

Kings Promise Easily

1656-1657

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Faltering Health

Drama in Distant Missions

Opening of the General Hospital

Condition of the Works of Charity

Vincent's Correspondence

Action against the Jansenists

Toward the end of the year 1655, Vincent was shaken by violent attacks of fever and had no choice but to take to his bed. For three months, he was confined to his room. The ailments that plagued him are described in his letters: painful legs covered with abscesses and fevers that left him without strength. To make things worse, the bloodlettings applied as a treatment left him even weaker.

Louise de Marillac, consumed with worry, was lavish in her advice to Vincent: "Permit me to tell you that it is absolutely necessary never to have your leg hanging down for more than ten minutes, and it should never be exposed to the warmth of the fire. If your leg is cold, it must be warmed up with a hot cloth placed over the stockings."¹

Vincent himself mentioned his illness in a letter written to one of his missionaries in November: "I am feeling better, thanks be to God, even though I am still in bed and being dosed with medicines for the erysipelas which settled in my leg after the fever left me."² But one month later, he was hardly better: "I am still in bed or on a couch, or rather on two couches,

because the pain in my legs forces me to put them up, almost as high as my head. Other than that, I am fine.”³ These symptoms seem to correspond to a diagnosis of arteritis, a possible consequence of malaria.

At the end of January, when he began to go out again after this long illness, Vincent was not very firm on his legs. To his great annoyance, he was obliged to use his carriage most of the time, and he showed his dissatisfaction at this turn of events by using every opportunity to speak of his condition as “my ignominy” or “my infamy.”⁴ Vincent was in his seventy-sixth year now, and in spite of his robust constitution, he was an old man. But even though his physical activity was curtailed, his intellect was in no way diminished and his character remained vigorous and even pugnacious. He held the tiller of the Congregation with a firm hand.

His trials did not shake him, numerous though they were. There was not one packet of mail that did not bring its share of somber news. First there was the plague in Rome and then in Genoa. The superior of the house in Genoa, Étienne Blatiron, put his team at the disposal of the archbishop to help in tending the sick. While Vincent approved this action, he sent these instructions in August 1656: “Let your priests go to tend the victims of the plague in your place. It is right that the members expose themselves to protect the safety of the head; that is how nature does it. For when there is a great catastrophe, where superiors are needed to give the orders, like generals of armies in combat and battles, they should be the last to place themselves in danger.”⁵

But the epidemic took on such proportions that the people of Genoa succumbed by the tens of thousands. Of the eight missionaries, seven fell ill, including the superior. By August of the following year, only one missionary was left alive.

News from Madagascar was just as bad. Two missionaries and a young brother sent as reinforcements had embarked at Nantes in October 1656. The ship sank off Saint-Nazaire, but the passengers were saved, thanks to the cool courage of the young brother. Then a few months later, Vincent finally received a letter from “that good Monsieur Bourdaise,” announcing the death of three missionaries who had previously been sent as reinforcements.

The mission to Madagascar seemed to be under a relentless curse. No doubt Vincent was pained by this course of events, but his will remained firm and his faith whole. He placed the human drama in a di-

vine perspective: "The blood of Christians has been the seed of Christianity throughout the world." Addressing his missionaries, he spoke in these terms: "Some member of this community might say that we should abandon Madagascar. Flesh and blood will say these things, and declare that we must not send any more of our people there, but I am quite sure that the spirit says something else. What, gentlemen, are we just going to leave our good Monsieur Bourdaise in the lurch?"⁶ New volunteers came forward to travel to this far-away island. They too would suffer many trials, but Monsieur Vincent's will was unshakable.

For a long time, there had been no news from Poland where two missionaries were living in Warsaw, a city under Swedish occupation. Finally, a letter came to Vincent from the queen, who had some reassurance to offer about their fate. In September 1657, he wrote: "I hear from Poland that our good Monsieur Desdames has once more lost everything, as Warsaw has again been besieged, taken, and pillaged by the Swedish forces, and then abandoned." As for the other missionary, Monsieur Duperroy, he was seriously ill and the surgeons no longer knew what to do for him. Vincent concluded this letter addressed to the superior of the house at Richelieu with: "So you see, Monsieur, how it pleases God to test the little community in a number of ways."⁷

The information coming from Algeria hardly gave more cause for rejoicing. In spite of the plentiful advice Vincent gave to Brother Jean Barreau, in charge of the consulate, the latter "daily dug himself deeper into an abyss of debt, from which it will be hard indeed, not to say impossible, to pull him out. He does not have the strength to say no when he is asked, and no skill in avoiding snubs. In ruining himself, he is ruining his office as well, and thus any possibility there might be of helping those pitiful slaves."⁸

Vincent was obliged to beg for funds again, moneys which he would then have to transfer by way of his house in Marseilles to Algiers, to wipe out Barreau's debts and ransom a few slaves. No wonder he was again considering the possibility of giving up these consulates, source of so much trouble. But his idea met with the absolute veto of the duchess d'Aiguillon, who had obtained them for him. "For she believes that our priests would have no assurance that they could serve the poor slaves under the rule of consuls who were in office for profit, operating by principles other than those of charity and the public welfare."⁹ In the meantime, Jean Barreau was subjected to ill treatment and even torture on account of the bankruptcy of a merchant from Marseilles, whose

creditors had lodged a complaint with the pasha of Algiers. This man, believing that the French consul was responsible for all sums owed, had him beaten until he fainted, and then tortured him with thorns inserted under his fingernails. At the end of his strength and only half conscious, Jean Barreau signed a note for 2,500 piastres. Once more, Vincent had to approach the duchess d'Aiguillon to find "the 3,000 or 4,000 piastres the most recent outrage [would] cost him."¹⁰ At the same time, the consul at Tunis, Jean Le Vacher, was expelled by the dey for refusing to allow the importation of a prohibited material.

All these were disappointing events, but when Vincent recounted them to one of his missionaries, he raised the debacles and the deaths in the Congregation to a higher plane: "God be praised for all these losses. Because of them, we should hope for more help before God, both in time and in eternity than if our brothers were still with us."¹¹

To show that these many trials did not in any way sap his determination to deploy his missionaries over all the highways of the world, Vincent now envisaged the foundation of a house beyond the Pyrenees. Replying to a letter from the superior of his house in Rome, he spoke of the project this way: "You speak to me of our establishment in Spain and of the offer that this good priest has made, the one who was a Jesuit, to go there under the command of whomever we send. We have not yet designated anyone, and we see no one able to succeed there but Monsieur Martin, but he is needed in Turin."¹²

In fact, it was an inescapable problem for Vincent that he did not have enough men to staff all his houses, seminaries, and the other institutions in his charge. As for those who might be capable of functioning as superiors of a house, especially abroad, they were even rarer. Recruitment had almost ceased during the troubles of the Fronde. Whereas in the past, there had been an average of twenty-three entrants every year, sixteen priests and seven brothers, in 1652 there had been only three admissions to the Congregation. Recruitment increased again in 1653, when internal peace had returned, but some time was required for the formation of the new entrants before they could be sent on missions.¹³

The Ladies of Charity were enthusiastic about the creation of the Name of Jesus Hospital and decided to found a general hospital on the same model, where all the beggars and moneyless people loitering in the streets of the capital could be received. Vincent worked hard to moderate their ardor, for he recognized the chasm between the charitable

and generous intentions of these Ladies and the thoughts of the authorities on the same subject. In fact, all those responsible for public order, both in the government and the parlement, wanted nothing more than to rid Paris of all the poor by collecting them in an establishment where they would be locked up and, if possible, disciplined. Such a plan was hardly to Vincent's liking.

In contrast, the duchess d'Aiguillon, president of the Ladies of Charity, was very much in favor of the embryonic project. She wrote to Vincent: "As for the hospital, I respect your ideas, but allow me to tell you mine before you make up your mind," and she emphasized the fact that the Ladies, who had already made a significant financial commitment, feared that if they withdrew, the project would either perish or be altered beyond recognition. Then indeed, their sacrifice would have been in vain.¹⁴

But a royal edict, signed in April 1656, put an end to the debate. It was decreed that begging was forbidden in the capital, for "it was necessary to cleanse Paris of an insolent and dishonorable band of thieves." It designated places where the beggars would be collected and sheltered; the list included La Pitié, Bicêtre, and the Salpêtrière. The general hospital founded by this document was to be administered by a council including in its ranks the president of the parlement Pomponne de Bellièvre and Superintendent Nicolas Fouquet. The care of the souls confined in this institution was entrusted to the Congregation of the Mission.

While work was going on to adapt the Salpêtrière for the reception of the crowd of beggars—it was estimated that there were as many as 40,000 of them in the capital—the Congregation was asked to preach a mission in the other hospitals already in service. Missionaries and members of the Tuesday Conferences, numbering forty, were assigned to do this work. But the ongoing need projected for the chaplaincy of the general hospital once it was in operation—twenty priests working full time—was beyond the resources of the Congregation. Keeping the superiors of his houses informed, as was his custom, Vincent wrote: "In Paris, work is going on toward the establishment of a great hospital where all the poor beggars can be fed, instructed, and kept busy, so that never a one will be seen in the streets or in the churches. It has even been requested that the poor Mission have the duty of providing spiritual direction, but that has been done without consulting us. May God give us the grace we need for this new work, if it is His will that we undertake it, something to which we are not yet quite committed."¹⁵

Vincent was hesitating for two reasons: first, because no one had asked him before assigning this duty to him and second, because he was in disagreement with the very principle of treating misery by imposing authority and physical constraint. At length, after consultation with members of the Company, he decided to refuse the appointment. He gave official notice of his decision to the superintendent of finances in March 1657, shortly before the opening of the general hospital.¹⁶ However, because he was unwilling to put the administrators in an unpleasant situation by the defection of his congregation, he assembled a corps of chaplains, recruited from outside the Mission, under the direction of Louis Abelly, and he asked the Daughters of Charity to guarantee to serve at the Salpêtrière, while the Ladies of Charity would supervise the personnel in charge of the women and girls confined there.

It is no great surprise that as soon as the police was involved, busily chasing down beggars, beggars were nowhere to be seen. Of the 40,000 people without domicile that had been counted, only 4,000 would agree to being taken to the general hospital. The incarceration model did not solve the problem of begging, and certainly not that of misery. Vincent was quite right not to have wished for any association with this operation.

In the meantime, the war against Spain continued, with engagements taking place chiefly in the northern part of the kingdom of France, adjacent to the Spanish Netherlands. The royal armies were led by the marshals de Turenne and La Ferté. With alternating success and failure, they faced the armies led by the governor of the Netherlands, the count de Fuensaldagna, and then by Don Juan of Austria, supported by the forces of the prince de Condé. The opposing armies besieged fortresses and took or retook objectives in Picardy, Artoise, in the Ardennes, or in coastal Flanders. When there was fighting, there was a great coming and going of troops and in winter, a requisitioning of shelter, much to the detriment of the rural population.

With the help of the Ladies of Charity, Vincent continued tirelessly to collect aid for the ravaged provinces. The industrious Brother Jean Parré worked in the field to distribute alms in the neediest areas. Vincent kept himself informed of the situation and of the developing need. In August 1657, he wrote to Jean Parré that he was waiting for his news about the visit he was currently making to the places where the armies had camped, so that he could plan the work of distributing aid.

He made recommendations to the brother for how to get this aid to the people who needed it most. Thus, for example, he advised that before any distribution of clothing, one should make discreet inquiry about the real needs of the poor, otherwise, "some who already have clothing would hide it and come to the distribution naked."¹⁷ Vincent was inspired by charity, but he was a realist and did not want to be cheated.

In the course of a conference he presented to the Ladies of Charity about this time, Vincent recalled all the work done over the past seven years to help the people of Champagne and Picardy: more than 360,000 livres had been distributed in those regions to feed the poor and the sick; to rescue 800 orphans from the ruined villages and provide for them by clothing them and training them for trades or for service; and to provide for a number of priests in the ruined provinces. He specified the places where the money, clothing, linens, and blankets had been distributed: in and around the cities of Reims, Rethel, Laon, Saint-Quentin, Ham, Marle, Sedan, and Arras. But he also noted that "for the last year or two, since times have been a little better, alms have decreased considerably." The same was true for the Foundling Hospital, with income being lower than expenses for the year just past, whereas "the number of abandoned children does not change from year to year." Vincent pointed out that before the Ladies had involved themselves in the work, "all these children perished in one way or another." Once more, he made a resounding appeal for perseverance: "Your community is not a human institution, but a divine one."¹⁸

In a tone marked with unaccustomed bitterness, Vincent wrote to one of his missionaries that the gathering of alms was becoming more and more difficult. Even the king himself was becoming less charitable. "Although the king allowed us to hope for some additional alms, we have nothing, because kings promise easily but forget to fulfill their promises unless they have people close to them who can remind them frequently."¹⁹

And that is where the problem lay. Monsieur Vincent no longer had his connection to the court, since he had been distanced by Cardinal Mazarin. Now he saw the queen only once a year, as he confided to the marquis de Fabert. As for the duchess d'Aiguillon, who often interceded for him to Their Majesties, she no longer seemed to be in favor at court herself: "For several years now, the duchess d'Aiguillon has no longer approached the queen, and we do not know where to turn."²⁰ In a society where everything flows outward from the royal power, not to

be admitted into the circle close to the king means being exiled to oblivion. This was true for the distribution of prebends and privileges as well as for the distribution of alms. Vincent had to learn the bitter truth of this.

Vincent devoted most of his time and attention to directing and managing the Congregation. Every day, he received copious mail from his various houses to which he responded punctually, in his own hand if he was not too tired, but more often by dictation to his two secretaries. Around ten letters went out from Saint-Lazare every day, to his priests on missions, to Louise de Marillac, and to his Daughters of Charity.

Vincent's letters to his missionaries contained both worldly directives and spiritual counsel. They never failed to pass on news of other houses in order to foster cohesion among the members scattered to the four corners of the kingdom and throughout the world. These letters provided encouragement for those who were suffering from momentary loss of energy or from doubt. For example, to a brother who was hoping to be assigned to a new post where he might find work more in accord with his vocation, Vincent sent a long letter, affectionate but firm: "If you only recognized clearly the gift that God has given you, you would not prefer the move to a new house over the joy of serving Our Lord in the state in life to which he has called you."²¹ To the superior of the house in Marseilles, who was asking to be relieved of his responsibility on the grounds of his poor health and the advice of the physicians, who judged that the climate of the city was detrimental to him, he wrote: "It is not good to pay so much attention to the advice of physicians, for they are only too obliging, but recognize no other good than the health of the body. Illness strikes wherever you are, when God sends it, and I do not see that the great of this world leave their cities and provinces to avoid sickness, nor do the bishops leave their dioceses or the pastors their parishes."²²

In other letters, Vincent gives advice on conducting a mission and on preaching: "I told you once that Our Lord blesses sermons delivered in an ordinary and familiar tone because that is how He taught and preached Himself. Moreover, this natural way of speaking is easier than a forced and artificial one, and people enjoy it more and profit from it more fully."²³ Sometimes, Vincent's letters showed him to be fundamentally a man of authority, who could abandon mild tones in order to

admonish. To a superior who permitted himself to withhold a letter from Vincent addressed to one of his priests, Vincent wrote: "It is an unheard of fault in the Company, which has displeased me greatly, since it creates significant disorder. I beg of you, Monsieur, to take my advice to heart."²⁴ To another superior, who had taken the initiative to have a work on the Congregation published without Vincent's authorization, he wrote: "This has caused me such pain that I cannot express it because it was such a breach of humility to publish information about what we are and what we do. I beg of you never to do anything which concerns the Company without telling me about it in advance."²⁵

In his correspondence, Vincent occasionally betrayed a joyful mood, an expression of his Gascon nature. About a brother sent to the house at Turin, who was having great trouble acquiring rudimentary Italian, he exclaimed: "I am most relieved that our brother Demortier has already made so much progress in the language that he can now say *Signore, sì*."²⁶

A large part of Vincent's correspondence deals with questions of finance. Reading the letters, one discovers the manager who competently preserves and increases the Congregation's means, even going to court if necessary, if he believes that a matter of law is at stake.

At the beginning of 1656, the king, looking for new resources to finance a war which simply would not end, decided to raise some taxes and duties by one quarter. This was the so-called affair of Paris. It was clear to Vincent that this decision would have serious consequences for the Congregation, which counted among its sources of revenue the privilege of levying a certain number of indirect duties on merchandise or foodstuffs. Like an experienced financier, he evaluated different possible outcomes. "If the king revokes this Right of Paris, as he has often done to others in similar situations, we will lose both our privilege and the taxes from Melun, and this is a considerable amount. To say that we will transfer the surplus of the Melun funds and combine them with the taxes from Angers in order to safeguard them, that is a difficult thing."²⁷ Vincent continued the conversation on this level with his correspondent, Jean-Baptiste Forne, administrator of the Hôtel-Dieu, one of his financial advisers.

Vincent always monitored developments regarding income. The house at La Rose, for instance, depended on the income from barges belonging to the royal domain. But this privilege could be rescinded from

one day to the next, simply by the decision of the Superior Council. Vincent called the superior's attention to the fact that his resources were most precarious, and urged him to be prudent: "If you knew how difficult it is for us to safeguard here the money that you take in there, so as to maintain your small resources! Because they are based on one of the king's domains, they rest on a foundation of sand, subject to taxes, retrenchments, and frequent surcharges" or "It takes a number of us to have confiscations reversed or prevent the sale of the barges."²⁸

When there was an opportunity to retire part of an annuity agreement made to buy a building at Le Mans, Vincent immediately understood how to go about it. The superior of the Mission in that city had neither the reserves to make the payment nor the ability to borrow the necessary sum. Instead, it was decided that the Congregation would act for him. Vincent dictated to him the terms of the document he was to write.²⁹

Although Vincent had always declared that anything was better than going to court, he did not hesitate to advise the superior of the house at Saintes to use legal means to preserve the rights attached to a certain benefice. He justified his inconsistency in the following way: "You should not allow any of the rights of your benefice of Saint-Preuil to be lost. Thus, if your counsel finds that tithes are due to you on the small-holding of Canon d'Albert, you must see that they are protected, and if he refuses to pay after you have spoken to him in all mildness, you must turn the matter over to the court. I find it very difficult to agree to such a trial, but tithes are a privileged case, and it is a matter of conscience to protect them."³⁰

Vincent held to his principles firmly, but he was a realist. He admitted that specific cases can arise which call for a dispensation. He had a fine sense of the real and the possible.

Although Monsieur Vincent was no longer a member of the Council of Conscience, taking an active and official part in the fight against Jansenism, he maintained his vigilance with regard to what he called new ideas. It was his intention to keep them away from the Congregation, the Daughters of Charity, and the convents of the Visitation, for which he acted as spiritual director.

After the pope had condemned the five propositions of the *Augustinus* in his bull *Cum occasione* of 1653, the quarrel with the Jansenists

should have been at an end. In fact, most of the people who had been tempted by this teaching had bowed before the authority of the Holy See. But at Port-Royal, Arnauld had not laid down the cudgel but had continued to deliver his polemics. Indeed, his writings had caused him to be excluded from the faculty of theology of Paris in June 1656. For this reason, it was still necessary for Vincent to write to Firmin Get, superior of the Mission at Marseilles, to tell him that he was not sending him “the other book you are asking for, from that outfit at Port-Royal, because there is something wrong with everything that comes out of that shop, and since it has pleased God to keep the community completely clean of this doctrine, we should not only try to stay clean, but also avoid, as much as possible, letting anyone else get caught by their beautiful talk or waylaid by their errors.”³¹

Vincent was not alone in his resolve. Pope Alexander VII renewed the condemnation pronounced by his predecessor against the five propositions of the *Augustinus*. In the bull *Ad sacrum*, promulgated in October 1656, he repeated the condemnations made earlier and chose as a particular target the subtle distinctions invented by Arnauld in an attempt to hide the fact that the disputed propositions were actually contained in Jansenius’s book. As soon as the bull was published, Abelly tells us, Vincent paid a call on the gentlemen at Port-Royal to exhort them to submit, “which did not, however, have the desired effect.”³²

Blaise Pascal was staying at the Granges of Port-Royal at this time. He was working there, at Arnauld’s request, on the *Provinciales*, a work which would lend a polemical turn to the debate. Pascal cast his lot with the rigor of the Jansenists against the laxity ascribed to the Jesuits without, however, trying to defend the condemned propositions. We have nothing to indicate that Vincent met him at this time.

On the other hand, we do know about Vincent’s attempts to convince the dean of Senlis, Jean Deslions, to submit to the authority of the Church. Vincent had high esteem for this distinguished ecclesiastic, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and bitterly regretted his sympathies for the Jansenist cause. During the years 1656 and 1657, the two men maintained a continuous correspondence. Vincent pressed the other man to declare himself in all frankness, and finally wrote, “What are you waiting for to make up your mind? If you are waiting for God to send you an angel who will bring you more light, God will not do it. He will send you back to the Church, and the Church, assembled at Trent,

will send you to the Holy See. If you are waiting for the same St. Augustine to return and explain himself, Our Lord tells us that if one does not believe in Scripture, one will not believe what the resurrected dead tell us. If you are waiting for the judgment of some famous faculty of Theology which is still working on this question, where is it? In all of Christendom, there is not a more famous one than the faculty at the Sorbonne, of which you are a very worthy member."³³ But the eloquence of Vincent was not to convince Jean Deslions.

The Long Awaited Peace

1658-1659

The Mission at Metz
Sir Paul and the Expedition against Algeria
Contrary Winds for Madagascar
Foundation of Seminaries
Material and Spiritual Directives
Peace at Last

In the first days of January 1658, Monsieur Vincent was returning to Saint-Lazare from a visit to the city. He was seated in his carriage, jouncing about on the cobblestones, muttering against the pitiless “ignominy” that made him shiver relentlessly. The jolts of the carriage were painful to his afflicted legs. Suddenly, the straps holding the floor of the carriage together gave way. Vincent was thrown to the ground and his head struck violently against a cobble. After this accident, he was taken by a high fever; for several days, his health gave cause for grave concern. But gradually he improved, and on January 12, he was able to write to the duke de la Meilleraye to make his excuses for the delay in closing some business, “since I took a fall and injured my head.”¹ The shock of this accident was a profound blow to his already very tired body, but that would not prevent him from pursuing all his duties with ferocious energy and alert enterprise.

Anne of Austria, on her return from a journey to Metz in November 1657, had summoned Monsieur Vincent to tell him of her distress at the spiritual abandonment of the people of this city, many of whom had been won over to Protestantism.

She had asked him to organize a large mission there. At the time, Vincent had respectfully refused this request, on the grounds that the rules of his community forbade them to preach in cities where there were bishoprics and presidial courts. His vocation, he said, was to preach in rural areas. But he could respond to Her Majesty's wish by organizing some members of the Tuesday Conferences to undertake this mission. Thanks to his talent as an organizer, this was soon done. Preparations were entrusted to Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, who was at the time canon and arch-deacon of the cathedral of Metz. This man placed himself entirely at the disposal of his former teacher, calling to mind in his response the time spent at Saint-Lazare and "the lessons learned in those days from the Company."²

Direction of this mission was given to Louis de Chandénier, abbot of Tournus and a great friend of Vincent; the preaching took place during Lent of the year 1658. Twenty priests, chosen with the greatest care, took turns in the pulpits of the diocese of Metz, and their audience was very large. Bossuet took an active part in this preaching; he was not at all like the canons described by Fléchier as "happily arrived at the stage of honorable inaction." At Saint-Lazare, he had learned the "little method" taught by Vincent, which consisted of preaching without the baggage of rhetorical arguments.³ Still, when he wrote to his teacher to report on the successful outcome of the mission, he could not resist a slightly lyrical style: "I cannot see these dear missionaries departing without expressing to you the universal regret and the marvelous edification they are leaving behind. I would joyfully expound on that topic if it were not that the effects were so far beyond all of my words."⁴

While the mission was taking place at Metz, Vincent's thoughts turned toward a different kind of project: to bring the Turks to their senses by going to attack Algiers!

At the beginning of February, Vincent wrote to the superior of his house at Marseilles, Firmin Get, to give him a curious charge: "I thank God for the suggestion made by Sir Paul to go to Algiers and demand justice from the Turks. I beg you to see him for me, to congratulate him for his plan, an exploit which only he could carry out." And he added: "I consider myself fortunate to bear his name and to have paid him my respects once at the cardinal's palace."⁵

Who was this knight whose name Vincent felt fortunate to bear and whose warlike nature he approved? A colorful person whose life read

like a romance, he was said to have been born in 1597 on a ship, somewhere between the port of Marseilles and the Château d'If. His mother, a laundress, cared for the linens of the governor of this fortified island, and this governor is supposed to have been the father of the child. At the age of thirteen, he shipped out as a cabin boy; he became a sailor on a corsair's ship and then entered the service of the Order of Malta. He established his base of operations on a little island near Mytilene (the ancient Lesbos). From there, he harried Turkish ships, sowing terror among the Barbary merchantmen. His actions earned him a title in the Order of Malta—Commander of the Priory of Saint-Gilles in Provence. Mazarin enrolled him in the royal navy: his participation in battles against the Spanish fleet and his role in aiding the Neapolitan revolution earned him a title of nobility from the king. Sir Paul commanded naval forces with the title of lieutenant general in the expedition on Naples in 1654. Thanks to the many corsairs he seized, he accumulated an immense fortune, and he demonstrated his success by presenting himself at court in a costume decorated with gold embroidery and jewels. At the same time, he presented himself as a defender of religion. When he died at the age of seventy, he left his fortune to the poor and had himself buried with them in the cemetery of Toulon.

This was the man on whom Vincent counted to exact some justice from the Turks. One might be surprised that a man of peace could serenely contemplate having recourse to arms to arrive at his ends, but Vincent belonged to a century in which the defense of Christianity against Islam was a sacred mission. At this time, Catholic sovereigns led by the king of Spain and the pope himself were arming galleys to fight against the Turks. Vincent's position was no more peace-loving than that of all the other churchmen of his time.

But the months passed and the fleet of Sir Paul still did not prepare for departure. Vincent once more advised Firmin Get to go to Toulon to sound out the knight about his intention: "It would have been good if you had seen Monsieur Paul, as I asked you."⁶ In fact, Vincent had another possibility, namely to have the expedition against Algiers carried out by the duke de Beaufort, who had inherited leadership of the Admiralty from his father, the duke de Vendôme. At least, that is what the duchess d'Aiguillon seemed to hope for, according to what Vincent wrote to Firmin Get.

Finally, Monsieur Get encountered Sir Paul at Toulon and Vincent was openly delighted: "I was much comforted by your letter, which tells

of your trip to Toulon and your negotiation with Commander Paul. I thank God, Monsieur, that he let you find in the heart of this valiant man his willingness to go to Barbary.”⁷

What negotiation was Vincent alluding to? Monsieur Get had been charged with promising Sir Paul a sum of 20,000 livres to finance his expedition. In fact, Vincent had succeeded in collecting 30,000 livres, which he had sent to Marseilles, a sum which was intended to clear Barreau completely of his debts in Algiers.⁸ However, in reflecting on the situation, Vincent thought it well to be circumspect with such a one as this one-time corsair. Therefore, he sent another message to Firmin Get in July to caution him to be prudent in his dealings and ask for guarantees: “It is true that I told you we would give him 20,000 livres of the money which you have but of course, this means after he delivers the slaves, frees Brother Barreau, and puts another consul in place. Since he cannot do this by means of arms, this money is meant to let him arrange matters in the usual way, which is to free this brother and to return to the poor Christians the sums they have given toward his ransom, so that they can use the funds to ransom themselves. I am waiting to hear what you have to say about this suggestion, namely that he will be paid if he is successful and that there will be no advance.”⁹

But the project was to be delayed for a number of reasons. The expedition did not take place in the summer of 1658, nor in the year 1659. In the meantime, Brother Jean Barreau would suffer more insults through the bad behavior of a French merchant. This man, in order to avoid paying local duties, had destroyed his warehouse and set sail with his merchandise and his personnel for the port of Livornia. Vincent could do nothing but send letters of encouragement to his consuls at Algiers and Tunis. He did not know whether he should still hope that Commander Paul would mount his expedition or whether he would do better to keep pursuing him. In the course of the summer of 1659, he wrote to an interim superior at Marseilles and confessed his perplexity: “Supposing that the hope of this sum of 20,000 livres made him undertake this business more willingly, think of whether it would be a good idea to tell him about the sum, or whether we should leave the matter to Providence.”¹⁰

Madagascar was another subject that preoccupied Vincent constantly. A conflict over this territory arose between the India Company, which had received by royal decree the exclusive right to maintain commercial relations with the island and its territories, and the duke de la Meilleraye¹¹

who, on the strength of his good connections at court, had decided to fit out ships and head for the island. Whereas the India Company had asked Monsieur Vincent to do missionary work in this territory, the duke de la Meilleraye had asked the Capuchins to place twelve priests at his disposal so that he could carry them to the island by ship. Vincent wrote to the duke at the beginning of 1658, to tell him that he was ready either to withdraw or to carry on with his work at Madagascar.¹² After long maneuvering and bargaining, the duke de la Meilleraye declared himself willing to take four priests and two brothers of the Mission on one of his ships. This ship set sail from Nantes in May and was soon caught in a storm so strong that the masts and rudder were snapped. With great difficulty, the captain reached shelter at Lisbon. Once the repairs were made, the ship took to the sea again and was promptly attacked by a Spanish corsair. The missionaries were set on land in Spain. Vincent recounted this adventure in a letter and drew from it the moral that he should submit to the divine will: "Here is a fine opportunity to adore the dispositions of Providence and to submit our puny reasoning to it."¹³

A good year would go by before a new voyage to Madagascar took place, especially because the duke de la Meilleraye was out of patience with Monsieur Vincent who seemed to prefer the undertakings of the India Company to his. Nevertheless, he was willing to take four missionaries on one of his ships in November 1659. Vincent gave these priests a letter for Monsieur Bourdaise, from whom he had not heard for two years. "If you are still among the living, oh! our joy will be great when we are assured of it!" Vincent recalled the death of the first six missionaries who had been sent to the island, and he drew this moral: "It seems, Monsieur, that God is treating you as he treated his Son; He sent Him into the world to establish the Church through His passion. It seems that He wants to introduce the faith to Madagascar by no other means than your suffering."¹⁴

This letter never reached its addressee. The ship carrying the missionaries was disabled by a storm and the passengers, picked out of the water by a fisherman's rowboat, were taken to Saint-Jean-de-Luz. As for Monsieur Bourdaise, he had already been dead for more than two years.

Another blow struck Vincent in September 1658. He learned that he had just lost a case against the heirs of the benefactors who had deeded the farm at Orsigny to the Congregation of the Mission. The heirs demanded a return of the property. This handsome farm, lying near Saclay,

was very useful to the Mission since they derived from it a good part of the food needed at Saint-Lazare. Vincent, who was away from Paris at that moment, wrote to the community: “Everything that God does, He does for the best, and therefore we should hope that this loss will be profitable, since it comes from God.” He spoke as a prophet, saying that God “with the wisdom we adore, will turn this event to our advantage in ways we do not know now but that you will see one day.”¹⁵ Vincent refused to appeal a judgment that seemed, on the face of it, contestable, and less than five months later, a counselor of the chamber willed to the Congregation a domain as valuable as the one they had lost.

It must be said that in spite of so many reverses, worries, and troubles, Vincent could justly rejoice at the success of the missions and the happy outcome of the many requests that the Congregation accept new responsibilities, addressed to him from all sides. In particular, he was besieged by requests from bishops who asked him to take over the direction of their diocesan seminaries.

Already in 1654, the seminary of Agde had been confided to the Mission by Bishop François Fouquet. When his brother, Louis, succeeded him in the episcopal see in 1659, Vincent took the occasion to have the seminary established on a firmer legal footing. On this occasion, one sees his desire to assure that his works should be lasting: “Monseigneur d’Agde must be willing to draw up a new charter of foundation for his seminary which assigns the direction of it to the Company in perpetuity.”¹⁶ The bishop of Meaux, Dominique Séguier, also appealed to the Congregation toward the end of 1658 to correct a situation brought about by the poor management of his diocesan seminary.¹⁷ The bishop of Montpellier, François de Bosquet, begged Vincent to take provisional charge of his seminary. Vincent, contrary to his habit, allowed himself to be influenced without taking the time to study the case in detail. “I see clearly that I was too hasty,” he admitted to Monsieur Get, who had been chosen to direct this seminary, and he continued: “It is counter to good order and to our habit, to commit ourselves to a place for a time only, rather than permanently.” But what was done was done, and he had to try to make the best of it. So Vincent gave advice to the new director, who would have to do his work in a diocese “to a great extent contaminated by heresy”: “In the education of priests, you should have as your principal goal to form them to a life of spirituality, to prayer, to recollection and union with God. This is

particularly true where you are, a region where people's minds are naturally vulnerable to being led astray."¹⁸

Vincent was interested in the project of a new foundation on Corsica, and he discussed it with his superior at the house in Genoa, since at that time, the island was under the authority of the Genoese Republic. It was his advice to send a superior, preferably a Frenchman, and two Italian priests.¹⁹

François Fouquet, named archbishop of Narbonne, in his turn asked for Vincent's help in September 1659. Vincent sent him three priests to direct the diocesan seminary and to preach missions. With them, he sent three Daughters of Charity.²⁰ In contrast, he resisted the pressing requests that came to him from all sides for a foundation at Betharram near Lourdes. This was a much-frequented place of pilgrimage, served by priests of the Congregation of Our Lady of Calvary. Vincent did not see how it would be possible to combine his company with this congregation, whose vocation was so different.²¹ In any case, the project was abandoned after Vincent's death.

Direction of the twenty-three houses of the Mission in France, in addition to foundations abroad, remained the daily work of Vincent, who was personally acquainted with the approximately 250 members of his congregation. He received copious mail from them, and he answered it without delay. His rule was to write once a week to the superiors of his principal houses. The letters consisted largely of management advice: "Do not commit yourself to any place where you do not find enough to live on," he wrote to the superior of the Mission in Poland.²² On this point he was always insistent; he did not want his missionaries to be a burden to the parishes where they preached. Therefore, it was necessary that the houses of the Mission be founded on stable and adequate resources. Vincent did not hesitate to engage with details. On the subject of a new farm which had been donated to the Congregation, he was anxious to know its exact value, and so he wrote: "You will have to inquire cleverly to find out how many acres it should include, and if the number is twenty-six, what became of the five they're talking about, and who might have appropriated them. Find out also whether the fields are good and what their value might be in an ordinary year." And he adds in his own hand: "The revenue of this little farm used to be 50 écus per year."²³

Just as he gave his priests instruction on material things, Vincent used his pen to send them spiritual lessons. First of all, he exhorted them

to practice humility: “Always be inclined to lowliness; love your abjection, be eager for contempt and embarrassment, against nature’s inclination, which leads us to want to make a good appearance and to succeed.”²⁴

He recalls the superiors of houses to their duty to be firm with those for whom they are responsible “provided that you do this appropriately, and always in a spirit of mildness.” For example, he counsels the superior at Le Mans: “You should not permit anyone to do his work only halfway, and even less should you burden yourself with making up for his negligence and omissions; that would prostrate you.”²⁵

For a young brother who complained that he had no affection for rules or spiritual exercises, in other words, that he did not feel at home in the Congregation, and who was probably questioning his vocation, Vincent took the time to write a long letter in tones both affectionate and firm: “Before you can cure your trouble, you have to know it. In my opinion, you are suffering from a softening of the will and a laziness of the spirit regarding the things God is asking of you. This does not astonish me; most people are in this state, almost by nature.” But, he adds, some people can overcome this laziness, others, not, because “they do not abandon their love of things other than God, and these things are physical comfort, which makes the soul sluggish in practicing virtue. This is what creates and nourishes sloth, which is the vice of people in religion.” Vincent concluded: “Heaven suffers violence, one must fight in order to win, fight to the very end the affections of the flesh and the blood.”²⁶

Vincent did not limit his role as superior general to this monumental flow of correspondence (there were 30,000 letters before they were largely destroyed during the Revolution). He made the effort to convoke the members of the Congregation at Saint-Lazare every week, as he did for the Daughters of Charity, in order to have conversations which he led with simplicity and hominess. In the spring of 1658, on Friday, May 17, Vincent solemnly submitted the text of the Rule of the Congregation to the members of his company.²⁷ He had waited thirty-three years before giving it final form and having it printed. He asked those who received it to consider it not as the product of a human mind but rather as having been inspired by God.

It was an enormous effort, requiring exceptional energy, for Vincent to leave his room and go to the meetings which he convened. It was increasingly difficult for him to move about and, at the beginning of

December 1658, he confessed to his friend, Abbot Louis de Chandenier: “The increasing pain in my legs is the reason I am no longer allowed to be at the assembly [of the Tuesday Conferences], now that they take place at the Bons-Enfants.”²⁸

At the beginning of 1659, he felt so poorly that he thought seriously that he was going to die. Therefore, he wrote messages that he thought would be his last to Cardinal de Retz and his former master, Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi: “The failing state in which I find myself, and a little fever that has come over me, make me suspect what might come next, so I address you, Monseigneur, in order to prostrate myself in spirit at your feet, to ask your pardon for displeasing you with my rustic ways and to take the opportunity to thank you most humbly, as thank you indeed I do, for the charitable support you have shown me.”²⁹

But once more, his robust constitution took the upper hand and, three months later, he was able to write to Louise de Marillac to calm her fears: “I am doing better, by the grace of God and with your help. I have been suffering from a bout of fever caused by an accidental chill, which brought shivering and terrible sensations of heat, one after the other, in the usual way. It is a kind of fever I am most accustomed to.”³⁰ But this “better” was only relative; his legs no longer carried him, and he was condemned to remain at Saint-Lazare. He only got up to say mass and to take part in the conferences, which he still insisted on leading. In July, he wrote to the superior at Saintes: “I am otherwise not ill, and yet, I have not been out for seven or eight months, because of the pain in my legs, which has grown more intense, and other than that, I have had an inflammation in one eye for the last five or six weeks, of which I cannot seem to be cured, even with the application of several remedies.”³¹

At the end of the year, writing to Monsieur Bourdaise, whom he still thought to be alive in Madagascar, he asks for his prayers: “for I shall not make it long, because of my age, which is getting to be eighty, and of my bad legs, which can no longer carry me.”³²

Although he was housebound at Saint-Lazare, Vincent remained informed of the affairs of the kingdom. He knew that after the victories at the fortress of Dunkerque, won by the king’s armies under Turenne in June 1658, the famous Battle of the Dunes, the Spanish were determined to obtain a peace treaty. The trump card in the negotiations was to be the marriage of the young king of France to the Infanta of Spain. Discreet talks began, but they were difficult after so many years of war.

Around May 1659, rumors began to fly about this peace so desired by one and all. Vincent, because he was well informed, wrote in early May: "May it please God to have pity on this poor nation! They are speaking of peace as though it were already concluded. This will be a great blessing for the poor borderlands."³³

A first protocol was signed at Paris on June 4, but there was still a long way to go before a final agreement would be reached. For months, Cardinal Mazarin and the prime minister of Spain Don Louis de Haro sparred with each other on the Île des Faisans, on the frontier between the two kingdoms. The peace was signed on November 7, and this Treaty of the Pyrenees put an end to a conflict which had lasted over a quarter of a century. Vincent gave thanks to God, for this was the end of the suffering of the poor, or at least he hoped so.

Final Afflictions

1660

23

That Miserable Letter

The Enigma of Vincent's Captivity

Hard at Work to the End

Vincent rejoiced that peace had finally returned to the kingdom, but he knew that he would hardly have time to enjoy it because for him, life on earth was coming to an end. From the room where he was confined, he wrote in January to one of his first and closest collaborators, Jean Dehorgny: "As for me, I can no longer go downstairs because my legs are worse than they have ever been."¹ Two months later, he was no longer able even to stand. "I am well enough, except for my legs, which no longer allow me to say the Holy Mass and which oblige me to remain seated all day long."² After much urging, he allowed himself to be moved into a room that had a fireplace, all the while grumbling about this luxury that was being forced upon him.

It was in this miserable state that Vincent, more or less bedridden, suffered two terrible blows, one after the other. At an interval of one month, he lost two beings who were particularly dear to him and who had labored with him, side by side. On February 14, he learned of the death of "our good Monsieur Portail,"³ and on March 15, of the death of Louise de Marillac, exhausted by thirty years of complete devotion to the poor and the sick with her Daughters of Charity.

Without a doubt, Vincent accepted these separations in a spirit of submission to God's good pleasure, but that did not

stop his human heart from aching. And into the bargain, these sorrows came over and above a secret torment that had been gnawing at him for months. When he felt that his end was approaching, one question troubled him to the point of writing this curious letter to Canon de Saint-Martin at Dax: "I implore you, by all the grace that it has pleased God to grant you, to send me that miserable letter that mentions Turkey, the one that Monsieur d'Agès found in his father's papers. I beg of you once more, by the entrails of Jesus Christ Our Lord, to do me the great goodness I ask of you as soon as possible."⁴

What was this miserable letter that caused Vincent so much distress? To answer this, we must go back more than two years. In July 1658, Vincent had received a letter from Canon de Saint-Martin informing him that his nephew, Saint-Martin d'Agès, had found two old letters while going through his father's papers, addressed in 1607 and 1608 to Judge de Comet.⁵ These were the letters that Vincent had sent him from Avignon and from Rome after his adventure on the Barbary Coast. The good canon, convinced that the author of these accounts would be happy to be able to read them again, had sent Vincent copies. But Vincent had been quick to destroy them and replied at once that he would very much like to have the originals.

Brother Ducournau had warned Messieurs Portail, Dehorgny, and Alméras, who constituted an advisory council to the superior general. At the command of this council, he had enclosed in the envelope containing Vincent's reply to Canon Saint-Martin a note, asking him to send the originals of the documents in question to Jean Watebled, superior of the Collège des Bons-Enfants. When they arrived in August 1658, Brother Ducournau had thanked the canon in these words: "You have discovered a hidden treasure for us by sending these letters; if they had fallen into his hands, no one would ever have seen them. But so that he does not know we have them, the council has suppressed your letter. If it happens that he asks you once more for his letters, you will be able to write him that you have already addressed them to him, and that you are very sorry that he has not received them." Vincent was waiting for these documents with growing impatience, for he feared that he would die before he could destroy them.

It may seem surprising that in a congregation whose members had made a vow of obedience, some would permit themselves to waylay a letter addressed to their superior general. One remembers Vincent's anger at the superior of Tréguier who thought he had a right to read a

letter meant for a member of his house: "This is an unheard of fault," he exclaimed. Now not only were people spiriting away his correspondence, but they were trying to talk the good Canon Saint-Martin into embellishing the truth.

Brother Ducournau justified the action, which had been imposed on him by responsible priests, in the following way: "They would not have wanted to miss obtaining those letters [from Barbary] for anything in the world, because they contain things which one day will give great luster to the holy life of the person who wrote them." Already people were thinking of a time after Vincent and of the creation of his legend! Without a doubt, the intention of these fathers was pure.

However that might be, thanks to this subterfuge, this troubling story of Vincent de Paul's captivity in Barbary came to light again after fifty years. Two questions arise: Why did Vincent always maintain silence about this period of his life, and why did he want to destroy the letters that documented it? In his letter to Canon de Saint-Martin, Brother Ducournau gave an explanation which would be used by almost all of Vincent's biographers: "He often told us that he was the son of a land worker, that he herded his father's swine, and other things to present himself in a humble light, but he never told us anything that could bring him honor, such as having been a slave, not to mention telling us about the good that came of it."⁶ In other words, it is out of humility that Vincent hid this part of his life. This explanation does not seem fully convincing.

If we trace the matter back to its beginnings, it is possible to formulate other hypotheses. When Vincent reappeared, after a blank period of two years, he explained his absence in several letters which he addressed in particular to Monsieur de Comet. These missives give a version of the facts which is perhaps neither complete nor entirely truthful as regards the circumstances of his captivity and his escape. Therefore, at the beginning, he might not have wanted to say anything more about this period. As the years went by, it became more and more difficult for him to break his silence about this adventure. Now, he certainly did not lack opportunities to recall his experience, particularly when he insisted on maintaining missionaries in the consulates of Tunis and Algiers in spite of all the catastrophes they encountered.

What he did do, even though he never said a single word to give credence directly to his time in Barbary, was to sprinkle his talks and his

conferences with references to the customs and morals of the 'Turks, as though he had observed them with his own eyes.⁷

But when he discovered, late in life, that this miserable letter that mentions Turkey, and even worse, alchemy, had been rediscovered, his personal position changed entirely. Now he was the founder and the superior general of a congregation, the instigator of various charitable works, the spiritual director of convents of the Visitation, a moral authority in his century. Revelation of such a document could have shattering consequences, not only for him, which he would be willing to suffer gladly in expiation, but for the Mission, for the Daughters of Charity, for all those who had been marked by his example and his radiant spirit.

Thus, to mention only this one point, his first letter to Monsieur de Comet explained clearly that he had carried out alchemical experiments under the direction of his master, the spagiric physician. The pious Brother Ducournau wrote to the canon about it in such a way as to glorify these experiments: "The captivity of this charitable man having provided him with a knowledge of alchemy, he used it more felicitously than those who undertake to change the nature of metals. For he converted evil to good, the sinner into a just man, slavery into liberty and hell into paradise, and this in as many ways as our Community has undertakings." The brother—or the priests who inspired the text of this letter—expresses noble sentiments, but he is masking the reality of the situation. In the middle of the seventeenth century, alchemy was considered to be a practice associated with magic and witchcraft. It was condemned both by the Church and by the government. What a fine scandal it would have been if it had been revealed that Vincent de Paul had engaged in such practices, and that he had even initiated a Roman prelate. What is worse, this same prelate made himself important before the pontifical court and the pope himself by performing the tricks (the word "alchemy" is no longer used in the letters dated at Rome) that Vincent had taught him.

The publication of these documents could have had other harmful consequences. The world would not have hesitated to dissect and analyze the different statements they contained and the facts they recounted. Witnesses who were still alive could perhaps even have shown that young Vincent had masked, manipulated, or concealed certain events. There is a marked difference between the usual stories of young men who sowed their wild oats before they chose the path that leads to holiness and the story of Vincent, who was already an ordained priest at the time he lived out these adventures.

It is easy to understand the emotional turmoil of this weak and bedridden man, who was haunted by the thought that this letter he considered miserable might be made public.

But in spite of his age and his infirmities, Vincent's energy was unconquerable. From his room, which he could no longer leave at all, he continued to inspire the Congregation and to correspond steadily with his missionaries. He thought of the future of his community, directing the superiors of the houses of the Mission to establish archives: "I beg of you to save, from now on, the letters received by you and the members of your house, no matter what the topic, when they contain any remarkable details which could be of some consequence, or which might be instructive in the future."⁸

Always attentive to anything having to do with the material patrimony of the Congregation of the Mission, he advised the superior of the house at Richelieu: "I do not at all agree that you should work the land yourselves, since that is not what we are meant to do. That is why it would be wise for you to find farmers and not to burden yourselves with the equipment and cares of agricultural work."⁹ He was interested in the project of a missionary, Guillaume Desdames, who was conducting missions in a village near Warsaw: "I was very satisfied to know of the state of your temporal situation and the measures you have taken to fill the needs of your village, for people's bodies as well as for their souls." He gave the missionary news about France: "Everywhere, they are asking us for men, but we do not have enough. Oh Lord, Monsieur, what a great treasure a good missionary is!" He continued, alluding to missions conducted by Father Eudes and his priest. He rejoiced in their success by emphasizing that the Congregation had been at the origin of this movement of evangelization: "We have the consolation of seeing that our modest activities have seemed so beautiful and so useful that they have made others eager to do the same."¹⁰

In Rome there was talk of opening a seminary specifically to train priests for the foreign missions, and of entrusting it to the Congregation. Vincent immediately wrote to Edme Jolly, superior of the house in Rome: "I praise God that the plan which has been formed at Rome to establish a seminary for the foreign missions has been turned over to us." Yet Vincent was perfectly aware of the difficulties inherent in these distant missions: "In truth, some men might present themselves for the seminary willingly, but to undertake these foreign missions

with the detachment and the zeal the work calls for, not many will be found for that.”¹¹

He continued his talks with the Daughters of Charity: they came to Saint-Lazare and gathered upstairs in a room next door to his. Wishing to render a final honor to Louise de Marillac, he spoke to them in the course of two meetings in July of the virtues of the woman who had been their superior.¹² He also continued to assemble the members of the Congregation for weekly conferences. On these occasions, he touched on topics connected to recent events, the death of Monsieur Portail, and the death, in May, of his friend Louis de Chandenier, and he spoke of their exemplary lives. He also talked on themes related to the needs of the inner life. From July on, he devoted his last talks to explicating and commenting on the Rule of the Congregation, which, in his eyes, was of capital importance.¹³

What courage, what a will to fight in this sick man, constantly struggling with the pain in his legs, having himself carried into the meeting room, where he displayed a serene and smiling face during these exhausting sessions.

After the success of the great mission preached at Metz, Anne of Austria had entrusted a large sum of money, 60,000 livres, to Vincent, so that he could found a house in that city. He had asked Bossuet to do this work, and to find a house as well as a farm. Bossuet's letters about this business, which Vincent received in August, brought him one last satisfaction.

His health was sinking rapidly. “I am constantly weak, and the good Lord, who is striking me down yet maintains me in the miserable state I live in,” he wrote to René Alméras on August 18. Alméras was convalescing himself, and Vincent urges him to recover quickly: “What it takes is rest and the medicines which are available to you, but most particularly, the will of God, who will not deny you the strength of body and soul you need to carry out his designs for you within the Community.”¹⁴ Clearly, Vincent was certain that René Alméras would soon be called upon to succeed him at the head of the Congregation of the Mission. He had already inscribed his name in a document which he kept locked in a strong box to be opened after his death.

In one of his last letters to Firmin Get, superior of the house in Marseilles, written on September 17, ten days before he died, Vincent once more dwelt at length on all the questions relating to the Community. In particular, he mentions the most recent news from Algiers. Sir Paul,

with a fleet of about fifteen ships, had finally sailed. At the beginning of September he had reached Algiers, but could not land because of the bad weather. He had only been able to gather in about forty slaves who had swum out from shore when they saw the French flags flying from the masts. Vincent noted, "I am suffering from an anxiety which causes me unspeakable pain. There is a rumor here that Commander Paul has laid siege to Algiers, but no one knows the outcome."¹⁵

For all his life, Barbary would be a secret torment, object of his sorrow and anguish.

The next day, September 18, Vincent fell into a state of extreme weakness. On the 26th, he had himself carried to the oratory on his floor where, half-conscious, he assisted at mass. In the evening, he received the sacrament of Extreme Unction and died the next morning: "He remained seated, as he had been, handsome, more majestic and venerable to see than ever. He died in his chair, completely dressed, near the fire."¹⁶ It was about four o'clock in the morning, an hour when, for so long, he had been accustomed to rise and begin a day filled with prayer and works of charity.

Epilogue

Vincent de Paul carried the secrets of his existence to his grave. When, a half century after his death, the Church undertook the long process of his beatification and canonization, his remains were exhumed and found to be in a perfect state of preservation. His actions, his writings, and his thoughts were examined with the fine-tooth comb of a critical analysis. Would the Promoter of the Faith, the official called the devil's advocate, in this case Prospero Lambertini, the future Pope Benedict XIV, uncover Vincent's secrets?

At first he scrutinized Vincent's relationship with the abbot of Saint-Cyran, who is considered the initiator of Jansenism. Vincent de Paul had made a deposition in an attempt to clear this man who had been his friend. Had the attempt to hide guilty contacts been, at least in part, untruthful? The advocate for Vincent, or postulator of his cause, a priest of the Congregation of the Mission named Couty, succeeded in removing this first obstacle.

The canonization process itself began in December 1717. Many vexed points had to be considered: Vincent's reception of minor orders, the sub-diaconate and diaconate, in the same year without a dispensation from Rome; his participation in alchemical experiments when he was a slave on the Barbary coast; the overly rapid abandonment of his parishioners when he was in charge of the parishes of Clichy and Châtillon-les-Dombes; the scandal arising from the conflict between his missionaries and the Benedictines of Saint-Méen.¹ Even his habit of using snuff was put forward as guilty evidence, but this accusation was fortunately neutralized with the opportune discovery of a medical

certificate which recommended this practice to Vincent as a means of treating a chronic cough!

These accusations were considered on the basis of the testimony of some 300 witnesses who had known Vincent in his lifetime, and on his correspondence. Use was also made of a work written by Louis Abelly, bishop of Rodez, which appeared four years after the death of the superior of the Congregation of the Mission. In this hagiography, the date of Vincent's birth was advanced by five years, so as to obscure his premature ordination, when he was, in fact, only in his twentieth year.² As for Vincent's participation in alchemical experiments, it was presented blandly in this book, simply by quoting an extract from a letter in which Vincent wrote that his master "liked to lecture me on alchemy." Abelly added immediately that Vincent had exerted every effort to suppress in himself all the knowledge that the spagirist physician had communicated to him concerning various beautiful secrets of Nature and the Art.

The letters sent from Avignon and Rome, shortened and sanitized in this way, could hardly enrich the dossier of the Devil's Advocate. It does indeed seem that the Congregation dispensed itself from providing entire texts of these letters, no doubt because they feared to arouse heated debate. Abelly himself declared that he had worked on copies rather than originals. What is more, all the questions that may have been raised by the story of the capture, detention, and escape of Vincent do not seem to have awakened the slightest suspicion in the mind of the Devil's Advocate. At length, after almost thirty years of investigation, depositions, and debate, including the presentation and analysis of eight cases of miraculous healing, of which half were authenticated, Pope Clement XII promulgated the bull of Vincent's canonization on June 16, 1737.³

Whereas the process of beatification and canonization did nothing to lift the veil of obscurity from Vincent's youth, it shed a bright light on the heroic virtue of his subsequent life. The essential point emerges: his example and his message inspired an ever-growing number of disciples. After the Revolution which ravaged the priory of Saint-Lazare on July 13, 1789 and destroyed most of the letters and objects left behind by Vincent,⁴ after all the alarms of war which had marked the two preceding centuries, and in spite of the profound changes in mentality both inside and outside the Church, the Vincentian family never stopped developing. Today it has a presence on all five continents, thus fulfilling its founder's wish, expressed in one of his last conferences to his mis-

sionaries: “Our vocation is to go not into one parish, nor into only one diocese, but throughout the earth. And to do what? To inflame the hearts of men. It is not enough for me to love God if my neighbor does not love him as well.”⁵

Today, the Congregation of the Mission numbers 3,600 members, known under the name of Lazarists, and the community of the Daughters of Charity numbers 27,200 sisters, working in over eighty countries of the world. The charities, directly descended from the first group of Ladies of Charity brought together by Vincent at Châtillon-les-Dombes, are united in an international association with 250,000 members. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, founded in 1835 by Frédéric Ozanam, a lay society with obedience to the Church, has 875,000 members in 130 countries. Finally, more than 500 congregations or communities, most of them congregations of women, declare themselves followers of Vincent or under his patronage.

What is the secret of Vincent’s remarkable influence? He left us neither a learned treatise nor a body of doctrine, only the little volume of his Rule, a brief synthesis of theological spirituality.⁶ He was content to lay out a road, to clear the paths, inviting his disciples to continue the charitable works which he had begun. He opened the doors of the Church, teaching the clergy to work with the laity, the first who dared to value the contribution of women. And the women responded enthusiastically to his call, whether they were country girls or great ladies of the nobility.

Vincent knew how to make his work responsive to all kinds of misery, whether physical or moral, determined to remedy it and finding an appropriate solution for every situation. Thus, he was the initiator of assistance to abandoned children, to prisoners, victims of catastrophe, refugees, and housebound invalids. In all these works, he was a precursor, showing the way which is still followed today by institutions and governmental departments of social services.

Bending himself to the pattern of his model, Jesus Christ, he placed himself at the service of the poor, “who are our lords and our masters.”⁷ He taught that true charity does not consist only of distributing alms, but of helping the abject to regain their dignity and independence.

He believed in the virtue of action and he loved to use this succinct motto: *Totum opus nostrum in operatione consistit* (Action is our entire task). Then he would add that “Perfection does not come from ecstasy but rather from doing the will of God.”⁸

Vincent was first and foremost a man of God, profoundly steeped in the spirit of the Gospel. He recommended long prayer and meditation before action so that one could come to recognize the divine will. One must not hurry, and that is why he counseled people not to leap ahead of Providence. Above all, this man of action was a man of prayer and deep spirituality: “You must have an inner life, everything must tend in that direction. If you lack this, you lack everything.”⁹

Appendix 1

Brief Chronology

	VINCENT DE PAUL	FRANCE	THE CHURCH AND EUROPE
1581	Birth of Vincent at Pouy	Birth of Saint-Cyran	
1585		Birth of Arnaud du Plessis, future Cardinal de Richelieu	
1589		Assassination of Henry III, Henry of Navarre becomes Henry IV	
1592			Election of Pope Clement VIII
1593		Henry IV recants Protestantism	
1597	Begins theological studies at the University of Toulouse		
1598	Receives major orders	Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes	
1600	Ordained by the bishop of Périgueux Pilgrimage to Rome		
1601		Birth of Louis XIII	
1604	Bachelor of theology		
1605	Capture by the Barbary pirates Captivity in Tunis		Election of Pope Paul V

	VINCENT DE PAUL	FRANCE	THE CHURCH AND EUROPE
1607	Escape and arrival at Avignon		
1608	Visits Rome		
1609	Settles in Paris		Francis de Sales: <i>Introduction to the Devout Life</i>
1610	Chaplain of Queen Marguerite of Valois Acquires the abbey of Saint-Léonard- de-Chaume	Assassination of Henry IV Regency of Maria de Medici	
1611		Foundation of the Oratory by Pierre de Bérulle	
1612	Pastor of Clichy-la- Garenne		
1613	Tutor in the house of Gondi		
1615	Canon of Écouis	The assembly of the clergy calls for recep- tion of the Council of Trent	Francis de Sales: <i>Traité de l'amour de Dieu</i>
1616	Renounces the abbey of Saint-Léonard-de- Chaume	Richelieu enters the King's Council	
1617	Pastor of Châtillon- les-Dombes First Confraternity of Charity	Assassination of Concini Louis XIII takes the throne	
1618	First missions on Gondi lands Meeting with Francis de Sales		Beginning of the 'Thirty Years' War
1619	Royal chaplain of the galleys	Expedition of Louis XIII against the Protestants of the Béarn	

	VINCENT DE PAUL	FRANCE	THE CHURCH AND EUROPE
1621			Election of Pope Gregory XV Foundation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith
1622	Superior of the Visita- tion's house in Paris	Richelieu receives the cardinal's hat	Death of Francis de Sales
1623			Election of Pope Urban VIII
1624	Installation in the Col- lège des Bons-Enfants	Richelieu presides over King's Council	
1625	Foundation of the Congregation of the Mission Spiritual director of Louise de Marillac		Marriage of Charles I of England and Henriette of France
1628	First workshops for ordinands	Capitulation of the Protestants at La Rochelle	
1629	Louise de Marillac begins to work with charities	Death of Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle	
1630		Day of the Dupes: Richelieu is confirmed as prime minister	
1632	Installation of the Mission at the Priory of Saint-Lazare	Execution of Marshal de Marillac	Victory of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden against imperial forces at Lützen
1633	Bull <i>Salvatoris Nostri</i> recognizing the Congre- gation of the Mission Beginning of the Tuesday Conferences	Occupation of Lorraine by Louis XIII	Second condemnation of Galileo
1634	Foundation of the Daughters of Charity Foundation of the house at Toul	Trial at Loudun	Victory of the imperial forces over the Swedes at Nördlingen

VINCENT DE PAUL	FRANCE	THE CHURCH AND EUROPE
1635		France declares war on Spain and the emperor declares war on France
1636	Missionaries are sent to the army	Fall of Corbie Corneille: <i>Le Cid</i>
1637	Foundation of the house at La Rose	Peasant revolt Descartes: <i>Discours de la méthode</i>
1638	Foundation of the Foundling Hospital Foundation of the houses at Richelieu, Troyes, and Luçon	Birth of the dauphin, future Louis XIV Arrest of Saint-Cyran Death of Jansenius
1639	Aid to war-torn Lorraine Foundation of the house at Alet	
1640	Foundation of the house at Annecy	Publication of the <i>Augustinus</i>
1641	Foundation of the house at Crécy	Death of Jeanne de Chantal Mazarin receives the cardinal's hat
1642	Creation of a first seminary at the Collège des Bons-Enfants	Death of Cardinal de Richelieu Condemnation by Rome of the five propositions of the <i>Augustinus</i>
1643	Nomination to the Council of Conscience Foundation of the houses of Marseilles, Cahors and Rome	Death of Louis XIII and regency of Anne of Austria Victory of Rocroi over the Spanish Antoine Arnauld: <i>De la fréquente communion</i>
1644	Foundation of the houses of Saintes, Montmirail, and Sedan	Election of Pope Innocent X

	VINCENT DE PAUL	FRANCE	THE CHURCH AND EUROPE
1645	Foundation of the houses of Saint-Méen, Le Mans, Genoa, and Turin		
	Acquisition of the consulate at Tunis		
1646	Missions to Ireland and Scotland		
	Acquisition of the consulate at Algiers		
	The community of the Daughters of Charity is raised to the rank of confraternity		
1648	Tour of houses in the provinces	Beginning of the Fronde	Treaty of Westphalia puts an end to Thirty Years' War
	Beginning of the mission in Madagascar		
	Foundation of the houses in Tréguier and Agen		
1650	Foundation of the house of Pétigieux	Spanish offensive in Picardy	
1651	Aid to Picardy, Champagne, Île-de-France	Louis XIV reaches majority	
	Beginning of the mission in Poland	First exile of Mazarin	
1652	Foundation of the houses of Montauban and Notre-Dame de Lorm	Fighting around Paris	
		Second exile of Mazarin	
1653	Removed from the Council of Conscience	Return of Mazarin	Condemnation of the propositions of the <i>Augustinus</i> by Rome

	VINCENT DE PAUL	FRANCE	THE CHURCH AND EUROPE
1654	Foundation of the house at Agde		
1655	Foundation of the house at Turin		Election of Pope Alexander VII
1656		Pascal: <i>Provinciales</i>	
1657		Opening of the general hospital	
1659	Foundation of the houses of Montpellier and Narbonne		Treaty of the Pyrenees between France and Spain
1660	Death of Vincent	Marriage of Louis XIV and the Infanta Maria-Theresa	
		Death of Louise de Marillac	
1661		Death of Mazarin	

Appendix 2

From Saint-Lazare to the rue de Sèvres

The priory of Saint-Lazare was sacked and pillaged in 1789. The Congregation of the Mission itself was dispersed by the storms of the revolution. A decree of Napoleon reestablished it in 1804, but there was no mother house until 1817, in the Hôtel de Lorges, at 95 rue de Sèvres. This building was given to the Congregation in compensation for the requisitioning of their former house at Saint-Lazare, which was then transformed into a prison. Later acquisitions of land and buildings, both on the rue de Sèvres and the rue du Cherche-Midi, made it possible to create the configuration which exists today. The body of Saint Vincent de Paul has reposed in a shrine there since 1830. The members of the Congregation of the Mission, who were called “these gentlemen of Saint-Lazare” when they were living at the priory, kept this name, which became Lazarists in the nineteenth century.

The Daughters of Charity, also scattered by the revolution, came together again in 1797 in a rented house at the rue des Maçons-Sorbonne, which is now the rue Champollion. From 1801 to 1814, they resided in a house called the House of the Orphans, in the rue du Vieux-Colombier. Then they moved to the Hôtel de Châtillon, at number 140, rue du Bac, which was granted to them by imperial decree. The mother house of the community of Daughters of Charity is still at this address today. They are now also known as Sisters of Vincent de Paul.

Notes

Abbreviations Used in the Notes

- S.V. Pierre Coste, C.M., *Saint Vincent de Paul, correspondance, entretiens, documents* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre J. Gabalda, 1920–1924). English edition: *Saint Vincent de Paul: Correspondence, Conferences, Documents* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: New City Press, 1985).
- Abelly Louis Abelly, *Vie de saint Vincent de Paul* (Paris: F. Lambert, 1664; reprint 1986). English edition: *The Life of the Venerable Servant of God Vincent de Paul*, ed. John E. Rybolt, C.M., trans. William Quinn, F.S.C. (New Rochelle, N.Y.: New City Press, 1993).
- Coste Pierre Coste, C.M., *Monsieur Vincent, Le grand saint du grand siècle* (Paris: Desclée, 1934). English edition: *The Life and Works of St. Vincent de Paul*, trans. Joseph Leonard, C.M. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: New City Press, 1987).
- Collet Pierre Collet, *La Vie de saint Vincent de Paul* (Nancy: A. Lescure, 1748).
- Archives CM Archives of the Congregation of the Mission, Paris.
- Annales CM* *Annales de la congrégation de la Mission et de la compagnie des filles de la Charité* (1833–1963).

Notes to the Prologue

1. This square would be renamed *Place du Trône* in honor of the ceremony. After the Revolution, it became *Place de la Nation*.
2. As Jean-Christian Petitfils tells it in his *Louis XIV* (Paris: Perrin, 1995).
3. S.V. 11:40.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Vincent's birth date has been a subject of controversy among his biographers. The first of them, Abelly, has him being born "the Tuesday after Easter" in the year 1576, that is, April 24. This is the date that was chiseled on Vincent's tombstone in the church of Saint-Lazare. On the basis of a detailed study of his letters and conferences, the twentieth-century biographers, particularly Coste, respected the "Tuesday after Easter" but set it in the year 1581. The resulting date March 28, 1581 seems to be more credible.

2. S.V. 13:20.

3. Some writers have tried to find a noble origin for the de Paul family by going back to hypothetical ancestors from Languedoc where there is a de Paul château in the diocese of Lodève. Descendants of these chatelaines, having fallen upon hard times, supposedly left the Languedoc for the Landes. This hypothesis seems shaky. See Oscar de Poli, "Recherches sur la famille de saint Vincent de Paul" (Research on the family of St. Vincent de Paul), *Revue du monde catholique* (1871).

4. The names of brooks in this part of the Landes come from the particular territory they run through; they change their names as they flow along. On the road from Pouy to Buglose, the de Paul bridge crosses the brook which later forms Ice House Pond and then becomes Mill Brook.

5. The sister of Monsieur de Comet, who was a judge at Dax, married a Louis de Saint-Martin, lawyer at the court of Dax. See Charles Blanc, "Parenté de Monsieur Vincent" (Family of Monsieur Vincent), *Revue de la société de Borda* (1960).

6. There is still an oak tree, several hundred years old, near the house called Ranquines, which was reconstructed on the approximate location of the old de Paul cottage.

7. Pouy was the seat of a barony in the Landes which, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, belonged to the Beyrie family. The inhabitants of this village had the privilege of meeting in assembly to name a syndic assisted by three municipal clerks. This assembly also chose council members, tax collectors, officers in charge of calling general meetings, and individuals charged with administering the goods of the church, together with the pastor. See Blanc, "Parenté de Monsieur Vincent."

8. S.V. 9:84.

9. S.V. 4:481.

10. S.V. 9:91.

11. It is not the owner of the horse farm (the caviet) who is noble, but his land, being exempt from feudal rents. The title is transmitted with the land. The special class of these landholders forms a pivotal point between the nobility and the common people. For instance, Jacques de Moras, a relative of Vincent, held the title "caviet of Peyroux."

12. Collet 2:195.

13. Gabriel de Lorges, count of Montgomery (or Montgomerri), 1530–1574. Captain of the Scottish Guard, he accidentally caused the death of King Henry II during a tourney. After spending some time in England, he returned to France to place himself at the service of the Protestant party, and in particular of Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre. He conducted bloody campaigns of repression against the Catholics of the Béarn and in the neighboring provinces of Bigorre, Navarre, the Landes, and all the way to Guyenne. He was imprisoned, tried, and condemned to death for his crimes.

14. When Étienne de Paul took possession of the priory of Poymartet around 1577, he observed that “the chapel was entirely destroyed and the shelter for the poor was uninhabitable. It was impossible to celebrate a divine service there” (Archives of the Hospital of Dax, E.2). However, the revenues of the lands and other privileges attached to the priory were not seriously reduced.

15. S.V. 9:82.

16. Vincent was to repeat this label of “fourth-year pupil” many times. Of course, if one remembers that at this time, the word “pupil” was used to designate university students, it can be interpreted differently. Vincent had completed his studies at the university as a fourth-year student, having passed his first three years of study, the so-called arts curriculum, at Toulouse from 1597 to 1600, and then the four years of theology, from 1600 to 1604. He only failed to state that he had earned the title of bachelor of theology and that he had even taught for one year at Toulouse, as assistant to a master, with the title of sententiary bachelor.

17. The Cordeliers was a name applied to Franciscan friars since the fifteenth century. Internal dissent had caused their separation into Cordeliers, Capuchins, and the Recollects. For a time, the Cordeliers were rivals of the Dominicans, whom they managed to exclude from the University of Paris. After the Revolution, the reformed Franciscans did not resume the name of Cordeliers.

18. S.V. 12:432.

19. Cited in Coste 1:30. This sentiment was supposedly expressed by Vincent before Madame de Lamoignon. It was quoted in the course of his beatification process by the defender, as an argument for sanctity, since Vincent had accused himself publicly as a gesture of humility.

20. Letters of tonsure and the minor orders, December 20, 1596 (S.V. 13:1, 2). The minor orders include the following functions: 1. porter, *ostiararius*; 2. reader, *lectoratus*; 3. exorcist, *exorcistatus*; 4. acolyte, *acolytatus*.

21. Antoine de Gramont (1604–1678). A marshal of France, he succeeded his father in 1644 as governor and lieutenant-general of Navarre and Béarn. He was made a duke and a peer in 1648.

22. The abbey of Arthous, which belonged to the Premonstratensian Order, had been devastated by passing Huguenot troops in 1569. By the time

Vincent stopped there, it had been only partially restored. However, even in this state, the benefice of the abbey earned large revenues for its commendatory abbot, who came to receive them with great pomp.

23. Louis Abelly (1604–1691). For many years, he lived within Vincent's sphere of influence, participating actively in the Tuesday Conferences. At Bayonne in 1639 he was named vicar general of the episcopal see of François Fouquet, brother of the superintendent and son of Madame Fouquet, a Lady of Charity. He was later named pastor of the parish of Saint-Josse in Paris and bishop of Rodez in 1662. In 1664 he resigned from his bishopric and retired to Saint-Lazare, where he spent the rest of his life in study and reflection. René Alméras, superior of the Mission after the death of Vincent, asked him to write a biography of the founder, a work which was carried out and completed in the period from 1660 to 1664.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. This Catholic St. Bartholomew's Day of 1572 had been preceded in 1569, also on August 24, by an incident of lesser magnitude but equal ferocity. Some Catholic aristocrats and military captains who had surrendered after the siege of the Château de Moncade, in return for a promise that they would be released and allowed to live, were held in captivity at Navarrenx and, on the orders of Montgomery, "stabbed to death in cold blood" (Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Navarrenx* [Auch, 1981]).

2. Jeanne d'Albret (1528–1572). She was the daughter of Henry II d'Albret, king of Navarre and of Marguerite de Navarre, the daughter of Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I. In 1548 she took as a second husband Antoine de Bourbon. She was converted to Protestantism in 1560, under the influence of Théodore de Bèze to whom she gave audience at Nérac. In 1562, upon the death of her husband, she became queen of Navarre. She imposed the reformed religion throughout her lands and whipped her troops into such fanaticism that under the command of Montgomery they put the Béarn and surrounding regions to fire and the sword from 1569 to 1572. Her son, Henry of Navarre, would become Henry IV of France.

3. The viscounty of Gabardan, together with the city of Gabarret, midway between Albret and Nérac; the viscounty of Marsan, with the city of Mont-de-Marsan; the viscounty of Tursan, south of the Ardour and east of the viscounty of Dax.

4. Blaise de Monluc (ca. 1500–1577). After fighting in Italy, he was assigned to defend Guyenne against the Protestants, which he did vigorously and harshly. Awarded the rank of king's lieutenant-general in Guyenne in 1565, he received the baton of marshal of France in 1574. His *Commentaries* were published posthumously in 1592.

5. Henri, duke of Joyeuse (1567–1608). He was a member of a great family which included Admiral Anne de Joyeuse, favorite of Henry III, and Cardinal François de Joyeuse, who negotiated the reconciliation of Henry IV at Rome. Henri de Joyeuse, brother of the two aforementioned, became a Capuchin friar upon the death of his wife but returned to the secular life to command a League army in Languedoc. After making an act of submission to Henry IV and receiving the baton of marshal of France, he returned to the Capuchins and remained there to the end of his days.

6. Abelly 1:10.

7. Father José-Maria Roman, in *San Vincente de Paul* (Madrid, 1982), repeats Abelly's statement about the stay at Saragossa and supports it with two arguments. The first is a quotation from Vincent de Paul: "I found myself in a kingdom . . . in that kingdom one does not speak of the king, because he is a sacred personage" (S.V. 10:446). According to Roman, this statement can only apply to Spain. In addition, he supports the statement by citing Vincent de Paul's knowledge of the teaching methods in the Spanish university (S.V. 2:212, 240).

8. Collet (1:9–10) presents this detail: "The division among the professors of this famous university on the topic of *scientia media* and the Decrees on Predestination. . . ." Collet is alluding to the doctrine professed by the Spanish Jesuit Luis Molina (1535–1601) concerning the difficult problem of predestination. In this matter, Molina advocated a *scientia media* retaining both the power of divine grace and human liberty, which he set forth in his treatise on free will, *De liberis arbitri cum gratiae donis concordia* (On the agreement between free will and the gift of faith). On this point, he was violently opposed to the Dominicans. Vincent adopted Molina's doctrine which tends to replace "efficient grace" with "sufficient grace," to which in order to do good, man ought to consent by the power of his free will. Thus he would later oppose the Jansenists who professed antimolinist ideas. References to Molina can be found in Vincent's letters, which is still not absolute proof that he spent time in Spain.

9. Abelly and Collet had access to this will, but it has disappeared. In the margin of this document, Collet noted "Saturday February 7, 1598.

10. Abelly 1:11; d'Acqs is the old spelling of Dax.

11. The bishopric of Dax was held by François de Noailles from 1556 to 1585. This bishop carried out many ambassadorial missions to London, Venice, and Constantinople. At his death, his brother, Gilles de Noailles, succeeded him. He too received ambassadorial postings. In fact, the bishopric was administered by the vicar general, Guillaume de Massiot (or Demassiot).

12. Jean-Jacques Dusault (or Du Sault) was born in 1570 to a family of Bordeaux. His father was attorney general of Parliament. He himself was dean of Saint-Seurin at Bordeaux. Named bishop of Dax by the king, he was raised to the rank of bishop at Rome in May 1598, but authorized to retain his position at Bordeaux while taking up his functions without residing there. Consecrated at Paris in 1599, he entered Dax at the beginning of 1600.

13. The Council of Trent, one of the most important councils of the Church, was convened in May 1542. It remained in session until 1563, with many interruptions. It dealt with questions of doctrine raised by the Protestant Reformation and matters dealing with the sacraments and the organization of the Church. The decrees of this council were not received by the Church of France until 1615. Of relevance here is the requirement that a man had to be in his twenty-fifth year to be ordained.

14. Dimissorial letters for the sub-diaconate, September 10, 1598 (S.V. 13:3). For the formula *bene intitulato*, see the proceedings of the Council of Trent, session 21 of July 16, 1562, canon 2 (“that no one is to be admitted to Holy Orders without having the means of livelihood”). Cf. *Histoire des conciles* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey, 1938), vol. 10, pp. 420–421.

15. Dimissorial letters for the diaconate, Friday, December 11, 1598 (S.V. 13:4, 5).

16. Dimissorial letters for the priesthood, Monday, September 13, 1599 (S.V. 13:6, 7).

17. François de Bourdeilles (1516–1600). Born to an important family of Périgord, he joined the Benedictines in Paris. He left his monastery in 1575 to take charge of the diocese of Périgueux. Having resigned his office in November 1579, he stayed on as there was no successor to assure his service. He died on October 24, 1600. His cousin, Pierre de Bourdeilles, commendatory abbot of Brantôme, was famous for his gallantry and his writings, in which he presented unvarnished descriptions of the very free mores of his times.

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Canon Saint-Martin (ca. 1656) (S.V. 5:567).

19. Abelly does not name Vincent’s “competitor” and Collet gives the name S. Soubé. Coste writes Saint-Soubé without noting where he found this name.

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François du Coudray, C.M., July 20, 1631 (S.V. 1:114).

21. Camillus de Lellis (1550–1614). After a dissipated life, he was converted under the influence of Philip Neri. He founded the Congregation of the Servants of the Poor Sick (Camillians), also known as the Fathers of the Good Death, raised to the status of a religious order in 1591. Camillus de Lellis was canonized in 1746.

22. S.V. 9:322–323.

23. Peter Lombard (1100–1160). After studies at Bologna, Reims, and Paris, he held a chair in theology in the capital city. He became bishop of Paris in 1159. He was the author of a famous work, *Sententiarum Libri IV* (The four books of Sentences), a theological summa that sought to end disputes by explicating dogma on the basis of scripture, the Church Fathers, and tradition. The *Sentences* was used in the schools as a manual of theology.

24. There is no document supplying categorical proof that he carried out these duties. Perhaps he simply concentrated on the work of directing a small boarding school that had been moved to Toulouse. His letters and lectures do indicate a specialized knowledge of the *Sentences*. Likewise, on more than one occasion, he implied that he had taught and certain of his talks demonstrate that he had mastered the craft of the teacher. See *St. Vincent de Paul, paroles, écrits et autres documents*, presented by Father Bernard Koch, C.M. (Archives CM).

25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Monsieur de Comet, July 24, 1607 (S.V. 1:3).

26. Jean-Louis Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Épernon (1544–1642). He served Henry III by fighting against the League and the Guise family. He negotiated the reconciliation between Henry III and Henry of Navarre. Governor of Provence, then Angoumois, Saint-Onge, and Aunis, he joined Henry IV in 1596. In 1622, he became governor of Guyenne. He owned the superb château of Cadillac where he often stayed.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Monsieur de Comet, July 23, 1607 (S.V. 1:1).

2. See chapter 23 of this book.

3. These bipartisan chambers were composed of equal numbers of Catholic and Protestant magistrates in cities where Huguenots were authorized to govern, according to guidelines set down by the Edict of Nantes.

4. The sum of 300 écus of that time is the equivalent, all other things being equal, of about 150,000 of 1998 francs.

5. At this time, the Ottoman Empire extended to Tunis and Algiers. The term “Turk” was used to apply to all the inhabitants of this vast empire. The treaty signed in 1604 between Henry IV and the sultan of Constantinople, known as the Grand Turk, was a renewal of the capitulations signed in 1535 between Francis I and Sulayman II the Magnificent. These capitulations were privileges conceded by the sultans to certain western countries; they were only valid during the lifetime of the signatory sultan. Thus, they had to be renewed regularly, for they were considered by the Turks as a simple truce in the obligatory battle against the Infidel.

6. The word “spagiri” is composed of two Greek roots—the verb *span*, which means to extract, and the verb *ageirein*, which means to collect. The spagiric science, which is how chemistry used to be designated, sought to analyze substances by separating and then reconstituting them. The spagiric medical system explained changes in the human body in the same way as alchemists explained changes in the mineral kingdom.

7. This document, a copy of an old manuscript, is housed at the Hospice of Marans in Charente-Maritime, an establishment founded in 1684 under the care of the Daughters of Charity.

St. Vincent de Paul's remedy for stones. Take turpentine of Venice, two ounces; white jalap of India [a purgative], two ounces; iron salts, galanga [*Galanga minor officinalis*, a toner of smooth muscle], clove, cinnamon, all measured at one-half ounce each. powdered aloe wood, one ounce. Make a paste with a half-pound of white honey and a pint of the strongest brandy. Let the mixture rest for some time, and then distill it. Take a fourth of a spoon in the morning, fasting, diluted with borage or bugloss water. Take this as desired, because it can do no harm. On the contrary, it is very good for the health and the principal effect is on the urine. For this reason, it is not necessary to follow any other regimen, except that one must not eat for one hour after taking the medication. But after that, one can go about one's ordinary business. You will see the results. This great servant of God learned this recipe in Barbary, when he was in captivity there. (S.V. 1:7)

To this recipe, Vincent adds fairly bombastic thoughts on predestination and liberty. This tends to show that he has not yet assimilated the theses of Molina completely, but it may also confirm the hypothesis that he heard these theses in Saragossa.

8. François Savary, lord de Brèves, marquis de Maulévrier (1560–1628). After many travels and a stay in the Ottoman Empire, he was named ambassador of France by Henry IV in 1593. He obtained from Sultan Ahmed I the renewal of capitulations and the signing of a commercial treaty in 1604. Recalled to France, he stopped in Tunis in 1606, where he succeeded in having some Christian slaves liberated; in Algiers, he achieved nothing. He was named ambassador to Rome in 1608, then tutor to the young duke of Anjou, the future Gaston d'Orléans.

9. To describe this farm, Vincent uses the correct term "timar," which he misspells as "temat," whereas the French only know the term "macerie." This tends to prove that he heard this word where it is native, in Barbary.

10. Psalm 137, *Super flumina Babylonis*:

By the waters of Babylon.
there we sat down and wept,
when we remembered Zion
On the willows there
we hung up our lyres.
For there our captors
required of us songs,

and our tormentors, mirth, saying,
“Sing us one of the songs of Zion!”
How shall we sing the Lord’s song
in a foreign land? . . .

11. Pierre Grandchamp, Chief of Service at the general residence in Tunis, in *La France en Tunisie au XVII^e siècle* (France in Tunisia in the seventeenth century), preface to volume 6 (1928), and “New Observations” in volume 7 (April 1929).

12. André Dodin, *La légende et l’histoire de Monsieur Depaul à saint Vincent de Paul* (Paris: OEIL, 1985), 149.

13. Coste 1:51.

14. See chapter 23 of this book.

15. These letters are inventoried and analyzed in J. Guichard, *St. Vincent de Paul, esclave à Tunis* (St. Vincent de Paul, slave at Tunis) (Paris: Desclée de Brower, 1937), 13–20.

16. The hypothesis advanced by Marcel Émerit to explain the disappearance of Vincent de Paul is founded on the statement that he was supposedly condemned to the galleys for the theft of the livery horse. After having rowed for two years, he is supposed to have escaped and taken refuge in Avignon, a papal territory. Then he is believed to have invented the story of his captivity in Barbary. See Marcel Émerit, “Comment se crée une légende: l’exemple de saint Vincent de Paul” (How a legend is created: the example of St. Vincent de Paul), *Les Cahiers rationalistes* (February 1978).

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Pierre-François Montorio (or Montoro) (1555–1643). From a great Roman family, he was named bishop of Nicastro in Calabria in 1594. He was sent as vice-legate to Avignon, where he stayed from 1604 to 1608. After a time in Rome, he returned to his see before being named nuncio to Cologne from 1621 to 1624. He ended his days in Rome.

2. It was in this way that on June 29, 1608, the successor of Monseigneur Montorio received the recantation of a priest of the Order of Cordeliers, who had become a Calvinist minister, a certain Guillaume Gautier. For some time, historians confused him with the renegade converted by Vincent.

3. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, persons attracted by alchemy or astrology were numerous, even among the princes of the Church. This was no longer the case in the second half of the century, which explains the reaction of Vincent when his letters reappeared and that of Abelly who did not hesitate to censor them.

4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Monsieur de Comet, Rome, February 28, 1608 (S.V. 1:13–17).

5. “Extract from the fourth register of the Ecclesiastical Insinuations of the Diocese of d’Acqs,” May 15, 1608 (S.V. 1:15, 16). “Insinuation” in its old sense means inscription of an act into a register.

6. Nicolas Coeffeteau (1574–1623). Doctor of the Sorbonne, a prolific and serious author, he distinguished himself in controversies with the Protestants. In 1610, he delivered the funeral oration of Henry IV. After receiving the episcopal mitre, he was named archbishop of Marseilles in 1621, shortly before his death.

7. Paul V, Camillo Borghese (1552–1621). In 1605, he succeeded Clement VIII on the throne of St. Peter. His signature is found on two documents concerning Vincent: the attributions of the abbey of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume and of the parish of Clichy-la-Garenne.

8. Writing in October 1657 to Monsieur Jolly, superior of the Mission at Rome, Vincent mentioned Monsieur Gueffier to him, calling him “such a good, sweet-natured, wise man” (S.V. 6:509).

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Bertrand Dulou (or du Lou) belonged to an important Gascon family. He had been a king’s judge for more than a decade in the little city of Sore, halfway between Dax and Bordeaux, in the heart of the Landes. We do not know where he stayed in Paris—in rooms belonging to his family or in a rented room

2. Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615). Daughter of Henry II and Catherine de Medici, she married Henry of Navarre just before the tragedy of St. Bartholomew’s Night in an unhappy union that ended in a separation. Expelled from the court of France, she held court brilliantly at Nérac before being imprisoned in the château of Usson. After Henry IV took the throne, her marriage was annulled in Rome. She obtained permission to live in Paris in 1605, where she had a palace built on the left bank of the Seine, opposite the Louvre.

3. Four brothers of the Order of St. John of God had arrived from Italy in 1601. They had obtained letters patent from Henry IV to found the hospital of St. John the Baptist of Charity.

4. *Monitoire*, a term of ecclesiastical law, is a notice from ecclesiastical lawyers read out during the announcements at mass to obligate parishioners to make their deposition about facts under investigation.

5. Abelly 1: chapter 5, 21. This anecdote was told by Vincent himself at the end of his life, in 1656. He attributed it to “a member of the Company” (S.V. 11:337).

6. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, canon of Saint-Cyran (see note 3 in chapter 13). His nephew, Martin de Barcos, states that Vincent shared a dwelling and finances with his uncle, without giving a date (*Dépense de feu Monsieur Vincent contre les faux discours des livres de sa vie publiés par Abelly* [Paris, 1668], 11, 12).

7. Charles du Fresne, lord of Villeneuve, secretary of Queen Marguerite of Valois, entered the service of Emmanuel de Gondi when the queen died. He was secretary and then manager of his household. He became an intimate friend of Vincent de Paul.

8. Dispatch of letters of ordination, extracted from the fourth register of Ecclesiastical Insinuations of the Diocese of Dax, Thursday, May 15 and Saturday, May 17, 1608 (Archives CM).

9. National archives, KK 180. The document specifies that for the year 1608, the queen's good works reached a sum of 1,900 écus.

10. S.V. 13:8, 12, 14.

11. The university diploma attesting to the fact that Vincent was licensed *in utroque jure* (in both laws), civil as well as canon law, was presented by Brother Chollier at the beatification process. In the meantime, the document has disappeared and its date is no longer known. The title appears for the first time in a document dated March 2, 1624, but it is possible that he had obtained this university degree much earlier (S.V. 13:60, n. 1).

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to his mother at Pouy, February 17, 1610 (S.V. 11:18).

13. The abbey of Saint-Léonard, about twenty kilometers east of La Rochelle, was founded in 1036 by Benedictines, who were replaced by Cistercians in the sixteenth century. Destroyed by Huguenots and then partially restored, it was suppressed in 1791. Paul Hurault de l'Hôpital was archbishop of Aix from 1599 to 1624 and a member of the Council of State.

14. "St. Vincent, guarantor for Arnault Dozier, lessee of the abbey of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume," Friday, May 14, 1610 (*Annales CM*, vol. 106–107 [1941–1942]: 260–262; text reviewed and annotated by Bernard Koch, C.M., in 1996 [Archives CM]). "Resignation of the Abbey of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume in favor of St. Vincent," Monday, May 17, 1610 (S.V. 13:8–13).

15. "Assumption of the abbey of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume by St. Vincent," Saturday, October 16, 1610 (Archives CM).

16. "Granting of power of attorney by St. Vincent to Pierre Gaigneur for the affairs of the abbey of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume," Thursday, October 18, 1610 (Archives CM).

17. Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629). He was son of a counselor in the parlement of Paris and of Louise Séguier, of the family of the chancellor. After serious studies in law and theology, he was ordained in 1599. He played an important role in the Church as founder of the Congregation of the Oratory and in politics through the missions entrusted to him by the king. He opposed Richelieu in foreign policy. He was created cardinal in 1627.

18. Jacques Davy du Perron (1556–1618). Son of a Protestant minister, he became an ordained priest after recantation and was named bishop of Évreux in 1591. In Rome, in 1594, he obtained absolution for Henry IV. Created cardinal and archbishop of Sens in 1606, he was an eloquent orator and a brilliant poet.

19. Madame Acarie (1566–1618). Daughter of a master of the accounts, Nicolas Avriilot, she married Pierre Acarie under family pressure, and had six children. Early on, she chose the spiritual path under the direction of Benoît de Canfield. The “beautiful Acarie,” simultaneously a mystic and full of practical good sense, was at the center of a circle of clergy and laity. Her influence in church reform was well known. When she was widowed, she entered the Carmelite convent she had helped to establish in Paris and where three of her daughters had already taken the veil.

20. Conversation in October 1643 (S.V. 11:128).

21. André Duval (1564–1638). Doctor of theology of the Sorbonne, he was a counselor to Vincent de Paul after the death of Bérulle.

22. Pierre Coton (1564–1626). Educated by the Jesuits, he entered that order and became the confessor of Henry IV, who held him in high esteem. He obtained from the king permission for the Society of Jesus to return to France. Conciliatory in spirit, he entered into dialogue with the Protestants. He was also the spiritual adviser of the young Louis XIII.

23. “Account of a temptation against faith” (Abelly 3:116–118 and S.V. 11:32–34).

24. Cf. S.V. 12:256 and 13:29.

25. All items concerning trials and sentences handed down by the court of La Rochelle from February to December 1611 come from the archives of the Department of Charente-Maritime. They were graciously made available to Bernard Koch, C.M., in February 1997 by Mr. Pascal Even, director of the departmental archives. They now have a place in the Archives of the Congregation of the Mission. The Cistercian Order, which grew considerably since its foundation in the eleventh century, consisted of four families, the “four daughters of Cîteaux,” whose principal abbeys were La Ferté, Clairvaux, Pontigny, and Morimond. In the trial of March 17, 1611, it was a question of whether Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume was a dependency of Pontigny or Morimond.

26. When an abbey was commendatory, its revenues were normally divided as follows: one third to the commendatory abbot, one third for the prior and his community, and one third for the general expenses of the domain. In the case of Saint-Léonard, it is known that Vincent agreed to pay the former abbot, Hurault de l'Hôpital, 1,200 livres a year, that he would be obliged to give the same amount to the prior, André de la Serre, from an overall income of 3,600 livres (total of the lease agreement signed by Doziet and deeded to Vincent). Other aspects of the case are not known nor do we know whether Vincent had made other commitments with regard to this abbey. One witness remains to the financial difficulties with which Vincent was struggling: an admission of debt, con-

tracted on December 7, 1612 with Jacques Gasteaud, doctor of theology, living at La Rochelle, for a sum of 320 tournois livres (S.V. 13:19).

27. "St. Vincent pursued by Monseigneur Paul Hurault de l'Hôpital," Saturday, May 28, 1611 (*Annals CM*, vol. 106–107 [1941–1942]: 262–263).

28. This sum was due to be paid by the king to pay a ship-owner for the loss of a ship of 8,400 cubic meters, home port Biarritz, which was scuttled in a battle against Spain. After complicated proceedings, this sum came into the hands of Jean de la Tanne, who because of his official functions could not appear to be the donor (S.V. 13:14).

29. H. de Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (Literary History of Religious Sentiment in France) (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1929), vol. 3, 159.

30. Deed of possession of the parish of Clichy, May 1612 (S.V. 13:17).

31. This territory corresponds approximately to the seventeenth and eighteenth arrondissements and half of the eighth in today's Paris.

32. Conference presented to missionaries, September 26, 1659 (S.V. 12:339).

33. Alexandre Hennequin, lord of Clichy-la-Garenne, was born in 1583. His father was killed in the attempt on the life of Henry III in 1589 and he was raised by his uncle and tutor, Michel de Marillac, counselor in the parlement of Paris. The title of lord of Clichy originates with an Olivier Allegret, advocate general to the parlement of Paris, one of whose daughters married Louis Hennequin, grandfather of Alexandre. Another daughter married Guillaume de Marillac, father of Michel de Marillac. The sister of the latter, Marie de Marillac, married a Nicolas Hennequin, one of whose sons, Monsieur de Vincy, and one of whose daughters, Mademoiselle du Fay, would play a role in the life of Vincent de Paul.

34. Conference presented to the Daughters of Charity, July 27, 1653 (S.V. 9:646).

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Abelly 1: chapter 7, 27. No document gives the exact date of Vincent's appointment by the Gondis. In the official documents dating from this period, he did not use the title of tutor; he simply gave his address, corresponding to that of the Hôtel Gondi (rue des Petits Champs and then rue Pavée).

2. There is no document marking the end of his responsibility as chaplain and counselor to Queen Marguerite of Valois. From 1612 onward, he no longer used this title in documents, replacing it with abbot of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume. It is probable that when he entered the Gondi household he was no longer attached to the household of Queen Marguerite of Valois.

3. Cardinal Pierre de Gondi acquired the county of Joigny in 1603, upon the death of the countess Gabrielle de Laval. He offered it to his nephew Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi as a wedding gift on June 11, 1604, while retaining

the usufruct for himself. He lived at Joigny until his death in 1616, and this is where Vincent must have met him when Philippe-Emmanuel's family stayed at Joigny. The cardinal probably told him tales of his missions to Pope Clement VIII to negotiate the reconciliation of Henry IV and the scruples which the pope suffered on this account. Vincent often used these scruples, and the manner in which Clement was delivered from them, as an example (S.V. 5:318; 12:347; 13:336).

4. Cardinal de Retz, *Mémoires* (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1984), 129.

5. *Ibid.*, 159.

6. Abelly 3:177–178.

7. S.V. 11:25–28.

8. Gamaches is a village of the region of Vexin in Normandy, about four kilometers from the castle of Étrepagny and twelve kilometers from Écouis. Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi was baron of Écouis. Vincent probably did not take possession of the parish, but was satisfied to keep the title and the revenue for a while. The document concerning “the appointment of Monsieur Vincent as dean of Gamaches” on Friday, February 28, 1614, has been translated and analyzed by Bernard Koch (Archives CM). It was published in *Mission et Charité* no. 8 (October 1962): 495.

9. In the historical notarial archives there is found under the date of February 1, 1614, a declaration made by “Messire Vincent Depaul, priest, abbot of Saint-Léonard, living in the house of the General of the Galleys . . . that of the sum of 1,800 livres, taken and borrowed from demoiselle Anne le Prestre, wife of the nobleman François Lhuillier, lord of Interville, by Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi . . . the sum of 1,500 livres was given to him in the form of a loan to settle his urgent business, by the aforementioned lords and lady.” No details are given of what the urgent business was that Vincent had to settle. It might have been related to his legal claims on the abbey of Saint-Léonard. This loan was transformed into a gift on April 1, 1620. It should be noted that the lenders, Anne le Prestre and François Lhuillier, had a daughter, Hélène-Angélique, who in 1620 was received into the Convent of the Visitation and became its superior, and a second daughter, Marie, wife of Claude-Marcel de Villeneuve, who was closely connected to Louise de Marillac and Madame de Lamoignon. When she was widowed, Marie founded the Daughters of the Cross, around 1640. In this way was woven the network of relations which supported Vincent's work, both spiritual and financial. (Document translated and analyzed by Bernard Koch, Archives CM).

10. Sermon of St. Vincent on the catechism (S.V. 13:25). Judging from the context of this sermon, it must have been preached in 1616, after the death of Cardinal Pierre de Gondi, when Philippe-Emmanuel took on responsibility for the county of Joigny.

11. The collator is the individual who has the right to confer the benefice. Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi enjoyed this privilege by right of being the baron de Plessis-Écouis. In this way, he was able to transfer these responsibilities to “Monsieur Vincent, tutor to Messieurs his children” (S.V. 13:19–24).

12. Abbé Jacques Leviste, “Le château du Fay et la seigneurie de Villechien depuis le XVI^e siècle” (The Château du Fay and the Domain of Villechien since the sixteenth century), *Études Villeneuviennes*, nos. 6 and 7.

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Edme Meaujean, vicar general of Sens, June 21, 1616 (S.V. 1:20).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jacques Tholard, C.M., August 22, 1640 (S.V. 2:107). The monastery of Valprofonde was located near the village of Béon, a scant eight kilometers southwest of Joigny. Nothing is left of it today but a farm building.

15. “Resignation by St. Vincent of the abbey of Saint-Léonard-de-Chaume,” October 29, 1616 (S.V. 13:37–39).

Notes to Chapter 7

1. Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1588–1646). In 1609, he married Charlotte de Montmorency, beloved of Henry IV. He is the father of Louis de Bourbon, the Grand Condé.

2. Charles d’Albert, duke of Luynes (1578–1621). This modest gentleman, who gained the confidence and friendship of the king, was showered with favors. After he received a portion of Concini’s estate, he married Marie de Rohan and received the title of duke de Luynes. In 1621, he was raised to the rank of constable. Shortly thereafter, during the siege of Saint-Jean-d’Angély, he was carried off by a fever.

3. Folleville is sixteen kilometers west of Montdidier and four kilometers north of Breteuil. Gannes is twelve kilometers south of Folleville.

4. “Talk on the Mission given at Folleville in 1617” (S.V. 11:4–5). Recalling this sermon at Folleville, Vincent emphasized the fact that January 25 is the feast day of the Conversion of Saint Paul, and he compared this celebration and the first sermon of the Mission, adding that this was something that God had not brought about on this very day without a plan.

5. S.V. 13:25–37.

6. The archbishop of Lyon wrote to Monsieur de Bérulle that after having installed a house of Carmelite nuns at Châtillon, he wanted to implant the Congregation of the Oratory in the same town, hoping to transform it into a center from which Catholic ideas would radiate throughout the region. Father de Bourgoing had just preached a very successful mission there and asked whether he could take on responsibility for the parish of Châtillon, whose

titular pastor was about to withdraw (letter from Monseigneur Denis de Marquemont to Monsieur de Bérulle, October 18, 1616, Archives of the Department of the Rhône, copy in Archives CM). "Instrument of Accession to the Cure of Châtillon-les-Dombes" (S.V. 1:354).

7. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Robert de Sergis, C.M., September, 29 1636 (S.V. 1:354).

8. After a long and bloody conflict, Charles-Emmanuel of Savoy was obliged to cede to the king of France, Henry IV, a large portion of his territory (Gex, Valronney, le Bugey, and the Bresse) in the treaty of Lyon in 1602.

9. François de Bonne, duke of Lesdiguières (1543–1626). He was chief of the Huguenot resistance in the Dauphiné, then allied himself with Henry IV, who named him marshal of France in 1609. He abjured Protestantism in 1622 and Louis XIII named him constable.

10. "Instrument of Relinquishment of the Cure of Châtillon by Jean Lourdelot," April 19, 1617 (S.V. 13:40).

11. "Instrument of Nomination of Vincent Depaul to the Cure of Châtillon," July 29, 1617 (S.V. 13:41–43).

12. "Instrument of Accession to the Cure of Châtillon-les-Dombes," August 1, 1617 (S.V. 13:43, 44).

13. At the beatification process of Vincent de Paul, a report was made in 1665 by a priest, Charles Demia, doctor of the University of Paris. With an obviously hagiographic purpose, he painted the condition of the parish when Vincent arrived at Châtillon as black as possible. The testimony that he gathered locally, from what he called the oldest inhabitants of the town, should also be taken with caution. Most biographies of Vincent were based on Father Demia's report. The scenario of the film in which Pierre Fresnay embodied Monsieur Vincent in masterful fashion is also inspired by this document. The recent discovery of the letter of Monseigneur de Marquemont makes it possible to topple this legend. See the report of Charles Demia on the time Saint Vincent spent as pastor of Châtillon-les-Dombes (S.V. 13:45–54).

14. "Minutes of the Pastoral Visit of Monseigneur Denis de Marquemont, bishop of Lyon to the parish of Châtillon-les-Dombes," 1614. The original of this document is held in the Archives of the Department of the Rhône. The same is true of the document concerning construction of two new chapels in the church of Saint-Martin (documents transcribed by Bernard Koch, C.M., Archives CM).

15. The authenticating signature of Louis Girard is to be seen on the first certificate of a baptism performed by Vincent de Paul, August 16, 1617 (Archives CM).

16. Of the forty or more baptisms celebrated at the church at Châtillon during the five months of Vincent's stay there, only four or five are signed by him. The others were performed by his curates. Most were signed by his first curate, Louis Girard, who was to succeed Vincent as pastor. (The entries of

baptisms in the register were transcribed and evaluated by Bernard Koch, C.M., Archives CM).

17. Conference given by Vincent de Paul, May 16, 1659 (S.V. 12:231–233).

18. Conference given by Vincent de Paul, February 13, 1646 (S.V. 9:243).

19. “Women’s Confraternity of Charity at Châtillon-les-Dombes,” November and December 1617 (S.V. 13:423–429). The original document is in the hand of Louis Girard, and the handwriting of Vincent only appears at the end, just before the signature. In the same way, the opening of the notebook of accounts, December 15, is in the hand of Louis Girard, as Vincent was at that time on the verge of leaving.

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi, August 1617 (S.V. 1:21).

21. Letter from Madame de Gondi to Vincent de Paul, September 1617 (S.V. 1:21).

22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Madame de Gondi, September or October 1617 (S.V. 1:23).

23. Letter from Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi to Vincent de Paul, October 15, 1617 (S.V. 1:23).

Notes to Chapter 8

1. “Women’s Charité of Châtillon-les-Dombes,” November and December 1617 (S.V. 13:423–439).

2. Villecien is in the valley of the Yon, downstream from Joigny; Paroy-sur-Tholon is four kilometers south of Joigny.

3. “Women’s Charité of Joigny,” September 1618 (S.V. 13:439–446).

4. “Women’s Charité of Montmirail,” October 1, 1618 (S.V. 13:461–475). Madame de Gondi was both countess of Joigny and baroness of Montmirail.

5. Vincent was following the practice of his times in not confiding the control of finances directly to the Ladies of Charity, but as he would often state later, his personal conviction was not in agreement. In his opinion, women were perfectly capable of managing and administering finances (S.V. 1:78, 79; S.V. 4:71).

6. Pierre de Bérulle spoke of himself as a man of action, leading the Oratory with a firm hand and organizing, before Vincent, numerous missions throughout the kingdom. Many delicate diplomatic missions were entrusted to him, but in politics he opposed Richelieu when the latter allied himself with Protestant states to fight against Spain. At the same time, he developed a doctrine inspired by Augustinian thought and the school of Theresa of Avila, Flemish, and Italian mystics. He expounded this doctrine in a work published in 1622: *Discours sur l’état et les grandeurs de Jésus* (Discourse on the nature and the greatness of Jesus).

7. Francis de Sales (1567–1622). Ordained priest in 1593, he was made bishop of Geneva in 1602, the year of his first stay in Paris, where he had come to negotiate the religious status of Bugey, a town ceded by Savoy to France. He preached that Lent at the Louvre. In 1610, at Annecy, he founded the Order of the Visitation with Jeanne de Chantal. He died in 1622, was canonized in 1665, and was proclaimed a doctor of the Church in 1877.

8. “Deposition of Vincent de Paul at the beatification process of Francis de Sales,” April 17, 1628 (S.V. 13:66–84).

9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Martin, C.M., November 26, 1655 (S.V. 5:471).

10. Jeanne-Françoise Frémyot (1572–1641). Daughter of the president of the parlement of Burgundy, in 1592 she married the baron de Chantal, who left her a widow with six children in 1601. In 1610, under the direction of Francis de Sales, she founded the first house of the Visitation at Annecy. By the time of her death, on December 13, 1641, the congregation had eighty-seven convents. She was canonized in 1787.

11. Concerning the original intentions of Francis de Sales, see his letters written on May 24, 1610, to Father Nicolas Polliens, S.J.: “As for the sisters, they will go out to serve the sick after the year of their novitiate” and on April 3, 1611, to the abbot of l’Abondance: “After their profession, they will go to serve the sick, with great humility, so God will” (*Oeuvres de St. François de Sales* [Works of St. Francis de Sales], Book 14 *Letters*, vol. 4 [Librairie catholique Emmanuel Vitte, 1906]). See also the 1641 study by J. P. Camus, reporting a conversation with Francis de Sales: “I only intended to establish one house at Annecy, where there was a simple congregation of widows and girls, without vows or enclosure, whose work it was to keep themselves free to visit and comfort the poor sick” (*Oeuvres complètes de St. François de Sales*, ed. J. P. Migne [1861], vol. 2, pp. 360–362).

12. Charles de la Saussaye (1525–1621). From an old noble family, doctor of theology, canon of Orléans, he became pastor of Saint-Jacques in 1617. He made the acquaintance of Francis de Sales at the Confraternity of St. Charles Borromeo.

13. “Letter of accreditation of the royal chaplain,” February 8, 1619 (S.V. 13:55).

14. Later, in 1632, Vincent would receive from the king and the aldermen an order that galley slaves who were ill would be transported to a square tower, part of the ancient wall of the capital city between the gate of Saint-Bernard and the Seine, where they would be cared for under more humane conditions.

15. The hospital for the galley slaves at Marseilles was not completed until 1646, when it came into being thanks to the persistent work of Gaspard de Simiane, friend of the bishop of that city. Vincent would support this work at court and obtain its funding by the duchess d’Aiguillon. The king made a donation of the land, located within the walls of the arsenal of the

galleys. By letters patent of July 1646, the king undertook to support the upkeep of the hospital to the amount of 9,000 livres (cf. AN A2 II f 277-286 and B6 77f 231-253).

16. S.V. 13:475-490.

17. Abelly 1:54-57, and S.V. 11:34-37.

18. "Monsieur Vincent is attached to the Order of Friars Minim," Friday, February 26, 1621 (document in Archives CM and in Collet 1:100). An order founded by the hermit Francesco, born around 1416 near Paola in Calabria, and died in 1507 in the hermitage of Plessis-les-Tours. This order had a very rigorous rule which added to the usual three vows a fourth one of perpetual fasting. King Louis XI, when he was ill, called the hermit Francesco to come to him because he had a reputation for saintliness. The king hoped that the hermit would bring him healing. He was canonized in 1519 under the name Francesco di Paola. We do not know what services Vincent rendered to the Minims, but probably he obtained support which made their foundation of houses in France easier.

19. "Mixed Charité of Joigny," May 1621 (S.V. 13:446-461).

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, July 21, 1635 (S.V. 13:833).

21. Record of the Charité of Mâcon, twelve documents, twenty-three pages (Archives CM). Record containing extracts of the registers of the city hall of Mâcon for the sessions of September 16 and 17 and of the register of chapter deliberations of September 17, 1621. See also Abelly 1:61-63; Collet 1:107-108; and S.V. 13:504-510.

22. The viscounty of Béarn was not returned to the Crown until 1594, in the statute of autonomous principality by Henry IV. According to the chroniclers, Henry sought to satisfy the spirit of independence of the Béarnais people by proclaiming to them that he was re-uniting France to the Béarn! But the edict was not published until 1620, in the reign of Louis XIII.

23. The date of this mission to Bordeaux is disputed. Some date it to the year 1622, others to March 1624. This is the position of Joseph Guichard (study in Archives CM), but according to this hypothesis, it is difficult to place Vincent's journey to Pouy. Coste has chosen an intermediate date, 1623. Some biographers indicate this date for Vincent's edifying story. Moved by the fate of a galley slave, he asked to take his place on the rowers' bench. This rather unlikely story has been the theme of many paintings.

24. S.V. 12:219. Tradition has it that during this stay, Vincent went with his family to make a pilgrimage to Buglose, four kilometers from Pouy, where a statue of the Virgin had recently been found. A chapel had been built on the spot and consecrated in 1622 by Bishop J. J. Dusault.

25. The help given to his family was revealed later (cf. S.V. 13:61-63).

26. "Mandate for Accession to the Priory of Saint-Nicolas-de-Grosse-Sauve," February 7, 1624 (S.V. 13:56) The priory was located about sixteen kilometers southeast of Langres, in the commune of Loges. Parties to the

suit were the chapter of Saint-Mamès and the Oratory. Vincent was not directly involved.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., April 1, 1642 (S.V. 2:247).

2. The Collège des Bons-Enfants was not a teaching establishment but an institution which provided room and board for an annual fee of 350 livres. In 1624, it housed only seven or eight students, two of whom held scholarships from a foundation created by a former rector of the University of Paris, Jean Pluyette.

3. His university diplomas were found in Vincent's room after his death. They disappeared during the sack of Saint-Lazare on July 13, 1789 (S.V. 13:60, n. 1). The document naming Vincent de Paul "principal of the Collège des Bons-Enfants" Friday, March 1, 1624, was also lost under the same circumstances (Collet 1:113).

4. "Charter of Foundation of the Congregation of the Mission," April 17, 1625 (S.V. 13:197-202).

5. Certain details of the charter were dictated by the ideas of Madame de Gondi. They limited the freedom of action of the congregation's superior. After the death of his wife, Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi established a "modification of the charter of foundation of the Mission" (Saturday, April 17, 1627), as he was entering the Congregation of the Oratory. By this document, he freed "Master Vincent de Paul . . . in whom he has complete and entire confidence" from all the relevant articles (document found in the National Archives, central records by Monsieur Jean-Charles Niclas, Chartist, director of the National Library at Sablé).

6. At the death of Pierre de Bérulle in 1629, Father de Gondi was proposed as the new superior of the Oratory, but this was opposed by Cardinal de Richelieu. Later, at the time of the Fronde, Mazarin exiled Father de Gondi to his estate at Villepreux because of the actions of his son, Cardinal de Retz. Father de Gondi ended his days at Joigny, where he died in 1662.

7. Abelly 1:73

8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Nicolas de Bailleuil, July 25, 1625 (S.V. 1:24).

9. Conference of May 17, 1658 (S.V. 12:8).

10. "Letters of Association of the First Missionaries," September 4, 1626 (S.V. 13:203). The four first missionaries, who were signatories to this document, were: Vincent de Paul, priest and principal of the Collège des Bons-Enfants; François de Coudray, priest of the diocese of Amiens; Antoine Portail, priest of the diocese of Arles; Jean de la Salle, priest of the diocese of Amiens.

11. "Donation of Vincent de Paul to his relatives," September 4, 1626 (S.V. 13:61).

12. A receipt for 400 livres, corresponding to the arrears of four years of room and board payments which were to be paid by "Monsieur Jean Souillard, presently pastor of Clichy-la-Garenne," to Vincent de Paul, is dated July 1630 (S.V. 13:85).

13. Letters patent by which the king approved the Congregation of the Mission, May 1627 (S.V. 13:206-208).

14. Letter from King Louis XIII to Pope Urban VIII, June 24, 1628 (S.V. 13:219) and letter from King Louis XIII to Monsieur de Béthune, June 24, 1628 (S.V. 13:220).

15. "Petition addressed to Pope Urban VIII," June 1628 (S.V. 1:42-51). The document was signed by Vincent de Paul and his first eight companions in the Mission. Among them was Louis Callon, doctor of the Sorbonne, who soon returned to his parish of Aumale in Normandy. In 1629 he made a donation of 4,000 livres so that two priests of the Mission could come to "preach, catechize, and hear the general confessions of the poor people of the diocese of Rouen, and especially in the deanery of Aumale, place of his birth" (V.E. Veucelin, *Saint Vincent de Paul en Normandie* [Vincent de Paul in Normandy] [1890]).

16. "Report presented to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith on the petition of Saint Vincent, June 1628," August 22, 1628 (S.V. 13:222-224). "Decision on the petition . . . of St. Vincent in June 1628" (S.V. 13:225).

17. Letter from Cardinal de Bérulle, November 1628 (Dagens, *Correspondance du cardinal de Bérulle*, vol. III, 434-345, cited in Coste 1:185). This seems to have been the only intervention by Bérulle against Vincent's project. From the beginning of 1629 on, the cardinal turned against the ambassador of France, who had not supported the candidacy of an Oratorian to be pastor of Saint Louis des Français at Rome.

18. "Opposition of the Priests of Paris to Approval of the Congregation of the Mission," December 4, 1630 (S.V. 13:227-232).

19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François de Coudray, C.M., 1631 (S.V. 1:115).

20. See Luigi Mezzadri and José-Maria Roman, *Histoire de la Congregation de la Mission* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1994), 1:40, 61.

21. Adrien Bourdoise (1584-1655). Ordained priest in 1613 after coming under the influence of Pierre de Bérulle, he became pastor of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet. There he organized a community of priests and then a seminary which was officially recognized in 1644, financed by the members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament. Vincent de Paul adopted some of his methods when he began creating his own seminaries.

22. Augustin Potier (?-1650). He was son of Nicolas Potier, lord of Blancmesnil, who was named chancellor by Maria de Medici. Bishop of Beauvais in

1616, he dedicated himself to evangelizing his diocese. He was Grand Almoner to Anne of Austria and aspired to political influence during her regency. He was pushed aside by Mazarin and returned to govern his diocese.

23. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François du Coudray, C.M., September 15, 1628 (S.V. 1:66, 67).

24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François du Coudray, C.M., September 12, 1631 (S.V. 1:122).

25. Louise de Marillac (1591–1660). Daughter of Louis de Marillac, she married in 1631 Antoine Le Gras, secretary attaché in the household of Maria de Medici. As wife of a simple esquire, she was called Mademoiselle Le Gras. Widowed in 1625, she raised her only son with difficulty. Later, she hoped that he would become a priest but he preferred to marry. She was second in command to Vincent de Paul in all his works and particularly the Daughters of Charity. She died a few months before Vincent, and was canonized in March 1934.

26. Jean-Pierre Camus, bishop of Belley, was the nephew of the second wife of Louis de Marillac, father of Louise.

27. In the *Œuvres spirituels* (Spiritual Writings) of Louise de Marillac, we find this passage: “I was once more assured that I was to remain tranquil and rest upon my spiritual director, the one whom God had chosen for me. I felt dislike for him but nevertheless I obeyed and it did not seem right to change yet” (Archives, mother house of the Daughters of Charity).

28. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, May 6, 1629 (S.V. 1:73).

29. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, September 15, 1631 (S.V. 1:126).

30. Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642). After his years of study at the Collège de Navarre and the Académie Pluvinel, he studied theology. Consecrated bishop in Rome in 1606, he occupied the see of Luçon. He received the cardinal’s hat in 1622. From 1626 until his death, he was the right hand of King Louis XIII. Having consolidated his power on the Day of the Dupes in 1630, he determined to build a new city near his family chateau of Richelieu, since his domain had been raised to the status of a peerage duchy by the king. At his request, a house of the Mission was founded in the city of Richelieu in 1638.

31. The Marillacs, an old family originating in the Auvergne, occupied important positions from the fifteenth century on. A Guillaume de Marillac, Comptroller General, married twice. With his first wife, Renée Allégret, he had eight children. One of them, Louis, lord de Ferrières, was the father of Louise de Marillac and another, Michel, became Keeper of the Seals. With his second wife, Geneviève de Bois-Levêque, he had four children. One of them, another Louis, became a marshal of France.

Michel de Marillac (1563–1632). Counselor in the parlement of Paris, superintendent of finances in 1624 and Keeper of the Seals, he was considered

the head of the Party of the Devout. He opposed Richelieu, who managed to have him disgraced and exiled.

Louis de Marillac, count of Beaumont (1573–1632). At the end of a brilliant career, he received, in 1629, the baton of a marshal and command of the Army of Italy. Implicated in the plots against Richelieu, he was condemned and executed on May 10, 1632.

32. The duchy of Mantua belonged to the Gonzague family. When Duke Vincent de Gonzague died without an heir in December 1627, the duchy was to revert to his closest relative, Charles de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. But the Spanish did not want a Frenchman governing a strategically placed territory near the duchy of Milan, a Spanish possession. They supported the candidacy of Duke Guastella, an Italian, distant cousin of the Gonzagues. Charles de Gonzague went to take possession of his duchy, which also included Montferrat. He was attacked by the Spanish, which brought about the intervention wished for by Richelieu.

33. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, May 1632 (S.V. 1:155).

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Nicolas Étienne, C.M., July 30, 1650 (S.V. 5:533).

2. Adrien Le Bon (1577–1651). Canon regular of Saint Augustine, after ceding his priory of Saint-Lazare to the Congregation of the Mission in return for support of himself and his canons, he made the Congregation heir to all his possessions. Vincent de Paul always remained deeply grateful to him for this, assisted him in his last moments, and wrote his funeral eulogy.

3. The seigniorial rights attached to this included the levying of duties and the collection of certain taxes such as the tax on the Fair of Saint-Laurent which was held near Saint-Lazare, and the exercise of high, middle, and low justice. This explains the presence of a prison within the walls of the priory.

4. The enclosure of Saint-Lazare extended over an area which today is bounded by the rue Faubourg-Poissonnière, rue Faubourg-Saint-Denis, Boulevard de la Chapelle, and the rue de Paradis. This land is largely occupied today by the Gare du Nord and the Hôpital de Lariboisière. After the Revolution, old buildings had been converted into a women's prison which was torn down between 1935 and 1940. Some apartment houses, built in the eighteenth century by the Lazarists as income properties, survive along the rue Faubourg-Saint-Denis, bearing a large monogram S.V. on their facades.

5. Charles Faure (1594–1644). He was charged with applying the reform to the monastery of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. He was so successful that Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld named him to head the Congregation of France, in

which all the houses of canons regular of all the provinces in the kingdom were united. Vincent de Paul later noted that he had little credit with Father Faure (S.V. 1:137).

6. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume de Lestocq, 1631 (S.V. 1:137).

7. "Act of Union between the Priory of Saint-Lazare and the Congregation of the Mission," January 8, 1632. "Approval by the archbishop of Paris of the unification of Saint-Lazare and the Mission," January 8, 1632 (S.V. 13:234–257).

8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to N., 1632 (S.V. 1:151).

9. Jean Orcibal, "Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de Saint-Cyran, et son temps" (Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbot of Saint-Cyran, and his times), *Bibliothèque de la revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, no. 26, *Les Origines du Jansénisme*, vol. 2 (1947).

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., September 1650 (S.V. 4:70).

11. S.V. 13:331, n. 2.

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to N., 1633 (S.V. 1:180).

13. Wife of President de Herse, née Charlotte de Ligny, was since 1634, widow of Michel de Vialard, lord de Herse, Master of Petitions at the palace. Their son, Félix de Vialard de Herse was consecrated bishop of Châlons in 1642.

14. Nicolas Pavillon (1597–1677). Ordained priest in 1626, he took part in the missions before being named bishop of Alet in 1637. He was a zealous, reform-minded bishop who refused to sign the formulary condemning the Jansenist theses.

François-Étienne de Caulet (1610–1680). Son of a hooded magistrate in the parlement of Toulouse, educated by Jesuits, he was named bishop of Pamiers in 1644. Very strict in the area of morality, he, like Pavillon, refused to sign the formulary against the Jansenists.

15. The title "Tuesday Conferences" was purposely chosen because of the etymology of "conference": *cum ferre*, to bring together. The conference is the bringing together of reflections on a given subject. These meetings were not the occasion of a passive audience listening to a prepared talk.

16. "Rule for Priests Participating in the Tuesday Conferences" (S.V. 13:128–132). The first article of the Rule defines the spirit of the conference: "to honor the life of Jesus Christ, his eternal priesthood, his Holy Family, and his love for the poor . . . to try to make one's life conform to His."

17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean de Fonteneil, January 8, 1637 (S.V. 1:373). The letter refers to Antoine Godeau, named bishop of Grasse, François Fouquet, bishop of Bayonne, and Nicolas Pavillon, bishop of Alet.

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, around 1632 (S.V. 1:155).

19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, June 1632 (S.V. 1:157, 159). Madame Goussault, née Geneviève Fayet, widow of Antoine Goussault,

lord de Souvigny, president of the Chamber of Accounts of Paris, devoted herself until her death in 1639 to all the programs founded by Vincent de Paul.

Mademoiselle Poulaillon, née Marie de Lumagne (1599–1657), widow of François Poulaillon (or Polallion), gentleman of the king's household, had chosen Vincent de Paul as her spiritual director, and she assisted Louise de Marillac. With the help of Vincent, she founded an order to care for delinquent girls, the Daughters of Providence.

20. "Conference on the virtues of Marguerite Naseau" (S.V. 9:77–79).

21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, May 1, 1633 (S.V. 1:197). On the question of medicine and Vincent de Paul, see the long study of Bernard Koch, C.M., *Saint Vincent and the Sick*, December 1994 (Archives CM).

22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., November 28, 1632 (S.V. 1:175–178). We should note that for this important mission, the members of the Tuesday Conferences were more numerous than the members of the Congregation.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. François de la Rochefoucauld (1558–1645). Bishop of Clermont, ardent member of the League, he cast his lot with Henry IV who named him to the bishopric of Senlis. Raised to the cardinalate in 1607, he played a prominent role in the assembly of the clergy in 1614, which decided how the decrees of the Council of Trent would be applied. Grand Almoner of France in 1618, he presided over the king's council in 1622. At this time, he resigned the bishopric of Senlis to dedicate himself to the reform of the abbeys belonging to the orders of Saint Benedict, Saint Augustine, and Saint Bernard. When he was abbot of Sainte-Geneviève, he confided its reform to Father Charles Faure, and then extended this reform movement to houses of canons regular throughout the kingdom. Vincent de Paul was with him in his last hours, on February 14, 1645.

2. The guérinets, named after Father Guérin, were a group of mystics in Picardy who were considered to be dangerous illuminati. The king, following the advice of Richelieu and of his powerful confidential adviser, Father Joseph, asked Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld to have Monsieur Vincent defend their case in September 1630. Vincent, with the advice of the learned theologian, Duval, absolved the guérinets of all suspicion of heresy. He even became a protector of the Daughters of the Cross, founded by Father Guérin and Marie Lhuillier, sister of Hélène-Angélique, who became superior of the first monastery of the Visitation in Paris. The two women were daughters of the financier who had helped Vincent de Paul in 1614 (see chapter 6, note 10).

3. Jean-Louis de Rochechouart, count de Chandénier, was brought up in the household of Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, his maternal uncle. Two of his sons, Claude and Louis, became disciples of Vincent de Paul.

Claude de Chandénier, pastor of Moutiers-Saint-Jean, of which he would make Vincent vicar general from 1650 to 1652, while he himself went for instruction to Nicolas Pavillon, bishop of Alet. He lived until 1670.

Louis de Chandénier, abbot of Tournus, faithful member of the Tuesday Conferences. As such, he took part in many missions. In 1658, he directed the mission at Metz, which was noteworthy. He died in 1660, as he was returning from a pilgrimage to Rome. Both brothers refused to be named bishop.

4. Marie-Madeleine de Vignerod, duchess d'Aiguillon (1604–1675). Married to the marquis de Combalet, she became a widow at the age of eighteen. At that time, she entered the Carmelite Order as a novice, but her uncle, Cardinal Richelieu, removed her from the convent with the authorization of Rome and placed her in the queen's household as a lady in waiting. In 1638, he raised the lands of the duchy of Aiguillon to the status of peerage and had them attributed to her. At the death of her uncle, she inherited a most significant fortune which she largely devoted to charitable works, all the while proving to be very severe with her creditors. She conducted long lawsuits with the princes de Condé who were contesting Richelieu's will.

5. Henri de Lévis, duke of Ventadour (1596–1680). His wife, Marie-Liesse de Luxembourg, being childless, entered the Carmel house at Avignon in 1629. After fighting against the Huguenots in Languedoc, he worked for the triumph of the Catholic cause by other means. Together with the help of a Capuchin friar, Philippe d'Angoumois, and a Jesuit, Father Suffren, he founded the Company of the Blessed Sacrament in 1630. In 1641, he received the order of sub-deacon and accepted the office of canon at Notre-Dame of Paris in 1650. At that moment, he resigned his title of duke and peer in favor of his younger brother. The Company of the Blessed Sacrament was dissolved in 1660 by Mazarin.

6. Cf. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, no. 8 (October 1917), "Saint Vincent de Paul et la compagnie du Saint-Sacrement" (Saint Vincent de Paul and the Company of the Blessed Sacrament) edited by the Institut catholique de Toulouse.

7. On the territory of Gonesse, there were three different sources of revenue: farming on the lands belonging to the Mission, taxes levied on lands of the king at Gonesse and reserved for the use of the Mission, and the operation of four mills, whose rents were also allocated to the Mission. These two last resources, taxes and mills, were attributed to the priory of Saint-Lazare in accordance with royal patents dating from the twelfth century. They were both dedicated by Vincent de Paul to the work of the Daughters of Charity.

8. *Charités publiques et financiers privés, Monsieur Vincent gestionnaire et saint*" (Public charities and private financiers: Monsieur Vincent administrator and saint), doctoral dissertation of Monsieur René Wulfmann, defended March 8, 1950 (Archives CM).

9. Cf. "Une supplique inédite de Monsieur Vincent en faveur des domaines de Saint-Lazare: celui du domaine de Gonesse et celui de la prévôté de Paris" (An unpublished petition of Monsieur concerning lands of Saint-Lazare: the estate of Gonesse and lands of the provostship of Paris), study by Bernard Koch, C.M., August 1996 (Archives CM).

10. The priory of Saint-Lazare had disciplinary areas for prisoners of seigniorial justice. They were used to incarcerate unruly young people at the request of their families. They also came to be used for the incarceration of clerics who had broken the laws of the Church. In addition, Saint-Lazare received mentally disturbed individuals who were kept in spaces which had earlier been used for lepers. Vincent was very concerned with treating these people well. Their number was always limited.

11. Geneviève Bouquet (1590–1665). Daughter of a goldsmith of Paris, she had been placed early in life in the household of Queen Marguerite of Valois but left in 1613 to enter the convent of the Augustinians of the Hôtel-Dieu. She worked there for fifteen years before making her profession in 1629. She soon became novice mistress and then superior, playing an important role in the reform of her order. Cf. Alexis Chevalier, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris et les soeurs augustines* (The Hôtel Dieu of Paris and the Augustinian Sisters) (Paris: H. Champion, 1901).

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François du Coudray, C.M., July 25, 1634 (S.V. 1:253).

13. At the death of Mademoiselle Poulailion in 1657, Vincent arranged to allow the Daughters of Providence, numbering about eighty girls at that time, to continue their work.

14. S.V. 1:186, n. 4.

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François du Coudray, C.M., January 17, 1634 (S.V. 1:223, 224). The congregation of Christophe d'Authier de Sigsaw (1609–1657) was approved by the pope in 1647. He was named bishop of Bethlehem in 1651.

16. Cf. draft for a talk to the Sisters of the Visitation (S.V. 13:144).

17. Talk given on November 13, 1654 (S.V. 12:167).

18. Letter of Vincent de Paul to Jeanne de Chantal, July 14, 1639 (S.V. 1:566). Their correspondence has largely been lost. We have only a few letters, fewer than a dozen from each of them. They met four times, when Jeanne de Chantal was visiting Paris (April 1619, January 1628, July 1635, October 1641).

19. Letter from Jeanne de Chantal to Vincent de Paul, December 1636 (S.V. 1:370).

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jeanne de Chantal, August 26, 1640 (S.V. 2:99). It seems that Jeanne de Chantal reconsidered her intransigent position and that in her spiritual testament, she supported the idea of a visitor (or inspector) who would not be designated by the bishops but elected by the

monasteries. But this document, dated December 12, 1641, was supposedly partially censored after the death of Jeanne de Chantal by the sister charged with publishing it (*Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 48 [1972]: 453–475).

21. Letters from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, July 13, 1635 (S.V. 1:302) and in 1636 (S.V. 1:321).

22. This charitable foundation was endowed with 1,400 livres by André Le Bon, former superior of Saint-Lazare, who came from this area. Cf. Veucelin, *St. Vincent de Paul en Normandie*.

23. Noël Brulart de Sillery (1577–1640). Knight of Malta and commander of Troyes, he was the brother of Nicolas Brulart, chancellor of France. After having occupied important diplomatic posts, he entered the religious life under the direction of Vincent de Paul. Ordained in 1634, he settled near the first monastery of the Visitation. Very active within the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, he dedicated his enormous fortune to financing religious congregations, particularly the congregation of the Visitation, the priests of the Mission, and the monastery of the Madeleine.

24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, May 1, 1635 (S.V. 1:295).

25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, October 16, 1635 (S.V. 1:311).

26. Letter from Jean-Jacques Olier to Vincent de Paul, June 24, 1636 (S.V. 1:332). Jean-Jacques Olier (1608–1657.) Disciple of Vincent de Paul and Charles Condren of the Oratory, in 1641 at Vaugirard he formed a group of priests to conduct the seminary which he had founded. Named pastor of Saint-Sulpice, he transferred the seminary there, and it attracted an elite group of young men. His disciples spread throughout the provinces and even to Canada. Olier was a mystic in the stream of spirituality of Bérulle.

27. Even so, these missions sometimes aroused certain criticisms. Thus, at the end of the mission at Bordeaux, in October 1634, one read in a local newspaper: “The archbishop had the so-called Fathers of the Mission come from Paris and go around preaching, which was very fruitful. But this was only a straw fire, burning brightly but not lasting very long” (*Chronique Bordelaise*, cited in *Mission et Charité* no. 26–27, 282).

Notes to Chapter 12

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., August 15, 1636, (S.V. 1:340).

2. Abelly 1:154.

3. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Robert de Sergis, C.M., September 1636 (S.V. 1:351).

4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, around November 1636 (S.V. 1:367).

5. According to Abelly, Vincent de Paul used the discipline every day upon arising.

6. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, May 2, 1637 (S.V. 1:387).

7. This schedule was set on solar time, which is to say, two hours earlier than the time in use today.

8. "Talk given to the Ladies of Charity on the Foundling Hospital" (S.V. 13:798).

9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, end of 1637 (S.V. 1:410). The procurator general at the time was Mathieu Molé, who was named Keeper of the Seals in 1651.

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, end of 1638 (S.V. 1:433).

11. The three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had been annexed in 1552 by the king of France, Henry II. Their situation was only regularized officially in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia, when they were attached to the kingdom. As far as Rome was concerned, Toul remained a bishopric of Lorraine, connected to the archbishopric of Trèves. For this reason, resolution of the questions was complex, and the decisions of the Holy See were slow in coming.

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., January 30, 1638 (S.V. 1:426).

13. Cf. *Histoire de la congrégation de la Mission*, 1:64. Vincent used the term "internal seminary" instead of novitiate so that the missionaries would be kept distinct from monks. The brothers coadjutor were laymen who took part in the missions. "Their duty is to help the priests in all their ministries" (Common Rules I, 2).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., December 27, 1637 (S.V. 1:412).

15. When the company of the Daughters of Charity was officially recognized in 1645, it was able to buy these houses back from the Mission for a sum of 17,650 livres, thanks to gifts from various sources and a legacy of 9,000 livres from Madame Goussault, who died in 1639.

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Delville, C.M., February 18, 1657 (S.V. 6:189).

17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, not dated (S.V. 2:190).

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., February 20, 1638 (S.V. 1:48). Vincent came back to this point twice (S.V. 1:457 and 463), fearing that some of his missionaries might enter into too much detail on the subject of the sixth commandment, Thou shalt not commit adultery (Exodus 20:14; Deuteronomy 20:5-17).

19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, November 30, 1639 (S.V. 1:603). Vincent always took care to be precise and did not hesitate to

go into detail. He prescribed a somewhat tortuous itinerary for the sisters, which may be explained by the lower fares they could expect to pay on coach lines in which the Mission was a shareholder. The term “gray serge,” at that time, designated anything which was neither black nor of a bright color; the fabric may well have been brown or a dull blue.

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, December 12, 1639 (S.V. 1:605).

21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, December 31, 1639 (S.V. 1:611).

Notes to Chapter 13

1. Jean Martin, baron de Laubardemont, magistrate and counselor in the parlement of Bordeaux, was on many occasions the agent of Richelieu's orders. In 1633, he played a sad part in the affair of the Ursulines known as the Possessed of Loudon, by having their chaplain, Urbain Grandier, burned alive, and again in 1642, in the condemnation of Cinq-Mars.

2. Testimony of Martin de Barcos (1600–1678), nephew and collaborator of Saint-Cyran, whom he succeeded in 1643 as commendatory abbot. Living at Port-Royal, he was the spiritual director of Mother Angélique. He was actively engaged in all the quarrels involving Port-Royal and in the debate of the Jansenist theses.

3. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbot of Saint-Cyran (1581–1643). After his ordination in 1618, he was named by the bishop of Poitiers, Chasteigner de la Roche-Posay, grand vicar and canon of the cathedral. He was awarded the benefice of the abbey of Saint-Cyran in Brenne. Installed in Paris in 1622, he joined with Pierre de Bérulle and Arnauld d'Andilly. He directed the formation of Antoine Arnauld (called the Grand Arnauld) and became the spiritual director of the nuns of Port-Royal. After the death of Pierre de Bérulle, he placed himself at the head of the Party of the Devout and opposed the politics of Richelieu.

4. Cornelius Jansen (Cornelius Jansenius) (1585–1638). Named bishop of Ypres in 1637, he died there the next year in an epidemic of the plague which struck the city.

5. Interrogation of the Abbot de Saint-Cyran, May 14–31, 1639 (S.V. 13:105).

6. See Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, 4:38. Father Rapin (1621–1687) was a Jesuit, author of numerous literary works and devotional writings. In his day, he was the historian of Jansenism.

7. *Ibid.*, 72.

8. Relations between Saint-Cyran and Richelieu became progressively cooler for reasons of both religious doctrine and political position. The ap-

pearance in Flanders in 1636 of a virulent pamphlet against French policy, *Mars Gallicus*, signed by Jansenius, a friend of Saint-Cyran, roused the cardinal's rage to the extent that he decided to break definitively with the head of the Party of the Devout.

9. Jacques Lescot (1593–1656). Professor of theology at the Sorbonne, canon of Notre-Dame, he was confessor of Richelieu before receiving the bishopric of Chartres in 1643, upon the death of the cardinal.

10. "Testimony of Saint Vincent regarding the Abbot de Saint-Cyran" (S.V. 13:86–93). Henri Brémond calls this document "a little masterpiece of charitable exegesis."

11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Nicolas Marceille, C.M., June 10, 1638 (S.V. 1:482).

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., June 1638 (S.V. 1:486).

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Denis de Cordes, 1638 (S.V. 1:490).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Robert de Sergis, C.M., December 17, 1638 (S.V. 1:529).

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., August 29, 1638 (S.V. 1:501).

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., November 1, 1638 (S.V. 1:519).

17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Robert de Sergis, C.M., August 14, 1638 (S.V. 1:496).

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Robert de Sergis, C.M., December 17, 1638 (S.V. 1:528).

19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Nicolas Durot, C.M., December 1638 (S.V. 1:608).

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Lebreton, C.M., May 14, 1639 (S.V. 1:551).

21. Estimate made in Abelly 2: chapter 11, 388.

22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., July 20, 1640 (S.V. 2:80).

23. Brother Mathieu Regnard wrote an account of his adventures, but the manuscript disappeared in the pillage of Saint-Lazare in 1789. But Abelly alludes to certain of his adventures: "Sometimes, passing through forests filled with thieves or demobilized soldiers, as soon as he heard them or saw them, he threw his purse, which he usually carried in a torn pilgrim's pouch in the manner of beggars, into a bush or into the mud, and then walked right up to them, like a man without fear. Sometimes they searched him and when they found nothing, they would let him go unharmed. When they were gone, he would return to recover the purse" (Abelly 2:390).

24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Lebreton, C.M., October 12, 1693 (S.V. 1:590–591).

25. Collet 1:290.

26. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François de Coudray, C.M., July 10, 1640 (S.V. 2:60). Anne-Mangot, lord de Villarceaux, was the administrator of the Three Bishoprics.

27. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Lebreton, C.M., October 12, 1693 (S.V. 1:590–591).

28. Letter from Julien Guérin, C.M., to Vincent de Paul, early 1640 (S.V. 2:24).

29. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the duchess d'Aiguillon, April–May 1640 (S.V. 2:42)

30. Gaston de Renty (1611–1649). After serving in the army, he devoted himself entirely to the spiritual life under the direction of Father de Condren of the Oratory and to charitable works with the Company of the Blessed Sacrament.

31. See the letters of the magistrates of Metz (S.V. 2:131), of Pont-à-Mousson (S.V. 2:145), and of Lunéville (S.V. 2:257).

Notes to Chapter 14

1. Abelly 3:11 and S.V. 4:116.

2. The Rule was being composed during retreats; in 1632 and 1635, Vincent gives extracts from it in the form of advice (S.V. 11:100–104).

3. Letter from Vincent de Paul to N., around 1635 (S.V. 1:291).

4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Lebreton, C.M., February 28, 1640 (S.V. 2:28).

5. This was the case for the Carthusians at the time, who only made a vow of stability although they were a great religious order. They did not make the other three vows explicitly.

6. Cardinal de Richelieu had hoped to receive the titles of Perpetual Legate of the Holy See and Patriarch of the Gauls or of the West. Urban VIII had not been willing to satisfy this wish, and this resulted in their quarrel. (See Leopold Willaert, *Histoire de l'Église* (History of the Church), vol. 18, *La restauration catholique (1563–1648)* (the Catholic restoration) (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1960).

7. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Lebreton, C.M., November 14, 1640 (S.V. 2:137).

8. Minutes of the assembly held in October 1642 (S.V. 13:292).

9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., December 7, 1641 (S.V. 2:207).

10. Letter from a bishop to Vincent de Paul, no date (S.V. 2:428).

11. When prelates requested seminaries for young men, they were asking for something different from the practice arising from the Council of Trent and applied in France at the end of the sixteenth century of seminaries which

received children from the age of twelve, keeping them until the age of twenty-four. This system was unsuccessful.

12. Adrien Bourdoise (1584–1655). An orphan, he first earned his living as a domestic servant. He became a disciple of Bérulle and was ordained in 1613. He formed a group of priests who took charge of the parish of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, which became a showcase for Catholic reform.

Jean-Jacques Olier (1608–1657). Disciple of Condren and Vincent de Paul, he was installed at Vaugirard in 1641 and dedicated himself to working with a team of priests engaged in the direction of seminaries. Named pastor of Saint-Sulpice, he founded a seminary there and undertook the foundation of numerous centers in France and Canada.

François Bourgoing (1585–1662) yielded the parish of Clichy-la-Garenne to Vincent de Paul in 1612 in order to join the first team sent out by the Oratory. He succeeded Condren in 1641 as head of the Congregation of the Oratory.

Jean Eudes (1601–1680) entered the Oratory in 1623 and left it in 1643 to found the Congregation of Jesus and Mary, devoted to the direction of seminaries and the work of the missions.

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., September 15, 1641 (S.V. 2:188).

14. In 1645, Le Mans and Saint-Méen; in 1648, Marseilles, Tréguier, and Agen; in 1650, Périgueux; in 1651, Montauban; in 1653, Agde and Troyes; in 1658, Meaux; in 1659, Montpellier and Narbonne.

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a superior of a seminary, no date (S.V. 4:597).

16. A conversation about study, October 1643 (S.V. 11:128).

17. Marguerite de Gondi was the widow of the marquis de Maignelay. Very much devoted to the service of the poor, she counted neither her time nor her money. She supported various works, including the Convent of the Madeleine and the Daughters of Providence.

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, August 30, 1640 (S.V. 2:110). Anne de Neubourg, marquise de Vigean, was closely connected to the duchess d'Aiguillon. One of her sons, twenty years old, had just been killed at the siege of Arras. Her oldest daughter, Anne, married a grand-nephew of the cardinal and became duchess de Richelieu. Her youngest daughter, Marthe, entered the Carmelites in the rue Saint-Jacques in 1647, taking the name of Sister Marthe de Jésus.

19. This anecdote was confirmed by Sister Marthe de Jésus in a declaration signed in her own hand before her death in 1665. See Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville* (Paris, 1853), 465.

20. Jules Mazarin (Mazarini) (1602–1661). Of Italian origin, he was in Rome in the service of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, nephew of His Holiness. After having fulfilled the duties of vice-legate in Avignon (1634) and of nuncio

in France (1634–1636), he arrived in Paris in 1640, where he became the closest collaborator of Richelieu. He received the cardinal's hat in 1641.

Léon Bouthillier, count de Chavigny (1608–1652). Secretary of State and loyal collaborator of Richelieu, he was opposed to Mazarin. He fell into disgrace after the death of Richelieu.

The duke de Liancourt was one of the aristocrats who belonged to the Company of the Blessed Sacrament and who was active in numerous works. His wife, closely connected to Louise de Marillac, was a benefactress of charities.

21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., February 9, 1639 (S.V. 2:223).

22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jeanne de Chantal, August 15, 1639 (S.V. 1:575).

23. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., October 1, 1638 (S.V. 1:520).

24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to M. Perriquet, vicar general at Bayonne, March 31, 1641 (S.V. 2:171).

Notes to Chapter 15

1. Henri Coëffier d'Effiat, marquis of Cinq-Mars (1620–1642). Son of Marshal d'Effiat, he was brought to court by Richelieu as a captain of the guard and attached to the person of the king in an attempt to counteract the influence of a favorite, Mademoiselle de Hautefort. He rapidly became a favorite of the king, who named him grand equerry with the title Monsieur le Grand. Ambitious and giddy with the royal favor, he became entangled in a plot against his former protector, Richelieu, and signed a secret treaty in favor of Spain, aimed at eliminating the cardinal and replacing him with Gaston d'Orléans. He was unmasked, tried, and executed in September 1642.

2. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., April 17, 1643 (S.V. 2:387).

3. Conference for the Daughters of Charity, November 11, 1657 (S.V. 10:342).

4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., May 15, 1643 (S.V. 2:393).

5. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., June 18, 1640 (S.V. 2:406).

6. See *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), especially the entry on the Council of Conscience by Raymond Darricau, p. 390.

7. The concordat signed at Bologna in 1516 by Pope Leo X and the king of France, Francis I, regularized the relations between the Church and the French state. All ongoing matters were to be ruled upon by judges in France, with recourse to the Holy See being reserved for exceptional cases. In particu-

lar, the king was authorized to designate the leaders of the Church in France and to award ecclesiastical benefices.

8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, May 1643 (S.V. 2:384).

9. Conversation with the Daughters of Charity, June 14, 1643 (S.V. 9:120).

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., October 14, 1644 (S.V. 2:483).

11. Letter from Michel Le Tellier to the count d'Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, July 8, 1645 (see *Annales CM*, no. 469 [1953]: 508).

12. Letter from Cardinal Mazarin to the count d'Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, July 19, 1645 (see *Annales CM*, no. 473 [1954]: 184).

13. Extracts from the journals of Mazarin (S.V. 13:136–138). No doubt this refers to Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi who had entered the Oratory after he was widowed. It was intended to raise him to the cardinalate and to allow him to succeed Pierre de Bérulle in 1629, but the hostility of Richelieu doomed this plan to failure. Father de Gondi had even been exiled to Lyon in 1641. It is possible that Vincent intervened on behalf of his former master in order to put an end to his exile.

14. Coste 3:110. Mademoiselle Danse (Dans) was one of the young ladies of the queen's court. Later, she was connected to the plot against Mazarin and the queen (the Fronde), for which reason she was sent away by the queen.

15. "Father Vincent is not so powerless that he could not prevent the donation made to the son of Monsieur de la Rochefoucauld at the recommendation of His Eminence Cardinal Mazarin and request that it be given instead to Abbot Olier, pastor of Saint-Sulpice," letter from Gaudin to Servien, March 12, 1644 (Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents France, vol. 849, folio 116).

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., January 10, 1645 (S.V. 2:499).

17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Gallais, C.M., February 13, 1644 (S.V. 2:448).

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Charles de Montchal, archbishop of Toulouse, February 24, 1645 (S.V. 2:503).

19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the count de Brienne, June 2, 1645 (S.V. 2:527). The Corpus Christi procession was becoming an unedifying carnival.

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., July 5, 1645 (S.V. 2:531). If Vincent permitted himself to confide in this way, it is because he held Dehorgny in particular esteem and affection. Vincent assigned him to important positions such as director of the Collège des Bons-Enfants, assistant to the superior general, superior of the Mission's house in Rome, visitor of several houses of the Congregation of the Mission. Later he had to struggle with Dehorgny's Jansenist tendencies, but succeeded in bringing him back to the mainstream.

21. Bertrand Ducournau (1614–1677). Originally from the region of Chalosse, he was secretary to the deputy bailiff of Bayonne. He was received into the Congregation in July 1644 and after the death of Vincent, became the archivist of the Mission. From 1647, his assistant in the secretariat was Brother Louis Robineau.

22. Jean-Baptiste Amador de Vignerod (1632–1662) was the grandson of Françoise du Plessis, sister of Cardinal de Richelieu. She had married René de Vignerod and had two children: a daughter, widow of the lord de Combalet, who became the duchess d'Aiguillon, and a son, François de Vignerod, who had five children from an unhappy marriage. The duchess d'Aiguillon took charge of their education after requiring that their parents resign their parental rights. When Amador was twenty years old, in 1652, he resigned his abbeys in favor of his younger brother Emmanuel, who was then thirteen years old. Vincent de Paul was vicar general of these abbeys until his death. The abbey of Saint-Ouen alone had a dependency of eighty parishes and chapels, whose staffing was one of the chief responsibilities of the vicar general. The Archives of the Mission contains the nomination documents for many of these positions; see Alex Feron, *Saint Vincent de Paul, vicaire général des Richelieu Vignerod, abbés de Saint-Ouen de Rouen* (St. Vincent de Paul, vicar general for the Richelieu Vignerod family, abbots of Saint-Ouen de Rouen) (Archives CM).

23. Louis XIII had provided in his testament for a legacy of 64,000 livres for the Mission, of which 24,000 were meant for Sedan “to be used there for missions and for work to strengthen the Catholics and to try to return to the Catholic community many souls whom heresy has turned from the right way.” Anne of Austria and Mazarin modified the terms of the royal testament, allocating the entire legacy for perpetual support of the Mission’s responsibility for the parish of Sedan with a complement of six priests and two brothers. Vincent used the entire legacy to build thirteen houses at the Champ-Saint-Laurent at the end of the Faubourg Saint-Denis and allocated the income from renting these houses to the use of the Mission at Sedan. See Pierre Congar, “Saint Vincent de Paul, curé de Sedan” (St. Vincent de Paul, pastor of Sedan), *Mission et charité*, no. 28 (Oct.–Dec. 1967): 326–339.

24. For the testament of Richelieu, see Michel Carmona, *Richelieu* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), 699 ff. Armand de Vignerod was the older brother of Amador (see note 22 above). Armand de Maillé was the son of Nicole du Plessis, sister of the cardinal and wife of marshal Urbain de Maillé-Brézé.

25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., December 25, 1642 (S.V. 2:321). Ponts-de-Cé is on the Loire, near Tours.

26. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., May 15, 1643 (S.V. 2:390). The charter of foundation of the house at Rome specified that in exchange for a donation of 50,000 livres, assuring a revenue of 5,000 livres, a mass would be celebrated daily for the repose of the soul of Cardinal Richelieu and that after the death of the duchess d'Aiguillon, a mass would

also be said daily for the repose of her soul. The house at Rome was meant to provide missions for the neighboring countryside. It was also to receive ordinands for retreats.

27. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., August 24, 1643 (S.V. 2:413).

28. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., August 12, 1644 (S.V. 2:474).

29. “Unpublished request of Monsieur Vincent in favor of the domain of Saint-Lazare, the mills of Gonesse and the provostship of Paris,” June 1645 (private archives and copy in the Archives CM. The text of the petition was transcribed with a commentary by Bernard Koch, C.M., August 1995.)

30. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., January 31, 1643 (S.V. 2:360).

31. “Foundation of the house of Marseilles by the duchess d’Aiguillon,” July 25, 1643 (S.V. 13:298).

32. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., August 24, 1643 (S.V. 2:414).

33. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., August 12, 1644 (S.V. 2:474).

34. Letters from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., March 10, 1644 (S.V. 2:452) and August 14, 1644 (S.V. 2:456).

35. Letter from Cardinal Durazzo to Vincent de Paul, August 1645 (S.V. 2:544).

36. Letter from Cardinal Barberini to Vincent de Paul, February 25, 1645 (S.V. 2:506).

37. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., July 9, 1644 (S.V. 2:466).

38. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., August 31, 1645 (S.V. 3:35).

Notes to Chapter 16

1. Arthur Loth, *Saint Vincent de Paul et sa mission sociale* (St. Vincent de Paul and his social mission) (Paris: Dumoulin, 1881).

2. Until that time, Vincent considered the Daughters of Charity as an adjunct to the Ladies of Charity. They were attached to parish Confraternities of Charity or the Confraternity of Charity of the Hôtel-Dieu for the Founding Children. It is from this time onward that he began to recognize their autonomy and to call them not “my daughters” but “my sisters.”

3. Letter from Vincent de Paul to J.F. de Gondi, archbishop of Paris, August–September 1645 (S.V. 2:549), and the text promoting the Daughters of Charity to the rank of confraternity, November 20, 1646 (S.V. 13:557).

4. Conversations with the Daughters of Charity (S.V. 9).

5. See S.V. 9:138.

6. By letters patent, Louis XIII conferred an annual income of 4,000 livres on the estate of Gonesse, and Anne of Austria conferred an income of 8,000 livres, derived from the revenues of several large farms, for the work of the Foundling Hospital (S.V. 2:472). But by the end of 1658, the royal donations had been only very partially honored; they fell 30,000 livres short!

7. The little houses were meant to recreate family units, with each dwelling welcoming ten to twelve children.

8. See S.V. 13:801.

9. Letter from Louise de Marillac to Vincent de Paul, April 19, 1645 (S.V. 2:545).

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Bourdet, C.M., September 1, 1646 (S.V. 3:37).

11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Galais, C.M., February 13, 1644 (S.V. 2:447). The governor of Sedan at this time was a Huguenot, Abraham de Fabert, future marshal of France, to whom Vincent de Paul gave due credit: "The governor sees his duty more clearly than you or I do."

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., October 6, 1646 (S.V. 3:70). Pituitous: This has to do with the mucosa of the nose. Since the nose is close to the brain, it was thought that a runny nose was related to intense mental activity. The term "pituitous" once signified a nature that was serious and disposed to study. (See Alain Rey, ed., *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* [Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1998]). Atrabiliary (from the Latin *ater*, *atra* = black and *bilis* = bile) refers to a personality which produces black bile and is therefore subject to fits of rage.

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a superior, April 9, 1647 (S.V. 3:167).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., December 20, 1647 (S.V. 3:258). Gilbert Cuissot (1607–1666), entered the Congregation in 1637 and directed the Collège des Bons-Enfants. He was at the seminary of Saint-Lazare in 1647; later he became the superior of the seminary of Cahors and finally of the house at Richelieu.

Jean Chrétien, born in 1606, entered the Congregation in 1640. He directed the house at Marseilles from 1645 and remained there until 1653, before being named sub-assistant at the mother house and then superior at La Rose.

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Mathurin Gentil, C.M., September 17, 1647 (S.V. 3:234).

16. Letter to the aldermen of the city of Paris, July 14, 1648 (S.V. 3:339).

17. Abelly 2:146.

18. Letter from Julien Guérin to Vincent de Paul, toward 1646 (S.V. 3:138).

19. Letter from Julien Guérin to Vincent de Paul, June 1647 (S.V. 3:203). Julien Guérin was particularly sensitive to the fate of young captives who, whether voluntarily or under duress, were at risk of becoming renegades. On

this subject, see the book by Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah, l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, 16^e et 17^e siècle* (Allah's Christians: the extraordinary story of the renegades in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) (Paris: Perrin, 1989).

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., October 20, 1646, (S.V. 3:83). The Order of Mercy had been founded in the thirteenth century to ransom prisoners from the Moors.

21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Monseigneur Ingoli, March 15, 1647 (S.V. 3:158).

22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., May 2, 1647 (S.V. 3:182).

23. Petition to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 1648 (S.V. 3:336).

24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to René Alméras, C.M., October 23, 1648 (S.V. 3:380).

25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Charles Nacquart, C.M., March 22, 1648 (S.V. 3:278). The first attempts at evangelizing the island of Madagascar, then called the Island of Saint-Laurent, were carried out by Portuguese Jesuits at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were not at all successful. When the East India Company had obtained from Richelieu the monopoly of commerce with this island, a governor was sent there with about 100 colonists who settled in the region of Fort Dauphin. This company was not satisfied with the actions of the first governor and decided to replace him with Monsieur de Flacourt, asking the nuncio to send some religious men and women with him.

26. Antoine Arnauld, called the Grand Arnauld (1612–1694). His father, a celebrated lawyer, was an unrelenting enemy of the Jesuits. His mother, after giving birth to twenty-two children, withdrew to Port-Royal. Ordained priest in 1635 and pronounced a doctor of theology in 1641, Antoine Arnauld had the abbot of Saint-Cyran as spiritual director. He withdrew to Port-Royal-des-Champs, where he spent most of his life, writing many books, including both anti-Jesuit and anti-Protestant polemics as well as learned treatises on the philosophy of language. In 1679, he was forced to go into exile in the Netherlands during the persecution of the Jansenists. His older sister, Angélique Arnauld (1591–1661), called Mother Angélique, was abbess of Port-Royal at the age of fourteen. She reformed the abbey in 1609, imposing a very austere rule. It was she who introduced Jansenist ideas to Port-Royal.

27. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., March 16, 1644 (S.V. 2:454).

28. Letter from Cardinal Mazarin to Vincent de Paul, September 1646 (S.V. 3:45). The topic was a nomination to a chair at the Sorbonne. The Jansenists wanted to seat one of their number, but Vincent de Paul was opposed.

29. "A Study on Grace" (S.V. 13:147–156). According to the critical analysis carried out by Bernard Koch, C.M., this study on grace was written toward

1648. The original autograph has disappeared, but there is a copy in the Archives of the Congregation.

30. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., June 25, 1648 (S.V. 3:329).

31. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., September 10, 1648 (S.V. 3:371).

Notes to Chapter 17

1. Pierre Goubert, *Mazarin* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 186.

2. Michel Pernot, *La Fronde* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994), 39.

3. *Ibid.*, 21.

4. Annual fee paid by the holders of a royal office to assure that it can be inherited.

5. Olivier Lefebvre d'Ormesson, *Journal*, 2 vols. (Paris: Édition de Cheruel, 1860), 1:583.

6. The Treaty of Westphalia, signed in 1648, ended the Thirty Years' War with the German Empire. It was signed at Münster by the Catholic states and at Osnabrück by the Protestant states. France and Sweden were the principal beneficiaries and Germany was the great loser.

7. Cardinal de Retz, *Oeuvres* (Works) (Paris: Gallimard "La Pléiade," 1983), 159, 173.

8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, September 5, 1648 (S.V. 3:360 and n. 2).

9. Coste 3:674.

10. Mathieu Molé (1584–1656). Named first president of the parlement in 1641, he would play the role of a moderator during the Fronde, remaining loyal to the crown. In 1651, he was made Keeper of the Seals and remained in this office until his death.

11. Collet 1:469–470. Michel Le Tellier (1603–1685). Secretary of State from 1643, he remained loyal to the king throughout the Fronde, playing a primary role during Mazarin's exile. In 1661, he began to share his office with his son, Louvois. He was named Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals in 1677.

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., January 22, 1649 (S.V. 3:402).

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jacques Norais, February 5, 1649 (S.V. 3:408).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the Ladies of Charity, February 11, 1649 (S.V. III, 409).

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Denis Gautier, C.M., February 25, 1649 (S.V. 3:412, 413).

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., March 4, 1649 (S.V. 3:416).
17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, April 5, 1649 (S.V. 3:424, n. 3).
18. Clothilde Duvauferrier, *Saint-Méen-le-Grand* (1983) (Archives CM).
19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, April 9–15, 1649 (S.V. 3:428, 429).
20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, C.M., May 11, 1649 (S.V. 3:434).
21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, May 14, 1649 (S.V. 3:436).

Notes to Chapter 18

1. Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brézé was the wife of the prince de Condé (Le Grand Condé) and the niece of Cardinal de Richelieu.
2. Letter from Cardinal Mazarin to Vincent de Paul, October 13, 1649 (S.V. 3:497).
3. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Midot, vicar general at Toul, June 8, 1650 (S.V. 4:28).
4. Letter from Alain de Solminihac to Vincent de Paul, May 25, 1650 (S.V. 4:24). The letter has reference to the bishop of Saint-Flour, Jacques de Montrouge.
5. Claude-Emmanuel Luillier, called Chapelle (1626–1680). A writer of playful, delicate verse, he lived an Epicurean life, keeping company with libertines. Sainte-Beuve judged him severely: “A lazy man, drunk much too often.” The poem on “The Charms of Saint-Lazare” was published in the *Bulletin des Lazaristes de France* (December 1996).
6. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Delattre, C.M., October 23, 1649 (S.V. 3:502).
7. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jacques Chiroye, C.M., January 9, 1650 (S.V. 3:531).
8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Mathurin Gentil, C.M., November 9, 1649 (S.V. 3:504).
9. *Documents du minutier central des notaires, concernant l'histoire littéraire (1650–1670)* (Documents of the central notarial archive, concerning literary history (1650–1670) (Paris: Presses Universitaires Françaises, 1960).
10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Bernard Codoing, C.M., February 23, 1650 (S.V. 3:618).
11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Lucas, C.M., March 23, 1650 (S.V. 3:625).

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Gicquel, C.M., December 5, 1649 (S.V. 3:513).
13. Circular to superiors of houses of the Congregation, January 15, 1649 (S.V. 3:536).
14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Marc Coglée, C.M., August 13, 1650 (S.V. 4:51).
15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a priest of the Mission, no date (S.V. 4:53).
16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a priest of the Mission, March 27, 1650 (S.V. 3:628).
17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a priest of the Mission, December 28, 1650 (S.V. 4:125).
18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, June 25, 1648 (S.V. 3:323).
19. Text of the petition addressed to Pope Innocent X, calling for condemnation of the five propositions contained in the *Augustinus* (Coste 3:177, 178). These propositions can be summarized as follows: 1. There are commandments of God that are impossible to practice without a gift of divine grace; 2. When this grace is vouchsafed, one cannot resist it; 3. In order to merit or lose eternal salvation, it is sufficient not to undergo external pressure. It is not necessary to be free of all interior impulses; 4. To believe that in his present state man can choose to resist an interior grace or to acquiesce to it is a heresy; 5. To believe that Jesus died and poured out his blood for all men is a heresy. It is against this last proposition, to believe that Christ did not die for all men, but only for the elect, that Vincent protested most energetically. (See S.V. 13:147–156).
20. To some bishops of France, February 1651 (S.V. 4:148).
21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Nicolas Pavillon and Étienne Caulet, June 1651 (S.V. 4:204–210).
22. It was a monk from this abbey, Aurelian, who around 850 codified the theory of the song of the Church, according to the musical practice of the Greeks and Romans (Max Manitius, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 63, 444–446).
23. Abbot Claude de Chandénier founded a confraternity of Charity and had two Daughters of Charity assigned to the market town of Moutiers-Saint-Jean. He also founded a hospice whose pharmacy, still in operation, contains a pot, an egg cup, and a salt cellar which Vincent supposedly used when he was staying at the abbey. In the chapel of this hospice there is a painting of Vincent in a surplice painted by Simon François de Tours around 1660 when the painter stayed at Saint-Lazare.
24. Letters from Charles Nacquart, C.M., to Vincent de Paul, May 27, 1649 (S.V. 3:438) and February 9 and 16, 1650 (S.V. 3:580 and 590).

25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Gérard Brin, C.M., April 1650 (S.V. 4:16).

26. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Cardinal Barberini, October 7, 1650 (S.V. 4:92).

27. Louise-Marie de Gonzague (1612–1667). Daughter of Charles de Gonzague, duke of Nevers and Mantua, in 1644 she married the king of Poland, Ladislas IV, and at his death, his brother Jan-Casimir, who succeeded him on the throne of Warsaw. Being without heirs, she would have liked to raise a Condé to the throne; the Grand Condé himself was briefly taken with this prospect, but the opposition of the great Polish lords persuaded him to give it up.

28. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise-Marie de Gonzague, September 6, 1651 (S.V. 4:246).

29. Letter from Louise de Marillac to Vincent de Paul, December 1649 (S.V. 3:523).

30. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, December 1649 (S.V. 3:524).

31. On the institution of the Foundling Hospital (S.V. 13:799–800).

32. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., December 29, 1650 (S.V. 4:127).

33. Jean Parré entered the Congregation in 1638, at the age of twenty-seven. This brother coadjutor was to play a most important role in bringing aid to the people of Picardy and Champagne, provinces through which he would travel endlessly, beginning in 1649. He wrote regularly to Vincent and the Ladies of Charity to keep them informed of his work and the needs of the unfortunate. Vincent also sent him numerous letters, filled with encouragement and advice.

34. Letter from Edme Duchamps, C.M., to Vincent de Paul, December 1650 (S.V. 4:143).

35. The first issue of *Relations*, which appeared in September 1650, was entitled “State of the unfortunate on the Picardy front. Extracts of several letters written by priests and other persons of piety, worthy to hold the faith, who have fled from Paris for their safety.” These accounts appeared every month in the form of a sheet of 20 by 28 centimeters, folded in two. This represented four little pages, written in a direct and striking style and ending with a call to send donations, with the addresses of the organizers. For information about the activities of Charles Maignart de Bernières, founder of this publication and mainspring of most of the aid to the devastated provinces, who lived under the influence of Port-Royal, see the study by Alex Féron, *Un Rouennais méconnu, Charles Maignart de Bernières, 1616–1662* (A little-known man from Rouen, Charles Maignart de Bernières, 1616–1662) (Rouen: Imprimerie Lecerf Fils, 1922) (Archives CM).

36. Letter from a priest of the Mission to Vincent de Paul, January 1651 (S.V. 4:136).
37. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Marc Coglée, C.M., April 26, 1651 (S.V. 4:183).
38. A. Feillet, *La Misère au temps de la Fronde* (Misery at the time of the Fronde) (Perrin, 1886), 246. “Ordinance of the king, granting protection to all the villages of the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne where the priests of the Mission go to comfort the poor” (and S.V. 13:324).
39. Letter from the aldermen of Rethel to Vincent de Paul, May 8, 1651 (S.V. 4:195).
41. Feillet, *La Misère*, 249.

Notes to Chapter 19

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Sister Marie-Madeleine, September 4, 1651 (S.V. 4:245).
2. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, September 20, 1651 (S.V. 4:256).
3. See Gaston Parturier, *La vocation médicale de saint Vincent de Paul* (The Medical Vocation of Saint Vincent de Paul) (Lyon: Éditions Cartier, 1943) and Dr. Peyresblanque, “*Monsieur Vincent malade*” (Monsieur Vincent in Illness), *Bulletin de la société de Borda, Dax* (1982).
4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., March 1, 1652 (S.V. 4:327). Adrien Le Bon had reserved the farm of Rougemont in the forest of Bondy for himself, and left it to the Congregation in his will. But in February 1645, he turned it over, “for the sake of the good friendship and affection” which he felt for the gentlemen of Saint-Lazare (S.V. 1:257, n. 4). The Congregation owned two farms at Orsigny, one of which was the farm presented by the Norais family.
5. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Mathurin Gentil, C.M., November 23, 1651 (S.V. 4:273).
6. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., February 15, 1652 (S.V. 4:321). According to Abelly, this charitable gift came from the de Maignelay, who had learned of the difficulty in which Vincent’s nephew found himself (Abelly 3:292).
7. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Pierre Watebled, C.M., November 26, 1651 (S.V. 4:276).
8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., July 5, 1652 (S.V. 4:418).
9. Anne-Marie Louise d’Orléans, duchess de Montpensier (1627–1693). Daughter of Gaston d’Orléans, known as La Grande Mademoiselle, she was the first cousin of Louis XIV. At the battle of the faubourg Saint-Antoine, she

saved Condé's army by having the canons of the Bastille fire on the royal forces and by giving the order to open the gates of Paris so that the prince's army could find refuge within.

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the wife of President du Sault, May 15, 1652 (S.V. 4:384).

11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Cardinal Mazarin, around July 10, 1652 (S.V. 4:423).

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Philippe Vageot, C.M., May 22, 1652 (S.V. 4:392).

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to some priests at Rome, June 21, 1652 (S.V. 4:402).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., June 21, 1652 (S.V. 4:407).

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the duchess d'Aiguillon, July 1652 (S.V. 4:424).

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Anne of Austria, July–August 1652 (S.V. 4:430).

17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Pope Innocent X, August 16, 1652 (S.V. 4:458).

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Cardinal Mazarin, September 11, 1652 (S.V. 4:473).

19. Letter from Alain de Solminihac to Vincent de Paul, October 20, 1652 (S.V. 4:491).

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., October 25, 1652 (S.V. 4:513).

21. A. Feillet, *La Misère*, 447–450 (and S.V. 4:539, nn. 8–10).

Notes to Chapter 20

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jacques Desclaux, around 1653 (S.V. 5:90).

2. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, C.M., January 3, 1653 (S.V. 4:518).

3. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the duchess d'Aiguillon, July 3, 1653 (S.V. 5:47).

4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Alain de Solminihac, July 5, 1653 (S.V. 4:620).

5. Thomas Berthe (1623–1697). Ordained in 1645, he held important positions in the Congregation. Superior of the Collège des Bons-Enfants, then superior at Rome (1653–1655), assistant to the superior general (1662–1667). Monsieur Vincent had proposed his name together with that of René Alméras as possible replacements for himself at the head of the Mission.

6. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Thomas Berthe, C.M., April 25, 1653 (S.V. 4:578).
7. Letter from Thomas Berthe to Vincent de Paul, February 5, 1655 (S.V. 5:270).
8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis de Chandenier, April 27, 1655 (S.V. 5:366).
9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., October 22, 1655 (S.V. 5:452).
10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Edme Jolly, C.M., October 22, 1655 (S.V. 5:453). Edme Jolly (1622–1695), received into the Congregation in 1646, ordained in 1649, had studied in Rome. In charge of the seminary of Saint-Lazare in 1654, he replaced Thomas Berthe at Rome in 1655. Assistant head of the Congregation after the death of Vincent, he succeeded René Alméras at the head of the Congregation in 1672.
11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the duchess d'Aiguillon, May 1, 1653 (S.V. 4:586).
12. Letter from the duchess d'Aiguillon to Antoine Portail, C.M., May 20, 1653 (S.V. 4:587).
13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a priest of the Mission, October 17, 1654 (S.V. 5:204). It is this same thought and the same desire, that his missionaries be transfixed by charity, that he expressed in one of his talks: "If, nevertheless, God permitted them to be reduced to begging for their bread or to sleeping under a hedge, all torn and pierced by cold, and if in that state one of them were asked: 'Poor priest of the Mission, who has brought you to this state?' what joy it would be to be able to reply, 'It was Charity'" (Abelly 3: chapter 11, 108; S.V. 11:76).
14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Charles Ozenne, C.M., October 9, 1654 (S.V. 5:195).
15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Charles Ozenne, C.M., August 27, 1655 (S.V. 5:411).
16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Marc Coglée, C.M., November 20, 1655 (S.V. 5:468), and response of the prayer for September 12, 1655 (S.V. 11:305).
17. See S.V. 11:445.
18. "Rule of life for Jean Le Vacher and Martin Husson," 1653 (S.V. 13:364).
19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Philippe Le Vacher, C.M., 1651 (S.V. 4:122).
20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., April 16, 1655 (S.V. 5:364).
21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., December 31, 1654 (S.V. 5:250).
22. Letter to Pope Innocent X, July 1653 (S.V. 4:643), and letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, September 1653 (S.V. 5:14).

This notion of an indigenous clergy had already been introduced by Charles Nacquart, envoy to Madagascar, who asked Vincent whether he could recruit “companions from this country to be priests” (letter dated April 1, 1648, S.V. 3:289).

23. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Nicolas Guillot, January 30, 1654 (S.V. 5:64).

24. “Talk on Priests,” September 1655 (S.V. 11:308).

Notes to Chapter 21

1. Letter from Louise de Marillac to Vincent de Paul, November 14, 1655 (S.V. 5:464).

2. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Marc Coglée, C.M., November 20, 1655 (S.V. 5:468).

3. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., December 17, 1655 (S.V. 5:487).

4. See S.V. 5:344 and S.V. 13:21 and 251).

5. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Étienne Blatiron, C.M., August 11, 1656 (S.V. 6:58).

6. Repeated in a speech August 30, 1657 (S.V. 11:415 and 420).

7. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Pierre de Beaumont, C.M., September 9, 1657 (S.V. 6:451).

8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., February 9, 1657 (S.V. 6:178).

9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., June 8, 1657 (S.V. 6:316).

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., September 7, 1657 (S.V. 6:447).

11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Rivet, C.M., September 16, 1657 (S.V. 6:474).

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Edme Jolly, C.M., July 6, 1657 (S.V. 6:342). This Spanish project would not come to fruition in Vincent’s lifetime. It was not revived until a peace was signed between France and Spain. The first house of the Congregation was founded at Barcelona in 1704.

13. See *Histoire de la congrégation de la Mission*, 64.

14. Letter from the duchesse d’Aiguillon to Vincent de Paul, October 17, 1656 (S.V. 6:110). According to Coste (2:501) the Ladies of Charity had already spent 50,000 livres to renovate the buildings of the Salpêtrière and they had signed a contract for 100,000 livres for the subsistence of the residents of the general hospital.

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Martin, C.M., February 23, 1657 (S.V. 6:239).

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Monsieur de Mauroy, March 23, 1657 (S.V. 6:256).
17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Brother Jean Parré, August 11, 1657 (S.V. 6:394).
18. Report on the state of charitable works, July 11, 1657 (S.V. 13:802).
19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Delville, C.M., November 10, 1657 (S.V. 6:597).
20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the marquise de Fabert, November 15, 1656, (S.V. 6:130).
21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Brother Pierre Leclerc, November 12, 1656 (S.V. 6:125).
22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., November 23, 1657 (S.V. 6:618).
23. Letter from Vincent de Paul to a priest of the Mission, July 1657 (S.V. 6:378).
24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Dupont, C.M., February 7, 1657 (S.V. 6:175).
25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Delville, C.M., February 7, 1657 (S.V. 6:177).
26. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Martin, C.M., June 22, 1657 (S.V. 6:330).
27. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Monsieur Forne, January 1656 (S.V. 5:497).
28. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Chrétien, C.M., January 17, 1657 (S.V. 6:161).
29. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Donat Crouly, C.M., July 16, 1657 (S.V. 6:357).
30. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Rivet, C.M., July 29, 1657 (S.V. 6:377).
31. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., September 22, 1657 (S.V. 6:88).
32. Abelly 1:209.
33. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Deslions, April 6, 1657 (*Mission et Charité*, no. 19–20 [January–June 1970]: 116).

Notes to Chapter 22

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the duke de la Meilleraye, January 12, 1658 (S.V. 7:45).
2. Letter from J.B. Bossuet to Vincent de Paul, January 12, 1658 (S.V. 7:48). Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), son of a magistrate of the parlement of Dijon and ordained priest in 1652 after studying at the Collège de Navarre, had

spent seven years at Metz as canon and archdeacon. There he learned to conduct a dialogue with the Protestants, with whom he wanted to attempt a rapprochement. At Paris, from 1659 onward, he became a much admired preacher, pronouncing the funeral orations of the great and the princes. He was named bishop of Meaux in 1681. He was both a great orator and a great writer, and most of all, an ardent fighter for the faith. His struggle against quietism brought him into violent opposition to Fénelon in the last years of the seventeenth century.

3. For a discussion of the “little method,” see the conference given by Monsieur Vincent on August 20, 1655 (S.V. 11:257–287).

4. Letter from J.B. Bossuet to Vincent de Paul, May 23, 1658 (S.V. 7:155). On the course of the mission at Metz, see Joseph Girard, C.M., *Saint Vincent de Paul, son oeuvre et son influence en Lorraine* (St. Vincent de Paul, his work and his influence in Lorraine) (Metz, 1955), 46–50.

5. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., February 8, 1658 (S.V. 7:78).

6. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., May 3, 1658 (S.V. 7:139).

7. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., June 7, 1658 (S.V. 7:171).

8. To gather the sum that Brother Barreau committed to paying under torture, Vincent had once more called on the Ladies of Charity. They organized a special fundraising drive, in which they distributed, in the form of a prospectus, the “Tale of the Misfortunes of Brother Barreau.” Vincent speaks of this in one of his letters: “a little tale we published, telling of what happened to the consul of Algiers” (S.V. 7:627).

9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., July 5, 1658 (S.V. 7:197).

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Philippe Le Vacher, C.M., summer 1659 (S.V. 8:25).

11. Charles de la Porte, duke de la Meilleraye (1602–1604). Cousin of Cardinal de Richelieu, who would be helpful at the beginning of his career; marshal of France in 1637, Superintendent of Finance in 1648, duke and peer in 1663, he was the governor of Brittany, achieving this title at the moment when the Congregation was installed at the abbey of Saint-Méen.

12. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the duke de la Meilleraye, January 12, 1658 (S.V. 7:45).

13. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Martin, C.M., July 5, 1658 (S.V. 7:196).

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Toussaint Bourdaise, C.M., November 1659 (S.V. 8:157).

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to the community of Saint-Lazare, September 1658 (S.V. 7:251). The farm at Orsigny had been given as a gift to the

Mission by Monsieur Norais in December 1644. The Congregation in return paid a pension to the donor, but at his death in 1658, his heirs went to court over the validity of this donation. Certain judges, Jansenists by conviction, are said to have been warned against Monsieur Vincent, on the grounds of his very marked opposition to Jansenism. As the Congregation owned another farm at Orsigny, and land as well, the loss of the farm of the Norais family was certainly a setback, but not a catastrophe.

16. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Antoine Durand, C.M., August 29, 1659 (S.V. 8:101). François Fouquet, and then his brother Louis, who succeeded him, bore the titles bishop and count of Agde.

17. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Gérard Brin, C.M., November 6, 1658 (S.V. 7:338).

18. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., June 13, 1659 (S.V. 7:593).

19. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jacques Pesnelle, C.M., May 30, 1659 (S.V. 7:578). This foundation on Corsica did not take place until 1678, after the death of Vincent.

20. Letter from Vincent de Paul to François Fouquet, archbishop of Narbonne, September 12, 1659 (S.V. 8:123). Vincent could refuse nothing to the archbishop of Narbonne, whose mother was a very pious and very active Lady of Charity and whose six sisters were Visitandine nuns.

21. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Canon Truchette at Tarbes, January 29, 1659 (S.V. 7:442), and letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean du Haut de Saliès, bishop of Lescar, August 11, 1660 (S.V. 8:358). The contract concerned assumption of the parish of Lestelle, adjoining the pilgrimage site. Except in extraordinary cases, Vincent did not wish to accept the responsibility for a parish.

22. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Charles Ozenne, C.M., April 30, 1658 (S.V. 7:249).

23. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Monvoisin, C.M., May 5, 1659 (S.V. 7:533). At issue was a farm bequeathed by the late Monsieur François Vincent at Neuilly-Saint-Front in the Aisne.

24. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jacques Pesnelle, C.M., October 15, 1658 (S.V. 7:289).

25. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Denis Laudin, C.M., April 26, 1659 (S.V. 7:518).

26. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Brother Jean de Fricourt, September 7, 1659 (S.V. 8:111).

27. Conference of May 17, 1658 (S.V. 12:1-14).

28. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis de Chandénier, December 6, 1658 (S.V. 7:390).

29. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Father Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi, January 9, 1659 (S.V. 7:435).

30. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louise de Marillac, March 1659 (S.V. 7:461).
31. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Louis Rivet, C.M., July 13, 1659 (S.V. 8:23).
32. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Toussaint Bourdaise, November 1659 (S.V. 8:160).
33. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Brother Jean Parré, May 3, 1659 (S.V. 7:528).

Notes to Chapter 23

1. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Jean Dehorgny, C.M., January 11, 1660 (S.V. 8:222).
2. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Desdames, C.M., March 5, 1660 (S.V. 8:259).
3. Portail, Vincent's first companion, had been ill and depressed for many months. He had withdrawn to a cabin in a far corner of the enclosure of Saint-Lazare. Louise de Marillac wrote to a sister, Mathurine Guérin, in January 1600: "As for Monsieur Portail, only a great lord can see him. He has some kind of hermitage at the edge of their enclosure, from which he does not move" (*Écrits de sainte Louise* [Writings of Saint Louise], Letter 650, p. 666).
4. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Canon de Saint-Martin, March 18, 1660 (S.V. 8:271).
5. The daughter of Monsieur de Comet, judge at Dax and first patron of Vincent, married Jean de Saint-Martin, one of whose sons held the title of Saint-Martin d'Agès. Canon de Saint-Martin, uncle of Monsieur d'Agès, had a friendly correspondence with Vincent.
6. Letter from Brother B. Ducournau to Canon de Saint-Martin, August 1658 (S.V. 8:271).
7. Curiously enough, in a conference on the theme of observance of the Rule given to the sisters by Vincent on July 14, 1658, he evoked the city of Carthage, about which he said: "There is nothing left but dilapidated huts," as though he had seen the site with his own eyes. This was the first and only time that he spoke of it, as though this name had escaped him at the very moment when he received "those miserable letters." Could they have awakened memories of his captivity? In similar conferences, speaking of the dangers of not following the Rule, he was more likely to use images of shipwreck. This rather troubling coincidence raises some questions (S.V. 10:534).
8. Letter from Vincent de Paul to superiors, 1660 (S.V. 8:388).
9. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Pierre de Beaumont, C.M., May 19, 1660 (S.V. 8:293).

10. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Guillaume Desdames, C.M., June 18, 1660 (S.V. 8:319). Jean Eudes (1601–1680) was educated and trained at the Oratory. In 1643, he founded the Congregation of Jesus and Mary, devoted to directing seminaries and the work of the missions. He also established a congregation for women, the Daughters of Our Lady. Vincent supported his work, although it was so similar to the work of the Mission. Jean Eudes was canonized in 1925.

11. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Edme Jolly, C.M., August 13, 1660 (S.V. 8:368).

12. On the virtues of Louise de Marillac, July 3 and July 24, 1660 (S.V. 10:709, 725).

13. See S.V. 12:484–485.

14. Letter from Vincent de Paul to René Alméras, C.M., August 18, 1660 (S.V. 8:376) and August 22, 1660 (S.V. 8:385).

15. Letter from Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, C.M., September 17, 1660 (S.V. 8:446).

16. Journal of the last days of Vincent de Paul (S.V. 13:191).

Notes to the Epilogue

1. “The Beatification of Saint Vincent de Paul,” *Annales CM*, vol. 94 (1929).

2. “He who enters canonical orders without dismissory letters or before the canonical age, is *ipso facto* suspended from the order received” (canon 2, 374 in the *Codex Juris Canonici*, 1917). In 1600, when Vincent was ordained, the Council of Trent being not yet officially received in France, this violation of the canonical age does not seem too serious, but in 1660, it would have been very poorly regarded. It is understandable that the Congregation was eager to keep Vincent’s real birth date a secret.

3. Pope Benedict XIII inscribed Vincent de Paul in the list of the Blessed on August 21, 1729.

4. Abbé Lamourette, “Désastre de la maison de Saint-Lazare” (Catastrophe of the house of Saint-Lazare), August 3, 1789 (Paris, Méritogot le jeune).

5. Conference of May 30, 1659 (S.V. 12:262).

6. See Pierre Defrennes, S.J., “La vocation de saint Vincent de Paul, étude de psychologie surnaturelle” (The Vocation of Saint Vincent de Paul, a study of supernatural psychology), *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique*, vol. 13 (1932): 60–86, 165–183, 294–321, 389–411.

7. S.V. 9:119.

8. S.V. 11:41, 317.

9. S.V. 12:131.

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