scandaleux particuliere[ment] pour le vin et

pressing need and for some time. Up to the number of forty

3 The number of persons who could be admitted there is limited to 40. That is, 20 of one sex: And the same of the other.

If, however, Providence multiplies increases the revenue, it will be possible also to multiply the [number of] persons although there is reason to fear that too great a Multitude causes confusion and disorder. It will be necessary to pay a lot of attention to this.

4 Those men and women wanting to be admitted to this hospital must have these conditions: 1. To be so Poor that they lack the means to otherwise earn a living from their work. 2. Not to be so infirm And fragile that they will be unable to occupy themselves with some little work, if only to spin stockings, or unwind thread & similar things. 3. Not to be addicted[,] particularly to scandalous vices for wine and women, as

les femmes, comme aussi des mauvaises langues & humeurs que? elevess? 4 promettre d'observer fidele[ment] tous les articles de ce reglement.^v a cet effet il leur disposa faire lecture.

5. ~~personnes~~ y venir de bon gré et personne ny doit estre mis de force mais on pourra bien estre renvoyé a contrecoeur au cas qu'on se rendit incorrigible.

5 Il sera tousjours sous la Direction Spirituelle du Superieur General de la Congregation de la Mission et pour la Chapelle con ...? avec deux Bourgeois de Paris^{vi} qui seraient elus par le d[it] Sup gnal Et par les deux ~~qui sortiront les charge~~ sortiront de Charges. Et pour ce qui est de l'instruction et administration des Sacramens tant en maladie qu'en santé, Il y aura tousjours un des Prestres de ladite Congregation qui y vaquera.

also bad languages and humors that ... 4 To promise to observe faithfully all the articles of this rule. For this purpose, they will be urged to read it.

5. ~~nobody~~ [They are] to come there willingly, and nobody must be forced to enter[,] but it will be possible [for them] ... to be sent back against their will in the event that one becomes incorrigible.

*5 It will be always under the *Spiritual* Direction of the Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission and for the Chapel ...? with two Bourgeois of Paris who will be elected chosen by the said Superior General And by the two ~~who will leave the charge~~ [who] will leave Offices. And regarding instruction and the administration of the Sacraments both for the sick and the healthy, There will always be one of the Priests of the said Congregation who will attend there.*

6 Il y aura aussi des sœurs de la Charite qui resideront actuellement au dit hospital et auront soin de l'Economie et du Menage, Et serviront lesdictz pauvres corporellement & spirituellement, Corporellement en leur a prestant leur nourriture et distribuant les vestemens *et aut[re]s necessites* spirituellement en moyennant selon leur pouvoir leur Instruction & reception des Sacremens tant malades que Sains, Et sur tout par leurs bons exemples.

7 Les Hommes & garçons seront Logez separement d'avec les femmes et filles en sorte qu'ils ne puissent avoir Communication ensemble que lors que la necessité & la permission du Superieur Le Requerront, auquel cas Il y aura une sœur presente.

8 Il y aura un Refectoir pour les Hommes et un pour les femmes, mangeront en commun, Et Il y aura Lecture durant tout le repas, pendant laquelle tous garderont le silence.^{vii} *a cet effet il leur disposa faire lecture.*

6 There will also be sisters of Charity who will actually reside in the said hospital, and who will have care of the Finances and Household, And will serve the said poor corporally & spiritually, Corporally in giving them their food and distributing the clothing *and other necessities*; spiritually in distributing according to their ability their Instruction[,] & reception of the Sacraments to the sick as well as the Healthy, And especially by their good examples.

7 The men and boys will be Lodged separately from the women and girls so that they may Communicate with each other only out of necessity & they will Need the permission of the Superior for It, in which case There will be a sister present.

8 There will be a Refectory for the Men and one for the women, they will eat in common, And There will be a Reading during all the meal[s], during which everyone will remain silent. *to this effect, it disposes them to do the reading.*

Fo 1v

9 Les Emplois des Hommes & garçons seront de travailler a des petits mestiers comme Tisserans, Sergiers, Cardeurs, tailleurs, cordonniers, menuisiers et semblables, Et les femmes et filles a filer, coudre, faire des gands, des bas des stame, & ceux qui ne sçavront point de mestiers et ne pourront en aprendre ... ont en ce quils pourront ... dans la maison^{viii} Le dessein du fondateur n'estant pas de establir une manufacture de soye, d'argent, et dor, pour en enrichir et outrepasser lhospital, mais bien du senrichir cet hopital et son revenu la rendra ~~pour~~ Et l'ouvrage manuel qu'on y fait a l'enrichissement Spirituel d'un petit nombre de pauvres, en sorte quils puissent vivre & mourir en bons Chrestiens.^{ix}

10 Tous les mois on contera avec eux pour la façon des ouvrages quils auront faits, Et on leur se payera le tiers ou le quart le reste demeurant pour lhospital.

Fo 1v

9 The Jobs of the Men & boys will be to work at the little crafts like Weavers, Sergiers,^{xxxiv} Carders, tailors, cobblers, carpenters and similar, And the women and girls to spin, sew, to make gloves, wool stockings, & those who will know nothing of crafts and will not be able to learn them ... have ... that they will be able to ? [work?] in the house[.] The idea of the founder was not to establish a factory for silk, silver, and gold, to enrich and take over from the hospital, but to enrich this hospital and its income and render it ~~for~~ And the manual work that one does here [is] for the Spiritual enrichment of a small number of poor, so that they may be able to live and die as good Christians.

10 Every month they will talk with them about the way [of doing] the works they will have done, And they will be paid a third or a quarter with the rest going to the hospital.

11 Ils seront uniformes en leurs habits, et en leur nourriture, et en tout ce qui se pourra, en Egard a leur Condition.

12 Leurs habits seront de base grise tant les hommes que les femmes, lesquelles nauront pour leur luxe? que une leger destrette? sur un bonnet de laine, le tout ressentant sa pauvrete.

13 Jour ordinaire au disner & au souper sera une bonne portion de pain, un potage, & un petit morceau de viande de deux ou 3. onces, qui sera ordinaireme[nt] du bœuf & quelquefois du porc salé. Ez iours maigres outre le potage ils auront un harang ou une piece d'omelette ou du fromage, ou des pois, ou quelque autre petite chose semblable selon les saisons.

14 Ceux qui auront le moyen d'avoir du vin de ...^x leur argent [et] pourront avoir a chaq[ue] repas demy sextier^{xi} ou chopine^{xii} au plus^{xiii} sils ne veillent aussi à dejeuner ils ne prendront? qu[']un demi sextier. Il ne prendront leur refection que dans le

11 They will be uniform in their clothing and food, and as much as possible, according to their Condition.

12 Their clothing will be gray, men as well as women, the women will have for luxury? only a light...? on a wool bonnet, all [this] witnessing to her poverty.

13 For dinner and supper on an ordinary day [there] will be a good portion of bread, a soup, & a small piece of meat of two or 3. ounces, which will ordinarily be beef and sometimes salted pork. On meatless days beside the soups they will have a herring or a piece of omelette or some cheese, or some peas, or some other similar small thing in season.

14 Those with the means to have some wine from ... their money [and] will be able to have a half setier or a chopine at most at each meal; if they do not wish [it] a breakfast they will take only a half setier. They will take their meals only in the refectory, And those

refectoire, Et ceux qui ne le prendront par infirmité Boiront? [et] mangeront a linfirmirie. Et tous iront a la premiere table excepte le lecteur & ceux et celles qui serv[i]ront.^{xiv}

15^{xv} Ils auront chacun leur lit, & ne le changeront point [word repeated here] de place sans le consentement du sup^r.

15^{xvi} Ils ne sortiront que rarement & ce sera avec necessite & conge, du Superieur pour les cas Extraordinaires, ou de celuy qui le represente, pour les ordinaires, particulierement les femmes et filles; Et au retour Ils se presenteront a la sœur qui a charge d'eux et luy rendront Compte de leur voyage.^{xvii}

16 Quand ceux de leur connoissance les viendront voir, ils se contenteront du s[']entretenir un peu de temps ensemble, Et puis se retirer de ses divertisemens?, sans lamuser a les faire boire; ni souffrir quilz nayent du vin, a raison des desordres qui en pou[r]ront arriver.

who will not take it because of infirmity will Drink? [and] eat in the infirmary. And all will go to the first table except the reader and those who will serve.

15 They will each have their bed, & will not change their place without the superior's consent.

15 They will go out only rarely & this will be with necessity & permission of the Superior for Extraordinary cases, or of whoever represents him for ordinary [cases], particularly the women and girls; And on return They will present themselves to the sister in charge of them and will render Account to her of their trip.

16 When acquaintances will come to see them, they will be content to converse together for a brief time, And then to decline entertainments?, without having fun making them drink; neither to suffer that they have some wine, because of the disorders that can happen.

17 Ils vivront en grande union, se suportant les uns les autres; & se garderont bien de Jamais se quereller ni avoir aucune aversion ensemble. *Et si quilquun avait offensé lon se estoit outre, on s'entredemandera pardon auplustard le soir avant que se coucher.*

18 Ils vivront ensemble com[me] Freres & Sœurs, Et quoyquils soient de differens qualitez Ils ne laisseront pas de sentreapeller Freres entre eux, & les femmes & filles, Sœurs; quoi que puisse apeller peres ceux qui sont fort vieux Et meres Celles qui sont pareillem[ent] p[re]s[en]tem[ent] agees.^{xviii}

19 Pendant qu'ils seront occupez en leur travail, Ils pourront s'entretenir de bons discours, et par fois chanter quelques airs Spirituels, et quand ? ~~un sous~~? le pourra l'un d'eux fera Lecture tout haut pour les hommes, et ~~un autre~~ lon en fera de mesme pour les femmes et filles, sil y era quelqun d'entre elles qui scache lire. ~~dans chaque~~

17 They will live in close union, supporting each other; & will take care Never to quarrel or to have any aversion amongst themselves. *And if some had offended one was mistreated, one will ask each other's pardon by evening at the latest before going to sleep.*

18 They will live together as Brothers & Sisters, And although they might be of different qualities^{xxxv} they will not let them be called brothers among themselves, nor the women and girls, Sisters; although Those might be called fathers who are quite elderly, And mothers, Those who are similarly actually aged.

19 While they will be occupied with their work, They will be able to have a good discussion and sometimes sing some Spiritual airs, and when possible one of them will do a Reading aloud for the men, and ~~another~~ one will do the same for the women and girls, if there will be someone among

~~chambre ou l'on sera assemblé, pour~~
~~travailler.~~^{xix}

20 Ils se garderont bien de mesdire du Prochain ni de se dire aucune parole offensive les uns aux autres, Eviteront sur tout les Paroles *mesme couvertes* qui ressentent tant soit peu l'Impureté.

21 Ils s[']abstiendront de murmurer contre qui que ce soit quand les choses ne vont pas a leur fantaisie, ains honoreront en [ce] cas la patience et le silence de Nostre Seigneur.

22^{xx} Ils seront soumis et obeiront aux personnes qui seront deputées pour les Conduire *mesmes aux Sœurs de la Charité, soit pour les aider*^{xxi} *En leur petit mesnage soit pour porter quels fardeau ou pour quelq[ue] message, ou autre chose* ~~employ~~ dont ils seront a porter tant les femmes qu les homes. et prendront de bonne part le[s] avertissemens charitable qui leur seront faits.

~~them who might know how to read. in each~~
~~room where they will be assembled, to work.~~

20 They will be careful not to speak ill of their Neighbour nor to say any offensive words to each other, They will avoid above all Words *even muttered* which have a tinge[,] no matter how small[,] of Impurity.

21 They will abstain from murmuring against anything when matters things do not go according to their wish, but they will honor in [this] case the patience and silence of Our Lord.

22 They will be subject and obedient to the persons who will be deputed to Direct them *even to the Daughters of Charity, either to aid them in their little housekeeping [,] such as to carry some burden or some message, or other thing* ~~job~~ which they will manage [,] the women as well as the men. and they will take the charitable warnings that will be made to them in good part.

22^{xxii} *Ils ne trouveront point a dire a la conduite desdites Sœurs, Et*

23 *Ils feront tous les matins & tous les soirs leurs prieres ensemble dans la Chapelle, assisteront a la messe, aux instructions qu'on leur fera & a tous les autres Exercices Spirituels de la maison.*

24 *Ils se confesseront et communiront du moins tous les mois, & les festes Principales de L'année.*

25 *Quand il y aura quelq[ue] homme malade, les au[tr]es les visiteront de temps en temps, Et assisteront tous quand on lui apportera les sacremens Comme aussi a son Enterrement. Et diront tous une fois le Chapellet Et feront une communion pour le repos de lame du defunt. Les femmes & filles se feront de meme quand quelquun dautre filles sera malade Et mourra.^{xxiii}*

26 *Le silence se gardera en tout temps dans la Chapelle, dans le ballustre, et dans Le Refectoir; Et depuis la fin des prieres du soir*

22 *They will not find anything to say regarding the conduct of the said Sisters, And*

23 *They will do their prayers together every morning & evening in the Chapel, they will attend the mass, the instructions given to them & all the other Spiritual Exercises of the house.*

24 *They will confess and communicate at least once a month, & on the Principal feasts of The year.*

25 *When some man will fall ill, the others will visit them from time to time, And all will assist when one will bring him the sacraments As also at his Burial. And they will all say the Rosary once And they will receive communion for the repose of the soul of the dead. The women and girls will do the same when some other girls will be sick And die.*

26 *Silence will be kept at all times in the Chapel, in the baluster, and in The Refectory; And from the end of evening prayers until*

jusques apres celles du matin, en tous lieux que s'il est necessaire de parler en ces heures, ce sera tous bas & courtement.

Fo 2r

27 Ils auront une grande reconnoissance vers le fondateur de l'hospital; et vers tous leurs Bienfacteurs, et surtout envers Dieu qui les a preferez a tant d'autres pauvres qui sont miserables de Corps & D'ame, qui possible se damneront faute d'avoir une occasion de faire son salut comme celle qu'on a en Cette maison.

28 APres tout ils se souviendront que cet Etablissement n'est pas tant fait pour Entretenir le Corps que pour Sauver L'ame ~~et selon~~ *conformeme^{xxiv} a la maxime que* Nostre Seigneur nous recommande *tant que* *etre* de chercher avant toutes choses le Royaume de Dieu, nous assurant quen ce faisant toutes ces autres choses necessaires pour la vie Corporelle nous seront donnees.

Partant chacun preferera Le salut de son Ame a toute autre chose, & songera

after those of the morning, [conversation] will be low and short in all places where it is necessary to talk during these hours.

Fo 2r

27 They will have great gratitude towards the founder of the hospital; and toward all their Benefactors, and especially toward God who preferred them to so many other poor who are miserable of Body and of Soul, who will possibly be damned because of not having an opportunity for health like one has in This house.

28 After all they will remember that this Establishment is not made so much to Maintain the Body as to Save The soul ~~and~~ ~~according~~ *conforming to the maxim that* Our Lord recommends to us *so much* to look above all things [for] the Kingdom of God, assuring us that in doing this we will be given all these other things necessary for the Corporal life. Finally, each will prefer The health of his Soul to all else, & will dream

principalement a estre bon Pauvre, Vivant et mourant en bon Pauvre.

29 Ils seront exactes et ponctuels a garder l'ordre de la Journée qui sera comme Il suit.

Ordre de L'Employ de la Journée.

Ils Se Leveront a cinq heures en esté et a six en hyver, chacun faisant le signe de la croix, & Disant, Mon Dieu Je vous donne mon Cœur Et prendrôt de Leau benitte. En s'habillant dirôt les le Pater & Ave, et ~~s'abstenir de parler aux autres sans nécessité~~ et credo.

Ensuite ~~aller~~ ils iront aux prieres *qu[e] une sœur dira tout haut* a la Chapelle; Lesquelles se feront ainsi: In nomine patris & c^a. Veni Sancté Spiritus & c. puis Les Cinq actes d'adoration, remercement, offrande, contrition, petition, Les Litanies de Jesus, Le Pater et Ave Et le Credo en Latin, Angele Dei, Le Retribuere pour le fondateur &^{xxv} *bienfaiteurs* le Requiem aeternam *po[ur] les*

principally of being a good Pauper, Living and dying as a good Pauper.

29 They will be exact and punctual in keeping the order of the Day which will be as follows.

Order of the Day.

They will Rise at 5:00 in the summer and at 6:00 in the winter, each making the sign of the cross, & Saying, My God I give you my Heart And they will take holy Water. When dressing they will say the Our Father & Hail Mary, ~~abstain from talking to others unnecessarily~~ and the creed.

Then ~~to go~~ they will go to prayer *which one sister will say aloud* in the Chapel; they will do it thus: In the name of the father etc. Come Holy Spirit etc. then The Five acts of adoration, thanksgiving, offering, contrition, petition. The Litany^{xxxvi} of Jesus, The Our Father and Hail Mary And the Creed in Latin, Angel of God, The Retribuere^{xxxvii} for the founder & benefactors, the Requiem

*trespasses, et puis Langelus. Et les au[tr]es
repondront a tout.*

APres les Prieres ~~aller~~ chacun ira a son
travail, disant auparavant, Mon Dieu Je vous
offre mon travail, donnez y vostre
Benediction.

A Sept heures & demie dez qu'on sonnera la
messe on se rendra a la Chapelle et y assistera
devotement.

Fo 2v

A huit heures,^{xxvi} *Ceux et celles qui auront
necessite de dejeuner iront recevoir un
morceau de pain qu'en leur distribura au
refectoir. ~~dejeuner~~, faisant auparavant le
signe de la Croix & disant Mon Dieu^{xxvii}
benissez cette nourriture que ie [...] vais
prendre. & a la fin ~~disent~~ grand mercy mon
bon Dieu. En travaillant sil'on [sic]
s'entretient ce sera de choses bonnes &
d[']edification.*

A Dix heures on Escouterá la Lecture
Spirituelle qu'on fera si lon le peut, durant
une demie heure.

aeternam^{xxxviii} *for the departed, and then the
Angelus. And the others will respond to all.*

After the Prayers ~~to go~~ each will go to their
work, saying beforehand, My God I offer you
my work, give it your Blessing.

At 7:30[,] when [the bell] for mass is rung[,]
one will go to the Chapel and will assist
devotedly there.

Fo 2v

At 8:00, *Those who will need breakfast will
go to receive a piece of bread that will be
distributed to them in the refectory ~~to~~
~~breakfast~~, making beforehand the sign of the
Cross & saying My God bless this food that
I am going to take. & at the end they say great
thanks my good God. While working if he
one [sic] converses it will be of good things
& of edification.*

At 10:00[,] one will Listen to the Spiritual
Reading that will be done if possible, for a
half hour.

A onze heures & demie dez que la cloche aura sonné le disner, on se rendra en la Chapelle pour y demander pardon des Pechez qu'on a faits depuis qu'on est Levé; ce sera apres avoir dit Le Veni Sancte Spiritus. Et on finira par par [sic] le De profundis pour les ~~parens Amys, & fondateur~~ Et bienfacteurs ~~Vivans~~ Et trepassez.

Ensuite on serendra au Refectoir, y ecoutât *devote[ment]* Le Benedicité que le Lecteur dira tout haut chacun se tournant du costé de L'Image, serangeant en deux files, puis en s'asseoira a table comme on se trouvera si ce n'est que les Jeunes garsons seront apres les hommes, et le[s] filles apres Les femmes.

Aux graces on se levera tous, et se rangera comme au Benedicité, et puis ~~aller dire~~ ~~L'angelus on irera~~ tournera en la Chapelle, Et pour y dire *langelus*. ~~& la priere pour le bienfaiteur~~. Ensuite chacun reprendra son travail & s'y comportera comme au matin,

At 11:30[,], as soon as the bell will have rung the dinner, one will return to the Chapel to ask pardon for Sins that one committed since rising; this will be after having said The Come Holy Spirit. And one will finish with the De Profundis for the ~~relatives Friends, & founder~~ *And Living* ~~And~~ dead benefactors.

Then one will go to the Refectory, there Listen *devoutly* to the Benedicite which the Reader will say aloud[,], with each one facing The Image, lining up in two rows, then each will sit at a table as he/she will find [it] except that the Young boys will be after the men, and the girls after The women.

During the graces all will stand ~~all~~, and line up as for the Benedicite, and then ~~to go to say~~ ~~The angelus one will go~~ will turn into the Chapel, ~~And to say the angelus there, & to pray there for the benefactor~~. Then each will return to his or her work & will do as they did

Escoutant aussi la Lecture qu'on fera a quatre heures.

~~A Trois heures ceux et celles qui auront besoin de gouter se rendront au lieu ou l'on le donne des que la cloche en aura adverti, faisant comme au d[é]j[e]uner le signe de la Croix devant, & disant grand mercy mon bon Dieu a la fin.~~

A Six heures en Esté et a cinq heures *Et demye^{xxviii}* en hyver, dez que la Cloche sonnera le souper, ~~aller~~ *on ira* tous en la Chapelle faire comme avant le disner, demandant pardon a Dieu des pechez commis depuis le disner.

Estant au Refectoir on se comportera comme au disner touchant le Benedicité et les grace[s], & l'angelus en la Chapelle.

Après souper Chacun retournera ~~chaëun~~ a son travail comme après le disner.

A huit heures *en Esté Et a 7. Heures en hyver on fera* les prieres et Lexamen general, commençant par Veni Sancte Spiritus, *puis* Les Cinq points de l'examen.

there in the morning, also Listening to the Reading which will be done at 4:00.

~~At 3:00 they who will need to have a snack will go to the place one gives it as soon as the bell will have informed them making the sign of the Cross beforehand as at lunch & saying great thanks my good God at the end.~~

At 6:00 in Summer and at 5:30 in winter, as soon as the Bell will ring for supper, ~~to go~~ all *will go* to the Chapel to do as before dinner, asking pardon of God for sins committed since dinner.

While in the Refectory one will behave as at dinner regarding the Benedicite and the graces, & the angelus in the Chapel.

After supper Each will return ~~each~~ to their work as after the dinner.

At 8:00 *in the Summer And at 7:00 in winter, one will say the prayers and [make] the general examination, beginning with [the]*

<p>Fo 3r</p> <p>Confiteor, misereatur, Indulgentiam & c^a. les Litanies de la vierge, Angele Dei, Nostre Père qui estes es Cieux & c^a Je croy en Dieu le Père tout puissant. Retribuere <i>po[ur] le fondateur et bienfaiteurs</i> De profundis, Maria mater gratiae, In manus tuas, puis se retirer en silence.</p> <p>Sur le point de se mettre au Lit on prendra de leau benitte, faisant le signe de la Croix & puis dire,^{xxix} mon Dieu faites moy la grace de bien mourir.</p> <p>Si l'on s'Eveille la nuit on dira Mon Dieu Je vous aime de tout mon cœur, plustost mourir que de vous offenser & semblables actes.</p> <p>Le Dimanches & festes fiera on fera les même Exercices Spirituels, & de plus on assistera^{xxx} a l'eau binitte [sic] Et au prosne qu'on fera a la messe, qu'q s se dira a huit</p>	<p>Come Holy Spirit, <i>then</i> The Five Points of examination.</p> <p>Fo 3r</p> <p>Confiteor, misereatur, Indulgentiam etc. the Litany of the virgin, Angel of God, Our Father who art in Heaven etc I believe in God the Father almighty. [The] Retribuere <i>for the founder and benefactors</i> [The] De profundis, Mary mother of grace, Into your hands, then retire silently.</p> <p>At the point of going to Bed will take holy water, making the sign of the Cross & <i>then say</i>, my God give me the grace to die well.</p> <p>If one wakes in the night one will say My God I love you with all my heart, rather to die that to offend you & and similar acts.^{xxxix}</p> <p>On Sundays & feasts one will rely the same Spiritual Exercises will be done, & moreover one will assist with holy water And at the prône^{xl} that will be done during the mass, which will be said at 8:00; & one will</p>
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heures; ~~& lon se Confessera &~~
Communi[c]era [l]es Jours assignez.

Après dîner *on pourra* se divertir dans le
Jardin durant demy heure ~~et faire que~~ les
femmes ~~foient enfermées quand~~ *En leur*
enclos et les hommes y sont, ~~& Elles iront~~
~~après qu'ils seront sortis~~ *dans le leur.*

A une heure on ~~fera~~ *ecouterà* la Lecture
Spirituelle *qu'on fera* dans la chapelle aux
~~Chanter~~ les Litanies de la vierge ou de Jesus
qu'on y chantera puis l'Exhortation ou
Catechisme, & a la fin on chantera un seul
Dieu. Ou Je croy en Dieu, ou Nostre Pere qui
estes en Cieux. puis le chapelet a deux
chœurs, scavoir les hommes disant un Ave
Maria, & les femmes un autre
alternativement.

En esté on differera a dire ainsi le Chapelet
jusques a cinq heures Employant le temps qui
restera ~~après~~ depuis la sortie de la Chapelle
jusques a 5 heures cette heure la.^{xxxii}

~~Confess & Communicate on the assigned~~
~~Days.~~

After dinner *one will be able* to be in the
Garden for a half hour ~~and to make that~~ the
women ~~may be enclosed when~~ *In their*
enclosure and the men are there, ~~& The~~
~~women will go after they will be gone out in~~
theirs.

At 1:00[,] they ~~will do~~ *will listen to the*
Spiritual Reading *that someone will do in the*
chapel[,] the Litany of the virgin or of Jesus
that will be sung there then the Exhortation
or Catechism, & at the end one will sing "Un
seul Dieu"^{xli}. Or I believe in God^{xlii}, or Our
Father who art in Heaven. Then the rosary in
two choirs,^{xliii} that is the men saying one Ave
Maria, & the women another while
alternating

In summer one will postpone saying the
Rosary this way until 5:00[,] Using the time
which will remain ~~after~~ since leaving the
Chapel until 5:00 this hour.



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***Louise de Marillac and sisters treating the sick-poor.
From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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***Stained glass window depicting the canonization
painting of Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus
hospice, Louise in the background. Original in
Bègles, France.***

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

ⁱ A *P* symbol appears here.

ⁱⁱ An *x* symbol appears here.

ⁱⁱⁱ Another word was inserted above this, but it is crossed out and illegible.

^{iv} The original word is crossed out, and the replacement is illegible.

^v This is followed by seven lines in the same handwriting, which have been crossed out and are now largely illegible. However, they broadly emphasise that incorrigible residents will be asked to leave; the others will have to submit to the authority of the superior of Nom de Jésus.

^{vi} A loop knot appears here. However, some of the corresponding words in the margin have been crossed out and replaced with others, and the exact wording is unclear.

^{vii} A +++ symbol appears here.

^{viii} A ++ symbol appears here.

^{ix} A number of words have been crossed out in the middle of this segment, and their replacements are difficult to decipher. It is followed by a XX symbol, which leads to point no. 10 in the left-hand margin.

^x This word has been crossed out and is illegible.

^{xi} *Demi-septier*: approximately 250mls.

^{xii} Approximately 500mls.

^{xiii} This word has been crossed out and is illegible.

^{xiv} Followed by two words that have been crossed out and are illegible.

^{xv} The letter *A* appears just above the number 15.

^{xvi} The letter *B* appears just above the number 15. This appears to indicate that this part of number 15 should appear directly after the first part, which the author of the margin comments labelled 15A.

^{xvii} A \oplus symbol appears here.

^{xviii} The remainder of the sentence is difficult to decipher.

^{xix} The last two lines of no. 19 are found at the top of fo 2r. The words in italics are in the hand of the author of the margin comments.

^{xx} The letter *a* appears just above the number 22.

^{xxi} A \ddagger symbol appears here.

^{xxii} The letter *B* appears just above the number 22. The sentence which follows is incomplete.

^{xxiii} A ⊕ symbol appears here. This may indicate that the writer of the margin comments wished to connect it to no. 16; if so, the reason is not clear, since the themes of nos. 16 and 25 are not the same.

^{xxiv} The page is damaged here.

^{xxv} A + symbol appears here.

^{xxvi} A + symbol appears here.

^{xxvii} A 𐀀 grid symbol appears here.

^{xxviii} These words have been inserted by the same hand as the margin comments.

^{xxix} These words replaced a word, which was crossed out and is illegible.

^{xxx} An *F* symbol appears here.

^{xxxi} Another word or part thereof was written directly below this line in the same hand, but it has been crossed out and is illegible.

^{xxxii} That is, vouched.

^{xxxiii} See my comments on the meaning of *garçon* and *fille* in the introduction. For ease of translation, I have rendered them as boy and girl respectively, with the proviso that readers should be aware that their meanings in this context are uncertain.

^{xxxiv} There is no English translation for this word. A *sergier* was someone who made serge, which is a type of twill fabric woven from wool (or sometimes silk).

^{xxxv} That is, social condition.

^{xxxvi} This is normally plural in French but singular in English.

^{xxxvii} This is a part of the Litany of the Saints: “Retribuere dignare, Domine, omnibus nobis bona facientibus propter nomen tuum, vitam aeternam. Amen.” [“Deign to grant, O Lord, for the sake of Thy Name, eternal life to all those who do good to us. Amen”].

^{xxxviii} “Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.” [“Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord: and let perpetual light shine upon them.”].

^{xxxix} That is, similar prayers.

^{xl} An instruction given to the congregation by the priest, normally after the Gospel and before the offertory, and distinct from the sermon, which was often only given in the afternoon at vespers.

^{xli} That is, the Ten Commandments, done in a rhymed and rhythmic version: “Un seul Dieu tu adoreras ...”

^{xlii} The Apostles' Creed.

^{xliii} That is, seated on two different sides of the chapel.

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Vincent de Paul catechizing the elderly poor at the Nom de Jésus hospice. Louise de Marillac seated across from him. Detail of oil on canvas painted by Frère André; original in Church of Sainte-Marguerite, Paris. Part of the tableaux of paintings commissioned for Vincent de Paul's canonization.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Hôpital Général de Paris or Salpêtrière, Paris; as seen from the river. Late seventeenth century engraving. Collection of Science Museum Group, UK.

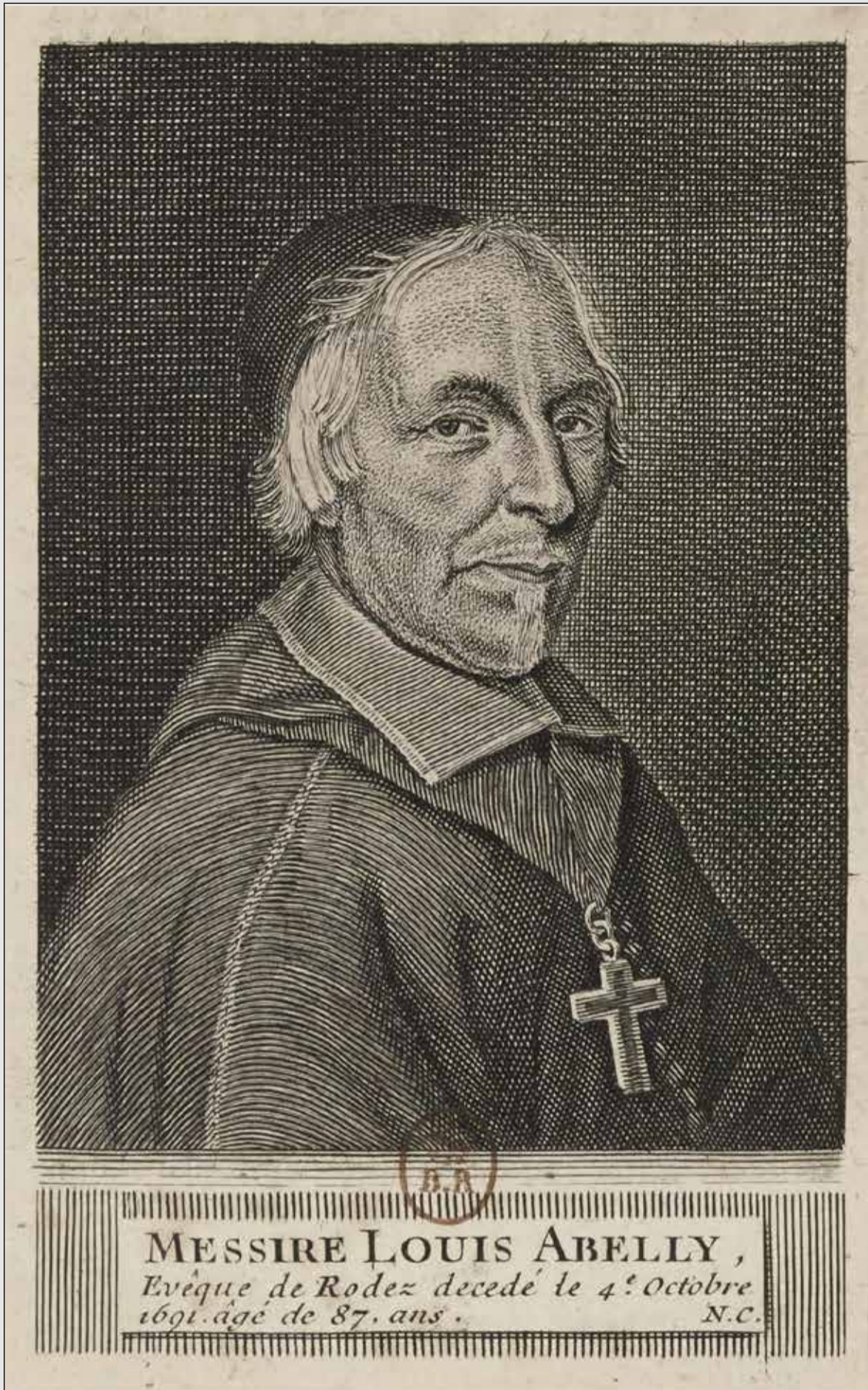
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Vincent de Paul and Daughters at hospital. From a series of illustrations on Vincent's life published by La Bonne Presse.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

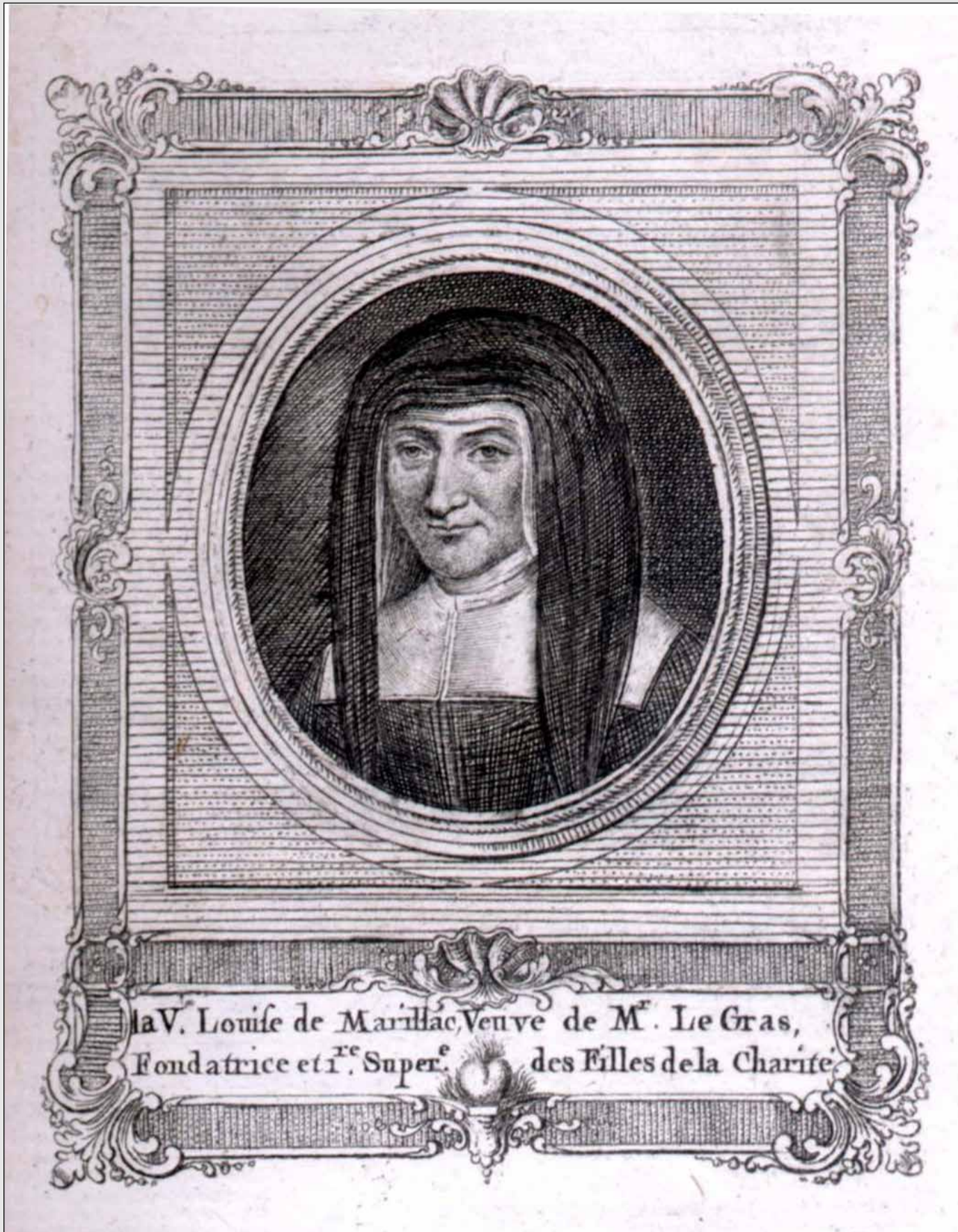


MESSIRE LOUIS ABELLY,
*Evêque de Rodez decedé le 4^e Octobre
1691. âgé de 87. ans.* N.C.

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Engraved portrait of Louis Abelly.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Portrait of Louise de Marillac. Published in the 1769 edition of Nicolas Gobillon's La Vie de la Vénérable Louise de Marillac.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Vincent and sisters with the sick-poor in hospital. From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



*B. Vincentius Viris et Foeminis indigentibus ac etate proveclis
prudentissima Xenodochii erectione Succurrit.*

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Original canonization engraving by Frère André, and painting after the engraving, depicting Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online



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Original canonization engraving by Frère André, and painting after the engraving, depicting Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus.

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Louise de Marillac and sisters treating the sick-poor. From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.

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Stained glass window depicting the canonization painting of Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus hospice, Louise in the background. Original in Bègles, France.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online

The Chapelle des Lazaristes and Reliquary Shrine of St. Vincent de Paul, 1850 to 1860: An Exposé of Competing Aesthetic Schemes & Their Resolutions in the Alliance des Arts

Simone Zurawski, Ph.D.

BIO

SIMONE ZURAWSKI, Ph.D., is an art historian with a background in the visual culture and politics of the Early Modern Period. She earned an M.A. and Ph.D. from Brown University, and a B.A. in Fine Arts from New York University. Her dissertation on Art and Diplomacy in the Thirty Years' War, which focuses on Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona, was based on research largely undertaken in the Barberini Archives of the Vatican Library. The project was published in the *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de L'Art* and led her to publish additional articles on Rubens (in *Sixteenth Century Journal*), and on Jacques Callot's Great Map of the Siege of Breda (in *The Art Bulletin*). As a DePaul University faculty member and Founding Curator of the DePaul Art Gallery (now museum), Professor Zurawski was invited by the then College of Liberal Arts & Sciences to return to Paris to study in the Archives Nationales, as well as in the archives of the Congregation's Motherhouse on rue de Sèvres. She developed a set of exhibits and conferences on the Art and Times of Saint Vincent de Paul and her subsequent "recovery" of the art and architecture of Old Saint-Lazare swiftly redirected her agenda toward Vincentiana. As a consequence, her ongoing discoveries swept her research into the nineteenth century to write the

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Zurawski BIO continued

present piece; the exhibition, with a catalogue, for the DePaul Art Museum on the Basilica of St-Vincent-de-Paul in Paris, which was designed by the City's foremost architect, Jacques-Ignace-Hittorff; a series of articles for *Sacred Architecture* (Journal of the Institute for Sacred Architecture, University of Notre Dame); and a forthcoming e-book, produced by the V.S.I., on Vincentian iconography in the Bourbon Restoration. Recently retired emerita from the Department of History of Art & Architecture, Professor Simone Zurawski was awarded the Via Sapientiae at DePaul University's Convocation in autumn of 2021. She looks forward to devoting her time to publishing the ever-growing pile of her works-in-progress.

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Old Saint-Lazare. Vintage postcard of “Prison Saint-Lazare,” which features the entry portal of the former motherhouse prior to demolition in 1940.

Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives, DePaul University Special Collections and Archives

Dedicated to the Memory of Sister Mary Louise Gude, C.S.C.

Proud Daughter of Saint Mary’s College and Treasured Friend of DePaul University

I. The Historical & Geographic & Architectural Foundations: Hittorff, Gallois, and Étienne

Located at number 93 rue de Sèvres, and just down the block from the Bon Marché department store in the chic VIème *arrondissement*, is the Chapelle des Lazaristes, whose sacred space and architecture exemplify the Catholic *Renouveau* movement of nineteenth-century France. This is, of course, the motherhouse church of the Congregation of the Mission, which was founded in 1624 by Vincent de Paul (1581–1660)—but their *chapelle* of the present day is also poised on the public street to welcome everyone to enter and venerate the saint’s reliquary shrine. As such, this setup reprises the first motherhouse church at Saint-Lazare in the present-day Xème, which functioned up to the French Revolution, because the Congregation had duly renovated this extant Gothic chapel of circa 1140 (inherited from previous Augustinian owners) around Vincent de Paul’s tomb site. And open-door access was further accelerated in 1685 when the medieval church got imbedded into a sprawling new streetwall on the main road of rue du Faubourg-Saint Denis. Alas, these adjoining structures were repurposed into a municipal prison as soon as the Revolutionary



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Jacobs and Blanchard, Plan de Paris ... Enceinte de Paris sous Louis Philippe 1er; engraved map, undated but executed in the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, ca. 1846. The site of Old Saint-Lazare has been circled at the top, the site of New Saint-Lazare circled at bottom.

*Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections and Archives*

government confiscated Saint-Lazare in 1792. If the proud main entry portal remained upright until the walls came down in 1940, the ancient church was swiftly demolished in the first stages of the conversion—but only after sympathetic officials had quietly handed over the intact skeleton of Saint Vincent de Paul to the Vincentian leadership. Then on the other side of the Revolution, the secured corpse was authenticated and prepared for a celebratory reinstallation in “New” Saint-Lazare on the aforementioned rue de Sèvres, which had been awarded as compensation in 1817, at the frontguard of the Bourbon Restoration, by King Louis XVIII. This second permanent motherhouse of the Congregation, in fact, had taken over the former Hôtel de Lorges, an aristocratic *hôtel particulier* (private urban mansion), which was so named for the last owner who had fled at the outbreak of revolution.

The two respective motherhouse sites anchor my analysis of Saint Vincent de Paul’s successive reliquary shrines, which are indicated on the vintage map wherein “Old” Saint-Lazare is shown on the Right Bank, clear across the River Seine from “New” Saint-Lazare on the Left Bank. If disconnected through space, the properties also were unrelated in terms of their past histories, and by every other account, except for one striking fact on Vincentiana that linked them together in the Bourbon Restoration; and this connecting thread is illuminated through a discussion of church architecture: for the classical, or *Néogrec*, façade of the Chapelle des Lazaristes on rue de Sèvres appears to reflect, if in a flatter mode, and on a reduced scale, the portico of the grandiose basilica of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. Even after listing the other classical churches that were going up around Paris at this time, it must be emphasized that these two alone commemorated the name and memory of Saint Vincent.



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Old Saint-Lazare. Diorama fabricated by Jeffrey Wrona, after Simone Zurawski. Reconstruction of the motherhouse of Saint-Lazare, from the main road of rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis, as it appeared in 1783. Permanently installed in 1992 in the John T. Richardson Library, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois.

Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Wrona

Their “partnering” came about because the basilica was strategically positioned upon the highest hill of Old Saint-Lazare. That is, while the prison system was appropriating the buildings and grounds of the former motherhouse near the main road (as we know), its internal wheatfields were being parceled and sold to developers—except for the crest of the hill, which was reserved by the Crown of Louis XVIII as the *emplacement* for a brand-new parish church named for Saint Vincent de Paul.

Indeed, this privileged structure became the showpiece of Jacques-Ignace Hittorff (1792–1867), the renowned professor of architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts, who took charge of the project after his father-in-law Jean-Baptiste Lepère (1761–1844) had stepped aside. And if Hittorff’s work had commenced in 1824, the long-awaited dedication of his church took place on 21 October 1844 in the monarchy of Louis-Philippe d’Orléans. The ground plan, and grandeur, of Hittorff’s Saint-Vincent-de-Paul were meant to emulate the magnificent early Christian basilicas of Rome, above all, San Paolo fuori le Mura. Luxuriously decorated, besides, on the façade and porch, and throughout the interior, the programming was effectively based on the architect’s summary of 1838 (published 1842), although the embellishment of the nave walls, high altar, apse, and windows would be prolonged over several decades and into the Second Empire of Louis-Napoléon. The décor was implemented by artists chosen by Hittorff as collective demonstration, if not *apologia*, of the strong opinions that he pronounced on the use of polychromy in ancient architecture; for he had achieved notoriety in claiming, with defiance even, that the white marble (and stone) surfaces of Greek and Roman temples were covered with saturated encaustic paint, just as the walls of ancient Christian churches were carpeted with vivid mosaic tile. Hittorff’s works at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul coincided, moreover, with the publication of a profusely illustrated tome



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Site of Old Saint-Lazare. Philippe Benoist and A. Bayot. Parish church of St.-Vincent-de-Paul, which was built by Jacques-Ignace Hittorff beginning in 1824 and consecrated in 1844. View of the exterior and the street. Tinted lithograph from volume 1, Paris dans sa splendeur. Monuments, vues, scènes historiques, description et histoire (1861–1863).

Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives, DePaul University Special Collections and Archives

on his archaeological findings, *Architecture moderne de la Sicile: ou Recueil des plus beaux monuments religieux, et des édifices publics et particuliers les plus remarquables de la Sicile* (1835). And its long-anticipated companion volume, filled with color lithographs, is *Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte ou l'Architecture polychrome chez les Grecs* (1851). Although it was issued nearly three decades after making his first discoveries in 1823, Hittorff had meanwhile been imparting, if not preaching, his ideas before students—and skeptical academic peers. The architect's payoff was near-immediate membership in the Institut de France in 1852—and the validation of his theories, through practice, is the great Vincentian church in Paris. To track the vicissitudes of this commission in greater detail, the reader is invited to examine the most recent scholarship from the preeminent Hittorff specialist, Michael Kiene, which has been published in this journal.

In now turning to the Chapelle des Lazaristes on rue de Sèvres, I have identified Paul-Marie Gallois (1825–1889) as its architect through sources in the motherhouse archives of New Saint-Lazare. Gallois arrived on site in 1848 at age twenty-four, fresh out of the École des Beaux-Arts, and upon taking the First Class Prize there in 1847; in the future, he would be decorated as Chevalier in the Légion d'honneur (13 August 1888) in the year before his death. Instead of visiting Italy in his youth, Gallois went straight to work; and his lifelong career fast became the *grands travaux* for the Lazarists' chapelle and Hôtel de Lorges compound (the latter awaits its own dedicated study). Alas, my attempts to place Gallois within Hittorff's inner circles have fallen short, although a few clues arising through the master's son beg to be explored. In drawing from the example set by Hittorff at St-



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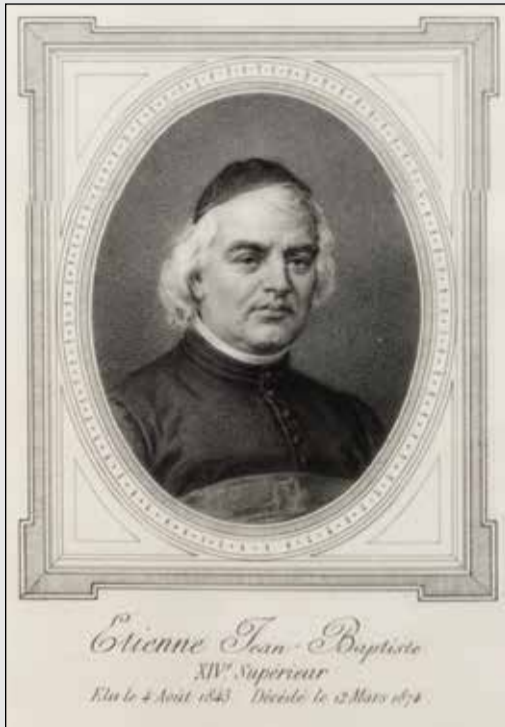
Old Saint-Lazare. Nicolas De Launay, after Jacques-Antoine Beaufort. Close-up of the original reliquary *châsse* of Saint Vincent de Paul as depicted in Beaufort's lost monumental painting on canvas, *Miracles Opérés par l'Intercession de Saint Vincent de Paul*; reproductive engraving datable to ca. 1784.

Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris

Photo courtesy of the author

Vincent-de-Paul, Gallois's Chapelle des Lazaristes similarly features a trabeated colonnade and second-story Tribune. And in wielding polychromy to the extent of setting his elements ablaze in Technicolor, Gallois offers a pristine case study for Hittorff's doctrines on *Néogrec* architecture—since his space even more closely actualized them than did the grand-standing basilica. Its richness may now be savored due to the recent campaigns of cleaning and conservation (1985–1992) that accompanied the installation of modern mechanical systems. However, in a departure from Hittorff's obligation to equip a new parish church—in an equally new residential *quartier*—with splendid furnishings à l'époque (or *La Belle Époque*), the purpose of Gallois's chapelle was to spotlight the reliquary *châsse* (precious casket) of Saint Vincent de Paul, which marks the top note at the vanishing point of his perspective alignment in the nave.

In other words, the dramatic framing of the saint's shrine drove all the *grands travaux* that proclaim Gallois's allegiance to Hittorff. But far from designing his church from scratch, Gallois had to maneuver through several constants that already were fixed in place: the reliquary casket itself; the extant church in which it was mounted; and the second (that is, replacement) high altar, which got underway soon after he arrived at New Saint-Lazare in 1848. First of all, the *châsse* bearing Vincent de Paul's corpse had been carried to New Saint-Lazare on 25 April 1830 in the ceremony of Solemn Translation, whence it was positioned upon the altar table in the “primitive” Chapelle des Lazaristes. Raised in haste by Philibert Vasserot (1773–1844) over an eighteen-month period, it was consecrated on 1 November 1827. The only authentic *plan* is included on the Grand Atlas of Paris—



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Portrait of Superior General Jean-Baptiste Étienne. Engraving used as full-page plate in Volume 3, Recueil des Principales Circulaires des Supérieurs Généraux de la Congrégation de la Mission (1877–1880).

Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives, DePaul University Special Collections

which Vasserot himself had rendered, but the appearance of the interior was not recorded. Information on it must therefore be stitched together from the written primary sources, conservation reports, and communiqués over its consideration as a Monument Historique; and, altogether, these texts reveal that Vasserot’s chapelle was small and had a single nave whose walls were articulated by blind arcades (*arcatures*) separated by pilasters, and that the ceiling was a ribbed barrel vault (*en berceau*). Was it intended to be provisional from the start? Its rebuilding seemed all but inevitable—and the opportune moment for doing so came a half generation later with the election of a fiercely ambitious superior general. He was Jean-Baptiste Étienne (1801–1874), who had come to New Saint-Lazare in 1820 as one of the Congregation’s first novices, thence ordinations, since the Revolution; his rise in leadership was unstoppable once he was appointed to procurateur general in 1827, while in his twenties. Additionally, Étienne’s lifelong crusade to honor the legacy of Saint Vincent de Paul helped usher him into the prestigious Commission for authenticating the corpse and brought him the position of Master of Ceremonies for the Translation. Involving himself in Vasserot’s *travaux* in the chapelle was therefore to be expected—and it afforded him front-row access, besides, to the ensuing criticism that threatened to tarnish the nimbus around the shrine. One bruising remark was noted by Father Raymond Chalumeau (1907–1994), a venerable resident of New Saint-Lazare, who in a memo states the church had “un style sans grand caractère.” Moreover, at the end of the sentence Chalumeau cites Montalembert’s dismissal of it as “un monument païen.” This term was rephrased from the essay of 1837, *De L’État Actuel de l’Art Religieux en France*, which Charles René de

Montalembert (1810–1870) published as a young and pious author who favored the Middle Ages, and of course the medieval revival in Christian art; and his entry on New Saint-Lazare refers [to Vasserot’s building] as an undignified pagan hovel: “ ... des édifices comme ... la chapelle de MM. les Lazaristes, rue de Sèvres, où repose le corps de Saint-Vincent de Paul, indignes mesures dont les formes lourdes et étriquées à la fois ne sont conformes qu’au plus tristes échantillons du genre classique et païen ”

How could these words fail to bruise Étienne’s pride? In that very moment, he was overwhelmed with keeping the Congregation afloat during a spell of internal trouble, but then played the right hand to get himself elected superior general in 1843. This power surge allowed Étienne to unleash his own vision for the chapelle, above all, in expectation of the bicentennial of Saint Vincent de Paul’s death in 1860—and it was free to unfold once the ecclesiastical realms got restabilized in both the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe (1830–1848), and Second Empire of Louis-Napoléon (1852–1870), which, one after the other, had followed the fall of the Bourbons in 1830. Indeed, all along Étienne had been amassing invaluable experiences and ideas in Amiens while overseeing renovations to the Congregation’s Grand Séminaire of 1736–1741 and also to its chapel, which functioned as the local parish church. (The property has since been sold to developers except for the chapel, which was recently taken over by Integralists, or Lefebvre Traditionalists.) Was Étienne impressed with the executive abilities of the young *architecte diocésane* Aymar Verdier (1819–1880) and his successor to that post, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), and, too, Verdier’s training in the *École des Beaux-Arts*? The archdiocese of Amiens had assigned each one to the Congregation’s great seminary; but who, fitting a comparable profile, could Étienne find to work for him back in Paris? Vasserot represented the old guard and had anyway left New Saint-Lazare to complete the Grand Plan of Paris; he was thence replaced by François-Marie Leymarie (1795–1854), who was active in the house from 1840 to 1845. In then moving forward beyond this lull period, the new superior general hired a bright light from the younger generation, Paul-Marie Gallois. Was he even introduced to Étienne by Vasserot—who was ideally placed in this regard since his own son Charles was Gallois’s master at the *École des Beaux-Arts*? And as we know, Gallois arrived in 1848 and was immersed in renovating the Hôtel de Lorges. He then was “tested” as designer of religious architecture two years hence in rendering a fine classical *ædicule* for the statue of the Virgin in May 1850 (in situ in the private garden) and, in 1851–1854, raising the tiny Chapel of the Passion, along with overseeing its *décor*, which in result extended the narthex of the Vasserot’s extant chapelle well into the corridor that led to the convent next door—and whose configuration included Étienne’s private *parloir*. As part of this learning curve Gallois was sent to inspect the chapel in Amiens in October 1850; did he meet up with Verdier or Viollet-le-Duc? For soon afterwards Étienne handed him the reins to the Chapelle des Lazaristes.



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New Saint-Lazare. Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot, père, and Charles-Nicolas Odiot, fils. The current reliquary châsse of Saint Vincent de Paul, solid silver and crystal, which was designed by J-B-C in 1817, thence manufactured by C-N. It was placed upon the altar mensa in the “primitive” Chapelle des Lazaristes in April 1830 and reinstalled in the mid-1850s upon the new high altar designed by Arthur Martin, S.J., in the church renovated by Paul-Marie Gallois. The corpus sanctum was fashioned from the skeletal remains of the body and skull, whose exposed face and hands are sealed with wax; the attire is authentic.

Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris

II. The Reliquary Châsse: Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot père & Charles-Nicolas Odiot fils

As was stated above, the châsse of Saint Vincent de Paul was Translated to New Saint Lazare on 25 April 1830 through the winning stratagems of the young Étienne. This public procession, which headed out across the river from Notre Dame, occurred once the sacred skeleton had been authenticated by the royal surgeon. The remains were encased in wax and garbed in Vincent’s own lovingly preserved vestments to create the renewed *corpus sanctum* that was deposited in the châsse and could be easily viewed through the vitrine. Vincent de Paul’s sheer physical presence was enhanced by the portrait statuette that stands with upstretched arms at the apex of the lid, while the angels, which represent Religion, Faith, Hope, and Charity, are confirming his supernatural state of being. One special feature of Vincent de Paul’s effigy is the crucifix of ebony and ivory that lies upon its breast; long held to come from the deathbed of Louis XIII, whom Vincent had comforted in his final hours (in 1643), this relic was presented by Archbishop Hyacinthe-Louis de Quélen as one of several contributions from the archdiocese of Paris. So was the dazzling châsse itself; this was designed by the prestigious silversmith Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot (1763–1850), whose large presentation *esquisse*, dated 1817, is done in watercolor and grisaille against a blue field, and carries a cartouche inscribed “Corpus S. Vincentii A Paulo” (Collection Odiot). The piece was fabricated, in turn, by his son, Charles-Nicolas (d. 1869), in 130 kilos



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Old Saint-Lazare. Photograph taken ca. 1940–1941 during excavation beneath the former motherhouse church, which uncovered the burial site of Vincent de Paul. From a carton among the effects of Father Jean Parrang, C.M.

Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris

of solid silver that cost 62,757 francs, and it won First Prize in the *Exposition universelle* that was held at the Louvre in 1827. And if a disruption in the record had occurred between 1817, when the sketch bearing Saint Vincent's name was dated, to the employment of the *châsse* in 1830, it is unlikely another potential client ever existed. Odierot père evidently expected this result from the start due to the king's presentation of New Saint-Lazare to the Congregation in 1817 and, too, the royal family's well-known favoritism of the saint. Indeed, Quélen had purchased the *châsse* on behalf of his archdiocese with the support of Charles X, who in 1824 succeeded his late brother to the throne. The new king paid 17,000 francs toward purchasing the precious metal and made an official appearance with Queen Marie-Thérèse and their daughter-in-law, Marie-Caroline de Bourbon-Sicile, the widowed duchesse de Berry, to venerate the shrine during the Novena of the Translation (that is, in Vasserot's chapelle).

The *châsse* was the firm's prized œuvre; and for J-B-C Odierot, it was the culmination of a career whose deep portfolio included the vermeil *Nef* that owned pride of place on the head table at the wedding of Emperor Napoléon to Marie-Louise in 1810. A speculation worth voicing aloud is if Charles Percier (1764–1838), the neoclassical architect and designer who was known to provide Odierot with designs, had perhaps contributed ideas for the lush, and more plastic, ornamental elements of the *châsse*. And in now stating what may be obvious to the astute beholder, the casket nonetheless looks more rococo—or, rather, neorococo—than neoclassical in the Imperial mode typically associated with both Odierot père and Percier. This is because the silversmith had tactically adopted a specific



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Old Saint-Lazare. P[ierre-François] Tardieu. Autel Ou Repose le Corps de Saint Vincent de Paul (Saint Vincent de Paul Altar: Reliquary Châsse and Altarpiece Representing the Glorification), undated engraving issued after the canonization of 1737, and inscribed: “P. Tardieu excudit.”

*Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris
Photo courtesy of the author*

“vintage” model: the châsse of gilt vermeil and crystal which was situated in the shrine of Old Saint-Lazare in 1735, that is, in the interim between Vincent de Paul’s beatification of 1729 and canonization of 1737. The vessel was made to display the *corpus sanctum* once the remains had been exhumed from the gravesite during the canonical process of sainthood. Was its silversmith an ancestor of the Odiot? After all, the family business had been founded in Paris back in 1690. And because its valuation of 35,000 livres was recorded in a letter, not in a receipt, the châsse likely was a gift, a royal one at that, considering that the Bourbon family came to regard Vincent de Paul its own second patron saint (after King Louis IX); furthermore, in this time frame Louis XV had personally urged the Sacred Congregation of Rites to accelerate the canonization. But since this priceless treasure had been seized and melted down in 1792, the Odiots were ready to fabricate its replacement. And quite smartly, they based their standing figure of the glorified Vincent de Paul on a prototype from Old Saint-Lazare which, like the first casket, was lost in the Revolution; the lone visual record we have for it, in its setting, is Pierre Tardieu’s engraving.

Tardieu shows the original châsse as it was placed in the Saint Vincent de Paul Chapel at Old Saint-Lazare, which was located just left of the high altar in the sanctuary. The châsse was placed atop the equally elegant, and fittingly rococo, mensa, carved of multi-colored marble. Mounted on the wall above this centerpiece was a monumental canvas representing the apotheosis of Vincent de Paul—the motif picked up by the Odiots—which was painted in a late Baroque style by the Dominican artist, *Frère Jean-André* (1662–1753). The entirety was framed by a triumphal arch that sprang at either side from doubled

Corinthian pilasters, chief among other forms of *rinceaux* and florid marginalia. The effects created by this colorful fusion of late baroque, rococo, and classicizing strains (apropos of the mid-eighteenth century, that is) were sumptuous. And if this ensemble—as accessed through Tardieu’s print—would inspire Odiot, to what extent did it also impact Gallois’s conception of space in the chapelle of New Saint-Lazare— where the reliquary casket was uniquely combined with the high altar?

Viewing the two shrines side-by-side proves that Étienne and his inner circle steered clear of duplicating the lost past and nostalgia. Notably, the counterpart to the glorified saint in Jean-André’s *Tableau* is the solid silver likeness at the summit of Odiot’s *châsse*; this is Vincent de Paul’s only three-dimensional portrait in the new Chapelle des Lazaristes, which prompts admiration of the marble statuettes of saints found just below it, on the high altar. They escort the saint like phalanxes in being lined up in several tiers from the floor to the casket and are joined by rows of freestanding angels. These contingents may elicit surprise among the Lazarists and their old friends on account of their extravagance, complexity—and medieval air—but most of all because statuary had been banned at Old Saint-Lazare. Superior General Étienne thereby reversed this tradition; and in his move to match, if not surpass, the lavishness of the first shrine by way of flaunting this abundance of “forbidden fruit,” yet another aim was achieved—of erasing Vasserot’s humble and “pagan” installation. Arguably with Montalembert’s critique still ringing in his head, Étienne hired the foremost expert in medieval Christian art to design the high altar, in a fusion with Odiot’s *châsse*, in what became the first, and defining, moment of his new-wave *grands travaux* in the chapelle of New Saint-Lazare. This designer was the remarkable, and overbooked, Jesuit priest Arthur Martin (1801–1856), whom Étienne engaged in 1850, as is known from the dated *esquisse* discussed below. Gallois, meanwhile, prepared himself to step in once this high altar and reliquary shrine was underway. Indeed, his first sacred works for Étienne were implemented in the year of Father Martin’s drawing (in positioning the statue of the Virgin in the garden and raising the Chapel of the Passion). Did convenience play a role in Martin’s acceptance of the job? He likely was already in residence at the Jesuit house of Saint-Ignace, which is just down the street at 35 rue de Sèvres, and whose neo-Gothic chapel he would soon get to design, in 1855.

III. The High Altar: Père Arthur Martin, S.J. (1801–1856)

Arthur Martin ranks among the most gifted cultural figures of mid-century, Catholic or otherwise; and the *pistes* of his brief existence, which include a pocket-sized sketch book, fit into just a single *carton* in the Archives Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, in Vanves. These meager effects belie the distinguished circles he frequented and artistic elites he



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A. Vintage postcard of the exterior elevation and façade of the parish church of St.-Vincent-de-Paul, which is a rare (if not unique) photograph showing the enameled panels of Pierre-Jules Jollivet, executed between 1845 and 1859, prior to their removal in 1861.



B. Site of Old Saint-Lazare. Interior view of the parish church of St.-Vincent-de-Paul.

Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections and Archives &
Photo © J-M Drouet–Duplidart.fr

worked with. Father Martin belonged to the Société des Antiquaires de France and served on the Commission des Arts et Edifices religieux, which was attached to the Ministère des Cultes and answered to Minister Hippolyte Fortoul. In 1847, this ministry appointed him as a member of its Comité historique. Martin also was recognized by the Institut de France and was inducted as Chevalier in the Légion d'honneur. In respect to collaborators and correspondents, the most eminent among them were his confrère, Charles Cahier, S.J., and fellow champions of the Gothic Revival, Victor Hugo and Viollet-le-Duc. Indeed, in starting out as a young priest, and published author at age thirty, Father Martin devoted himself “entièrement à l'étude de l'archéologie,” according to the standard Jesuit bibliography, which was limited to the scholarship of early and medieval Christianity in “la science théologique,” and not “par romantisme.” In the two brief decades left to him, Martin became a prolific writer, artist-designer and architect, and authority on restoring Gothic architecture; and we may single out his report of 31 August 1847 to the Ministre des Travaux publics on the stained glass of the Sainte-Chapelle.

Moreover, from the monumental in scale on down, nearly every type of artifact seized his eye and mind; and he deserves special praise for taking a scientific approach to the industrial or technical arts. His published landmarks are these volumes, cowritten with Father Charles Cahier, for which he provided the ravishing plates: the monograph on the stained glass of Bourges Cathedral (1842), which earned him a gold medal from the Institut; and *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Age*, which was begun in 1848 and eventually issued in four volumes (posthumously), is the book most familiar to today's readers.

We learn also from the standard Jesuit bibliography that Father Martin designed

“Plusieurs chapelles de Paris ont aussi été décorées sous sa direction; entre autres, celle de Sainte Geneviève-du-Mont, fait le plus grand honneur à son gout” It may not be widely known that he created the brightly colored neo-Gothic shrine of Saint Genevieve, dated to circa 1854–1855, which is commemorative since the majority of her relics were burned in 1793 during the Revolution. What a powerful contrast it makes, therefore, against the silvery high altar, neomedieval also but in a different way, which Martin furnished for the bona fide reliquary of New Saint-Lazare! But it had earned just a single line, buried in his papers, in the Jesuit archives. Martin’s high altar for the Lazarists was inaugurated by the Apostolic Nuncio on the Feast Day of the Annunciation, 25 March 1857, and the plaque beside it mentions him by name: “Altare Maius Huius Ecclesiae, Dirigente P. Arthur Martin S.J. Erectum” This citation, however, has not led to critical appreciation of Father Martin—all accolades have since been showered upon the Odiots—an injustice that I am about to set right.

The execution of Father Martin’s masterpiece therefore took seven years, which is known from calculating backwards to the *esquisse* of 1850 mentioned above, and around which discussion is hereby resumed. Filed with Étienne’s papers in the motherhouse archives, this large sheet (measuring 39.5 x 25 cm.) was rendered in mechanical pencil on brown tracing paper; it betrays Martin’s hand because the figures and elements closely resemble the vermicelli-like sketches found in the *carnet à la poche* that he took to Spain in 1848 (and 1855?) (Archives Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves). It is disappointing that none of the gestures in the sketchbook may be linked to his altar for Étienne. And in respect to its autograph *esquisse*, the bottom of the page bears inscriptions that were added in pencil by a high-ranking Lazarist, likely from the office of the procureur general; from left to right they read: “Arthur Martin Jésuite;” the date of 1850; and the phenomenal expenditure (“a co[u]te”) of 100,000 F (francs), followed by a question mark, which refers to the whole project (“ent.”). Indeed, the *Résumé* and *Récapitulation* of 27 October 1859, which were submitted once the work was finished, and as addenda to the principal *Mémoires* (discussed below), did approximate this sum in a total of 89,066.09 francs. Making up the difference was Martin’s honorarium of 1,000 francs, which Étienne paid on 9 January 1856 through the sculptor Fontanelle. Regrettably the Gloriette at the very top has since been removed to the museum of New Saint-Lazare; this unifying arc features the face of Jesus and was ornately carved in wood, thence gilded, to echo the foliage on the arched lid of Odiot’s *châsse* just beneath it. In the decade that transpired from the start to finish of the project, most of the activity was delayed to 1854–1856 due to the demands of publishing *Mélanges d’Archéologie*, which is mentioned as excuse in Father Martin’s letter to Étienne, along with his apology, for the slowness of the pace.

The wait was worthwhile; for Superior General Étienne he devised a theatrical neomedieval *retable* that was set into the hemicycle of Vasserot's sanctuary, whose altar table was framed at each side by a column and pilaster (as may be discerned from Vasserot's *plan*, extant masonry, and documents). Moreover, Vasserot returned twenty years after his "official" departure to sign off on the *Mémoire des ouvrages de Menuiserie* of 1847, which involved installing the oak stalls in the choir that were carved by the *Entrepreneur* Bugniet. One more salvaged holdover from Vasserot's tenure was the French alabaster mensa costing 2,000 francs; it was elevated about a foot above the floor, thence served as a platform upon which Father Martin stacked three parallel tiers that rise in a crescendo toward the ceiling. The pinnacle supports the *châsse*, whereas the lower registers are filled with the white marble figures briefly mentioned above. Large statues of the four Evangelists and eight prophets stand guard at either side of the *châsse*; fifteen statuettes perched in colonnaded niches depict saints with attributes; and there are eighteen statuettes of angels. Additionally, the most celestial sphere, near Saint Vincent de Paul, was made accessible to the living through the "hidden" stone staircases at either side that allow visitors to approach, and then descend from, the reliquary as never before. Father Martin's objective, which was penned in the "Courte explication" that I found in the motherhouse archives, aimed to revive certain medieval devotional practices in which pilgrims had passed beneath the saints' relics at the royal abbey church of Saint-Denis. Mentioned also in this memo, along with cited examples that were published in *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, is an old custom, first popularized in the twelfth century, of portraying apostles on the reliquaries and tombs of saints. This typology did not merely come back to life but was much expanded with the help of Fontenelle, who was Martin's trusted contractor and agent. Fontenelle's two lengthy and itemized *Mémoires des Travaux de Sculpture et Marbrerie*, dated 1 September 1858/24 October 1859, show, that in addition to carving the forty-seven statues and statuettes, his firm had also made, transported, and installed everything else in all media: the columns and pilasters framing the sanctuary (which supplemented those of Vasserot), the staircases beside the altar, the tabernacle and canopied crucifix, the mosaic tile pavement on the top step (now hidden by carpeting), the fancy woodwork called "Menuiserie" (referring to the *Gloriette*), and the full complement of architectural garnitures.

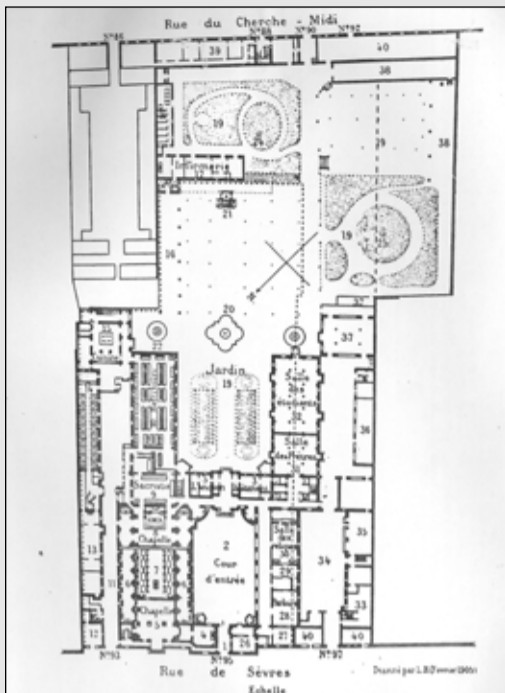
Another memo in the motherhouse archives, "Statues de l'Autel de St. Vincent/Retable," identifies each figure sequentially, in two groupings, according to the Gospel and Epistle sides; and they are all historical persons in keeping with Martin's promotion of "la science théologique." Besides the Holy Family, he chose saints who lived in the Middle Ages on up through Vincent de Paul's time—and like him, many had founded religious communities. This once-living chorus thereby testifies to the "humanity" of Saint Vincent

de Paul. These include the group of the Virgin and Child, which is centered in the lowest register on axis with the tabernacle, Odier's standing portrait of the saint, and face of Jesus in the Gloriette; His family members consisting of Joseph, Anne and Joachim, and John the Baptist; plus all-male figures such as Denis (the first French martyr), Benedict, Dominic, Bruno, Francis of Assisi, Philip Neri, Francis Xavier, and Vincent de Paul's mentor and friend, Francis de Sales. This cavalcade reveals, as well, one more example of Martin's lively imagination, and the deep scholarly reserves that were plumbed, and published, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie*. Alongside the medieval devotional practices that he sought to revive, there is, notably, the mosaic tile pavement of the sanctuary which resuscitates the floors of ancient Italian churches; and the statuettes are near-copies of relief panels carved on the flanks of Early Christian sarcophagi.

In respect to these things, Father Martin enthusiastically sketched and published the specimens he studied in Provence, especially, and looked forward to examining the Roman catacombs on what became his ultimate trip in 1856. A substantial collection of Gallo-Christian sarcophagi ended up in Saint-Germain en-Laye, in the former royal château chosen to house the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in 1867 (since renamed Musée d'Archéologie Nationale). In its courtyard, I came across fragments that bear close resemblance both to Martin's statuettes on the high altar, and his published book illustrations. Although we cannot claim he saw them all, it is known he listed many more sarcophagi, and executed plates of them, that were omitted from *Mélanges d'Archéologie*. And on the topic of his last journey, Father Martin departed for Italy once his Vincentian high altar, and several other projects, were either finished or nearly so. But while in Ravenna he succumbed to apoplexy on 24 November 1856, and did not live to attend the dedication of March 1857—had he even plotted to escape from this pompous occasion in Paris, along with any and all unwanted publicity of himself?

IV. Paul-Marie Gallois Expands & Decorates the Chapelle, Circa 1855 to 1864

Gallois, meanwhile, was preparing to stage the gleaming set piece from Odier and Father Martin to maximum effect, as well as transform Vasserot's "primitive" chapelle into an exciting contemporary space. First of all, he highlighted the medieval scheme of the high altar, and the adjacent choir; but instead of repeating its silvery cream tonalities, which resonate also with the châsse, Gallois had his team strike daring foils in painting the walls and their *Néogrec* embellishments with intensely polychromed color, as if shouting out Hittorff's teachings. The linchpin used to unify these competing color schemes and art historical styles is the *Triumphal Arch*, or gateway into the high altar, which was done by the painter-in-residence, *Frère* François Carbonnier. Did the end result not set the standard



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New Saint-Lazare. Plan de la Maison-Mère, Rue de Sévres, nos. 93 to 97. Engraved plan executed in 1905 upon the disestablishment of the Catholic Church and French State; the chapelle is at no. 93.

*Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris
Photo courtesy of the author*

for showing off the *alliance des arts* in Catholic architecture of the mid-nineteenth century? Apropos to advancing the neomedieval statements of Martin's high altar, one may step backward several paces to behold how emphatic it appears upon being framed, at floor level, by the graceful oak stalls that were positioned in the choir for the use of the Lazarists (and were ordered by Vasserot in 1847). Gallois then created a border that picturesquely sealed off this sacred and liturgical zone from the rest of the nave—which is reserved for the laity—with an ornate iron grille (removed in the late 1980s). These artisanal *Travaux de Serrurerie* were fabricated in 1856 by the *Entrepreneur* Deschars to imitate the Cross of the *Ordre de Saint-Lazare et de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel*, whose history goes way back to the medieval origins of Old Saint-Lazare. Deschars was employed, besides, to install the more functional *Serrurerie* in the harnesses and braces that secured the newly constructed masonry of the *Entrepreneurs* Beauvais and Roullie. For in maintaining the length of Vasserot's nave, which terminates at the sanctuary, Gallois extended the footprint laterally, in 1855–1856, by punching through the blind arcades (*arcatures*) of the walls, thus making them arched openings into a proper side aisle at each flank. The pilasters of Vasserot's arcuations were left intact to mark the bays. In front of them, Gallois built a nave colonnade consisting of Doric columns, which supports a trabeated, or straight-edged, entablature. Gallois used its flat upper “ledge” as baseline upon which he raised a second-story Tribune above the side aisles.

Since these extensions made the ground *plan* both wider and higher than before, a soaring new ceiling went up in the magnificent coffered barrel vault. Its base was pierced



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New Saint-Lazare. Vintage postcard of rue de Sèvres showing the exterior façade of the Chapelle des Lazaristes. Built by and decorated under Paul-Marie Gallois, largely in the mid-1850s.

Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives, DePaul University Special Collections

by arched apertures that are rhythmically stretched high and taut across the entablature line, and are perfectly aligned, on plumb, with the Doric columns. In addition, new black and white tiles were laid down in the aisles to meet the grade level of the nave floor, whose pavement in large white blocks was retained. Alas, it certainly is challenging to distinguish which portions of Vasserot's *fabrique* had been demolished, and which of his furnishings were repurposed, since the *Mémoires des Travaux* are preserved in various states of legibility, and some papers are all but indecipherable.

In now turning attention to the glorious classical décor, the archival documents confirm that the ornaments projecting from the plastered surfaces are molded from *pierre plâtre* or *carton pierre*, and *faux bois*, and thence were masked in a *horror vacui* of gilding and polychrome done in oil paint. Despite this outburst everything is crisply controlled: the rosettes punctuating the coffers of the vault, the denticulation of the architrave, the beaded banding below the Doric capitals, the angels' heads at the *faux* keystones of the arches placed at the base of the vault, and the *rincaux* in the spandrels. Several motifs came straight from the *châsse*, as in the ribbon of curvilinear foliage that rims its upper lid and the acanthus frieze at its base—did Father Martin also chime in with a few flourishes of his own? This showstopping performance, according to a flawed memo of 1906, was accomplished by the so-called *frères-coadjuteurs peintres* Jean-Louis Augier (1825–1892) and Lucas, with the help of “plusieurs ouvriers de la ville.” In my correction to this statement, the *Mémoire des Travaux* for one Brother Augier's carpentry works, dated between 1855 and 1857, lists only the fillets that he built for the vault. And there is no personnel record for a Brother



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A. New Saint-Lazare. Vintage photograph of the Chapelle des Lazaristes. Interior view featuring the sanctuary prior to the removal in the 1980s of the Gloriette above the high altar, the choir stalls, and the iron grille.

B. Later photographed in 1984–1985 during renovations undertaken by the architects Alain M. Cluzet, Rémy de Sèze, and Yves Théry.

C. Detailed close-up of the nave wall.



A. & B. Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris; C. Courtesy of the author

Lucas, although it is possible he existed and had painted in the chapelle. Moreover, all those compelling three-dimensional elements, described as being “très riches et variées,” were the inventions of the sculptor Martron, who had produced them in 1855–1856. As for painting everything, one of the notes on the honoraria paid out proves these *travaux* were jumpstarted in 1854. In 1855, Gallois transferred 300 francs to an outside consultant, a M. Deuvelle. In consequence of his advice, were those unnamed contractors from the city—per the memo of 1906 cited above—perhaps lined up by a *frère-coadjuteur* of record, Nicolas-Eugène Aubouër (1824–1906)? He was referred to as the Lazarist architect-in-residence, that is, who was active in the house, and whose responsibilities including the hiring and supervision of the *Entrepreneurs* who painted throughout the premises of the convent.

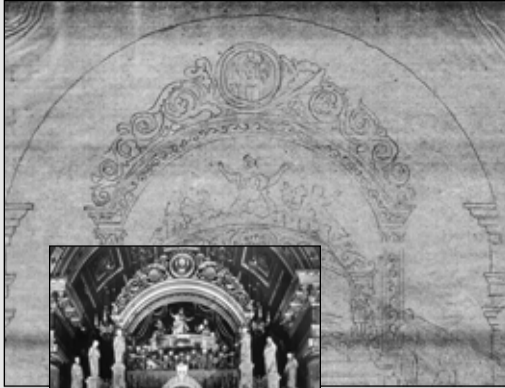
V. Brother François Carbonnier Paints the Linchpin that Unifies the Space

Another *frère-coadjuteur*, François Carbonnier (1787–1873), was the supreme painter-in-residence—and Étienne’s first protégé. Born and baptized in Beauvais as Casimir, Carbonnier arrived in Paris to study first with Jacques-Louis David, and then with Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres; and his prospects were shining brightly at age twenty when he worked alongside David’s other pupils in assisting him to paint the massive coronation picture of the Imperial couple, *Le Sacre de Napoléon*, of 1806–1807 (Paris, Musée du Louvre). Soon afterward, in the Salon of 1812, Carbonnier showed *Virgile récitant l’Enéide au moment où il prononce: “Tu Marcellus eris ;”* it so impressed Caroline Bonaparte, the Emperor’s sister and Queen of Naples, that she hired him to execute her portrait (untraced).

The most recent information we have on his technique comes from the handwritten report that M. Jean-Jacques Borgetto, artist and conservator, kindly shared with me after he had cleaned Carbonnier's canvases at New Saint-Lazare in 1998, and which states he painted in "la pure tradition classique." For example, Carbonnier laid down a solid ground upon which thin coats of paint were applied after the preceding colors had dried; and transparent glazes were added to heighten luster. While on the way up, the artist became a married man who sought an international career—he lived in London between 1815 and 1836 and exhibited at the Royal Academy; after returning to France in 1836, he took over the studio of his second teacher, Ingres, in the passage Sainte-Marie, rue du Bac. Importantly, and at once, Carbonnier joined the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul at its vanguard, just as it been founded, in that year, at Saint-Sulpice by the Blessed Frédéric Ozanam (1813–1853), who at the time was, of course, very young and fervent. It somehow happened through these circumstances, and youthful Catholic circles, that Carbonnier met up with Procureur General Étienne, who in 1839 invited him to leave his wife and enter New Saint-Lazare. Casimir adopted François as his religious name and took his final vows in 1849.

Étienne meanwhile furnished him with a private studio in the courtyard near the chapelle, which got replaced in 1860 with a grander space on the top floor of the new wing at 97 rue de Sèvres; regrettably all traces of Carbonnier's *atelier* disappeared when this wing was rebuilt. And then once Étienne became superior general (in 1843), keeping Brother François contented was a priority that could be easily indulged; in one noteworthy transaction of 1853, a gift of 1,000 francs was sent to the ex-wife Cœlina, who resided in a convent in Marseille, out of "pure libéralité" (and to keep her away). Carbonnier's privileged lifestyle fueled resentment among certain *frères-coadjuteurs*—including Augier and Aubouër? I have yet to come across any contact between them and Étienne's academic star. The unrelenting favors were well earned, however, since François turned out more than forty paintings for Étienne, which are inventoried in the monograph of 1925 from Olivier Estournet. His masterpieces consist of eight monumental canvases representing the lives of Mary and Jesus, which are signed and dated between 1846 and 1864; but were they planned as a suite? The paintings were mounted, as such, behind the choir stalls once the aisles were built, but have since been taken upstairs to the Tribune. And however evocative they are in rephrasing strains from Raphael—whose cult was all the rage among Catholic artists—they hardly factor into the aesthetic regime of the centerpiece in the chapelle and are therefore set aside in favor of addressing Carbonnier's *Triumphal Arch*, which does play a pivotal role in this respect.

This work is a wide horseshoe-shaped band painted *en grisaille* in oils on canvas; it was attached to the plaster wall in July 1855 by the mason Beauvais, and three helpers, to



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A. New Saint-Lazare. Arthur Martin, S.J., preparatory esquisse for the high altar of the Chapelle des Lazaristes; autograph drawing rendered in mechanical pencil on brown tracing paper pasted onto cardboard, 39.5 cm. x 25 cm. sheet size, with inscriptions added at the bottom (in another hand): “Arthur Martin Jésuite, Autel de S. Lazare, 1850, a conte 100,000 F (for the whole project).”

B. Vintage photograph of the high altar executed by the firm of Fontanelle, Sculpteur, after the design of Arthur Martin, S.J., marble, beg. 1850 and consecrated 25 March 1857. The Gloriette of carved and gilded wood has since been removed to the on-site museum.

C. Contemporary photograph of the high altar which features a close-up of the Triumphal Arch painted in grisaille on canvas by the frère-coadjuteur François Carbonnier installed in 1855. (Photo courtesy of Erik Pronske, M.D.)

D. Side view of the high altar.

Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris; and author

look illusionistically like a carved archivolt beneath the vault at its terminus, that is, just above the threshold into the sanctuary. Each blunt edge of the curve is supported by paired columns that both frame the centerpiece and meet the ending of the colonnade, at a right angle, on its half of the nave. Carbonnier’s painted archway is thereby implicated into the architectural setting and holds the perspective line of all the elements that are marching inwards from the straight-edged entablatures, and the fillets lined up on the coffered vault. The painter was responsive to the high altar, besides, in the subject matter and technique. For the cascading figures that surround Vincent de Paul in the center of the *Triumphal Arch*, and appear together with his Virtues (Simplicity, Charity, and Humility), resemble high reliefs whose chiaroscuro pitches them against a neutral ground. These “sculptural” characters are grouped into narrative vignettes that, at right, depict the missions of (the future Saint) Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity. And at left, Carbonnier features the evangelization of the priests, most sensationally of John Gabriel Perboyre (1802–1840) and Francis Regis Clet (1748–1820), who had recently been martyred in China—and whose remains were brought to the chapelle, where they may be venerated in their own shrines in the side aisles.

Carbonnier’s *Triumphal Arch* therefore reads like a cross between two and three dimensions, and ties together elements that would otherwise appear discordant: It serves

as transition from sculpture to painting; and its deep gray tonalities are caught between the silvery coolness of the centerpiece, to the warmth of saturated color on the entablature and vault. The *Triumphal Arch* so effortlessly harmonizes these pictorial oppositions that one may ask if the most fractious art/historical differences—between the neomedieval and the *Néogrec*—have likewise been reconciled? This problem—along with its resolution—pertains to Gallois’s transformation of the “pagan hovel” (as described by Montalembert) into an impeccable Christian church; and it involves one more “crossover,” in this case in the early Christian revival, whose ultra-Catholic champions were Hittorff and Father Martin. This trend in religious architecture was activated in 1823 with the rebuilding of the fourth-century Roman basilica, San Paolo fuori le Mura (Saint Paul Outside the Walls), following a disastrous fire; and the magnitude of the project so profoundly affected both Hittorff and Martin that linking classical antiquity with early Christianity pierced the very heart of their work. Indeed, their respective enterprises in art and architecture, and published books, set out to offer undeniable evidence that “pagan” traditions were hardly antithetical to Catholicism, but had been fluently carried over into the ancient Christian churches of Italy. Hittorff provided Saint Vincent de Paul as his object exemplum, which in fact adopted the direct model of San Paolo (as was mentioned above). And in respect to Martin, one recurring theme in *Mélanges d’Archéologie* betrays him pondering the roots of his beloved Middle Ages in the pagan world; indeed in at least one passage he points out that the barbarians who invaded Gaul were the truer hostile forces. As if staking out two different posts on the same battlefield, these men thereby managed to generate valid alternatives to the excessively popular Gothic Revival. In now returning to Gallois’s chapelle, it may be understood at last that the so-called conflict between the classical and the medieval was played out, instead, as exercise in Christian modalities that sit tight on the arc of the Middle Ages, if in different time zones: In Father Martin’s evocations of the twelfth century, in the high altar; and in Gallois’s “Late Antique” hall overflowing with motifs such as the *rinceaux*, which hereby symbolize the Christian Celestial Paradise ... while bowing down, as well, to the archaeological research of Father Martin.

VI. One More Act of Reconciliation: Gallicanism vis-à-vis Ultramontanism

Do stylistic tensions that animate the historical revivals in French sacred architecture at its best—as in Gallois’s chapelle—also convey geopolitical undertones? Superior General Étienne was arguably motivated by more than commemorating the bicentennial of Saint Vincent’s death in 1860. For built into the act of balancing out the opposing art historical traditions discussed above was Étienne’s own conciliatory stance in the conflict between Gallicanism and Ultramontanism (“Across the Alps”), which had governed religious politics

in France since the reign of Charlemagne. And, in this respect, was Étienne not consciously imitating the example set by Vincent de Paul himself, who was adroit in maintaining loyalty both to the Bourbon Crown and to the Throne of Peter? If the Gallican Church of the Ancien Régime had succeeded in limiting papal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs, its influence and clout became hopelessly frayed in the late eighteenth century, almost as prelude to its crash in the Revolution of 1789. In result, the Holy See was freed to emerge as supreme authority over any national body, or council, which in turn cleared the way for the doctrine of papal infallibility; and this seismic shift would be finalized at the First Vatican Council of 1869–1870. As one disturbing event erupted after another, Superior General Étienne strived to protect the Congregation from destabilization on two fronts: The first was manned by his French confreres still reeling from suppression and persecution, and who were counting on the Crown to secure the future of Catholicism in the realm; and the second was populated by the emissaries from Rome who were unconcerned with the Frenchness of the French Church. Étienne's most painful concession, which was obligatory, forced him to replace the long-standing Gallican liturgy in 1852 with the Roman Rite. In compensation, or as reward for his diplomacy, permission was granted to keep the motherhouse in Paris; and this promise would be honored until the Curia transferred the Congregation's seat to Rome in 1963 (Collegio Apostolico Leoniano). Étienne's New Saint-Lazare therefore had prevailed, triumphant. And his big victory—achieved through tactical reconciliation—was thereafter displayed in his chapelle in a conspicuous blending of French and Italian art. The *fabrique* and its classical décor had conjured up Roman basilicas, whereas the “Gallican” centerpiece boasted the shrine of that consummate Frenchman, Saint Vincent de Paul. These two sides thence came together in force on the high altar, which sports a parade of famous French and Italian saints (with the possible exception of Patrick). It was therefore fitting, in the grand finalé that followed Étienne's death on 12 March 1874, and his burial in Montparnasse cemetery, that his remains would be reinterred in the center of the nave beneath a perfect tomb slab designed by his faithful protégé, Paul-Marie Gallois.

VII. On the Alliance des Arts

The Chapelle des Lazaristes manifests a breathtaking unity of concept with design, which in France was referred to as the *travail d'ensemble*, also the *alliance des arts* and *un œuvre d'art total*, and which dominated architectural thinking of the midcentury (by way of the music dramas composed in Germany by Richard Wagner). And if Paul-Marie Gallois and his *grands travaux* have been brought to light in this article, the last words may be granted to Mme C. Di Matteo, who in her role as Inspecteur Principal des Monuments Historiques of the Ministère de la Culture wrote this assessment in the minutes (dated 16 January 1985) of



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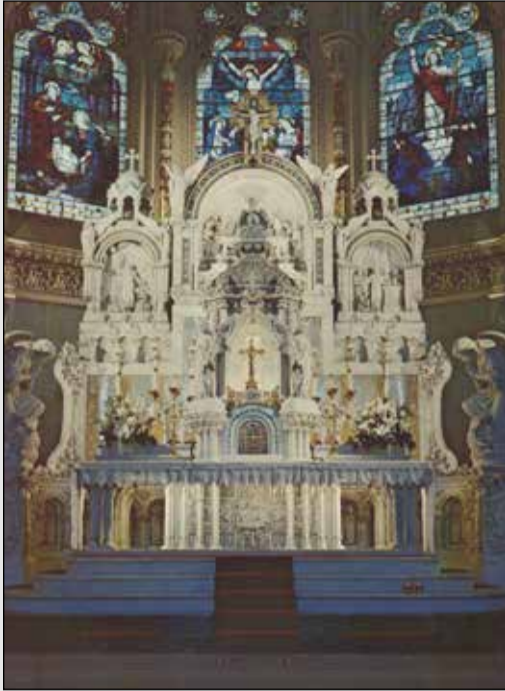
New Saint-Lazare. Plate from Charles Cahier, S.J., and Arthur Martin, S.J., *Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Age*, vol. 3 (1874–1877).

Courtesy DePaul University Library Special Collections

a meeting that was convened on 9 January 1985, over the issue of nominating the chapelle among the Monuments Historiques de la Ville de Paris: “Dans son état actuel, la chapelle de la maison mère des Lazaristes frappe par la qualité de son architecture, la cohérence de son décor et son mobilier également conservé depuis sa création 1830.” [Gallois was unknown to them.] The campaigns of cleaning, restoration, and modernization began soon afterward, in direct result of the Ministry’s suggestions, and through the auspices of Superior General Richard McMullen (1980–1992). The leadership of the Province of Paris shepherded all the work through in three planned stages; and the crowning moment occurred in January 1993 when the chapelle was classified as an historic monument, with all gratitude owed to “la douce ténacité” of Father Claude Lautissier, who was serving as provincial of Paris (1983–1992) and has since retired as archivist of the Province of France.

Brief Epilogue: Saint Vincent de Paul Church in Chicago, Illinois

We may now feel energized to visit a list of comparable monuments that were built or renovated in Paris in this period of the Catholic *Renouveau* in order to evaluate how their programmes stack up against the Chapelle des Lazaristes. But prior to setting out, why not raise a penetrating question that keeps us closer to home, namely, how did the architects of the Gilded Age of American churches, from circa 1870 to 1929, learn about the more erudite interpretations of the historical revival in France? And why are these two discourses far from intertwined? A splendid example is Saint Vincent de Paul Church in Chicago, which is found at the edge of the DePaul University campus and is administered by Vincentians from



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Saint Vincent de Paul Church, Chicago, Illinois. Photograph of the sanctuary used in the commemorative publication issued by the parish, St. Vincent de Paul. Centennial Booklet. 1976. The high altar designed by Augustine O'Callaghan was carved between 1903–1909 of white Carrara marble, and inlaid with mother-of-pearl and Venetian mosaic tile.

*Courtesy DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives,
DePaul University Library Special Collections*

the Western Province of the Congregation in the United States. It was raised in 1895–1897, twenty years after the parish was founded to serve Irish and German immigrant families, by the firm of Egan and Prindeville of Chicago; Prindeville was a native of the city, and James J. Egan (1839–1914) came from Cork, Ireland. He studied at the Government School of Design, Queen's College, Cork, and finished his education in England, which of course was inundated by its own waves of the Medieval Revival. What could prevent Egan from sailing across the Channel and heading to the continent, and Paris, to absorb everything he could? After all, his church in Chicago knowingly combines French Romanesque styles on the façade and in the nave, with Gothic conventions that are applied in the tracery, lofty polychromed interior, and stained-glass lancets and *rosaces*; this fenestration was executed by Mayer & Co. of Munich through its office in New York. And as in Gallois's chapelle, the focal point of the interior of Saint Vincent de Paul Church is the multi-tiered high altar that may be similarly experienced through the open expanses of the nave. It was carved between 1903 and 1909 of shiny white Carrara marble, and incrustated with mother-of-pearl and Venetian mosaic tile, according to the design of Augustine O'Callaghan, a sculptor who had already produced a version of this type (in 1899) for the only other parish of the city to have French associations, Notre Dame de Chicago.

Was the general resemblance of O'Callaghan's altars to Arthur Martin's confection an uncanny coincidence? Or were decisions made to recollect Saint Vincent's shrine in faraway Paris for the benefit of the Vincentians and their parishioners—and those of Notre

Dame de Chicago? Since American builders had wished to recreate for their clients the beauty and grandeur of European churches, along with their artistic and historical roots in the faith of their fathers, future investigation of New World counterparts must raise fresh questions that account for such geographic, and political, dislocations. And, too, identify the mediating links—starting at the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893?—which fueled the transmission of knowledge, and may serve as means of preparing to cross the Atlantic in search of answers, at the source. In conclusion, it is immensely satisfying to stand at the edge of the docks after prying open even more dilemmas than I have attempted to address in these pages.

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Annotated Documentation

This article is an expanded version of the work originally published as “The Alliance des Arts, The Chapelle des Lazaristes, and the Reliquary Shrine of Saint Vincent de Paul,” in *Sacred Architecture* 30 (2016), 11–19. It is a preview of forthcoming books on Old Saint-Lazare, and on the Chapelle des Lazaristes of New Saint-Lazare. In lieu of endnotes, the principal sources are grouped together thematically, especially since documents in the motherhouse archives may not be readily accessible. Please contact me directly to request more detailed information at szurawsk@depaul.edu

Old Saint-Lazare & The First Shrine of Saint Vincent de Paul

Léon Bizard and Jane Chapon, *Histoire de la Prison de Saint-Lazare, Du Moyen-Age à Nos Jours* (Paris: E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1925), esp. 1–98, from the earliest history in the Middle Ages, through its seizure in the Revolution and conversion into a prison.

Simone Zurawski, “Saint-Lazare in the *Ancien Régime*: from Saint Vincent de Paul to the French Revolution,” in *Vincentian Heritage* 14:1 (1993): 15–35. Also available online through the DePaul University Library: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol14/iss1/2>. This preliminary study published a number of the primary sources that were taken from the motherhouse in 1792 and are now kept in Archives Nationales in Paris.

Jean Parrang, C.M., “Saint-Lazare,” *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* 70 (1905): 305–329; plus “Iconographie de Saint Vincent de Paul (Les Tableaux de la Canonisation, 1737),” *Annales* 102 (1937): 491–504 and 720–729. The whole run of this journal is available online through the DePaul Library at <https://via.library.depaul.edu/annales/>. The project consists of the great canonization *Tableaux* and their reproductive engravings; and these additional points are documented in my forthcoming book: the identification of *Frère Jean-André* as painter of the apotheosis; the deluxe multicolored marbles used to build the high altar, which may not be apparent in Tardieu’s black-and-white print; and the French Vincentians’ prohibition of statuary.

Letter of Superior General Jean Bonnet to a confrère in Rome, d. 14 Aug. 1735, on the valuation of the gilt vermeil reliquary châsse at 35,000 livres. *Cote C-37-1 dernier, Cahier* “Epoque de Bonnet 1711–1735,” fol. 416, Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris.

The Site of Old-Saint-Lazare: The Church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Michael Kiene and Simone Zurawski, *The Basilica of St. Vincent de Paul: Architecture of the Catholic Renouveau in Paris* (Chicago: DePaul University for the DePaul University Art Museum, 2010), exhibition catalogue and companion booklet. The importance of the

site in the Bourbon Restoration and Catholic *Renouveau* is hereby brought to light.

Michael Kiene, “Antique Polychromy Applied to Modern Art and Hittorff’s Saint Vincent de Paul in Paris, the Architectural Showpiece of the *Renouveau Catholique*,” *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 32:2 (Summer 2015): 32 pages (unpaginated). Author’s most recent study on Hittorff’s church, which compiles extensive bibliography, and also addresses the early Christian revival and concept of the *alliance des arts*. Online only: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol32/iss2/5/>

New Saint-Lazare: The Relics of St. Vincent, Reestablishment & Superior General Étienne

Mandement de Monseigneur l’Archêveque de Paris pour la Translation solennelle du Corps de Saint Vincent de Paul (Paris: Adrien le Clere, 1830). Based on primary sources, this compendium records the handling of the corpse, its reauthentication by royal surgeons, and the solemnities of the Translation.

John E. Rybolt, C.M., *The Vincentians: A General History of the Congregation of the Mission*. Vol. 3, *Revolution and Restoration (1789–1843)* and Vol. 4, *Expansions and Reactions (1843–1878)* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2013 and 2014, respectively). This author (as well as the next one cited) documents the conversion of Hôtel de Lorges into New Saint-Lazare and discusses parallel narratives on the Daughters of Charity; Étienne’s life and career are developed in chapters one and two, pp. 20–151.

Edward R. Udovic, C.M., *Jean-Baptiste Étienne and the Vincentian Revival* (Chicago: Vincentian Studies Institute, 2001). Not just an updated biography (of the 1881 monograph), but a close analysis of Étienne as key player in the conflicts taking place in religious politics at home and abroad, above all, regarding the growing power of Ultramontanism. See: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentian_ebooks/3/

“Amiens. 1809–1904;” in *Série*, “Travaux exécutés dans les séminaires (classement par diocèse). Période concordataire.” Archives Nationales, F/19.7296. This substantial (and complicated) *carton* records important works undertaken at the seminary and its chapel, which were reclaimed by the Congregation in 1806 under Napoléon: apud alii the presence of Procurateur General Étienne (as early as 1839), and the arrival in 1849 of Aymar Verdier as the new *architecte diocésane*, who was succeeded by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc in 1852. Its plausible influence upon Gallois’s chapelle, along with prospective ties to Viollet-le-Duc, who collaborated with Father Arthur Martin, S.J., are reserved for my monograph; however, the two sites in Amiens and in Paris did not share any known artists in common.

New Saint-Lazare: The Architects Philibert Vasserot & Paul-Marie Gallois

Omitted from this article are discussions of the exterior, the décor of the side aisles and their painted windows, and the breakdowns of measurements and fees and expenses with few exceptions (which are included in-text). The sources in the Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, track the works in the chapelle from 1826, when the state purchased the site at 93 rue de Sèvres (adjacent to the Hôtel de Lorges), up through its conservation of 1985–1992, and thence its classification as a Monument Historique in 1993; barely alluded to herein, though, are the roles of numerous government agencies such as the Préfecture de la Seine and Ministère des Affaires Écclésiastiques, which regulated building and represented the Crown as conduit of royal support to the Congregation, and to the Church in general (up to disestablishment in 1905). These offices included bodies that issued building permits; e.g., although New Saint-Lazare was awarded by Louis XVIII, it was and still is state-owned property (whereas in the Ancien Régime the Lazarists owned the motherhouse and largely did as they pleased). Moreover, this scenario is complicated by a multitude of changes in bureaucratic organization, nomenclature, and laws and ordinances, which accompanied the shifts from one monarchy to another. These are the principal categories of the sources on architecture and decoration; the documents cited in-text and below in the notes are not repeated: Honoraria of architects; *Mémoires des Travaux* submitted by *Entrepreneurs* and filed under the architect of record (breakdowns of work, with measurements and costs)—some of them are scribbled down as memos; receipts; plans and drawings, which are grouped apart from the more artistic, or pictorial, prints and engravings; copies transcribed by Lazarist scholars of original sources and *plans* in Archives Nationales; *cartons* of memoranda and effects of individual residents (not necessarily incorporated into the main archive); letters; scholarly but now-obscure publications drawn from the primary sources; documentation of the nomination process by the Ministère de la Culture; and the renderings and reports from Alain M. Cluzet, Rémy de Séze, and Yves Théry, architectes, 37 rue Linné, Paris, who undertook the conservation, and which summarize the 19th-century *travaux*. Here follow the key studies on Vasserot and Gallois, and thence the decorators:

Pierre Coste, C.M., “Variétés. La Maison-Mère de la Congrégation de la Mission,” *Annales* 82 (1917): 954–983. The magisterial scholar identified the work of Vasserot (but not of Gallois); his *plans* are in Archives Nationales and were evidently, if only in part, built on site.

Cécile Souchon, “Philibert Vasserot et les Atlas des Quartiers de Paris:” www.lecfc.fr/new/articles/171-article-4.pdf. This important project for the city was done in collaboration with J-S Bellanger; the impression of the Atlas owned by the Bibliothèque Historique de la

Ville de Paris alone shows the *plan* of Vasserot's chapelle.

Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie and Louis Auvray, *Dictionnaire Général des Artistes de L'École Française ... Tome 2* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882–1885), 604, is the brief entry on Gallois, which is restricted to his award-winning student work; I examined his *Dossiers* in the archives of the École des Beaux-Arts. I also consulted these entries: Edmond Augustin Delaire, *Les Architectes élèves de L'École des Beaux-Arts ...* (Paris: Librairie de la Construction Moderne, 1907), 269, which identifies his teacher as Charles Vasserot, whom we now recognize as Philibert's son; and Anne Dugast and Isabelle Parizet, and Michel Fleury, *Dictionnaire par Noms d'architectes des constructions élevées à Paris au XIXe et XXe Siècles ... Tome II* (Paris: Service des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, beg. 1990), entry no. 2090. None of the authors knew of his *travaux* at New Saint-Lazare, although the latter two found him elsewhere, e.g., in 1854–1855 at the humble parish church of Saint-Martin-des-Marais, and on civic and public works projects undertaken in his role as Architecte de l'Assistance Publique et du Mont de Pieté de Paris (starting in 1855); Gallois also built the church in Vincent de Paul's birthplace in Dax for the Lazarists—all of which await future discussion. Finally, regarding his induction as *Chevalier*, I examined his *Dossier* in the archives of the Légion d'honneur, Numéro d'Ordre des Matricules 38.138, whose documents list even more of his works and achievements.

New Saint-Lazare: The *Châsse* of the Odiot Firm; The High Altar of Arthur Martin, S.J.

Jean-Marie Pinçon and Olivier Gaube du Gers, *Odiot l'Orfèvre* (Paris: Editions Sous Le Vent, 1990), esp. 168–170, which pub. the *esquisse* and the casket; in a private meeting with me, M. Gaube du Gers, who at the time was président of Odiot Orfèvre, shared his insights on Charles Percier's collaborations and also showed me the *esquisse*, which belongs to the firm's private collection. The recent study on that architect is from Jean-Philippe Garric, ed., *Charles Percier: Architecture and Design in an Age of Revolutions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in collaboration with Bard Graduate Center Gallery and the Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais, Paris, 2016). Quarrels over payment of the *châsse*, which led to Odiot's lawsuit against the archbishop, are omitted from this discussion.

Charles Cahier, S.J., and Arthur Martin, S.J., *Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Age. Vol. 3* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1874–1877): 78–108, on “Sarcophages;” and 146–182, on “Châsses et Reliquaires.”

Salomon Reinach, *Catalogue Illustré du Musée des Antiquités au Château de Saint-Germain-En-Laye. Tome I....* (Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1926), esp. pp. 76–84, on fragments that are similar to those pub. by Cahier and Martin, and also resemble the statuettes on the

high altar of New Saint-Lazare.

Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Première Partie: Bibliographie Augustin et Aloys de Backer. Tome V (Bruxelles/Paris: Picard, 1894), pp. 619–21, entry on Arthur Martin, with 18+ chronological itemizations; no. 18 cites his decoration of “many chapels” in Paris, with singular mention of Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont.

Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves. *Carton Arthur Martin*. The surviving papers, letters, contracts, misc. memoranda composed by confrères, and the *carnet d'esquisse* (which I found misplaced in the *Carton Charles Cahier*); one Father Baylard signed a typed memo that is quoted in-text on Martin's scientific approach to Christian archaeology, and from which information is taken also on his numerous awards; and the manuscript of his unfinished *Nécrologie*, fol. 7, is the only mention I found on the high altar for the Lazarists: did he keep this project under the radar from his superiors to avoid being upbraided for exhausting himself with too much work?

Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission. *Dossier* “Maitre-Autel/ Sculptures. Marbrerie/Bronzes/Canons d'Autel” (datable to 1856–1859). This unfoliated collection holds the key documents, but not Martin's *esquisse*: His letter to Étienne, dated 8 Jan. 1856, sent from the Jesuit residence on 35 rue de Sèvres, on the “grande difficulté” he encounters in publishing the *Mélanges*, which is followed by the receipt for his honorarium in the amount of 1,000 francs, dated 9 Jan. 1856, that Fontanelle signs on his behalf; the memos cited in-text on his explication of the program and identification of the statues; plus two separate *Mémoires des Travaux ... pour le compte* (breakdown of costs) from Fontanelle, 81 Boulevard Montparnasse, which itemize his firm's execution, transport, and installation of works in bronze, sculpture and marble, paving, and woodworking (the Gloriette), plus the *Résumé* and *Récapitulation*. They are all initially dated 1 September 1858, thence redated 24/27 Oct. 1859, and altogether tally the grand total of 89,066.09 francs. In other words, these documents post-date both Martin's death on 24 November 1856, and consecration of the high altar on 25 March 1857.

New Saint-Lazare: The Lazarist Decorators *Frères Augier, Aubouër, and Carbonnier*

Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission. *Dossier* “Décorations – Mobiliers d'Église,” incorporating the *Mémoire des Travaux de Décors, à façon, pour le compte du Frère Augier ... Courant de 1855, 1856 & 1857... Par Alphonse Alalabelle, Rue Rousselet, Paris, 21 fols*; the *Résumé*, dated 9 Nov. 1857, tallies the *Total* of 896.38 francs, which was signed by Alalabelle, thus indicating Augier was by then living elsewhere. His slim personnel record states he left the Congregation in 1865, and his places of residence

are left blank. Alas, there are no traces of *frère-coadjuteur* Lucas, who is not mentioned in Augier's document but solely in Father Bataille's memo of 1906, which I found in the effects of Father Jean Parrang. In contrast, a small group of receipts is filed in the *Dossier, A Comptes Recus d'Entrepreneurs*, which record the house painters who worked at New Saint-Lazare between 1862 and 1865 upon the orders of *Frère* Aubouër, although the chapelle is not specified. No other Lazarist painter-decorators have surfaced.

The monograph-to-date on *Frère* François is O[livier] Estournet, "Casimir Carbonnier: Peintre Beauvaisien (1787–1873)," in *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences et Arts du Département de L'Oise. Tome XXV. Première Partie* (Beauvais: Imprimerie Départementale de L'Oise, 1925), pp. 1–52; cat. no. 54, p. 45, is the entry for the *Triumphal Arch*, which is neither signed nor dated; moreover, the lack of extant sources and drawings in the Archives de la Maison-Mère suggests they were kept, together with the artist's other effects, in his private atelier, which were lost when the wing was rebuilt.

Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie and Louis Aulnay, *Dictionnaire Général des Artistes de L'École Française ... Tome 1* (Paris: Librairie Renuard, 1882–1885), p. 199, the entry on Carbonnier. One must ignore its counterpart in *Oxford Art Online/The Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, which repeats a false rumor that he had contracted leprosy (!).

Epilogue: St. Vincent de Paul Church, Chicago, Illinois

Denis R. McNamara, with foreword by Duncan Stroik, introduction by Thomas Gordon Smith, and photographs by James Morris, *Heavenly City: The Architectural Tradition of Catholic Chicago* (Chicago: Archdiocese of Chicago, 2005): 22 f., on St. Vincent's Church; and 106 f., on Notre Dame de Chicago (which illustrates but does not identify Augustine O'Callaghan as designer of the high altar); plus 102 f., on Our Lady of Sorrows Basilica, which illustrates and names him as designer of the high altar.

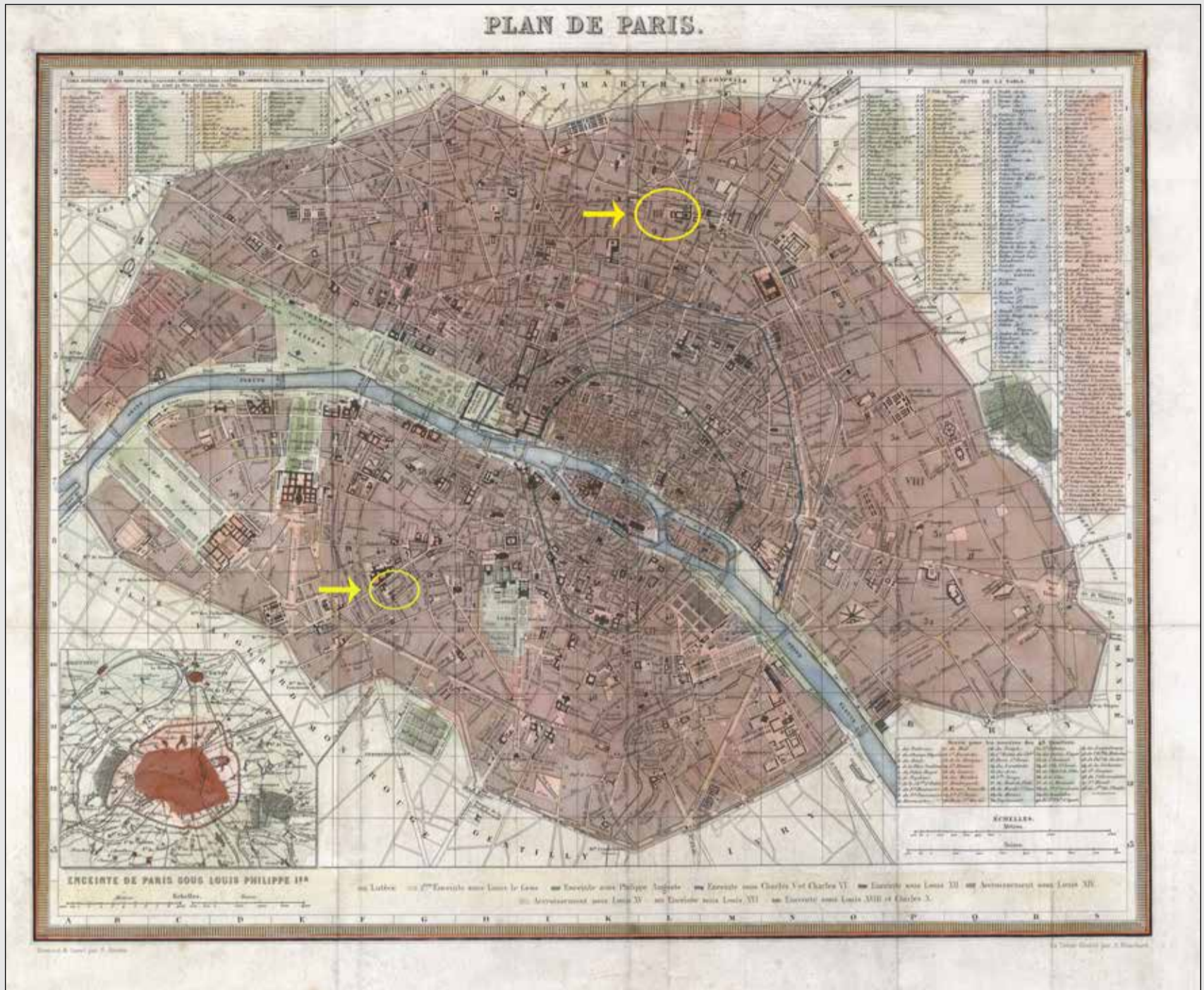
St. Vincent de Paul. Centennial Booklet 1976. DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives, DePaul University Library. Box 1 in the carton, "St. Vincent's Church, Chicago, Illinois. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979, Nomination for National Register of Historic Places; Form No. 10–300, for 'Notre Dame de Chicago,'" which mentions Augustine O'Callaghan as designer of the high altar in 1899. Internet Archive: <https://archive.org/details/NationalRegisterNominationsForChicago/NotreDameDeChicagoNrNom>



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Old Saint-Lazare. Vintage postcard of “Prison Saint-Lazare,” which features the entry portal of the former motherhouse prior to demolition in 1940.

*Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections and Archives*



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Jacobs and Blanchard, Plan de Paris ... Enceinte de Paris sous Louis Philippe 1er; engraved map, undated but executed in the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, ca. 1846. The site of Old Saint-Lazare has been circled at the top, the site of New Saint-Lazare circled at bottom.

*Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections and Archives*



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Old Saint-Lazare. Diorama fabricated by Jeffrey Wrona, after Simone Zurawski. Reconstruction of the motherhouse of Saint-Lazare, from the main road of rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis, as it appeared in 1783. Permanently installed in 1992 in the John T. Richardson Library, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois.

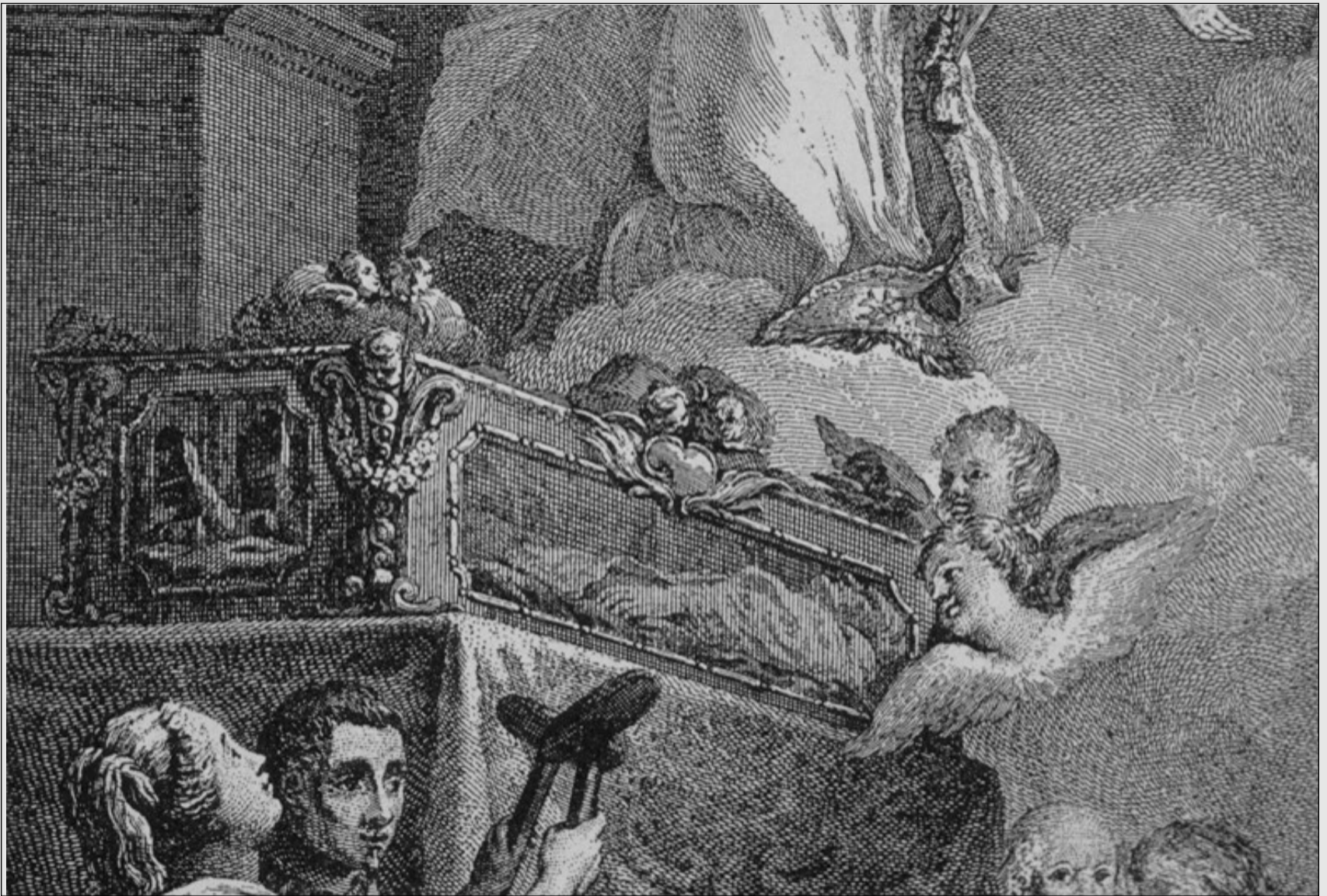
Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Wrona



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Site of Old Saint-Lazare. Philippe Benoist and A. Bayot. Parish church of St.-Vincent-de-Paul, which was built by Jacques-Ignace Hittorff beginning in 1824 and consecrated in 1844. View of the exterior and the street. Tinted lithograph from volume 1, Paris dans sa splendeur. Monuments, vues, scènes historiques, description et histoire (1861–1863).

*Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections and Archives*

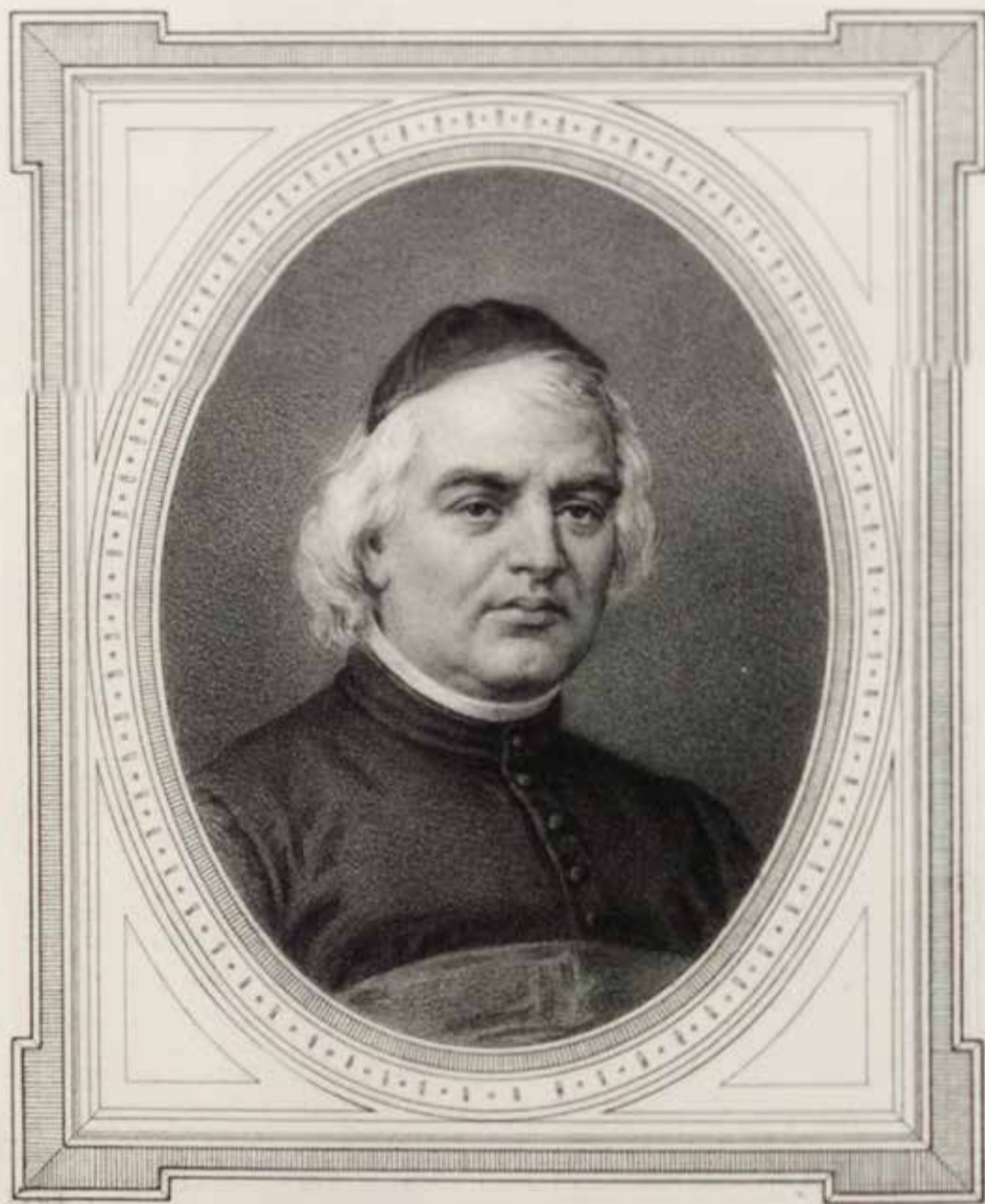


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***Old Saint-Lazare. Nicolas De Launay, after Jacques-Antoine Beaufort.
Close-up of the original reliquary châsse of Saint Vincent de Paul as depicted
in Beaufort's lost monumental painting on canvas, Miracles Opérés par
l'Intercession de Saint Vincent de Paul; reproductive engraving datable to
ca. 1784.***

Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris

Photo courtesy of the author



Étienne Jean-Baptiste.
XIV^e Supérieur
Élu le 4 Août 1843. Décédé le 12 Mars 1874.

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Portrait of Superior General Jean-Baptiste Étienne. Engraving used as full-page plate in Volume 3, *Recueil des Principales Circulaires des Supérieurs Généraux de la Congrégation de la Mission* (1877–1880).

Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
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New Saint-Lazare. Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot, père, and Charles-Nicolas Odiot, fils. The current reliquary chaise of Saint Vincent de Paul, solid silver and crystal, which was designed by J-B-C in 1817, thence manufactured by C-N. It was placed upon the altar mensa in the “primitive” Chapelle des Lazaristes in April 1830 and reinstalled in the mid-1850s upon the new high altar designed by Arthur Martin, S.J., in the church renovated by Paul-Marie Gallois. The corpus sanctum was fashioned from the skeletal remains of the body and skull, whose exposed face and hands are sealed with wax; the attire is authentic.

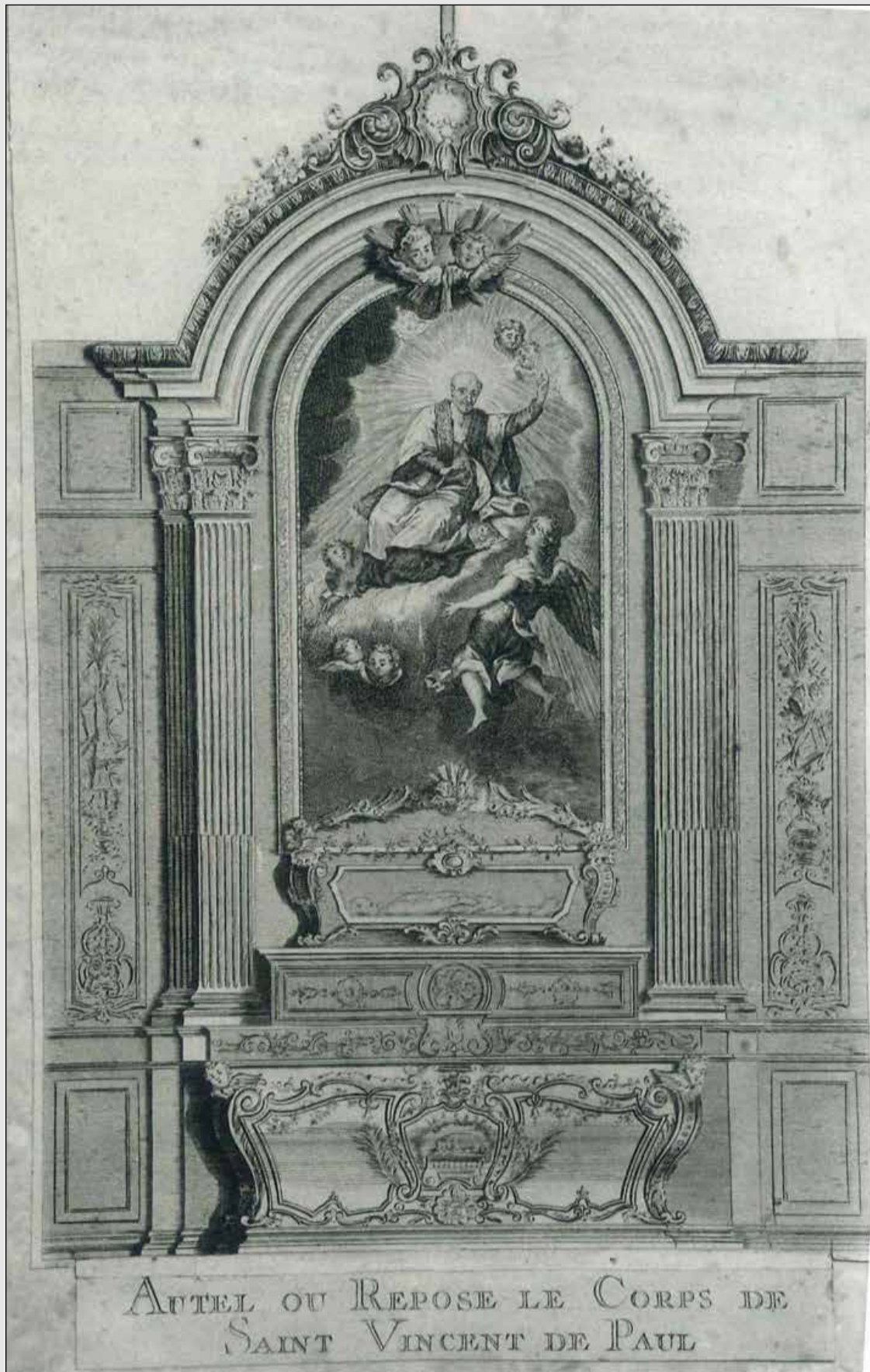
Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris



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Old Saint-Lazare. Photograph taken ca. 1940–1941 during excavation beneath the former motherhouse church, which uncovered the burial site of Vincent de Paul. From a carton among the effects of Father Jean Parrang, C.M.

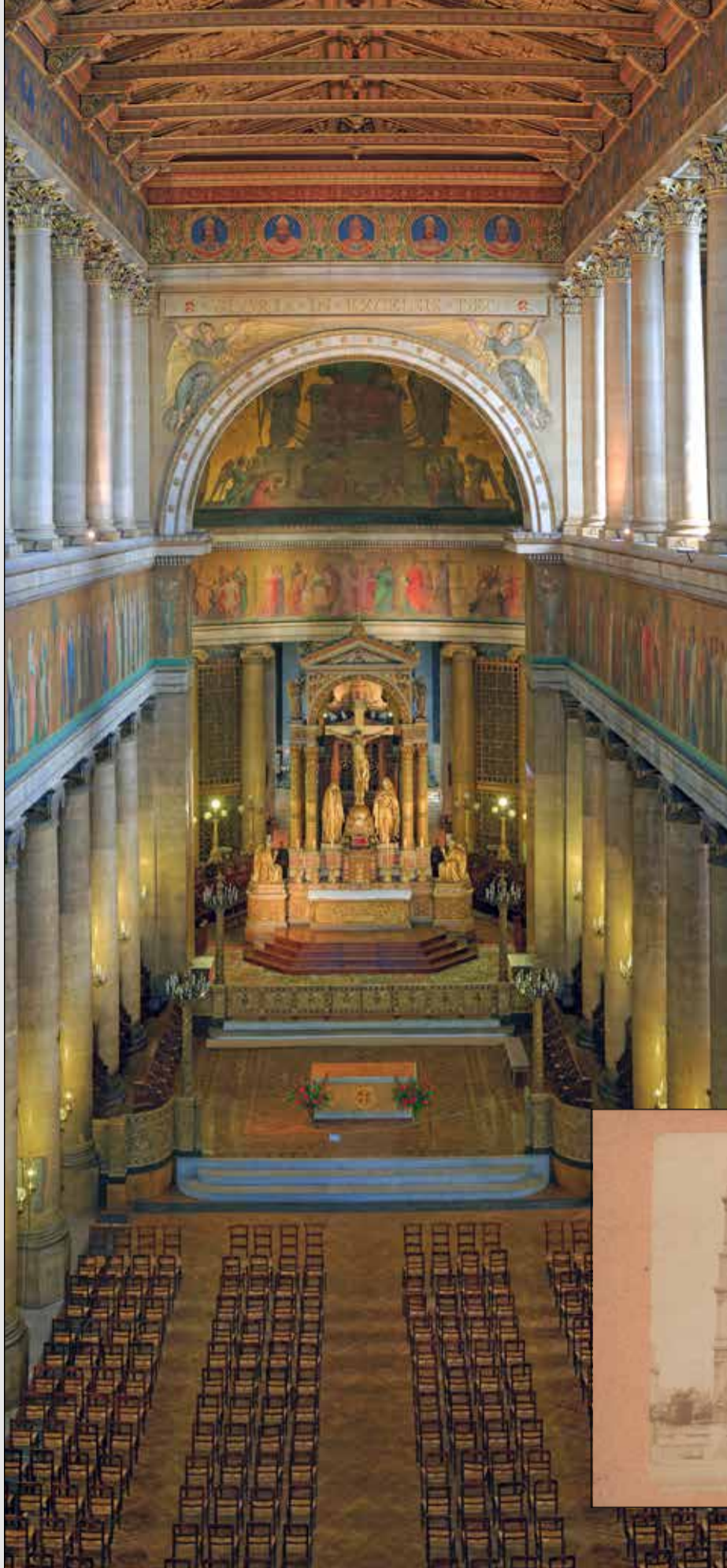
Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris



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Old Saint-Lazare. P[ierre-François] Tardieu. Autel Ou Repose le Corps de Saint Vincent de Paul (Saint Vincent de Paul Altar: Reliquary Châsse and Altarpiece Representing the Glorification), undated engraving issued after the canonization of 1737, and inscribed: "P. Tardieu excudit."

*Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris
Photo courtesy of the author*

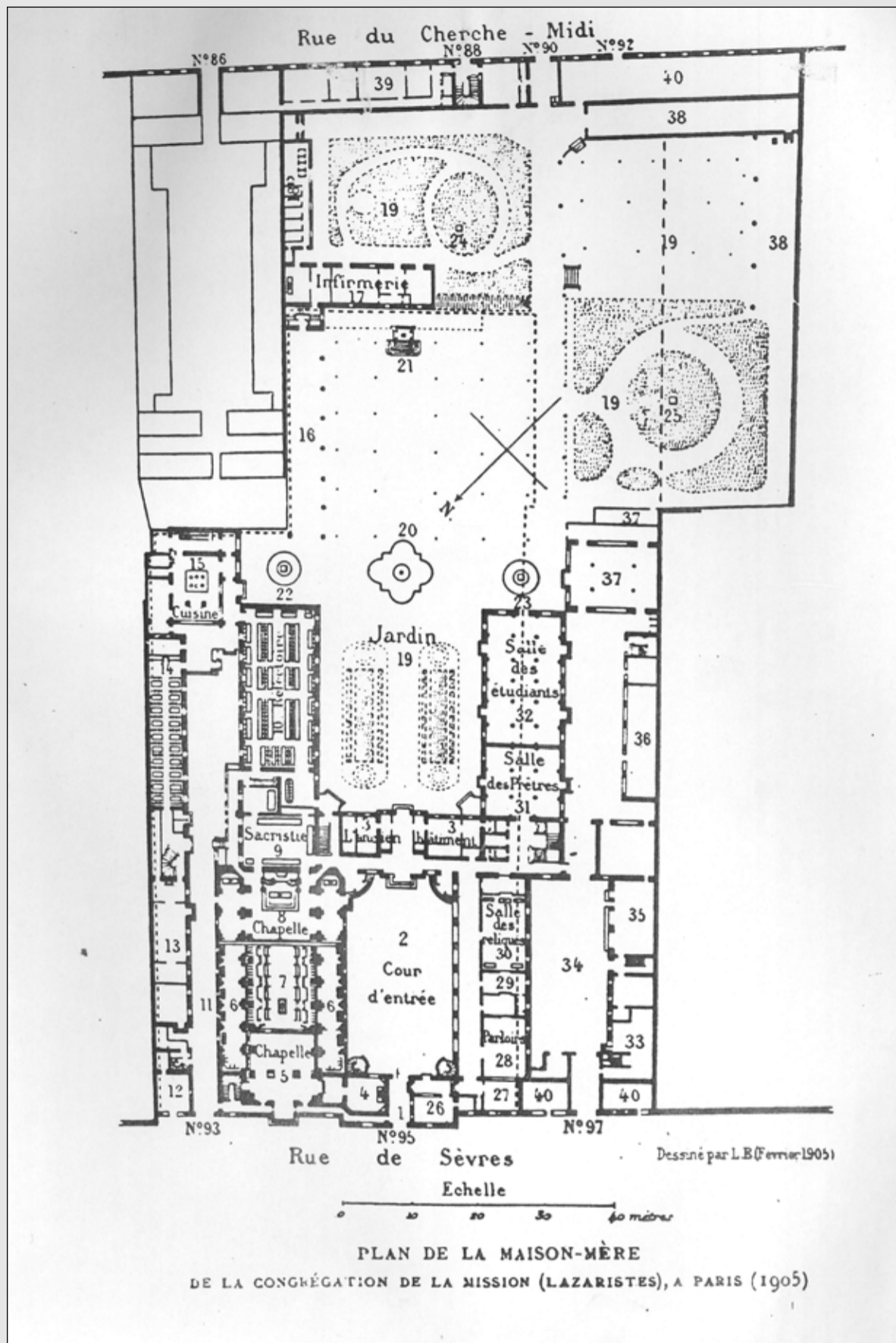


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A. Vintage postcard of the exterior elevation and façade of the parish church of St.-Vincent-de-Paul, which is a rare (if not unique) photograph showing the enameled panels of Pierre-Jules Jollivet, executed between 1845 and 1859, prior to their removal in 1861.

B. Site of Old Saint-Lazare. Interior view of the parish church of St.-Vincent-de-Paul.

*Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections and Archives &
Photo © J-M Drouet-Duplidart.fr*



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New Saint-Lazare. Plan de la Maison-Mère, Rue de Sèvres, nos. 93 to 97. Engraved plan executed in 1905 upon the disestablishment of the Catholic Church and French State; the chapelle is at no. 93.

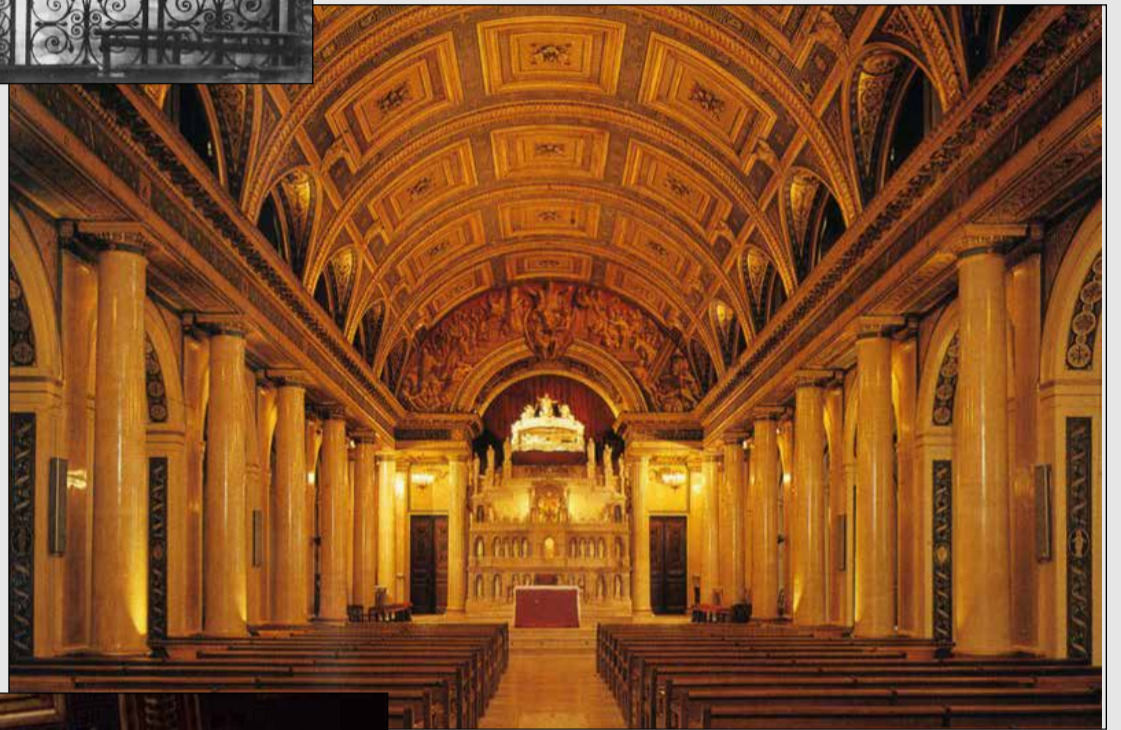
*Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris
Photo courtesy of the author*



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New Saint-Lazare. Vintage postcard of rue de Sèvres showing the exterior façade of the Chapelle des Lazaristes. Built by and decorated under Paul-Marie Gallois, largely in the mid-1850s.

*Courtesy Vincentiana Library Collections and Archives,
DePaul University Special Collections*



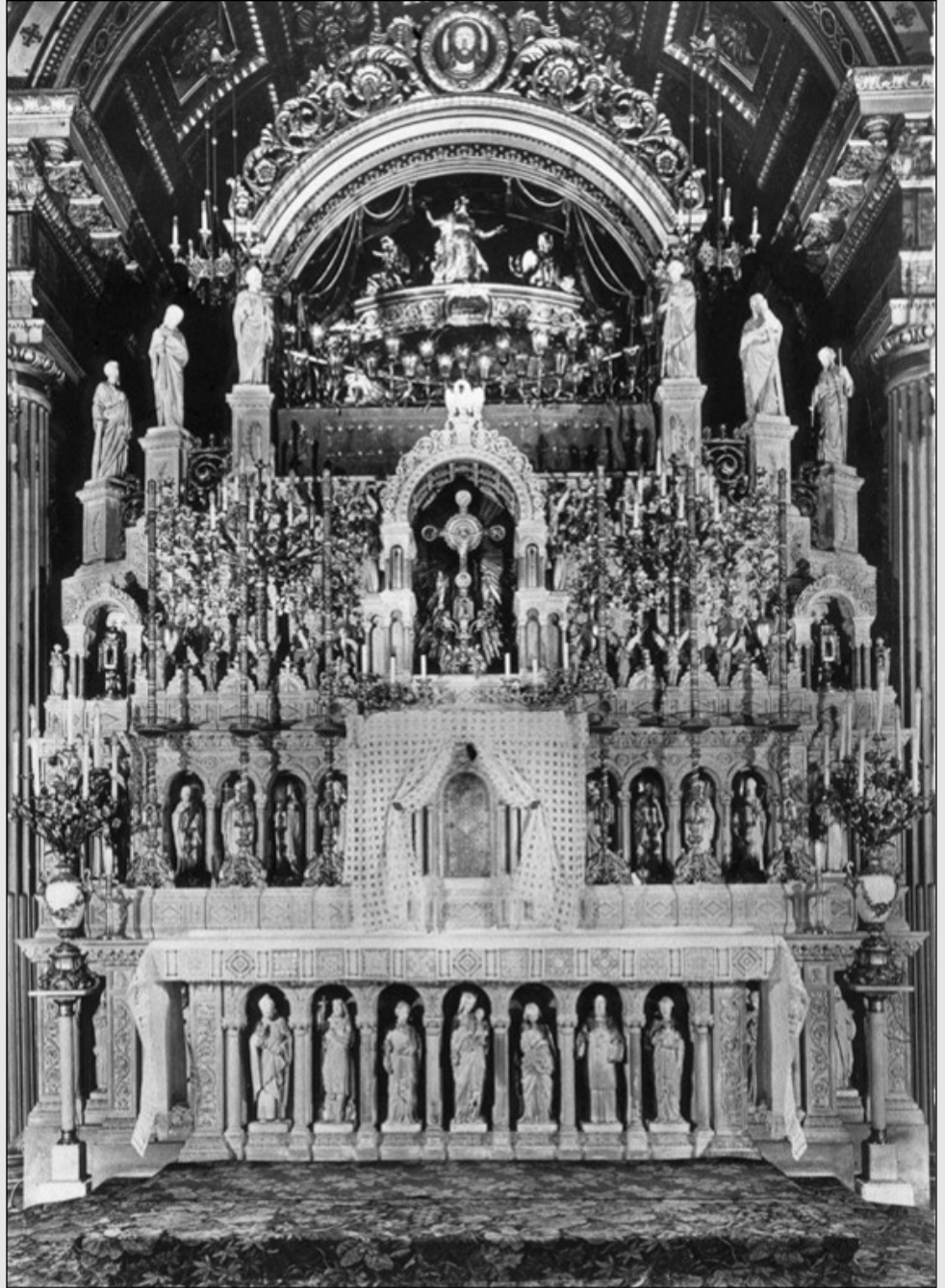
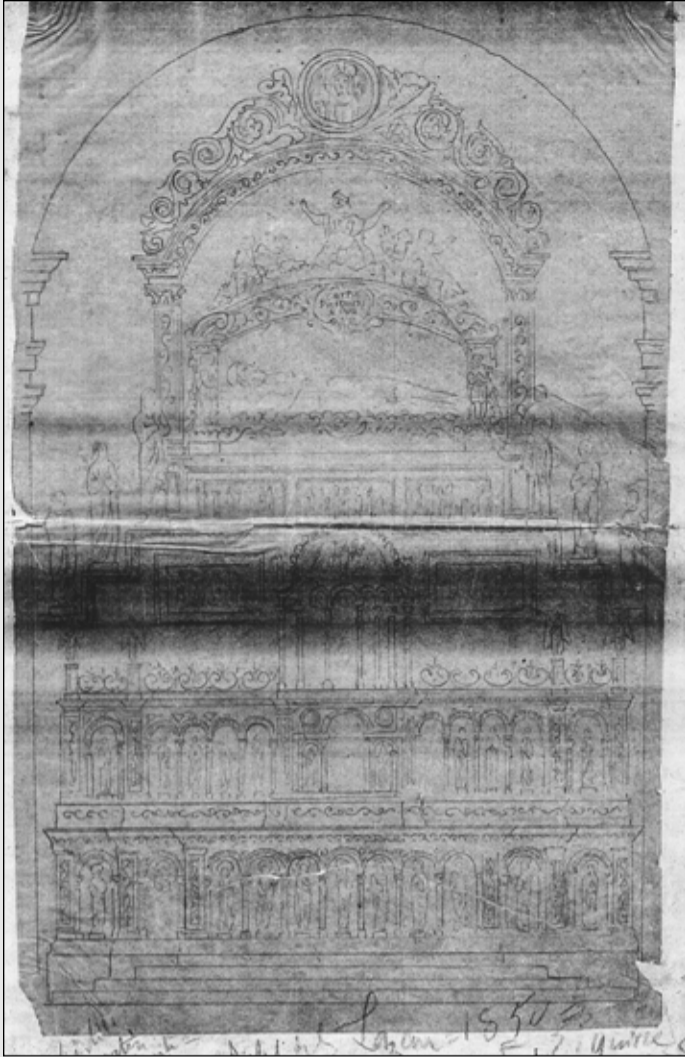
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A. New Saint-Lazare. Vintage photograph of the Chapelle des Lazaristes. Interior view featuring the sanctuary prior to the removal in the 1980s of the Gloriette above the high altar, the choir stalls, and the iron grille.

B. Later photographed in 1984–1985 during renovations undertaken by the architects Alain M. Cluzet, Rémy de Sèze, and Yves Théry.

C. Detailed close-up of the nave wall.

A. & B. Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris; C. Courtesy of author



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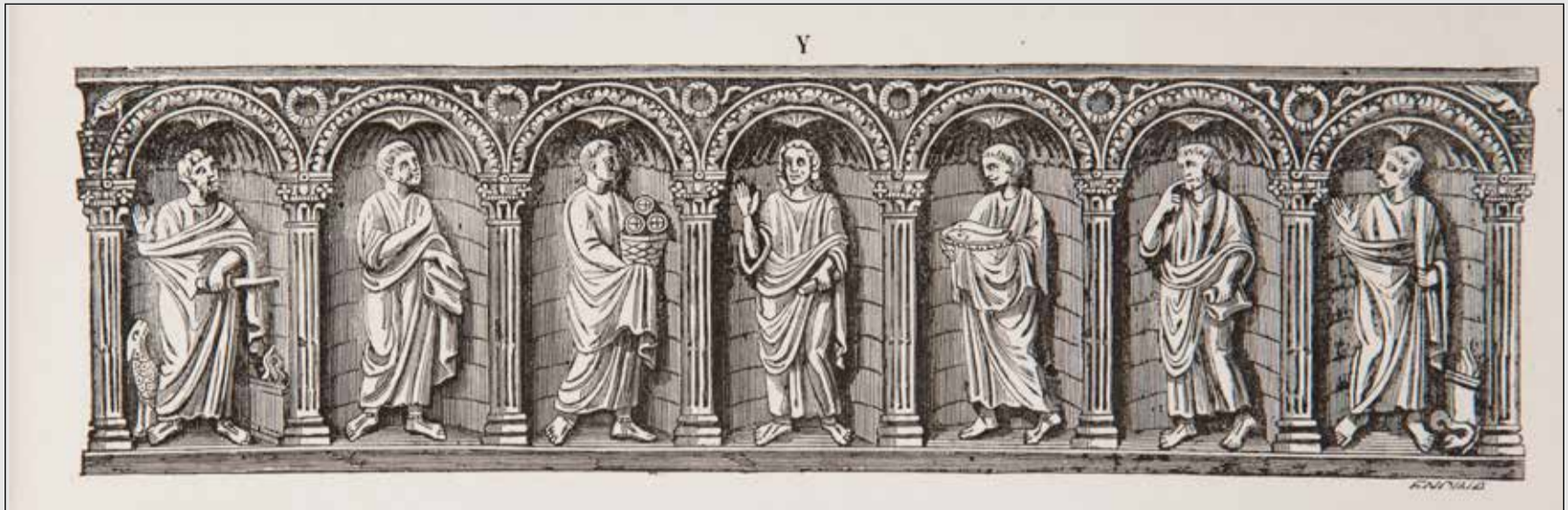
A. New Saint-Lazare. Arthur Martin, S.J., preparatory esquisse for the high altar of the Chapelle des Lazaristes; autograph drawing rendered in mechanical pencil on brown tracing paper pasted onto cardboard, 39.5 cm. x 25 cm. sheet size, with inscriptions added at the bottom (in another hand): “Arthur Martin Jésuite, Autel de S. Lazare, 1850, a conte 100,000 F (for the whole project).”

B. Vintage photograph of the high altar executed by the firm of Fontanelle, Sculpteur, after the design of Arthur Martin, S.J., marble, beg. 1850 and consecrated 25 March 1857. The Gloriette of carved and gilded wood has since been removed to the on-site museum.

C. Contemporary photograph of the high altar which features a close-up of the Triumphal Arch painted in grisaille on canvas by the frère-coadjuteur François Carbonnier installed in 1855. (Photo courtesy of Erik Pronske, M.D.)

D. Side view of the high altar.

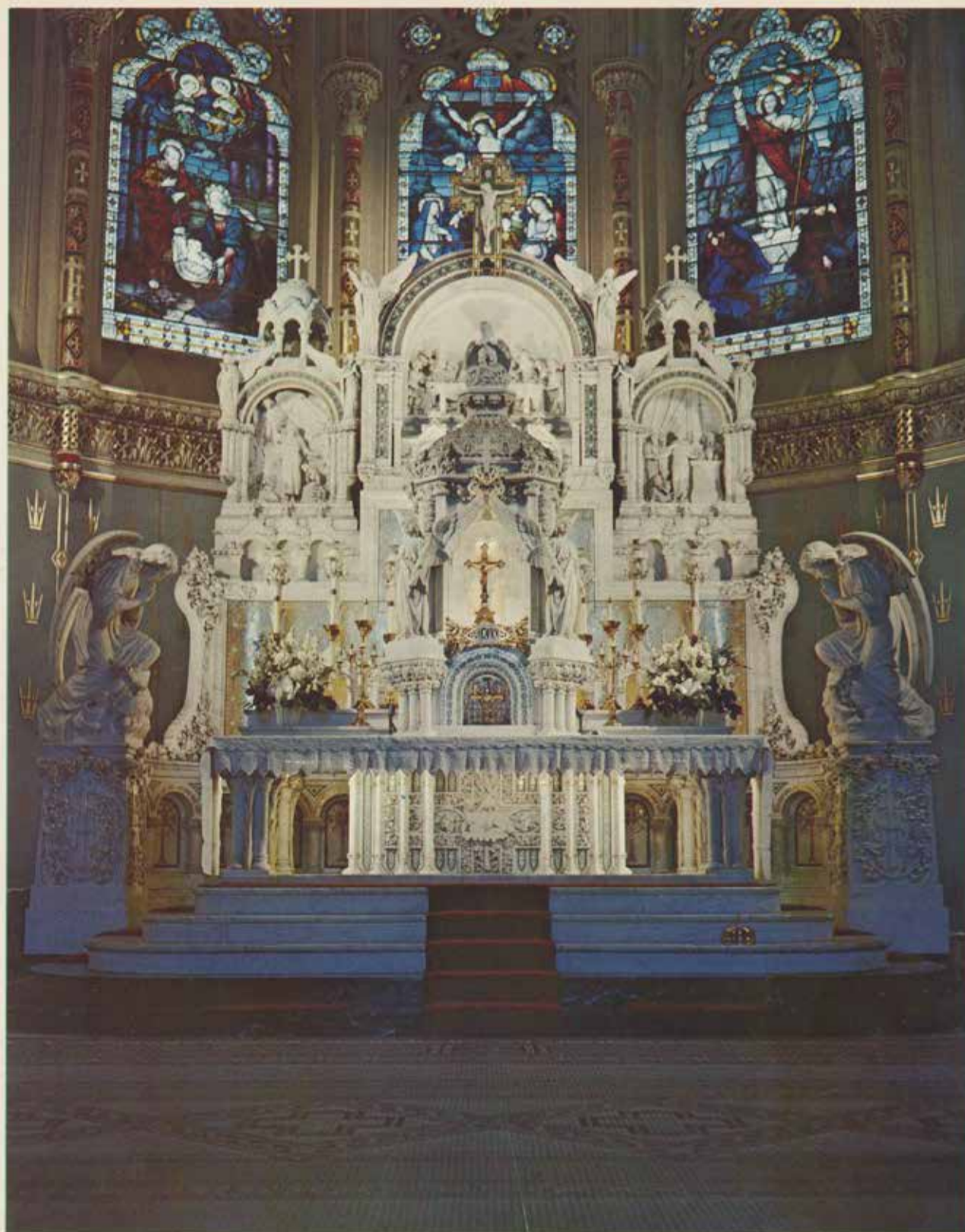
Courtesy Archives de la Maison-Mère, Congrégation de la Mission, Paris; and author



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***New Saint-Lazare. Plate from Charles Cahier, S.J., and Arthur Martin, S.J.,
Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Age,
vol. 3 (1874-1877).***

Courtesy DePaul University Library Special Collections



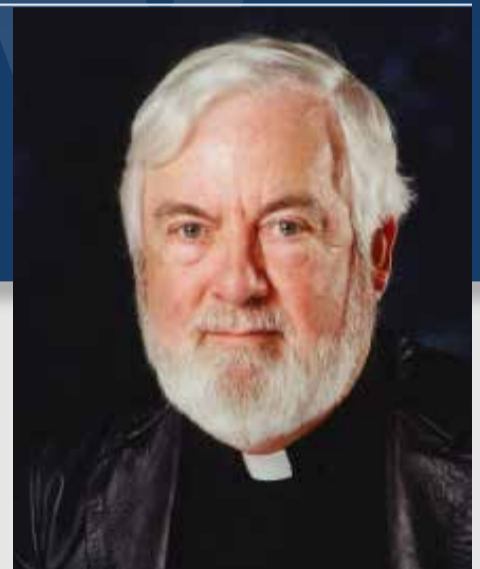
SAINT VINCENT'S CHURCH

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Saint Vincent de Paul Church, Chicago, Illinois. Photograph of the sanctuary used in the commemorative publication issued by the parish, St. Vincent de Paul. Centennial Booklet. 1976. The high altar designed by Augustine O'Callaghan was carved between 1903–1909 of white Carrara marble, and inlaid with mother-of-pearl and Venetian mosaic tile.

*Courtesy DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives,
DePaul University Library Special Collections*

Newsnotes



NEWS

In Memoriam: Rev. Stafford Poole, C.M., Ph.D.

The fields of Vincentian, Catholic, and Western American studies suffered a great loss with the passing of Father Stafford Poole in November 2020. Fr. Poole played a pioneering role in promoting Vincentian studies as an author and scholar, as well as in being a founding member of the Vincentian Studies Institute. He served as the second editor of *Vincentian Heritage* from 1987 to 1997 and was a longtime board member and contributor. Fr. Poole also served as editor and co-editor of such seminal V.S.I. publications as *Jean-Baptiste Étienne and the Vincentian Revival* (1996) and *The American Vincentians: A Popular History of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, 1815-1987* (1988), while also authoring a wide variety of scholarly articles published in the *Heritage*. Fr. Poole was an immense figure in the world of Vincentian scholarship, both for his groundbreaking research and for his thoughtful, challenging works of writing that often asked us to reconsider long-held beliefs and histories. It is an understatement to say, but his many contributions helped shape the V.S.I. into what it is today. He will be greatly missed.

The following is from the obituary released by the Western Province, with minor additions by the editor: Joseph Poole and his wife Beatrice Smith welcomed a son into the world, Richard Stafford, on March 6, 1930, who was baptized in his parish church of

St. Charles Borromeo, in North Hollywood. He attended elementary school at Rio Vista Elementary School, then transferred to the Parish School of St. Charles Borromeo for his Junior High School years. He entered Los Angeles College, the precursor to Our Lady Queen of Angels Seminary in 1942. Stafford entered the Congregation of the Mission on October 7, 1947, and continued his philosophical and theological studies for ordination at St. Mary of the Barrens Seminary in Perryville, Mo. He was ordained to the priesthood on May 27, 1956. He earned the degree of Master of Arts from St. Louis University in 1958 with a major in Spanish Literature and in 1961 earned his Doctor of Philosophy in U.S. and Mexican History from St. Louis University.

As he was completing his doctoral studies, Fr. Poole was planning on researching Slaveholding in Catholic Missouri. However, God intervened. Fr. Bannon, the director of the history department was presented with some rare documents from Latin America that included documents from the Third Council of 1585 and presented Stafford with a project. In Stafford's own words he describes what happened next:

The next time I walked into Bannon's office, my life took a total reversal. I got working on it and became fascinated with the whole thing. But actually, I had had only one graduate course in Latin American history, and that was a survey. Other than that, I was self-taught.¹

From these beginnings flowed an impressive contribution to the field of Catholicism in Colonial Latin America, as well as his works on the history of the Congregation of the Mission and the US Catholic Church. Included in his life's work were over 14 books, 23 publications in Anthologies and Encyclopedias, 62 journal articles, as well as some unpublished studies on Vincentian themes and numerous book reviews. Among Fr. Poole's works are *Seminary in Crisis* (1964); *Church and Slave in Perry County, Missouri 1818–1860* (co-authored with Douglas Slawson, 1986); *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797* (1995), and *The Guadalupan Controversies in Mexico* (2006). Fr. Poole was also a longtime member of the DePaul University Vincentian Studies Institute, and served as the editor of *Vincentian Heritage* and other of their publications over many years.

While many would count this a complete life's work, Fr. Poole was also a teacher, academic dean, and seminary rector. His students not only remember his lectures with fondness, but also appreciated his wit and wisdom. Stafford was a clock maker. He spent his leisure time making and repairing clocks of all sorts. After he had left St. Mary of the Barrens in 1971, students would comment that "Fr. Poole needs to come back to the Barrens to fix the clock on the A Building!"

1 Susan Schroeder, "Seminaries and Writing the History of New Spain: An Interview with Stafford Poole, C.M.," *The Americas* 69:2 (2012), 237-254.

During his retirement, Fr. Poole continued to be active as a scholar and mentor. He encouraged other confreres to take up the critical history of the Congregation of the Mission. He supported his colleagues in both the American Catholic Historical Association and other professional organizations to continue the study the Church's earliest mission activity in Latin America and its impact upon the people.

Infirmity overcame Fr. Poole in his final years, as his health declined, he slowly put aside the unfinished research and prepared to meet his Creator. He returned to the Barrens to receive added care. On the Feast Day of All Saints, he returned to his Creator. A Vincentian who dedicated his life to telling the story of the life of Colonial Latin American Church and the Little Company.

V.S.I. Upgrades Quality of *Vincentian Heritage* Pdfs on *Via Sapientiae*

Around 2007, when the V.S.I. began its transition of *Vincentian Heritage* to a digital medium it was decided to scan every article published and make them available free-of-charge on an online repository housed by *Via Sapientiae*. This meant scanning and uploading over 250 articles printed on paper at the time and continuing the practice until *VH* fully transitioned to the eBook format in 2014. As could be expected, the quality of these initial scans reflected the technology of the period and was less than ideal when compared to what can be produced today. In 2019, it was decided to rescan every printed article published to improve their quality. The work took well over one year to complete, but in March 2021 the V.S.I. concluded the project of rescanning and uploading over 350 works. To date, *Heritage* articles have been downloaded over 291,000 times worldwide, and we believe these new scans offer readers dramatic improvements of readability and searchability, as well as better resolution illustrations. Accordingly, we are pleased to announce that all of these new scans are now available for download on our home site: [Vincentian Heritage on Via Sapientiae](#)

International Symposium: *Religious Orders, Public Health and Disease*

This virtual event featured nine scholars presenting their work and took place on Zoom over the course of May 20 and May 21, 2021. In light of the Covid-19 pandemic, the symposium considered how religious orders have played a key role in societies that had to deal with diseases that disrupted their lives or were part of their almost everyday life. Many paths were explored to promote religious orders' dynamic historiography by emphasizing a comparative and transnational approach to their history. The scope of the symposium ranged from the Black Death to the present day.

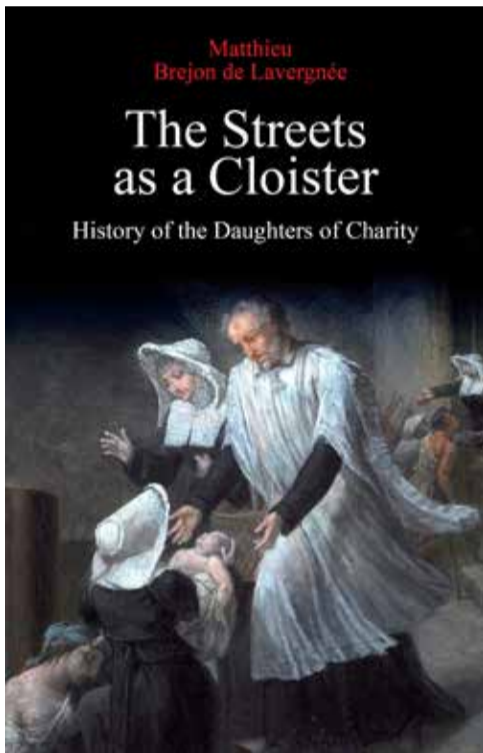
The symposium was co-sponsored by the Vincentian Studies Institute and organized

by DePaul University's Emanuele Colombo of the Department of Catholic Studies, and the Dennis Holschneider Chair of Vincentian Studies, Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée. The papers will be published at a later date.

PUBLICATIONS

Notable Books

Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée, *The Streets as a Cloister: History of the Daughters of Charity* (New City Press, 2020), 668 pp. ISBN-13: 978-1565480278. Available at [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com) or [New City Press](https://www.newcitypress.com)



The Vincentian Studies Institute is extremely pleased to announce the publication of our colleague and fellow board member's new book, the English translation of *Histoire des Filles de la Charité: XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (2011). Dr. Brejon de Lavergnée is a Professor of History and the Dennis H. Holschneider Chair of Vincentian Studies at DePaul University. From New City Press: "The Daughters of Charity are today the largest community of Catholic women, with 15,000 sisters in about 100 countries. They devote their lives to serving the poorest in hospitals, schools, and care centers for homeless or migrants, as well as working to promote social justice. Each year, millions of Miraculous Medals are sent all over the world

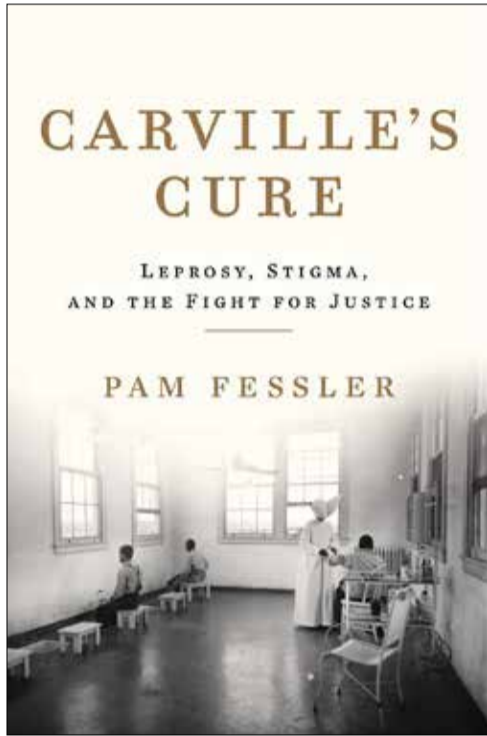
from their motherhouse in Paris, where Catherine Labouré had visions of the Virgin Mary in 1830.

Until now, however, the history of the Daughters of Charity has been almost wholly neglected. The opening of their central archives, combined with access to many public and private archives, has finally allowed this to be remedied.

This volume, the fruit of several years' work, covers the history of the Company from its foundation by Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac as a confraternity of young women to the suppression of the order during the French Revolution. The study, at the juncture of women's history and religious history, shows how much the Daughters of Charity contributed to the emergence of a new and ambiguous status in post-Tridentine society: neither cloistered nuns nor married women, but seculars. The Company has certainly offered a framework that enabled many resolute women to lead lives out of the ordinary, taking young peasant women to the royal court, intrepid hearts to Poland, and, more generally, generous souls to

the martyrdom of charity among the poor and the ill.”

To read an interview with Dr. Brejon de Lavergnée on his new book click here: [Daughters of Charity made the streets their cloister at Cruixnow.com](https://www.cruixnow.com/daughters-of-charity-made-the-streets-their-cloister/)



Pam Fessler, *Carville's Cure: Leprosy, Stigma, and the Fight for Justice* (Liveright, 2020), 377 pp. ISBN: 1631495038. Available at: [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com/)

From the publisher: “The unknown story of the only leprosy colony in the continental United States, and the thousands of Americans who were exiled—hidden away with their “shameful” disease. The Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans curls around an old sugar plantation that long housed one of America’s most painful secrets. Locals knew it as Carville, the site of the only leprosy colony in the continental United States, where generations of afflicted Americans were isolated—often against their will and until their deaths.

Following the trail of an unexpected family connection, acclaimed journalist Pam Fessler has unearthed the lost world of the patients, nurses, doctors, and researchers at Carville who struggled for over a century to eradicate Hansen’s disease, the modern name for leprosy. Amid widespread public anxiety about foreign contamination and contagion, patients were deprived of basic rights—denied the right to vote, restricted from leaving Carville, and often forbidden from contact with their own parents or children. Neighbors fretted over their presence and newspapers warned of their dangerous condition, which was seen as a biblical “curse” rather than a medical diagnosis.

Though shunned by their fellow Americans, patients surprisingly made Carville more a refuge than a prison. Many carved out meaningful lives, building a vibrant community and finding solace, brotherhood, and even love behind the barbed-wire fence that surrounded them. Among the memorable figures we meet in Fessler’s masterful narrative are John Early, a pioneering crusader for patients’ rights, and the unlucky Landry siblings—all five of whom eventually called Carville home—as well as a butcher from New York, a 19-year-old debutante from New Orleans, and a pharmacist from Texas who became the voice of Carville around the world. Though Jim Crow reigned in the South and racial animus prevailed elsewhere, Carville took in people of all faiths, colors, and backgrounds. Aided by their heroic caretakers, patients rallied to find a cure for Hansen’s disease and to fight the insidious stigma that surrounded it.

Weaving together a wealth of archival material with original interviews as well as firsthand accounts from her own family, Fessler has created an enthralling account of a lost American history. In our new age of infectious disease, Carville's Cure demonstrates the necessity of combating misinformation and stigma if we hope to control the spread of illness without demonizing victims and needlessly destroying lives. 8 pages of black-and-white illustrations."

Kristine Gunnell, *Daughters of Charity: Women, Religious Mission, and Hospital Care in Los Angeles, 1856-1927* (Vincentian Studies Institute, 2013).

The Vincentian Studies Institute is pleased to announce that this remarkable book, authored by Kristine Ashton Gunnell and first published in paperback in 2013, is now available to download in pdf format free-of-charge. This captivating story is culled from extensive historical research and documents how ingenuity, determination, and faith enabled mission-driven Daughters of Charity to establish, develop, and provide healthcare in Los Angeles. To download your copy, click here: [Daughters of Charity: Women, Religious Mission, and Hospital Care](#)

Notable Articles

Sacred Architecture: Journal of the Institute for Sacred Architecture, Issue 38 (2020), features an article by our colleague and fellow V.S.I. board member:

Simone Zurawski, Ph.D., "Viollet-le-Duc, The Hôtel Dieu, and the Vincentians: The Transformation of the Parvis of Notre-Dame," pp. 13-17. Available free to read online: [Sacred Architecture](#)

Notable Videos, Podcasts, & Multimedia

Multimedia: Take a Louise de Marillac Virtual Pilgrimage

Learn about St. Louise de Marillac's life through a virtual pilgrimage. Take a journey to six places that represent defining moments through an interactive map leading you to short videos curated by DePaul University's pastoral, faculty, and alumni team. Grab your virtual passport and head to: [Virtual Pilgrimage](#)

Video: St. Vincent de Paul, A Person of the 17th Century, a Person for the 21st Century

Featuring an essay on the life of Vincent de Paul written by Rev. Edward Udovic, C.M., this video explores why Vincent's mission still matters today. Click here: [Vincent de Paul video](#)

Video: Vincentian History of the Church of Saint-Laurent

This short video explores the Vincentian history of the Church of Saint-Laurent in Paris. Click here: [Saint-Laurent video](#)

Vincentian Heritage is the journal of the Vincentian Studies Institute of the United States. Founded in 1979, the Institute is dedicated to promoting a living interest in the historical and spiritual heritage of Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660) and Saint Louise de Marillac (1591-1660), the patrons of the wide-ranging Vincentian Family including the Congregation of the Mission, the Daughters of Charity, the Ladies of Charity, the Sisters of Charity, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, and a number of other congregations, communities, and lay movements who share a common dedication to serving those in need.

Vincentian Heritage welcomes manuscripts, poetry, and other expressions of Vincentian themes that meet the publication criteria. All articles should relate directly to topics of Vincentian interest, be researched and documented in a scholarly fashion, and directed toward Vincentian-oriented groups in the reading public and the Vincentian family. Ordinarily, articles should not exceed thirty typewritten pages and should be submitted twelve months prior to anticipated publication.

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Cover image: Entrance to prison, Saint-Lazare, Paris. Courtesy SVdP Image Archive Online.

Nathaniel Michaud, editor; Miranda Lukatch contributing.

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