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Race, Religion, and the Contradictions of Identity: Frederick Douglass Visits Rome in the Wake of Other Americans

Introduction

Religion was the one component of Italian life that many visiting Americans viewed with the greatest disfavor. The practices and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church frequently offended those Protestant Americans who travelled to Italy in the nineteenth century. These non-Catholics sincerely believed that the Protestant faith had brought them to a true and serious communion with the Divine that alone promoted morality and virtue. In contrast, Roman Catholicism epitomized excess in the abusive control represented by the oppressive authoritarianism of the Church, its hierarchy, and institutions. It also displayed excess in the accumulation of ornamentation in baroque Roman Churches, religious processions, and festivals, especially when compared to the stern and measured simplicity of Protestant Gothic architecture and general Puritan minimalism. Author after author commented on the average Catholic's slavish submission to clerical dictates and papal restrictions on the freedom of speech and of the press. The wine-drinking, card playing, and dancing on the Sabbath was (and still is for Baptists where I live in the rural US South) simply abhorrent.

The democratic values purported to have been fostered by American Protestantism were actually thought by a broad majority to have formed the basis for America's prosperity and general happiness. This stood in sharp contrast to

what the American visitors viewed as the misery, decaying morality, and the general debased character of Italians under Catholicism. Travelers praised Italian art and were even sometimes awed by the Roman Church's rituals. But, for the most part, they had contempt for the Catholic faith and its social effects. American evangelical travelers could not restrain their fulminations. There are recorded instances of meek and self-righteous Quakers berating Catholic clergy in the streets of Rome or even lecturing the Pope during Papal audiences on the depravity of the Church! As a whole, the literature emanating from Grand Tour travelers blamed Catholicism for Italy's poverty and lack of progress. In the following essay, I will briefly touch upon nineteenth-century literary responses to Italian Catholicism and then focus on narratives of Frederick Douglass's visit to Rome in 1887. A fugitive slave who gained his freedom, an abolitionist, gifted writer and orator, Douglass (1819–1895) visited Italy during his Grand Tour of England, France, Italy, and Egypt. I will examine how Douglass reacted to the Eternal City and its "excesses." I claim that in many respects, Douglass's views of Italy, its culture and religion reflect many of the concerns voiced by other Grand Tour authors. But, as we shall see, for Douglas, they are also filtered through his larger and more pressing discussion on race.

The Grand Tour can be viewed as a secular pilgrimage in which wealthy Americans sought out the quasi-sacred key sites of Western civilization. Continental travel allowed nineteenth-century Americans to differentiate themselves from the European historical tradition as well as affirm their sense of national superiority as US citizens. It served as a ritual of cultural legitimacy. Through such a voyage, privileged white Americans could claim membership in greater world culture as well as define themselves as Americans or even more specifically in terms of their regional affiliation (as Northerners, Southerners, urban or rural). Through their travel abroad, they could also identify with Anglo-American gentility. It was, therefore, a highly charged political act for Douglass, a black former slave, to emulate the Grand Tour experience of privileged white American authors.

The Grand Tour and Nativist Rhetoric in Nineteenth-Century American Literature

The Grand Tour depiction of Italy and Roman Catholicism reflected a pattern found in the nativist literature published at home. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when the danger of foreign invasion had become rather remote, there was nevertheless significant fear of internal subversion. In the popular press, this fear attracted wide public support. It produced stereotypes and conspiracy theories regarding the foreign Other in American society. This paranoia was particularly directed against Italians and Catholics who were seen in the sensational fiction in the 1840's and 1850's as plotting to destroy American democracy (Davis: 210). In this literature, Italian-American priests, receiving instructions from Rome, relentlessly schemed to subject the nation to popish despotism (Davis: 205). Nativist literature depicted an unprincipled Catholic Church, directed by Rome's lust for power, planning revolution and manipulating public opinion. It portrayed an America overrun by individuals who were trapped in the meshes of the machine-like organization of the Catholic Church and deluded by a false sense of moral obligation. It depicted a Catholic Church that punished dissent by torture and even murder. Through its institutions, Rome actively engaged in subverting American society in order to control the world's destiny.

Some scholars of American literature have sympathetically viewed this brand of nativist literature as a response to a shifting demographic environment. Others have even attributed it to a crisis in white Anglo-Saxon masculinity.¹ These explanations may have some validity. But, I would venture to suggest that the continued deployment of paranoid negative depictions of Italians and Catholics beyond the Jacksonian era of America's millennial glory and well into the twentieth century also reflects American racism and anti-Catholic prejudice. We simply cannot ignore that all those stiletto-wielding priests and oversexed nuns populating the nativist literature had something to do with the waves of Italian immigrants arriving on American shores at the turn of the century. There was then, even perhaps even more than now, deep-seated contempt for

¹ None of these scholars happen to be Italian-Americans.

immigrants in this land of immigrants. Nativist representations of Italians and Catholics were, therefore, not just racist or political; they also reflected religious fears, especially now that Protestant America found itself increasingly confronted with the Catholic “other.”

Many American Protestants actually envisioned US prosperity as proof that God had specifically blessed their nation. Any demonstration of allegiance to American ideals and institutions provided further proof of Protestant America's faith in its national mission. The nativist literature can be seen to have grown out of this process of self-affirmation. However, it can also be viewed as expressing elements of national self-doubt. In *The Papal Conspiracy Exposed, and Protestantism Defended in the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's brother, Edward, claimed that American democracy and Catholicism could not co-exist and that one must destroy the other (Beecher: 29). According to another popular nativist author, supposedly a defrocked priest, therefore, an unimpeachable authority, the Roman Catholic Church, yearned to restore its fallen greatness. To achieve this end, it had infiltrated American society by establishing nunneries and monastic institutions and engaged in criminal activity. The Church had also subverted American education by supporting Popish colleges, which were manned by Jesuits who actively set out to destroy American youth by engaging in blatant immorality. Books such as *Popery! As It Was and As It Is* or *Auricular Confession and Popish Nunneries* emphasized the brutal sadism and sexual depravity one found among Roman Catholic clerics. It described their sins in minute detail; it reveled in how priests captivated gullible women and, given their potent, sexual charm, successfully seduced virtuous wives. In *A Master Key to Popery. Giving a Full Account of All the Customs of the Priests and Friars, and the Rites and Ceremonies of Popish Religion*, we learn of beautiful women lured into confessionals by ardent young priests (Gavin: 70–72). In *Auricular Confession* (254–255) and *The Cloven Foot: Or Popery Aiming at Political Supremacy in the United States* (Oldenwold: 301–304), women reveal their innermost thoughts in the intimate space of the confessional and thus becomes an easy prey to the machinations of the priest.

This literature clearly presented a displacement of genuine social fears in the form of sexual fantasies. It projected the sins of individual non-Catholics (or even the non-Catholic nation of America) onto the shoulders of the Catholic

enemy and, in the process, assuaged white Protestant guilt. If one was genuinely troubled by the existence of real brothels in the new nation, was it not easier and more satisfying to rage against the “legal brothels” imagined and superimposed on convents. This literature, which we can characterize as nineteenth-century soft core pornography, wonderfully expressed nativist resentment and repressed desire. It’s popularity and scurrilous depiction of Roman Catholicism was not lost on those American authors who subsequently travelled to Rome, the seat of such iniquity.

Typically, the nineteenth-century travelers to Rome were drawn to its art and history, but recoiled at the decadence, dilapidation, and depravity that they were predisposed to find in its religious institutions. William Dean Howells describes how the cardinals looked like a “grotesque company of old-womanish old men in gaudy gowns.”² Nathaniel Hawthorne’s wife thought clergy resembled hogs. In fact, they were so fat and flabby that she felt faint.³ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow noted how priests coveted their neighbors’ wives.⁴ Margaret Fuller could barely contain her antagonism for the Church which grew daily in the period leading up to the revolt of 1849.⁵ Such negative assessments of Italian Catholics are rampant in nativist literature. One such well-known scene of American encounter with Roman Catholicism, is found in Hawthorne’s *The Marble Faun*.

Had the Jesuits known the situation of this troubled heart, her inheritance of New England Puritanism would hardly have protected the poor girl from the pious strategy of those good fathers. Knowing, as they do, how to work each proper engine, it would have been ultimately impossible for Hilda to resist the attractions of a faith, which so marvelously adapts itself to every human need.

(Hawthorne: 1138–1139)⁶

² William Dean Howells, *Italian Journeys*. New York, 1867: 177, cited in Baker: 170–171.

³ Sophia Hawthorne, *Notes on England and Italy*. New York, 1870: 480, cited in Baker: 170–171.

⁴ Longfellow to his brother, Rome June 28, 1828. See Longfellow papers in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, cited in Baker: 170–171.

⁵ Margaret Fuller, *At Home and Abroad*. Ed. Arthur B. Fuller. Boston, 1856: 299, cited in Baker: 170–171.

⁶ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “The Marble Faun”. *Novels*. Ed. Millicent Bell. New York, 1983, cited in Mailloux, 2013: 126–39.

Hilda's visit to St. Peters is presented here as part of a "dangerous errand... to observe how closely and comfortingly the Popish faith applied itself to all human occasions" (cited in Mailloux, 2013: 133). We find expressed here the standard description of the Jesuits' famous (or infamous) rhetorical skill of accommodation, where they could meet the recipients of their ministries on their own level. Jesuits regularly used accommodation in their teaching, sacramental training, and missionary activities as a viable tool. Accommodation, however, is presented in this scene as seduction. In administering the sacrament of confession, the priest is portrayed as luring Hilda into the threatening space of the Roman confessional. She experiences some relief but more importantly has to withstand the priest's seduction and stay true to her Puritan faith. Hawthorne here presents the activity of the priest in the confessional as a "cat and mouse" game, not unlike the depictions of priestly behavior found in American Protestant anti-Catholic conspiracy literature.

Frederick Douglass's Journey to Rome

Frederick Douglass followed in the wake of the American authors who were familiar with and replicated a negative vision of Roman Catholicism.⁷ Douglass's commentary on his 1887 visit to Italy recycled many of the themes common to other Grand Tour narratives.⁸ Initially, he is disappointed when he arrived in Rome in the evening because he felt that it was like any other city (420). The next day, however, all his dreams were rewarded when he saw the city in the light of day. Rome gloriously answers all his hopes with ever increasing wonder and amazement. He immediately places his reactions in the context of other American cultivated travelers/authors by making standard Grand Tour cultural references, as when he evokes and cites Byron (421). But Douglass also wants to distinguish himself as a black traveler and author so he draws parallels between Roman historical sites and references to his race.

⁷ He travelled to Europe in the company of his second white educated (Mount Holyoke graduate) wife, Helen Pitts, whom he had married two years after the death of his first wife of forty-four years. She was an advocate of temperance and suffrage who had worked as a clerk in Douglass's office since 1882.

⁸ This is found in Douglass's autobiography of 1887, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.

He compares Trajan's Column, for example, with the monument at Bunker Hill and equates the battles of the gladiators in the Coliseum with the treatment of black slaves in America. In another instance, he compares Paganini's violin to the pen used by Lincoln in signing the Emancipation Proclamation (419). In all these instances, Douglass first shows his appreciation of history and art; he showcases his erudition. Then, he disengages from what we can call the Grand Tour cultivated authorial aesthetic commentary to use Rome as a springboard to discuss black suffering. He lays claim to the cultured intelligence of the Grand Tour author, but also displays his capacity to draw broader insights. In particular, he emphasizes his ability to view these touristic sites or artefacts in a larger moral and ethical global context. He shows himself to exemplify two specific traits: innate intelligence and compassion for human suffering. These characteristics become for Douglass the trademarks separating the American black male from his white Christian compatriots. In addition to can exhibiting his general knowledge of history and aesthetic acumen by commenting on Rome's art, architecture, and sculpture (419), Douglass can, as a former slave, sympathize with the persecution and suffering of the Jews under Titus (422) when visiting the ruins of Rome's arches. It is as the black cosmopolitan writer par excellence that Douglass brings much more to this encounter with Rome than his white bourgeois analogues.

It is the "gigantic" presence of Catholicism in Rome, however, that elicits Douglass's most sustained response. He is impressed by its excesses, noting the "all-pervading, complicated, accumulated and mysterious power of this great religious and political organization" (423). He finds that its rituals and practices clearly bring "a great comfort to the people," even though it is clearly mendacious, despotic, and aristocratic in character. The Roman Church offers indulgences as if Luther had never existed. It jingles the keys of heaven and hell as confidently as if its right to do so had never been challenged (423). Douglass is impressed that every fifth man he encounters seems to work to maintain the Church's ascendancy and glory (423). In his comments, Douglass shows himself here to be more the cosmopolitan than the nativist. He recognizes the Church's worldliness as an economic and imperial institution, rather than condemn its stereotypical faults. He is favorably impressed with it as an enterprise where the chief business is taking money in the form of gifts from everyone, including the

United States government (423). In fact, Douglass is quite taken with Roman Catholicism as a capitalist venture. He shares neither the contempt nor the virulence of American nativist literature and the Grand Tour commentators. Douglass's reading of Roman Catholicism is positive and surprisingly so, given the scathing critique of American Christianity found in his 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*. In Rome, Douglass exhibits humor and generosity toward the Catholic excesses as opposed to his earlier harsh condemnation of Christianity as it is practiced in America.

Anyone who has read Douglass's *Narrative* is immediately struck by the scenes of degradation, torture, and murder of blacks by whites in the South. Douglass emphasizes that the slave owners who torment and brutalize the slaves pride themselves on being good Christians. In fact, the litany of their crimes and their religious hypocrisy drives the entire action of Douglass's text. His measured tone and use of understatement regarding the barbarity of slavery as imposed by proud American Christians accounts in large part for the text's rhetorical force. However, in the very important four-page appendix to the *Narrative*, Douglass deftly switches tactics. In this postscript to the text, Douglass positions himself as the reader of his own narrative and cautions against its possible "misreading." He carefully explains that he is, in fact, not an opponent of all religion as his readers might deduce. He does not abhor Christianity proper, "the pure, peaceful, impartial Christianity of Christ," but he condemns the corrupting Christianity of his "land" that he condemns, the slaveholding religion, the "women-whipping, cradle plundering, hypocritical religion of the South," which is found not only in the South, but also revealed in the words, deeds and actions of all so-called Christian churches north and south who are in union with the slaveholders.

In this appendix to the *Narrative*, Douglass claims that he wishes to mollify his Christian audience after his sharp condemnation of Southern Christianity. But, quite to the contrary, what he offers is largely rhetorical performance by paying lip service to what he terms "the Christianity of Christ", while fully maintaining his suspicions regarding the Christianity practiced in America, especially what he saw as the collusion of the Christian establishment in the institution of slavery and the extraordinary cruelty of Christian slave masters. He felt it was his duty to testify against this brand of religion. Although he packages his

appendix as a disclaimer for any perceived anti-Christian animus readers might find in the *Narrative*, he concludes it with a parody supposedly written by a northern Methodist preacher who had visited the South and mocks its morals and piety. Inserting this parody, cataloguing the utter depravity and hypocrisy of the Christian slave holder into his autobiography, Douglass launches his final assault that ties him to a more radical tradition of anti-Christian rhetoric. Here, in pious language, Douglass fully repudiates the reigning religion in the West (Peyser: 89).⁹ It is a forceful broadside attack that no amount of hedging can obscure. Given this radically anti-Christian message of the *Narrative*, how then should we read Douglass's comments regarding Catholicism, as he encountered it forty years later in Rome?

As noted, Douglass's descriptions of Rome were very much in keeping with those of other American Grand Tour authors in terms of his critique of poverty, lack of progress, and pervasiveness of religion. When Douglass subsequently tours Rome, the situation for blacks in America had progressed poorly under Reconstruction. Decades after the Civil War, Douglass feared that America was quite capable of resituating the racial attitudes that had existed under slavery in an imagined future ruled by providence, understood as the unique charge of the American nation and the very vision of America and American triumphalism that he saw promoted in the literature of his time, including that of the Grand Tour authors. Rome is presented as a foil, the Other, as opposed to the American "norm" which he views with some trepidation. While, like his white compatriots, Douglass expressed wonderment of Roman art, sculpture and architecture (424), he clearly distinguished his Rome from that of his fellow American writers. He is no white upper-class tourist. Rome evokes for him and alternate history, one that is marked by suffering and persecution, in addition to its treasures. Douglass makes a point of commenting that he is much more interested in the Rome of the Apostle Paul, preaching 1800 years earlier, than the Rome of priests and popes. He seeks out the grand ruins of the religion against

⁹ It is worth noting that the *Narrative* is prefaced by a famous northern white abolitionist (William Lloyd Garrison) and appended with this parodic poem by a northern white Methodist preacher. It is, as one critic has noted, a "black book packaged by a white envelope" (Sekora, 482). But it is Frederick Douglass's true voice that is heard in this Appendix.

which Paul dared to preach (424).¹⁰ Douglass admires the juxtaposition of both pagan and Christian Rome, the temples of discarded gods and those of the Christian God, altars that have perished and those that have been supplanted. He identifies with the rebel Paul and his mission of critiquing the rejected faith.

Throughout his visit to Rome, Douglass describes the corporal movement through urban space that he experiences as a concentrated fusion of perceptions, thoughts, emotions and spirituality (Mailloux, 2013: 130). There is, significantly, a bodily identification with a particular saint he deems more important than all the Catholic relics he views in St. Peter's, all those "wonderful things in that line palmed off on a credulous and superstitious people" (424). The saint in question is St. Peter and Douglass relates to him by indexing his own racial embodiment (Mailloux, 2013: 129).

I had some curiosity in seeing people going up to the black statue of St Peter – I was glad to find him black, – I have no prejudice against his color – and kissing the Old fellow's big toe, one side of which has been nearly worn away by the devout and tender salutes (425).

Douglass comments that there is no accounting for what people will believe or do to secure the favor of God. He asserts that there is no reasoning with a faith that offers comfort to those who have "kissed the great toe of the black image of the Apostle Peter" (425). Moreover, it is significant to note that in the initial account of his visit to St. Peter's found in his *Diary*, Douglass makes no mention of the Apostle being black, nor does he note for his readers that it is the tarnished bronze of the statue that renders St. Peter black. As far as he (and his uninformed American readers) are concerned, Peter is a black saint ruling over his Church and Rome. Douglass's emphasis on Roman blackness will appear as a recurring theme throughout his tour.

In the *Autobiography*, Douglass maintains that Romans, like himself, are a mixed blood people. He repeatedly presents the Italians as resembling African Americans, by detailing markers of the scientific theories of his time. Like Africans, Italian women have picturesque headwear; they dress in gay colors

¹⁰ He has the same experience in Athens, on the Acropolis where he "heard Paul's famous address to the Athenians and tried to imagine the state of mind incited" (See Douglass's *Diary* 2.2 and 3.19, 1887, cited in Mailloux, 2002: 96–119).

and wear startling jewelry. They both carry bundles on their heads, a trait seen in America as peculiar to Negroes and a sign of their inferiority. Douglass thus draws a distinct parallel between the “blackish” inhabitants of Rome, the cradle of Western Europe, and the blacks in America. Moreover, he notes that as he proceeds eastward from England through Italy, people become only blacker. From Rome to Naples, there is an increase in black hair, black eyed, full lips and darker complexions. This racialization of Italy also distinguishes Douglass’s account from that of other travelers. It is not just that these Romans are poor, superstitious or non-progressive, they are positively black! It is worth noting that Douglass’s impressions of Roman blackness startlingly diverge from those of Thomas Jefferson who in the 1787 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, speaks of Roman whiteness (Levine: 223).

Like other Americans tourists, Douglass succumbs to the “ethereal glory” of St. Peters, its vast wealth, splendor and architectural perfection, but he differs from his white literary counterparts in that he saw there not the triumph of the Anglo-Saxon, but the sanctity of racial mixture, the triumph of the miscegenated origins of Christianity and Western civilization. Rome, which initially had been just a lay-over for Douglass on his way to Africa, from the light-skinned world to the dark-skinned world, became rhetorically quite useful (Levine: 228). It becomes a site of refuge, proof of the victory of miscegenation, and a respite from his struggles with Protestant America and, especially, from its reigning discourse on race.

Douglass firmly believed that blacks and whites improved through racial mixing, as evidenced by his own history with a white father. He promoted a radical political agenda that called for full black integration rather than the segregation that both blacks and whites of his era championed. In this context, Douglass’s description of Rome and the Italians relates to his thoughts regarding ethnology and Africa. The nineteenth century science of race was not only embraced by Southerners who supported slavery, but also by northerners as influential as Harvard’s Louis Agassiz, who rejected the eighteenth-century view of race – that all humans descended from a single pair and that physical differences emerged due to changes in the natural environment. Polygenists,

such as Agassiz, believed that blacks were inferior.¹¹ Douglass was well versed in the literature of ethnology and sought in his lectures and writings to dismantle the polygenists' claims. For this reason, he sought to counter another polygenists' belief that the ancient Egyptians were white. Douglass maintained that the ancient Egyptians resembled modern-day Africans; they are black and have always been, as evidenced by their sphinxes and pyramids showing images with African features. Since Egypt is "wonderfully endowed" in terms of its ancient civilization and since it is part of Africa, African blacks cannot be said to be inferior to whites. If they are not inferior, then the argument in defense of slavery is proven groundless (Douglass, 1982: 508, 517). Egypt allowed Douglass to show evidence of the greatness of blacks. Rome also allowed him to make this same case, with himself as the prime specimen. In his descriptions of the ancient sites, St. Peter's and the Vatican, Douglass proved himself as an equal to any white traveler of cultured tastes. His commentary places him firmly among the Grand Tour authors. He too can reflect upon the roots and wonders of Western civilization as embodied in Rome. It is as much his tradition as it is theirs. Douglass's trip to Italy in its sustained contemplation on race can be seen as a challenge to white supremacist ideology: he asserted himself as a cultured cosmopolitan engaged in a journey from discrimination to acculturation, with a movement toward equality in an era when such acceptance was as uncommon for blacks as it was for them to travel abroad.

Douglass's travel experience stood in sharp contrast to his life as a slave. In Rome, his knowledge of the arts and literature enabled him to join the ranks of white cultured men of letters. It offered him the equality that had just been promised in American founding documents, but not yet realized in his day-to-day reality (Schoolman: 3). In this respect, Douglass exemplified James Clifford's vision of identity as not just about location, but also about displacement and relocation (Clifford: 369). In his voyage to Rome, Douglass relocated from the American world of discrimination into the upper-class internationalism. In Rome, he, a former slave, became as much a cultured individual as anyone else. He could assume the same position of authority as Nathaniel Hawthorne

¹¹ See also the racial theory of Samuel George Morton, the President of one of the nation's leading scientific societies in Philadelphia. Both Agassiz and Morton, as northerners took pains to assert that polygenism did not justify slavery.

and Henry James. However, in contrast to other Grand Tour American authors, who sought cultural and aesthetic capitol, Douglass also sought moral and political validation (Stowe: 133). In fact, he intertwined the political with the aesthetic. His knowledge of history, art, literature and music not only put him on equal footing with white upper-class cosmopolitans, but also allowed him to create a model of African American manhood for other blacks to emulate (Ray: 638). In this respect, Douglass found in Rome what he most needed – an identity as a cosmopolitan and elite traveler, unfettered by segregation (Gates: 103, 110). Although he initially had no intention to travel to Rome (or Egypt and Greece, for that matter), once in Rome he realized that African Americans had equally legitimate claims to “the moral support of Greatness” offered by Roman antiquity.¹² It was equally his past too.

After my life of hardships in slavery and of conflict with race and color prejudice and proscription at home, there was left to me a space in life when I could and did walk the world unquestioned, a man among men (590).

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¹² For his motivations to travel eastward, see his letter to Grimke on Sept 1, 1887 where he notes that when he went to England, he decided to extend his voyage to Rome and Egypt, although they were not in his calculations when he left home; cited in McFeely, 1991: 332.

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Summary

This essay examines nineteenth-century literary responses to the perception of Roman Catholicism's excess. It focuses on Frederick Douglass's visit to Rome in 1887. Douglass, a former slave who had become a gifted writer and orator, visited Italy during a Grand Tour of the continent. In many respects, Douglass's views of Italy, its culture and religion reflect that of other American intellectuals of his time. However, it also expresses his concern regarding race relations in the United States.

Keywords: Frederick Douglass, slavery, Blacks, miscegenation, Rome, Protestantism, Catholicism, Grand Tour, Nativism, Racism, Italy, St. Peter

Słowa kluczowe: Frederick Douglass, niewolnictwo, Czarnoskórzy, krzyżowanie ras, Rzym, protestantyzm, katolicyzm, Grand Tour, natywizm, rasizm, Włochy, św. Piotr