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THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

IN

CAMBRIDGE.

HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMED RELIGION
IN
FRANCE.

BY THE
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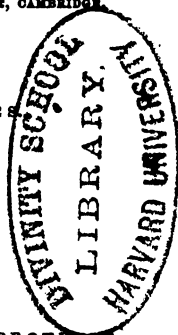
IN THREE VOLUMES

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HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMED RELIGION
IN
FRANCE.

CHAPTER XIX.

Truce—Conduct of Du Plessis—Dissolution of the States-General—Disputation at Mantes—Henry IV. enters Paris—His Clemency—XIIIth National Synod—Jealousy of the opposite Parties—Attempt upon the King's Life by Jean Chastel—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné—Renewal of War with Spain—Battle of Fontaine-Française—Reconciliation with the Duke of Mayenne—The Pope absolves Henry—Massacre at La Chasteigneraye—XIVth National Synod—The Spaniards take Calais and Amiens—Siege and Recovery of Amiens—Apostasy of De Sancy—Remonstrances of the Huguenots—Edict of Nantes—Peace of Vervins.

In the official letter which Henry addressed to the parliament of Paris, announcing his conversion, he spoke in terms too frequently abused and misapplied, of God's grace and of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which had been his pilots; and he expressed the full satisfaction which had been afforded him of the verity of his new faith, by proofs exhibited from the writings of the apostles, of the fathers, and of the doctors whom the church acknowledged.* A few lines addressed, on the same day, by M. de Valançay

* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 497.

to the Duchess d'Angoulême, immediately after the ceremony, convey a most lively picture of the state of public feeling. "I have seen the king attending mass with all possible devotion; and I have witnessed so much congratulation and delight, that, by my faith, I have wept tears of joy, the first which I have so shed since the death of my father. In good earnest, madam, this is the truth, and you need not doubt a syllable of it. Yesterday, by his majesty's permission, I visited Paris, where I found some persons astonished, others much grieved, and but a few quite at their ease."*

July 31. A truce for three months was almost immediately concluded with the chiefs of the League, whose mutual discontent made a temporary accommodation equally desirable to each of the factions into which they were now divided. Henry, although unsupported in his cabinet, steadily refused a proposition to deprive the Huguenots of their public charges and honours, if he would not declare open war against them; † and he detected, in sufficient time to stifle its progress, a design to extort from him the establishment of all provincial governments as hereditary tenures; a measure on which Du Plessis pithily remarks, that he might as well have signed his death-warrant at three days' sight. ‡ The intercourse maintained between the king and Du Plessis at this season is honourable to both parties. In no instance did the latter dissemble the profoundness of his regret; and as the sentiments which he unshrinkingly expressed bore witness to his integrity, so do they appear to have increased Henry's confidence and affection, instead of exciting his anger. When Du Plessis spoke of "the eclipse" § under which the king was labouring; when he objected to the truce as recognising "the heads of the two parties," a phrase which he said would not

* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 496.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 501.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 500.

§ *Id. ibid.* p. 500.

have been tolerated in days which he could remember;* when he complained that the Huguenots had experienced less benefits during the reign of a monarch whom they once had the honour to call their protector, than during those of any of his predecessors, their avowed enemies; when he exhibited an apprehension that the advisers who had been powerful enough to silence the king's conscience might also be able to extinguish his good inclinations; that it was improbable that he who had not feared to offend God would be more careful in giving offence to his subjects, since the step from pure religion to idolatry was far more wide than that from idolatry to persecution; when he told him that more precise terms of abjuration had been forced upon his acceptance than would have been demanded from a Jew or a Turk; when he anticipated that the pope would send him a consecrated sword as a preliminary to absolution, and would command him to extirpate heretics, that is, the most loyal and the most Christian Frenchmen; and that as a *feu de joie* for peace, he would be compelled to burn his most faithful subjects: † all this, and much other vehement language, the discretion of which is more questionable than its sincerity, was received, not only without impatience, but with the most earnest solicitations for an immediate personal interview. Complaints of delay are scattered over a correspondence of five weeks' duration. ‡ “Despatch, despatch,” are the words which the king employs

* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 506.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 355.

‡ “Venés donc incontinent—venés, venés, venés.”—*Id. ibid.* p. 505. In two days afterward, “Je vous ai plus aimé que gentilhomme de mon royaume—je vois bien que c'est; vous aimés plus le general que moi.”—p. 506. Again in another week, “Venés en toute diligence, car j'ai besoing de vous. Venés, venés, venés.”—p. 514; and before the close of the month, yet more urgently, “Je suis las de vous escrire tousjours une mesme chose, je desire infiniment de vous voir. Venés: j'ai tant de besoing de vostre presence que je ne m'en puis passer, pour des raisons que je ne vous puis escrire. Venés encore ung coup. Venés, venés, venés, si vous m'aimés.”—p. 528.

after having been repeatedly disobeyed, "I am well assured that, on your arrival, you will find me not at all changed in kindly feeling towards you, and that you will not give quite so much credit as you have done heretofore to the evil reports which have been so diligently circulated."*

The States-General, proving wholly ineffectual to further the objects for which they had been summoned, were dismissed by the Duke of

Aug. 8. Mayenne, having previously agreed to recognise the authority of the Council of Trent; having subscribed a new oath of union, and having fixed upon October as the probable time at which they would re-assemble for the final election of a king. Henry's chief anxiety, during the interval of repose from arms which the truce afforded him, arose from the slow and unfavourable progress of his negotiations with Rome. The Duke of Nevers, who had been despatched as his especial ambassador to solicit absolution from the pope (a form without which it was hopeless to suppose that the reconciliation in St. Denis would ever be generally acknowledged as valid), failed altogether in his mission; and withdrew from Rome after a few audiences with Clement, obtained with difficulty, and granted to him only in his private capacity.† Hostilities, nevertheless, were still suspended in France by the prolongation of the truce;‡ and Henry, unoccupied by war, could not in decency excuse himself from granting a hearing at Mantes to the deputies of the Reformed churches, who presented to him a memoir of their grievances early in December.

The application was referred to a committee, and the deputies separated without obtaining more than vague assurances of protection. A public disputation, however, arose out of this meeting, of which it

* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 556.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 577. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 425.

‡ For November and December. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 424.

is to be regretted that we possess no other details than are afforded by an *ex parte* narrative. If the particulars which we are about to give appear little favourable to the Huguenots, it should be remembered that they proceed from the pen of an enemy of the most vindictive class, a revolted friend; and therefore that they must be accepted with caution. Pierre Victor Cayet, from whose *Chronologie Novenaire*, embracing the period between the years 1589 and 1598, we abridge the following relation, was educated in the Reformed faith, and had been chaplain to Henry's sister, the Princess Catherine. He was deposed from the ministry in 1596, on an accusation of sorcery; and on another less imaginary and more infamous charge, of having written a defence of the public stewards.* We find him afterward, however, filling the high office of Professor of Hebrew in the College of Navarre at Paris, and largely engaged in works of controversy; and his histories of the two great periods of Henry's reign abound in curious notices, without acquaintance with which our estimate of the times must remain imperfect.

According to Cayet's statement, one of the deputies employed on this mission was Jean Baptiste Rotan, a pastor of La Rochelle, at that season enjoying no small credit among the Huguenots.† Fired with an ambitious hope of winning yet farther reputation, and somewhat unadvisedly confident in his own strength, he gave out that Du Perron, who was then in the king's suite, dared not enter the lists with any of the Reformed. Du Perron modestly expressed his willingness to accept the challenge, provided the royal permission could be ob-

* Bayle *ad v.* Cayet. *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. vi. p. 319, &c. *Chron. Noven.* tom. iii. p. 545.

† Rotan's expressions to Du Plessis on Henry's abjuration are remarkably strong. "Monsieur, je deplore nostre condition; mais encore plus celle du prince, qui se rendant plus contemptible à tout le monde, se va precipiter en une ruïne tout certaine pour une esperance bien incertaine." (July 24.)—Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 496.

tained; and the king having assented, a conference was arranged upon conditions which cannot be deemed inequitable—that the disputation should be conducted with due regard to courtesy, and with an abstinence from invective; that the arguments should be adduced syllogistically; and that nothing should be proposed which could not be supported by Scriptural authority. Secretaries were named on either side to note down the proceedings; Salomon de Bethune, younger brother of Sully, and governor of the city, was appointed to act as president representing the king, and his house was named as the theatre of contest.*

Dec. 7. Rotan, flushed with anticipations of victory, had sent for numerous packages of books from La Rochelle; but little use, it is said, was made of them for reference. The question which he selected for disputation was, "The sufficiency of Scripture;" and he relied on the text of St. Paul (rendered in the Genevan translation very much as it is in our own established version), *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*†

Du Perron argued, in the first place, that by these words, even according to the interpretation which his antagonist annexed to them, no more than the Old Testament could have been intended; because the canon of the New Testament had not been regulated, and some of its contents were not even

* Cayet is precise in stating that the king appeared by proxy, "que le dit gouverneur représenteroit;" and again that secretaries were appointed "pour recueillir tout ce qui seroit dit et le représenter à sa majesté."—Tom. ii. liv. v. f. 269, &c. Nevertheless Duchat, in commenting upon the *Épître* prefixed to the *Confession de Sancy*, endeavours to show that Rotan "parât étonné devant un grand Roy et une nombreuse cour qui le soutenoient."—*Journal de Henri III.* tom. v. p. 31.

† 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. "Toute l'Écriture Sainte est divinement inspirée;—est suffisante pour rendre l'homme sage, afin qu'il soit parfait en toutes bonnes œuvres."

written, at the time at which St. Paul thus delivered himself. He further showed, that the substantive verb "is" had not any existence in the original Greek; and that as the apostle referred to "the Holy Scriptures," τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, which he had mentioned in the preceding verse, as "able to make thee wise unto salvation," τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίαι εἰς σωτηρίαν, the repetition of πᾶσα γραφή, therefore, was no more than emphatical. Lastly, he contended that "profitable," ὠφέλιμος, widely differed from "sufficient," ἱκανός.

Rotan, without noticing the first part of the objection, answered, that *sufficiency* was amply evinced by the following verse, that "the man of God," i. e. the faithful Christian, "may be made perfect." To this assertion Du Perron rejoined, that it was nowhere stated that Scripture is the *only* means upon which the attainment of perfection depends; but that, on the contrary, it must be considered as *one* out of *several* forms of instruction. His next position was more subtle and wordy. In all subjects the final cause is without those subjects, and depends upon the first agent, which in this particular instance is God himself. If it were otherwise, every person reading the Scriptures would *ipso facto* become perfect. But St. Peter rebukes the "unlearned and unstable," who "wrest the Scriptures unto their own destruction."* St. Jude also says that heretics corrupt the Scripture, not understanding it.† "Even unto this day," as St. Paul assures the Corinthians, "when Moses is read" by the Jews, "the vail is upon their hearts;"‡ and our Saviour

* 2 Peter iii. 17.

† The allusion probably is to Jude 16, to which passage the Rhemists have annexed the following goodly commentary: "He speaketh of heretics, who, being ignorant in God's mysteries and the divine doctrine of his Church, when they cannot reprove the things, then they fall to execrations, irrisions, and blasphemies against the priests, church, and sacraments, and whatsoever is godly."

‡ 2 Cor. iii. 15.

himself charges the Sadducees with error, "not *knowing* the Scriptures."* He then denied that "the man of God" meant "a faithful Christian" generally; it pointed in this place to Timothy himself, as it did also in another passage in St. Paul's former epistle to the same disciple.† Lastly, those who were instructed to reprove, rebuke, and exhort, could be no others than persons called by the church to lawful authority; and Scripture therefore was not profitable unless applied by such persons, who were not to be found in the pretended Reformed communion.

When Du Perron paused here, Rotan, who appeared confused, offered some high eulogies upon his antagonist's erudition, terminated the day's argument suddenly, and did not re-appear on the following morning. His place was occupied by Berault, a pastor of Montauban, with whom Du Perron renewed the combat. During six days, they searched every corner and crevice of dialectics in pursuit of the true meaning of the word *sophias*, to make wise. Historians, poets, mathematicians; moral, metaphysical, and physical philosophers; scholiasts and commentators, without number, were cited; and Berault, a skilful fencer, "thrust quarte and tierce,"‡ as we are told, but was never able to establish that it could relate to *sufficiency*. At length he also took refuge in compliment, and withdrew, excusing himself by a lame apology that he had not come prepared for disputation.

The conduct of Rotan appears to have created suspicion; and D'Aubigné positively accuses him of having long been in correspondence with Du Perron. He states that Rotan, by mootng religious questions before Henry, in which, as was previously arranged, he was always worsted by Du Perron, weakened the king's faith in Protestantism; and

* Matt. xxii. 29.

† 1 Tim. vi. 11.

‡ "Escrima à droit et à revers."

that at this conference his defeat was altogether preconcerted. At the moment, however, some touch of shame, or some fear of detection, made him waver, and he retired under a feigned plea of sickness.* In opposition to these charges, we find Rotan, six months afterward, at the Synod of Montauban, in the honourable post of assessor to Berault, who presided as moderator; and both of them receiving high testimonies of approval from their brethren. Rotan was publicly thanked for his pious exertions in maintaining the truth in the Conference at Mantes;† at the desire of the magistrates of La Rochelle and of the whole province of Saintonge, application was made to the syndics of Geneva "to give up their right in our honoured brother M. Rotan, for the service of the church of Rochelle, because of his singular usefulness and fruitful labour in that church, and his great serviceableness in that province, yea, and to all the Reformed churches in France;"‡ and he was appointed afresh as one of the champions whenever the conference should be renewed. Within two years, he was again received as a deputy at the Synod of Saumur, under circumstances which would have made it easy to reject any applicant of blemished, or even of suspected character;§ and yet further, at the Synod of Montpellier, in 1598, each of the churches of La Rochelle and of Castres contended for him as their pastor.|| If therefore we grant that Cayet has represented the occurrences of the disputation fairly in the main, and that Rotan was in truth discomfited, his want of success may be attributed rather to his inferiority to Du Perron as a controversialist than to any villanous betrayal of the cause which he avowedly espoused. Perhaps,

* *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iii. ch. 22, p. 290.

† *Quick*, ch. iv. 49. p. 166.

‡ *Ibid.* ch. vi. 10, p. 170.

§ *Id.* p. 174, where may be found D'Aubigné's accusation against Rotan.

|| *Id.* ch. iv. 7, 27, p. 201, 203.

indeed, we are entitled to make a yet further deduction. It was unlikely that the Huguenots would lavish such demonstrations of respect and confidence on a defeated advocate; or that they would intrust their cause a second time to one who had already evinced incapacity for its defence. That they did so cannot but excite a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of Cayet's narrative.

During the winter of 1593, and the ensuing spring, Lyons, Rheims, Toulouse, and other important

1594.

Feb. 27. towns declared for Henry. He celebrated his *sacre* at Chartres, and he entered his capital triumphantly, yet peaceably; an

March 22.

event which, as it is thought, accelerated the death of Cardinal Pellevé, already struggling with the infirmities of a life protracted to its seventy-seventh year.* The king's success was everywhere marked by extraordinary clemency; pardon was freely and generally offered, and scarcely any punishment beyond that of exile was inflicted upon even his most pertinacious enemies. We read with surprise of the familiar access which the Duchess of Montpensier obtained to the royal person, and with disgust of the servility with which she courted favour. On the evening of the king's public entrance into Paris, she formed one of his card-party.† At another time, he even sat down to play with her *tête-à-tête*, a want of caution which induced Crillon, who entered accidentally during the game, to whisper twice in his master's ear, "Beware, sire, of the Montpensier's penknife."‡ On one occasion, she

* His death is fixed by his epitaph in the Cathedral at Rheims (printed in the "Remarques sur la Satyre Menippée," tom. ii. p. 155) on the 26th of March.

† Perefice, p. 223. D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iv. ch. iii. p. 336.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 112. The golden scissors which the Duchess of Montpensier used to wear at her girdle, in order, as she declared, to perform the tonsure on Henry III., are more celebrated than her penknife. De Thou, xciii. 9. *Lettres d'Osnat.* tom. i. p. 183 *Satyre Menippée*, tom. i. p. 93.

assured Henry that the only circumstance wanting to increase her pleasure in seeing him in possession of the Louvre was, that her brother of Mayenne should have lowered the drawbridge when he passed the barriers. "*Ventre Saint Gris*,"* replied the king, whose good sense revolted at the hollowness of this declaration, "I might, in that case, have had to wait a long time, and should not have entered quite so easily."† Her effrontery, however, as may be supposed, subjected her to frequent mortifications. The Princess of Orange, on finding her in the apartments of the Princess Catherine, abruptly quitted the chamber, avowing herself to be too good a French woman to remain in company with one who had participated in regicide.‡ Crillon went still farther. One day, when the Montpensier was in the same presence, he whispered to a lady in attendance that she would do a good act if she would kill the murderess of the late king. This advice reached the ears of the duchess; and she observed, that to strike the blow had indeed been beyond her strength, but that she rejoiced in an opportunity of avowing, in so goodly a company, that she was right glad when she heard that another hand had struck it.§ Her popularity in the capital was altogether extinguished; and she who but a few weeks before so entirely swayed the rabble as to be called the "queen-mother of Paris," now passed through its streets unregarded, and even without the ordinary salutations which her rank demanded."||

* We have already explained the origin of this favourite exclamation (vol. ii. p. 264). Of the many silly, and sometimes far worse than silly, expletives recorded of the several Kings of France, that of Francis I., *Roi de Gentilhomme*, requires least defence. If any asseveration be necessary to procure belief for the assertion of a man of honour, a reference to his own good repute appears to be the most fitting.

† *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 15.

‡ *Id.* p. 107. The Princess of Orange was Louise, a daughter of the Admiral de Coligny. After the murder of her first husband Tullig during St. Bartholomew, she became fourth consort of William IV. Prince of Orange.

§ *Id.* p. 112.

|| *Id.* p. 164.

June 15. The deputies of the Reformed Church assembled at Montauban towards midsummer, in order to hold their XIIIth National Synod. Eleven troubled years had elapsed since the convention of a similar meeting, and the many grievances under which they at that time laboured were still far from being redressed. For the most part, however, they discreetly separated the consideration of their political wrongs from the arrangement of their religious discipline; and leaving the former to an assembly about to meet at St. Foy, the Synod confined itself to the internal government of its congregations. A provision, more calculated to spare trouble than to promote equity, enacted neutrality in cases of reciprocal accusation between a minister and his flock: "Whereas a minister complains of his church's ingratitude, and the church on the other hand shall lay the blame on its pastor, there shall be no notice taken of either of them."* Ministers were earnestly exhorted to residence;† and strong expostulations were addressed to "the ungrateful wretches" who neglected to contribute to their pastor's subsistence. This "crying sin" is declared to have become more notorious than ever, insomuch that "it threatens the Church with a total dissipation;" and the consistories were enjoined to deprive obstinate offenders, after they shall have been several times admonished, of communion with the Church in its sacraments.‡ Henry's apostacy was passed over in decorous silence; but "all ministers were exhorted to be earnest with God in their public prayers for the conversion, preservation, and prosperity of the king; and whenever they be at court, and have access to his majesty, they shall do their duty in reminding him seriously of the great concern of his soul's salvation; and the pastors ordinarily residing at court and in the neighbourhood

* Quick, ch. iv. 7, p. 161.

† *Id.* ch. iv. 10, p. 162.

‡ Ch. iv. 8, *ibid.*

shall be writ to more especially by this Synod to put this our counsel into practice.”*

The Reformed appear now to have placed their hopes of continued illustrious patronage upon the Princess Catherine, the king's sister; and it was of her accordingly that the suspicions of the Romanists were aroused in like proportion. The Synod of Montauban decreed that letters should be sent congratulating her perseverance, and advising her highness to continue faithful unto the last.† More than once did she write to Du Plessis, with earnest protestations of unshaken fidelity; expressing the deep pain which her brother's abjuration had occasioned, and her conviction that, when the present confusion had passed away, he would, through God's grace, repair the breach which, for the good of his people, he now allowed to be made in his conscience.‡ “If they tell you,” she says, on another occasion, “that I have been to mass, receive my denial in one word, that I have been there neither in act nor even in thought. I do not mean to go till you are pope, as the Prince of Conty used to say. Rest assured, therefore, for yourself, and give the same assurance to all other worthy people, that I continue quite resolute in my profession of faith.”§ When she entered Paris, accompanied by a large suite, the gentlemen who occupied one of her eight carriages were pointed out by the bystanders as Huguenot ministers.|| M. d'O, the chief intendant of finance, openly remonstrated with her chaplain La Faye upon the murmurs excited by Calvinistic preaching, of which himself was the chief instrument; but the sturdy pastor was not to be intimidated: he denied the personal charge, adding, that popular murmurs, if they really existed, were occasioned, not by sermons, but by new taxes and un-

* Quick, ch. iv. 15, p. 169.

† Tom. vi. p. 77.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 51.

† Ch. iv. 16, *ibid.*

§ *Id.* p. 81.

precedented imposts.* The Reformed worship was publicly celebrated, and the Lord's Supper was administered at the Palace of St. Germain's;† and a formal complaint was laid before the king by the Cardinal de Gondé and a deputation from the clergy, that a similar strange profanation had occurred even in the Louvre, the residence of his own court. Henry, in reply, angrily observed that he thought it yet more strange that such language should be held to him in his own palace, concerning his own sister. Nevertheless, that what had been done was not in consequence of any orders which he had given, and that it should receive investigation. When some further remonstrance was added concerning marriages which had been solemnized, a gentleman present admitted that the nuptial ceremony had been performed once, and that the matter was now over. "Since all is over," exclaimed the king, "why should you wish me to notice it?" The contract, indeed, had taken place with open doors, and without an attempt at concealment; and the king was well acquainted with the fact at the time of its occurrence.‡

The influence of the League continued to diminish, partly in consequence of internal dissension, partly from want of military success; and the chief difficulty which Henry now encountered arose from the natural discontent of those whom he had abandoned, and the equally natural jealousy of his new associates. The peace of the capital was exposed to frequent interruption from trifling causes. A child, born of Huguenot parents, was not presented at the font, and the omission furnished a subject for various

* *Id.* p. 96. Francois d'O died on the 24th October in this year. He had been appointed sur-intendant of finance by Henry III., and on the assassination of that prince, he signified to Henry IV. the fixed determination of the Romanist nobles never to submit to a Huguenot king. No one of his party exhibited more bitter enmity against the Reformed.

† *Id.* p. 99.

‡ *Id.* p. 120.

criminary memorials ; commencing with the vicar of the parish in which the offence occurred, and not terminating till the Cardinal of Bourbon himself was enlisted as an accuser.* A mechanic, intentionally or inadvertently, remained covered while the host was carried by in procession ; and he atoned for his indiscretion or his impiety by a beating, under which he narrowly escaped loss of life.† Du Plessis seems to have feared that the continued delay of that final adjustment, which the king had it not in his power to effect, would so far wear away the patience of the Reformed that they would attempt to extort a remedy by force.‡ Henry, when engaged in the public celebration of mass, generally took especial care to comply with the outward forms of devotion, and surprised the spectators by the frequency and the fervour with which he crossed himself.§ But the gayety of his humour sometimes escaped control, and betrayed him into licenses wholly unbecoming the solemnity in which he was participating.||

To no one of his early friends was the king more largely indebted than to the Duke of Bouillon, whose services could not by any means be deemed overpaid when he was elevated to the high dignity of *maréchal* of France. Yet the parliament of Paris long hesitated to register this grant. When he first appeared at court for this necessary confirmation of the king's promise, the profligate and extravagant *Sieur d'O* insultingly told him that he would succeed, but that his case would not be admitted as a precedent ;¶ words at which the gallant soldier expressed a very natural resentment, but which nevertheless were afterward included in his patent.** In

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 78. The Cardinal of Bourbon died on July 30, in this year.

† *Id.* p. 91.

‡ Tom. vi. p. 92, 94.

§ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 107.

¶ See the account of his behaviour with Gabrielle d'Estrées when they stood sponsors at the baptism of a son of her aunt Madame de Sourdis. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 133.

¶ *Id.* p. 113.

** *Id.* p. 116.

the debates before the parliament; he found a strenuous advocate in the president, De Thou, who ridiculed the fastidiousness which objected theological niceties to the reception of a maréchal of France, as if he were a doctor of divinity. The Duke of Bouillon, he added, had shown that he possessed a good sword, which he well knew how to draw in the king's service; and no lord in France had evinced himself more deserving the station to which he was called.* Nevertheless, when the assent of the parliament was at length given, one courtier is reported to have observed that the royal favours were conferred only on Huguenots or on Leaguers; and another that the king possessed twice as much religion as any of his predecessors, for that he was both Catholic and Huguenot in one.†

The ultra-Huguenots, who had long and confidently anticipated domination whenever Henry should succeed to the crown, were little likely to be satisfied with any conditions which disappointed that brilliant hope. Accordingly, when, after some struggle with the Romanists, the renewal of the edict of 1577 was proclaimed,‡ the Huguenots asked indignantly, why it was not rather the edict of January? and why they were deprived of a protector? Henry endeavoured to adjust the balance evenly; and he spoke with an unusual severity to the malecontents of both parties. He told his council, that he well knew that the late king had been termed a heretic when he granted that edict; but that if any one should presume to utter similar language concerning himself, he would send him incontinently to the gallows. To the clamorous Huguenots he replied, "that he would never innovate; that they must be contented with the last promulgated edict, which, in

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 116.

† *Id.* p. 119.

‡ This edict was not registered by the parliament till January 31, 1595. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 175. On a division in that court, there were 59 votes for, 53 against it. *Id.* p. 183.

fact, gave them every privilege consistent with the safety of the government; and that, as for a protector, they must learn that the King of France was the sole protector of all his subjects. No other protector should be admitted within his dominions, and whoever should dare to assume the title would do so at the peril of his life."* The more discreet Huguenots, if we may form a judgment from the tone of Du Plessis' correspondence, complained not so much of the ordinances sanctioned by the king as of the want of power or of inclination on the part of the executive to promote their fulfilment.† Henry's continued affection towards his former associates was not mistrusted, but the obstacles vexatiously raised against his good intentions were a source of perpetually renewed complaint.

A blow which more than any other tended to crush the power of the League, and the infliction of which manifested greatly increased strength on the part of the king, was the expulsion of the Jesuits consequent on his attempted assassination by Jean Chastel. The knife aimed by that ^{1594.} fanatic at the king's throat fell upon his ^{Dec. 27.} upper lip,‡ as he was stepping forward to raise a courtier in the act of salutation. Chastel, when first questioned, readily admitted that he had studied during the last three years at the Jesuits' College de Clermont;§ and it was plain that a lurking insanity had been encouraged and directed to nefarious purposes by his wily preceptors. Henry's readiness of

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 135. † Tom. vi. p. 125.

‡ *Le livre d'en haut*, according to the *Procédure* given in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. vi. p. 234, and to Henry's own letter to Du Plessis, tom. vi. p. 125. De Thou, by a slight inadvertence, or perhaps by an error of the press, says, *ictus in maxillam inferiorem incubuit*.—cxl. 18. The king's letter to Du Plessis was written immediately after the attempt, and gives a minute and interesting account of it. The tooth which stopped the knife was split, and fell out during the following day. M. Lomenie à M. du Plessis, tom. vi. p. 131.

§ Guillaume Duprat, Bishop of Clermont, presented his hôtel to the Jesuits on their first establishment in Paris.

spirit and invincible lightness of heart were never more forcibly displayed than when he heard these answers. "How little that reverend society loved me," he said, "I have often been told by the lips of others; but now," pointing to his fresh and still bleeding wound, "I may draw full conviction from my own."^{*}

The wretched youth, who had scarcely attained his nineteenth year, believed that he had sinned beyond redemption; and had registered a fearful catalogue of impurities, probably the phantoms of a diseased imagination, as an assistant to his memory in confession. While labouring under this most pitiable derangement, he had been taught that obedience was not due to any self-styled king, unacknowledged by the pope; and that to kill such an excommunicated pretender would be a laudable act, which might diminish, although it could not entirely avert, the eternal sufferings to which he was inevitably destined.† So great was the popular excitement aroused by these avowals, that it became necessary to protect the Jesuits' College by a guard; and when the police commenced a search there for evidence, some papers of the librarian, Father Guignard, were seized, thickly sown with opinions similar to those

* Sully, who was present when this characteristic *mot* was uttered, has done justice to it. "Châtel repondit aux premieres questions qu'on lui fit, qu'il sortoit du College des Jesuites, et il charges grievement ces peres. Le roi, qui l'entendit, dit avec une gaieté dont peu de personnes auroient été capables en pareille occasion, qu'il savoit déjà par la bouche de quantité de gens de bien que la société ne l'aimoit point; qu'il venoit d'en être convaincu par la sienne propre."—Tom. ii. liv. vii. p. 351. It is spoiled by being rendered too much "in Cambyses' vein" by Pierre de l'Etoile (*Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 141), by Cayet (tom. iii. liv. vi. p. 433), and by De Thou. The first two writers give the words, *Falloit-il donc que les Jesuites fussent convaincus par ma bouche!* and the last, adopting a similar turn of expression, represents the speech as an exclamation of anger against the parliament of Paris, who had contrived to divert the odium of the suppression of the Jesuits from themselves upon the king. *Ergo oportuit Jesuitas ex ore meo convinci.*—cxl. 18.

† Considering himself to be damned, as Antichrist, he preferred damnation *ut quatuor quam ut octo.* Cayet, *Chron. Nov.* tom. iii. liv. vi. p. 434.

which Chastel had expressed. In those writings the ferocious enthusiast deliberately affirmed, that if blood had been drawn on the St. Bartholomew from the *vena basilica*, the royal vein, the state disease would not have advanced from fever into phrensy. Was it fitting, he asked, in allusion to Henry III. (whom he stigmatized as a *pretended* monk despatched by the hand of a *true* monk), that France should be governed by a Nero and a Sardanapalus? Bearne by a fox? Portugal by a lion? England by a she-wolf? and Saxony by a hog? Much was urged in praise of Jacques Clement and of Father Bourgoing; both of whom were exhibited as martyrs and confessors directly influenced by the Holy Spirit. Much also was said of the transfer of the crown from the Bourbons to some other family; and of the lenity with which the *Bearnois* would be treated, if, after submission to the tonsure, he were permitted to spend the remainder of his days in monastic penance. If he could not be deposed without war, war was to be levied against him. If a warlike spirit could not be generated, means of some sort were to be found for his speedy removal.*

Guignard, who admitted these treasonable writings to be his-own compositions, was hanged on the Grève. Chastel was executed as a regicide. Dec. 29. His father, a rich draper, who lived opposite the Louvre, was banished, after having been put to the question; and upon the site of his house, which was razed to the ground, was erected a monumental pyramid, bearing, among other inscriptions, the edict of condemnation engraved upon it.† A process, which had been dormant for some months, was renewed against the Jesuits; and the Sorbonne

* De Thou, xli. 18.

† The inscriptions are given at length by D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iv. c. 4, p. 340, in a note on the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 160, and in the edition of Sully which we commonly cite, nominally published à Londres, 1777, in which also (tom. ix. p. 303) may be found an engraving of the monument

gladly availed itself of an opportunity which seemed to promise the destruction of those powerful rivals, with whom they had long maintained an inconclusive struggle. A design upon the king's life, meditated in the preceding year by Pierre Barriere, a waterman of Orleans, but detected before its execution,* was believed to have been communicated to Varade, the rector of the Jesuits, and to have received his encouragement; and this accusation had been prominently adduced among other charges, urged in a suit commenced by the Sorbonne before the parliament of Paris, in July, 1594. The cause is among the most celebrated recorded in French jurisprudence; and the *plaidoyer* of Antoine Arnaud, the advocate for the university, won lofty reputation among his contemporaries.† He was associated with Louis Dolé, who pleaded on the same side for the *curés* of Paris; their opponent was Claude Duret; and so highly did the Sorbonne esteem the exertions of Arnaud, that when he returned his fees, expressing a wish that he might be allowed to remember that his services had been unbought, the joint faculties pledged an oath, which they registered in their archives, to consider themselves for ever bound by the duties which clients owe to their patron, not only to Arnaud himself, but to his posterity also.‡

No decision had followed these speeches; but judgment was again postponed, as it had been on a

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 414.

† The *plaidoyers* both of Arnaud and Dolé are printed in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. iv. p. 133, 187. A copious abstract of the former may be found in Cayet, *Chron. Nov.* tom. iii. liv. vi. p. 382, and also in De Thou, cx. 9. The speech of Louis Dolé, as reported by the latter writer in his following chapter, appears to be at least equal to that of Arnaud in point of composition. Its vehemence may be estimated by a single passage, in which he states that the Jesuits "ex sacerdotibus secularibus an regularibus incertum, plebanos pastores universales, aut, ut verius dicatur, periodeutas, et circumcelliones, et hamaxarios Episcopos repente effectos."

‡ *Causa Arnaldina*, Præf. p. xvii.

similar application thirty years before.* The president, De Thou, father of the historian, denounced the cowardice of the parliament with an honest and fervid indignation, and prophesied that by its weakness it would compromise the safety of the king.† Notwithstanding his age and infirmities, he lived long enough to see his prediction verified, and he now applied a remedy to the former mistake of his colleagues. On Chastel's conviction, the Jesuits were ordered to quit Paris, and all other cities in which they had opened schools, within three days; the kingdom within fifteen. They were declared corrupters of youth, disturbers of the public tranquillity, and enemies of the king and of his government. Their property was confiscated to pious uses; the penalties of treason were affixed to their disobedience of this edict; and all subjects of France were strictly forbidden on pain of death to send their children for education to any foreign seminary conducted by ministers of the exiled order.‡

1506.
Jan. 9.

Henry's wound was slight,§ and in two autograph letters to Du Plessis he spoke of it as the fruits of the Leaguers and of the Jesuits, adding that the latter should quit the kingdom. Du Plessis, in his condolences, endeavoured to awaken his master to spiritual thoughts. "One word, sire, must be per-

* In 1561 application was made for the suppression of the College de Clermont. Estienne Pasquier was advocate for the Sorbonne; Pierre Versoin for the Jesuits. The *plaidoyer* of the former was printed separately, and may be found inserted in his *Recherches sur la France*, liv. iii. c. 43.

† De Thou, ex. 12.

‡ The *procedure* in the case of Chastel and the *arrêts* against the Jesuits are printed in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. vi. p. 231. There were not more than seven-and-thirty Jesuits resident in Paris. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 166.

§ On the 5th of January he wrote to Du Plessis, "Je suis du tout guerri de ma blessure."—Tom. vi. p. 151. From a passage in the *Journal*, it is probable that he was not very patient under surgical treatment. "Le Mercredi 28 (Dec.) on fit un point d'eguille à la blessure du roy, lequel ne voulut endurer un second, et dit qu'on lui avoit fait trop de mal au premier pour retourner au second."—Tom. ii. p. 144.

mitted to my fidelity: God, when he speaks, intends that he should be heard. When he strikes (and especially if the blow be directed to the great), he wishes us to perceive that it is his hand, and no other, which can chastise. I doubt not, therefore, that your majesty will profit by this affliction; not to guard against future attempts of a similar kind, from which God indeed will be your protection, but to acknowledge that his hand is lifted against sin; so that you may not draw down its heaviness by abusing his patience, but rather that you may avert it by turning yourself unto him, and by rejecting every thing which may provoke his anger. Thus much have I said to your majesty, not in the presumptuous spirit of a censor, but in the faithful zeal of a devoted servant.”*

The remonstrances of Du Plessis were always calm and dignified. Without the slightest compromise of truth and virtue, he delivered himself in language of deep personal respect; in a tone which was unbecoming neither in a subject to employ, nor in a sovereign to admit. He directed himself quite as much against Henry's open breaches of morality as against his change of religious profession; and it can be little doubted that the repugnance which he manifested to obey his master's frequent invitations to court chiefly arose from disgust at the scandal occasioned by the king's undisguised licentiousness. †

* Tom. vi. p. 142.

† Du Plessis wrote *once* to the Duchess of Beaufort, to return thanks for the part taken by her in his favour on occasion of the outrage which he had suffered from St. Phal. The terms which he employed sufficiently prove that he had never communicated with her before; for he remarks of his obligation, “Je ne la puis mieulx mesurer qu'en considerant que je ne vous feis jamais service, et le peu encores, que je vous en puisse faire.”—Tom. vii. p. 428. The king never exchanged a word with him on his projected marriage with her; for notwithstanding the confidence which he reposed in him on other subjects, “il n'avoit jamais parlé de ses amours, le tenant suspect en tous telz affaires.”—*Mém. par Mad. du Plessis*, tom. i. p. 347. On Gabrielle's death, he abstained from writing to the king, because “il ne pouvoit s'imaginer en quelles termes de conscience qui luy puissent estre agreables.”—*Ib.* p. 348. And he ob-

Neither by Sully* nor by D'Aubigné were similar feelings entertained; and the latter especially, while condemning the abjuration, in words the bitterness of which might, perhaps, have been somewhat mitigated, willingly accepted a most confidential charge at the instigation of the royal mistress. The well-known repartee with which he answered Henry's account of Chastel's attempt is among the most brilliant of D'Aubigné's many very brilliant sayings; and from the manifest pains which he has taken to preserve its memory, he doubtless prized it greatly as contributing to his reputation for wit. † "Sire," he answered, when the king pointed to the scar on his mouth, "you have as yet renounced God with your lips only, and it is on your lips only therefore that he is content to strike; but if at any time hereafter you renounce him with your heart, it is to your heart that the blow will be directed." Gabrielle, who was present, expressed admiration of this *mot*, but objected that it was improperly applied to the king. "If it be so, madam," continued D'Aubigné, "it is only because it will be unproductive of effect." To attach, or even to silence, a brave and active soldier thus free of speech, was of importance to the stability of the mistress; and she solicited the king to intrust to D'Aubigné's care the education of the little *César*, her recent first-born. ‡

served a similar course when he afterward appeared at court. *Id.* p. 352. This reserve affords a key to Henry's subsequent conduct.

* Sully, as appears from many passages in his *Mémoires*, lived on terms of familiarity with the Duchess of Beaufort, and thought it no disparagement to his wife's honour to permit her to do the same. Of one of Henry's letters to him he says, "la lettre finissoit par un commandement de sa majesté de venir le trouver en Picardie, et d'y amener sa maîtresse."—Tom. iii. liv. viii. p. 18. So also on Gabrielle's last arrival in Paris, after Sully had paid his respects, "de retour chez moi je songeai que mon épouse devoit s'acquitter du même devoir envers la duchesse: qui n'en fut moins, bien recue. Madame de Beaufort la pria de Palmer, et de vivre avec lui comme avec une amie."—*Idid.* liv. x. p. 290.

† It is to be found in his *Hist. Univ.* tom. lii. liv. iv. c. 12; again in the Appendix to it, p. 541; a third time in his *Confession de Sancy*, ch. vii. p. 482; and lastly in his *Hist. Secrette*, p. xcix.

‡ Born in June, 1594. Afterward legitimated, and created Duke de

Henry himself placed the boy in the hands of his friend, with instructions to bring him up among the Huguenots in Saintonge, a project which was never executed.* The Rochellois, indeed, had already expressed a wish that the prince might be trained in their city; and they had commissioned deputies to ask 60,000 crowns for his outfit; but the king dryly answered that he thought it too much money to be spent on pap.†

It was to D'Aubigné also, not to any pastor of the church in which he had been educated, nor to any confessor of that which he had adopted, that Henry turned for spiritual consolation during a severe illness which for a few days appeared to threaten him with death. If implicit credit is to be given to the anecdote, we learn from it the unsettled state of the king's mind; his ignorance of the true bearing of the Christian doctrine of repentance; the futility of the doubts by which his conscience was heavily disturbed; and the uncertain and accidental occurrence of what may be termed his religious paroxysms. At a moment in which he thought himself almost in extremity, he summoned D'Aubigné to his chamber; and when they were left alone, and had twice sought God on their knees in prayer, the king earnestly adjured his friend, by the candour with which he had ever on former occasions delivered the truth, however ungratefully it might fall on the ear, to state whether he believed that in changing his religion, he had sinned against the Holy Ghost. D'Aubigné at first sought to disengage

Vendôme in 1598, on his betrothment to Françoise de Lorraine, daughter and heiress of the Duke de Mercœur. A dark story respecting the birth of this child, whose relationship to Henry appears doubtful, is told on the authority of De Sancy, by Sully, tom. ii. liv. vii. p. 341. See also *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 437.

* D'Aubigné was supposed to be in disgrace at the time of the interview; yet the king on their meeting "lui fit l'honneur de le baiser, lui commanda de donner la main à sa maîtresse, et la fit même démasquer pour le saluer."—*Hist. Secrète*, xcix.

† *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 129.

himself from this hazardous inquiry, and proposed to refer it to a minister; but when the king impatiently pressed for reply, the reluctant casuist entered upon a fourfold examination of the question. The proofs of the sin he said were these:—1. Pre-pense knowledge before commission; 2. Offering one hand to the Spirit of Falsehood, and with the other repulsing the Spirit of Truth; 3. Want of that genuine repentance which inspires horror both of sin and of ourselves as guilty of sin; 4. Despair of God's mercy. He recommended Henry to self-examination on these principles; and the discussion, interrupted six or seven times by fervent prayer, was protracted through more than four hours: on the morrow, however, the king felt great improvement both in health and spirits, and ever afterward avoided a renewal of the conversation.*

War recommenced with Spain early in 1595, and wherever the king commanded in person the arms of the French were almost invariably successful. The combat of Fontaine Française, near Dijon, in which Henry, with scarcely 900 men, defeated 2000 Spaniards, supported by the united forces of the Con-
1595.
Jan. 17.
June 5.
 stable of Castile and the Duke of Mayenne, was the most hazardous action in which he ever engaged. But retreat was impossible: he fought on that occasion, as he often afterward stated, rather for life than for victory; and, by the unexampled personal bravery of himself and of his followers, he achieved a triumph scarcely paralleled even in romance. Four hundred of the enemy were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, with the loss of only six on the part of the conquerors.† Notwithstanding a want

* *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iv. c. 12. *Hist. Secrette*, p. c. The conversation occurred during the siege of La Fère in 1596.

† Sully, tom. ii. liv. viii. p. 375, &c. Cayet, *Chron. Nov.* tom. iii. liv. vii. p. 497. In vol. iii. of the *Mém. de Villeroy* may be found a strong remonstrance with the king on his rashness in this engagement; "jugeons si vous n'avez point meritè plutôt le nom de capitaine que de

of equal success in other quarters,* it was plain that Henry was now too firmly established to be overthrown; and Mayenne discreetly opened a negotiation, which, after some little delay, terminated in his submission.† To this course he may have been chiefly determined by a knowledge that Henry's process at Rome was at length brought to a favourable issue. The fears of the pope had been seasonably awakened; and when he was assured that as Clement VII. had lost England by too hastily excommunicating Henry VIII., so Clement VIII. would lose France by too long postponing the absolution of Henry IV.,‡ he lent a readier ear than at first to the solicitations of D'Ossat and Du Perron, and consented to accord that which in the language of the Vatican was termed the *Ribeneditione*.§ On the morning of the 17th of September the

Sept. 17. cannon of St. Angelo announced the commencement of this solemnity, sorely to the discomfort of the Spanish ambassador, who, when he found opposition to the act itself unavailing, had sought to deprive it of all accompaniments expressive of popular joy. Clement, supported by his cardinals and by the other chief ecclesiastics, ascended a lofty throne in the vestibule of St. Peter's; and

roi; ou plutôt le nom de soldat que de capitaine. Autres sont les vertus d'un Roi, autres celles d'un gendarme." It may be doubted whether any flattery could be conveyed more agreeably.

* Villars, the admiral of the League, now reconciled to the king, was totally defeated by the Count de Fuentes, near Dourlans in Picardy, at the end of July. The Spaniards, indignant at his abandonment of their cause, savagely put him to death in cold blood, after the battle; and on occupying Dourlans, they massacred more than 3000 persons. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 216. Cayet, *Chron. Nov.* tom. iii. liv. vii. p. 505. Sully, tom. ii. liv. vii. p. 370.

† The first interview between the king and the Duke de Mayenne occurred at Montcaumon, on Jan. 31, 1596; and Sully, who was present, has given some very amusing particulars of the sly revenge with which Henry walked his pursy and penitent cousin out of breath. Tom. iii. liv. viii. p. 37.

‡ Such was the representation of his auditor Serafino. *Lettres d'Ossat*, tom. i. p. 437, note.

§ Cayet, *Chron. Nov.* tom. iii. liv. vii. p. 533.

while each verse of the *Miserere* was chanted, lightly struck the shoulders of the plenipotentiaries, who kneeled at his feet to undergo this discipline as representatives of their penitent master. No sooner had the pontiff finished the last words of the absolution, than drums, trumpets, and artillery proclaimed the glad intelligence through Rome. The streets echoed with *vivas*; the royal arms of France were displayed from numerous houses; and we are assured that there was scarcely any one, however poor, who did not purchase an engraving of the king's head, of which many impressions had been struck off for the occasion.*

The envoys anxiously declared that every thing had been conducted suitable to the dignity of the most Christian king;† and these outward forms, in any case, were of little moment. But the price which Henry consented to pay for his reconciliation was by no means inconsiderable. The personal habits of the king did not promise a very accurate compliance with the devotions which he undertook to perform; and perhaps Clement little expected that his royal penitent would really attend a private mass every day, and a conventual mass on Sundays and festivals; that he would repeat the litanies on Wednesdays, the rosary of the Virgin on Saturdays, and her chaplet daily; that he would fast on Fridays, and confess and communicate publicly at least four times in the year. But more important clauses of the bull enjoined him to prefer Catholics before Huguenots in the distribution of all state offices and dignities; and to labour to make it manifest without a shadow of doubt that he wished only one religion to exist in his dominions;‡ to bring

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 326. *Lettres d'Ossat*, tom. i. p. 476. De Thou, cxiii. 22.

† *Lettres d'Ossat*, *ibid.*

‡ Sully gives this condition in much stronger terms:—"que le roi excludroit les Protestants de toutes les charges et dignités, et qu'il travailleroit de tout son pouvoir à les éteindre tout-à-fait."—Tom. ii. liv. vii. p.

back the mass to Bearn; to restore to the Catholics all the ecclesiastical property of which they had been dispossessed by the Reformed; to proclaim and enforce the reception of the Council of Trent; to educate the young Prince of Condé in the Romish faith; and, finally, to re-establish the Jesuits in France. Of these engagements, as Sully tells us without comment on the breach of promise, those which regarded the Huguenots and the Council of Trent were never executed; the king fulfilled the others.*

While this treaty was pending with Rome, a bloody outrage evinced the inextinguishable spirit of persecution which still animated the remnant of the League. The Lady of Chasteigneraye, a small town in Poitou, having forbidden the Reformed who associated for worship on her estate from carrying arms (a precaution which they had hitherto adopted in consequence of the numerous Leaguers by whom they were everywhere surrounded), warned the garrison of Rochefort of their defencelessness. By these troops, acting, as they averred, under the orders of the Duke de Mercœur, two hundred Huguenots, of both sexes and all ages, were ruthlessly butchered while engaged in religious services. Among the sufferers were an infant in arms, who had been brought to the meeting-house for baptism, and a boy, who in the simplicity of his heart offered eight sous to his murderers if they would spare his life. The outcry justly raised in consequence of this enormity procured letters patent from the king, excepting the perpetrators from all future acts of amnesty which might be granted on the termination

384. But De Thou has plainly shown that, after a long struggle, the ambassadors succeeded in obtaining a modification of this originally most harsh proposition. "In capite X. multum desudatum fuit," &c. —cxlii. 21.

* Tom. ii. liv. vii. p. 385, where, in a note, reference is made to the original Act of Absolution in 8778 *MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. The conditions are also given by De Thou, *ut sup.*

of the war; and a few of the criminals, having fallen into the hands of La Trimouille and Du Plessis, were adjudged to capital punishment.*

The Huguenots in Paris were for the most part unmolested; seven or eight hundred persons usually attended the sermons preached before the Princess Catherine,† on Sundays in her own hôtel, on Wednesdays and Fridays in the Louvre;‡ and little attention seems to have been excited by these large assemblies. On one occasion, however, when the widow of a respectable shopkeeper gathered a congregation in her own house, she was dragged to prison, and rudely treated, till an order from the king commanded her release.§

In conformity with the promise made to Clement, the Princess of Condé was summoned to court, under the pretence of terminating the criminal suit in which she had been accused of her late husband's murder; and she purchased acquittal by her own conformity, and by the abandonment of her son to Romanist governors.|| Yet the Huguenots had by no means surrendered all hope of the king's own return to their communion; and their heated fancies discovered a presage of this second change in his escape from a singular accident. Notwithstanding his truce with Mayenne, he pressed hostilities briskly against the Spaniards through the winter; and during the tedious investment of La Fére, which occupied him for six months, he was for the most part accompanied by his court. One evening, while visiting his sister, who was confined by indisposition, the floor of the apartment gave way, and the alcove which contained her bed was the single spot which remained unshattered.

1596.

Jan. 23.

* *Mém. par Madame Du Plessis*, tom. i. p. 292. Du Plessis, tom. vi. p. 328, 330, 350, 353. Benoit, *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. i. liv. iv. *ad init.*

† *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 173.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 188.

§ *Id. ibid.* p. 205.

|| *Id. ibid.* p. 246, 257. De Thou, cxvii. 7.

The king, who was holding his infant Cæsar in his arms, threw himself upon the bed, until he received assistance and was extricated; and the zealous Huguenots at once reduced the adventure to a parable, wherein the bed of madame, unharmed amid the surrounding ruins, was interpreted to be their own church, to which they affirmed Henry would be compelled to resort in a moment of peril. The king laughed when the allegory was reported to him; nevertheless, adds Pierre l'Etoile, with unflinching gravity, it is possible that it might awaken in him much serious reflection.*

June 5. The XIVth National Synod, held at Saumur in June, presented few matters worthy of notice; and the deposition of the minister Cayet, to which we have before alluded, is the only occurrence in it which we need remark.† The military operations of the campaign were unfavourable to the French; and the Cardinal Albert of Austria, having advanced with a fresh Spanish army from the Netherlands, was eminently successful. Guisnes, Ardres, and Calais were among his conquests; and Henry was perhaps less irritated at the immediate loss of the last-named important town than at the stipulations which Queen Elizabeth wished to make for its cession to herself, as the price of her aid in its recovery. "If I am to be bitten," answered the king, when this proposition was submitted to him by the English ambassador, "I see no reason why I should prefer the teeth of the lioness to those of the lion!" And he then confidently declared that the days of the Spanish mastery of Calais should not equal in number the years during which the English had formerly been permitted to retain it.‡

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 456.

† Quick describes Cayet as "a most slovenly, nasty fellow in his apparel and way of living."—p. 189.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 284, note.

But a far heavier blow than the loss of Calais awaited him. While the court was occupied by extravagant revelry, in celebration of the baptism of a son of the Constable Montmorenci,* the festivities were interrupted by the announcement of the surprise and capture of Amiens. The fall of a city so near at hand that the enemy was enabled by its possession to forage to the very gates of his capital struck Henry with profound sorrow. "Long enough," he exclaimed, "have we played the part of King of France; it is time to resume that of King of Navarre;"† and on the very day on which he learned the disaster he set forward to repair it. Six months were consumed before Amiens was recovered; but its capitulation was a death-blow to the small remnant of the League; and the Duke of Mercœur, the only leader of note now remaining to that once powerful faction, not long afterward sought and obtained reconciliation, by consenting to the marriage of his daughter and heiress with the king's natural son Cæsar, then created Duke of Vendôme.

1597.
March 12.

Sept. 15.

March 21.
1598.

During Henry's absence from Paris, an evil example was offered to the Huguenots, by the recantation of Nicolas Harlay, so distinguished by his useful services at the moment of the accession. His former instability in religion rendered him an easy subject for the persuasion of Du Perron; and, on this fresh change, the king is said to have observed, that "nothing but a turban was now left for De Sancy."‡ His apostacy, although exciting much

* All the cooks in Paris were employed during eight days in preparing the banquet. Among the dishes were two sturgeons, each of which cost 100 crowns. The fruit cost 350; and among it were some Bon-Chrétien pears at a crown apiece. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 338.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 339.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 357. Sancy recanted during the St. Bartholomew, and afterward returned to Protestantism. Had Henry forgotten his own similar conduct?

scandal at the time, would have been long since forgotten, but for the unfortunate immortality bestowed upon it by the trenchant satire of D'Aubigné, in the *confession* which he has attributed to the renegade. Meantime the sermons of the Huguenots were preached as usual before Catherine of Navarre; and a tumult which some fanatical women endeavoured to raise, by clamouring through the streets that those assemblies were the main cause of the national distress, was promptly suppressed by the magistrates. One complaint of these idle zealots was, that the princess had distributed meat to the poor as alms on Fridays.*

It can little surprise us that the Huguenots, dissatisfied with the uncertainty of their condition, sought to convert the king's fresh necessities to their own advantage; and about the time of the siege of Amiens, meetings were accordingly held at Saumur, at Loudun, and at Vendôme, in which various plans were agitated for the promotion of the Reformed interests. It is very possible that designs of a violent nature, and little to be justified, may have been suggested during these assemblies by some fiery and impatient spirits; but if they were so, they were speedily checked by the wiser, better, and more influential leaders, who, adopting measures in accordance with law, exposed their grievances in a remonstrance which, although not openly avowed, was doubtless composed with their privity and approbation. The particulars detailed in it are too minute, and the references far too distinct, to permit hesitation as to the correctness of the fearful picture of injustice and wrong which it presents. The long delay of their promised recognition, the king's increasing alienation from their body, the frequent interruptions of their worship, their expulsion from places in which they had been licensed,

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 366.

the seizure and destruction of their Bibles and religious books, the silencing of their psalmody, the denial of spiritual consolation to their sick and dying, and the forcible conformity with Romish ceremonies which was often demanded to the great offence of conscience, were noticed as general and undisputed facts; and many specific instances of violence were then narrated which recall to mind the most odious seasons of persecution. The *curé* of St. Etienne de Furan had imprisoned an aged man, and deprived him of food till he consented to abjure: and the same brutal zealot, in the fierce proselytism with which he sought to administer Romish baptism to the newly born, had demanded testimonies which the pen shrinks from recording, in order to satisfy himself that there had *not* been any birth. Impediments had been sedulously opposed to the education of Huguenot children; and "what more," it was boldly asked, "could Julian himself attempt than to leave us in ignorance and barbarism?" Numerous instances were cited of harsh and illegal decisions against the Reformed, sanctioned by the different parliaments; of the indecent terms by which the magistrates designated them from the seats of justice, as dogs, heretics, Turks, and heteroclitcs, who deserved pursuit with fire and sword. The report closed with an enumeration of frequent disgusting outrages offered to the dead; such as the prohibition of funerals, their interruption at the very grave, the violation of tombs, and the disinterment of long-buried remains. "We demand," were the fervid expressions with which this remonstrance concluded, "an edict which will give us the enjoyment of privileges common to all your majesty's subjects; that is to say, of much less than you have granted to your bitterest foes, the rebel Leaguers; an edict which will not force you to a compulsory partition of your dominions, nor to the exhaustion of your treasury, nor to the oppression of your people. We

are not incited by either avarice or ambition. The glory of God, the freedom of our consciences, the repose of our country, and security for our property and our lives, form the height of our wishes, and are the only objects of our solicitation.”*

The king naturally regarded these tokens of discontent with much apprehension; and to gratitude for past services, which must have forcibly prompted a generous nature to reward his ancient friends, was now added a reasonable fear that longer delay might convert them into enemies. The result of these

combined motives was the celebrated edict April 7. framed at Nantes in April, 1598, which continued to form the charter of the Reformed Gallican church during the remainder of its existence. This important document is commonly believed to be the joint production of the historian De Thou and of Calignon, the chancellor of Navarre; † Bayle, ‡ indeed, on the authority of Varillas, has ascribed it to Chamier, a Reformed minister, professor of theology at Montauban; and it may readily be supposed that many hands were engaged in it, and that Henry gladly employed every available assistance.

The Edict of Nantes consists of ninety-two original articles, to which were afterward appended fifty others, explanatory of particular points. The opening clauses declared, as on former like occasions, a general amnesty for the past, § the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in all places in which it had been suppressed, and the restoration of alienated ecclesiastical property. || Free toleration and liberty of conscience for the Huguenots throughout

* “*Plaintes des Eglises Reformées de France sur les violences qui leur ont faites en plusieurs endroits du royaume, et pour lesquelles elles se sont en toute humilité adressés à diverses fois à sa majesté et à messieurs de son conseil.*”—Cayet, *Chron. Nov.* tom. liii. liv. ix. p. 698. An abstract is given by Benoit, *Hist. de l'Edict de Nantes*, tom. i. liv. v. p. 201.

† Quick, xcv.

§ Art. i.

‡ *Adv.* Chamier.

|| Art. liii. iv.

every part of the kingdom were then proclaimed; and provision was made for their public and private worship, in terms very similar to those employed at the peace of St. Germain's, but extending, from ten to thirty, the number permitted to assemble in the houses of persons not holding their fiefs *in capite*, and therefore not entitled to perform service, unless to their own families.* So also the distance from Paris within which the exercise of the Reformed worship was prohibited was reduced from ten leagues to five.† The Huguenots were excused from formal observance of Romish holydays and festivals; due precaution being taken against any open violation of them.‡ The printing and sale of religious books were confined to such places as were privileged to exercise the Reformed worship; and all books sent forth elsewhere were subject to a censorship.§ Schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions,|| state offices and dignities,¶ were indiscriminately thrown open to followers of either faith; and finally, *my-parties* chambers were instituted in the various parliaments, to take cognizance of all suits in which the Reformed were concerned.**

The chief essential privilege which the Edict of Nantes afforded to the Huguenots, beyond those which they had obtained in 1577, was access to high offices in judicature and finance. On the other hand, in consequence of separate treaties existing between the king and particular chiefs of the League, they were excluded from celebrating worship in several large towns—as Rheims, Soissons, Dijon, and Sens,—in which they had hitherto been unrestricted. It was not without considerable delay that the parliament of Paris consented to register a document which acknowledged the Reformed as an established body in the state; and twelve months

* Art. viii.

§ Art. xxi.

** Art. xxxi. to lvii.

† Art. xiv.

|| Art. xxii.

‡ Art. xx.

¶ Art. xxvii.

elapsed from its first signature at Nantes before all the necessary forms were completed, by which it became a portion of the national law. Meantime, the king, having thus far secured the prospect of domestic peace, addressed himself to the termination of the war with Spain; and Philip, well aware of his approaching end,* and anxious to disembarass his son from a hazardous contest, assented to terms very advantageous to France. This treaty, so glorious to Henry, was signed at Vervins on the 2d of May.†

CHAPTER XX.

Delay in registering the Edict of Nantes—XVth National Synod—Marriage of Catherine of Navarre—Martha Brossier, the Demoniac—Divorce and second Marriage of Henry IV.—Disputation at Fontainebleau between Du Plessis Mornay and Du Perron—Partiality of the King—Magnanimity of Du Plessis—XVIth and XVIIth National Synods—Controversies arising out of the latter—Tranquillity of the Huguenots—Reviving Influence of the Jesuits—Père Cotton—His Adventure with the Demoniac Adrienne de Fresnes—Re-establishment of the Jesuits—Charenton assigned to the Huguenots—XVIIIth National Synod—Project of Union between the Churches—Firmness and Integrity of Sully—XIXth National Synod—Assassination of Henry IV.

NOTWITHSTANDING the difficulties opposed to the reception of the Edict of Nantes, even after the king's pleasure had been made fully known, the confidence of the Huguenots in the protection which they were about to attain was evinced even before the document had been signed, by the greatly in-

* He died on the 3d of the following September, oppressed by complicated disorders, of which De T'hou has given a fearful representation, *xxx. iv.*

† *Id. ib.* 7, 8, 9. "Relation de ce qui se passe à la conférence pour la Paix à Vervins."—Du Plessis, tom. viii. p. 358. *Articles de Paix, id. ibid. p.* 431.

creased numbers in which they assembled for the celebration of holy offices; and when the Lord's Supper was administered during a March 23. visit of the Princess Catherine to Angers, nearly 3000 persons communicated.* Besides the reluctance of the parliament and of the clergy, a further reason for the tardy registry of the new law was found in the residence of a legate; and those who wished to postpone, or if possible to annul, the promised toleration, averred that it would be indecorous in government to recognise heretics in the very presence of a papal representative. Yet the precautions thus taken to obviate the chance of his displeasure were nearly frustrated by a whimsical accident. The legate, who did not return to Italy till late in the year, expressed a desire to see the palace of St. Germain's before his departure; and Sully accordingly gave orders that the state apartments should be prepared for his reception. The *concièrge* of the royal abode executed his instructions with more diligence than discretion; and in selecting the richest hangings for the cardinal's own chamber, he made an unhappy choice. It was furnished with some costly tapestry which had been worked for Jeanne D'Albret, Queen of Navarre; and in which every device of the pattern contained some emblem ingeniously satirizing the papal court. The legate had asked Sully to accompany him in his carriage, but the duke fortunately declined the offer; and having repaired to the palace some short time before the arrival of the illustrious visiter, was enabled to correct a mistake which might have been construed into an intentional affront. In order to prevent a repetition of the *contretemps*, the offending tapestry was destroyed.†

The Edict of Nantes was but slightly noticed in

* Du Plessis, tom. viii. p. 197.

† Sully, tom. iv. liv. x. p. 203.

the Acts of the XVth National Synod, which assembled at Montpellier within a month after it had been framed; and the language in which that slight mention was conveyed did not imply any very strong feeling of satisfaction. The deputies expressed a belief, that "Had it not been for that good union and correspondence which is among us, we had never got the liberty of our consciences in the public profession of the gospel and service of our God, nor justice to be administered to us, nor other needful security for our lives."*

According to a report offered to this synod, the number of Reformed churches organized throughout the kingdom amounted to 760, but many of them were in much distress and poverty; on which account, "till such times as the Lord shall have blessed them with greater abilities," the deputies ordained, that unless in case of very pressing necessity, future national synods should be convened only once in three years.† Nevertheless, they were able to distribute 43,333 crowns, of which sum only one-third was granted by the king, for various purposes connected with the advancement of their profession.‡ With their customary attention to minute internal discipline, they imposed a check upon the precocity with which widows sought to renew the nuptial vow, and, fixing a term which may not be deemed extravagantly long, they decreed that "they shall not be permitted to contract marriage, till seven months and fourteen days be fully expired after their husbands' death."§ The labours of some English divines in behalf of episcopacy appear to have been regarded with jealousy; and letters were ordered to be written "to my lord ambassador of England, and to M. la Fontaine, minister of the French church in London, to inform them of those

* Quick, p. 196, ch. v. art. 14.

† Ch. v. art. 16.

‡ Ch. iii. art. 12.

§ Ch. iii. art. 18.

injurious writings published against our Church by Sutcliffe and Saravia, and they be desired to apply themselves to the queen, that such writings be not printed.”*

A negotiation was pending at this moment, which the Huguenots naturally regarded with deep anxiety, and which they treated, as we shall perceive, with very peremptory language. Catherine of Navarre, now past her fortieth year, was still unmarried, although no princess of her time had been more beset by the importunity of suitors. In early youth she had been destined for the Duke of Alençon, till the jealousy between Henry III. and his brother frustrated the match. She was then spoken of for Henry himself, but the queen was ill inclined to any alliance with the house of Navarre. The Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Condé, James of Scotland, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Duke of Montpensier were successively refused by herself; Philip of Spain was rejected by her brother; and the entire Huguenot party expressed itself adverse to the pretensions of the Duke of Savoy.† Her affections were engaged to the Count of Soissons, and the narrative of their attachment, of their mutual fidel-

* Ch. vi. art. 35. This subject is reverted to with greater moderation at the following Synod of Gergeau. “Letters shall be written to M. de la Fontaine, entreating him to use his endeavours to beget a right understanding between Drs. Sutcliffe, Saravia, and our Churches.”—Ch. v. art. 12. Sutcliffe, who was Dean of Exeter, and projector and first provost of King James’s short-lived Polemical College at Chelsea, published in 1591 a *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline*; in 1592, *Disputatio de Presbytero*; in the following year, a tract, *de Catholicâ et Orthodoxâ Ecclesiâ*; and in 1596, an *Examination of Cartwright’s Apology*. These were his works most likely to give offence to the Huguenot ministers. Saravia was a Frenchman by birth, and had filled the offices of professor of divinity and preacher in the French church at Leyden; but afterward, having become a convert to Episcopal discipline, he was well received in England, and successively promoted to stalls at Gloucester, Canterbury, and Westminster. A tract, *Of the Degrees of the Ministers of the Gospel, and of the honour due to them*, which appeared in 1592, or its *Defence* against Beza, published two years afterward, are probably the works objected to by the Synod of Montpensier.

† Cayet, *Chron. Septennaire*, p. 51. Sully, tom. iii. liv. x. p. 262. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 440.

ity, and of the political obstacles by which their union was impeded is strongly tinged with romance.* At length, fatigued by her brother's urgency, she reluctantly consented to admit the addresses of Charles Duke of Bar, son of her former wooer the Duke of Lorraine. But the conclusion of this treaty was long protracted on account of difference in religion. Her own unwillingness, and the aversion with which the Huguenots regarded the connection, are strongly exhibited in one of the resolutions of this XVth Synod. "The church in the house of her highness the king's sister craved advice for their conduct in that great concern of her royal highness's marriage with the Prince of Lorraine, because, although she had employed the authority of the Provincial Synod, and of divers famous persons, both within and without the kingdom, yet she cannot any longer hinder it. This synod, approving their duty, judgeth this marriage utterly unlawful, nor shall it be permitted in any of our churches; and letters to this purpose shall be written to her, and all ministers are enjoined carefully to observe this article, otherwise they shall be suspended and deposed from the ministry."†

The bridegroom elect expressed much anxiety for the conversion of his intended bride; and the king, in the hope of effecting it, gave orders that a solemn disputation should be held on the chief points in controversy between the two churches, in the presence of his sister. The princess, who shrank from exhibiting herself as the object to which the controversy was directed, adopted an expedient not very accordant with modern habits, and lay in bed while she listened to the

1599.
January.

* Charles de Bourbon, Count of Soissons, a son of Louis Prince of Condé. Sully, tom. iii. liv. viii., gives a curious narrative of some interviews with the princess, when he was employed to urge the suit of the Duke de Montpensier.

† Ch. iii. art. 19.

arguments.* Duval, professor of theology in the Sorbonne, was matched against Tilenus, who held a similar office in the Reformed church at Sedan. The Romanist doctor perplexed both his auditors and himself by scholastic subtleties, ill adapted to produce effect on a female understanding,† and from which even the more hardy intellect of Sully rejoiced in escaping. "The two champions," he says, "heated themselves to no purpose, although each afterward boasted of victory." He witnessed only the end of the conference, when the combatants were exhausted by fatigue; but on his arrival they wished to make him umpire, and his alarm in consequence is somewhat ludicrous. "They began," he continues, "to repeat to me all the points of their dispute, which had now lasted many hours; but I seriously entreated them to spare me this honour and embarrassment. I pointed out, that if two persons of so great learning had not been able either to reconcile the canons and papal decrees with Holy Scripture, or to demonstrate that such reconciliation was impossible, and therefore need not be attempted, it was idle in them to expect a resolution of their doubts from one so ignorant as myself."‡

The arguments of Duval failed to convince the princess, and the pope hesitated to grant a dispensation; not from any real dislike to the marriage, but from a desire at all events to enhance the value of his consent, perhaps with the hope of ultimately securing a proselyte. The prelates, consequently, refused to solemnize the nuptials; and when Henry thought himself certain of ready compliance from his bastard brother the Archbishop of Rouen,§ he

* *Elle estant dans son lit, comme retirée.*—Cayot, *Chron. Septennaire*, p. 63.

† *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 437.

‡ Tom. iii. liv. x. p. 266.

§ Charles, son of Anthony King of Navarre and Mademoiselle La Rouet, of whom mention has been made in our first volume.

was surprised to find that even *he* also pleaded conscience as an obstacle. But the king was sufficiently acquainted with the lax habits of his relative to find means of persuasion;* and the service was at length performed, hastily and unceremoniously, in the royal cabinet. Catherine appears to have lived on terms of much affection with her husband, notwithstanding her anti-nuptial repugnance, and the incessant persecution to which he was exposed from the Romanists, in consequence of his alliance with a heretic. She withstood all his gentle efforts for her conversion, and persevering unto the end, died in 1604, sincerely professing the Reformed doctrine.† Her decease embarrassed the nuncio resident at Paris, who, having long delayed to offer his condolences, at length tendered them in language which naturally produced great offence. He assured the king that he participated in his sorrow, although his motives differed from those which actuated his majesty. His own grief arose from a contemplation, not of the death of the princess, but of the peril of her soul. Henry was enough upon his guard to avoid contradicting, in direct terms, the uncharitable dogma of exclusive salvation. But he replied to this clumsy and inopportune assertion of it by say-

* See in SuHy, tom. iii. liv. x. p. 267, &c. the amusing manner in which the king employed the diplomacy of Roquelaure, "compagnon ancien et actuel de debauches de M. de Rouen, et à la priere duquel il avoit obtenu l'Archivêché."

† Du Plessis more than once expresses his great satisfaction at her constancy, which he assures her is "plus admirable contre les douces persuasions d'ung mari que contre les rigueurs de tous autres hommes." Tom. ix. p. 281. The pope long denied absolution, and inflicted spiritual penalties on the Duke of Bar. He was induced to make a journey to Rome in 1600, the year of jubilee, in order to obtain the privilege of cohabitation with his duchess; "nam morsu conscientie, ita a Jesuitis instructus, longo jam tempore ab eâ secubuerat."—De Thou, cxxiv. 1. Yet they lived together in the greatest harmony, "laudando ad omnem æternitatem amoris conjugalis exemplo . . . solemne ejus votum erat cum novas sponsas videbat ut quantum ipsa virum suum, tantum illæ maritos suos diligerent." She died in consequence of improper medical treatment, arising out of a false belief which she obstinately cherished, that her wish to become a mother was about to be fulfilled. *Id.* cxxxii. 8.

ing, that he had sufficient confidence in the grace of God to believe that it could provide for his sister's eternal happiness even in her latest moments.*

Before the registry of the Edict of Nantes was finally adjusted, the Romanist clergy had encouraged a remarkable imposition which sported with credulity during more than a year and a half, and contributed very largely to maintain popular excitement against the Huguenots. Jacques Brossier, a baker at Romorantin, having failed in his original craft, commenced practice as an itinerant mountebank. Of the three daughters who assisted him in his tricks of legerdemain, one named Martha—perhaps in the first instance in order to create greater wonderment among the ignorant clowns before whom she exhibited—was said to be under the influence of evil spirits. The fraud, however, was soon discovered in her own neighbourhood; and the Chapters both of Orleans and of Cléry forbade any priest of their community from administering exorcism to the impostor. When an attempt was made to renew the trick at Angers, Carl Miron, bishop of that see, manifested great shrewdness in its discomfiture. He sprinkled the pretended energumens with *unconsecrated* water; touched her with the keys of his wardrobe instead of with a crucifix; recited the first line of the *Æneid* as if it were the commencement of his breviary; and in each case produced the convulsions which were said to depend upon genuine exorcism. The girl and her father were dismissed by him with a private admonition, in order to avoid open scandal; but the trade which they had taken up was too lucrative to be hastily abandoned. They had already connected themselves with employers who found *their* profit also in the public delusion; and each party, according to its own peculiar object, anticipated a rich harvest

* De Thou. cxxxii. 8.

from the superstition and the political agitation then prevalent in the capital. A few days after

March 30. her arrival in Paris, Martha, who was declared to be vexed by three devils, was examined in the abbey of Saint Genevieve by a joint committee of physicians and divines. She displayed much agility and numerous contortions, foamed at the mouth, uttered several unusual noises, and protested ignorance both of Greek and Latin, when addressed in those tongues.* The doctors of medicine accordingly pronounced her to be a cheat, the doctors of divinity a demoniac.

On subsequent occasions she was exposed to some bodily pain, and she allowed a needle to be thrust between her thumb and forefinger, an ordinary test of witchcraft, without shrinking. The first

April 1. of April was selected for a solemn exorcism; and when Seraphin, the Capucin priest who officiated, pronounced the words, "and was made man," she put forth her tongue and dragged herself, with a convulsive movement and a marvellous rapidity, from the altar to the church porch. Seraphin warned the spectators that any attempt to stop the devil would be made at the risk of life; but Marschal, one of the physicians, undismayed, grasped the throat of the impostor, till she called out that the evil spirit had departed. Notwithstanding this and other plain demonstrations of falsehood, the clergy persisted in maintaining the reality of her possession. Martha was said by them, at another time, to have answered correctly the questions proposed to her in Greek and in English,† to have extricated her-

* Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, on another occasion, she understood Greek; and Cayet, who was a staunch believer, represents her as a skilful linguist. As he speaks of the devil by whom she was possessed, he uses the masculine gender. "Il respond aux langues Hebraique, Grecque, Latine, Espagnole, Italienne, Allemande, parlant à moi. Il a respondu à un docteur de theologie en Bas Breton, d'où le docteur estoit. Dans Amiens il a respondu en Turc à un capitaine qui parloit ceste langue-la."—*Chron. Sept.* p. 408.

† Father Bennet, an Englishman, was a coadjutor with Seraphin.

self from the hold of six robust men, and to have been lifted far above their heads by some supernatural agency. No further proof of her connection with the spiritual world could be demanded than those miracles afforded; and, moreover, she now began to inveigh against the edict, and to threaten the wrath of Heaven upon the tolerators of heresy. The pulpits quickly caught this favourite theme; and although the parliament thought it prudent to commit the demoniac to jail, the Sorbonnists everywhere denounced the unbelieving Huguenots as willing to blind all men's eyes to the plain demonstration which God had made of his glory. After a short confinement Martha was released; the remembrance of her adventure gradually subsided in France; and an attempt which was made to revive it, by transferring her to Italy, and even to Rome, was frustrated by the unexpected coolness of the pope, and the wise precautions of D'Ossat.*

That able diplomatist had been for some time engaged in a negotiation requiring his utmost skill. The king's friends, anxious for the stability of his crown, were urgent with him to obtain a divorce from his present wife; and to provide for the succession, by renewing the nuptial tie with a consort

* De Thou, cxxiii. l. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 447-450, 459-465. A very similar imposture had been practised at Laon more than thirty years before; when, from November, 1565, till the end of the following January, a girl, named Nicole Aubry, pretended to be possessed first by Beelzebub, and afterward, at different times, by thirty other devils. She was exorcised by the intercession of our Lady of Liesse, and by the application of a consecrated wafer, in the presence of 10,000 witnesses; and the veracity of her possession and cure is recorded by Jean Boulasse, in a thick treatise, entitled *Le Tresor et entiere Histoire de la triomphante Victoire du Corps de Dieu sur l'esprit malin Beelzebub, obtenue à Laon, l'an 1566.* The Huguenots avowed their disbelief; but the devils revenged themselves by answering, that the reformed doctrine was false and absurd; a proceeding which D'Aubigné has actually shown to be a mistake on their part: "Car, comme remarque Postel, que cela sonneroit que le Diable fut Seigneur de nôtre bien."—*Confession de Sancy*, cap. vi. The fraud, however, so far succeeded, as to occasion the apostacy of Flerimond de Raimond, a counsellor of the parliament of Bourdeaux; who afterward became a voluminous writer against the reformed.

who might afford hope of male issue. To Henry himself, infatuated by passion for his mistress, this proposition when first suggested was most agreeable; and closing his eyes both to peril and disgrace, he resolved, if the papal dissolution could be obtained, to marry Gabrielle D'Estrées, and to legitimate her children. But to an arrangement thus insulting it was little to be expected that Margaret would ever assent; and had it not been for the opportune death of Gabrielle, the queen would probably have continued to resist. The sudden, and

April 10. in many respects suspicious demise* of the favourite, smoothed the progress of the treaty with Rome. The king, after the first violence of his grief had passed away, solaced himself in the arms of a new mistress; † obtained a bull, by which his contract with Margaret was annulled

Nov. 10. from the beginning, on the pleas of want of consent on her part, and of consanguinity; and, before the close of the following year, solemnized fresh nuptials with Mary of Medicis, daughter of Francis, the late grand duke of Tuscany, and niece of Ferdinand his successor.

It is to be feared that the good will of Clement VIII. was propitiated on this occasion by an unworthy sacrifice; and that the abandonment of a tried and faithful servant was a part of the price which Henry was entrapped into paying for the favour of the Vatican. The low standard of morals at the Louvre, as we have already observed, had prevented much recent personal intercourse between the king and Du Plessis. Nevertheless, on occasion of a most unjustifiable outrage to which the latter had been exposed, Henry had written to him, in his

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 431, &c.

† Henriette de Balsac d'Entragues, created Marquise de Verneuil; a far more mercenary personage than her predecessor, the Duchess of Beaufort. She bartered her virtue for 100,000 crowns and a written promise of marriage.

own hand, and employed terms abundantly expressive of affection and esteem. He assured him that he deeply sympathized, both as his prince and as his friend, in the wrong which he had suffered; that if he bore only the second title, there was no one whose sword should be more freely drawn in his service, or who would more cheerfully hazard his life in seconding him; and that he might implicitly depend upon receiving every office at his hands which it was fitting for a king, a master, and a friend to proffer.*

In the summer of 1598, Du Plessis, already known as a theological writer, gave to the press an elaborate treatise on the eucharist.† The object of this work was to assert, on the authority of the fathers and of the schoolmen, the antiquity of the Reformed mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper; and, according to the evil fashion of most controversial divinity, it was not sparing in harsh terms addressed to opponents. The pope was naturally dissatisfied with the name of Antichrist, which it attributed him; and the more so, because the title page announced Du Plessis to be a counsellor of state to his ally the King of France, the eldest son of the church. But it was difficult to prefer a complaint in any form which might render the offence tangible. The parliament of Bourdeaux refused to commit the book to the flames; and for once the Romanists were obliged to rest content with the ordinary weapons

* "Vous n'en avez nul de qui l'espée feust preste à desaigner que la miene, ne qui vous portast sa vie plus gaiement que moi," tom. vii. p. 384. The affray between Du Plessis and St. Phal, at Angers, which occasioned this letter, took place on Oct. 28, 1597. The decision of the Constable and the Marécheaux of France, which satisfied Du Plessis's wounded honour, was not given till Jan. 13, 1599; and a large portion of the viith, viiith, and ixth volumes of his *Correspondance* is occupied by papers connected with this wearisome dispute.

† "De l'Institution, usage, et doctrine du Saint Sacrement de l'Eucharistie en l'Eglise Ancienne; ensemble quaud, comment, et pas quels degrez, la Messe s'est introduite en sa place."

of polemical warfare. Against those arms, however lavishly they might be employed, Du Plessis could not reasonably object, for he had been the first to provoke their use; and accordingly he stood his ground without manifesting any sign of impatience.* If all the arguments advanced by his antagonists resembled that attributed to the Capucin Archange, no great exercise of self-restraint was needed. That monk, when pressed hardly by texts from St. John on the question of transubstantiation, extricated himself by answering, that it was a subject on which the evangelist had fallen into a slight deviation from truth.†

But the form in which Du Plessis was at length assailed, imperatively demanded a reply; and he could not longer remain silent without disregarding his honour. It was broadly affirmed that his book abounded in garbled extracts and false citations; and when he expressed his readiness to verify every passage before commissioners appointed by the king, Du Perron accepted the challenge, and offered to exhibit five hundred "enormous falsehoods" in his pages. It was accordingly determined that a conference between the disputants should be held at Fontainebleau.

Notwithstanding the strong declaration of personal regard which Henry had made two years before, it is scarcely possible but that in his heart he must always have recoiled from the uncompromising moral censorship of Du Plessis; and must have cherished a tacit wish for the mortification of one by whom he was constantly degraded in his own

* Nevertheless, from a letter written by the Duchess of Bar in Nov. 1599, it seems that the friends of Du Plessis were not without apprehension of some attempt upon his life; and the duchess accordingly offered him apartments in her palace as a security. In his reply, he treats their fears as causeless. Tom. ix. p. 298-9.

† "L'Evangeliste est tombé en une petite fausseté." *Mémoires par Madame du Plessis*, tom. i. p. 345.

esteem. Any direct participation in the train of fraud by which there can be little doubt that Du Plessis was circumvented, is altogether alien from the general frankness of Henry's character; and we at once acquit him of baseness so premeditated. But it seems too probable that he could not resist embracing an opportunity, when presented to him, which was calculated to diminish the high reputation, and the consequent influence of a monitor by whom he was perpetually embarrassed; and that he unreluctantly permitted the commission of a great injustice.

Our limits forbid more than a very general notice of the result of this conference; and yet it is chiefly upon the aggregate of numerous minute particulars in the preliminary arrangement, each tending to the disadvantage of Du Plessis, that a correct estimate can be formed of the *animus* of the king. It was calculated that an examination of the entire *treatise* would occupy six months; a period in which even professed divines might become weary of the controversy, and which it was little reasonable to expect that a royal commission of laymen would dedicate to so ungrateful a labour. After many propositions and much skirmishing, therefore, sixty-one disputed passages were submitted to Du Plessis for verification. A single sleepless night was the period allowed for his reply; and the time did not permit him to do more than to prepare answers to nineteen of the objections. On the plea of avoiding harsh and uncourteous language, Du Perron was permitted to amend the form of his indictment, if we may so call it; and the charge which he finally undertook to substantiate was no longer that of "enormous falsehood," but of "misapprehension." Of the five commissioners, three were Romanists; De Thou and Pithou,—men of blameless integrity, but on that very account the less likely to be indulgent to Du Plessis, because they had been suspected

of a bias towards the Reformed;* and Martin, one of the king's physicians.† Canaye de Fresne, president of the chamber of Languedoc, who soon afterward abjured, and Isaac Casaubon,‡ more distinguished for his profound acquaintance with polite literature than for either his skill or his stability as a theologian, were their Huguenot assessors; and the Chancellor Bellievre officiated as president.

No slight apprehension appears to have been felt lest Du Plessis should refuse the contest at the last moment, on account of the rigorous and inequitable conditions imposed upon him; and the stables at Fontainebleau, which contained his horses, were locked and guarded on the night before the conference, in order to prevent the possibility of his re-

May 4. treat.§ At length, on the afternoon of the 4th of May, the king and a brilliant cortège assembled in the council hall, and the commissioners, after hearing a brief speech from each disputant, passed judgment on nine of the disputed passages. In two citations, one from Duns Scotus,|| the other from Durand,¶ concerning transubstantiation, Du Plessis was said to have been deceived by the method of the schoolmen, and to have incautiously assumed as their own solution that which in truth they had propounded as the objection of others. Two extracts from Chrysostom,** and one from Je-

* "Desquelz la timidité luy estoit cogneue, d'aultant plus grande qu'ilz auroient esté suspectz de la relligion."—*Mem. par Mad. du Plessis*, tom. i. p. 365.

† "Homme passionné s'il en feut onq, et qui en l'acte mesmes ne pouvoit cacher sa rage."—*Id. ibid.*

‡ Casaubon had been invited to Paris by Henry IV. with the promise of being appointed a professor and librarian. Till his settlement in England, and the liberal preferment which James I. bestowed upon him both at Westminster and at Canterbury, he seems to have floated very loosely upon patronage, and to have encountered frequent suspicions of insincerity.

§ *Mém.* tom. i. p. 367.

|| Scotus in IV. *Sentent. dist. 10. q. 1.* Du Plessis, p. 869. Ed. Hierôme Hautein à La Rochelle. 4to.

¶ Durandus in IV. *Sentent. dist. 11. q. 1.* Du Plessis, p. 870.

** Chrysostom in 1 *Thess.* Du Plessis, p. 537. *Hom. V. in Matt.*

rome,* on the invocation of saints, were declared to be mutilated. One from Cyril,† on the adoration of the cross, was not to be found in his pages: a passage given by Crinitus, as from the code of Theodosius and Valentinian, was shown to have been incorrectly transcribed by that writer, whose authority was altogether rejected.‡ Two detached paragraphs of Bernard§ on the mediation of the Virgin had been printed by Du Plessis as if one had been immediately consecutive on the other; and some words of Theodoret on the cxiiith Psalm,|| which objected to the idolatry of the pagans, had been represented by him as applicable to the reverence paid to images by the Romanists.¶

It is very probable that Du Perron exhibited himself to great advantage in this disputation; and that so far as copious and fluent elocution, elegance of manner, and a prompt application of very extensive reading, could ensure his success over an antagonist by no means ready in speech, and somewhat embarrassed in demeanour, he was eminently triumphant. But if we admit to the fullest extent which has been claimed for it the correctness of the judg-

Du Plessis, p. 574. In the discussion on the second of these questions the king himself took part.

* Hieronymus in Ezech. liv. iv. c. 14. Du Plessis, p. 583.

† Cyril, liv. vi. *contra Julianum*. Du Plessis, p. 223.

‡ The passage cited by Du Plessis, p. 223, from Crinitus, ought, according to the original code, to have run as follows: It was a prohibition respecting crosses, and forbids the Christians, *vel in solo, vel in silice, vel in marmoribus, humi positis* insculpere. Crinitus and Du Plessis relying upon him, omitted the words in italics, and thus made a particular injunction appear as if it were general.

§ Bernard, Ep. 174. Du Plessis, p. 604.

|| Du Plessis, p. 118.

¶ The most detailed account of this disputation is to be found in the *Actes de la Conference tenue entre le Sieur Evêque d'Evreux et le Sieur Du Plessis, &c. publiez par permission et autorité de sa majesté par Messire Jacques Davy, &c. Evreux, 1601.* As the avowed production of Du Perron himself, this account must of course be received with very great caution. An abstract of it is given by Cayet, *Chron. Sept.* liv. iii. 7. p. 125, &c. and other notices occur in De Thou, cxliii. 13. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom ii. p. 502, &c. Benoit, *Hist. de l'Edict de Nantes*, tom. i. p. 349, &c.

ment thus delivered by the commissioners, much may be urged in behalf of Du Plessis ; and he appears altogether exculpated from any fraudulent intention. The method of citation employed at the time at which he wrote was far less precise than that to which we of later days have been accustomed. It was for the most part thought enough to indicate the general sentiments of the writer to whom reference was made, and his absolute words were very rarely transcribed. This circumstance is important, as it bears on the only charge which presses heavily on the accused ; the attribution of an imaginary passage to Cyril : which, it must be remembered, however, was printed in Du Plessis' treatise in the same letter as the text, and not at all marked as a quotation. It is affirmed that, although the *words* do not exist in that father, the *spirit* undeniably belongs to him ; and that Du Plessis has employed his authority with no greater laxity than the common usage of his contemporaries justified.*

May 5. On the second morning, when the commissioners were preparing to enter upon an examination of the remaining points, it was announced that a serious attack of illness prevented the attendance of Du Plessis. Fatigue, anxiety, and chagrin, a deep resentment of the ingratitude which had abandoned him to the pursuit of his enemies, and a keen sensitiveness to the obloquy which for a time must attach not only to himself, but to the great cause of which he was a leading advocate, preyed upon his spirits till his bodily powers became affected. Without waiting for the chance of his recovery, which might have rendered Du Perron's ultimate success problematical, the king on the same evening dissolved the conference.

If Henry had stopped here he would have been sufficiently blameable, and he must ever have en-

* Besset, tom. i. p. 253.

countered suspicion of gross partiality while presiding on the seat of judgment. He had more than once interfered with visible prejudice against Du Plessis, and when a by-stander ventured an assertion in his behalf which Du Perron disproved, the king, with manifest glee, characterized the refuted volunteer as a dragoon, who after making a random shot was compelled to take flight.* But, unhappily, his subsequent proceedings removed all doubt of his partisanship. On the evening of the conference he ordered a banquet to be spread in the council hall, in order that he might sup, as he expressed himself, on the field of battle.† “What think you now of your pope?”‡ was the question which he put to Sully, whose jealousy of Du Plessis had long been undisguised. Sully, with a good deal of point, replied, that he was in truth more of a pope than the king imagined, for that he had assuredly placed a scarlet hat on the head of Du Perron; he then added, that he had never heard a weaker defence; and, contemptuously alluding to a favourite attitude of Du Plessis (a petty sarcasm, which for the sake of his own dignity it might be wished he had suppressed), that if the Protestant religion had no better support than the crossed legs and folded arms of its late champion, he would abandon it without a moment’s delay.§ But a letter which the king wrote to the Duke d’Espéron, on the morning after the breaking up of the conference, proclaims his sentiments yet more remarkably than they had been displayed in this conversation. “The diocess of Evreux,” he said, “has gained a victory over that of Saumur; and so gentle have been the proceedings, that no Huguenot can venture to assert that any

* This witticism, which Du Perron ascribes to the king, is attributed in the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 508, to the Sieur de Vitry.

† *Mém.* tom. i. p. 367.

‡ “Car Du Plessis étoit parmi les Protestans, ce qu’est le pape parmi les Catholiques.”

§ Sully, *Mém.* tom. iii. liv. xi. p. 339.

thing but truth has prevailed. The bearer, who was present, will tell you that *I did wonders on the occasion.** In truth, it was one of the greatest blows which has been for a long time struck in behalf of the church of God. According to all appearances, we shall gain more schismatics by these means in one year, than would have come over to us by any other in fifty." He then referred D'Espernon to the verbal communications of the messenger, for the steps which he thought it advisable should be taken in order to derive most advantage from this great success.

The choice of the Duke d'Espernon, who had been one of the most distinguished leaguers, as the king's correspondent on this occasion, excited scarcely less surprise than the terms in which the letter was expressed; for although no confidential intercourse had hitherto existed between them, Henry ostentatiously assured him that he was the only person to whom he had written. Great pains were taken also to publish and distribute copies of this despatch, which were circulated beyond France, and reprinted even at Prague.† Bitter as were the mental sufferings of Du Plessis at these repeated instances of his sovereign's displeasure, they were tempered nevertheless by a dignified consciousness that he had been wrongfully disgraced; and it is impossible to read the large portion of his correspondence which belongs to this epoch of his life, without admiration of his meek, yet lofty, spirit of endurance. "I am suspected," he writes to one of

* *Comme, j'y ai fait merveilles.* As if these words too openly expressed the king's partiality, they were elsewhere given, *comme il s'y est fait merveille.*—*Journal de Henri IV.* tom. ii. p. 515, note. Du Plessis, *Mém.* tom. i. p. 368. Henry manifested so great anxiety on the evening before the conference, that his secretary De Lomenie remarked to him, that he had not appeared so pensive on the Eves of Coutras, Arques, or Yvry, *ce qu'il avoua.*—*Id. ibid.* p. 366.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 368, and Du Plessis writes to De Lomenie, "Certes la Lettre du Roy imprimée par toute la Chrestienté m'a percé le cœur."—*Tom. ix.* p. 377.

his friends, "of sowing discontent; and two reasons may obtain currency for this charge: one, that my enemies know in their hearts they have given me just occasion to cast aside all respect for human authority; but they do *not* know the cause which operates in restraint,—the fear of God, which sways me far more powerfully than any injuries from man. Another, that they judge my intentions by their own actions, actions which assuredly I will never adopt as my model."*

No slight consolation, however, must have arisen to Du Plessis, when he perceived that his influence over his Huguenot brethren was unimpaired. We find him appealed to, but a few months after this conference, relative to a point of casuistry on which his reply was awaited with a deference almost justifying Henry's taunt, when he styled him the pope of his sect. Many extraordinary cures, it seems, had been ascribed to the Baths of Ardilleres; and the Huguenots, who relied upon the natural efficacy of those mineral waters, were nevertheless restrained from using them, because the Romanists attributed their power to miraculous endowment. Du Plessis undeceived the ministers who asked his guidance on these points, by stating that the medicinal virtues of the springs had been greatly exaggerated; and he showed that invalids, in resorting to them, would not only incur the scandal of having performed a superstitious pilgrimage, but would probably lose their labour also.†

* A M. de Guaschon. Tom. ix. p. 380. A similar spirit pervades numerous letters, which may be found in the same volume. But the correspondents of Du Plessis did not always preserve the calm dignity of language which distinguished himself. Tilenus, writing to him a few weeks after the conference at Fontainebleau, describes the *monster* with which he had been engaged as a compound engendered between a Lion and a Fox; and afterward breaks out into the following uncleanly metaphor, "Sans doute il (Sathan) monstre avoir esté fort oultré . . . il ne feut sorti tant de venir de sa queue s'il n'eust esté bien pressé et foulé par la teste."—*Ibid.* p. 376.

† Tom. ix. p. 335.—The conclusion of this letter from the ministers

In the XVth National Synod, which met ^{1601.} at Gergeau, on the 9th of the following May, no direct mention occurred of the past conference; but a request made by Du Plessis was granted, that his book should be sent to Geneva, on account of the many libraries which that city possessed; with an instruction to the pastors there to examine and verify the quotations.* In reply to some letters from Casaubon, much satisfaction was evinced at his constancy to the true religion, in which he was exhorted to persevere;† expressions which prove either that he had been suspected of wavering, or that attempts had been made for his seduction.

Sept. 27. A dry official announcement of the birth of a dauphin, sent in the autumn of this year by the king to Du Plessis, as Governor of Saumur, called forth an answer which may be justly esteemed a finished model of successful composition, under circumstances of no small difficulty. Without any compromise of self-respect, every sentence breathed the profoundest obedience and the most devoted loyalty; and Henry's bosom must have been seared to the very core if he could read it without emotions of remorse.‡

Notwithstanding his harshness to Du Plessis, the king, however, in his general conduct evinced a determination to abide faithfully by the provisions of the Edict of Nantes; and although all the grievances enumerated by a general political assembly, held by royal permission at St. Foy, were Oct. 15. not redressed, not one of them was dismissed without fitting consideration. For the most

very strongly marks their sympathy; "estans au nombre de ceulx qui recoivent vos plaisirs et desplaisirs esgalement communs; autant tristes de vos adversités que joyeux de vos prosperités."

* Ch. vi. 23.

† Ch. vi. 21. At the time of Canaye de Fresne's apostacy, there was a strong report that Casaubon also had abjured.—*Journal de Henri IV.* p. 558.

‡ Tom. ix. p. 400.

part, the Huguenots remained tranquil amid much national disturbance: some attempts made to implicate the Duke de Bouillon in the conspiracy, which led to the punishment of the guilty and misguided Biron, called forth strong remonstrances from their churches; and a discreet but powerful application was made in his behalf by Queen Elizabeth.* Bouillon, well aware that numerous enemies sought his destruction, prudently withdrew for a while, first to the Palatinate and then to Sedan. His reduction became a point of honour with the king; but when, three years afterwards, he directed a powerful armament against the stronghold in which Bouillon had sought protection, the object was to ensure submission much rather than to exact punishment; and Henry gladly received into more than former favour, one to whose early services he had been so largely indebted.†

Although a different reason was studiously advanced at the time,‡ there can be little doubt that the proceedings at Fontainebleau were one main cause of a strongly expressed article on papal usurpation, which the Huguenot deputies, assembled in their XVIIth National Synod, at Gap in Dauphiné, inserted in their Confession of Faith. “Whereas the Bishop of Rome hath erected for himself a temporal monarchy in the Christian world, and usurping a sovereign authority and lordship over all churches and pastors, doth exalt himself to that degree of insolency as to

* De Thou, cxvii. 11.

† The letters from the Duke of Bouillon to Henry, may be found in the *Mém. d'Etat* of Villeroy, tom. iii. p. 158, &c. The king's expedition to Sedan, and his reconciliation with the Duke of Bouillon, in 1606, are narrated at length by De Thou, cxxxvi. 16; and by Sully, who was greatly discontented at the result. Tom. vi. liv. 23.

‡ The ostensible plea was, that “Divers pastors and members of several churches remonstrated in this assembly how they had been troubled and prosecuted for calling the pope antichrist, in their public and private discourses” Ch. vi. 5.

be called God, and will be adored, arrogating to himself all power in heaven and in earth, and to dispose of all ecclesiastical matters, to define articles of faith, to authorize and expound at his pleasure the sacred Scriptures, and to buy and sell the souls of men; to dispense with vows, oaths, and covenants, and to institute new ordinances of religious worship: and in the civil state he tramples under foot all lawful authority of magistrates, setting up and pulling down kings, disposing of kings and of their kingdoms at his pleasure: we therefore believe and maintain that he is truly and properly *the anti-christ, the son of perdition*, predicted by the holy prophets; that great whore clothed with scarlet, sitting upon seven mountains in that great city, which had dominion over the kings of the earth; and we hope and wait that the Lord, according to his promise, and as he hath already begun, will confound him by the Spirit of his mouth, and destroy him finally by the brightness of his coming.”*

It was not fitting that Du Plessis should be mentioned by name in a Symbol of Belief; but a pointed reference was made to him in a resolution, arising out of that act of the Synod of Gergeau which had committed his Treatise on the Eucharist to the censorship of the Genevese. “The pastors and professors in the church of Geneva, having read, according to the desire of the late Synod at Gergeau, the book of the Lord du Plessis upon the Eucharist, and given a very honourable testimony to it: this National Synod doth render unto his lordship their hearty thanks for his great zeal and affection to the truth of God, and for his worthy labours in the defence thereof, and orders that it be printed out of hand, believing that the Lord will give his blessing to it.”†

A remarkable testimony was offered by this synod

* Ch. ii. 5, and see ch. vi. 5.

† Ch. iv. 17.

to the high value at which it estimated the labours of D'Aubigné also; who may be said to have been virtually appointed historiographer to the Reformed churches. "The provinces are charged to collect the memoirs of those memorable events which have fallen out these fifty years last past, and to send them to Monsieur d'Aubigné in Poictou, to be inserted by him in his history of this present age."*

Great offence, as may readily be supposed, was taken by the Romanists at the above bold condemnation of the pope. The king, believing that it had been framed for his own especial annoyance, threatened that he would suppress all the Bibles and Testaments which should be accompanied by the *amended* confession. The Huguenots, in excuse, pleaded that the article expressed no more than the constant belief of all the Reformed churches from their very origin; and, indeed, that the point to which it related had been one of the most substantial causes of their separation from Rome. The Synod of Gap, however, appears to have been actuated by an eminently quarrelsome temper, and to have scattered its blows very generally, and with very little discretion. James I., who had just acceded to the British throne, avowed his conviction that the attack on the pope was unseasonable; and he also required an explanation, through M. de la Fontaine, minister of the French church in London, of a paragraph which seemed to impugn the ecclesiastical polity of England. In the XXXII^d article of the Confession of Faith, the term *superintendent* had been employed, and the recent synod had thought proper to annex to it the following interpretation: "The word superintendent is not to be understood of any superiority of one pastor above another, but only in general, of such as have office

* Ch. vii. 31. The proceedings at the Synod of Gap are fully noticed by De Thou, cxxix. 20.

and charge in the Church.”* It would be difficult to show that James possessed any right to object to such a declaration from a church not admitting episcopacy; nevertheless, Du Plessis, to whom the appeal was made, replied in a tone of great gentleness and conciliation. He denied that the words of the synod at all mooted the question of equality or superiority among pastors, so as to approve of one or to condemn the other. “The Church,” he said, “might sanction either at pleasure, provided equality were without confusion, superiority without tyranny.”†

Another uncalled-for controversy was raised in this synod on the doctrine of justification. The deputies expressed their “detestation of those errors which are now-a-days broached to the contrary, and particularly their errors who deny the imputation of Christ’s active and passive obedience (by which he hath most perfectly fulfilled the whole law) unto us for righteousness.” They specifically ordered “that letters should be writ unto Master Piscator to entreat him not to trouble the churches with his new-fangled opinions; as also from the Assembly to the universities of England, Scotland, Leyden, Geneva, Heidelberg, Basil, and Herborne” (in which Piscator was professor), “requesting them to join with us also in this censure.” In case Piscator should obstinately adhere to his opinions, two divines were selected to answer them against the next synod.‡ Piscator had affirmed that Christ, even by his universal and perfect obedience, did no more in his character as a man than he was under moral obligation to do; and therefore that he had no excess of righteousness in that character which could be imputed to others. The hastiness and rudeness with which the Synod of Gap had con-

* Ch. ii. 6.

† A M. de la Fontaine tom. ix. 544.

‡ Ch. ii. 2.

demned this doctrine were by no means approved by Du Plessis; and when the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland requested him to employ all his authority to prevent this dispute from increasing into an open schism,* he cheerfully undertook the task; addressed a circular letter with that object to all the provincial synods in France;† and wrote an answer to the Scotch divines, which stands in advantageous contrast with the uncharitable fulminations of his brethren at Gap.‡

Never, indeed, did the truly evangelical spirit of this eminent Christian shine forth with brighter lustre, than in a description of the state of the Huguenots which he offered at this time to De la Fontaine; and never did any man heavily burdened by private oppression cast aside all remembrance of personal wrong with readier alacrity, than that which Du Plessis manifested, when he turned to the contemplation of the general welfare. "Our churches," he says, "by the grace of God, and under the benefit of the royal edicts, enjoy a condition which they have not any desire to change. The gospel is preached freely, and not without making progress; justice is distributed to us; we have strongholds, to which we may resort for protection in a storm; if we are wronged, our complaints are always heard; our grievances are frequently redressed. It might, perhaps, be desired, that we had more places in which the exercise of our worship was permitted; that they were nearer to each other, and more convenient; and it might be neither useless to the king, nor undeserved by our services, if we were allowed more full participation in the honours and charges of his government. But these are matters to be wished, not to be exacted, and to

* Tom. x. p. 61. Where the letter, by a misprint, is dated *Postridis Idus Octobris*, 1605; it should be 1604. The Latin documents throughout this edition of Du Plessis are grievously incorrect.

† Tom. x. p. 73. March, 1605.

‡ Tom. x. p. 78.

complain of them would be to exhibit a querulous and self-indulgent temper.”* The single alarm which he expressed was occasioned by the Jesuits, “those firebrands of Christendom.”

The reviving ascendancy of that order was indeed to be viewed with apprehension. A formal application for their re-establishment had been received in terms sufficiently indicative of the king’s good will,† and the private influence which the royal confessor was known to exercise over his master, appeared to threaten their speedy success. Cotton was a subtle intriguer,‡ more deeply skilled in the arts of the court than in the studies of the gown, as is evinced by some choice notices of his pulpit oratory which have descended to us. On one occasion, when discoursing on the parable of the good Samaritan, he explained the extra sum which the benevolent traveller promised to repay the host with whom he left the wounded Jew, in case he should expend more than the two pence which he gave at the moment, as typifying the works of supererogation, out of which the pope coined his indulgences.§ A favourite doctrine which he often repeated before the king, and which was not likely to be ungrateful to royal ears, affirmed that the payment of tribute was a far more important duty than the distribution of alms. The former, he said, was enjoined by an express commandment, the latter was recommended only by an incidental admonition.|| Yet, withal; he was gentle in his comments on the Reformed. He spoke of Calvin as monsieur, investing him with terms of honour which he had never before obtained from

* Tom. ix. p. 540.

† De Thou, cxxix. 11.

‡ See the narrative of his *démêlé* with Sully about the College at Poitiers. *M. m.* tom. v. liv. 20. p. 283, &c.

§ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 115. We remember to have heard of a Sectarian preacher in our own times, who expounded the two pence as significatory of the two covenants.

|| *Id. ibid.* p. 144.

the Romanists. It is not a little creditable also to his memory, that when the Huguenots were accused of having attempted his assassination, he took pains to express his confident belief of their entire innocence.*

A want of caution, however, very foreign from the usual habits of the disciples of Loyola, at one time exposed Cotton to imminent risk of fall. A new demoniac had taken the place of Martha Brosier; and, for a while, Adrienne de Fresnes, a peasant girl of Gerbigny, near Amiens, succeeded in attracting the credulous to similar exhibitions in the capital. Cotton was among that number; and weakly confiding in her supernatural pretensions, he sought not to deliver her from the evil spirit by which he believed her to be possessed, but to render its supposed knowledge of futurity subservient to his own ambition. The questions of which he asked resolution were of a singularly miscellaneous nature; some were mischievous, some frivolous, and all betokened a meddling, inquisitive, and superstitious temper. Having adjured the demon by the merits of St. Peter and of St. Paul; of St. Prisca, virgin and martyr; of Saints Moses and Ammon, soldiers and martyrs; of St. Antenogenes, martyr and theologian; of St. Volusius, Bishop of Tours; of St. Léobard the hermit; and of St. Liberata, a virgin; he wished to learn on state matters many particulars concerning the king and queen, and the war with Spain. What heretics about court were most assailable for conversion, and whether Sully himself were so. What evil was meditated by the spirits of darkness against either the Jesuits or himself.

* He was wounded in the back of the head by a sword while returning one evening in his carriage to the Louvre. It seems probable that the blow was struck by some of the royal pages, who had been chastised a few days before for ridiculing the father, by pursuing him with one of the cries of Paris, "*Vielle laine (villain), viel Cotton!*" in joint allusion to his name and to the stuff of which his gown was made. Cayet, *Chron. Sept.* p. 438. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. lii. p. 145.

What means would be most efficacious in bringing over the king, queen, and people of England to the Catholic faith. How the Turkish power might be most completely overthrown; and at what period the heresy of Calvin would be destroyed. To these inquiries were appended others relative to many distinguished individuals, and to penitents of his own. But it was in abstruse problems of "vain philosophy" that the curiosity of the insatiate father chiefly delighted to luxuriate. He anxiously required instruction on numerous dark and mysterious points, which had perplexed all generations, his predecessors; and he asked responses on the origin of language; on the site of the terrestrial paradise; on the number of angels who fell from heaven; on the names of the seven spirits who stand before the throne of God; and on that of the chief of the archangels. Furthermore, he wished to know how islands became stocked with living creatures. How Noah's ark was capable of holding all the animals which entered it. Who were the sons of God who loved the daughters of men. How long our first parents abode in Paradise. Whether the serpent had feet before the fall of Eve. How Greek and Hebrew might be most readily acquired. How he might best correct the faults which he had committed in writing, preaching, and publishing; and what were the clearest texts by which he might expound the doctrines of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the power of the Romish see, and the similarity of the reigning pope to St. Peter. Seventy-one questions, of which the above are an averages ample, drawn up in Latin, and fairly transcribed in Cotton's own writing, were negligently left by him in a book of exorcisms which he had borrowed and returned to its owner.* The paper

* The book had been lent to him by Gillot, before mentioned as one of the authors of the *Satyre Menippée*, who had found great difficulty in procuring its restoration.

was thought of sufficient importance to be communicated to Sully, who immediately carried it to the king. But Cotton was too firmly established in favour to be seriously prejudiced by this imprudence. Henry dissembled his vexation; extenuated the folly of his confessor; kept the original autograph, and exerted himself to suppress all copies of it which had obtained circulation.*

After more than twelve months' delay (a period which the king was warned by one of the order exceeded all natural limits of gestation, and which he excused by the ready answer, that the parturition of kings was necessarily more slow than that of women),† an edict for the re-establishment of the Jesuits was submitted to the parliament of Paris. It was stanchly resisted, especially by the president, Achille de Harlai; but in the end it was registered: and so far did the influence of the brotherhood prevail, that within a few months after their re-entry of Paris, they obtained permission to demolish the monument commemorating the attempt of Jean Chastel upon the life of the king. All opposition to this signal triumph was overruled. On a proposal for the mere erasure of the obnoxious inscription, it was contended that the space left void by the removal of the tablet would speak more loudly in accusation than the words themselves; and when it was advised that the masons should proceed in their operations by night, in order to prevent the risk of popular commotion, Father Cotton insisted that the work should be performed by day; adding, with more attention to sound than to meaning, that Henry was a king not of darkness but of light.‡

* Sully, tom. vi. liv. 23, p. 211. De Thou, cxxxii. 13.

† De Thou, cxxxii. 1. Cayet, *Chron. Sept.* p. 407.

‡ De Thou, cxxxiv. 8. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 274. Sully, tom. v. liv. 20. p. 280. Perefize, p. 278. *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. i. p. 10.

The political assemblies of the Huguenots were always regarded by the court with great anxiety; and the meeting which was allowed to resort to

July 25. Chatelherault in the summer of 1605, appears to have excited more than usual alarm. Sully was expressly deputed to watch in it over the royal interests; and although he failed to obtain the important post of president, which he was instructed to solicit, he was successful in the chief objects of his mission.* His great services were rewarded early in the following year by his elevation to the high dignities of duke and peer of France.†

With the exception of a few casual rencounters, the Huguenots appear to have continued in the enjoyment of undisturbed repose. In Paris, some occasional quarrels occurred from one of those trifling causes which no vigilance of government can hope to prevent; and a satirical ballad, named *Colas*, which the rabble amused themselves by singing about the streets in derision of the Reformed, having excited breaches of the peace attended with bloodshed, was forbidden by proclamation on pain of capital punishment.‡ A privilege, materially pro-

* Sully's account of the Assembly at Chatelherault is contained in the *xxi*st and *xxii*d books of his *Mémoires*; and some notices of it are scattered through the *xth* vol. of *Du Plessis' Correspondance*. Du Plessis did not attend the meeting; and he was in consequence exposed to some reproach, which he afterward satisfactorily removed.

† On the day on which Sully's patent was registered, he entertained the chief nobility at the arsenal, where the king agreeably surprised him by appearing as an uninvited guest. When the duke apologized for his want of preparation for so distinguished an honour, Henry assured him that, in passing, he had looked into the kitchen, where he had seen some excellent fish, and plenty of ragouts, of which he was very fond. Moreover, that he had taken a *whet* of oysters (*j'ai mangé de vos petites hûtres de chasse, tout-à-fait fraîches*), and had drunk some of the best Amboise wine which he had ever tasted. Tom. vi. liv. 23. p. 168. The *Mercure François*, in announcing Sully's promotion, uses the following strong terms: "il faut avouer qu'il a esté le Joseph de nostre Roy, et celui de la France." Tom. i. p. 101.

‡ A cow belonging to a poor man named *Colas* had forced its way into a meeting-house at Chartres during the time of service, and was killed for its intrusion. This silly adventure gave rise to the popular

moting the convenience of the Reformed inhabitants of the capital, was also accorded to them by the king, in spite of much popular discontent. The death of the Duchess of Bar had terminated the meetings for worship hitherto permitted in her residence; and the strict letter of the Edict of Nantes forbade the celebration of the Reformed service at any spot within five leagues of Paris. Ablon, indeed, a village on the Seine, in which it was tolerated, was not quite so remote; but the obstacles presented even by that distance, especially during winter, were found insupportably grievous. The courtiers affirmed that the time occupied by the performance of this journey prevented them from offering homage both to God and to their king on the same day; and a more substantial complaint was founded on the frequent loss of life among infants, exhausted either by fatigue or by inclement weather, while being conveyed to baptism. The king listened graciously to these representations, and named the little village of Charenton, at two short leagues from Paris, as the future spot of assemblage. In spite of long opposition from the bigoted seigneurs of that fief, and of a violent tumult which Henry found it necessary to suppress in person,* the royal grant was carried into effect; and Charenton, from a wretched hamlet, became, for a time, a rich and considerable town, in consequence of the weekly influx of the Reformed.† A congregation of not fewer than 3000 persons attended worship on the first Sunday on which it was permitted.‡

Aug. 27.

song mentioned above, and to a favourite nickname for the Huguenots, which became proverbial, *c'est la vache à Colas*.—*Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 293.

* *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. i. p. 164.

† It has returned to almost its former insignificance. The present population scarcely exceeds 800 souls.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 378. Benoit, *Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, tom. i. p. 435.

Nor was it in Paris only that the king's protection was afforded to the Reformed; his determination to support their privileges was evinced during an attempt of singular effrontery on the part of the Jesuits to establish themselves in La Rochelle. Through an intrigue in which Cotton bore a principal share, the secretaries of state were persuaded, without the royal privity, to license Seguiran, a zealous Loyolist, as preacher in that city of immunities. When the missionary, however, presented himself at the gates, and announced that he was one of the company of Jesus, and the bearer of letters from the king, the warder refused him admission, roughly answering that neither had Jesus any company, nor the applicant any letters. Henry received the appeal made to him on this affair with signs of apparent indignation; but he privately assured Sully that the Rochellois were by no means in the wrong, for that he was wholly unacquainted with the transaction, and was not at all likely to countenance it. State policy compelled him to avoid an open disavowal of his secretaries; and, by Sully's mediation, the preacher having received an authentic commission, was admitted as a matter of form within the city, and recalled from it after a few days' abode.*

La Rochelle was also the place appointed for the XVIIIth National Synod, at which Du Plessis appears to have taken much pains to promote conciliation. He wrote twice before its opening to Tilenus, requesting his assistance in the prevention of controversy upon the doctrine which

* Sully, tom. iv. liv. xxi. p. 271. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. iii. p. 415. The conclusion of this affair precisely accorded with the wishes of Du Plessis, between whom and the king a very friendly intercourse had been revived. He writes as follows to M. Rivet, on the 23d of January. "Les Deputés de La Rochelle sont arrivés, qui m'ont veu aujourd'hui. Le Roy se monstre fort resoleu d'estre obei en cest affaire: j'ai ce bonheur que sa majesté ne m'en a du tout point parlé. Je voudrois qu'il se poust du moins negotier en sorte que le Jesuite ne feist, comme on parle aux finances, qu'entrée et issue." Tom. x. p. 196.

Arminius was then propagating in regard to justification;* and expressing a hope that it would be unnecessary for the approaching synod to renew the declaration of that of Gap against Piscator. With his usual wisdom and piety he recommended union against the tyranny, the idolatry, and the superstition of their common enemy, rather than idle disputes upon mysterious points; whereon, however great might be the circumspection employed, something would always remain both to be learned and to be unlearned. "Treat these doctrines soberly, and their teachers discreetly, so long as for their part they expound them religiously."† This advice produced good effect; and the answer of Piscator to the letters from the Synod of Gap was commented upon with unusual mildness. His arguments, indeed, were pronounced to be weak and invalid; but care was at the same time taken that he should be informed of this opinion, "without any vain jangling, and with that devotion as became the singular modesty expressed by him in his letters, wherein there is not the least bitterness or provoking expression; leaving it unto God, who can, when he pleaseth, reveal unto him the defects which are in the doctrine of the said Piscator."‡ Of two books written against him, one was formally disavowed as composed without any warrant, and from "private caprice;" and the publication of the other (the author of which received thanks for his orthodoxy, labour, and diligence) was suspended for a short time, "for peace and concord's sake, till we see what fruits sweet and gentle procedure may produce."§

With respect to the article concerning Antichrist, the deputies were less inclined to concede. At first,

* Tom. x. p. 182, 193.

† *Ibid.* p. 195. See also another very sensible letter to M. de Montigny relating to the Arminian controversy. *Ibid.* p. 216

‡ Ch. ii. 4.

§ *Ibid.* 5, 6.

after "weighing and examining it," they declared that "it was approved and allowed by general consent, both as to its form and substance, for very true, and agreeing with Scripture prophecies, and which in these our days we see most clearly to be fulfilled. Whereupon it was resolved that it should continue in its place, and that for time coming it should be imprinted in all copies which should come from the press."* This resolution was most offensive to the king; and he formally communicated his displeasure. Du Plessis also wrote to like effect; and he inquired what benefit was likely to result from a violent declaration opposed to the royal will, on a matter indifferent in itself? Whether it were discreet to endanger the liberty of thinking, speaking, and writing, which they now possessed, by needlessly agitating a question in no way affecting their profession and doctrine?† This earnest and sensible appeal proved successful; and the deputies before their separation consented to that which they termed "a conditional supersedence to the article of Antichrist." "Whereas since the last resolution taken by us concerning that article of Antichrist, and its insertion into the body of our Confession of Faith, and in consequence thereof its being printed, his majesty hath notified unto us by our deputies, as also by Monsieur de Maurepas, that the publishing of this article would exceedingly displease him: This assembly ordaineth that the printing thereof shall be superseded, unless any member of our church be molested for it, or be brought before the magistrate for his confession of it, or any minister for preaching, teaching, or writing about it; and his majesty shall be humbly entreated to interpose his authority that no one be disquieted for the impression which is already past, or for being possessed of any copies received from the press."‡

* Ch. ii. 9.

† Tom. x. p. 198.

‡ v. 42.

A project often and fruitlessly agitated at later periods appears about this time to have engaged the attention of the court, and a union of the two Churches was confidently reported to be at hand. Chamier and other leading Huguenot ministers suspecting collusion, were anxious to interrupt a negotiation in which they believed the Reformed interests would be treacherously sacrificed. No fitter instrument for their purpose could be found than the impetuous and sarcastic D'Aubigné; and the narrative which he has left of his course of action is not a little characteristic. Having first obtained an assurance from the ministers that they would willingly abide by a restoration of such doctrine and discipline as could be satisfactorily founded on the authority of the first four centuries of the Church, he proceeded, with the king's approval, to hold a conference with Du Perron. So gracious was the reception which the Bishop of Evreux offered, so caressing and so cajoling, as D'Aubigné expresses himself, was his manner, that not a doubt could exist of his intention to deceive. He accepted the offer of the ministers, provided they would allow forty years beyond the first four hundred. "I see your drift," said D'Aubigné, "you want to profit by the Council of Chalcedon,* and it is very much at your service."—"Then," rejoined Du Perron, "you must consent to the elevation of crosses."—"No doubt," was D'Aubigné's reply, "for the sake of peace, we will pay crosses *now* all the honour which they received *then*; but will *you* in return venture to reduce the pope's authority within the limits which were assigned to it, if we give you even two more centuries to boot?" The cardinal, who smarted under the recollection of a decree of the Vatican, which had subjected him to imprisonment, shrugged his shoulders, and observed that if that

* Held A. D. 451: but Du Perron used round numbers.

matter could not be settled at Rome, it must be adjusted in Paris. When the conversation was reported to the king, he asked D'Aubigné why he had so readily assented to the Council of Chalcedon? And, perhaps, he was not dissatisfied with the answer, that it was in order to obtain a tacit confession that the first four centuries were insufficient to support the claims of the Romanists. The prelates and Jesuits who were present in the royal closet, murmured at this bold avowal. The Count of Soissons exclaimed more audibly that such speeches were unsuited to the king's ear; and Henry himself avoided the storm which he foresaw was gathering, by turning his back and taking refuge in the queen's apartment.*

All hope of deluding the Reformed into an abandonment of vital doctrines for the attainment of a nominal union having failed, an artful endeavour was next made to weaken their ranks by promoting desertion. Henry was by no means a niggard master, and it was easy to persuade him that Sully merited far greater rewards than had as yet fallen to his share. The hand of Catherine de Vendôme,† a portion of 200,000 crowns in ready payment, of 10,000 more in annual pension, the government of Berry in possession, that of Bourbonnois and the high dignity of grand master in reversion, were proposed to Sully's eldest son; for himself was destined the envied station of constable, soon likely to be vacant by the death of Montmorenci; and the price at which these unrivalled distinctions were to be purchased was the renunciation of Protestantism. The king was sincere in his offers; but it was not any friendly wish for Sully's aggrandizement which had prompted the Romanist counsellors to suggest their

* *Hist. Secrette*, cxlii.

† Henry's daughter by the Duchess of Beaufort, whom he had legitimated. She married Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

proposal. If he refused, there was a probability of the loss of the royal favour; if he accepted, the Huguenots would be deprived of one of their most important supporters; and, in either case, it was believed that his influence must necessarily be diminished.

Enough has appeared in our former narrative to manifest that Sully was unversed in questions of theology, and that he had never regarded his religion with the nice scruples of a divine; but he was not, on that account, the less sincere and upright in his profession. He had indeed advised Henry to abjure, because he believed the welfare of his country demanded that sacrifice; but for himself, no allurement of personal ambition, no craving of unsatisfied avarice, no whisper of importunate vanity could divert him from the path approved by duty and by conscience. The king insisted that he should pause during a month before he returned a final answer; but the period afforded for consideration only corroborated his first resolve. The Huguenots anxiously awaited his reply, and had little confidence in his stability. When the appointed day, however, arrived, Sully informed the king, with expressions of the deepest respect and gratitude, that he was unconvinced, and therefore that he remained unchanged.*

A political assembly at Gergeau, in the following autumn, separated without any proceeding calculated to excite royal displeasure. The XIXth National Synod was held at St. Maixant in the ensuing May; and, if we may accept the trifling which marks its

1608.
Oct.

1609.
May.

* *Mém.* tom. vii. liv. xxv. p. 14, &c. Sully requested that the answer concerning his religion might be conveyed to the king through Du Perron; from which desire both Henry and the bishop augured favourably; but, adds the duke, "Je mis assez de force, et même de Théologie dans la réponse que je lui fis, pour lui faire comprendre qu'il s'étoit bien trompé." (20.) Du Plessis makes very honourable mention of this transaction. Tom. x. p. 216.

acts as a proof of tranquillity, the Huguenot Church was now without disturbance. The examination for orders was more strictly regulated than heretofore; and although not very formidable, was probably sufficient for its purpose. Seven pastors were required to form a colloquy, to examine the testimonials of the *proposant*, and to furnish him with texts for the composition of two exercises, one in French, the other in Latin, "in case the colloquy do judge it meet; and he shall have four-and-twenty hours time to prepare himself for each of these exercises." He was then to be "posed" in a chapter of the Greek Testament, "to know whether he does understand that language and can expound it; and afterward he shall be examined in the Hebrew, whether he can at least read it." An essay upon some of the most needful parts of philosophy and a confession of his faith in Latin concluded the discipline of the candidate; and the whole was "to be managed with great tenderness and charity, and without affectation of any thorny or unprofitable questions."*

The abhorrence with which proficiency in general science among those set apart for holy services was viewed by the Reformed is strikingly manifested by an injunction to all synods and colleagues, "to have a watchful eye over those ministers who study chymistry, and grievously to reprove and censure them."† Permission was given to invalid soldiers who received pensions from the royal bounty on account of past services, to bear the cross on their cloaks, provided that they took especial precaution to avoid giving offence to weak members during church meetings; and that they adopted the emblem, not as a badge of superstition, but as a mark and cognizance of their afflicted condition."‡ Notwithstanding the restrictions which the Synod of Mont-

* Ch. iii. 2.

† *Id.* 6.

‡ Ch. vi. 11.

pelier had recently imposed upon widows, the period after which a bereaved husband might contract a second marriage was left entirely to the prudence of the consistory to which he belonged;* and an application for indulgence to a "great lord," who had chosen "a popish lady," was met with a most honest and uncompromising regard to equity. "The canon," said the deputies, "must be exactly and equally observed towards all persons, whatever their quality and condition might be as to the world."†

One act of this synod occasioned much subsequent trouble. The Synod of La Rochelle had instructed M. Lorgnes de Vignier, a pastor of Blois, to write upon the question of Antichrist: and the deputies of St. Maixant, on receiving the *Theatrum Antichristi*, composed in obedience to that injunction, returned thanks to the author for his great and worthy pains, ordered his work to be perused by the University of Saumur, and afterward to be printed with his name.‡ Du Plessis perceived the imprudence of thus providing new fuel for a controversy which had ever been agitated with intemperate heat. But he was delicately circumstanced: he felt that opposition by an individual to the ordinances of two national synods might be thought presumptuous; and that himself also in particular might be misrepresented as envious of the labours of another person on a matter which had engaged his own attention. Nevertheless, he obtained assent to certain modifications, which removed all appearance of aggression.§ Not long after the close of the Synod of St. Maixant, the king, however, received a letter, written under a feigned name, denouncing the acts of the deputies who attended it as contrary to law, and stigmatizing the treatise of Vignier as scandalous and seditious; adding also, that the Rochellois were busily fortifying their city; that the Hugue-

* Ch. iii. 14.

† Ch. iv. 9, 16.

‡ Ch. iii. 12.

§ Tom. x. p. 539.

nots assembled at Marseilles had resolved upon compelling the king to summon a meeting of the States-General; and that Du Plessis was the great instigator of this conspiracy.

Sully, who possessed irrefragable proofs of the innocence of the accused and of the general falsehood of the statements contained in this letter, lost no time in offering satisfactory testimony to the king: and Du Plessis most gratefully acknowledged this generous interference in his behalf, by one whom he had had little occasion to consider as his friend.* "I might reasonably suppose," are the words of his letter, "that my past life, my age, and the experience which the world has had of me, would either have exempted me altogether from this malice, or would at least have prevented it from obtaining any credence. For what, thanks be to God! have I ever done, from which so black a treachery, or so rash a folly, could be imputed to me? I might venture to promise myself, at all events, that his majesty would so far do honour to the many proofs of a fidelity which has grown gray in his service without reproach, as to guaranty my loyalty both to others and to himself. Am I then reduced so low in estimation that a lie, too apparent to maintain itself beyond eight-and-forty hours, can cast a shade upon the two-and-thirty years which I have passed in the light of the world, under the eyes and in the service of the king? The king has been told that the Huguenots are arming: I am far too inconsiderable in his majesty's sight to be accepted by him as their surety; nevertheless, if only one single spark exists of the mighty fire which is said to have been kindled, I am willing to bear the entire guilt. They talk of a summons to assemble at Marseilles,

* The feeling of hostility between Du Plessis and Sully was reciprocal. "Je me crus obligé, tout mon ennemi qu'il s'étoit montré jusqu'alors, de rendre témoignage à son innocence." *Mém.* tom. vii. liv. xxvi. p. 24.

in order that we may demand a meeting of the States-General. If any one has seen or heard of such a document, I am willing to be considered its author." In conclusion, he urged the necessity of a full investigation of this base malignment of his honour.*

The king's suspicions, if he ever entertained any, were effectually removed; yet the Jesuits insidiously laboured to revive them. The sermons which Gonthery, a Jesuit already distinguished in a controversy with Dumoulin,† preached in the royal presence, abounded with allusions to the pretended disaffection of the Huguenots, and to the facility with which their sect might be wholly extinguished. Pains were taken by him to raise an opinion that those who affirmed the pope to be antichrist must at the same time deny his power to relieve the king from his first marriage; and, as a necessary consequence, must bastardize the dauphin. The ordinary terms by which Gonthery mentioned the Huguenots from the pulpit were "vermin and ragamuffins."‡ "Should not our arms," he exclaimed on one occasion, "be turned against this handful of heretics, which can easily be exterminated if each of us will but sweep the space before him."§ Du Plessis framed some memorials in reply, showing that the Huguenots founded their belief in the king's right to the crown, in the validity of his second marriage, and in the legitimacy of his issue, on far more

* Tom. x. p. 416.

† Gonthery, or Gontier, succeeded in converting the Dame de Mezen-court, a Huguenot lady of rank. An account of his conference with Dumoulin for that purpose, may be found in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. i. p. 835, and also in a note on the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 507. Notwithstanding the lady's apostacy, victory was claimed for Dumoulin in a publication entitled "Le veritable narré de la Conference entre les Sieurs Dumoulin et Gontier, secondés par Madame de Salignac;" which Gontier contradicted in a letter to the king. Mad. de Salignac was a Romanist friend of Mad. de Mezen-court, and took an active share in the disputation.

‡ *Vermine et canailles.* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 542. Note.

§ *Id. ibid.* p. 543. Note.

stable ground than any acknowledgment of the papal authority; that many of Henry's predecessors, for whom no good Frenchman would have hesitated to sacrifice his life, had incurred excommunication; that they accepted him as their king, not on account of the approval of Rome, but of his hereditary right; that they admitted the legality of his present marriage, not because it was sanctioned by a dispensation from the Vatican, but because it was just, necessary, and beneficial to his kingdom; and because it had been visibly approved by the blessing of Heaven, in affording it a more promising issue than for many centuries had graced a royal bed.* The Maréchal d'Ornano† boldly assured the king, that if any Jesuit had ventured to preach before him, in his government of Bourdeaux, matter so inflammatory as that which Gonthery had delivered in Paris, he would have thrown him into the Garonne on his descent from the pulpit; and Henry, adopting a middle course, silenced the murmurs which arose on both sides, by signifying his displeasure at Gonthery's violence, and by ordering the suppression of Vignier's Treatise.‡

Within a few months after this transaction, the fatal blow was struck by Ravallac which covered all France with mourning, and precluded innumerable calamities to the Huguenots. Upon an incident so well known, and so frequently related, it is needless that we should dwell; neither is it requisite that we should attempt to portray any elaborate character of the murdered king. So far as he is connected with our peculiar history, his qualities may be most fitly estimated by the influence which they exercised over its events; and after every deduction has been made from his

* Tom. x. p. 503, 531.

† A distinguished officer, of Corsican origin, who had rendered great service to Henry, and was much about his person.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 543.

fame, on account of those blemishes which we have by no means sought to extenuate, it may be doubted whether any other prince upon whom the same title has been bestowed (unless indeed our own Alfred), has equally legitimate claim to the distinction of THE GREAT.

CHAPTER XXI.

Regency of Mary of Medicis—Rise and ascendancy of the Marquis d'Ancre—Intrigues against Sully—He resigns his offices and quits the Court—Political Assembly at Saumur—Its dissensions—History of De Mornay's Mystery of Iniquity—The Réponse of Raymond du Bray—Letter of James I.—XXth National Synod—Quarrel between the Court and the Duke of Rohan—Excommunication of Jacques Ferrier—Riot at Nismes in consequence—His apostasy—Unpopularity of the Jesuits—XXIst National Synod—Project of general comprehension—Its futility—Majority of Louis XIII.—Imprisonment of the Prince of Condé—D'Ancre at the height of power—Rise of De Luines—Assassination of D'Ancre—Savage treatment of his remains—Retirement of Mary of Medicis—XXIId National Synod—First appearance of Richelieu—Escape of Mary of Medicis from Blois—Release of the Prince of Condé—Total ruin of the Party of Mary of Medicis—Annexation of Bearne.

Few periods of French history are more intricate and perplexed than that upon which we are now about to enter. The attention is distracted by the numerous competitors who struggled for power during a turbulent minority and a weak reign, by their rapid entrance and disappearance, and by the variety of petty events to which their intrigues gave birth. It is more than ever necessary that we should here repeat that we are not further concerned with the general history of the times than as it bears upon the fortunes of the Reformed church.

Louis XIII. was in his ninth year when the murder of his father raised him unexpectedly to the throne. In the first mo-

1610.
May 14.

ments of consternation the regency was bestowed on the queen-mother, a woman of strong passions and narrow understanding; controlled by Italian favourites. Concino Concini, the son of an obscure notary at Florence, had entered France with Mary of Medicis, in the subordinate post of a gentleman usher. His person was handsome; he was skilled in all courtly exercises; and under a careless exterior he concealed high and ambitious hopes, which were realized by a fortunate connection with a woman far superior to him in intellect, although of yet more humble parentage. The father of Leonora Dori was a carpenter; her mother is said to have been a laundress, who having fulfilled the duties of nurse to the Florentine princess in her infancy, secured the appointment of woman of the bed-chamber for her daughter.* It was not long before the "ascendency of a strong mind over a weak one,"—memorable words attributed to Leonora herself, at a later season, but which she probably never employed†—was displayed in the paramount influence which the confidante established over her mistress; and much of the domestic unhappiness which disturbed the intercourse between Henry IV. and his consort is attributed to the evil and injudicious advice which the queen received from her *dame d'atours*. It was, perhaps, on her marriage with Concini, that Leonora claimed descent from an ancient Florentine house, the *Galigai*, under whose name she is most commonly known. The favourites rapidly accumulated wealth by numerous charges which the queen obtained for them; but Henry himself appears to have regarded Concini with dislike, and never to have assisted in his advancement to honourable station.

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iv. p. 206. *La Chemise sanglante* d'Henry le Grand. *Id.* p. 277.

† We have not been able to trace these words, which have become almost proverbial, beyond an authority which, if unsupported, is nothing worth in historical matters, Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. 175.

On one occasion, when either presuming upon the support of the queen, or ignorant of the high privileges of the court of parliament, the Florentine *mignon* entered its hall of session, booted, jingling his golden spurs, and with his head covered, the clerks in attendance revenged this violation of respect by hustling the intruder. Concini laid his grievance before the king; but a deputation of counsellors having represented that long-established custom prescribed strict attention to costume, Henry advised the complainant to stifle his resentment, or he might otherwise find to his cost that the sword which he wore was far less sharp than the pen of the advocates whom he had offended.*

The first step which Concini made in his progress to rank was by admission to the council of state, in which he took his seat about two months after Henry's assassination.† His great wealth soon enabled him to purchase the office of first gentleman of the chamber from the Duke de Bouillon,‡ and the Marquisate of Ancre in Picardy; and the bâton of a maréchal of France was bestowed upon him in 1615. The queen surrendered herself entirely to his guidance; and the undisputed sway which he exercised, the immensity of his possessions, his pride and profuseness, and, above all, his foreign extraction, rendered him an object of universal jealousy from the earliest period of the regency.

The court of the minor king was split into as many discordant factions as there were individuals powerful enough to assert any particular interests. The princes of the blood, the chief ministers of the former reign, Concini and the Duke de Bouillon, however essentially differing in their ultimate objects, were nevertheless united in one preliminary design, the removal of the Duke of Sully. The

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iv. p. 20.

† July 27. *Id.* p. 186.

‡ Sully, tom. viii, liv. xxix. p. 92.

Count of Soissons regarded him with strong personal animosity, as the main instrument by which his union with the Princess Catherine had been frustrated. The Prince of Condé, on his first return from the expatriation to which he had been compelled to submit in order to preserve his wife's honour from the licentious pursuit of the late king, showed some willingness to confide in Sully's advice; but he was diverted from that purpose by the secret urgency of Bouillon,* whose ambition, freed from the restraints imposed upon it by Henry's superiority, now spurned all control. Unmindful of the claims of his religion, the *maréchal* proffered his services to the queen regent, and promised to convert his influence over the Reformed to the furtherance of her political intrigues. The rising hopes of Concini demanded the extinction of any rival who might interrupt his course; and the common herd of nobles and public officers, irritated by the exactness with which Sully had regulated the finances, and had preserved the national revenue from exhaustion by their rapacity, eagerly concurred in the project for his overthrow. Sully has indignantly recounted some of the demands which were made upon the regent's bounty by the chief courtiers; and no one can hesitate to admit the conclusion at which he arrives from a review of the list, that there was a general conspiracy to pillage the exchequer, and to consider its entire contents as the object of legitimate plunder.†

It is unnecessary to pursue with any closeness of detail the artifices by which Sully's exclusion from the royal confidence was promoted. In a princess whom foreign birth and limited capacity precluded from any intimate knowledge of public affairs, who was jealous of any encroachment upon her power, and mistrustful of every hand by which it might be

* Sully, tom. viii. liv. xxviii. p. 69, 74, 79.

† *Id.* l. xxix. p. 117.

invaded, it was an easy task to awaken suspicion. The habits and the temper of the duke partook of an austerity ill calculated to attach a female sovereign; and the countenance of the Vatican, which was essential to her support, was little likely to be afforded to any government in which the helm was regulated by a Huguenot. These were motives sufficiently powerful to determine the queen's conduct.* The sagacity of the veteran statesman quickly perceived the approaching danger; and conscious of inability to resist the mighty combination arrayed against him, he wisely escaped the disgrace of dismissal by a voluntary resignation of his most coveted offices. He tendered to the queen's disposal the superintendence of the finances and the government of the Bastile, and retired to his estates at Rosny.†

Not content with having thus disembarassed himself from the probable superiority of a rival in the cabinet, Bouillon next endeavoured to supplant Sully with his Huguenot brethren. The regent's assent had been obtained for a political assembly at Chatelherault; and Bouillon, well aware how much the ascendancy of Sully must predominate in a town belonging to his own government, succeeded in procuring a transfer of the meeting to Saumur. By creating a belief in Du Plessis Mornay that the interests of the Reformed required, on this occasion, a deviation from usual custom; and that, in order to extinguish all chance of jealousy, the presidency ought not to be bestowed upon any seigneur of the highest rank; he effectually excluded Sully from that dignity; but the artifice,

1611.
May.

* *Mémoires du Duc de Rohan*. liv. i. p. 3. Paris, 1661.

† We have followed Sully's own account of his retirement (liv. xxix.), which is sufficiently minute and particular to justify our confidence. His enemies maintained that he was *dismissed*. At all events, his resignation was *virtually* on compulsion. Unless a prime minister had been especially declared, the superintendent of finances took precedence in the council. Hence, as we shall perceive by-and-by, it was necessary for Richelieu on his first admission to the council to cultivate the favour of the Duke of Vieuville.

contrary to his intention, recoiled against himself; and, notwithstanding much secret intrigue, ten out of the sixteen provinces persisted in elevating Du Plessis to the chair. Bouillon was greatly irritated at this disappointment, and it was in vain that Du Plessis sought to decline the invidious honour. During nearly four months of agitated discussion, little was done for the public service; and of the three persons who chiefly influenced the deputies, Bouillon, Lesdiguières, and Du Plessis, the last is the only one whose intentions are admitted by a very competent authority to have been sincere.* The court insisted that the assembly should break up immediately after it had framed its report. The deputies refused to separate till the memorial of their grievances† had received an answer; and, after many attempts at evasion, that answer was delivered. It was far indeed from conveying satisfaction; but the deputies had approached the extreme edge of law in this prolongation of their meeting; and nothing having been gained by their appeal to government, but much injury having been suffered September. by intestine division, they agreed to a dissolution.‡

The chief disagreement regarded the manner in which the Edict of Nantes was to be administered; whether, as Bouillon and the *Judicieux* (a name coined by the Romanists) were content to admit it, according to the *registration*; or as Sully, his son-in-law the Duke de Rohan, Du Plessis, and others of the *Zelex* or *Affectionnez* maintained, according to its original *promulgation*. The difference involved

* *Mém. de Rohan. liv. 1. p. 8.*

† Du Plessis, tom. xi. p. 231.

‡ The proceedings at this political assembly were burlesqued in a very poor imitation of the celebrated work bearing a similar title, which we have already fully described; "La Satyre Menippée sur ce qui s'est joué à l'Assemblée de Saumur, avec la représentation des tableaux et enrichissemens des bordeures; par le Sieur de Tantara, Ministre de France, adressée aux Messieurs d'Allemagne, 1611."

some momentous privileges. Among them was the right of assembling every two years without renewed application for the king's permission, and that also of nominating two deputies to reside at court, instead of offering six, from whom the king might make his selection: the latter point was contested by the regency, and obtained in this assembly at Saumur.*

While occupied in the troublous superintendence of this assembly, Du Plessis was engaged also in the not less thorny path of literary polemics; and he published both in French and in Latin† his *Mystery of Iniquity*—a history of the rise and progress of the pontifical authority. Little as this ponderous folio may now be read, many perhaps are acquainted with its illustrative plates, which at the time of their first appearance were visited with severe reprobation. In the frontispiece, the huge pile of Babel, typifying the papal sway, rears its gigantic summit to the skies; but its foundation is a frail wooden platform, beneath which the activity of a man coarsely habited has already kindled a fire. On the opposite side, a Jesuit, in a contemplative attitude, is regarding the stupendous height of the tower, of whose approaching downfall he is warned by the following distich:—

*Falleris æternam qui suspicis ebrivus arcem :
Subruta succensis mox corruet ima tigillis.*

At the close of the work is a plate yet more offensive to the Romanists; an architectural elevation,

* *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. ii. p. 381.

† Laval expresses much surprise "to find in some books that this of Du Plessis's had been dedicated to King James I. True it is that he caused it to be presented to his British Majesty, but he dedicated it to Louis XIII." Vol. iv. book viii. p. 566. The edition in French is dedicated to Louis XIII.; if Laval had examined the Latin translation which appeared simultaneously, he would have found in it a dedication to James I., who acknowledged the honour in a letter to which we shall presently have occasion to refer.

surmounted by the papal arms and devices, bears a portrait of Paul V., copied, together with its accompaniments, as we are told, from the frontispieces of many volumes dedicated to the pontiff at Rome and at Bologna. Over the head is written, *Vultu portendebat Imperium*. Crowns and sceptres depend from two columns supporting the screen; the pedestal of one being inscribed with the text, *Et erunt Reges nutricii tui et Reginae nutrices tuæ*; of the other, *Vultu in terram demisso pulverem pedum tuorum lindent*. Isa. xlix.* Allegorical figures of the four quarters of the globe are seated on either side; an angel, hovering over Europe and Africa, displays a seroll, bearing the words *Gens et Regnum quod non servierit illi, in gladio et in fame et in peste visitabo super gentem illam, ait Dominus*. Hier. xxvii.† Above Asia and America, a second heavenly guardian unfolds the text, *Et dedit ei Dominus potestatem et regnum, et omnes Populi ipsi servient. Potestas ejus potestas eterna quæ non auferetur et regnum ejus quod non corrumpetur*. Dan. vii.‡ As if this last blasphemous application of the power which the *Ancient of days* bestowed in the *night-visions* upon the *Son of Man* were insufficient gratification for the vanity of the pontiff, beneath his portrait is inscribed, PAULO V. VICE-DEO, CHRISTIANÆ REIPUBLICÆ MONARCHÆ INVICTISSIMO, ET PONTIFICIÆ OMNIPOTENTIÆ CONSERVATORI ACERRIMO. A deduction which this insane vaunt afforded was hailed as a master-piece of polemical ingenuity. The number of the apocalyptic beast had long engaged the futile attention and exercised the perverse skill of anagrammatists; and scarcely any pagan god, or any Roman emperor, from the Capitoline Jupiter and Juno to the beneficent but idolatrous Trajan, had escaped inclusion, at some time or other, within their mystical calculations.§ But Du Plessis was now thought to be

* V. 23.

† V. 8.

‡ V. 14.

§ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ἙΡΑΣ was the *χάραγμα* said to be borne on

triumphant over the whole commentatorial race by the readiness with which he, for the first time, referred the *Greek* numeral symbols $\chi\zeta\varsigma$, to the *Latin* mode of ciphering. Behold, he said, the long-sought resolution in the title of the reigning Pope!

PAVLO V. VICE DEO.

5.50. 5. 5.1.100. 500.

What can be more clear! It is a plain sum in simple addition, and every one must perceive that the separate numbers, when combined together, make a total of 666!

Numerous opponents speedily took the field against Du Plessis; and one, perhaps, deserves especial mention, because he retorted the weapons which the Protestant champion had employed. In the frontispiece of a *Résponse*,* published in the same year, by Raymond du Bray of St. Germain's, the Romish Church is figured under the image of the house which "*Wisdom hath builded*," and for which "*she hath hewn out her seven pillars*."† In an outer gallery below are arranged the prophets, with Moses in the centre; above him is seated St. Peter; rising over whom, in an archway which extends upwards

the wrists of those initiated into the Capitoline worship: and its numeral letters, as well as those of Trajan's name, ΟΥΑΠΙΘΙΟΣ (provided the latter be concluded with ζ instead of σ , a *humouring* which it would be fastidious to deny) may be converted into the desired number. Irenæus preferred ΔΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ; and it is contended, that he knew much better than his later opponents whether that word were rightly spelled with a diphthong. Besides, he *might* have received his information from Polycarp, to whom in turn it *might* have been communicated by St. John himself. Each of the words, ΕΥΑΝΘΑΣ, ΤΕΙΤΑΝ, ΔΑΜΠΙΕΤΗΣ, ΑΜΝΟΣ, ΑΔΙΚΟΣ, ΑΝΤΕΜΟΣ, ΓΕΝΕΗΠΙΚΟΣ, has had its separate advocates; and, as a Huguenot writer yet earlier than Du Plessis has remarked, "there be well neere as many expositions as there be expositors, whereby it appeereth that it is very darke and riddlelike." Marlorat on the Revelations, fol. 201. b, a translation imprinted at London. 1574.

* *Résponse au Tiltre et Preface du Livre, &c. par Mr. R. D. B. dit de S. G. Ausmonier de M^r. Frere du Roy.* Paris, 1611.

† Proverbs ix. 1.

to a second gallery, is arranged the series of consecutive popes, terminated by Paul V., who is supported by the Apostles, and overshadowed by the Holy Ghost as a dove. From trumpets blown by two of the Apostles, proceed labels with the text *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum*,* addressed to a body of Jews and Pagans who fill a kind of *entresol* between the two galleries. On the summit presides God the Father, represented as an aged man enveloped in a glory, and having a table spread before Him, on which are standing the holy cup and wafer of the eucharist. The seven hewn pillars, which represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, are founded upon a rock; below which a troop of grim-visaged figures, "incorrigible mockers, false prophets, and heretic servants of Nebuchadnezzar and of Antichrist,"† are vainly endeavouring to apply torches, the flame of which is blown back into their own faces. The motto is a slight *travestie* of that used by Du Plessis.

*Falleris æternam qui despicias ebrius arcem,
Inclayta suspensis non nititur illa tigillis.*

Which words, the author informs us, may be thus rendered into French:—

*Tu brusleras, Mornay, ceste Tour eternelle ?
Ce n'est bois, ains un roc, pour brusler ta cervelle. ‡*

Of the *reasoning* with which Du Plessis is combated, a very brief specimen may suffice. "Scripture," says Du Bray, "assigns the apocalyptic number to but *one* name, whereas the heretic writer has extended it to *three*. Neither Scripture nor the fathers anywhere affirm that the name of Antichrist shall be changed; but the original name of Paul

* Psalm xix. 4.

† *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. II. p. 110.

‡ P. 41.

was Camillo, which he laid aside, according to custom, on assuming the tiara." The crowning stroke of his victory is husbanded till near the end. "I should like to know what Plessis Mornay would give me," exclaims Raymond, already conscious of success, and drunk with the fumes of his glory, "if immediately after reading the number of the Beast which he has discovered in the name of Paul V., I also should discover that same number in his own name, repeated no less than five times, lacking ten? Will he not appear five times a greater beast than Behemoth, who has only four feet, whereas Du Plessis has five? Nevertheless I will give him any assurance which he may choose to ask, that I never will be so dull and stupid as he has shown himself; and that I never will esteem him to be Antichrist in person, much less the precursor of that monster. For besides that Plessis Mornay is already in his grand climacteric, and has reigned more than three years and a half, *he* is a gentleman by birth, and we know that the Antichrist will be but a sorry rascal."*

The Sorbonne, as might be expected, passed a merciless censure upon the *Mystery of Iniquity*;† which was far more than counterbalanced in the

* "Il est gentilhomme, et l'Antechrist (Antichrist) sera un maraut." p. 173. Du Bray shows that Du Plessis is worse than a crab as well as than Behemoth; but we have omitted the passage from a misgiving whether we could offer a correct translation. "Afin qu'il soit cinque fois beste plus que Behemot, qui n'a que quatre pieds où il en a cinq; ou Bien chéare (cancere) de mer, qui a cinq pieds et de chasque costé, qu'il soit déclaré pire que qui n'en a que quatre."

We are almost ashamed of having delayed so long upon this egregious trifling; but we cannot part from it without confessing our inability to obtain the desired number from Du Bray's computation. He works out his sum as follows:—

ph	L	Ipe	Mornay	CheVa	L	Ier	seigneVr	D	V	pLessis	MarLy
1.50.1.	1000.	100.	5.	50.	1.	1.	5.	500.5.	50.	1.	1000.50.

These numbers added together make a total of 2920. Five times the number of the Beast (5×666) = 3330, which, instead of "lacking 10" of 2920, exceeds it by 510.

† *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. ii. p. 109.

judgment of Du Plessis, by a letter replete with compliment from the King of England. James, it is true, as he himself admits, had not read above four or five pages of the treatise; but he appears to have possessed the useful and happy art of returning gracious acknowledgments for a presentation copy, and of contenting the expectant author, at the least possible sacrifice of his own time. "It is easy for me," he said, "to estimate *ex ungue leonem*;" and he then proceeded to comment upon some advice which Du Plessis had offered to him in the preface, that he should exchange the pen for the sword, in order to dislodge Antichrist from his strong-hold. The sentiments which James expressed are altogether in unison with the title of *the Pacific*, which he so ardently coveted. He inquired from what portion of Scripture, or from what part of the doctrine or example of the primitive Church, especially during its greatest purity, Du Plessis could furnish sufficient authority to justify him in making offensive war for the sake of religion against any other prince or potentate, secular or ecclesiastical. His single powers, he added, were inadequate to such a struggle; and in these latter times, he had no reason to expect that miracles would be worked in his behalf. But if, during the course of his life, it should please God, at any future moment, to unseal the eyes of other monarchs and princes, so that they should accomplish the Apocalyptic prophecy of the ten kings, by a union for the destruction of the Beast, then indeed he would not show himself last in the holy band. Meantime, he would not omit to exhort all those princes and churches who had already come out of Babylon, to a firm mutual confederacy; so that, laying aside useless and injurious controversies, they may defend themselves against the machinations of Satan, and Antichrist his lieutenant; a task in which he doubted not that

he should continue to receive co-operation from Du Plessis.*

In the autumn of this year occurred the demise of the Duke of Mayenne, who, ^{Oct. 3.} from the time of his submission, had lived in retirement and tranquillity.† The young king's education was conducted with great severity of discipline as to the outward ordinances of religion. The unhappy boy was whipped for having neglected to say his prayers;‡ and he was kept so long at confession by Father Cotton, that on quitting the Jesuit's oratory he was obliged to take to his bed from fatigue; yet on the afternoon of the same day he was carried to hear a tedious sermon, during which he fell asleep from sheer exhaustion. His governor awakened him, and sparing the rod on this occasion, contented himself by asking him, "why he had forgotten to bring his pillow?"§

The XXth National Synod, || which assembled at Privas in the following May, ^{1612.} ^{May 14.} displayed considerable heat in its outset. The dissensions at Saumur were still fresh in remembrance, and great mutual distrust appears to have prevailed. The court had ^{July 4.} issued letters-patent, declaratory of pardon to all the Huguenots by whom any provincial political assemblies had been convened since the last national assembly at Saumur. This instrument was rejected by the deputies with expressions of surprise and indignation. They affirmed their right, as established by the edict, to summon and to attend their assemblies at will; and protesting their loyalty, they

* From Theobald's, Oct. 7, 1611. Tom. xi. p. 309.

† *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. ii. p. 155, contains an account of his last illness. He died with piety and resignation.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iv. p. 97. After his governor had thus punished him, by order of the queen-mother, he was carried to her apartment, where at his entrance she rose up ceremoniously. The child observed readily enough that he would be content with less respect, provided they would give him less whipping also.

§ *Id.* p. 224.

|| Quick, p. 347, &c.

at the same time refused the letters of pardon (the acceptance of which would be an admission of criminality), and disavowed any of their brethren, who might have asked for or consented to their promulgation. More than implications were then thrown out, that the Dukes de Bouillon and Lesdiguières were consulting their private interests and particular resentments; and they were urged to hold a firmer correspondence and a sincerer intelligence with Sully, Rohan, Soubize, La Force, and Du Plessis.

Notwithstanding these exhortations to amity, before the lapse of many months from the close of this synod, a feud between the Dukes of Bouillon and of Rohan very nearly involved the whole kingdom in open hostilities. The former, careless of the injury which might accrue to the general weal, provided he diminished the power of his rival, lent himself to an intrigue by which the court hoped to wrest the important town of St. Jean d'Angely from the government of Rohan. Rohan, however, forewarned that the re-election of a mayor altogether opposed to his interests was contemplated, speedily repaired to the town, and frustrated the design. The queen regent, irritated at this disappointment, committed the wife, mother, and daughter of Rohan to the Bastille, proclaimed the duke himself a rebel, and directed an armed force against St. Jean. The wisdom and moderation of Du Plessis preserved him from entanglement in this pernicious broil; but the province of Saintonge, alarmed at the menaced occupation of one of its strongest cautionary fortresses, convoked at La Rochelle a meeting of its *circle* or council of the five adjoining provinces.

Sept. 5. Hence arose a fresh cause for dissatisfaction; and La Rochelle itself became for a while a scene of popular tumult, in consequence of a similar attempted interference by the court in the

election of the city magistrate.* When the queen, who had miscalculated her power, showed herself prepared for concession, the Duke of Rohan, on the other hand, unhappily increased his demands; but the Rochellois wisely determined not to become abettors of a private quarrel; and the duke, fearing that their example might affect the remainder of his followers, assented to a compromise. The royal authority was formally acknowledged^{1613.} in St. Jean, by the reception of a commissioner for a few days, after which its government reverted to the hands of its ancient seigneur.

While the ambition of the great thus nearly re-kindled civil war at St. Jean d'Angely and La Rochelle, the flagrant misconduct of an humble individual occasioned fierce commotion at Nîmes. Jeremie Ferrier, a minister, and divinity professor in that city, had long courted distinction, with little regard to the correctness of the path by which it might be attained. In the vexatious dispute concerning Antichrist, he had been especially forward; maintaining, in public theses, that the reigning pontiff was the prophetic monster foretold by St. John, and being the chief instrument through whose pertinacity that most offensive tenet was inserted in the Confession of Faith. Notwithstanding an express injunction of the Synod of St. Maixant,† that professors of theology should never act as deputies either in general assemblies or at court, Ferrier had assumed both those characters, in which, by quickness of parts and fluency of speech, he had attracted some attention from the agents of government. Ambition rendered him easily venal, and it was not long before he sold himself to the court, and excited suspicion among his brethren. Frequent absences from his pastoral care and his theo-

* *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. ii. p. 476.

† Ch. 6. § 7. p. 376.

logical chair at Nîmes, while he was engaged in political intrigues in the capital,* had exposed him to ecclesiastical censure; and in order to escape from a city justly offended with him, he accepted a vacant appointment in the church at Paris, where it was thought that his wavering conduct might be more easily observed. The superior vigilance of the ministers among whom he was there placed, soon rendered him apprehensive of entire detection in his treachery; and abandoning his new charge, without any communication with the ecclesiastical authorities, he returned uninvited to his professorship at Nîmes.

These delinquencies had called down a sharp censure from the recent synod at Privas; and even if we hesitate to approve that despotism which claimed the power of permanently restraining a minister to a cure from which he was anxious to withdraw, it must be admitted that there were sufficiently heavy charges of another nature against Ferrier to justify the sentence which he received. He had not only "quitted the church of Paris without leave from it first obtained, contrary to the promise made by him at his admission into the ministry there, that he would always continue in their service;" but he had been guilty of many "miscarriages and sins," both as pastor and professor, and in his management of civil matters; and had appropriated to his own private use an undue and very considerable share of the moneys of the university.† On these grounds, he was prohibited from attending any political assemblies during six years;‡ and, "out of kindness to

* The Church of Geneva, in a letter to the Synod of Tonnois, attributes the fall and "deprivation" of Ferrier entirely to "his pragmatistical intermeddling with mundane affairs;" on which account it takes occasion to enter upon an interminable homily against the secularity of ministers.

† More than 3000 livres. Quick, p. 358.

‡ From one of the acts of the Synod of Vitre in 1617 (ch. viii. § 8. p. 492), it appears that in consequence of "the present necessity of the

him, and that the honour of his ministry may not be blasted," he was instructed to remove from Nîsmes to a cure in some other province.*

Ferrier, however, was still warmly supported in Nîsmes; and a deputation of high municipal authorities from that city most earnestly and importunately entreated the synod to rescind both clauses of this sentence. When the assembly persisted in their first determination, the spokesman of the citizens "renewed with great vehemency his desires, adding very injurious words full of menaces." He was followed by a second orator "with discourses full of arrogance and threats," with a protestation of appeal to another synod; and that "let this do what it pleased, they would never part with Monsieur Ferrier, but that he should continue to exercise his ministry both at Nîsmes and in the province also." The deputies, justly offended at this contempt of their authority, decreed that Ferrier should be provided with a church elsewhere, and that if he presumed to officiate either at Nîsmes or within the province, he should from that very instant be suspended.

Ferrier undertook a cure at Montelimar to which he was nominated by the synod, with apparent willingness, and a show of contrition for his past contumacy. Meantime, however, he had privately solicited from the regency the charge of counsellor in the presidial at Nîsmes; and he had procured letters from the court so peremptory, that the magistrates, in spite of a protest from the consistory, felt or feigned themselves compelled to agree to his immediate admission. The Church was not backward in asserting its violated rights; and a synod of ministers and elders, assembled for the purpose from the neighbouring consistories, pronounced an

times," the prohibition of the Synod of St. Malxant had never been rigidly observed.

* Ch. vii. § 16. p. 356.

excommunication, of which we shall notice some of the leading clauses, as illustrative of those formulæ in the Calvinistic discipline.*

By this instrument, Ferrier was declared to have neglected all acknowledgment of "God's singular mercy and benignity, and of the gentleness and clemency of his judges;" to have passed over without notice "his great and heinous offences, though God saw them, the Church observed them, and the world cried out against them."—"Instead of humbling himself, he waxed more fierce and fiery, he kicked against the pricks, he hardened his heart against the voice of God speaking to him. He hath multiplied and increased his sins, seeking sanctuaries for his rebellion from the world, and protection by it in his enterprises; following the train and lure of his own lusts, and loving this present world, he would rather be a slave to the mammon of unrighteousness than serve God and His Church, and betaking himself to wicked and unworthy courses, he hath refused to be reformed, and hateth discipline and correction, scorning and trampling under foot all church order. He hath most licentiously inveighed against, and satirically lampooned the ecclesiastical assemblies; he hath let fly the worst of calumnies against the servants of God, generally and particularly, in public and private, by word of mouth, by pen and writing; he threw himself wilfully and wittingly upon temptations and into the snares of the devil; he became his own seducer, and, like the devil, endeavoured to seduce others. He hath, by his ungodly comportments, scandalized those that are without, and such as are within; he hath attempted mischief to the Church of God, for which the Lord Jesus has shed his most precious blood."—"He would not be judged of God, nor by

* Excommunication was regulated by the Vth National Synod, the IId of Paris, in 1566 (Quick, p. 57), and a more precise form was promulgated by the XXIIIrd Synod, of Alex, in 1620. Ch. x. *Id.* vol. ii. p. 36.

the men of God ; he hath cast himself into a contumacious and audacious rebellion, into the most injurious and excessive insolences ; he hath published himself guilty of a most notorious and horrible perjury, totally deserting the sacred ministry, having rejected all the summons and invitations unto repentance made him for a whole year together, by divers Church assemblies, in divers places, and at divers times, by many most excellent servants of God, who cordially and industriously laboured after his conversion and reformation : he hath despised the long-suffering, patience, and forbearance of the Church, and never heeded those public admonitions which, according to the discipline, were used to reclaim him, and bring him back again unto his duty. But he persists obstinately in his sins, in his disobediences and rebellions, and hardens himself in his impenitency ; insomuch, that we must speak it, though not without tears and groans, that he hath lost his privilege and right of burgess-ship in the city and family of God." For these causes he was denounced to be " a scandalous man, a person incorrigible, impenitent, and ungovernable ; and as such, having first invocated the holy name of the living and true God, and in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the conduct of the Holy Ghost, and with authority from the Church, we have cast, and do now cast and throw him out of the society of the faithful, that he may be delivered up unto Satan, declaring that he ought not to be reckoned, reputed, nor numbered as a member of our Lord Jesus Christ, nor of his Church ; but that he be counted and esteemed as a publican and heathen, as a profane person and contemptuous despiser of God ; exhorting all the faithful, and enjoining them, in the name of our Lord and Master, no more to hold any conversation with this son of Belial, but to estrange themselves, and be separated from him ; waiting, that if in any wise this judgment and sepa-

ration, serving for the destruction of his flesh, may contribute to the salvation of his soul, and strike into his conscience a terror of that great and dreadful day, in which the Lord will come, with thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon the ungodly, and to convince the wicked of all their impieties, sinful designs, and abominable works enterprised by them against his Church.

"Cursed be he who doeth the work of the Lord negligently. Amen!

"If any one love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema maranatha. Amen!

*"Come, Lord Jesus Christ! Even so, come quickly! Amen!"**

Undeterred by this sentence, Ferrier proceeded to take his seat in the presidial.

July 14.
1614. On his return from the council-house, he was attacked by the rabble, and took refuge under the roof of a magistrate; but the tumult, swollen, as often happens, by some petty and unforeseen accidents, did not subside till the house and furniture of the ejected minister had been pillaged and destroyed. Three days of agitation elapsed before his retreat could be effected from the city; and the riot, sedulously magnified by the enemies of the Huguenots, was represented to government, not as a casual burst of indignation against a profligate individual, but as part of an organized conspiracy against the established Church. The president, Jeannin, remonstrated with Du Plessis in terms of strong disapprobation.† "Your excommunications," he said, "have become too frequent; and, for the most part, they have not any other object than to blacken in public opinion those who testify affection to the king's service. In our religion," he added, "we have remedies which we can oppose to ec-

* Quick, p. 448.

† Du Plessis characterizes the letter as *fort aspre*. tom. xii. p. 387.

clesiastical, even to papal censures; and unless similar weapons are provided against your ministers also, the licentious abuses which they commit in these matters will prove injurious to the state.”*

Du Plessis replied by reprobating the tumult, but, at the same time, by defending the principle of excommunication. Upon the particular instrument in question he hesitated to pronounce, because it had not reached his hands; but he was credibly informed that it was founded on the commission of enormities which rendered any man, and *à fortiori* any minister, unworthy of Church-fellowship. He then argued that excommunication in all ages had formed a part of ecclesiastical discipline—that the power of inflicting it had been confirmed to the Reformed by edict, and had been frequently exercised heretofore; that to curtail that power would infringe the liberties of the Church; that it was too well regulated and too strongly intrenched by forms to admit of abuse; that synods had never issued any ecclesiastical censure, unless for the suppression of heresies, schisms, notorious sins, public scandals or profaneness, having utterly abstained from any cognizance of political matters; and finally, that, on general principles, the censurers were more likely to be right than the censured, because no confederacy can have pleasure in a voluntary diminution of its own members.†

The presidial of Nismes was transferred for a short time to Beaucaire, in consequence of this transaction; but the punishment was soon remitted at the earnest petition of the aggrieved. The Synod of Tonneins, held in the following year, enrolled Ferrier in the list of deposed and apostate ministers, in terms brief, indeed, but conveying in the few words employed a most unfavourable portrait;‡ and he

* Tom. xii. p. 317.

† Tom. xii. p. 333.

‡ “Jeremie Ferrier, a tall fellow, black and curled hair, of an olive-greenish complexion, wide, open nostrils, great lips, censured and sus-

survived for many years in open profession of Romanism.

The Jesuits maintained their influence at court during the regency; but it seems probable, from an amusing incident related by one of Du Plessis' correspondents, that they by no means increased in general popularity. In the summer of 1613, the *Hôtel de Monnoye* at Paris was assigned to their use, notwithstanding a vehement opposition on the part of its original owners. In the course of some repairs necessary to fit this building for their occupation, a window, which had long been closed up, was opened; and its painted glass was found to contain a bitter satire upon their order. A number of foxes, habited as Jesuits, were represented devouring crucifixes and images, which they had pillaged from an adjoining church; while others were engaged in mounting ladders to an escalade of the sacred building, scratching and biting their opponents. Beneath was painted the following *quatrain* :—

“ *Soutils Renards et grands mangeurs d'Images
Pour hault monter contrefont les bigots;
Et puis quand sont montés sur leurs ergots,
Au pauvre monde ils font ung grand dommage.*”

The discovery is said to have attracted much attention; and the inhabitants of the capital flocked as in procession to see the painting, and to enjoy the confusion of the holy fathers, who had unwittingly revealed their own shame.*

1614. In some discontents which not long afterward occasioned the retirement of the princes of the blood from court, the Duke of Rohan participated, but he was unable to obtain the support of the Huguenots as a body; and his single

pected for his lewd carriage and wicked manner of living, he hath since deserted the ministry, and was excommunicated out of the Church, from which also he hath since apostatised.”—Quick, p. 429.

* M. Marbault à M. Du Plessis, July 13, 1613. tom. xii. p. 290.

efforts only so far tended to give a formidable appearance to the party which he espoused, as to hasten the queen's desire for temporary accommodation, and to increase her permanent resentment. Almost simultaneously with the conclusion of the treaty of St. Menehould, which prevented this dispute from ripening into action, the XXIst National Synod was assembled at Tonneins. Its acts were marked with an unusual spirit of moderation; but a project of comprehension which it entertained was perhaps distinguished far more by charity and simplicity than by any very practical acquaintance with the disposition of mankind.

It seems that in some letters addressed by James I., by the Church of Geneva, and by the Duke of Bouillon to the deputies, particular allusion was made to the controversy on the hypostatic union, at that time raging between Du Moulin and Tilenus; and much hope was expressed that the Synod would find an expedient for its peaceable adjustment. The King of Great Britain did not avow any opinion on the subject in debate. Goulart and Diodati, on the part of the Genevese pastors, were naturally anxious for the justification of their brother Du Moulin; nevertheless they admitted that the quarrel was not on a fundamental doctrine, and they discreetly held that it was by no means convenient to redeem the honour of a private dispute, "by letting in a swarm of perilous and curious questions, together with horrible scandals and scruples, perplexing and tormenting conscience."* The Duke de Bouillon, who had invited Tilenus to his college in Sedan, and who therefore esteemed himself *in loco patroni*, regretted the "little differences" which he had done all in his power to suppress; hoped that two personages so considerable for their profession and merit would hereafter employ the gifts God had bestowed upon

* Quick, p. 442.

them more to the profit of the church, and pledged himself that Tilenus should pay the greatest deference to the counsels of the deputies.*

Before the letter of the King of England was read to the assembly, it was wisely determined that a copy should be transcribed, and sent to the deputy-general resident at court, in order to prevent any misapprehension that the communication regarded state affairs. It was then resolved, that, although "certain terms and modes of speech that were uncouth and improper had been imputed unto Du Moulin" (upon the justice of which charge the Synod, not having inspected the original papers, refused to offer any opinion); nevertheless that his confession of faith was, "for its substance, orthodox, and wide enough from all suspicion of Eutychianism, Nestorianism, Samosetanism, and Ubiquitism." In the end, as the quietest mode of extinguishing the controversy, the deputies called in and suppressed all the printed books and MSS. which had been issued on either side, committing them, not to the flames, which might have been considered an affront, but to the custody of Du Plessis at Saumur, that "so the remembrance of this contention for ever be buried in oblivion." How far Du Plessis was gratified at being nominated guardian of this combustible deposit does not appear; but no fitter agent than that most estimable and exemplary man could be found for the execution of the ulterior design of effecting an amicable interview between the disputants.†

David Hume, a Scotsman and a pastor in Lower Guienne, who had lately visited his native country, was the bearer of the above named letter from King

* Quick, p. 446.

† In the acts of the following Synod, at Vitre, in 1617, ch. 5. §. 7. p. 482. thanks are voted to Du Plessis for having superintended this interview, "from which there resulted a good accord between the parties, who were mutually reconciled in points of doctrine." Quick significantly adds, "however, afterward, Tilenus deserted the communion of our church, and died in that of the Arminians."

James; and he had been instructed moreover to urge by word of mouth the earnest desire of the royal theologian for the establishment of a general confederacy among all the Christian churches which had shaken off the papal yoke. The Synod cordially embraced this proposition, and the xviiiith chapter of its acts relates altogether to expedients by which the differences already existing, or which may hereafter arise, can most fittingly be composed. The first step deemed necessary was the concurrence of all the Protestant princes, among whom the primacy was assigned to James, "as being the chiefest and most potent monarch, of a most clear and piercing judgment, and most affectionately inclined heretunto." It was then proposed that two divines should be sent respectively from England, the French churches, and the cantons of Swisserland; and one or two from each of the Protestant German princes; Zealand being mentioned as the most commodious spot for their conference.* On their meeting they were to avoid disputes, to compare their several confessions; and out of them to frame one common to all, "in which divers points may be omitted, the knowledge whereof is not necessary to our everlasting happiness." The controversy moved by Piscator, and the subtle opinions lately broached by Arminius about free will, the saints' perseverance, and predestination, are specifically mentioned as deserving exclusion, "it being a most certain truth that all the errors in religion have sprung hence, that men would either *know* too much, or *have* too much; that is to say, either out of curiosity, or from avarice and ambition. 'Tis this last sin that hath corrupted and ruined the Church of Rome. But yet Satan doth use his utmost endeavours by the first to corrupt ours. However, could we but gain author-

* Because, in the quaint language of Quick, it is, "as it were, the foredoor of England, and easily to be abor'd by the respective messengers of the princes and churches." p. 434.

ity and power over ourselves so as to ignore divers matters, and to rest contented with points only necessary to salvation, we should have gone a great and good part of the way, and made a considerable progress in our work of union.”*

Excellent no doubt as were the intentions of these pious and amiable men, they appear nevertheless to have displayed an egregious unacquaintance with human nature. As well might it be expected that the inert atoms of Epicurus should jumble themselves together into an orderly and systematic creation by the mere accident of juxtaposition, as that a creed adapted to all Protestant Christendom should arise in consequence of the deputies of each religious profession into which it was split, having “laid before them on the table the several confessions of the Reformed churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Swisserland, and the Palatinate.” How could points which each ardently cherished, although little in proportion to their real value, be omitted in the common symbol, if debate were prohibited? How were honest conviction and sincere agreement ever to be obtained, without a discussion of conflicting opinions? and if that discussion should once begin, which result did general principles and ordinary experience foretel—a quiet subsidence into equalized coalition and combination, or a violent breaking asunder, caused by heat, effervescence, and explosion?

On articles of faith the Synod anticipated little difficulty; and they next proceeded to consider in what manner they might most easily reconcile differences of opinion and practice on “the quillets of ceremonies and church government.” And here agreement was to be obtained by the most unbounded tolerance of disagreement. Each party was to be allowed the free usage of its own peculiar

* *Id. ibid.*

habits, on condition that it should neither judge nor condemn its dissentient brethren. Care was to be taken that the deputies should be men "peaceable, grave, fearing God, prudent, and not contentious," and vested with the fullest powers by their respective constituents. No step, however, was to be taken by them till after direct communication with the King of Great Britain, and submission to his advice and authority; and so implicit was the deference enjoined, that it was recommended that "as soon as the conference shall be ended, the whole body of this assembly should pass over to England, to make tender of their duty to his majesty, and to thank him, and to receive his sage advice about the means of reducing into practice their synodical and pacific counsels and conclusions."

A second assembly was to be held within the same year as the first, to receive a report of the transactions of each deputy in his own province, and of the good or ill will with which the project had been there accepted; and to this new meeting some pastors and doctors "of the Lutheran way" should be invited. How summarily the knotty points of difference with that body were dismissed, may be collected from some of the following statements. The ceremonies of the Lutherans, it is said, "may be excused and tolerated, because they be matters rather of decency than of necessity; as also some certain opinions about predestination, concerning which a special article may be framed in our common confession, which *all* without difficulty would approve of, provided always that curiosity might be avoided. And this was done in the confession of Augsburg, which speaks exceeding soberly, and expressly declines the question." Melancthon, indeed, with his usual prudent avoidance of all stumbling-blocks and causes of offence, wholly omitted predestination in the confession of Augsburg; and so also did the wise framers of the Saxon

confession: but how, it may be asked, if the Calvinistic Synod projected "a special article" concerning it, could the question be declined? or what reasonable expectation could be entertained that any article could ever be constructed upon it, of "which *all* without difficulty would approve?"

After a notice of the points touching the eucharist which are common to all the Reformed, and of those which are peculiar to the Lutherans, it was suggested that a declaration should be obtained from both parties that in those matters about which they cannot agree, "they do not thereupon condemn and damn each other, and that no more books about the controversy be hereafter written;" that a mutual participation also of the sacrament, according to each other's usage, should take place at appointed seasons. This indeed was to overleap at a single bound the tall barriers which had so long separated the believers in Christ's ubiquity from the Sacramentarians. It is almost needless to remark, that for the performance of this feat the deputies must have calculated upon a suppleness and flexibility of temper neither before nor since exhibited in the course of ecclesiastical history. Yet, however sanguine might be their expectation of thus promoting union among themselves, however charitable their resolution afterward to seek peace and to ensue it with Rome, their hopes manifestly drooped as to the successful result of the latter attempt. "If it should please God to bless this holy and laudable design with success, which would be a crown of eternal glory to his majesty of Great Britain, and to the princes joined with him therein, then would it be a convenient time to solicit the Romish Church unto a reconciliation, which, whether it may be really effected, or is at all feasible, seems as yet very doubtful, because the Pope will admit of no council or conference at which he may not preside." Strange that men should be so blind and so clear-

sighted at the same moment, and that similar objects should be present to their eyes in forms so dissimilar from each other!

How futile were all these projects we shall perceive by-and-by: and we now return to the connecting links of our history. The king, on attaining his fourteenth year, assumed the outward privileges of majesty; solemnly confirmed the Edict of Nantes; and convened a meeting of the States-General, remarkable as being the last assembly of that distinguished, but most useless council, till it was summoned by Louis XVI. in 1789, as a precursor of the revolution which deprived him of his crown and life. The government, however, still virtually remained in the hands of the queen, or rather of the Maréchal d'Ancre; and in the course of the discontents occasioned by their rule, some of the Huguenots, and especially the deputies of a political assembly transferred from Grenoble to Nîmes, hastily concluded a treaty with the Prince of Condé, who was preparing to appear in arms.* Sully and Du Plessis laboured to avert the consequences of this headlong step, and an accommodation between all parties, discussed in some previous conferences at Loudun, was finally confirmed by an edict published at Blois.

Oct. 15.

1616.
May.

But the jealousy excited by Concini prevented any long continuance of repose; and the queen, in order to preserve the ascendancy of her favourite, resolved upon the bold and unexpected measure of arresting Condé. The committal of the first prince of the blood to the Bastille was the signal for a very general movement. During three days, the Hôtel of d'Ancre in the capital was exposed to pillage, which the government was too much alarmed to restrain. The Reformed in many

Sept. 1.

* This treaty was carried by a majority of only two voices. Benoit, tom. ii. p. 200.

places exhibited symptoms of revolt, and proceeded to the actual occupation of Sancerre; always, indeed, claimed by them as one of the cautionary towns, but which had hitherto been preserved to the crown by the superior force of its seigneur. The queen, unwilling to increase the number of her enemies, temporized when an appeal was presented to her council, and the Huguenots were authorized for the present to retain their garrison.

D'Ancre, nevertheless, after a time, was everywhere triumphant; the tumults occasioned by Condé's imprisonment were suppressed, and the discontented nobles who had taken arms were menaced with destruction. But the Florentine was destined to add another name to the list of those spoiled children of fortune, who have perished after attaining the summit of power; and his career was terminated by a deed of blood, planned with not less deliberation, and executed with not less treachery, than the murder of Guise at Blois. The young king, while apparently intent only on boyish pastimes, was profoundly chagrined at the thralldom to which he had been reduced by his mother; and although too imbecile and timid to shake away her yoke by a manly assertion of his own independent royalty, he lent a willing ear to the promptings of an evil counsellor, who showed him darker means of extrication.

Charles Albert de Luines,* whose claim to gentle blood is doubtful, and whose original poverty is certain, held some unimportant office about the king's person; and had established himself in the young prince's confidence, by means little likely to give umbrage to the jealous eye of the minister. It is said that De Luines presented his master with two magpies, trained to the pursuit of small birds, after

* Howel, writing from Paris, Dec. 15, 1632, has given a very clear account of the rise of De Luines. *Familiar Letters*, b. 1. §. 2. lett. 22. p. 111.

the manner of falcons; and that Louis, enamoured of the gift, passed whole days in this ignoble sport. The Maréchal d'Ancre, in order to bind D'Luines to his interest, had appointed him governor of Amboise; but the dissembler knew the influence which he had acquired, coveted far higher power, and resolved to establish himself on the overthrow of his patron. Whether Louis consented to the assassination, or designed no more than the arrest of Concini, appears uncertain;* but the agents of De Luines, who were employed to secure ^{1617.} their prisoner, pistoled him in the court of ^{April 25.} the Louvre,† under a pretence that he had offered resistance to the royal order. Vitry, captain of the body-guard, and the chief instrument of this foul murder, was soon afterward rewarded with the high dignity of Maréchal of France.

The rabble of Paris glutted their vengeance on the remains of the fallen minister, by outrages which, however disgraceful to human nature, it is to be feared have been repeated in our own times, in the streets of the same capital.‡ The legal tribunals, equally to their dishonour, dragged his widow

* D'Estrées, who speaks favourably of D'Ancre, "naturellement estoit bien faisant—sa conversation estoit douce et aisée," adds, "on a souvent ouy dire au Roy qu'il n'avoit pas entendu qu'on le deût tuer."—*Mém. d'Etat*, p. 25. De Brienne thinks the king was entrapped into a conditional assent. "Sa majesté ne lui (Vitry) commanda pas de tuer le Maréchal d'Ancre, mais seulement de s'assurer de sa personne: et sur ce qu'il demanda avec Luine ce qu'il y auroit à faire supposé qu'il se mit en defense, il fit tomber le Roy dans la piege qu'il lui tendoit, qui estoit de tuer ce Maréchal si cela arrivoit."—Tom. i. p. 71. Nevertheless, Du Pleisis in a letter written on the day after the assassination, states that Louis on hearing that D'Ancre was killed, so far from expressing any dissatisfaction, joyfully exclaimed, "*Maintenant je suis Roy.*" *Mém. et Corresp.* 4to. tom. iii. p. 1121.

† The precise spot is noticed by Dupuy. "C'etoit à l'endroit du Pont donnant du Louvre du côté de la barriere Septentrionale."—*Hist. des plus illustres Favoris*. tom. ii. p. 159.

‡ More than one instance of cannibalism similar to that which outraged the remains of D'Ancre, is authentically recorded during the massacres of the French revolution. It may be enough to specify the atrocious circumstances accompanying the murder of MM. Berthier and Foulon, in 1789.

to the scaffold as a traitress and a sorceress, and burned her headless trunk to ashes, after subjecting her to revolting and wanton indignities.* That D'Ancre and Galigai were blameless no one will affirm; for what favourite ever attained a like fearful eminence with unsullied hands? But who will venture also to affirm that they received *justice*. The ignorant and vulgar hated them, because they bore authority; the mortified nobles envied them, because they were favourites; and a needy and profuse court was little likely to hesitate in admitting their guilt, when its establishment secured a confiscation of property amounting to nearly two millions of livres.†

The fall of Concini involved that of the whole faction of the queen, who was *permitted* to retire from court, and transferred in reality as a prisoner to the castle of Blois.‡ A general amnesty allowed the insurgents to shelter themselves under the pretext that they had risen only against the late minister; and for a short period the malcontents appear to have forgotten that the wealth and the power of the favourite had, in fact, only changed hands; and that De Luines, perhaps the more unworthy of

* See, among others, the search for her jewels mentioned by Dupin, tom. ii. p. 222. The *Arrêt* against her is printed by Bernard. *Hist. de Louis XIII.* liv. iii. p. 83. Vassor, liv. x. has many curious particulars relative to the Concini.

† "In generale l'odiavano i popoli e l'abborrivano i grandi, gli amici stessi della corona detestavano le sue massime."—Nani. *Hist. Ven.* lib. iii. *apud. Istor. Venez.* tom. viii. p. 142.

‡ Appearances were saved in this transaction, as we learn from Bentivoglio, at that time Nuncio in France. "La Regina, con somma prudenza, havendo saputa non meno hora deporre che prima sostenere il maneggio del Regno, hà giudicata miglio de ritirarsi a Blois, e di stare in qual luogo per alcun tempo."—To Manfredi, Ambassador at Ferrara, dated Paris, June 8, 1617. (*Lettere*, p. 61.) Bentivoglio, in the same letter, expresses himself with very right-minded feeling respecting this murder. He had foreseen that the arrogance and ambition of the favourite must ultimately lead to his destruction; but the "sorte di casi tragici e fieri" by which it was accompanied, deeply moved him; "et io confesso," he adds, "che sentirei troppo horrore se in questa Lettera volessi hora fare la relatione; potendo pur troppo bastarmi quello che già provai quando si atrocamente qui ne vidi seguir lo spettacolo."

the two, might become equally odious with his predecessor.

The state of public feeling on this point is strongly marked in the letters of Du Plessis; and for the first time in the whole series of that exemplary man's correspondence, are we unable to respond to his language. He congratulates Louis himself upon having struck "this blow of his majority, which will manifest both abroad and at home that France has in truth a king."* After employing similar words to M. de Seaux, he uses expressions which seem to imply that he was by no means free from the vulgar and unworthy prejudice excited by the deceased minister's foreign birth; and he then continues:—"Assuredly I am not fond of blood; but the insolence exceeded all bounds, and the disgrace was insupportable by a nation like ours, which has always surpassed others in nice feelings of generous honour."—"The king," he writes to another friend, "has so demeaned himself in this action, as to prove that he has long concealed manly courage under boyish trifling."† Louis, in reply, was not backward in ascribing the murder which he had committed or connived at, to a Providential agency. "God," he says, in words which we almost fear to transcribe, "who inspired me with the resolution which I adopted on this occasion, has given it also the consequences which I proposed to myself, and which all good men so earnestly desired."‡

Instructions, stamped with a like character, were offered by Du Plessis to the XXIIId National Synod, convened at Vitré; and they were acted upon by the deputies, who countermanded a fast, "because it had pleased

* *Un coup de Majorité.* See the letter to the king in *La Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. iv. p. 465. To M. de Seaux, "ce solenne acte de Majorité. *Mém. et Corresp.* 4to. tom. iii. p. 1125.

† *Id.* p. 1136.

‡ *Id.* p. 1229.

God to turn away his wrath, and to give us manifest tokens of his goodness."* As soon as the assembly was formed and settled, the first thing they voted was an address unto his majesty, "to testify the joy of all our churches for those many and wonderful blessings which God hath graciously vouchsafed him."† The language of this assembly very ill accords with the sentiments which a Christian synod would be expected to entertain respecting a positive murder. The deputies were instructed to testify to the king "the extraordinary joy and thankfulness of your said subjects both to our God and your majesty, for that the kingdom is in peace, your authority in great splendour, and your sacred person at full liberty; and this by that wise and generous resolution, which you have undertook and executed by a just punishment of the grand disturber of your kingdom and oppressor of your authority; and, which was worst of all, of one who had exposed your sacred person to the most imminent and apparent dangers. This action of your majesty was altogether extraordinary; it was an enterprise purely Divine and miraculous; for it turned in a moment the storm into a calm, wars into peace, our fright into assurance, our perils into security, and tyranny into a most righteous and rightful government."‡ How seldom does adulation throw its glance half a dozen steps onward from the spot on which it happens to be standing!§ The synod exhibited but little foresight when it bestowed its praise thus rashly.

The other transactions of this synod were devoid

* Ch. ix. § p. 7. 499. † Ch. ii. § 5. p. 478. ‡ p. 490.

§ A despatch from Sir William Beecher to James I., undated, but from internal evidence, written not long after the murder of D'Ancre, does not present a very favourable picture of the condition of the Reformed. Speaking of the new ministers, he says, "They utterly neglect all the alliances of our religion abroad, and care not how inconsiderately they oppress it at home."—*Cabala*, p. 118.

of any general interest,* with the exception of a brief notice which implied a failure in the vague scheme of comprehension proposed at Tonneins. All the provinces now "declared what had been done by them as to this matter;" but either what had been done was inefficient, or the favour of the King of Great Britain had waxed cold; for, in continuation, the assembly did "thereupon judge it expedient that we should make a halt, till such time as those who had first made their overtures did prosecute the offer with more vigour."†

Soon after the dissolution of this synod, a controversy arose, in which the most eminent character of the times now approaching engaged himself; more, as it may seem, in order to create a persuasion that he was abstracted from politics than from any fitness or inclination for theological inquiries. Among the changes which De Luines had found it necessary to introduce into the royal household, in order to diminish the influence of the queen, was the substitution of Arnoux, another Jesuit, for Cotton the former confessor. The new keeper of the king's conscience made an early display of virulence against the Reformed, by accusing them, in a sermon preached at court, of having falsely cited Scripture in the margin of their Confession of Faith. A list of their pretended forgeries was handed to Du Moulin, who, with the assistance of his three colleagues at Charenton, published a *Defence* of the

* Some particulars connected with typography may be learned from a contract entered into with a printer at Saumur, for undertaking the works of Chamier. They were to be printed "on fair and large paper, which will hold ink without washing, such as that on which the Lord du Plessis his Book on the Eucharist was printed, with as large a margin, and weighing fifteen pounds a ream or thereaway; that the character shall be such as that little Cicero printed by Colomiés; that the letter shall be new founded with which he begins the work, and to be renewed in the progress thereof, in case occasion do require it, and that the Consistory contracting with him do judge it needful; that the stamps for the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew quotations shall be all new and proportionable to the work."—Ch. viii. § 24. p. 495.

† Ch. ix. § 6. p. 499.

Confession.* This tract was dedicated to the king, in a letter which most unsparingly exposed the Jesuits. After much discussion in the lower courts, and gradual appeals till the cause was brought before the royal council itself, the Jesuits obtained an edict suppressing the book of their antagonist; inflicting penalties upon all those who should read or even possess it; and prohibiting for the future any dedication to the king, unless his express license should have been previously obtained. The dispute occasioned numerous publications; one of which issued from the pen of Armand Jean Du Plessis, at that time Bishop of Luçon. The see held by this ambitious youth had been procured for him at an early age by family interest;† and the favour of the Maréchal d'Ancre had soon afterward introduced him at court, where, at the moment of his patron's assassination, he held the important office of secretary of state. De Luines at first permitted the ex-minister's residence with the queen at Blois; but, ere long, perceiving his commanding talents, and apprehensive of his intrigues, he enjoined his removal to a far more distant abode at Avignon. During his retirement, the bishop produced two works, a *Reply* to the Pastors of Charenton, and a *Manual of Christian Principles*, from neither of which essays, it is said, would much future advancement be augured, if literary merit had been the sole course by which a prelate of those days might attain distinction.‡

* In this *Defence* the ministers challenged Arnoux to produce Scriptural authorities in support of seventeen positions, "qui font le corps de la Papauté." On his refusal, Du Moulin attacked him in a pamphlet, entitled *Fuites et Evasions*, &c. 1618.

† The future Cardinal de Richelieu was born on the 5th of September, 1585, and in his 21st year was nominated to the Bishopric of Luçon, vacated by the retirement of his elder brother to a cloister. *Vie du Card. de Richelieu*, tom. i. l. i. p. 4.

‡ "La *Defense des principaux points de notre Creance, contre la Lettre des quatre-ministres de Charenton adressée au Roi.*—Instruction du Chretien." We have not been able to meet with either of the above tracts, but Aubert speaks more favourably of them than does the general

The separate privileges of the Reformed State of Bearne had hitherto been respected, notwithstanding the union of the crown of Navarre with that of France; but one of the earliest projects of the administration of De Luines was to extinguish that independent sovereignty; to confiscate the property which Jeanne d'Albret had assigned for the use of the Huguenot Church; and finally to restore the dominion of the Roman Catholic faith. The clergy strenuously advocated a measure so advantageous to their order; edicts were issued for its accomplishment; and the greater part of the year 1618* was passed in stormy discussions, arising out of the resolute opposition of the indignant Bearnois.

During these contentions a new embarrassment awaited De Luines, owing to the escape of the queen-mother from Blois. Having opened a secret correspondence with the Duke d'Espernon, who was disgusted with the court on account of the superior influence of the new favourite, she descended a ladder by night from one of the windows of the castle,† and hastening to Angoulême, soon found herself at the head of a powerful band of followers. De Luines, with great dexterity, persuaded the Bishop of Luçon to act as mediator, by the promise of using his interest at Rome

opinion which we have given in the text. *Mém. pour l'Hist. du Card. de Richelieu.* tom. ii. p. 425.

* In the autumn of this year, on the 5th of September, died the Cardinal Du Perron, who is thus characterised by Bentivoglio. "Gran perdita habbiamo fatta qui hora con la morte del Signor Cardinal de Perrona. Era l'Agostino de Francia: era uno de' maggiori ornamenti del nostro secolo; sapeva tutte le cose; e chi l'udiva in una scienza, havrebbe stimato che non avesse fatto mai altro studio che in quella sola. Sept. 22, 1618. *Lettere*, p. 75.

† A very particular account of the queen's escape is given by Aubert. Tom. i. p. 273. She was accompanied by only one of her bed-chamber women, and was obliged to creep along the fosse, carrying a casket of jewels, and a lantern, without the light of which she was afraid to enter the carriage in waiting for her. See also Bentivoglio *Lettere*, p. 139.

for a cardinal's hat;* and that wily prelate, without betraying his intercourse with the minister, soon prevailed upon his mistress to accept terms of accommodation.†

Mary de Medicis might dissemble her resentment while peace was necessary to ripen her projects of vengeance; but De Luines felt that she had been too deeply wronged to permit any hope of sincere and permanent reconciliation. In self-defence, therefore, and in order to counterbalance her party, he determined to release the Prince of Condé, who had already suffered three years' imprisonment. The measure was seasonable; the promptness of Condé‡ suggested an expedition into Normandy, in which province the queen was again assembling troops; and the treachery or the cowardice of her general, in an engagement at Pont de Cé,‡ compelled her at once to surrender at discretion, and to abandon all hopes of re-establishing her power.

Thus disengaged from a formidable enemy, the king resolved to employ his victorious army in securing the obedience of the Bearnois. He marched rapidly through Bourdeaux on Pau, and there, dealing with a people who, as we are told even by one of their friends, knew not how either to submit or to resist,§ he entirely remodelled their constitution.

* During the summer of 1619, an attempt to establish a Huguenot college at Charenton, with two classes, one of philosophy and the other of theology, was frustrated by the Sorbonne.—*Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vi. p. 289. An account of this dispute is contained in a tract, "Opposition de l'Université de Paris contre l'établissement du College de Charenton." Paris, 1619.

† *Mém. de Rohan*, l. i. p. 87.

‡ The Duke of Rohan assures us that the queen had 90,000 men in Guyenne, Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoulmois, and that the king's army did not exceed 5000 or 6000. He attributes the abandonment of the entrenchments at Pont de Cé, either to "une apprehension de peur" or "un mecontement imaginaire" on the part of Mary's commander, the Duke of Retz.—*Liv. i. p. 88*. Many details of the engagement at Pont de Cé are given in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vi. p. 331. and in the same volume, p. 338, may be found the articles of the subsequent peace.

§ "N'ayant scu obeir n'y se deffendre." *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. ii. p. 89.

The Reformed lost their power and their revenues; they were compelled to surrender their churches to the Romanists; a college of Jesuits was instituted at Pau; and the Navarrese Huguenots, instead of maintaining themselves any longer as an Established Church, were reduced to the level of a merely tolerated sect. Each party, as may be supposed, exaggerated this change according to its peculiar prejudices. The king's confessor, in a tract entitled *Le Roy en Bearne*, extolled the justice and legality of this triumph of his faith; and some Huguenots, on the other hand, collected a piteous recital of outrages, in a *Histoire Tragique de la Desolation de Bearne*. The immediate results were described with similar variation. One writer tells us, that during the opening mass, performed at Navarrin, the congregation consisted of no other persons except the king's attendants, so that the Catholic religion had been restored, not for the Bearnois, but for the walls of their church.* The papal nuncio, Bentivoglio, on the contrary, exultingly proclaimed how truth had succeeded to error, pure doctrine to pestilent teaching, religion to heresy, and faithful shepherds to hirelings; and he concluded with a declaration, that Louis XIII., by producing this revolution through his own immediate personal agency, had manifested that he possessed, not only the glorious name, but yet more, the zeal also of his sainted predecessor.†

* *Vie du Card. de Richelieu*, tom. i. p. 74, where we are told that mass was revived at Navarrin on the 19th of October, on which day, fifty years before, it had been abolished by Jeanne d'Albret. The revival in Pau is minutely described in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vi. p. 332.

† Letter to the Bishops of Lescar and of Oleron. Paris, Oct. 26, 1620, p. 112. There is another letter of congratulation to the king, of the same date, p. 119.

CHAPTER XXII.

Political Assembly at Loudun—Bentivoglio's Account of the Huguenots—XXIIIrd National Synod—Political Assembly at La Rochelle—Apostasy of Leadigueres—De Luines appointed Constable—The Assembly refuses to disperse—Treacherous Occupation of Saumur—Retirement and Character of Du Plessis Mornay—Declaration against La Rochelle and St. Jean d'Angely—Surrender of St. Jean d'Angely—Of Clairac—The Siege of Montauban raised—Death of De Luines—Tumults at Charenton and Paris—Dominic à Jesu Maria—Cruelties at Negrepelisse and St. Anthonin—Unsuccessful Siege of Montpellier—Peace of Montpellier—Elevation of Richelieu—Arrest and Release of the Duke of Rohan—XXIVth National Synod—Death of the Duke de Bouillon, and of Du Plessis Mornay—Renewal of War by La Rochelle—Heroism of some Peasants of Foix—Gallant Naval Exploit—Feelings of the English—Pennington's Expedition—England mediates Peace—XXVth National Synod—England declares War—The Duke of Buckingham's Expedition to the Isle of Rhé—La Rochelle declares War—Great Preparations for its Siege—The Mole—Famine—Meruault's Journal—The widow Prosné—Surrender of La Rochelle—Violation of the Terms—Destruction of its Independence.

SEVERAL months before this annexation of Bearne, but during the period at which it was menaced, a political assembly which had been allowed to meet at Loudun in the preceding autumn, occasioned much anxiety to the government. The deputies, as before at Saumur, refused to disperse till their memorial of grievances had received an answer; and, notwithstanding very peremptory and reiterated commands from the king, they continued their sittings from September, 1619, till the following April. Even in the end, they assented only to a *suspension*, not to a *dissolution*: and when, yielding to delusive promises of the court, they parted for a while, it was with a distinct understanding, that unless those promises were fulfilled, the same body might re-assemble without demanding fresh permission.* The bold

* Bentivoglio, p. 189, Letter to the Duke of Monteleone, June 5, 1620.

demeanour of the Huguenots on this occasion appears to have induced Bentivoglio to inquire very closely into their constitution; and he transmitted an account of them to his court, which affords a clear synopsis of their condition.

Omitting the portions which relate to the general Calvinistic discipline, to the consistories, colloquies, and synods, we shall pass at once to his description of their political ordinances. The whole kingdom, he says, is subdivided by the Huguenots into sixteen provinces, differing from the ordinary distribution:— 1. Isle of France; 2. Burgundy; 3. Normandy; 4. Britany; 5. Anjou; 6. Berri; 7. Poitou; 8. Saintonge; 9. La Rochelle; 10. Lower Guyenne; 11. Upper Languedoc and Upper Guyenne; 12. Lower Languedoc; 13. The Cévennes; 14. The Vivarez (each of the two last-named being a portion of Languedoc); 15. Dauphiny; 16. Provence. La Rochelle is esteemed a separate province in the general political assemblies, but in the national synods it holds the place of only a single Church. Bearne, although in union with some of the above-named provinces, enjoys certain especial privileges; but these, as we have just seen, were wrested from it very shortly after Bentivoglio had framed his relation. In this division, we are assured that the Huguenots have been guided by the comparative degrees of "corruption" prevalent in different parts of the kingdom. "The most infected provinces are beyond the Loire; and the worst among them are Poitou, Saintonge, Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphiné. There may be about 700 churches altogether throughout France, each possessing on an average two ministers. Assuming the population of the whole kingdom to amount to 15 millions, rather more than one million are Huguenots, all of whom, in order to avoid the confusion of sectarianism, are Calvinists by profession."

Bentivoglio charges the Huguenots with a design

(of which it is probable the French government never ceased to cherish a very reasonable jealousy) of separating themselves from the monarchy, and of establishing a distinct republic. They had long been permitted, he said, to convene a General Assembly once in three years, for the election of deputies; two of whom were to reside at court, and to watch over the execution of the royal edicts. But since the death of Henry IV. they had profited by the weakness of his successor's minority; they had summoned general councils on their own authority, and far more frequently than the law allowed; they had concentrated their sixteen provinces on the German model, into three circles, for the benefit of mutual co-operation; and, imitating the Flemings also, they had established permanent councils. Each province now furnished a council, composed of the three orders, nobles, ecclesiastics, and the *Tiers Etat*, who were elected to serve for three years. In these political meetings precedence was assigned to the noblesse; as in all ecclesiastical assemblies it was assumed, on the contrary, by the ministers. Hitherto it had been customary that the king should select the two resident deputies out of six persons named by the General Assembly; but the Huguenots now advanced a claim to the exclusive nomination of the two. In earlier times, the assembly was dissolved after agreeing upon a report to be presented to the throne. It now refused to disperse until its report was answered;* and without asking permission, it transferred its sittings from place to place, wherever a promise was held forth of greater security. At length "they have selected La Rochelle, the imagined future Carthage of France, in which they are hoping to found, or rather are tending the foundations of their nascent republic. That city is virtually their present chief

* It must be remembered, that the *right* on these points was disputed. The Huguenots maintained them to be privileges confirmed by edict.

asylum, in which they daily imagine a thousand evil practices against the king and the Church, without exposure to chastisement.”*

The Memoir then proceeds to speak of the cautionary towns, and of the towns *de Mariage* dependent upon them. “The former are occupied by Huguenot garrisons in the royal pay, under the command of a general of the same religion, appointed by the king; the latter, although not garrisoned, claim privileges similar to those enjoyed by their principals. The annual disbursements of the royal treasury for the Huguenot military establishment, for the payment of ministers, and for various other expenses, are estimated at 1,100,000 francs. La Rochelle is *not* a cautionary town, but the ancient immunities are so extensive that it may be esteemed almost an independent government. It scarcely acknowledges the royal authority; it has always been connected with Huguenots, and so strongly is it fortified, both by nature and by art, that its reduction would be a work of lingering and difficult accomplishment.

“Through La Rochelle the Huguenots maintain communication with England; through Sedan, a stronghold of the Duke De Bouillon, with Germany and the United Provinces; through Geneva, their strictest ally, with the Swiss Cantons. Their own choicest soldiers are levied among the mountains of the Cévennes. Of their leaders, the Duke De Bouillon and Maréchal Lesdiguières are mentioned as the most distinguished for valour and experience; the former is described as intriguing and faithless, the latter as generous and sincere. The chief hope of the extinction of the sect is founded on their internal dissensions. Lesdiguières is said to be al-

* Nani speaks of La Rochelle yet more strongly, and in terms sufficiently evincing the terror which its power excited among the Italians. “Si vantava d'essere la metropoli della ribellione, l'antico nido dell' Heresia, l'asilo de' mal contenti, e la fucina de' più perniciosi consigli.”—*Lib. vi. apud Ist. Venez. tom. viii. p. 356.*

ready decrepit; Bouillon aged and infirm; and the other leaders are distracted by mutual jealousy; 'the insane heat of conscience,'* which at first burned so fiercely among the Huguenots, is hourly decreasing; and the great mass of the commonalty, which has hitherto been most egregiously deceived, has begun to discover that religion is employed as a stalking horse for faction." The Memoir concludes with a confident anticipation of the speedy downfall of "this hydra of impiety and rebellion," founded on the youth and good disposition of the reigning king, on the general prevalence of the Catholic faith, and on the improvement of the clergy in morals, learning, and discipline.†

Succeeding events attested the foresight of Bentivoglio; and many collateral authorities establish the fidelity of the portrait which he has here sketched, after it has been divested of a certain very obvious and not unnatural party-colouring. During

Oct. 1. the king's expedition to Bearn, the XXIII^d
to
Dec. 2. National Synod assembled at Alez, in the Cévennes. It carefully avoided any expression of sentiment as to contemporary political occurrences; and, whatever may have been the vehemence which, it is said, prevailed in its debates, its recorded acts, after a single allusion to the "late doleful change happed to the churches of Bearn" as one of the reasons for enjoining a general fast, proceed to the consideration of numerous other matters. Among these was the formal reception of the articles of the Synod of Dort; and, as if the deputies had intended to satirize the acts of their

* "Quell' insano fervor di coscienza," strange words, which we translate literally, not quite knowing the sense which the Cardinal Nuncio intended to convey by them.

† "Breve Relatione degli Ugonotti di Francia; inviata a Roma dal Cardinal Bentivoglio in tempo della sua Nuntiatura appresso il Rè Christianissimo Luigi XIII. all' Illmo. Signor Cardinal Borghese, nipote della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Paolo V. sotto li vij de Novembre, 1610, in occasione d'una Assemblea Generale che fecero i medesimi Ugonotti allhora in Ludun." *Rel. del Card. Bentivoglio*, p. 245.

own peaceful Synod of Tonneins, they characterized the fierce Belgic assembly as "a most effectual remedy for the reformation of the Church, and the grubbing up of heresies in the article of predestination and its dependencies." Not content with this signal mark of approval, the synod framed an oath declaratory of adherence to the Gomarist opinions. This formula was subscribed by all the members present; and it was at the same time decreed, that no person who refused either the doctrine avowed by the ministers at Dort, or the oath now authorized by the Huguenot deputies, should be admitted into any office or employment in their schools and universities.*

The acts of the Synod of Alez relate, for the most part, to incidents of merely local and temporary interest. The love of minute legislation, upon which we have more than once before commented, again peeped forth in some restrictions upon apparel. The wives, children, and families of ministers were exhorted to refrain from "bravery;" it was objected to some of them that they "were exceeding vain in their habits, fashioning themselves according to the world;" and in order to check this growing and notorious scandal, large encouragement was offered to informers; and the moderators of colloquies and

* "I N. N. do swear and protest before God and this Holy Assembly, that I do receive, approve, and embrace all the doctrines taught and decided by the Synod of Dort, as perfectly agreeing with the Word of God and the confession of our churches. I swear and promise to persevere in the profession of this doctrine during my whole life, and to defend it with the utmost of my power; and that I will never, neither by preaching nor teachings in the schools, nor by writing, depart from it. I declare also, and I protest that I reject and condemn the doctrine of the Arminians, because it makes God's election to depend upon the mutable will of man; and for that it doth extenuate and make null and void the grace of God: it exalteth man, and the power of free-will to his destruction; it reduceth into the Church of God, old ejected Pelagianism, and is a mask and vizard for Popery to creep in among us, under that disguise, and subverteth all assurance of everlasting life and happiness. And so may God keep me and be propitious to me, as I swear all this, without any ambiguity, equivocation, or mental reservation."—*Quick*, ch. xii. vol. ii. p. 38.

provincial synods were authorized even to suspend refractory pastors from their ministry.* Great precaution also was used to prevent the contamination of the gown by an admixture of secular learning. When the province of Dauphiné inquired whether "a minister might, together with his ministry, exercise the profession of philosophy?" the assembly solemnly replied that it judged, "that those two professions are not convenient to be discharged at the same time by one man."† In a similar tone, it decreed that "a minister may at the same time be professor in divinity and of the *Hebrew* tongue: but it is not seemly for him to profess the *Greek* tongue also; because the most of his employment will be taken up in the exposition of pagan and profane authors, unless he be discharged from the ministry."‡ Yet it might be thought that the vernacular language of the Better Covenant offered peculiar claims to the attention of a Christian divine. A trifling deference to the prejudices, perhaps to the follies of high station, deserves notice, as being little in accordance with the customary levelling temper of the Calvinistic discipline. On application being made for the better ordering of bans of marriage, "which are mostly attended with titles full of vanity," the synod refused to interfere; "conceiving that such an ordinance would not take with persons of quality; and therefore advising them to keep as much as possibly they can within the bounds of Christian modesty and simplicity."§

If the Synod of Alez broke up without any formal declaration of the wrongs of the Bearnois, such was by no means the course pursued by the next political assembly. In accordance with their declaration when quitting Loudun, the deputies re-assembled at La Rochelle, without having applied for permission to open any new meeting;

* Ch. v. § 7. p. 7.

† Ch. xv. § 4. p. 57.

‡ Ch. ix. § 16. p. 35.

§ Ch. v. § 18. p. 8.

asserting their present session to be no other than a continuation of that which had been adjourned on the faith of the royal promises. The violation of those promises; the lapse of six months, during which their grievances, so far from being redressed, had been left wholly unnoticed; the revolution effected at Bearne; the frequent infraction of almost all their privileges; and the tyranny of the Jesuits, formed the chief subjects of their first remonstrance. When they asked the king to allow them the privileges which his predecessors Henry III. and Henry IV. had confirmed, he replied shortly, that the one had acted out of fear, the other out of love; but for his own part, he wished them to know that he neither loved nor feared them.* This harsh reply was disregarded; nor were they shaken in their constancy of purpose by the open abandonment of one of their most distinguished leaders. The assembly would have named Lesdiguieres general-in-chief of the Reformed, have placed him at the head of 20,000 men, and have guaranteed for their maintenance a monthly subsidy of 100,000 crowns;† but the ambitious old man had long cultivated secret intercourse with the court, and cherished hopes of attaining the highest dignity in the state. The sword of constable, which had been in abeyance during seven years, since the death of Montmorenci, was the glittering lure held out for his seduction; and when he had so far implicated himself in the toils that retreat was impossible, means were found to compel him, not only to decline the proffered dignity, but

* Howell b. i. § 2. p. 108. Benoit, tom. iii. p. 269, ascribes this speech to Louis XIV.; but notwithstanding the frequent inaccuracy in the dates of Howell's letters (so frequent and so distinctly proved by the evidence of their contents, as to create a suspicion, that in many instances they have been supplied by the editor), it is plain that he reported the words many years before the birth of Louis XIV. *Voltaire* notices it as *un très peu de chose* recorded of Louis XIV. *Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. xxviii.

† Benoit, tom. ii. p. 334

even to solicit the king to bestow it on De Luines.* Never did any renegade receive a meaner price for his dishonour! He accepted the appointment of *maréchal-general* of the royal camps and armies; and was content to act as lieutenant to a constable who had never witnessed an engagement, and who was incompetent to superintend a battalion through its parade evolutions.

There can be little doubt that De Luines, thus unacquainted with the field, would have made many sacrifices to avoid the last resort of war, notwithstanding his elevation to superior military command, and the obstinate disclaimer with which the assembly continued to meet the king's commands. But there were many fiery spirits in the court, panting for distinction in arms. The pope and the clergy blindly pressed the extermination of heresy; Spain, whose influence in the cabinet was now strong (in consequence of the marriage of Louis with the Infanta Anne of Austria, and of his sister Elizabeth with the Infant Philip), encouraged the revival of civil dissension in a kingdom which it had always been her policy to weaken; and the facility with which government had suppressed an insurrection in Bearne appeared to promise a similar triumph over the other Huguenots. The citizens of that state, impatient under their recent change, and encouraged by the demonstrations of the assembly at La Rochelle, had shown unequivocal symptoms of revolt. But they had miscalculated their powers of resistance; and the Duke d'Espéron, who was despatched for their reduction, within two months overran the whole country, almost without bloodshed or opposition.

The court therefore was well prepared for hostilities, and unhappily an equally martial temper in-

* *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vii. p. 276. Bentivoglio writing in 1620, calls Lesdiguières "Ugonotto più di Stato che di coscienza."—*Lettere*, p. 186.

duced the Huguenots to decline accommodation. The pacific councils of Du Plessis were attributed to a failure of vigour consequent upon his advanced age; or, yet more falsely and unworthily, to views of personal interest. Even when Bearné proved incompetent to her own defence; when Lesdiguières avowed that he would bear arms against the faith which he had not as yet openly deserted; when Bouillon declined the command of their armies; the deputies rashly persisted in their defiance of the royal authority. One of their measures was a new military distribution of the provinces. The kingdom was now parcelled into eight circles; each of which was placed under the control of a separate general: Soubise, La Tremouille, La Force, and his sons, Rohan and Chatillon, were the efficient chiefs: * the assembly reserved for itself a paramount authority, and to its ordinances and commissions was appended a seal emblematic of independence. †

The first acquisition of the king was 1621. obtained by a signal act of perfidy. The Duke of Bouillon, although excusing himself from participation in actual warfare under the pretext of infirmity, had given some important advice to the assembly. He had little doubt that the royal army would be unwilling to advance upon Saintonge, while so strong a hold as Saumur, the most important pass on the Loire, was in possession of the Huguenots in its rear; and he calculated that by reinforcing Du Plessis, war might either be altogether prevented, or at least might be confined within a narrower compass. He recommended therefore

* The constitution of the circles is fully described in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vi. p. 311.

† The legend on this seal is given doubtfully. By some it is read "Pour Christ et pour son Tropeau;" by others "Pour Christ et pour le Roy." Notwithstanding the great verbal difference, it can scarcely be doubted that the assembly in either case equally intended to disclaim the royal authority. Neither the *Ligue* in France, nor the parliament in England, in the first instance, avowed rebellion.

that 6000 men should be marched at once to Saumur; but some mistake or some dissension obstructed the movement. Saumur was left unprovided with troops, money, and stores; and when it was too late to remedy this great error, the assembly discovered that their dilatoriness had been fatal.

[April 24. The king had quitted Paris early in April,

and before the close of the month he had published from Fontainebleau a new declaration against the assembly, announcing his intention of visiting the disturbed provinces, and promising continued protection to all the Reformed who should remain unshaken in their allegiance.* At the beginning of May he proceeded to Tours, in order to suppress a sedition occasioned by the punishment of some delinquents who had been engaged in outrages upon the Reformed.† When in that city, having received intelligence of the advice given by Bouillon (for the Huguenot assembly was beset with spies‡), he advanced with a large force upon Saumur, where Du Plessis made the customary preparations for his reception at Chappes, the spot which, on all former occasions, had been occupied by the court. As a matter of form, it was usual that the Huguenot garrisons of cautionary towns should be cantoned without the walls during a royal visit. But the disturbed appearance of the times demanded more than ordinary wariness; and Du Plessis forbore from tendering this mark of respect till he had received distinct and solemn promises from the constable, from Lesdeguieres, and from the king himself, that the immunities of Saumur should be preserved inviolate; and that, after a short abode, the

* Benoit, tom. ii. *Preuves*, p. 53.

† A particular account of the funeral of the Huguenot Martin, who seems to have been a very sorry fellow, and even the *Vaudeville* sung by the children in mockery of him, which occasioned this tumult, may be found in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vi. p. 291.

‡ *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vi. p. 304.

town should be restored to its governor without any infringement of its privileges.*

No sooner, however, had the troops withdrawn from the castle than Du Plessis was com-
manded to admit the royal train within its gates under a pretence that the court was too numerous for any other quarters. Not even a single apartment was reserved for the accommodation of his own family; his library was plundered; his cabinets were ransacked in search of papers which might compromise his safety; and after the silver clasps had been torn from a splendid series of his works, some of them written with his own hand, the rest printed on vellum, and all enriched with copious marginal notes, several of the volumes were tossed into the castle ditch.† He was quickly given to understand that the king, intending to retain military possession of Saumur, was at the same time willing to indemnify the governor for his private losses; and all the arrears which were owing to him by the government, 100,000 crowns in addition, and the bâton of a maréchal, were the terms proposed. But, he indignantly replied, that he would never bargain with his sovereign, being always prepared to render him fitting obedience; all that he sought in return was adherence to the promises which it had been the king's pleasure to offer, that he would not innovate in Saumur; a matter not less important to the royal service than to his own private interests. "Never," he continued, "was I assailed by a bribe. Had I loved money, I might have been in possession

* The constable expressed himself respecting the castle of Saumur, "qu'il n'y seroit non plus touché qu'à la prunelle de l'œil, et qu'il donna sa parole, de mesme sa majesté, de sa propre bouche; ce qui estoit aussi confirmé par M. de Lesdiguières."—*La Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. iv. p. 599. Howell had a clear foresight of the intended treachery.

† The French king is in open war against them of the Religion; he hath already cleared the Loire by taking Jerseau and Saumur, where M. Du Plessis sent him the keys, which are promised to be delivered him again, but I think *ad Græcas Calendas*—B. i. §. 3. p. 120.

† *La Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. iv. p. 614.

of millions; and as for dignities, I was always more solicitous to deserve than importune to demand them. Neither in honour nor in conscience can I sell the liberty and security of others.”*

These remonstrances at the dishonourable breach of faith so recently pledged, and at the compromise by which it was endeavoured to make the governor a seeming participator in the treacherous outrage thus offered to the Reformed, were wholly ineffectual. Saumur was occupied by a royal garrison; and Du Plessis was compelled to retire to privacy, in which he spent the short remainder of his high-minded and spotless career exposed to unmerited obloquy and mortification. Justice indeed was rendered to his memory, even by those heated spirits which had accused him of collusion, when at his death it was perceived, that so far from having been recompensed for any voluntary abandonment of his trust, he had in truth become impoverished by the large contributions which he had ever readily advanced for the public service. No brighter example than that which Du Plessis affords is exhibited to us by history. His lot fell upon evil times, and was cast in a perverse generation; and of the passions and intrigues which distracted his country he was seldom permitted to remain a calm and unconcerned spectator. More than half a century, indeed, was spent by him in active collision with turbulent events, and in unremitting endeavours to direct and guide them to the advantage of his brethren. Discretion in the cabinet; valour in the field; a judgment alike unclouded by prejudice and undazzled by ambition; purity of morals in his own person, and a steady, although not a censorious reprobation of vice in others, even when it sought shelter in high places, have rendered Du Plessis peculiar, and almost alone, in the station which he occupies among

* *Id.* liv. iv. p. 608. *Mém. et Corresp.* 4to. tom. iv. p. 657.

great public men. Those qualities have evinced moreover (if, indeed, the fact could ever be doubted, unless by the shallowness of the scoffer), that superiority in political wisdom is fully compatible with strict adherence to the promptings of religion; and that in order to obtain eminent distinction as a sound and practical statesman, it is by no means requisite to surrender the principles of a sincere and fervent Christian.*

On the king's advance, a final declaration was issued from Niort, proclaiming La Rochelle, in which the proscribed assembly still continued its sittings, and St. Jean d'Angely, which was known to be preparing for resistance, to be in a state of open rebellion. All their privileges were annulled, and all intercourse with them was forbidden. Every Huguenot in the kingdom also, however eminent might be his degree and station, was enjoined to present himself forthwith before the magistrates of his district, and in their presence to renounce the assembly, to disavow its acts, and to declare his readiness to serve against it at the king's bidding.†

Intimidated by menaced punishment, devoid of power to resist, or bribed into submission, every cautionary town on the royal march opened its gates on the first summons, and was repaid for this cowardice by the destruction of its military defences. For a time, no battle was fought, except on paper; and the *apology* of the assembly inveighing against the Jesuits, reciting the acts of the deputies, and

* Du Plessis Mornay died on Nov. 11, 1623, in the 74th year of his age. A very interesting narrative of his last moments is given at the end of *La Vie*, &c. p. 705. In the picture which it offers of his constancy and piety, we are forcibly reminded of some words employed by himself in a letter written to M. d'Aersens a few years before (1612). "En tout cas, j'ai appris en bien faisant de me remettre en Dieu. Et si je sçais pas si bien l'art de vivre au monde que quelques autres, en recompense j'ai estudié à bien mourir."—Tom. xi. p. 410.

† Benoit, tom. ii. *Preuves*, p. 56. The final clause was very rigidly executed. Subscription was demanded even from the Duke of Sully and his son, the Marquis of Rosny.—*Id.* tom. ii. p. 359.

unveiling the artifices of the court, was answered by a manifesto bearing the king's name, but not stamped with official marks of authority, and tracing every calamity under which the kingdom had groaned for the last sixty years to the machinations of the Huguenots.

St. Jean d'Angely was the first place which opposed the progress of the king. The Duke of Soubise defended it bravely for nearly a month, and did not capitulate till almost every building in the town had been ruined by the cannonade of the besiegers.* The terms of surrender, however, were vaguely couched, and the citizens preserved little except their lives: their separate privileges were abolished, and their fortifications were razed. At Clairac, which surrendered at discretion after a brief investment, some executions were permitted;† and, with yet greater cruelty, a part of the garrison was put to death in cold blood. To an incident during the short siege of that town is referred one, and perhaps not the least probable origin of a name, which for awhile prevailed in many parts of France over that of *Huguenot*; and which appears to have been resented by those upon whom it was fixed as far the more contumelious of the two. In order to recognise each other during a night sortie, the garrison wore shirts over their armour; and the besiegers, by whom they were repulsed, called them in derision *parpailots*, the provincial word used in Guyenne and Languedoc for *papillons* or butterflies.‡

* *Vie du Card. de Richelieu*, tom. i. liv. i. p. 87.

† A minister named La Fargue, his father and his father-in-law were among the sufferers. *Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. iv. p. 630.

‡ Benoit, tom. ii. p. 401. Three other origins of the term are there given; one from the facility with which the Huguenots allowed themselves to be entrapped during the St. Bartholomew, fluttering like moths, as it were, round a candle; another from the well-known white scarfs worn by the adherents of the Bourbon Princes; and a third in ridicule of the dying confidence of the Protestant Martyrs, that their souls would wing their flight to Heaven. The word is used by Rabelais; but Benoit asserts that there is not any proof of its application to the Huguenots

Montauban was the next object of attack, and there the tide of victory was arrested. La Force, who, in conjunction with the Count d'Orval, a son of the Duke of Sully, commanded the garrison, defended himself with skill and vigour; and numerous assaults, directed by the constable in person, and in the presence of the king, were invariably unsuccessful. After considerable loss of men and of some distinguished officers, among whom was the Duke of Mayenne,* the royal army, unable to prevent the Duke of Rohan from throwing in a powerful relief, was compelled to abandon the siege, and to withdraw from its lines by night. The watchfires, which had been carefully lighted before the signal was given for retreat, deceived the garrison, and they stood to arms, expecting an assault, till the enemy was beyond pursuit.† Nevertheless, we are told that they had augured speedy deliverance on the very evening on which the king broke up, from hearing the commencement of Psalm lxxviii. played on the flute by one of their soldiers.‡ The most important result of this siege was the death of the prime minister De Luines. Chagrined at the failure, which was mainly attributed, and perhaps with justice, to his want of generalship; and apprehensive of the loss of royal favour, an event already prognosticated by the coldness of his fickle master, he languished under a fever, which, before the close of

before the the time of Louis XIII. Menage proposes the Greek *φάλλη* as its type.

* Killed by a musket shot in the eye. *Mém. de De Pontis*, tom. i. p. 127. Chamier, the Civic Professor of Theology, was the chief personage who fell among the besieged. Benoit, tom. ii. p. 376.

† The siege of Montauban is related at considerable length by the Sieur De Pontis, an officer who served during it in the royal army; and who, at a very considerable personal risk, made the final reconnoissance which induced the king to retire. Voltaire, in his preliminary Catalogue of Writers in the age of Louis XIV., discredits the authority of the *Mémoires* of De Pontis (upon whose very existence he expresses a doubt), which he says were written by Du Fossé of the Port Royal.

‡ Benoit, tom. ii. p. 377.

the year, terminated his life, and probably saved him from the mortification of dismissal.*

During the investment of Montauban, the Huguenots in Paris and its neighbourhood had been menaced with great danger. The name of Guise still possessed unbounded influence in the capital; and when intelligence of the death of Mayenne arrived there, the furious rabble prepared to avenge it on the peaceable Reformed. Their chief outrages were committed at Charenton, in which town they burned several private houses and the Huguenot church and library, with some loss of lives on both sides.† Similar tumults occurred at Paris itself, in the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, which was thickly occupied by Huguenot artificers. But the magistrates and the parliament were not wanting to their duty; they issued an *arrêt*‡ for the especial protection of the Reformed; they condemned to the galleys two ringleaders in the tumult of Charenton; and they hastened the departure of a fanatical Spanish Carmelite, Dominic à Jesu Maria, whose preaching had greatly contributed to awaken the passions of the rioters. That impostor had arrived a few days before from Bavaria, in which country little short of Divine honours had been paid him by the superstitious populace. Even the nobles, sharing in the delusion, excited by his reputation for miraculous powers, had eagerly purloined a shred from his habit, of any rag which he had touched, as if it were imbued with healing virtue.§ The Reformed were especial objects of his virulence; and he denounced them as having profanely destroyed the eyes of a

* In *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vii. p. 884-889, may be found two justificatory letters which De Luines printed. The first of these, addressed to the Duke of Montbazon, describes in strong terms the extreme misery endured by the army; and attributes the failure, partly to the rashness of the Duke of Mayenne, partly to the great prevalence of sickness.

† *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. vii. p. 851.

‡ *Id.* p. 855.

§ *La Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. iv. p. 636.

figure of the Virgin, "the Lady of Victory," forming part of a group representing the nativity in a picture which he bore about.* His pretext for visiting Paris was a mission to the king; and the governor of the capital gladly freed himself from so dangerous a resident by expediting his progress to the royal camp. Sedition everywhere followed in his steps; his entrance into Tours was marked by insurrection; and, had it not been for the vigilance of the authorities, Saumur would have been stained with massacre after his preaching. Nevertheless, on his arrival in the lines before Montauban, he was hailed with enthusiasm; and the rude but superstitious soldiery thronged around *le Pere bienheureux*, as they styled him, when he announced a distribution of relics. The constable himself, wearied by his long and unsuccessful enterprise, eagerly applied to him for supernatural aid; and when the prophet affirmed that the city would infallibly yield after 400 rounds of artillery had been discharged against the ramparts, both the king and De Luines appear to have believed that a miracle, not inferior to the fall of Jericho, was about to be wrought before their eyes. "His majesty," says Bassompierre, "ordered me to give the requisite fire; which I did. But the enemy," he adds, "did not surrender for all that."†

The death of the Constable De Luines placed, as it were, in abeyance, the favouritism by which the weak reign of Louis XIII. was in general so conspicuously marked; and the king, perhaps galled by his recent chains, or pleased with an independence wholly new to him, acted during a short period through the ordinary channels of government. The counsels of De Retz and Schomberg,‡ to which he

* Benoit, tom. ii. p. 379.

† "Mais les ennemis ne se rendirent pour cela."—*Mém.* tom. ii. p. 186. *Le Vassor*, liv. xvii.

‡ Henri Gondi de Retz, created a cardinal by Paul V. in 1618. Henri de Schomberg, Count of Nanteuil, Superintendent of the Finances.

chiefly listened, were far from being pacific; and the avarice of the Prince of Condé found gratification in the numerous forfeitures which accrued to him through the continuation of war. The President Jeannin more wisely advised peace; and he appealed to the experience of past reigns for proofs that the Huguenots were far more likely to be weakened during a season of repose, than by the most vigorous warfare. Peace, as he sagaciously observed, made it their interest to conform; in war, on the other hand, advance of fortune was to be obtained only by resistance; the representations of the former party, however, prevailed, and hostilities were renewed early in the following spring; but we

1622.
June 8. need not pursue too closely the painful narration of mutual bloodshed. The inhabitants of Negrepélisse, a small town near Montauban, in the course of the winter, massacred the royal garrison of 400 men, in a single night, with circumstances of great barbarity;* and, on its second capture, the entire population was put to the sword in reprisal.† No palliation of the like kind

June 22. was offered for a similar cruelty perpetrated at St. Anthonin on the river Aveyron; and in that unhappy place, a gallant defence was the only plea advanced for the murder of its garrison and the violation of its women.‡ Success everywhere accompanied the arms of the king till he undertook the siege of Montpellier; and
September. when that town continued to hold out after

* *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. viii. p. 444.

† *Id.* p. 637. It is not possible to exceed the horrors here described by a contemporary pen. "Tout ce qui se rencontra d'hommes, petits et grands, et de femmes et filles passerent par le fil d'espée ... Les Meres tenans leurs enfans s'estans sauvées au travers de la riviere, ne peurent obtenir aucune misericorde du soldat qui les attendoit à l'autre bord, et les tuoit. En demie heure tout fut exterminé dans la ville, et les rues estoient si pleines de morts et de sang qu'on marchoit avec peine. Ceux qui se sauverent dans le chateau furent contraint le lendemain de se rendre à discretion, et furent tous pendus."

‡ *Id.* p. 640.

six weeks' investment by Louis in person, the repulse at Montauban, in the last campaign, was too fresh in remembrance not to create apprehensions of a similar result. This delay inclined the court to accommodation; and Lesdiguières, who by the renouncement of his faith had now secured the sword of constable,* was employed to treat with the Duke of Rohan.

The general ill-fortune of the Huguenots made them prompt to negotiate; for, besides other disasters, La Rochelle was blockaded both by sea and land, and the King of England, although strongly solicited by Soubise, who had crossed the Channel for the purpose, declined affording any further assistance than that of mediation. The conferences, therefore, were brief; a peace was signed in the camp at Montpellier; and, although Oct. 9. the king assumed a tone justified by victory, the terms were far more lenient than the position of his enemies could entitle them to expect. The Edict of Nantes formed the basis of the treaty; the Roman Catholic religion was declared to be the established faith of the kingdom. All new fortresses raised by the Huguenots, especially those which had been erected on the Isles of Rhé and

* The Duke of Rohan expresses himself with powerful contumely respecting this transaction, "P'ayant hardé sa Religion pour la charge de Connestable de France," liv. ii. p. 141. Having swapped his Religion, may, perhaps, be equivalent English. Lesdiguières pleaded as a serious excuse for his apostacy a promise which he had given many years before to Gregory XV. at that time Cardinal Lodovisio, that if ever the one became pope the other should turn Romanist. We have before noticed a similar contingency proposed in jest by Catherine of Navarre to Du Plessis (vol. iii. p. 16). The ceremonies on the conversion of Lesdiguières are fully described in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. viii. p. 663, and a few pages onward (698) in the same volume may be found an address to him from the consistory of Grenoble beneath which the apostate must have writhed in every sinew. He did not long enjoy his dignity. After his death, which occurred on Sept. 28, 1626, in his 84th year, and of which a very inflated account is given by a Capucin who attended him (*Le Mercure Francois*, tom. xii. p. 476), the office of constable was suppressed, as conferring power greater than ought to be confided to any subject.

Oleron, were to be demolished; and hostages were required for the fulfilment of this condition. Political assemblies of every denomination were forbidden to the Reformed under the penalties of treason, unless the royal consent were previously obtained for their meeting; and the consistories, colloquies, and synod, which might still be freely convened, were prohibited from discussing any matters of state.*

The Prince of Condé, having fruitlessly opposed this peace, retired into Italy before its signature; and the Cardinal of Retz died during the early part of the siege of Montpellier. Through the influence of the queen-mother, the ecclesiastical dignity which the latter vacated was immediately bestowed by Gregory XV. on the Bishop of Luçon, henceforth to be named as the Cardinal de Richelieu. Large as were the strides thus made by Richelieu to power; a considerable interval elapsed before he succeeded in establishing himself as a member of the royal council; † and even then, Vieuville, who had overthrown the influence of Puisieux, was himself to be supplanted by his *élève*, ‡ before the cardinal's ascendancy became paramount, and Louis submitted to a control which was to terminate only with the life of the most illustrious and the most imperious of his favourites.

The conditions of the late peace were 1623. but ill observed; and a rash step taken by Valencé, whom the king had left in command at Montpellier, raised an excitement which well nigh frustrated the treaty altogether. Under a pretext

* *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. ii. p. 144. Benoit, tom. ii. *Preuves*, p. 61.

† Richelieu was nominated cardinal, Sept. 5, 1622. It was not till April 9, 1624, that he was appointed counsellor of state. Voltaire has noticed this slow progress in the king's favour as affording a proof from internal evidence that Richelieu was not the author of the *Testament Politique*, falsely attributed to him. *Sur Les Mœurs*, cxxxv.

‡ "Voilà comme tous ces Favoris se servent fidèlement les uns les autres." *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iii. p. 154.

that the Duke of Rohan was infringing its conditions, Valencé arrested him, and occasioned no slight astonishment and embarrassment to his employers by this unauthorized exercise of power.* Soubise menaced instant war unless his brother were released; and it is said that, at first, some hesitation was felt by the government whether the prisoner should be set free, or should be put to death. A sense of honour or a fear of vengeance prevailed; and, after a short confinement, Rohan was permitted to withdraw. The duke's preservation, however, has been attributed to motives unconnected with state policy; and if secret history were not always suspicious, we might believe that his enjoyment of liberty, perhaps of life, depended upon no more important a circumstance than the representation of a court ballet. The Duchess of Rohan, who was to sustain a part in a masque for which the young queen had been making brilliant preparations, naturally declined all share in the revel when she received intelligence of her husband's danger. If she had persisted in her refusal, the gala must have been abandoned; and the queen, impatient of so great a sacrifice, found means to prevail on Louis to remove the obstacle, by signing a warrant for the Duke of Rohan's freedom.†

Among other breaches of the treaty of Montpellier must be reckoned an innovation of no slight importance, by which the freedom of the Huguenot synods and colloquies was considerably impaired. Instead of their being permitted to meet without interference, according to a former guarantee, it was enacted, that, for the future, a commissioner ap-

* *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iii. p. 149.

† "Comme quelques-uns l'ont écrit," is Benoit's introduction to this anecdote. Tom. ii. p. 415. Laval, who probably here, as in other places, merely translates from Benoit, refers to Bassompierre without any specific guidance. We have not been able to find the story in the *Mémoires* of that writer. In *Le Mercure François*, tom. ix. p. 428, &c. accounts are given of many ballets celebrated at court about this time.

pointed by the king or by his lieutenants should always be present in their assemblies, in order to regulate their discussions and to report them to the government. These officers themselves, indeed, were to be Huguenots; but it was easy to perceive that they would either be selected on account of their known attachment to the court, or that countless vexatious hindrances might be opposed to their nomination, and consequently to the meeting of the synod. Such proved to be the case when

Sept. 1. the XXIVth National Synod was gathered

to
Oct. 1. at Charenton. Many of the deputies arrived long after the day appointed for opening

the session; and their delay had been occasioned by obstacles which the provincial governors had raised against their respective preliminary meetings.*

Some debate arose when Augustus Galland, the first commissioner whom the king appointed, had read his letters of nomination. Against the individual no objection was likely to be advanced; he was a man of learning and of piety, sincerely attached to his religion, a counsellor of state, and attorney-general for Navarre; † but the office which he filled was especially invidious. The deputies resolved that the king's declaration unjustly charged the colloquies and synods with having exceeded the boundaries assigned to them by law; and that the benefit of former edicts was greatly retrenched by the new enactment; and it was determined that a remonstrance to this effect should be presented to the king. Nevertheless, in order to give unques-

* Ch. i. p. 76, 77.

† Galland was a profound antiquary, and he is known among his other works, chiefly for his *Mém. pour l'Hist. de Navarre et de Flandres*, 1618. We have given his character as we find it sketched by Quick, who probably had examined it; but it must be confessed, that the Duke of Rohan describes the commissioner in widely different terms, as "un habile homme, mais mercenaire, sans honte et sans conscience."—Liv. iv. p. 188.

tionable evidence of their duty, obedience, and loyalty, "they admitted the said Lord Augustus Galland among them, that he might be an eye and ear witness of the integrity and uprightness of their proceedings and deportments."^{*}

The king expressed to this synod his disapprobation of the oath which had been taken by the deputies at Alez in support of the Synod of Dort; and the objections which he raised cannot be deemed captious or untenable. He professed that it was not in the smallest degree his intention to impair or to alter their liberty with reference to their faith, or to the exercises of their religion; but that he was displeased that a national council of any church within his kingdom should bind its pastors by a doctrine promulgated in a foreign state; that of the doctrine itself he took not any cognizance; they might judge of it as they pleased; but that it was his determination "that no man should be obliged to pin his faith to another man's sleeve, or to swear unto the faith of a stranger." The deputies replied that the tenets of the Synod of Dort "did most harmoniously agree" with the confession of their own church, which had been submitted to his majesty's predecessors; that the only novelty consisted in their being collected and applied as a fence and a boundary against errors which of late had been diligently propagated; that his subjects had never designed to make him patron and protector of a new and foreign doctrine; nevertheless, "to give all possible contentment and satisfaction" to his majesty, they agreed to rescind, not the oath itself, but the reference which it contained to the city of Dort, a dependence and member of a foreign commonwealth.†

Another objection signified by the king had a personal rather than a general object. He first de-

* Ch. iii, p. 79.

† Ch. xiv. § 1, 2. p. 95, 97.

clared it to be his will, "for some private reasons which he need not tell them," that no one, unless born within his kingdom, should officiate in their ministry. One of his reasons, however, as he needed not to say, was very evident; "because his natural subjects, who are such by their birth, would be more true unto his service than any foreigners." The deputies answered that the employment of foreigners had always hitherto been permitted; and that their expulsion "would be so far from preserving the churches, that it would leave some of them destitute and others desolate." That a multitude of foreign ecclesiastics enjoyed the most honourable and profitable benefices of the Gallican church; and therefore that his majesty was most earnestly entreated not to draw so severe a distinction between his subjects, as to permit those of one religion to use strangers, and to deny it to the other. The king at first accordingly consented to the retention of such foreign pastors as were in actual employment; but he declared it to be his pleasure that no others should be received in future. Nevertheless he afterward issued orders for the deprivation of two Scotchmen, the Sieurs Primrose and Cameron, "lately ministers at Bourdeaux, not so much on account of their birth as foreigners, as for reasons concerning the public service." Both these ministers had given offence to government seven years previously, by a dispute in which they had engaged with the parliament of Bourdeaux;* and the former had more recently proposed some searching questions to the royal confessor, Arnoux, on the doctrine inculcated by the Jesuits concerning the regicide of excommunicated kings, which it was not likely that vindictive body would either forget or leave unpunished.

* The *Arrêt* of the Parliament of Bourdeaux against Cameron is given in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. v. p. 40.

In consequence of this expression of the king's displeasure, Primrose sought employment in England, where he filled the office of pastor to the French church in London till his death. Less severity was exercised in regard to Cameron, who, during the short time which he survived, resided at Montauban. A third minister of more note than either of the above-named, Du Moulin, was also proscribed, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Synod. We have already seen him engaged in controversy, not only with Arnoux, but with Richelieu himself; and in a letter which he had much more recently written to James I. in the vain hope of rousing him to some vigorous exertion in defence of the Palatinate, he had spoken as if all Protestant Europe regarded that prince as its supreme head. Either by accident or by treachery that letter was transmitted to the French court; and so criminal did it appear, that, but for timely warning, Du Moulin might have atoned for it with his life. He made his escape after warrants had been issued for his apprehension, and found protection in Sedan, where he continued unmolested till 1650, when he closed a life protracted to the unwonted term of 90 years.

To the acts of the Synod of Charenton is annexed a series of canons and decrees "inviolably to be observed by all the churches in the kingdom;" and intended to supersede the oath prescribed by the Synod of Alez. These canons include a hyper-Calvinistic exposition of predestination, election, reprobation, and perseverance; and not only affirm "the orthodox doctrine" on those dangerous points, but continue, in many words, to reject the opinions opposed to it. The assurance and perseverance of real saints, we are told, are imprinted on the hearts of the faithful, and abundantly revealed by God in his word, to the glory of his name, and the consolation of pious souls; nevertheless it is such a doctrine "as no flesh can comprehend, Satan hates, the

world laugheth at, the ignorant and hypocrite abuse, and is opposed by erroneous spirits."* The first of these reasons may be thought of sufficient weight to induce a sound discretion not to investigate this doctrine too curiously.

1624. In the spring of 1624, Richelieu obtained admission to the king's council; and although he was not as yet sufficiently confirmed in power to develop the whole of his gigantic plans, the depression of the Huguenots formed one share of his policy, which, even in the outset, he took little pains to disguise. The power of the Reformed had been greatly diminished by the recent war; and it was yet farther impaired by the deaths of the Maréchal de Bouillon and of Du Plessis. Our past narrative sufficiently attests how irreparable was the void occasioned by the demise of the latter of these great men; and the former, notwithstanding many errors into which he had been betrayed by a too ambitious temper, was to be esteemed one of the chief supports of the religion, whether on account of his great military experience, his rich and extensive possessions, or his unshaken constancy.†

The Huguenots everywhere suffered grievously, and their privations are described as having been far greater during this short nominal peace than while hostilities were openly raging.‡ The two chief infractions of the late treaty, and the immediate ostensible causes of renewed war, were the erection of a citadel in Montpellier, and the reparation instead of the demolition of Fort Louis, a strong work about a mile from La Rochelle, by which that city was menaced. Without sufficient preconcertment, and without arranging a general alliance with the other Huguenot communities, the Rochellois, anxious for their own safety, applied to the Dukes of Rohan and

* *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. v. p. 148.

† *La Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, liv. iv. p. 697.

‡ *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iii. p. 161.

of Soubise, the former of whom undertook their defence by land, the latter by sea.

The war which succeeded presents little more than a series of petty and detached engagements, which it would be difficult to render intelligible; and to which, even if understood, it would be impossible to attach interest. Instead therefore of attempting a vague and indeterminate outline of its military occurrences, we prefer selecting from the mass of events preserved in the *Mémoires* of the Duke of Rohan, two striking incidents which acquaint us with somewhat of the spirit of the times.

The chief contest on land was waged in Languedoc and in the adjoining districts,* where the Maréchal de Themines commanded a royalist force of little less than 5000 men.* With these troops he spread terror wherever he advanced, till, on one occasion, he was checked for two whole days, and repulsed, with the loss of forty killed, by the valour of no more than seven armed peasants of Foix. Those intrepid soldiers had barricaded a sorry mud hovel called Chambornet, near Carlat, in which they maintained themselves, till the approach of artillery, and the failure of their own ammunition, warned them to attempt retreat. One of their party undertook to discover the point at which the hostile line could most easily be penetrated; and on his return, having been mistaken for an enemy, he received a musket shot in the thigh from a sentinel of the little garrison. Reckless however of his own life, he did not hesitate to urge his comrades to that escape, the possibility of which he had ascertained, but from which his wound would no longer allow himself to derive benefit. His brother, by whom the fatal shot had been fired, refused to abandon the sufferer whom he had unwittingly disabled; and another relative, touched by a similar feeling of affection, determined

* "4000 hommes de pied, et 600 maîtres et de canon." *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iii. p. 163.

to share his kinsmen's fate. Having assisted the retreat of their companions in arms under shelter of night, the three heroes awaited the dawn; and when at its return the attack on their weakened fortress was renewed, they fell sword in hand, selling their lives most dearly. "Their names," says the Duke of Rohan (although he has omitted to preserve them), "merit a place in history; their self-devotion may challenge comparison with the most memorable deeds of antiquity."* It is indeed a story which reminds us of the best days of Athens or of Sparta, rather than of France and of the seventeenth century.

In the naval campaign, Soubise, after some very gallant actions, found his squadron blockaded by a superior force in the narrow channel which separates the main land from the Isle of Rhé. The greater part of his mariners had already disembarked, and on board his largest ship, *La Vierge* (one out of several prizes which he had captured by boarding†), only five of his crew were remaining. Among them was their captain, Durant, who, hopeless of resistance when he perceived four of the royal squadron bearing down at once, jumped with a lighted match into the powder-magazine, and by blowing up his own ship destroyed those of his enemy also, with a loss of 736 men. Incredible as it may appear, two out of the five who manned *La Vierge* escaped this hideous carnage. A gentleman of Poitou, who was lying wounded on the deck, prevailed upon his son to swim to land a few minutes before the vessel was fired; and he himself was saved by falling unhurt, after the explosion, into one of the boats of the enemy.‡

Soubise was compelled to abandon his enterprise; and this disaster, in their immediate neighbourhood,

* *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iii. p. 168.

‡ *Id.* liv. iii. p. 174.

† *Id.* liv. iii. p. 156.

so far intimidated the Rochellois that they were anxious to profit by a treaty which the court was prepared to grant to the insurgents in Languedoc ; but the ill fortune which dispirited them naturally also increased the hopes of their enemies. Richelieu, indeed, had already imagined in his heart the overthrow of La Rochelle, and the king was at first persuaded to exclude that city from the benefit of any treaty which he might accord to the other Huguenots. "All else," he said, "who have taken up arms against me may expect clemency ; for La Rochelle it is quite another matter."* But there were political reasons which ere long modified the violence of this resolution. An alliance had been formed with England, the United Provinces, Venice, and the Duke of Savoy, against Spain ; and the ambassadors of the first-named power† were most urgent for the conclusion of a general peace with the Reformed at home, before the commencement of any foreign war.

The feelings of the people of England, in regard to the Huguenots, had been most unequivocally manifested in a transaction which occurred during this naval blockade of La Rochelle. While James I. was treating with the French cabinet for the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria, he promised to assist Louis in an attack on the Genoese with the loan of a ship of war and of seven armed merchant-vessels. On the accession of Charles I., and after the completion of his nuptials, this squadron was ordered to proceed to France. The merchants appear to have suspected the hateful service upon which they were to be really employed ; and they lingered behind when Admiral Pennington, who was appointed to the chief command, sailed in the Vanguard for Dieppe.

* Benoit, tom. ii. liv. ix. p. 453.

† The Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton.

1625.
May. On his arrival at that port, he received orders from Louis to give possession of his ship to the French admiral, together with such among his own crew as were willing to assist in the blockade of La Rochelle. Pennington, who was a brave and honourable man, considered the tenour of the instructions which he had received from the Duke of Buckingham, enjoining him to obey the orders of the King of France, but in nowise to *abandon his charge*. The surrender of his ship, and the dismissal of its company, seemed a violation of the latter clause; and resisting both threats and bribery, he resolutely declined compliance. His crew proceeded yet farther; they signed a round robin, explanatory of their reasons, which they placed under their captain's prayer-book,* and then weighed anchor, and sailed at once for England, declaring with nautical bluntness that "they had rather be hanged at home for disobedience, than either desert their ships, or give themselves up to the French, like slaves, to fight against their own religion."†

The rest of "the captains and companies" avowed their determination to act in like manner, and persevered, notwithstanding "they were tempted with chains of gold and other rewards." But peremptory orders were issued to Pennington for his immediate return to France; if the merchant-ships continued

* Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* vol. i. p. 325.

† Rushworth, vol. i. p. 175. Hume (vol. vi. p. 209.), who refers to this authority, mistakenly assigns the words to Pennington; and adds, "sailors, who at present are both careless and ignorant in all matters of religion, were at that time only ignorant." Neither of these assertions appears to be well founded. There is frequently a tincture of superstition about sailors, but at present we believe that they are very far from being either careless or ignorant in matters of religion; and assuredly their declining to fight against their own faith is not to be cited as a proof of the latter charge. In his next page, Hume affirms that "the Huguenots had no ground of complaint against the French court." The war in which they precipitately engaged was, no doubt, far from being politic; but so long as palpable breaches of good faith afford a ground of complaint, we must continue to believe that they had ample reason to be dissatisfied.

to refuse obedience, he was authorized "to use all means to compel them thereunto, even to their sinking;" and he was to place both them and the Vanguard at the absolute disposal of the King of France. It was not however till he had used coercion, and had even fired at the merchantmen as they were making away, that they yielded; and even then one of their captains broke through and returned to England.* Still their personal service was to be voluntary; and this both "man and boy" refused to afford, with the exception of a single gunner, who, differing from his mates, remained behind, and was killed while charging a cannon. When the Duke of Buckingham was impeached among other high crimes for a guilty knowledge of this transaction with France, the fate of the gunner was especially mentioned by Glanville, one of the managers of the commons, in his speech aggravating the charge. He added, moreover, that it had "been said by some of the French, that the Vanguard mowed them down like grass, to the great dishonour of the nation, the scandal of our religion, and to the disadvantage of this kingdom and all Christendom."† The accused denied any "practice or consent" to the employment of the squadron against La Rochelle; and appealed to his subsequent intercession with the King of France in its behalf as a proof of his good will towards that city. The abrupt termination of the impeachment deprives us of that minute evidence by which the charge might have been confirmed or dissipated; but upon comparing the only testimonies which remain, the full detail of circumstances

* Sir Ferdinando Gorge, or George, in the *Great Neptune*. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 323.

† Rushworth, vol. i. p. 383. Both Hume and Mrs. Macaulay agree in considering the mention of the gunner to be "frivolous;" but they differ widely in their estimate of his conduct. The former tells us that "he preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion;" the latter considers the death of "the miscreant" to have been "just and opportune." Vol. i. p. 286.

in Glanville's speech with the duke's very brief and general answer, it seems plain that the minister, even if unacquainted with the intention of the French king beforehand, was fully informed of it by Pennington on his return from Dieppe; and consequently, that by ordering him to resume his station and to surrender his ships, he did *not*, as he averred, "use all fit and honourable means to divert the course of their employment against Rochelle."

Either shamed by the outcry which this disgraceful expedition had occasioned, or really anxious to benefit the Reformed, the English minister in the end laboured to obtain a peace for La Rochelle. The chief stipulations on the part of the French court were that the celebration of the Roman Catholic worship should be permitted within its circuit, and that Fort Louis should remain undismantled.* The English ambassadors, through whose mediation the treaty had been negotiated, affixed their signatures and seals to an instrument expressing that their master guaranteed the treaty; † and that he had received a promise from the King of France to raze Fort Louis so soon as its demolition should appear convenient; ‡ an engagement purposely worded with vagueness, and productive of much future calamity.

The return of peace allowed the convention of the XXVth National Synod, which met at Castres early in the autumn. The king signified his pleasure to the deputies that none of their pastors should depart the realm, or receive

* *Vie du Cardinal Richelieu*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 265. Richelieu, although he strenuously advocated the peace, quitted the council chamber, in company with the Cardinal of Rochefoucault, before the treaty was signed, in order that he might not appear to grant any repose to heretics.

† *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iii. p. 184.

‡ *En tems convenable*. See the instrument drawn up by the Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton. Benoit, tom. ii. *Preuves*, p. 80. In the treaty of peace, with the customary French negligence as to foreign titles, the former of these envoys is styled Baron de Kingprington (Kensington). *Id. ibid.* p. 81.

employment from any foreign prince, without having first obtained the royal license.* A catalogue of all the Reformed Churches in France, distributed under their several provinces and colloquies, together with the names of their pastors, is appended to the acts of this Synod; from which it appears that, exclusive of Bearne, there were 623 churches arranged under 58 colloquies, and served by 638 ministers. Not a few, however, of the churches are entered as "destitute."†

The personal motives which induced Buckingham to engage his country in an unexpected war with France have been often explained, and appear to possess stronger claims upon our belief than secret history in general is able to advance.‡ It is not here that they need be discussed: it is enough for our purpose to state that the Duke of Soubise, who continued in London, prevailed upon Charles to declare himself the protector of the distressed Huguenots; and to insert in the state paper, which announced his reasons for breaking with Louis, a charge of numerous violations of the recent treaty. The King of England, it was said, had guaranteed that peace; and the King of France, contrary to its articles, had blocked up the towns, garrisons, and fortresses of his Protestant subjects, notwithstanding they had preserved his edicts unbroken.§

Invested with extraordinary powers, both as admiral of the fleet and commander-in-chief of the land forces, Buckingham sailed with a hundred ships and seven thousand soldiers

June 27.
1627.

* Ch. iii. p. 162.

† Ch. viii. p. 166.

‡ The narrative of Clarendon (vol. i. p. 38), and of Madame de Motteville (*Mém.* tom. i. p. 16), from which we chiefly derive our knowledge of the passion which Buckingham affected to entertain for Anne of Austria, are skillfully interwoven with each other by Mr. Brodie. *Hist. of the British Empire*, vol. ii. p. 139-142. See also Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 20, and the allusion to *quelques folles amours.* *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 209.

§ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 425.

nominally for the relief of the Palatinate, but, in the first instance, for the occupation of La Rochelle. So rashly had this expedition been undertaken, that no previous arrangement for its reception had been negotiated with the city which it was intended to relieve; and on the appearance of this large arma-

ment off the port, the Rochellois closed their gates, and refused admission to strangers concerning whose ultimate object they professed themselves doubtful and uninformed. True it is that they had been much aggrieved, and that in common with all the Huguenots of France they groaned under oppression. But no preparation had been made for a confederate rising; any immediate declaration of war would be followed by the certain loss of their harvest, not yet gathered in;* they were overawed by the neighbouring fortresses and garrisons; and the king was known to be at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, which might at any moment be directed against their walls. Above all, there was a strong party in the town, which the court had found means to influence, and which skilfully profited by the fears and doubts of its fellow-citizens in order to gain time for communication with its employers.†

While Soubise endeavoured to persuade the Rochellois to consult their own safety by admitting the English as allies,‡ Buckingham employed himself in a fruitless and unskilful descent on the Isle of Rhé.§ Having effected a landing, and chased the governor De Toiras into his citadel of St. Martin, after a severe contest and heavy loss, he permitted its garrison, which it is said ought to have been subdued in

* Buckingham to Lord Conway, July 28. *Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 28.

† *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 211.

‡ The admission of Soubise and Sir W. Beecher, Buckingham's secretary, was postponed for a whole day in consequence of a fast which the Rochellois were keeping at the time of their arrival. *Id.* p. 217.

§ The Isle of Rhé is well described, *Id.* p. 225.

a few days,* to resist him for three months. Even when the exhaustion of provisions in consequence of a long blockade seemed to insure surrender, the retention of a petty fortress near the landing place, which the English general had unaccountably neglected, enabled the besieged to receive supplies.

The lateness of the season, the failure of his stores, and the diminution of his forces by sickness and casualties, were cogent reasons with Buckingham for raising the siege; and after one more unsuccessful assault, in which he lost Nov. 6. both men and honour, he prepared to re-embark. Under cover of the smaller fortress the enemy had landed a considerable force; and while the English were embarrassed on a narrow causeway (terminated by a bridge which connected Rhé with the little island of Oie, whence they were to proceed on shipboard), a brisk attack threw their rear into confusion. They were destitute of artillery, which had been embarked some weeks before; † no defences had been constructed to protect the line of march. The cavalry taking to flight trampled down the foot which preceded it; and those slain, trodden to death, or drowned in the river, and in the salt pans which flanked the causeway, amounted to scarcely fewer than two thousand souls. Buckingham, to employ the language of a writer not inclined to press too heavily upon his memory, "returned totally dis-

* "Place à quatre bastions non encore parfaite, sans aucuns ouvrages de dehors."—*Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 223. Nani translates these words, and adds, "dentro mal munito di viveri e con poco presidio." *Hist. Venet.* lib. vi. tom. i. p. 357. "Après avoir assiégé trois mois un fort qui ne devoit tenir que huit jours."—*Vie du Card. Richelieu*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 348. Buckingham, however, in his own despatch to Lord Conway (July 28), calls St. Martin "a place of great strength, invincible if once perfected; and in this imperfect state that it now stands is so strong that the shortest way to take it is by famine."—*Hardwicke's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 28.

† *Expediō Buckinghamii Ducis in Ream Insulam*, p. 94. This history was written by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury from Buckingham's own communications, and was chiefly intended to controvert the statements by Isnard in his *Arcis Sammartiniana Obsidio*.

credited, both as an admiral and a general, and bringing no praise with him but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery."* These, indeed, are but slight extenuations, since the careless and the presumptuous are surely bound not to regard their own safety more than they do that of others.

The tardy declaration which the Rochellois had at length issued in Buckingham's favour seemed framed for no other purpose than to heighten the disgrace of their abandonment, and to afford the French court a fair pretext for the severity with which it visited their revolt. The king, who, during the early part of the late invasion, had been confined by illness, strenuously addressed himself throughout the whole following winter to preparations for the conquest of La Rochelle. The Dukes of Rohan and of Soubise were proclaimed traitors; and the parliament of Toulouse, exceeding its authority, which did not extend over peers of France, sentenced the former to be degraded from his rank, and to be torn asunder by four horses; offered fifty thousand crowns for his head, and promised to ennoble any one who would perpetrate his assassination.† Both the king and the Cardinal Richelieu personally superintended the lines of circumvallation with which La Rochelle was surrounded in a huge circuit of nine miles; and the latter, in common with the other generals, assumed the command of a particular division, and directed the movements of his brigade. But the reduction of the city appeared hopeless while its communications remained open by sea; and the powerful genius of Richelieu, equally

* Hume, ch. I. *ad. fin.* Buckingham's retreat is minutely described in a letter from Denzel Hollis to Sir Thomas Wentworth (the Earl of Strafford). Strafford's *Letters and Declarations*, vol. I. p. 41. Among the Harleian MSS. (6988) are several letters from Charles I. to Buckingham, in which the king approves his minister's conduct, and throws the blame of this unfortunate expedition upon the inadequacy of his supplies, and the conduct "of them at home."

† *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 237.

adapted to the field and to the cabinet, planned and executed a gigantic work, which has been fitly compared to the similar operation of Alexander before Tyre. The tides or the tempests had hitherto destroyed every barricade with which the ingenuity of professed engineers* had endeavoured to obstruct the entrance of the port; but Richelieu, selecting a spot beyond the range of cannon from the walls, resolved to bridge the 740 toises of channel† by a solid mole, with a single central opening. A frame work of huge piles was filled up with unhewn and uncemented stones; about sixty hulks laden with similar Cyclopean masonry were sunk to answer the purpose of buttresses; till the structure, decreasing pyramidally from a base of 12 toises to a crest of 4, towered above the highest water-mark, and presented a platform continually dry for the sentinels by whom it was occupied. One arm of this huge dyke overlapped the other, so that the entrance, instead of being in front, was lateral. Two *jettées* flanked its channel; and a *stoccade* of piles (named *chandeliers*), disposed in advance, and interlaced with chains, appeared to preclude all passage.

* Pompeo Tragono is mentioned by Nani as having expended much time to little purpose on this attempt. He is described rather as a clever theorist than as a practical engineer; "più famoso per l'inventioni che felice per l'effetto," lib. vi. tom. i. p. 359. An account of a chain thrown across the harbour is given in *Le Mercure Francois*, tom. viii. p. 783.

† Arcere *Hist. de la Rochelle*, tom. ii. p. 268, note, from actual measurement. Arcere (from whom we have borrowed the annexed cut) gives a very detailed account of the mole.



When Louis, fatigued by a seven months' campaign, returned to his capital, he nominated the cardinal his lieutenant-general in the armies of Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and D'Aunis,* and instructed all his *maréchaux* to yield as full obedience to the militant ecclesiastic as they would do to himself if present. Much hope was entertained by the besieged that the spring-tides of the vernal equinox might sweep away the mole, now gradually attaining its formidable completion; † but the labour of a few days repaired the trifling damage which it suffered; and the artillery mounted upon its face, the batteries which enfiladed the port from its opposite abutments, and the fleet moored at its entrance, promised defiance to any attempt which the English might hazard for its destruction.

Richelieu, forewarned that his enemies had sailed, urged the king's return; and Louis was present when the Earl of Denbigh ‡ appeared in the offing with a fleet of ninety vessels, more than half of them being ships of war. During seven days, foul weather prevented the English admiral from commencing his operations; on the eighth, he discovered that his ships drew too much water to approach the city; and having discharged a broadside at the French squadron, he tacked, and sailed away. A single sloop, under cover of night, penetrated into the harbour, and landed there her pittance of supply, which seemed rather a mockery than a relief to the starving inhabitants. §

Yet neither the bitterness of this disappointment,

* *Vie du Card. Richelieu*, tom. i. p. 365.

† *Vitt. Siri. Memorie recondite*, tom. vi. p. 360.

‡ *Le Comte d'Emby*, or *d'Embey*, as the French writers call him. Nani incorrectly says, that *Il Conte d'Embii* had the command of *la terza flotta*, lib. vii. tom. i. p. 392.

§ A most piteous letter from the Rochellois to Charles I., written after Denbigh's retirement, is given by Mersault. *Hist. de la dernière Siège de la Rochelle*, p. 172.

nor the intelligence of Buckingham's assassination at the moment in which he was preparing a renewed attempt for their relief, diminished the constancy of the Rochellois. In spite of the ravages of disease and famine, they declined all overtures from the cardinal, determined to await the chance of succour still promised by England, and of the injury which a stormy autumn might inflict upon the mole. The mayor, Guiton, was distinguished by his firmness, and he shut his ears to the clamours of a faction which perpetually urged surrender. The leaders of that party, in the hope of exciting a strong sympathy among the populace which might compel its magistrates to their purpose, one night assembled a crowd of women, children, and aged persons, of all who consumed stores without contributing to defence, and drove them beyond the walls. As this wretched band approached the lines of the besiegers at dawn they were repulsed by musketry; and the king, forgetful of the example afforded by his father under similar circumstances during the investment of Paris, pursued them even to the glacis, on which they sought scanty nourishment from grass and roots, till they were re-admitted within the city.*

A lively portraiture of the miseries to which the besieged were exposed is afforded to us in a journal kept by one of the sufferers. Pierre Meruault, a son of the chief artillery-officer in the garrison, was a youth about twenty years of age at the time of the siege; and from his own memoranda and his father's communications, we obtain as intimate a knowledge of the condition of La Rochelle as similar means have before afforded us of the calamities of Sancerre. So early as the close of June, he tells us in a few words which comment would only weaken, "in short

* *Vitt. Siri. Mem. rec.* tom. vi. p. 442. *Vie du Card. Richelieu*, tom. i. p. 377. Meruault, p. 196, speaks only of some stragglers who were driven in; but, he adds, that the besiegers violated the women, and then stripped them naked.

from this moment the famine began to be horrible.* He then presents an odious catalogue of the substitutes for food to which the pangs of hunger compelled resource; adding that the prevalent disease resembled scurvy, and carried off daily between two and three hundred victims.† In some instances, the approach of dissolution was so marked, and yet so gradual, that the dying almost predicted the hour in which they should cease to exist; and of two Englishmen who are mentioned as having ordered their coffins to be ready at a given time, one was already a corpse, the other was in his last agony when the astonished maker carried his work home.‡

One touching incident is recorded by Meruault with great simplicity. He gives the names of the parties chiefly concerned, with whom he was personally well acquainted; and the narrative is marked by an air of truth which renders its authenticity undoubted. During the height of calamity among the Rochellois, some charitable individuals who had previously formed secret magazines, relieved their starving brethren, without blazoning their good deeds. The relict of a merchant named Prosni, who was left with the charge of four orphan children, had liberally distributed her stores while any thing remained among her less fortunate neighbours; and whenever she was reproached with profusion and want of foresight by a rich sister-in-law of less benevolent temper, she was in the habit of replying, "The Lord will provide for us." At length, when her stock of food was utterly exhausted, and she was spurned with taunts from the door of her relative, she returned home destitute, broken-hearted, and prepared to die together with her children. But it seemed as if the mercies once displayed at Zarephath were again to be manifested; and that there

* "Bref dès ce temps la famine commenca d'estre horrible." p. 164.

† *Id.* p. 239.

‡ *Id.* p. 136.

was still a barrel and a cruse in reserve for the widow who, humbly confident in the bounty of Heaven, had shared her last morsel with the suppliant in affliction. Her little ones met her at the threshold with cries of joy. During her short absence, a stranger, visiting the house, had deposited in it a sack of flour; and the single bushel which it contained was so husbanded as to preserve their lives till the close of the siege. Their unknown benefactor was never revealed; but the pious mother was able to reply to her unbelieving kinswoman, "The Lord *hath* provided for us!"*

The summer was at an end before a third English fleet of more than 100 sail, in two
Sept. 18. divisions, appeared off the Isle of Rhé. The Earl of Lindsey, by whom this powerful force was commanded, amused himself for a while by idle reconnoissances and a distant cannonade.† The mole was now complete, and nearly 45,000 men were assembled for its defence; forty pieces of cannon on one shore, twenty-five on the other, flanked the approaches; and the narrow passage in its centre, scarcely presenting 150 feet in breadth, was guarded by a flotilla of innumerable vessels. Some attempts were made to destroy the French armament by fire-ships, which were directed unskillfully
Oct. 22. and exploded harmlessly.‡ Soubise, who led the van, was ill-supported when he twice

endeavoured to force an entrance; and after two days wasted rather in demonstrations than actually devoted to engagement, the English admiral anchored out of the range of shot. Floating mines had been constructed by bricking the holds of three vessels charged with huge stones and 12,000lbs. of

* *Id.* p. 242.

† "En ces deux jours ne fut tué un seul Anglois dans leurs vaisseaux. *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 311.

‡ "La plupart des navires à feu furent consummez inutilement pour estre mal conduits. *Id.* p. 314.

powder; but to attach them to the mole was considered too hazardous an experiment, and they were left unemployed.* The miserable inhabitants, thus frustrated in their last expectation, reduced from 15,000 souls (the population first contained within the ramparts) to less than one third of that number; their houses more frequently tenanted by ghastly corpses than by living men, since the survivors were unable even to bury their dead,† at length beat a parley, and submitted to Richelieu's terms, while their allies remained in sight as passive witnesses of the negotiation. Oct. 28.

The very leniency of the conditions which the cardinal subscribed must have created a suspicion that they would not be long observed. The leading clauses guaranteed amnesty, the free exercise of the Reformed religion, and the restoration of all their property to the citizens. But it was soon evident that the court intended to annex their own interpretation to these seemingly mild articles. The first evasion affected two helpless women. The sister of the Duke of Rohan, and his mother, a commanding and high-spirited matron,‡ now passed her seventieth year, had shared all the horrors and privations of the siege, sustaining themselves on an allotment of food as scanty and oftentimes as loathsome as was doled out to their fellow-sufferers.

* Five ships were lost on their return, "which had some of those great stones that were brought to build Paul's, for ballast, and for other uses, within them, which could promise no good success; for I never heard of any thing that prospered which, being once designed for the house of God, was alienated from that use."—Howell, *Familiar Letters*, book i. sec. 5. p. 204; where, as is often the case in the same work, some mistake must have taken place in the date. It is given Sept. 1, and the letter states that news had then arrived of the surrender and dismantling of La Rochelle.

Sir Philip Warwick is the only contemporary writer who does not condemn Lindsey; according to that authority he "made some noble attempts."—*Memoirs*, p. 26.

† *Vie du Cardinal Richelieu*, tom. i. p. 401.

‡ "Donna d'altissimo spirito e di grande autorità."—Nani, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 356.

Unwilling to accredit any false belief that the capitulation had resulted from their suggestion, or out of respect to their rank, these noble ladies requested that their names might not be specifically mentioned in its articles; and this omission, prompted by a delicate sense of honour, was pleaded by the king as an excuse for retaining them as prisoners. The claims both of their sex and of their station were disregarded; they were condemned to the most rigid seclusion, denied the ordinances of religion, and allowed the attendance of only one domestic. They submitted to this harsh usage with unshaken fortitude; and the duchess found means to warn her son of Rohan who, during the whole siege had been engaged in desultory operations in Guienne and Upper Languedoc, that he must not confide in any letter which he might receive under her hand, since she knew not in what terms she might be compelled to write; urging him at the same time to lay aside all anxiety for her fate, and to persist unceasingly in his former exertions.*

Nov. At length the fatal edict was promulgated, which, in despite of the recent capitulation, for ever annihilated the independence of La Rochelle. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be the established faith of the city and of the surrounding territory of Aunis, and the Huguenot church was converted into an Episcopal cathedral. A spot in the suburbs was assigned to the exiled congregation, upon which they were permitted to build, if they so pleased; and when they complained of the infraction of that article of the treaty which promised them the exercise of their religion *within* the walls, the commissioners insultingly pointed to the soldiers employed in the work of demolition as a proof that their new place of worship would not be *without* the walls, and conse-

* *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 316.

quently that the letter of the conditions was faithfully observed. So utterly were the fortifications to be razed (excepting towards the coast, on which it was necessary that some defences should exist to guard against piratical incursions) that every stone was to be levelled, every ditch to be filled; and not a wall was allowed to remain which secured even the privacy of a garden.* No foreigner, although naturalized, was permitted to fix his residence in the city; and a similar prohibition extended to every dissenter from the Roman Catholic faith, who had not been domiciliated before the invasion of the English. As if these inflictions were not sufficiently degrading, a cross was erected in the castle-yard, bearing on its pedestal an inscription commemorative of the surrender of the city; a solemn thanksgiving for which event was to be celebrated by an anniversary procession on every returning 21st of November. Finally the civic constitution was abolished; and even the bell was ordered to be melted, which had hitherto summoned to their corporate assemblies the mayor, sheriffs, and commoners, the peers, and the burgesses.† When the heroic Guiton was informed of the extinction of his dignity, he exclaimed against this perfidy with characteristic bitterness:—"Had I known," he said, "that the king would have failed in his promises, he might have entered the city, but not while a single man remained alive within its circuit."‡ The possession indeed of supplies for a few more days might perhaps have changed the fortune of the siege. The stormy season commenced on the very day of the capitulation, and fifty toises of the mole were washed away. The king himself, with whom it was a favourite promenade, was exposed to considerable danger by the falling of one of its beams; and had

* *Vie du Card. Richelieu*, tom. ii. p. 406.

† *Id. ibid.*

‡ *Id. p. 390.*

he not jumped aside with great activity, he must have been swept into the sea.*

* *Id.* p. 400. A violent hurricane from the S. E. shattered the mole on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of November. Meruault, p. 331. "Richelieu fit une digue, sur la mer," says Voltaire, "à l'exemple d'Alexandre, et entra dans la Rochelle en conquerant; mais une marée un peu forte ou un peu plus de diligence de la part des Anglois, delivraient la Rochelle, et faisaient passer Richelieu pour un téméraire."—*Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. vi. *ad. fin.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Duke of Rohan obtains a peace—He engages in the service of Venice—Dismantling of the cautionary towns—XXVth National Synod—Tranquillity under Richelieu—Petty grievances—XXVIIth National Synod—Regulation of the Slave Trade—Richelieu's supposed project of reunion—Death of Richelieu, and of Louis XIII.—Administration of Mazarin—XXVIIIth National Synod—Excluding ordinances—Conversions—Drelincourt and the Convertisseurs—Abjuration of a Jesuit—The Huguenots espouse the King's party during the Fronde—Their favour under Mazarin—Massacre of the Vaudois—Energy of Cromwell—Louis XIV. disavows participation in it—Provincial Commissioners—XXIXth and last National Synod—Suppression of National Synods.

WITH the surrender of La Rochelle were extinguished the chief hopes of the Reformed. Nevertheless the Duke of Rohan kept the field till the middle of the following summer. A savage military execution on the capture of Privas by the royal troops* greatly contributed to increase the terrors of those Huguenots who still remained in arms, and led to the speedy surrender of the strong town of Alez, from which a long resistance might have been expected. The King of England had already concluded peace; and although Spain appeared to court an alliance, little confidence could be placed on the offers of so bigoted a power. No small skill was displayed by the Duke of Rohan in preventing the shattered remnants of his party from treating separately; and by dint of the most unshrinking firmness, he at length obtained for the general body of Huguenots a treaty, which, although it sufficiently testified the decline of their former power, under all circumstances must be considered by no means disadvantageous.

1629.
May.

* *Mém. de Rohan*, liv. iv. p. 345.

July. The royal edict of *grace and pardon*, as it was styled, announced in a wordy preamble the triumphs of Louis over his rebellious subjects; the towns which he had subdued were ostentatiously enumerated, and the clemency which he was disposed to manifest was sedulously blazoned. The king then proceeded to enact, as usual, the general establishment of the Roman Catholic religion; and, for the first time, he expressed a strong desire that the pretended Reformed, to whom he granted toleration, might profit by their tranquillity, and become open to conversion. He exhorted them, laying aside all passions, to admit the light of Heaven, and to return to a Church in which their ancestors had lived for 1200 years without change or interruption. "What greater testimony of paternal affection can I offer," he then added, assuming the benevolent tone of a father to his people, "than a wish to see all my children treading in the same path of salvation which I myself pursue!"

In order to assist these views of proselytism care was to be taken that, in the towns restored to the Catholic domination, no monastic orders should be settled but such as were known to live in strict observance of their rule and discipline. Efficient *curés* were in like manner to be dispersed through the provinces, with an income which might everywhere enable them to discharge their functions worthily. The proscription of the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise was annulled, and all persons engaged in the late rebellion were fully pardoned. The Edict of Nantes was fixed as the standard to which the Huguenots might refer for their privileges; and preparatory to certain local and fiscal regulations with which the treaty closed, appeared the weightiest of its clauses, that which enjoined the utter demolition of the fortifications in all the cautionary towns within three months from the registering of this instrument.*

* The edict is printed at length by Benoit, tom. ii. *Preuves*, p. 92.

Great as was the sacrifice which compliance with this article required, the Duke of Rohan perceived that he must either assent to it, or provoke the revocation of every edict under which any security could still be retained. The king had it in his power to compel that obedience which he was now prepared to ask as a voluntary offering; and the lapse of a few weeks, at the utmost of a few months, would force from the Huguenots at the sword's point that consent which they were now asked to grant by a stroke of the pen. Having thus discreetly consulted the public interests, Rohan obtained the release of his mother and sister, and fixed his abode at Venice, in the service of which power he became engaged. In his latter years, by one of those revolutions with which history abounds, as if to mock all human pretensions to consistency, he was employed to advance the Protestant cause in Germany, under the guidance of the very hand which had inflicted upon it the deadliest injury in his native country. He died in the 68th year of his age, in consequence of wounds received in the battle of Rhinfeld; and the official historiographer of Venice records with pride, that the arms of a warrior so rich in glory were bequeathed by him as a legacy of affection to the republic whose forces he had once commanded.*

The return of peace allowed the convention of the XXVIth National Synod; but little business of any interest was transacted when it met at Charenton. The king, through his commissioner, Gallard, peremptorily signified his will, that the recent prohibitions of the engagement of foreigners in the ministry, and of the departure of ministers out of the realm without permission, should be most precisely observed; and he received an humble assurance of obedience. It was plain, indeed, that the deputies were spirit-

1658.

1631.
Sept. 1.
Oct. 10.

* Nani, lib. x. tom. i. p. 563.

broken. In one instance only, and that one of very minor importance, do we trace any of the vigour by which former synods had been animated. Great indignation was expressed at the "deplorable infirmity" of certain brethren who, yielding to the command of the magistrates, had consented "to light their houses and hang out candles on that festival which goes by the name of the holy sacrament." The assembly expressed itself as wanting words to convey its just grief and resentment at the observation of an ordinance "which obliges conscience to yield unto the creature that self-same honour which is due unto the Creator;" and it adjured, with forms of peculiar solemnity, all persons who "have fallen into sins so repugnant unto true piety," to "revive their zeal, and show themselves loyal followers of the faith and constancy of their fathers, and to testify by their perseverance in well-doing the sincerity and soundness of their repentance, and of their affection to the service of God."* The undue magnitude assigned to this frivolous matter is not among the least certain proofs that the deputies wanted courage to address themselves to concerns of weightier import.

The only other particular demanding remark in their proceedings is the sudden respect with which they appear to have been inspired for Greek literature. Instead of recommending as heretofore the suppression of professorships of that language, they now pronounced acquaintance with it to be "absolutely necessary for all *proposans* who aspire to the sacred ministry." They wished the knowledge of it to be upheld as a singular ornament to their universities; nevertheless, since their deep poverty would not allow them to afford any endowment for that purpose, they were content to order that it should be diligently taught in the first and second classes;

* Ch. xxi. p. 296

so that scholars "when they are promoted unto the public lectures may be of sufficient capacity to read and understand authors in their original language, and be able to give a satisfactory account of them."^{*}

During most of the remainder of Richelieu's active and turbulent administration, the Huguenots appear to have been almost forgotten. The kingdom, indeed, was incessantly distracted by factions and cabals; and scarcely a year passed without the explosion of more than one conspiracy by which the power or even the life of the cardinal was menaced. But neither abroad nor at home were the Huguenots elevated (if that word may be applied without abuse) to the dangerous rank of a political party; and they lived, if not always in the undisturbed enjoyment of the privileges assured to them by law, at least in much greater tranquillity than while struggling for their attainment. Happier as a neglected sect than as a church which aspired to establishment, they neither excited fear nor provoked jealousy; and government sometimes voluntarily bestowed its favour on those whom not many years before it had been most anxious to degrade. The Duke of Sully, on his retirement from court, had been allowed to retain the office of grand master of the artillery; and Louis, in 1634, added to that important charge the dignity of a *maréchal's bâton*, which the veteran enjoyed during the seven remaining years of his life.†

1634.
Sept.

Occasionally, indeed, the Huguenots were exposed to some local wrongs. In Poitou especially they had to complain of injurious *arrêts*, published against them by a tribunal, which had often been productive of great good. Commissioners selected from one

* Ch. xxiv. sec. 3. p. 305.

† A very minute and interesting account of Sully's domestic life after his retirement may be found in the *Supplement* to his *Mémoires*, tom. viii. He died in his eighty-second year, on Dec. 21, 1641.

or more parliaments, and forming a court, named *Les Grands Jours*, were in the habit of traversing the provinces, and of applying judicial remedies to cases which exceeded the powers of the resident magistracy. In the autumn of 1634. these itinerant judges addressed themselves to a meddling regulation of the Huguenots. That their interference was chiefly minute and directed to petty matters, was a circumstance which contributed to render it the more vexatious, since the grievances which it occasioned, however galling to the sufferers, were the more likely to be disregarded if an appeal were made to superior authorities. The Reformed were prohibited from burying their dead in Roman Catholic cemeteries, under a heavy penalty and a threat of disinterment; they were deprived of the use of bells, hitherto rung to notify their hours of service; landed proprietors were enjoined to name with a precision heretofore not required the particular estates which they chose to consider their principal residences, and on which alone they were allowed the exercise of their worship; and lastly, the application of the title "church" to their assemblies, and the omission of the word "pretended," whenever the Reformed religion was mentioned, subjected the incautious speaker or writer to a fine of 500 livres.*

These were needless and very troublesome exercises of power wantoning in its superiority. But some other ordinances which have been considered equally objectionable admit of a fair defence. It would have been most anomalous if, at a season in which the states-general were no longer convoked,

* Benoit amusingly adds, that he had known Roman Catholic notaries so scrupulous, that when the minutes of a marriage contract were brought to them beginning with the usual form, "*Traitté de mariage qui sous le bon plaisir de Dieu sera célébré,*" &c., they struck out "*sous le bon plaisir de Dieu,*" as doing too much honour to heresy, tom. ii. p. 541.

a sect adverse to the dominant church had been allowed to address the throne in political assemblies.* The demolition of meeting-houses erected on ground already dedicated to the use of another religion, or so constructed as to interrupt its services, may surely be justified. There was little hardship in enjoining that the Reformed should either withdraw when the tinkling of the bell announced that the procession of the host was approaching, or that, if they remained while it passed, they should consent to pay it the ordinary marks of honour; and those provisions were salutary instead of being tyrannous, which prohibited the Huguenots from frequenting taverns during the hours set apart for Romanist devotion, and forbade them from inveighing in harsh terms, or, as the law expresses itself, from blasphemy against the mysteries of a religion from which they dissented. The outward ordinances of any faith professed under the authority of a government from which we derive protection are entitled to at least our forbearance, even, if from motives of conscience, we refuse conformity to its doctrines.

The edict which the clergy obtained against blasphemers of God, the virgin, and the saints, was indeed extravagantly severe; and if executed by vindictive zeal, might without doubt have been most frightfully abused. The first four offences were visited by pecuniary mulcts; the fifth exposed the criminal to the pillory; for the sixth his upper, for the seventh his under lip was to be slit; and if he persevered to an eighth violation of the law, he was to lose his tongue. But punishments thus disproportioned to the offences which they are designed to restrain are seldom exacted; and, however much they may disgrace the

1636.
March 9.

* Rulhiere "Eclaircissemens sur les causes de la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes."—*Œuvres*, tom. v. p. 11.

statute-book which registers them, they remain upon its pages for the most part as a dead and inoperative letter.

1637.
May 7. Either the court was reluctant to grant, or the Huguenots were careless in requesting, a new ecclesiastical assembly; and six years elapsed after the meeting at Charenton before another National Synod, the XXVIIIth, was convened at Alençon. The royal commissioner, the Sieur de St. Mars, opened the session with a speech declaratory of the king's supremacy, and of the necessity of unqualified submission on the part of his subjects. "All authority is of God, and therefore, by consequence, on this immovable foundation, you must needs be infallibly obedient." He then endeavoured to convince his hearers that they were to be congratulated upon their subjugation; and that their security was much more fixed and stable since they had depended upon the sole favour of the crown, than when they possessed "those many fortresses and places of surety," whereon they reposed "too much confidence; all of which are now reduced to nothing." This lofty exordium was a prelude to some very despotic enactments. All mutual correspondence between their churches, both foreign and domestic, was forbidden.* A censorship of religious books, whether printed within or without the kingdom, was established. By an ordinance which entirely deprived many places of spiritual superintendence, ministers were prohibited from officiating anywhere but in their actual residences; and all preachers who should make excursions to neighbouring spots, which they termed *annexés* or chapels of ease, were excluded from the privileges and benefits of the edicts.

The reply of the Synod evinced profound humility; and the speeches which their deputies were

* Ch. iii. sec. ii. iii.

instructed to deliver at court, both to the king and to the cardinal, were marked by very florid and very fulsome adulation. "We, sire," was part of their address to the former, "are those very persons who believe and teach that the royal authority is not of human but of Divine institution, unto which every soul ought to be subjected; and we are those who believe and teach the sovereignty and independency of your crown, which resembling those higher mountains, whose lofty heads being exalted above the middle region of the air, are never frightened with thunders nor lightnings. No, sire, you hold it from God only, and it is solely depending on Him, and you are next in power unto Him, the sun of this heaven, the soul of this vast body, the heart of this Gallic monarchy." In similar language they assured Richelieu, "The stedfastness of God and the king's word are visible in the face of your eminency, you being their most lively portraiture. We cannot be ignorant, my lord, that your eminency is that intelligence who moves this admirable monarchy with the greatest regularity; that assistant spirit of this great body which heretofore was like one of the floating islands; but now your most admired conduct has bound it so fast with the chains of the royal authority, that, in the greatest and most astonishing tempests, it abideth firm and immovable;" and they declared, that "next to God and the king he was their surest sanctuary." The cardinal's answer does not appear; but from the king they gained little by their unworthy prostration. He replied, that he would answer their *cahier* of grievances as soon as their *synod* should be dissolved. "In the mean while, 'tis your interest to break up as soon as possible, lest your longer sitting in our town of Alençon should be imputed to you as a failure of duty to us, and a transgression of our edicts and declarations."^{*}

* Quick, p. 251.

On a subject which had been very little discussed in the seventeenth century, and concerning which just principles have been slow in establishing themselves even in our own times, the Calvinistic divines seem to have been considerably in advance of their generation. "However men may have a right to buy or keep slaves, and this be not condemned by the word of God, nor is it abolished by the preaching of the Gospel in far the greatest part of Europe; and though there has been insensibly brought in a custom to the contrary, and that merchants purchase and dispose of them as of their proper goods and chattels, especially such as traffic on the coasts of Africa and the Indies, where this commerce is permitted, do buy from the barbarians, either by way of exchange of goods or for ready money, men and women slaves, who, being once in their power and possession, they do again openly sell in the market, or truck them away unto others: This assembly, confirming that canon made on this occasion by the provincial Synod of Normandy, doth exhort the faithful not to abuse this their liberty contrary to the rules of Christian charity, nor to transfer these poor infidels into other hands besides those of Christians, who may deal kindly and humanely with them; and above all, may take special care of their precious immortal souls, and see them instructed in the Christian religion."*

The Synod appears in this instance to have drawn its distinction with much sagacity. It perceived, that however contrary that most detestable traffic which it sought to regulate might be to the *spirit* of Christianity, it was not anywhere forbidden by the *letter* of our faith; and short of its abolition, which the deputies could little be expected to propose, no provisions seem better calculated to mitigate the abomination than those which they have recommended.

* Ch. xv. sec. 4.

That Richelieu meditated a yet farther depression, perhaps a total extinction of the Huguenots, is little to be doubted; for no half measures were ever admitted into his policy. But we have already pointed to the more cogent interests which absorbed his attention, and precluded the furtherance of his design. A subtle project of *reunion* has been attributed to him, which with more correctness might be styled *submersion*—for every vital article of the Reformed creed was to be gradually abandoned in the process of consolidating the churches. A Capucin, named Joseph, deeply in the minister's confidence, is said to have intrigued with the Huguenots, and by cajoling some and corrupting others to have raised strong hopes of ultimate success. Samuel Petit, the theological professor at Nîmes, a most distinguished scholar and amiable man, entered with good faith upon the consideration of any scheme which might promote charity. La Milletière, a bustling layman, on the contrary, seduced by ambitious hope, or surrendering himself to venality, insinuated absolute Romanism under the pretext of reconciliation.* So unfortunate was he in his attempts, so inadequate to the great task which he had undertaken, that while smarting under the refutation of Jean Daillé, one of the most celebrated ministers of Charenton expressly employed to extinguish his "new concerted lights,"† he encountered also a censure from the Sorbonne.‡ In the end, however, after expulsion from the Reformed communion, he openly adhered to that of Rome; and in this restless pursuit of notoriety he was destined to

* In a tract, entitled "Les Moyens de la Paix Chrétienne en la Réunion des Catholiques et Evangeliques sur les differends de la Religion."

† Quick, p. 361. The title of Daillé's tract is, "Examen de l'advis de M. De la Milletière sur l'accordement des differends de la Religion."

‡ The Censure of the Sorbonne is published in *Les Œuvres de Rivet*, tom. lii. p. 976; but there is a question which may be found discussed by Bayle in his notice of La Milletière, whether it is to be esteemed a censure approved by the faculty

undergo another signal defeat in a conference which he provoked with Drelincourt, one of the most powerful controversialists of the Church which the wavering apostate had abandoned.*

1643. The death of Richelieu was followed six months afterward by that of Louis XIII. † and the chief power during the minority of the infant king ‡ passed into hands less imperious, but scarcely less adroit than those of the deceased minister. Diplomatic services conducted with no little skill in Italy had introduced Julio Mazarini, a native of Piscina, § to the friendship of Richelieu; and he so far availed himself of that high protection as to obtain a cardinal's hat during the life of his patron, || and to be nominated successor to his state functions at his decease. Mazarin (as he is generally called) was appointed one of his executors by Louis XIII. when on his death-bed; and the influence which he had established over Anne of Austria, the royal widow, secured to him the high post of chief minister during her regency.

Embroidered in war both with Spain and with the Emperor, and conscious that as a foreigner he was regarded with jealousy by the people whom he had been invited to govern, Mazarin was little inclined in the outset of his rule to provoke opposition from the Huguenots. He immediately confirmed the privileges accorded by the Edict of Nantes, in terms similar to those employed at the commencement of

* La Milletière abjured in 1645, after having been excommunicated by the Synod of Charenton. Charles Drelincourt, styled by Bayle, "le fleau des Controvertistes Catholiques," was a minister of Charenton, and died in 1669. His work, "Les consolations de l'Âme contre les frayeurs de la Mort," for a long time was universally popular, and has been translated into various languages. It is now, perhaps, best known in England from containing in its prefatory matter the "Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal," a fiction invented either by the translator, D'Assigny, or, as is said, by De Foe.

† Richelieu died Dec. 4, 1642. Louis XIII. May, 1643.

‡ Louis XIV. born Sept. 15, 1638.

§ Born in 1602.

|| In 1641.

the late reign,* and he licensed the convention of the XXVIIIth National Synod, which did not meet till the close of the following year.

Charenton was for the third time selected as the place of assembly; and the royal Commissioner Cúmont, Lord of Boisgrollier, opened the debates with a speech displaying the general prosperity of the kingdom. Thence he passed to considerations more special and peculiar to the Huguenots. The confirmation of the edicts, the admission of the Reformed to all dignities and offices† in the state, and the assembling of the Synod which they were then holding "at the very gates of the metropolis, in the very face and view of all France and of this infinite people of Paris" (a people who they were warned greatly differed from them in manners, humours, and inclinations, and who were therefore likely to be severe witnesses and judges of all their actions), were cited as so many instances of royal indulgence which demanded returns of the warmest gratitude. They were then enjoined in somewhat peremptory language to abstain from several practices which we have already seen forbidden, but in which it may be believed from this new prohibition that they had continued to abide. A veto was imposed upon Geneva, Swisserland, Holland, and England, as places of education for youth designed for the ministry; those countries were stigmatized as republican, averse from monarchy, and likely to imbue the uninformed with corrupt principles about secular and political affairs. In conclusion, certain infractions of the edicts of which they had been guilty, especially in Languedoc, were characterized as seditious, contrary to their duty, prejudicial to the king and to

Dec. 26,
1644,
to
Jan. 26,
1645.

* Benoit, tom. iii. *Preuves*, p. 3, dated July 8, 1643.

† Jean de Gassion, who had served much under Gustavus Adolphus, and the Viscount de Turenne, had been nominated *Maréchaux* of France since the new accession.

the public tranquillity; and while they were cautioned that effectual measures would be taken to prevent the repetition of similar illegal acts, a confident hope was expressed that their own circumspection would render it unnecessary to put such measures in execution.*

The reply of the moderator commenced with a courtly echo of the speech. It deplored the "most sad and black eclipse" which, on the late king's death, menaced them with "the everlasting darkneses of an inconsolable grief and an irremediable confusion;" until, to their "incredible joy and admiration," the peace and happiness of France shone out again in a "new bright star from the east." After due anticipations respecting the infant king ("whose birth was so long desired, and at last obtained by the joint prayers of his people, and more especially of the churches,"†) the speaker proceeded to encomiums on the regency; and then, recapitulating the benefits which the Huguenots were permitted to enjoy, he added that "all these and many other considerations do enforce our souls with a sweet and pleasing violence to break forth into enlarged praises and inflamed thankfulness unto his majesty." Notwithstanding this adulatory proœmium, he ventured afterward to defend his brethren against many of the charges which the commissioner had advanced. He argued that the open denouncement of the corruptions of Rome was coeval with the origin of their Church; and that this avowal of their sentiments was far more honest than any ambiguous or equivocating dissimulation; that they had not employed stronger terms in impugning the council of Trent than had been used by the present king's maternal ancestor, the Emperor Charles V., by Henry II., and by Charles IX. He extenuated

* Quick, tom ii. p. 426, 432.

† Quick's caustic note on these words reminds us of some of those by Swift on Burnet. "They need not be proud of it," tom. ii. p. 423.

the proceedings of their ministers in Languedoc ; and he protested strongly against the restrictions sought to be imposed upon education. The countries from which it was intended to exclude them were, he said, among the firmest allies of France, and the existing pastors who had studied in their universities had never withdrawn from legitimate obedience, or manifested dislike to monarchy.

A very lengthy form of service for baptizing Pagans, Jews, Mahometans, and Anabaptists, converted to the Christian faith, was added to the discipline by this Synod. In consequence of a report from certain deputies of the maritime provinces of a great influx of persons styling themselves *Independents*,* and disclaiming all church government, it was considered necessary to issue a caution against their errors. The duty of refusing tokens of respect to the procession of the host was strenuously maintained ; and it is impossible not to admire the spirit of candour and openness which is mingled with much false reasoning against an innocent compliance with received customs. To take off the hat as the idol passes by is affirmed to be a rash and inconsiderate oppugning of truth ; a shameful betrayal of conscience ; a vile example, utterly unbecoming that worthy name that is called upon them ; a prevarication in religion ; and a profanation of God's glory. All who obstinately abide in such impious resolutions are to be pursued and prosecuted with church censure "as being persons utterly unworthy of communion with the saints of God." The outcry here may be thought louder than the offence demands ; but there was considerable manliness in the contempt expressed for those "sordid and servile spirits," who, glossing over their conformity with

* Quick professes himself unable to decide whether "the persons thus qualified by the Synod came from the Old or the New England." Vol. II. p. 467.

false and flattering excuses, pretended that they rendered a civil salutation to the priest, without any regard to the functions in which he was engaged.*

The delinquency of La Milletière, to which we have already alluded, was fully discussed by this Synod; and after an enumeration of his many offences, a well-deserved excommunication was decreed and published against him;† both the spirit and the language of which are singularly contrasted with those of the similar instrument which we have before recorded in the case of Ferrier. The mitigated tone may perhaps be attributed to a consciousness of decaying strength rather than to a decrease of zeal.

One grievance of which the deputies complained, in a letter addressed to the king, appears to have been a source of very material injury. "Through the rigour of some of your majesty's officers those of our religion are excluded from all employments, and cannot, though they have served apprenticeships, be admitted to set up as masters for themselves in any one kind of trade whatsoever."‡ The difficulty here objected to was probably the result of private combination; but in later years the oppression became legalized, and we find abundant edicts expressly closing particular occupations against the Reformed. Thus the parliament of Rouen would not permit any Huguenot resident in that city to be admitted as a master goldsmith till it was proved that there were fourteen Catholics of the same trade to counterbalance his heresy.§ The council of state annulled the diplomas of all Huguenot apothecaries practising at Dieppe, and inflicted a penalty of 3000 livres upon any Reformed druggist

* Ch. xiv. sec. 11.

† Ch. xv. art. 1.

‡ Quick, vol. ii. p. 444.

§ Arrêt, dated July 13, 1665. Benoit, tom. v. Preuves, p. 13.

who should presume to open a shop and vend medicines within its precincts.*

Some excuse might be pleaded for an ordinance issued by the king himself prohibiting the Reformed of either sex from engaging as midwives. By those who believed that the reception of the Viaticum by the dying mother, and the administration of baptism to her infant, gifted with a few minutes' life, were absolutely essential to salvation, it might be urged, not without reason, that there was hazard in employing, at very critical moments, those who held contrary opinions. A Huguenot accoucheur might not think it discreet to increase the danger of his patient by warning her of the approach of symptoms which rendered her existence precarious; and those who denied the validity of lay-baptism, or of any baptism unless administered at the font, would not take much pains to save the soul of an expiring child by hastily sprinkling it in its last agony.† But there is something inexpressibly ludicrous in the jealous fear of contamination manifested by another craft, to which public opinion was not in the habit of ascribing extraordinary purity. The sempstresses of the capital represented by petition to the throne that their guild had been originally established by St. Louis; that their rights and privileges had received frequent confirmation from his successors; and that their statutes were authorized by letters patent of his majesty himself registered in the parliament of Paris. The first article of those statutes provided that no maid nor matron should be admitted as a merchant sempstress unless she professed the Catholic, apostolic, and Romish religion; and the petitioners therefore besought the king to prevent the encroachment of Huguenot apprentices, who could not learn their trade under any sworn mistress. The king in council inspected the documents to which appeal

* Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 164.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 115.

had been made, declared his good will towards the sempstresses, and granted their petition.*

In the war of words, which since the fall of La Rochelle had succeeded to that of arms, the Romanists successfully employed an irregular militia, if we may so term it, for the especial object of conversion. A band of *missionaires*,† selected in general from the lower classes, and chiefly consisting of petty shopkeepers, who, inflamed by zeal, abandoned the counter for the pulpit, spread themselves either as resident or as itinerant preachers over the whole face of France. Bold and unscrupulous in their course, and pleading the love of Christ and the welfare of souls as an excuse for thrusting their sickles into other men's harvests, they everywhere interfered between the Reformed minister and his flock; insinuated themselves into the bosoms of families; and by a ceaseless and bustling activity raised doubts and controversies among brethren who had hitherto dwelled together in unity. Their want of literature was supplied by shrewdness; their ignorance of divinity by hardihood of assertion; and their sophisms, however often rebutted and exploded, frequently obtained ultimate credit by unblushing repetition. Drelincourt, of whom we have already made some honourable mention, was their chief and most triumphant opponent. He possessed the rare and enviable power of applying very copious learning to that which may be more fittingly called the popular *humour* than the popular *taste*; and, bringing forth from his treasure things both new and old, he addressed short and striking sermons to throngs of eager listeners, and found numerous admiring readers of his familiar but solid tracts. It was in vain that the discomfited *missionaires* combated their

* Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 13.

† They were called also "Lazaristes, parce qu'elle fit son principal établissement dans une maison qu'elle usurpa sur l'Ordre de St. Lazare." Rulhiere, p. 61.

scourge, as he was termed, by ordinary weapons; and in the end they had recourse to imposture for his disparagement. Broad sheets, announcing his conversion, were printed, and hawked about the streets of Paris, and at the very gates of the chapel in Charenton. But Drelincourt refuted the calumny by fresh and yet more energetic labours; and the common people, pleased with a style which they understood, committed to memory the strong and simple arguments of his *Dialogues*, and employed them as armour of proof against their Romanist seducers.

The mortification of the *Convertisseurs* was sensibly increased by the desertion of a member of their church, belonging to an order in which of all others an assertion of independence was least to be expected. Pierre Jarrige had obtained some reputation among the Jesuits for a history of the Indians;* and it is probable that an ambitious temper, elated by praise, and disappointed of some substantial reward, induced him to renounce his vows. He offered his abjuration before the consistory of La Rochelle, and anticipating the fury with ^{Christmas, 1647.} which his superiors would pursue the first revolter from their despotism, he lost not a moment in retiring to the Netherlands. Nor was he deceived in his estimate of the spirit of the community which he had offended. A sentence was obtained

* "Histoires des choses plus memorables advenues tant en Indes Orientales, qu'autres pays de la découverte des Portugois, en l'establisement et progres de la Foy Chrestienne et Catholique, et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Confrerie de Jesus y ont fait et enduré par la mesme fin, depuis qu'il y sont entrez jusques à present an 1600, par *Pierre de Jarrige* (Sic orig.) Tolosain, de la mesme Companie." The 1st volume of this work was printed at Bourdeaux in 1608, the 2d in 1610, and the 3d and last in the following year. In the "Avis aux Lecteurs," which precedes the concluding volume, occurs a notice that the chief design of the author is to show that "la vraye loy et Evangelique se plante maintenant en ces regions là non pas avec le fer et la lance, comme celle de Mahomet, et la Pretendue Reformée des Huguenots."

against him at La Rochelle, by which he was condemned to be strangled, and burned in effigy as contumacious; and a Reformed minister, Vincent, accused of having promoted his abjuration, and of having assisted his escape, was involved in a long and troublesome law-suit. Jarrige avenged himself by a book containing fearful revelations, "*Les Jesuites mis sur l'echaffaut*;"* and his disappearance, which followed soon after its publication, was attributed by the friends of the Loyolists to the remorse of the apostate, who they said had buried himself in monastic seclusion in order that he might do penance for his crime; by their enemies to a more summary process, examples of which were not wanting in the history of their order.†

Notwithstanding innumerable petty squabbles and minute grievances, of which we cannot attempt to preserve even an outline, the condition of the Huguenots under Mazarin was far from being unfavourable. The surest proofs of their contentment are to be found in their gratitude. During the long struggle of the *Fronde* they invariably adhered to the party of the minister; and the very towns which Louis XIII. had dismantled armed their inhabitants to strengthen the royalists. La Rochelle controlled its governor, who inclined towards the rebel
1651. princes; St. Jean d'Angely organized a troop of volunteers, which did good and gratuitous service in the king's army; at Montauban, when permission was granted for rebuilding the fortifications, seventeen bastions were thrown up by the hands of the citizens with incredible speed; and one of them,

* The work is most scurrilous, and the charges which it contains are probably very much exaggerated. The title at length is, "*Les Jesuites mis sur l'Echaffaut pour plusieurs crimes capitaux par eux commis dans la Province de Guienne, par Le Sieur Pierre Jarrige, ci-devant Jesuite, Professeur du quatriesme vœu, et Predicateur, 1649.*" In his dedication he affirms, "Je ne dis rien par conjecture, comme estrange, mais de science certaine, comme leur domestique."

† Benoit, tom. iii. p. 96.

named after the *Proposans* who constructed it, was raised solely by the toil of the young Huguenot students in theology. Even Clairac, laying aside all remembrance of the bloody sack and devastation which it had endured in the former reign, closed its gates against the insurgent troops, and resisted till the arrival of a royal garrison rendered the king's possession secure.

The cardinal was not ungrateful for these demonstrations of fidelity. In spite of much bigoted remembrance, he had already profited by the great commercial talents and the inexhaustible liberality of Bartholomew Hervart,* a wealthy Calvinistic banker of Augsburg, whom he raised to the envied and important station of comptroller of the finances. The patronage of that high officer was most bountifully extended to the Huguenots. Collectors and commissioners in his department were selected from their ranks, at a time at which they were debarred from every other similar post; the allowances to the churches were fully and regularly paid, and not a few necessitous ministers were relieved by extraordinary disbursements. The queen regent and the young king received all deputations from the Reformed with distinguished graciousness; and Mazarin invariably spoke of the citizens of Montauban as his "good friends."† Some local privileges were granted to the provinces; and a general de-
 1652. declaration, which confirmed more solemnly than heretofore all the provisions of the Edict of Nantes, and revoked any subsequent *arrêts* by which it was contradicted or even limited, appeared to be-

* Hervart died in 1676. One of his grand-daughters, Esther, daughter and coheirress of Charles de la Tour, Marquis de Gouvernd, married Henry, eldest son of Sir George Savile, who in 1668 was created Baron Savile, of Eland, in the county of York, and Viscount Halifax. Hence the French writers describe the bridegroom as "Milord Eland."

† Benoit, tom. iii. p. 14. Rulhiere also informs us, that "Mazarin disait d'eux, je n'ai point à me plaindre du petit troupeau; s'il broute des mauvaises herbes il ne s'ecarte pas." p. 12.

token the stability of royal favour. In the body of that ordinance its enactment was especially ascribed to the assured proofs of affection and fidelity, more particularly under recent circumstances, which the Huguenots had manifested, to the great satisfaction of their sovereign.*

These pleasing dreams of tranquillity continued undisturbed till it was known that a detachment of French troops had been employed among the more forward agents of the Duke of Savoy's cruelty in the valleys of Piedmont. The massacre of

1655. the Vaudois excited terror and indignation throughout Protestant Christendom; and it was for awhile believed to be the prelude to a general conspiracy of the Romanists for the extermination of the Reformed Church.† But the imposing attitude which Cromwell promptly assumed, the speaking but temperate remonstrances "even almost to supplication,"‡ which he directed to the oppressor of the "slaughtered saints;"§ the invitations which he circulated among his allies to combine with him unless the Duke of Savoy should peaceably assent to his propositions; and, above all, the conviction felt by the whole of Europe that he had the power not less than the will to arbitrate, soon re-assured the Huguenots. "Their eyes," we are told, "were much upon the protector," whom they "privately prayed

* May 21, 1652. Benoit, tom. lii. *Preuves*, p. 38.

† "Which though first begun upon the poor and helpless people, however, threatens all that profess the same religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves." Oliver Cromwell to the Prince of Transylvania. *Milton Prose Works* by Symonds, vol. iv. p. 381.

‡ Oliver Cromwell to the United Provinces. *Id. ibid.* p. 384.

§ *Milton Sonnet on the late Massacre at Piemont.* The Protector's letters on this occasion were written by the great poet, and may be found in volume iv. of his *Prose Works*, p. 378, 391. They are addressed to the Duke of Savoy, to the Prince of Transylvania, to the King of Sweden, to the United Provinces, to the Evangelic Cities of Swiasserland, to the King of France, to Cardinal Mazarin, to the King of Denmark, and to the Genevese.

for in their churches."* Louis disavowed the acts of his troops, reprimanded their officers, and admonished the Duke of Savoy to forbear.†

The clergy, however, expressed vehement dissatisfaction at the edict of 1652; and in little more than four years after it had been issued, they obtained the promulgation of an explanatory instrument which annulled its favourable clauses. In the new *arrêt*, it was avowed that the Edict of Nantes had been granted chiefly in the hope, that by generating peace it would afford greater opportunities for conversion; that it had been necessary afterward at different times to frame additional regulations, all of which were now declared to be valid, in spite of any belief to the contrary which might be falsely derived from the edict of 1652. It announced moreover, that in consequence of complaints received, as was said, from both churches jointly of many innovations which had crept into the exercise of the Reformed religion, it was the king's intention to send into each province two commissioners, one of the Catholic, the other of the Huguenot persuasion, for the purpose of restoring good order.‡ The temper of the parliament of Paris was strikingly manifested on the appearance of this edict; the ordinance of 1652 had hitherto been left without notice by that tribunal; but the act which destroyed its unconfirmed grace to the Reformed was eagerly and carefully registered soon after it had been signed by the king.

Years nevertheless rolled on without the appointment of these promised commissioners. The chief privilege which the Huguenots lost during the sequel

* Letter from Lockhart, the English ambassador in Paris, July 30
Thurloe *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 202.

† Oliver Cromwell to the King of France. *Milton Prose Works*, vol. iv. p. 384.

‡ July 18, 1656 Benoit, tom. iii. *Preuves*, p. 39.

1657. of Mazarin's administration was that of holding colloquies; meetings hitherto assembled preparatory to their provincial synods. The pretext advanced for their suppression was not without considerable weight; it was said that synods, controlled as they were by the presence of a royal commissioner, could not deviate from the limits assigned to their discussions by becoming theatres of political debate; but that abuse might at any time prevail in the minor assemblies upon which no similar check was imposed.* Alarmed at this restriction, and anxious to prevent further encroachments upon their liberties, the Huguenots, when frustrated in an attempt to obtain an immediate synod (the only channel through which their grievances could now be regularly conveyed to the ear of the monarch), adopted an unusual measure. Ten deputies elected by the provincial synods drew up a remonstrance, and solicited leave to present it in the royal closet. After some difficulty the request was granted; the petitioners harangued the king at much length, and were dismissed with a brief and vague reply, purporting that he would examine their memoir, and do them justice.† From the cardinal they obtained a most ambiguous response, conveyed indeed in a greater number of words:—“The king by his measures will evince his good will towards you. Rest assured that I speak with sincerity.”‡ In the end they quitted the court bitterly discontented by an official announcement that Louis had read their memorial; that he designed to oblige the Edict of Nantes, provided they should render themselves worthy of so much favour by their good conduct, their fidelity, and their affection to his service; and that he would forthwith make choice of the promised commissioners. It seemed

* July 26, 1657. Benoit, tom. iii. *Preuves*, p. 48. † *Id. ibid.* p. 267.
‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 268.

as if it was now forgotten that they had already and invariably evinced good conduct, fidelity, and affection; and that they were to be altogether deprived of the rewards which the edict of 1652 had bestowed after a full acknowledgment of their deserts.

A war with Spain by which Louis had been long harassed had now terminated successfully;* and Cromwell, of whom, notwithstanding his alliance, it was but natural that he should entertain jealousy in consequence of the influence which he had established over the Reformed,† had closed his extraordinary career more than twelve months; when license was granted for the convention of the XXIXth National Synod. Fifteen years had elapsed since a similar assemblage at Charenton, when the Huguenot deputies now gathered together at Loudun, for the last exhibition of their representative authority.

The session was opened by a speech of more than usual length and dulness, in which the Sieur de Magdelaine, the royal commissioner, recapitulated the numerous subjects of discussion which were forbidden to the Synod, and impressed upon their attention the most servile doctrines of passive obedience. In his eulogy upon the throne, he took occasion to mark the great condescension of the king, who permitted debates

Nov. 10,
1659.
Jan. 10,
1660.

* By the treaty of the Pyrenees, signed in the Isle of Pheasants on the Bidassoa, Nov. 7, 1659.

† On the renewal of preparations against the Vaudois by the Duke of Savoy in 1658, Oliver Cromwell wrote a second time to Louis XIV. conjuring him in more vehement terms to interfere in their behalf. He at the same time assured Mazarin, in a separate despatch, that "nothing had acquired more good will and affection to the French nation among all the neighbouring professors of the Reformed religion than that liberty, and those privileges which, by public acts and edicts, are granted in that kingdom to the Protestants. And this, among others, was one more reason why this republic so ardently desired the friendship and alliance of the French people."—*Milton Prose Works*, vol. iv. p. 446. 451.

concerning a religion of which both himself and the majority of his subjects disapproved. "His majesty," he added, "was resolutely determined to enforce the Edict of Nantes; and he would commence by remedying the numerous infractions of which the pretended Reformed themselves were guilty." In conclusion, he intimated that, in order to prevent great and needless expenses, national synods should hereafter be suppressed; that all business relative to religious discipline, the only matter which they were permitted to handle, might be treated with equal advantage and less trouble in their provincial synods; and that he was directly and expressly commanded to do whatever in him lay for the shortening and speedy ending of the present assembly.

The Moderator Daillé, a personage of high and deserved repute for learning, replied by protesting the utmost deference to the authority of the crown, and to the general principles of unqualified submission which the commissioner had propounded. Nevertheless, on proceeding to details, he advanced numerous difficulties. Some passages of his speech are amusing from his total blindness to their contradiction of each other. He assured the *Sieur de Magdelaine*, that the fathers of the Reformation, even "in the very midst of fire and fagot, held Christian charity in that great esteem and commendation, that they by a most plain and express article did prohibit the use of *any injurious reproachful terms, which might in the least exasperate men's spirits;*" and, after arguing that *à fortiori*, moderation more exemplary, if possible, would be observed in the calm and peaceable times amid which their own lot was cast, he affirmed, with the most entire simplicity, that nevertheless as for the words "Antichrist," "idolatry," and "deceits of Satan," which they had always been in the habit of applying to certain doctrines of the Romish Church, "they be words which

they are fully resolved never to abandon, but to keep faithfully and inviolably to the last gasp.”*

Dailé next admitted that the Huguenots “have no ground nor cause to complain of oppression and persecution.” Yet, in the paragraph immediately following, he spake of “great violences” suffered by his brethren “in the exercise of their religion, in their families, in their own persons, and in their estates, in sundry and divers ways contrary to what is granted by the edict;” of the injustice of judges, of “burdens,” “grievances,” and “invaded liberties and properties.”† What, it may be asked, if the moderator excluded these sufferings from his interpretation, was the precise sense assigned by him to the words oppression and persecution? In conclusion, he protested reasonably and vehemently against the menaced abolition of the national synods, contending that it was “absolutely impossible that their religion should subsist without those assemblies;” and that the expedient of merging them in the provincial synods would be attended with “a total subversion of discipline.”

The letters addressed to the court were couched in the ordinary strain of adulation. Louis was assured that one of the fundamental maxims of their creed taught that “kings in this world do, in some sense, hold the very place of God, and are His most lively portraiture on earth; and the steps and degrees of their thrones do not raise them above the generality of mankind, but to draw them nearer heaven.”‡ The cardinal answered the address to himself with marked, and, it may be believed, with sincere urbanity. He protested that the king was so persuaded of their inviolable fidelity and zeal for his service, that it was quite unnecessary for any one to mediate in their behalf; and that, for his own

* Quick, p. 513.

† *Id.* p. 519.

‡ *Id.* p. 516, 517.

part, he had a very great esteem for them, which they richly deserved, being good servants and subjects.

The business transacted during their two months' session was desultory, and of very little general interest. They wisely restricted controversialists from scattering doubts among the ignorant in order to exhibit their own ingenuity in refutation, by enjoining that unless errors had been already "divulged among the common people," those who undertook to correct them should write in Latin.* They reverted to the long-standing subject of complaint that the wives and children of many pastors transgressed an important canon "by their vain conformity to the world in the new-fangled fashion of their habits, contrary to Christian modesty;"† and they undertook the still more difficult task of promoting sumptuary laws among the youths who were being trained in their universities. Grievous representations were offered of the "corruption" which had crept in, especially among the students in divinity. Of their "wearing long hair; clothes, after the new-fangled fashion of the world, with wide floating sleeves; gloves stuffed with silk and ribands; that they frequented taverns; haunted the company of women; that they walked abroad with their swords; that their style savoured more of the romance than of God's holy word, and many other vanities and excesses of that nature." Severe penalties were denounced against these juvenile licenses; and suspension from the Lord's table, erasure from the matricular book, and rejection from ordination, were to be the lot of refractory *proposans*. Two visitors were appointed to repair to Saumur for the especial enforcement of this canon, and the speech in which they addressed the students (reported at the end of the acts of this synod) is pious, touching, sensible,

* Ch. x. sec. 17. p. 553.

† Ch. vii. sec. 7. p. 527.

and eloquent.* Notwithstanding the intimation given by the commissioner that no similar meetings would be permitted in future, the deputies before they broke up convoked a National Synod in Nîsmes at the expiration of three years, "with the good pleasure of his majesty."†

* Ch. vii. sec. 7. p. 584.

† Ch. xviii. Upon which appointment Quick observes in his peculiar manner, "But when that will be Peleni Palmoni, the wonderful numberer, can only and most certainly inform us." p. clxiv.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Decline of the Huguenots after the death of Mazarin—Numerous restraining Edicts—Letter from Louis XIV. to the Elector of Brandenburg—Abolition of the Chambers of the Edict—Deficiency of high rank among the Huguenots—Their learning—The King engages actively in promoting conversions—Pelisson—New penal ordinances—Commencement of the Dragonnades in Poitou—Marillac—Emigration—Encouraged by foreign Protestant States—Forbidden by Edict—Interference with Public Worship—Secret Union among the Huguenots—Executions—Assembly of the Gallican Church—Abolition of the Reformed Church at Bearne—Troops spread over the Southern Provinces—Forced and pretended Conversions—Enormities of the Soldiery—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

THE death of Mazarin, which occurred ^{March 15,} _{1661.} about fifteen months after the close of the Synod of Loudun, may be considered as the epoch from which the Huguenot Church, long verging to decline, began its course of positive fall. Even if the general policy of the late minister had not been characterized by a mildness strongly contrasted with the haughty sway of Richelieu, the Huguenots had deserved his protection by their fidelity; and although it may be too much to pronounce that he was their friend, it is by no means likely that he would ever have appeared their enemy. With the young king, who now undertook to direct the helm of his own government, ambition, a love of pleasure and of military glory, for many years postponed any close attention to ecclesiastical affairs; and it was not until, in maturer life, when gusts of devotion began to alternate with those of more earthly passion, that he thought he might atone for his vices by an endeavour to compel his subjects to an impossible unity of faith. Colbert, indeed, the comptroller-general of finance, upon

whom the king's confidence chiefly devolved after the death of Mazarin, had sufficient penetration to discover that the Huguenots were useful servants; and he employed them largely in the marine and in manufactures. But his countenance was little able to protect them from a gradual diminution of their privileges; and we shall perceive their rights torn away one by one, till Louvois, in order to insure continuance in power, took advantage of his master's weakness, and stimulated him to a disastrous act, occasioning immeasurable misery, and stained with dishonour never to be wiped away.

To pursue any detail of the encroachments made upon the Reformed Church of France during the quarter of a century ensuing upon the death of Mazarin, would be equally tedious and unprofitable; and we must be content with a very limited selection from the huge chaos of minute events, which the bitterness of remembered suffering has frequently invested with disproportionate value, and related with unreasonable prolixity. Almost immediately on the cardinal's decease, the provincial commissioners were nominated and set forward to the performance of their functions. Their chief inquiries were directed to the titles by virtue of which the Huguenots claimed the exercise of worship in different localities. At first the decisions framed upon these reports were by no means inequitable; but as the tide of opinion against the Reformed increased to the flood, the testimony of the Huguenot commissioner was everywhere borne down by that of his Romanist assessor; and chapel after chapel was demolished without regard to legality of tenure. Amid the great variety of restraining edicts issued from time to time, we meet with some framed chiefly, as it seems, to mortify the sectarians, by showing the supremacy of the establishment in petty privileges; others again which wrested from them substantial benefits. At the same moment in which, in

consequence of an idle squabble between the magistrates and the students of Montauban, the Huguenot college in that city was suppressed, and its property transferred to the Jesuits, we read another *arrêt* forbidding the Reformed from singing psalms in the streets or public walks, or even within their own houses, in a tone sufficiently loud to be heard by passengers.* This exercise of devotion was afterward forbidden even in their chapels during the times at which the procession of the host happened to be passing by; and if the congregation were in the middle of their psalm, they were enjoined to discontinue so long as the Catholics remained within ear-shot. The large fine of 1000 livres was annexed to disobedience of this *arrêt*, and those who violated it were declared guilty of a breach of the edict, and of disturbing the public repose.† The Reformed clergy were not allowed to assume the title of ministers of God's word; and the reason assigned for this prohibition was eminently offensive: "because the word of God is pure, true, and holy, whereas that taught by the pretended Reformed ministers is false, profane, and corrupt."‡ The hours at which funeral rites might be performed were so regulated as to deprive them of publicity; and only a limited number of persons were permitted to assist at their celebration.§

The interference with the rites of burial was indeed eminently vexatious; and all those tributes of respect to the deceased by which the grief of the survivors pardonably, even if unreasonably, seeks to promote its own alleviation, were sternly forbidden. A Huguenot at Caen had thrown over the bier of a

* March 17, 1661. Benoit, iii. *Preuves*, p. 66. Psalm-singing is an offence very repeatedly prohibited. A penalty of 500 livres is annexed to it on Dec. 16, of the same year. *Id. ibid.* p. 90. 106. 130.

† June 17, 1664. *Id. ibid.* p. 182.

‡ Feb. 26, 1663. *Id. ibid.* p. 131.

§ March 19, 1668. *Id. ibid.* p. 134.

loved wife a white pall, embroidered with garlands of rosemary, "for remembrance;" and had placed branches of the same shrub in the hands of four maidens who attended as bearers. For this harmless act of affection he was subjected to a fine, and declared to be refractory; and the language in which the pleadings against him were conducted was calculated to increase the irritation excited by his arraignment. He was accused of having given offence and scandal to the eyes of the public. Funeral processions and ceremonies, it was said, were altogether out of character with the pretended Reformed religion: such honours were fitly appropriated to those only who professed the same faith with their prince. It was impossible that either equality or communion could exist between the two religions; all dignities and advantages must be reserved for the dominant Catholic, and the pretended Reformed must be content to remain in humiliation, in silence, and in obscurity.*

Even the dress of the Huguenot ministers was not thought beneath the regulation of government; and the "insufferable presumption" was severely rebuked, which induced them to appear in public wearing cassocks and sleeved gowns. Any pastor who should wear a gown, unless in his chapel, was condemned to a fine of 300 livres for the first offence, and to a yet heavier punishment for the second.† That the ministers in general had graduated, and were therefore entitled to the costume of their degrees, was a plea advanced in vain, and the prohibition was strictly enforced.

The German Protestants were naturally alarmed at this usage of their French brethren; and the Elector of Brandenburg addressed a remonstrance to the king, which was answered

1666.

* Many more similarly insulting expressions are contained in this *arrêt*, Feb. 20, 1664. *Id. ibid.* p. 173.

† June 30, 1664. *Id. ibid.* p. 190.

in terms expressive of much courtesy, and calculated to disarm apprehension. To no other prince, as Louis impressed upon the Elector, would he have vouchsafed an explanation; but as a mark of his especial esteem, he informed Frederic that the reports which he had heard of breaches in the protecting edicts were void of truth, and circulated abroad by ill-affected persons. Every care was taken to maintain the Reformed in all the privileges which had been conceded to them, and to place them on an equal level with the rest of their countrymen. "I am pledged to that effect," concluded this memorable letter, "by my royal word, and by the gratitude which I feel for the proofs of fidelity given me during the late commotions, in which they took up arms for my service, and vigorously and successfully opposed the evil designs entertained against my authority by a rebellious faction."*

Within two years from the date of this most positive assurance of the inviolability of their
 1668. privileges, great alarm was excited among the Reformed when they learned that the clergy had obtained an ordinance, long ago prepared in secret, and now on the eve of appearance, enjoining the suppression of the Chambers of the Edict in the parliaments of Paris and of Rouen. It was speciously argued that, as only one Huguenot was admitted to be a member in either of those Chambers, the Reformed would not really be losers by the abolition.† But the Huguenots felt justly that this attack upon an outwork was a weakening of their citadel; that the very name of Chamber of the Edict was, in a degree, identified with the edict itself; that not less than 38 articles in the body of the

* Sept. 6, 1666. *Id.* tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 7.

† By the Edict of Nantes, the Chamber of the Edict in the parliament of Paris ought to have consisted of ten Roman Catholics and six Reformed; but five of the latter were distributed through inferior courts, *Les Enquêtes*. Henault, *Abregé Chron.* tom. iii. p. 869.

edict were connected with the existence of the Chambers; and that by an aggression upon the one the public mind would become familiarized with any violence which it might be designed to offer hereafter to the other. Moreover, the Chambers had in fact proved beneficial to their interests. It was no slight privilege to be allowed courts especially appropriated to the relief of their particular grievances; and the decisions of those courts had invariably been just and impartial.

It was in vain that the Huguenots requested and obtained an audience in the Louvre, and that De Bosc, the minister deputed to urge reasons for the maintenance of the Chambers, addressed the king in a forcible and eloquent speech, which aroused his attention, and even extorted his applause.* The exordium of this harangue is couched in terms which grate harshly on the pious ear, by too closely assimilating the earthly prince, to whom it was directed, to the Almighty Father, of whom he is declared to be the express image and representation, and to the King of kings, his eternal Son, who ever invited those who were heavy laden to offer their petitions in order that he might relieve them; and there is one passage alluding to the "miraculous birth" of Louis, which good taste would have retrenched. But the oration, on the whole, is highly creditable to its author, and unites in a very limited compass much effective argument with much powerful declamation. It is almost superfluous to add that it failed in its object. The Chambers were annulled by an ordinance which, in strange contradiction to its purport, affirmed that it was the royal intention punctually to maintain the Reformed in all the advantages granted to them by former edicts, without any let or hindrance.†

Jan.
1669.

* It is printed at length by Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 27.

† Jan. 1669. *Id. ibid.* p. 31.

A few years of depression had materially weakened the connection which once linked the Huguenots as a body to persons eminent in rank. Some most illustrious names were still numbered among them; but their list was no longer thronged, as heretofore, with princes and nobles, with statesmen and warriors. Wealth, indeed, they largely possessed; for the lucrative pursuits of commerce had never been closed against their speculation; but wealth unallied to birth and station was a lure to invite, not a shield to avert rapacity. The male line of Rohan, their last distinguished chief, had become extinct, notwithstanding the bold and singular attempt of the widowed duchess to revive it in a supposititious heir, whose claim could have been established no otherwise than on the wreck of his mother's honour.* The abjuration of the Maréchal de Turenne, which occurred about the time at which we are now arrived, was severely felt by the party which he abandoned; and the disinterestedness with which that great man had more than once before rejected offers of splendid promotion when they required a renunciation of his faith, and the undisputed sincerity of purpose by which he was always characterized, increased the evil influence of his conversion.† Among the few most distinguished laymen who remained unchanged we may reckon the Duke of Schomberg, whose military skill placed him successively in the command of the armies of France, Portugal, Prussia, and England; the members of the house of La

* This remarkable history is very fully and distinctly related by Benoit, tom. iii. p. 54, &c.

† Turenne's conversion is attributed by Rulhiere (p. 64.) to a perusal of Bossuet's "Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique." He had declined to conform when Mazarin, after the birth of the Dauphin (Louis XIV.) signified to him that by so doing he might be appointed governor to the young prince; and even so late as in 1667, he had resisted the personal solicitations and promises of the king. A public thanksgiving, in which however Turenne's name was not openly mentioned, was offered at Charenton for this example of firmness. Benoit, tom. iv. p. 130.

Force; and of a branch of La Rochefoucault; Ruvigny, the father and son, the former now plenipotentiary in London,* the latter successor to his father as deputy-general of the Huguenots at his native court, and afterward well known in English history under the title of Earl of Galway;† and the conqueror of De Ruyter, Abraham Duquesne, whose sole monument in the ungrateful country which denied honour to his remains, is the undying remembrance of his victories.‡

However deficient in adventitious rank the Huguenot Church might be at this period, it nevertheless boasted several ministers of great learning and ability. Death, indeed, had recently terminated the laborious speculations and curious researches of Bochart;§ and Jaques Basnage was only preparing

* Burnet has reported, from an account given him by the elder Ruvigny, the particulars of an audience which that minister obtained from Louis XIV., after the peace of Nimeguen, when he was alarmed at the precipitate measures adopted towards the Protestants. The king listened very patiently to the representations of the deputy-general; but told him, in conclusion, "that he considered himself as so indispensably bound to endeavour the conversion of all his subjects and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it should require, that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that." Ruvigny foresaw the approaching danger, and warned his friends; but at the same time protested against any open rising, well knowing their own internal weakness, and the lukewarmness of their reputed foreign allies. *Own Times*, i. 656, 7, folio.

† He was created after the surrender of Limerick, and the close of the Irish war, in 1691. Burnet speaks of him in very high terms. *Ibid.* ii. 82.

‡ His son, compelled to expatriate after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, purchased an estate at Eaubonne in Switzerland, and engraved on a cenotaph to his father the following words:—"Ce tombeau attend les restes de Duquesne. Son nom est connu sur toutes les mers. Passant, si tu demandes pourquoi les Hollandois ont élevé un superbe monument à Ruyter vaincu, et pourquoi les Francois ont refusé une sépulture honorable au vainqueur de Ruyter, ce qui est dû de crainte et de respect à un Monarque dont la puissance s'étend au loin, me défend toute réponse." Louis XVI. in some measure obliterated this disgrace by erecting a statue of Duquesne in his palace. Rulhière, p. 366.

§ Samuel Bochart, the most learned Orientalist and Biblical scholar of his time, was born at Rouen in 1599, and died in 1677. He studied at Oxford, and was afterward tutor to the Earl of Roscommon, and officiated as minister at Caen.

for those works which have compelled one little inclined to exaggerate the intellectual powers of a faithful servant of Christ, to pronounce him more fit to govern an empire than a parish.* But we may notice that the church at Charenton was served by Peter Allix, distinguished both as an English and as a French divine; † and by Claude, ‡ of whom it is enough to remark, that he is admitted, even by the Romanists, to have been not an unequal antagonist of Pascal and of Arnaud. The controversy in which he was engaged with the latter on the *Perpetuity of the belief in the Real Presence*, gave rise to a very nice, and, as it may seem, a very futile distinction. One of Claude's works on this question having been submitted to the previous inspection of his colleagues, Daillé and Allix, was published by him, accompanied by their *approbation*, a form at that time much in literary use. The Jansenists appealed to

1671. the parliament of Paris to reprove this presumption of the Reformed ministers; and the parliament, after hearing a solemn argument, decreed that the testimony should be suppressed in all copies exposed for sale; and that if the ministers of the pretended Reformed religion should in future think fit to grant an *imprimatur*, they must style it not an *approbation*, but an *attestation* that the book which they had read did not contain any thing repugnant to their doctrine. §

Hitherto, the only course pursued with the Huguenots had been that of severity, and those who sought their extinction had impressed the king with a be-

* Voltaire. *Ecrivains du Siècle de Louis XIV.* Basnage was born in 1653. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he became pastor of the Walloon Church, first at Rotterdam, and afterward at the Hague. During the latter part of his life, he was employed frequently, and much to his reputation, in diplomacy. He died in 1722.

† Allix, on settling in England, was preferred to the Treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral in 1690. He died in London in 1717.

‡ Claude, born in 1619, was minister of Charenton in 1666. He afterward settled at the Hague, and died in 1687.

§ Benoit, tom. iv. p. 194.

lief that penal laws were his most efficacious weapons.

The return of the year of Jubilee brought with it an access of that species of devotion ^{1676.} to which the temperament of Louis appears to have been periodically subject; and resolving to make an experiment by gentle means conjointly with force, he secretly appropriated the incomes of two abbeys,* and a third of the *économats* or revenue of vacant benefices,† to the express object of procuring conversions. A special agent was charged with this branch of administration; and the task of watching over the conversions of his late brethren was intrusted to one who himself was a convert. Pelisson, many years back, had been chief secretary to Fouquet, the last superintendent of finances under Mazarin, and he was the only one of Fouquet's adherents who remained faithful to him in his disgrace.‡ Four years and a half of imprisonment in the Bastille tended, however, to break a spirit which, if it had not originally possessed firmness, would never have encountered that punishment; and Pelisson consented to purchase his release by changing his religion.§ Useful talents and agreeable qualities again opened his road to fortune; and obtained for him the intimate confidence of the king, who employed him as *redacteur* (to the honour of English literature, we do not possess any equivalent term) of the *mémoires* of the first ten years after his personal assumption of the government, which Louis has bequeathed to posterity.

* St. Germain's and Cluny. *Lettre de Pelisson*. Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 99.

† "Le tiers des économats, c'est à dire du Revenu des Benefices qui tomboient en Regale, et dont le Roi jouissoit pendant la vacance."—Benoit, tom. iv. p. 351. The *Droit Regale*, so long contested by the kings of France, and at last confirmed to Louis XIV., is fully explained by Rulhière, p. 97. See also Voltaire, *Siècles de Louis XIV.*, ch. 35.

‡ Fouquet was disgraced in 1661.

§ Rulhière informs us, however, that "toutes les apparences sont que ce fameux Converti est mort dans la Foi qu'il avoit abandonné."—p. 29.

In his correspondence with the bishops, Pelisson charged them to send him papers, framed with commercial exactness, respecting the *petites gratifications* which they were authorized to dispense. In order to please the king, he *contracted* that no conversions were to be named which had occurred before 1676.* Their lists were to contain the names of the converts, the sums paid to each, the receipt for that payment, and a copy of the abjuration. The average price paid per head was six livres; some changelings were purchased at a still lower rate; and the largest disbursement which has been found entered on the books of his office amounts to thirty-two livres for a numerous family.† The "miracles" of Pelisson soon became an object of court raillery; and his doctrine was said to be less learned, perhaps, than that of Bossuet, but greatly more persuasive. Every year augmented the sums placed at his disposal; and while the indignant Huguenots stigmatized the coffer from which he drew as the box of Pandora,‡ Pelisson, comparing its marvellous effects with its original scantiness, assimilated it to the inexhaustible meal and oil of the widow, or to the five loaves so multiplied by Divine power as to provide for the sustenance of five thousand.§ It seems that 700 or 800 renegades, duly certified, were bought for about 2000 crowns; and the arch-converter was earnest in his warnings that the "holy dew" (as he called it) should be so discreetly husbanded as to allow the sprinkling of the greatest possible number of persons.||

The Chambers of the Edict at Paris and at Rouen had disappeared; but the parliaments of Toulouse, of Bourdeaux, and of Grénoble still retained their

* *Lettre de Pelisson, ut sup.*

† Rulhière searched these books for the entries given above, p. 96. 99.

‡ *Id.* p. 99.

§ *Lettre de Pelisson, ut sup.*

|| *Lettre et Mémoire de Pelisson, ut sup.*

Chambres my-parties, before which all civil and criminal charges affecting the Reformed were presented. These institutions, so favourable to justice, were now to be abolished; and the paradoxical reason assigned for this fresh curtailment of privilege was the tranquil behaviour of the parties from whom it was to be wrested. Fifty years have now elapsed, says the preamble of the edict notifying the cessation of these chambers, since any new trouble has been occasioned by those professing the religion; *on which account* we cannot do better than deprive them of their peculiar tribunals, both utterly to extinguish the remembrance of past animosities, and also to facilitate the execution of the law.* During the same year another violent innovation inflicted a death-blow on the freedom of provincial synods. Under the pretext that the Huguenot royal commissioners, hitherto appointed for their superintendence, had, in very many instances, been guilty of collusion, and with culpable indulgence to their brethren had omitted to report the entire proceedings, the king assumed to himself the right, if he so pleased (and there could be little doubt of the future nature of his pleasure), of nominating a commissioner of the Romanist persuasion.†

Almost every succeeding day now produced some fresh vexatious ordinance. The conversions did not proceed rapidly enough to satisfy the royal appetite; and as an additional stimulus to apostacy, it was decreed that all persons who had abandoned the religion should be exempt from processes for debt till the close of three years from the day of their abjuration.‡ The dying Huguenots were tormented on their sick beds by visits from the neighbouring magistrates, authorized to administer interrogatories

* July, 1679. Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 109.

† Oct. 10, 1679. *Id. ibid.* p. 107.

‡ Nov. 18, 1680. *Id. ibid.* p. 118.

respecting faith, in the presence of official witnesses, and ever ready to profit by any imbecility resulting either from the irritation of bodily anguish, or the failure of mental power. Priests were then always at hand to offer *instruction*, and to vaunt a recantation, quivering perhaps on the last-drawn sigh.*

Intermarriage, than which no band more closely links together the various orders in a state, was peremptorily forbidden. That a Catholic should enter into the nuptial contract with a heretic was pronounced to be a desecration of the sacrament; the issue of a conjunction so portentous and so profane was bastardized, and declared incapable of inheritance; and no plea either of attachment or of convenience was allowed to invalidate this most dissociating ordinance.† One blow more was to be levelled against the rights of nature, and the union of families was effectually dissolved by withdrawing children from the salutary influence of parental control. "The great success which it has pleased the Almighty to bestow on the spiritual excitements, and other reasonable means, which we have been employing for the conversion of our subjects of the pretended Reformed faith" (thus commenced a royal declaration promulgated in 1681), "induces us to second the movements which God has awakened, in order that yet more of our aforesaid subjects may perceive the error of their way." It then proceeded to enact, that infants at the age of seven years were fully capable of reasoning, and of fixing their choice in matters so important as those concerning their salvation. At that age, therefore, the inmates of the Huguenot nurseries were invited, be the reluctance of their parents what it might, to offer abjuration; and they were permitted at their pleasure either to remain under the roof of their birth, or to

* Nov. 18, 1680. p. 120, 121, 122.

† Nov. 1680. *Id. ibid.* p. 119.

select some other residence, in which the father whom they abandoned was compelled to defray the charges of their support.* No law could be invented more poisonous to domestic happiness, nor which more rankly imbibited the sweet waters of affection at their very fountain head. No barrier short of entire seclusion could be raised against the hourly danger of unripe proselytism; and who, even in the most sequestered retirement, could feel secure that the caress or the menace of some venal nurse or treacherous friend—the terrors of a rod, or the temptations of an apple†—might not wrest his innocent and unsuspecting offspring from the charities of home and the religion of his kinsmen?

Claude, at the desire, and in the name of his brethren, drew up an eloquent remonstrance against this most odious enactment; but the king declined to grant an audience, and paid but little attention to the memorial when it was delivered to him by the deputy-general, Ruvigny. A few months before the appearance of this edict we discover traces of the first employment of military agency in the projected conversions; and a letter has been preserved, written by Louvois, at that time minister of war, and all-powerful in the royal councils, instructing Marillac, the intendant‡ of Poitou, in the use which he was to make of a regiment of dragoons about to be despatched into that province.§

Marillac had already shown abundant zeal in the

* June 17, 1681. *Id. ibid.* p. 128.

† “Par les menaces ou par les caresses, par le fouet ou par une pomme. Factum d’un Missionnaire qui travaille à la Conversion des Heretiques, pour être consulté à Messieurs de Sorbonne,” cited by Benoit, tom. iv. p. 574.

‡ The Intendants of Provinces were originally delegates sent annually through the kingdom (“qui fissent des chevauchées dans les Provinces”) to inspect the execution of justice, to receive complaints, and to make reports accordingly to the Chancellor. Under Richelieu’s administration they became stationary in most large towns, and gradually usurped almost all authority from the governors. Rulhière, p. 28.

§ March 18, 1681. Rulhière, p. 136.

execution of his insidious duties, and he was consequently assured of the great satisfaction with which the king had perused his late reports. The soldiers, he was told, were to be distributed in quarters according to his discretion; but so that the greatest burden should always fall upon the Protestants. "I would not have you quarter them *all* upon the Reformed," continued Louvois; "but, for instance, if *ten* privates out of the twenty-six, of which each troop of horse consists, should be the equitable share of the Huguenots in any village, you may quarter *twenty* upon them."* These secret instructions were speedily followed up by a public ordinance from the war department; not indeed directly enjoining that the Huguenots should afford lodging to the military, but apparently as a matter of favour, granting two years' exemption from that impost to the new converts.†

None of the infinite abuses which might arise from this *mission bottée* (as the rude and fierce body of instructors were called, either in bitter sportiveness or in contempt), was likely to be diminished by the temper of the officer to whom its direction was intrusted; and accordingly every Huguenot family in Poitou was exposed to the unbridled license of a brutal soldiery. At length the groans of his oppressed subjects reached the ears of the king, hitherto saturated by reports of conversions which he too easily believed were the result of free will; and Louvois was ordered to repress the indiscreet ardour of his subalterns. Marillac was then warned to abstain from threatening such Huguenots as refused abjuration; to avoid furnishing them with pretexts for complaint; not to appear as if ostenta-

* "Elle n'estime pas qu'il les y faille loger tous; c'est-à-dire que de vingt-six maîtres, dont une compagnie est composée, si, suivant une répartition juste les Religioneux en devaient porter dix vous pouvez leur faire donner vingt."—*Id.* p. 137.

† April 11, 1661. Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 128.

tiously overloading them with burdensome impositions;* and to take care that the dragoons when in their houses did not perpetrate *any considerable disorders*,† so that the Reformed might not assert that they were abandoned to the discretion of the military.

It might be supposed that enough gratification for a zealous hatred of sectarianism was allowed even after a restraint thus qualified; but Marillac, had he been so willing, was unable (as Louvois must have well foreseen) to direct military occupation of violence, and to promote forcible conversions otherwise than by oppression. Despairing of repose around their native hearths, whole families in Poitou sought foreign asylums; and emigration was encouraged by the sympathy of other Protestant states. England took the lead in this work of charity.

Charles II. granted letters of denization, issued in council under the great seal; assured the exiles that at the next assemblage of a parliament he would introduce a bill by which they should be naturalized; relieved them at the moment from importation duties, and the customary fees for passports; and encouraged voluntary contributions for their support.‡ The ferment of the Popish plot had not subsided at the time at which he made these benevolent declarations, and pains were taken by the factious to misrepresent their object. The ministers of the French churches in the city of London and in the Savoy were obliged

July 28.
1681.

* "Qu'il n'y paraisse point d'affectation d'accabler les Religioneux. Cited by Rulhiere, p. 147.

† "Qu'ils ne fassent point de désordres considérables chez lesdits Religioneux."—*Id. ibid.*

‡ July 28, 1681. This order is published at length in the London Gazette of Sept. 16, 1681, and is there erroneously stated to have been issued "on the 28th of last month." By minutes in the council office, it appears to have been framed in July; and so the date is given in the advertisement, which we are immediately about to notice in a subsequent Gazette of October 19, 1681.

to rebut the calumny that their fugitive brethren were Papists in disguise; by advertising in the Gazette that no persons were admitted to their congregations, or allowed to share in the charity which had been so freely bestowed, unless they presented satisfactory testimonials that they professed the Reformed faith, and that they had partaken in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* The example of England was followed by the King of Denmark, and by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam; and the contagion of Marillac's tyranny having spread into the adjoining provinces of Auxix and Saintonge, the number of emigrants hourly increased.† The court took alarm at this threatened depopulation of the most important maritime district in the kingdom; and the retreat of a large body of seafaring men produced an outcry which occasioned the temporary disgrace and dismissal of Marillac.

It was not, however, by any permanent change in domestic policy that the government endeavoured to stem the tide of emigration; nor were gentle measures employed to retain those whom terror was inducing to abandon all the ties of home and country. Recourse was had to a new penal edict. After an announcement that God's blessing had been signally vouchsafed upon the king's exertions in behalf of the Catholic, Apostolic and Romish faith, by an infinite number of conversions, Louis proceeded to express regret that certain obstinate persons were still to be found among the great multitude of his subjects, who not only refused spiritual succour when offered to them, but, blinding others also by their contagious malignity, encouraged a cabal by which many families had been persuaded to quit the

* Benoit, tom. v. p. 491, mistakenly calls this advertisement, (in which a reference is offered to the Bishop of London), a return of thanks to the king for having assisted to dissipate the false report.

† Benoit says, that he had seen *Mémoires*, stating that more than 3000 families left the kingdom at this time, tom. iv. p. 500.

kingdom, contrary to their interests, their salvation, and their allegiance. Henceforward, therefore, all mariners and manufacturers were forbidden from settling in foreign countries under the penalty of condemnation to the galleys for life. Any instigator or abettor of emigration was to be fined not less than 3000 livres, and to be subjected to corporal punishment in case of a second offence.*

Early in the succeeding year, it was declared penal for any Reformed minister to undertake the conversion of a Mohammedan or a Pagan to Christianity; and the strait gate of salvation was thus rendered still more difficult of access, by barring all approach to it unless by a single wicket. The violation of this edict was to be punished by a fine of not less than 500 livres, by incapacity for ever from the performance of any religious duties within the kingdom, and by the interdiction of Divine worship in all places to which such converts had been admitted.†

This edict was calculated to irritate; that which followed was designed to entrap. The punishments hitherto annexed to Huguenot proselytism were declared to be far too gentle; and it was announced that in future they would be harder and more severe. To receive the abjuration of any Catholic, or even to admit such a person or a relapsed Huguenot to be present at a prayer-meeting or a sermon, was now proclaimed a crime, exposing the offender to the *amende honourable*, to perpetual banishment, and to confiscation of all his property.‡ The consternation excited by this statute was deep and universal. How could a minister guard against the intermixture of some pretended convert with his flock? Who could detect the wolf if he clothed himself in the garb of the sheep whom he was seeking to de-

* May 18, 1682. *Id.* tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 135.

† Jan. 25, 1683. *Id. ibid.* p. 143.

‡ March, 1683. *Id. ibid.* p. 146.

vous, and found his way into the fold ? An informer might easily be suborned ; and it was idle to suppose that any Huguenot would be permitted to escape on a plea of ignorance. In some places, therefore, public worship was entirely suspended ; in others, every avenue to the meeting-house was placed under the wardenship of the elders, who scrutinized each face as it approached, and jealously rejected strangers. The members of the congregation were frequently admonished before the commencement of service to look around them, and to give notice if they perceived any suspicious person ; and Catholics and relapsed, if they chanced to be present, were warned to retire : the responsibility, it was said, must be with themselves, and not with the ministers.

These precautions disconcerted the Romanists ; and the clergy represented that their entire exclusion from the Calvinistic worship enabled the Reformed preachers to inveigh at pleasure against the doctrines of the Establishment, adding a dexterous insinuation that they might teach sedition also. A fresh enactment therefore was promulgated, stating that it was advantageous to the Roman Catholic religion that men of learning of that persuasion should attend the Reformed meeting-houses, not only that they might, if it were necessary, refute the sermons of the ministers ; but that, by their presence, they might restrain them from advancing any matter disrespectful to the Catholic faith, or prejudicial to the state. Seats were therefore to be especially set apart in every meeting-house for Catholic visitors ; and their admission to those privileged quarters was not to expose any Huguenot minister to the penalties of the former edict.*

This statute, which affected to give relief, produced in its execution much fresh grievance. The

* May 22, 1683. *Id. ibid.* p 147.

spots selected in the meeting-houses were either purposely chosen with a view of offence, so as to exclude the faithful worshippers from convenient seats; or else badges of honour and distinction, heraldic blazonry and painted devices were claimed for the seats of the intruders, ill according with the naked simplicity of a Calvinistic chapel. Not only did men of learning profit by the license to attend, but the rabble, prompted, in the first instance, by a love of novelty, and afterward infected by the contagion of example, flocked in troops to the celebration of service, and committed outrages and indecencies during its performance. To suppress these gatherings, from which it was foreseen that political danger might result, a proclamation appeared sufficiently betokening the extent which the mischief had attained. "Whereas," said the preamble, "it has been represented to us that an infinite number of the dregs of the people, great bodies of young men of all descriptions, students and lackeys, sometimes to the amount of three or four thousand persons, assemble in the meeting-houses of the pretended Reformed, so as to occupy almost all the sittings, and to create difficulty for the reception of the members of the legitimate congregation; all persons therefore, unless possessed of capacity to dispute on religious subjects with the pretended Reformed, or of authority sufficient to restrain them within the bounds of duty, are forbidden from attending their chapels, under the penalty of a fine of 100 livres for the first offence, and of yet greater punishment upon repetition."*

Hitherto the conduct of the Huguenots had exhibited the most unresisting patience; and want of leaders, of money, and of political influence, had prevented any attempt at combination in order to oppose the encroachments of their persecutors.

* July 23, 1683. *Id. ibid.*

The first project of confederacy occurred in the summer of this year, when sixteen delegates representing Languedoc, Cévennes, Vivarez, and Dauphiné, having secretly assembled at Toulouse, resolved that every means short of open insurrection should be employed to evince the constancy of their profession; and to undeceive the government which, misled by the provincial intendants, registered as converts those whom upon experiment they would find ready to encounter martyrdom. It was agreed, that on one and the same appointed day all the meeting-houses which had been closed by authority should be re-opened, and that congregations should assemble for public worship both in them, and on the sites, and amid the ruins of others which had been destroyed. In remote places, less exposed to public gaze, were to be gathered together those brethren who had signed compulsory abjurations, so that the church might partake the benefit of their prayers, without exposing them to the heavy penalties which awaited relapse.

The first arrangements for this union were conducted with a mystery so profound as to escape the vigilance of government; and it was with no small surprise that the believers in the approaching extinction of the Reformed doctrine received intelligence, that, in the course of July, numerous congregations in the south had renewed their suspended worship. But the want of concert among the Huguenots, which was manifest in the very outset by their appearance on separate days, instead of simultaneously, betrayed their weakness, and encouraged their oppressors. Troops were rapidly put in motion; the offending provinces were denounced as in a state of rebellion; and unless, in a few instances, in which despair resolved that life, although forfeited, should not be abandoned quite passively, the dragoons advanced, not to combat, but to slaughter. To the Duke of Noailles, whom he had intrusted with the

military command of the Vivarez, Louvois wrote in terms undisguisedly declaring his sanguinary intentions. "Amnesty," he said, "has no longer any place for the Vivarrois, who insolently continue in rebellion after they have been informed of the king's gracious designs." He then instructed him to subvert his troops at the expense of the insurgent districts; to seize offenders, and place them at the disposal of the magistrates; to raze to the ground the houses of all who should be taken with arms in their hands, or who postponed their return home after the issue of a single proclamation; and utterly to destroy nine or ten of the principal meeting-houses. "In one word," concludes this bloody despatch, "you are to cause such a desolation in that country that its example may restrain all the other Huguenots, and may teach them how dangerous it is to rebel against the king."*

To the terrors of the sword were added those of the scaffold. In a rencontre near Bour-
deaux, the troops, although greatly superior in force, had been rudely handled before they succeeded in dispersing a body of the Reformed, less than 300 in number, who defended themselves with bravery. Among the prisoners was an advocate of Montelimar, a grandson of the distinguished minister, Chamier, a name which there can be little doubt accelerated his death-warrant. He was broken alive upon the wheel before his father's house, and endured his tortures with fortitude, after having refused a mitigation of his sentence on condition that he would abjure. A similar cruel punishment was inflicted at Tournon upon Hômel, the pastor of Vivaretz in Cévennes. He was ac-
cused of having preached to armed congregations, and of having openly stimulated his auditors to rebellion. Yet his advanced age, it may be thought,

Aug. 21.

Oct. 2.

* Rulhière, p. 170.

might have pleaded for mercy; and one who had completed more than seventy years might, without danger to the state, have been left to the sure inroads of time. The drunkenness of the wretch employed to exact the savage vengeance of the law, the gray hairs, the protracted agonies, and the unbending constancy of the sufferer, produced a feeling which it was little the intention of his judges to excite; and exalted to the dignity of a martyr one, who, if he had been less rigorously treated, might, perhaps, have been disregarded and forgotten as a turbulent intriguer.*

In those parts of the kingdom which, from their still unbroken tranquillity, refuted every pretext for the employment of direct force, the process of oppression was advanced by new penal edicts. In order to prevent the establishment of any dangerous personal influence by the continued association of pastors with their flocks, no Reformed minister was permitted to officiate in the same cure for a longer period than three successive years. At the expiration of that term the exile was bound to remove to some other spot not less than twenty leagues from the church which he had last served, to which he was forbidden to return till after a lapse of twelve years. Even if he resigned his functions, and, abandoning his profession, retired into private life, he must not approach within six leagues of the place in which he had exercised his spiritual duties.† This ordinance, condemning the ministers to perpetually renewed itinerancy, was followed by a second, which affected to make permanent abiding of another kind a requisite tenure for the very existence of a church. In past times numerous meeting-houses had been built and licensed on sites purposely chosen at a considerable

1684.
Aug.

* Benoit, tom. v. p. 667. Quick, p. cxxxv.

† Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 158.

distance from inhabited towns. The object of this selection was at once evident and praiseworthy, and much collision with the Romanists had doubtless been avoided by its observance. It was now however decreed, that unless at least ten Huguenot families, exclusive of that belonging to the minister, were gathered round a chapel as a nucleus, it should peremptorily be destroyed. It mattered not how many thousand worshippers attended service within the walls on the Lord's day, nor how large a surrounding territory would be deprived of the word of life by their overthrow. The sole favour, in some instances allowed, in order to diminish expense, was permission to the Huguenots to level their own temple with their own hands, and at their own charge.*

The quinquennial General Assembly of the Gallican Church occurred early in the following summer, and the speeches of the chief ecclesiastics tended both to inflame the king's zeal, and to augment his delusion. Christian history was declared insufficient to furnish any parallel to his saintly achievements, and the glory of his peaceable subjugation of heresy was extolled far above his mightiest conquests in the field. The Bishop of Valence averred that every rational person in the kingdom had voluntarily abandoned dissent from the established faith; and the coadjutor of Rouen, with equal truth, lavished praise on the path strewn with flowers, which had been opened for re-entrance to the apostolic Church.† To what extent the galleys, the gibbet, and the wheel had been employed as instruments of conversion, was forgotten; nor were the footsteps of those unnumbered confessors tracked who had shunned the flowery path, although the course which they preferred led through unknown regions to expatriation,

1685.
May.

* Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 729.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 794.

or through darkness, terror, and agony to the valley of the shadow of death.

The exclusion of the Reformed from all trades connected with literature, which followed soon after the assembly of the Church, was intended to suppress the books of devotion and instruction which were circulated by their printers and publishers.* The edict, which forbade any Huguenot from retaining a Catholic in his domestic service, was especially directed against the higher and middle orders, in the hope that, as intimidation was likely to produce its fullest effect among the inferior classes, those in more exalted stations would find difficulty in procuring menial attendants.† How deep a jealousy of private influence over opinion was entertained may be inferred from the perusal of a declaration, prohibiting all Catholic magistrates who had the misfortune to be united to Huguenot wives from interference in ecclesiastical suits.‡ The Reformed worship was abolished in all Episcopal cities on a plea of singular effrontery, when we call to mind the well-known crying sin of the Gallican Church as to residence. In many, perhaps in the far greater number of dioceses, the bishop had never visited his see except for the purpose of consecration. Nevertheless, it was gravely declared, that since the bishop must be supposed always present in the chief town of his spiritual jurisdiction, it was but just that he should be protected from the chances of an offensive collision.§

The consummate political foresight of Louis had prevented the out break of a dangerous project secretly meditated against him by the court of Madrid; and the rapid assembly of a numerous
 March. army upon the Spanish frontier, had hum-

* July 9, 1685. Benoit, *Preuves*, p. 171.

† *Eadem die*. *Id. ibid.* tom. v. p. 173.

‡ July 11, 1685. *Id. ibid.* p. 174.

§ July 30, 1685. *Id. ibid.* p. 177.

bled the pride and disconcerted the treachery of his enemies. While Bearne was the head-quarters of this force, the Intendant Foucault, a grandson of the engineer who had executed the mole at La Rochelle, employed the military as agents in procuring conversion; and horrors even greater than those committed by the detestable Marillac in Poitou are recorded of that zealot's administration. It is little our intention to rake into the mass of things hideous and abominable, the bare recital of which is abhorrent from humanity; and which, alas! it is established upon too distinct evidence were inflicted and endured during the *Dragonnades*, which now recommenced at Bearne. Their barbarity is avouched by their results, and to them we shall chiefly confine ourselves.*

The "capitulation," as it was termed, of a province which had cherished the Reformed doctrine from its earliest birth; in which Jeanne d'Albret had lived a nursing-mother of the infant Church; and which had maintained its purity of faith, even after abandonment by its most beloved and native sovereign, was at length extorted by extremity of suffering. The majority of the Huguenots of Bearne consented to a formal surrender; and when this triumph of the Romish hierarchy was celebrated at Pau by a religious procession, by a grand mass, and by the more boisterous accompaniments of popular joy, a leading member of the defeated sect was appointed to notify the submission of his brethren in a set speech. The words employed on this occasion by De Vidal, an advocate of the parliament of

* The reader, who has any morbid curiosity to sup full with the horrors which we purposely avoid, may turn to the pages of Benoit, whose details indeed are too often needlessly loathsome. The great mass of official documents which he has collected imparts considerable value to his work; but he writes too much in the spirit of partisanship (a spirit excusable from his sufferings) to permit implicit reliance upon himself.

Paris, are reported by Benoit* as if they had been spoken seriously, and had conveyed the sincere and genuine sentiments of the orator. When transmitted to the court they gave offence; for they too plainly implied the fact, which it had been the chief object of Louvois to conceal, that the conversions had been effected by violence, and were in truth therefore no more than nominal.† But, unless we are greatly mistaken, the terms which Vidal used were purposely selected in grave and solemn irony; and he obtained by their utterance some slight relief (the only relief to which he durst resort) for the indignation of his swelling spirit. "Our Church," he said, addressing Foucault, "if I may still call it by that name, has deputed me to testify its respect. The king is about to range us under his own laws, and to submit us to his own discipline. To-day he places us under his easy yoke, and imposes upon us those salutary fetters which our fathers so unhappily rejected. No hands less powerful than his could have availed to open the eyes of those who were born in blindness, and to transport us at once from darkness to the light. No prince less devout than our's could have extinguished in our hearts attachment to a religion which we have received from our illustrious queen. To insure our re-entrance into the bosom of the Church, that self same force was demanded which has been able to unite two far-removed oceans, and to humble the arrogance even of Spain."‡ Sure we are, that, if these sentences were spoken without a covert meaning, their author must have been a man of rare simplicity, and wholly unconscious of the ambiguities of which language is susceptible.

By the commencement of August the continuance of the army of observation on the Spanish frontier had ceased to be necessary; and Louvois deter-

* Tom. v. p. 840.

† *Id. ibid.*‡ *Id. ibid. Preuves, p. 181.*

mined to employ it in extending the conversions which it had effected at Bearn. The Marquis de Boufflers, its commander, received orders to dispose his troops, in the first instance, over the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux and Montauban, and to take such measures with the Reformed, "that, in case his majesty should hereafter determine to prohibit all exercise of their religion within his kingdom, their numbers may be so far diminished as to preclude any apprehensions from a rising."* In subsequent despatches, the general was advised to allow facilities for the emigration of ministers, as an important step in promoting conversions; † and to use considerable discretion in the treatment of the higher orders, since it was of little importance that a few provincial gentry, more or less, should remain upon their estates, provided they were destitute of followers; a result which must occur as soon as they were deprived of places for worship, and surrounded by Catholics. ‡

Thus instructed for their mighty hunting, § the troops began to spread themselves over the face of Guyenne, Languedoc, Angoumois, Saintonge, Poitou, and the adjoining provinces. On their approach to any great town, the Huguenots were assembled by the Intendant, informed of the king's abhorrence of their faith, and his wish for uniformity; and then desired to make a speedy choice between the good and the evil, which it was his generous pleasure to set before them. So appalling was the desolation which followed in the rear of the booted missionaries who were at hand, so slight was the form of abjuration with which in the first instance the Romanists were contented, that crowds

* July 31. Rulhière, p. 204.

† Aug. 24. *Id.* p. 205.

‡ Beginning of September. *Id.* p. 209.

§ "C'était une espèce de chasse qu'on faisait dans une grande enceinte. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. 36.

of terrified peasants, sheltering themselves under some equivocal expression, became enrolled as converts. Fearful indeed was the lot of those who with greater firmness persevered for conscience's sake. No cruelty short of some act which would produce *immediate* death was forbidden to the soldiery, and death in most cases would have been received by their miserable victims as a boon of mercy.

If thousands thus nominally conformed, tens of thousands were hourly reported to the king as having accepted his proffers. The Duke de Noailles required not quite a month, as sufficient time to bring over to the true faith the 240,000 Huguenots whom he counted in Languedoc;* and whenever any doubt as to the substance of this goodly show of conversion overclouded the joy of Louis, it was speedily removed by a conviction, that the full harvest of his pious work, if denied to himself, would be reaped by his successors. "I am by no means sure," are the words of Madame de Maintenon at this remarkable season, "that all these conversions are sincere; but God employs innumerable means to win the heretics to Himself. Even if the fathers are hypocrites, at least the children will be Catholics; and outward union brings them somewhat more close to truth. They bear about them the same mark with the faithful. Pray God to enlighten us all; for the king has nothing more at heart!"†

Fed by these hopes, and assured by his confessor, the Père de la Chaise, and by his confidential minister Louvois, that he might reunite every heretic in his dominion to the Apostolic Church, without the expenditure of a single drop of blood,† Louis consented to promulgate that edict which was to cover all France with dismay, and

Oct. 18.

* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* p. 216.

† *Id.* p. 218.

‡ *Id.* p. 220.

to deprive him of half a million of his best subjects. To Balthasar Phelypeaux, Marquis of Châteauneuf, at that time Secretary of State, belongs the disgrace of having framed the provisions of this most unhappy ordinance;* and so blinded by the fury of dogmatism was the aged Chancellor Le Tellier (the father of Louvois), that having affixed to it his seal of office, while labouring under that malady which in a few days brought him to the grave, he refused to execute any other majesterial act, and exclaimed, in the words of Simeon, that he was "now ready to depart in peace."†

In the preamble of the declaration which revoked the Edict of Nantes, the king was made to affirm, that Henry IV., when granting immunities to the Huguenots, had only temporized, in order that at a fitting season he might accomplish the grand object of general Church Union, which was ever in his contemplation. His unexpected death, and the many troubles which agitated the reign of his successor, had prevented much advance towards the attainment of that most desirable end; and even under the sway of the present king, so great had been the convulsions of Europe, that until the recent peace of 1684, little could be effected beyond the abolition of the *Chambres my-parties*, which were never intended to be more than provisional, and the suppression of the Reformed worship in a few places in which it had been established to the prejudice of the edicts. Now however, that, by God's blessing, his people were in the enjoyment of profound repose, the king resolved to perfect those designs of his royal father and grandfather, which he had never ceased to foster in his own bosom. He acknow-

* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* p. 230. Benoit, tom. v. p. 865.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 866. The pious ejaculation of Simeon has been frequently abused. It was employed by Hugh Peters, and afterward by Dr. Price, when treading in the steps of that Apostle of Rebellion. See Burke *On the French Revolution.* Works. (8vo.) vol. v. p. 132.

ledged, with all humility, that Heaven had vouchsafed a blessing on his efforts, since the better and greater part of his subjects, who had once professed the pretended Reformed faith, had already embraced the Catholic religion. Thus, then, since the Edict of Nantes, and all other favours granted to the Huguenots, had ceased to be of any utility, he thought it right,—in order entirely to efface the remembrance of past troubles, of the many evils and the confusion which the progress of the false religion had caused, by giving birth to that and other dispensing edicts,—utterly to revoke the Edict of Nantes, and every other ordinance which had subsequently been enacted in favour of the Huguenots.

Upon the enormous falsehoods contained in this preamble, it is little necessary to dilate. What proof is there that Henry IV. designed as a mere temporary device, as a fleeting and unsubstantial political phantom, an edict which, in express terms on the face of the document itself, he announced to all Christendom as “perpetual and irrevocable?” In what manner did Louis XIII. testify his intention of extinguishing Huguenotism, when he confirmed and ratified the Edict of Nantes by the provisions of his own Edict of Nîmes? • But, above all, if the greater and better part of the French Huguenots were already converted, what must have been the original number of believers, the remnant of whose *minority*, at a time when the sect was declared to be almost exhausted, made the dungeons and the galleys of its native country overflow, after having enriched and fertilized whole foreign regions by the outpourings of its emigration?

It was then enacted, that every place of worship belonging to the Reformed within the dominions of France should be demolished; that no assembly for the celebration of service should be permitted in private houses or elsewhere, on any pretext what-

soever ; that no fief, whatever might be the quality of its tenure, should entitle its seigneur to the use of the Reformed ritual in any of his châteaux ; that all Huguenot ministers, continuing to refuse conformity, should quit the kingdom within fifteen days after the publication of this edict, without presuming in the intermediate time to exercise any of their spiritual functions, on pain of the galleys ; that all Huguenot schools should be utterly suppressed ; that all children hereafter born from Reformed parents should be baptized and educated as Catholics ; that no emigration or transfer of property should be attempted by lay persons, under pain of the galleys for the men, and of immurement in convents for the women.

These were the comminations of the edict, but there were portions of it designed to allure and captivate : a mess of pottage was offered to such as would traffic for it with their birthright. To ministers, who would conform and to their widows, were promised the same exemptions from particular imposts and from the lodgment of troops, which they had hitherto been accustomed to possess in right of their sacred office. A pension, moreover, was assigned for their subsistence, exceeding their present benefices by one-third, and half of that allowance was to be enjoyed by their widows. Should they choose to adopt the profession of advocates, they were dispensed from the three years of previous study ordinarily required ; and, after due examination as to their competency, they were to be admitted doctors of law upon payment of half the customary fees. A term of four months' grace was allowed to all persons who had already emigrated ; who, if they should return home within that period, were to regain all their lost privileges, and to re-enter upon their confiscated property. Finally, as a crowning and signal instance of clemency, the king gave permission to all his lay subjects of the Re-

formed faith, to abide within his territories, to exercise their trades, and to retain their property (in the hope that it might please Heaven at length to illuminate them), provided they consented to abstain from every exercise of their worship, to live without any acknowledgment of God, or any profession of religion.*

* See the Edict of Revocation. Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 184.

CHAPTER XXV.

Dispersion of the Huguenot Ministers—Consequent emigration—Sufferings of the fugitives—Bishop Burnet's account—Their reception in foreign countries—In England—Great commercial injury to France—The Galleys—Louis de Marolles—Transportation to America—De Serres—Modification of the Edict against the dead bodies of the Relapsed—Tacit Indulgence—Rebellion in the Cévennes—The Prophets—Murder of the Abbé Chayla—The Marquis de Guiscard—Cavallier—Origin of the name Camisards—Their successes—Villars commands against them—He negotiates with Cavallier—Sequel of Cavallier's history—Termination of the Rebellion—Fanaticism of the French Prophets in England—Latter years, and death of Louis XIV.—The Regent Orleans—The Duke of Bourbon—The Cardinal of Fleury—Renewed persecution at his death—Synod of Nismes—Assemblies of the Desert—Severities—Fresh emigration—Benevolent intentions of Louis XVI.—Frustrated by the Revolution—Napoleon—The Restoration—The Revolution of 1830—Conclusion.

THE provisions of the edict of revocation were executed without delay; and in the outset, the ministers of Charenton were visited with especial severity, being enjoined to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. To Claude, as to the one most obnoxious among them, only half that period was afforded; and he was escorted to Brussels in the immediate custody of a menial of the palace. Yet, in many instances, vexatious obstacles were thrown in the way of the proscribed ecclesiastics on their arrival at the frontiers, where they were detained, either by a refusal of passports altogether, or by a dispute respecting those which they had secured. If this delay, however contrary to their own desire, were extended so long as to make them amenable to the edict, its penalties were rigorously exacted. In a few cases the bitterness of separation from home and country was a trial under which human nature yielded; and the detention of a beloved wife and

children occasionally extorted a forced conversion from the agonized husband and father, at the very eve of his departure. Such triumphs were of rare occurrence, but they were ostentatiously blazoned abroad. All the Reformed states of Europe offered asylums to the exiles; and Swisserland, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, the United Provinces, England, and even the Lutheran kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, afforded refuge and means of subsistence to the banished Huguenot pastors. Among ourselves, those who did not object to receive fresh ordination, and to submit to Episcopal discipline, were freely admitted to the established priesthood; the others either formed separate Presbyterian congregations, or annexed themselves to some church which they found already instituted.*

Few maxims are more amply verified by experience than that every government which perpetrates a great moral crime, at the same time commits a great political blunder, however much appearances for a season may imply the contrary. But the re-

* The chief French Reformed Church at present existing in London is in Threadneedle-street. It was founded by Edward VI. in 1550, on the site of an hospital of St. Anthony, for the use of the Walloons, who had fled from Germany. It was destroyed in the fire of London, and re-opened after that great calamity, as "*L'Eglise des Etrangers Protestans parlans Francois, de quelque Nation qu'ils soient.*" It has united with itself the congregation of a Chapel of Ease, erected in Spitalfields soon after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The pastors are elected by a consistory, but must receive confirmation under the king's sign manual. A new liturgy was framed for this church in 1809, in which great license is permitted to the discretion of the ministers. They, indeed, read the portions of Scripture for the day being regulated by a table, as in the liturgies of Geneva and of Neuchatel, they are selected at the minister's pleasure. Again, in the administration of the sacrament, the minister delivers the elements according to a prescribed formula, "*ou quelque parole semblable.*" and it is added, that "*tous ces petits details qui dependent en grande partie des circonstances, et du degré de fatigue du Ministre officiant, sont laissés à sa discretion.*"

The congregations of the chapel of the French Hospital in St. Luke's, and of Dean-street and of Edward-street, Soho (the only other French Reformed meeting-houses in London), have adopted a translation of the liturgy of the Church of England.

sults of human action are often so far distant from their causes, that no ordinary sagacity is demanded to unravel the full connection between the two. In that science, which (less, as it would seem, out of regard to precision of terms, than in order to obtain a compendious phrase) is called the philosophy of history; and which might, perhaps, be more appropriately named an estimate of the operation of facts on the moral interests of mankind, almost every step is hazardous, and almost every deduction is exposed to manifest danger of error, because we see but in part. But, in the case before us, the mischief produced was so immediately consecutive upon the measure which occasioned it, and so strikingly and manifestly referrible to its cause, as ere long to compel an unwilling acknowledgment from its authors themselves.

Scarcely any blindness, indeed, short of that produced by the fever of bigotry, could have prevented the French government from foreseeing the necessary consequences of the heedless course which it was pursuing. It was but natural that the sheep should follow in the path of the shepherds; that the flock hungering after food should eagerly turn for it to those hands by which it had been accustomed to be fed. No vigilance could be sufficiently alert, no cordon of jailers sufficiently numerous, to close every outlet from so extensive a frontier as that which bounded France; and, notwithstanding the fearful penalties annexed to detection, an almost general emigration of the lay Huguenots succeeded the expulsion of their ministers. The movement commenced in the south; whole parishes in Lower Languedoc were deserted; and it is said that not fewer than 800 persons at once retreated from a single village in Dauphiné. The fears of the government were excited by this perilous and rapid depopulation, and force and artifice were equally employed in order to prevent its continuance. Armed

peasants scoured the roads, and guarded the most obvious passes; and in remoter districts gold was lavishly scattered to corrupt the fidelity of the guides to whom the fugitives intrusted themselves. In little more than fifteen months from the date of the revocation, 700 prisoners, arrested in the immediate neighbourhood, were committed to the dungeons of Touraine alone; and there does not appear any reason upon which we should found a belief that the numbers detained exceeded those which escaped.*

It was by sea, however, that the most frequent, and probably the most successful attempts at escape occurred; and scarcely a vessel quitted any port in France without some contraband lading of emigrants. When other places of concealment failed, the miserable exiles secreted themselves under bales of merchandise, in empty casks, or amid heaps of stores; and, if securer means of transport were not at hand, an open boat, or the skiff of a fisherman was eagerly coveted for the performance of some hazardous voyage. The Count of Marancé and his lady, personages of distinction in Lower Normandy, formed part of a crew of forty souls, among which were several women with children at the breast, who entered a vessel of seven tons burthen, in the very depth of winter, wholly without provisions, and exposed to a stormy sea; their sole refreshment during a long passage to the English coast was a little melted snow, with which, from time to time, they moistened their fevered lips; until, after sufferings which appeared to debar hope, this piteous company gained the opposite shore, and found a hospitable reception.†

Not all, however, who attempted similar enterprises were equally fortunate in the result. Many encountered shipwreck; the fate of others was

* Benoit, tom. v. p. 946.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 948.

wholly unknown. Some from the more western provinces were made prizes by corsairs, and endured years of slavery in Africa. Some were thrown upon the coast of Spain, and did but exchange persecution at home for an equal measure of severity from the Inquisition. The greater number, however, by daring courage, by the sacrifice of their little remaining property in order to bribe those appointed to hem them in, or by the adoption of some skilful disguise, effected their retreat; and there was scarcely any labour too heavy, any service too menial, any privation too acute, to which even women of condition refused to submit, in order to escape the yet more hateful spiritual bondage and degradation which awaited them if they remained in France.

A few endeavours made in different quarters to force an armed passage, for the most part failed, as might be expected. The Huguenots were generally overpowered after a desperate struggle; and those who escaped the sword in the field were hurried almost instantly to the scaffold. Burnet, who at that time had withdrawn from England in order to avoid the hazardous intrigues consequent upon the accession of James II., has given in his homely but strong manner, a vivid description of the miseries which he personally witnessed a few months after the revocation:—"Men and women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only stripped of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipped, and barbarously treated." "Here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects it exceeded them all both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of France while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to

Montpellier, and from thence to Lyons, and so on to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I passed I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible; but chiefly at Valence, where one Dherapine seemed to exceed even the furies of inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection which appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontiers of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys; if women, to monasteries. To complete this cruelty, orders were given, that such of the new converts as did not at their death receive the sacrament should be denied burial, and that their bodies should be left where other dead carcasses were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs.* This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity; and it gave all people so much horror, that finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt no one, but struck all that saw it with more horror than those sufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread itself with a sort of contagion; for the intendants, and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their lives, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity.† And again, in his *Letters*, written more freshly while on the spot in which he had received these convictions,

* This edict, authorizing posthumous disgrace to the relapsed, may be found in Benoit, tom. v. *Preuves*, p. 196. It bears date April 29, 1686.

† *History of his own Times*. Vol. i. p. 659, 660 (folio).

Burnet informs his correspondent, "Of the persecution, which I saw in its rage and utmost fury, I could give you many instances that are so far beyond all the common measures of barbarity and cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them than are fitting now to be brought forth; and the particulars I could tell are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary circumstances of time, place, and person, that might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in any age there ever was such a violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or man."*

Nevertheless, in spite of every precaution, myriads continued to emigrate; and the spirit of charity before manifested in the hospitable lands which had admitted the banished ministers, appeared to increase in proportion to the increasing number by which its assistance was entreated. The Swiss either afforded means for farther passage, or assigned pensions to those who chose to remain among them, with unbounded generosity, and to an extent little to be expected from the scantiness of their national resources. Geneva was too closely in the neighbourhood, and therefore too openly exposed to the vengeance of France, to venture upon giving a fixed residence to any of the fugitives; but she assisted their progress, and observed to them a scrupulous fidelity. Among the German princes, the Elector of Brandenburg was pre-eminent in his benefactions. He invited the refugees to settle in his dominions; he assigned two churches in his capital to their use; classed them in various trades and professions; and regulated the new colony by a separate code of jurisprudence, framed according to their native

* P. 254. Ed. Rotterdam, 1686.

habits, in their native language, and administered by judges selected from among themselves.* In the United Provinces large sums were contributed both by public and private bounty for the immediate relief and the permanent establishment of the sufferers; and the Prince and Princess of Orange, taking that chief part which became their station, munificently enlarged the funds, and actively and usefully superintended their distribution.

The conduct of England, rapidly approaching the great crisis of her own struggle for religious liberty, naturally excites peculiar attention.† It is believed that nearly 50,000 Huguenots passed over to our shores,‡ and of their reception by the Protestant majority of the nation not a doubt could be entertained. But how was the court likely to proceed? In what manner might the king be expected to act, whose designs for the establishment of Popery in his own dominions could not even at that moment be doubted? It has been charitably said, that where the benefit is real, it is a kind of ingratitude to inquire too nicely into the motives upon which it has been conferred; and we therefore forbear from asking, whether James sought popularity by a pretended toleration? or whether he wished to support

* Ancillon. "Histoire de l'établissement des François Réfugiés dans les Etats de son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg." Berlin, 1710. The author, son of a Huguenot minister at Metz, was a réfugié; and although he writes pedantically, his narrative is distinct.

† Dragoons were at first quartered upon the English Protestant merchants resident in France, till upon a complaint made by the ambassador, Sir William Trumbull, those who had not been naturalized were left unmolested. Even then, however, if they had married French women, their wives and children were imprisoned or secluded in convents. Some French fishermen, settled in England, were carried off and imprisoned, under a pretence that they had assisted in the illegal transport of Englishmen flying from France; and Sir William Trumbull, unable to obtain redress for these and many other aggressions, resigned; after which his court desisted from any farther remonstrances. Dalrymple *Memoirs*, vol. ii. b. v. p. 5; where Sir William Trumbull's correspondence with Lord Sunderland, in the state-paper office, is referred to for vouchers.

‡ Hume, vol. viii. p. 243.

that plea for general liberty of conscience which it was then his policy to assert? Be this as it may, he granted briefs,* which authorized subscriptions throughout the kingdom, and he gave large sums in addition from his privy purse. So virulent, however, was the suspicion of his ulterior plans, that not only was this bounty unfavourably interpreted, but it prevented many zealous spirits from joining in the subscription. A rumour was circulated similar to that unfounded charge which had prevailed during the late reign, that the sums when raised were to be diverted to the maintenance of papists, who had been invited over to assist the king's plot against the Established Church.

One incident, which materially strengthened a belief in the king's insincerity, was his readiness in listening to a memorial presented by the French ambassador against a tract relative to the sufferings of the Huguenots, which Claude had found leisure to compose and to publish since his retreat into Holland. The London Gazette officially announced from Whitehall, that, in consequence of the many falsities and scandalous reflections upon his most Christian Majesty, contained in that volume, which had been translated into English, the king had been pleased to order that diligent inquiry should be made after both the translator and the printer, that they might be prosecuted according to law; and that a copy of the original work, and another of the English version, had been burned by the common hangman in front of the Royal Exchange.†

The loss of population in itself was a severe injury to France; but there were yet other and more lasting evils connected with the retreat of her nu-

* In the London Gazette of April 18, 1687, is an order from Whitehall, dated three days previous, renewing letters-patent, issued on March 5, 1685, for the collection of money by briefs for the relief of the Huguenots.

† May 8, 1686. Claude's work is entitled, "Les Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France."

merous citizens. Many of them possessed commercial secrets of great importance, hitherto unknown to the people among whom they fixed their abode; and countries which had been dependent upon France for several costly manufactures, for articles both of necessity and of luxury, for the future obtained establishments of their own. The north of Germany swarmed with a busy hive, engaged in dying all varieties of colours, and in producing cloths, serges, crapes, druggets, hats, stuffs, galloons, and stockings. Berlin obtained goldsmiths, jewellers, watchmakers, and carvers. In London, the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's were largely increased, and Spitalfields were entirely peopled with silk-weavers; and the mystery of glass-working, in which the French stood nearly alone, was not only transferred to others by the desertion of most of the artisans engaged in it, but became deteriorated among themselves.* The members of the higher classes, who had been trained to arms, engaged in foreign service; and, exclusively of many detached officers of singular skill and bravery, whole regiments of well-born Frenchmen were enrolled in Savoy, in Holland, and in Germany.

Two of the most distinguished sufferers among those who encountered severe punishment in consequence of arrest while endeavouring to escape, were Le Fevre, a counsellor of Chatelchinson, a young man of ancient birth and of commanding talent, and Louis de Marolles, who filled a similar honourable station at St. Menehaud in Champagne. Both of them were sentenced for life to the galleys; and the wrongs of the latter are recorded in a narrative, which has been more than once reprinted in England. After many months' confinement in *La Tour-nelle*, (the misery of which may be estimated, when we learn that, during night and day, 53 prisoners

* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 617.

occupied a gallery measuring 30 feet by 9), and when repeated attempts to seduce his constancy had proved unavailing, Marolles was fastened to the chain, with more than 100 other convicts, many of them wretches who had narrowly escaped the wheel or the gibbet for crimes of the deepest atrocity, and proceeded on foot to Marseilles. The iron ring which he carried on his neck weighed 30lbs.; and the sole indulgence which appears to have been extended to him, on his arrival at his destination, was occasional permission to pay an exorbitant price for a very scanty meal, which sometimes varied the rations of beans boiled in oil, usually allotted to the criminals. In the end, he was transferred, probably on account of his advanced age, from the galleys to the citadel of Marseilles; in the dungeon of which fortress he lingered more than six years, enduring bitter privations from cold, darkness, hunger, solitude, and insufficient clothing, till death terminated his mournful history, without obtaining for him the rites of Christian sepulture. He was thrown by the hands of Turks, shrinking from the uncleanness to which they were forced to submit, into a grave in the burial-ground set apart for the interment of infidels.

The three prisons of most fearful celebrity in France were the Tower of Constance at Aigues-mortes, and the Hospitals of the *Forçats*, or Galley-slaves, at Marseilles and at Valence; and these were especially prepared for the confinement of Huguenots. The cruelties of D'Herapine, the superintendent of the last-named establishment, to whom Burnet has alluded, are frequently mentioned by others in terms of horror, which, after every allowance for natural exaggeration, it is too probable, are well deserved. One expedient yet remained, by which it was believed that the firmness which the apprehension neither of the galleys nor of imprisonment could subdue, would be effectually shattered;

and transports were engaged for the purpose of conveying the more obstinate recusants to perpetual slavery in the islands of America.

Out of a complement of 224 Huguenots, of both sexes, shipped in two vessels for Martinique, 95 died on board of one of them only, during a lingering and hazardous voyage of three months. Another transport, with the same destination, was wrecked on a sand-bank off the coast of the island, through the negligence of her captain. M. de Serres, a Huguenot of Montpellier, who has published a narrative of this disaster, had endured several months' imprisonment in the squalid dungeon of La Reine, at Aiguesmortes, before his embarkation, and had suffered greatly on the passage from heat, filth, and sickness. When the vessel struck, one of the chief horrors of the scene arose from the terrific yells of more than 100 galley-slaves, who, being chained together by sevens, saw death approaching without the possibility of making an effort to escape. An officer, touched with compassion, released some of those nearest to the deck; but he was speedily compelled to desist, for the first act of the phrensiéd wretches was an attempt upon the life of their deliverer. Two boats put off with as many hands as they could carry; and the captain, who swam to one of them, was picked up, and saved. Most of the women on board, and fifteen of the Huguenot men, were drowned; and when De Serres, after remaining two days and a night on the wreck, confided himself to a plank, and was washed on shore, the governor threatened to hang him unless he would renounce Calvinism. He was treated with great cruelty during a subsequent imprisonment; and obtained his liberty by an act for which he afterward submitted himself to ecclesiastical censure, and which is described by him, with rather a subtle distinction, as "signing a writing against his religion, without abjuring on oath." After the endurance of much more

hardship and a second imprisonment, he concealed himself in a Dutch ship, and found an asylum at Curaçao.*

In spite of all these tyrannical inflictions, it soon became evident to the government that the boasted progress of conversion was delusive. The new proselytes everywhere resorted to subterfuges by which they might evade participation in the ordinances of the Romish Church; and force was employed to compel them to attend mass, and to receive the Eucharist. "It is your obedience, not your salvation, which is my concern," was the reply of an intendant to one who pleaded that he should be guilty of a mortal sin, if he were to be an unwilling communicant.† The savage edict, which annexed public dishonour to the remains of those who refused the Host in their parting moments, was rigorously executed. Frightful abuses resulted from this unseemly "trampling on the dead;" and humanity was outraged by many a fierce display of popular phrensy. It is related, that the keeper of one of the provincial jails,‡ before he placed upon the hurdle which was to drag it to the next lay-stall the body of a woman who had died in his custody, unconfessed and unshriven, thriftily bethought himself of exhibiting it to the neighbouring peasantry at a trifling price for admission. The experiment thus practised by avarice upon curiosity terminated altogether to his satisfaction; for not fewer than 700 visitors flocked to gaze upon the disgusting sight, which was presented to them under the title of "the corpse of one of the damned."§

The court, however, was soon awakened to more

* "Popish cruelty exemplified in the various sufferings of M. Serres, and several other French gentlemen, for the sake of conscience; done into English by Claude d'Assas, 1723."

† Benoit, tom. v. p. 983.

‡ At Cani, in the district of Caux.

§ Benoit, tom. v. p. 987.

than one inconvenience resulting from the avidity with which this ordinance had been received and executed. In many cases the rabble had constituted themselves both judges and executioners, had decided upon the guilt of the parties, and had inflicted the penalty without the intervention of any other authority; and policy demanded the repression of this most dangerous license. The punishment itself rather inflamed the hatred than excited the fears of those whose friends or kinsfolk had been made its object; and the frequency of the occurrence afforded evidence not to be disputed, that the much-vaunted conversions were too often only nominal. The intendants, therefore, were warned not over-officiously to scrutinize death-bed avowals. It was admitted that the ordinance had not produced *quite* so much success as had been anticipated. If a new convert, when dying, should ostentatiously insist upon publishing his relapse, and if his family should appear to glory in the heretical declaration, then the law was to take its course in all its rigour; but if those nearest in blood to the deceased should testify disapprobation of his individual obstinacy, then it would be better not to follow up the matter by any further procedure. The priests therefore were to be cautious how they summoned the civil magistrates as witnesses, lest they might be compelled to action on occasions in which it would be more prudent that the provisions of the edict should be allowed to slumber.*

In the provinces most remote from the capital, in Languedoc, for instance, and yet more in the almost unapproachable fastnesses of the Cévennes, the expulsion of the ministers, greatly as it impeded religious service, by no means secured its abolition. The military commandants, it is true, had insisted upon the surrender of all books directing the eccle-

* *Lettre de Frv. 8, 1687, cited by Rulhiere, p. 241.*

siastical offices, or inculcating the doctrines of the Reformed; and so great was the number delivered, that on one occasion, at Metz, the burning of Bibles and of New Testaments in the vulgar tongue occupied twelve hours.* Copies enough, however, had been secreted to supply all the purposes of family worship; and the meeting of a few relations and friends to join in prayer, and to hear a sermon, insensibly extended to the assembling of large congregations. Among the uneducated and but half-civilized mountaineers of the Cévennes, deprived of the wise guidance of their legitimate pastors, arose a race of ignorant, presumptuous, and self-authorized teachers. The seeds of fanaticism which they scattered abroad became deeply imbedded; the sickly plant shot up and ripened amid gross surrounding darkness; and its produce, in due season, was, as we shall perceive by-and-by, a luxuriant harvest of most pestilent and widely-spread error.

In other and more fortunate spots a few ministers were found bold enough to venture upon return; and the government, in its alarm, issued a fresh penal declaration against the offenders. By this statute every minister of the Reformed religion, whether he were native or foreign, who should be discovered in France, without express permission from the king in writing, was punishable with death. Men who assisted or concealed them were condemned to the galleys; women to nunneries. A reward of 5500 livres was offered for the capture of each proscribed ecclesiastic; and all lay persons who assembled for the exercise of any other religion than that of Rome were exposed to capital punishment upon detection.†

July 1,
1686.

The attention of the French government was diverted from the regulation of ecclesiastical polity

* Benoit, tom. v. p. 981, and *Preuves*, p. 196.

† *Id. ibid.* *Preuves*, p. 197.

by the powerful league which the genius of William of Orange consolidated against it, soon
 1689. after his successful attempt upon the crown of England; and Louis was too deeply engrossed by the joint hostilities of Spain, Holland, Britain, and the empire, to promote fresh measures of domestic persecution. Yet the existence of the Huguenot Church may be considered as terminated by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The party which, for a century and a half, had maintained itself, with greater or less ascendancy, through the varied train of events which has contributed to form our past narrative, was at length shattered and dissolved.

The materials for a history of the fragments into which it was then broken, are scattered as widely abroad as were those fragments themselves, and they must be sought among the biographies of the most distinguished ministers who were exiled.* To gather them at all would be difficult, to concentrate them within our limits is wholly impossible; and as we professed in the outset to write the History of the Reformed Religion in France, instead of now following the refugee branches of the Huguenot Church into the separate countries in which they found asylums, we must content ourselves, for the most part, with presenting a rapid summary of the little which is authentically known of their brethren who remained behind, or who returned to their native country.

It was not until weariness of conquest induced
 1697. Louis to conclude the Peace of Ryswick, that he renewed the idle and long-suspended project of compelling all his subjects to religious unity. Great, no doubt, was his surprise when he

* Le Long has noticed many of these biographies, in order to assist any future writer who might undertake such a history; of which he perceived both the want and the difficulty. See a note in his "Bibliothèque Historique de la France," tom. i. p. 409.

learned from reports transmitted by the Provincial intendants that Calvinism, although suppressed by law, still existed in their several jurisdictions; that although its meeting-houses had everywhere been levelled to the dust, its ministers had been driven into exile, and its assemblies for worship had been prohibited under penalty of death, the spirit of the proscribed religion subsisted in its ancient vigour, and the conversion of the new converts was a work still to be achieved. Thirteen years had elapsed since the experiment of the revocation had been tried, when Basville, the intendant of Languedoc, one of those who had rendered themselves the most evilly notorious by aiding in persecution,* thus described the condition of his government in a letter to the king. "There are districts, comprising more than twenty or thirty parishes, in which the *Curé* is at once the most wretched and the most useless among its inhabitants. Do what he will, he can neither make a single Catholic proselyte among the residents, nor induce any one already professed to settle within his ministry." In another place, he speaks of "those ex-Huguenots, who, yielding to violence, had pretended conversion, as a sort of body living within the state in a singular manner, wholly devoid of any external profession of religion."†

Opinions were divided in the royal council, as to the remedy which this state of affairs demanded.

* Basville succeeded the atrocious Marillac in his intendency. At first, greater mildness was expected from him than had been shown by his predecessor; but he proved equally severe, and more cunning. Benoit describes him as "Un homme mal-intentionné, capable d'achever par la ruse ce que Marillac avoit conduit si avant par la violence."—Tom. iv. p. 549. And Rulhière, in like manner, after stating that he passed "dans ce temps-là pour un homme doux et modéré," adds in explanation, that "sa douceur consistoit à employer la terreur plus que les supplices."—p. 153.

† Cited by M. le Baron Breteuil in a *Mémoire* on the state of the Protestants offered to Louis XVI. Rulhière, p. 275.

Louvois, the original persecutor, was no longer alive, but the Chancellor Ponchartrain advised severity. The Cardinal de Noailles, chief of the Jansenists, recently nominated to the archbishopric of Paris, on the other hand, strongly urged the advantages of tolerance ; and, notwithstanding that he was opposed by the great body of the Gallican Church, his influence for a while prevailed with the king, and he was authorized to pursue measures of conciliation. The execution of this duty, however, was obstructed by infinite difficulties ; for it was thought that to revoke the edict of revocation would be, in a certain degree, to compromise the king's honour. D'Aguesseau, who, many years before, at the commencement of the persecution, had resigned the intendancy of Languedoc, in order that he might avoid participation in cruelties which he abhorred, and who ever since, while occupying various ministerial posts, had continued the advocate of a gentle policy, was intrusted with the fulfilment of the delicate task ; and, content with the attainment of solid advantages for the Huguenots, he recommended the avoidance of any display of change. It would be enough, he thought, if the penal laws were permitted to slumber without formal erasure from the statute-book. All occasion of mortification on the one side, and of unseasonable triumph on the other, would thus be escaped : the fears of the Romanists would not be awakened to any meditated diminution of their ascendancy ; the hopes of the Reformed would not be elevated to the prospect of any impossible emancipation. So difficult is it for power to retrace its steps, if they have once deviated into a mistaken path ! The injustice and tyranny which deprived the Huguenots of natural and civil immunities were officially registered in the standing laws of the kingdom. The equity and clemency which prompted a revival of their freedom was to be dispensed with

stealthy cunning, and to be shrouded under the mysteries of state-craft.*

But when a dark cloud, which had long been gathering among the mountains of the south, burst and discharged its collected tempest, the troubles of a fierce and protracted civil war in the Vivarez and the Cévennes forbade the exercise of gentleness even in secret. The fanaticism which excited the rude and ignorant inhabitants of that savage district to open rebellion is usually traced, in the first instance, to the prevalence of reveries disseminated by Pierre Jurieu; a French minister of the Walloon Church at Rotterdam, who, unhappily addicting himself to interpretation of the Apocalypse, applied the mystical announcements of that sealed book to his own times and country. Fully persuaded that an express inspiration had been vouchsafed to him by which he was enabled to penetrate the true meaning of the prophecies relative to Babylon and Antichrist, he declared that France was the place of the great city, wherein the witnesses mentioned by St. John† lay dead, but not buried; and that, after three years and a half, a period which brought his computation to the year 1689, they would rise again to life. These speculations, which in Jurieu might be no more than the harmless fumes of an effervescing fancy, were directed by others to serious political objects; and it was not difficult to persuade the mountaineers of the south of France, smarting under the scourge of military law, and deprived of their pastors and of their hereditary worship, that the spirit of the Lord, instead of abandoning them altogether, would speak by the mouths of their women and children.

No very distinct accounts are left to us of the first growth of these wild notions, which in their outset indeed were little likely to attract serious attention; but a school appears to have been opened in a glass-

* *Bullière*, p. 443.

† *Revelations*, ch. xi.

house at Mount Peyra, in Dauphiné, under the direction of one Du Serre, who, as there can be little doubt, was an adroit knave, actuated by motives of ambition, and seeking only to elevate himself to the headship of a party. Children of both sexes were disciplined in this academy of the prophets by fasting which disordered the bodily functions, and by a course of reading and lecturing which kindled their imaginations, till they fancied themselves chosen messengers, and organs through which the Divine will was to be communicated to their fellow-countrymen. The first two promising disciples of whom we hear any tidings were Gabriel Astier in the Vivarez, and La Belle Isabeau, a maiden, who was exhibited at Grenoble. Convulsed, foaming at the mouth, and rapt in epileptic ecstasy, they poured out broken sentences, which were eagerly caught up by the gaping peasants as holy dews of prophecy; and their examples proving infectious, as frequently happens in nervous cases, were followed by many imitators. The ministry of Isabeau was but short: she was arrested and imprisoned, and after a few months of separation from her employers, admitted that she had been labouring under delusion. Astier was less fortunate; he fought bravely at the head of some enthusiasts, who rushed upon the troops sent to disperse them, exposing their naked bosoms to the soldiers' pikes and muskets; and endeavouring to strike terror into their assailants by repeated shouts of, "Tartara! Tartara!" When this mystic cry failed to produce effect, and most of the zealots were either killed or put to flight, Astier disguised himself, and enlisted as a trooper in the royal army; but the vigilance of the Intendant Basville detected him, and on recognition he was executed.*

1689.
April 2.

* Broeys "Hist. de Fanatisme dans les Cévennes." tom. i. p. 162. This writer was himself originally a Huguenot. His statements must be

The impenetrable nature of their country, and the paucity of troops which were destined for its observation, enabled the mountaineers, who rarely exceeded a few hundreds in number, to maintain themselves in their fastnesses. The next leaders of any eminence by whom they were conducted were two pastors not trained to their ministry in a course altogether regular. François Vivans had filled the humble occupation of a woolcomber. Claude Brousson was originally an advocate at Nîmes. These zealots, having assumed spiritual functions, joined themselves to the prophets, and engaged in negotiation with the Duke of Savoy for the assistance of an armed force. The assemblies of their followers were held by night, and their days were passed amid perpetually renewed changes of anxiety. Vivans at length was treacherously betrayed in a cavern into which he resorted for concealment; and even while he was at bay, and certain of ultimate death, so unapproachable was his lair, that he took deliberate aim and shot several of his assailants, before he received the bullet which terminated his own existence.* Brousson pursued a life of peril and wandering for three years longer. From a MS. *Relation des Prodiges de Vivarez*, which was discovered upon him at the time of his arrest, it is probable that he was deranged by enthusiasm; for he recorded visions of angels and of celestial lights, and wrote as one overpowered by ravishing harmonies which for ever echoed in his ears. He was at length captured by Basville, and on clear evidence that he had planned the introduction of Schomberg's 1698. army, he was broken on the wheel as a traitor.

accepted with hesitation, and they are often corrected by the author of a "*Hist. des Camisards*" bearing date *Londres, 1754*. These two works may be considered as manifestoes of the opposing parties, and the truth may probably be ascertained in many instances by balancing their representations.

* Brueys, tom. i. p. 261.

During the four years which elapsed from the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick to the breaking out of the war of the succession, if tranquillity were not entirely restored in the Cévennes, no flagrant out-

rages were committed; but no sooner was
 1702. the French government involved once more in hostilities with foreign powers, than the conjuncture appeared favourable for the renewal of internal violence. The immediate cause of insurrection was the exercise of an odious act of power, in itself sufficiently oppressive, even when cleared from the detestable motives to which, perhaps without enough evidence, it has sometimes been ascribed. The Abbé Chayla, superintendent of the missions, had secreted in his own house two daughters of a new convert, whom he was authorized by government to remove from their family for education in a nunnery. The peasants, headed by La Porte, a minister who

bore the strange title of *Colonel de Regiment des Enfants de Dieu*,* surrounded the priest's abode, offered him life if he would consent to abjure, and massacred him upon his refusal. La Porte was soon afterward killed, but a nephew, Roland, supplied his place; under whose guidance the nocturnal meetings were renewed, and many extravagances were practised by the zealots. Their chief resort was Calignon, a small village in the centre of the Vaunage, a valley on the southern borders of the mountains of the Cévennes. That spot was endeared by numerous recollections, for before the Edict of Nantes had been revoked, it counted not fewer than thirty churches within its precincts, and was known by the distinguished title of *La petite Canaan*.

During the winter of 1702-3, the number of insurgents greatly increased; and in the following spring, their movements, which had as yet been desultory,

* Brueys, tom. i. p. 321.

assumed much of the character of regular warfare. The Abbé de la Bouillie, a profligate adventurer of ancient family in the neighbourhood, having discarded his frock without abjuring Popery, embraced their cause, assumed the title of Marquis de Guiscard, and employed himself in negotiating alliances with foreign courts. The remaining history of this unhappy man is too well known in England. He was received favourably by the Godolphin administration, intrusted with the command of a foreign regiment, pensioned, and consulted upon the best means of effecting a descent upon France after the battle of Ramillies. But his expenditure far exceeded his resources; and while thus confidentially employed by the British government, he opened a treacherous correspondence with that of France. On his detection and examination before the council, he stabbed Mr. Harley, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and died ten days afterward in Newgate, from the consequences of the wounds which he had received from the by-standers.*

The Count Broglio, upon whom the command of the southern districts had hitherto been imposed, was called to a different service in the spring of 1703; and the task of subduing the insurgents devolved upon another general of high military repute, the Sieur de Montrevel. A new leader had arisen among the prophets also; and a youth named Cavallier, the son of a

1703.
Feb. 15.

* Antoine de Guiscard, who assumed the title of marquis, was younger brother of the Comte de Guiscard, a nobleman of ancient race and high character, who held the government of Namur when that city was captured by William III. Antoine first came to England in 1704; his attempt upon Harley's life was made in the cockpit, on March 8, 1710; and the assassin, who was believed to have contemplated the murder of the queen also, died miserably on the 17th of the same month. Swift has given an account of the event in his *Journal to Stella*, and also in a letter to Archbishop King; and he likewise furnished Mrs. Manley, who wrote *The New Atalantis*, with very full particulars, out of which she framed a pamphlet, reprinted in Sir Walter Scott's edition of *Swift's Works*, vol. vi. p. 77. *A true Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard.*

peasant near Alaix, was associated in command with Roland. Neither the training nor the personal endowments of this remarkable man appeared to qualify him for the extraordinary part which he afterward acted in these troubles. In extreme boyhood he had been employed in tending pigs and sheep upon their wild pastures, and he next engaged as apprentice to a baker: his stature was diminutive, and his physical nature very little betokened heroism; but, in addition to the unquenchable courage which he shared in common with his fellow-mountaineers, he possessed a cooler judgment, which enabled him to regulate their enthusiasm, and to elevate himself, at little more than twenty years of age, to deserved supremacy.

Montrevel commenced his operations by acts of increased severity; and thinking to strike terror into the rebels, he arrested, through a wide range of four-and-twenty parishes, all "dangerous and suspected persons" of both sexes, who were transferred to the dungeons of Rousillon. We hear of 300 young men who were included in this proscription; of whole families committed to imprisonment, to whom no other offence was imputed than that they had failed to withdraw some of their members from the insurgent ranks.* In the engagements which occurred from time to time, quarter appears to have been reciprocally denied, and never indeed to have been asked by the mountaineers. A prophetess, *La grande Marie*, who followed in Cavallier's train, and to whose support he attributed much of his own stability, was taken and executed. She had been appealed to on all occasions as the arbitress of life and death, and her decisions, pronounced as if under inspiration, were esteemed to be oracular, and were instantaneously obeyed. Punishments the most abhorrent from humanity, in many instances, awaited

* Bruys, tom. ii. p. 148.

these who were convicted before the tribunals; they were first broken on the wheel, and then thrown while yet alive into flames kindled at the foot of the scaffold.* At Nismes, at Alaix, and at St. Hypolite, the gallows, we are told, was always standing, and the executioner was within call at the arrival of his victims.†

Notwithstanding a disastrous overthrow inflicted on the rebels at the Tour de Belot, they carried on their warfare with eminent success towards the close of the first year of Montrevel's command, and numbered 6000 men in their band. Their confidence naturally increased in like proportion with their strength; and they had boldness enough even to hazard a night-attack upon Montpellier. They were unsuccessful, as might be expected, against that regularly fortified town; but so great was the panic which they excited, that the inhabitants enrolled themselves in a voluntary association for the assistance of the regular military force. For some one of the many reasons which have been assigned for its origin, the fanatics were commonly distinguished by the name of *Camisards*; ‡ most probably

* Brueys was present at the trial and condemnation of one of these miserable victims, a miller of St. Cristol.—Tom. ii. p. 207.

† "Tous ceux qu'on rencontroit étoient aussitôt ou tués par nos soldats, ou pris et envoyés aux prisons d'Alais, de St. Hypolite, et de Nismes; où les Gibets et les échaffaux étoient toujours dressés, afin que les exemples de la Justice suivissent les expéditions militaires; et que tandis qu'on les exterminoit d'un côté par la force des armes, on fit trembler de l'autre tout le pays par les différens supplices qu'on faisoit souffrir à ces malheureux."—*Id.* tom. ii. p. 304.

‡ The reasons assigned for this name are endless. Some attribute it to a succour despatched during the wars of Louis XIII. to Montauban by the Duke of Rohan, in which the mountaineers, in order that they might distinguish each other, wore their shirts outermost. Cavalier writes as follows, when speaking of the first success of his adherents:—"It was then that the name of Camisars got its beginning, or revived itself; and the reason was, our men commonly carried but two shirts, one on their backs, the other in their knapsacks; so that when they would pass by their friends they'd leave the dirty, and take clean in lieu thereof, not having time to spare to wash their linen. But having disarmed the citizens, they also took clean linen from them, and left their dirty."—*Memoirs of the Wars of the Cévennes, translated from the*

on account of their customary dress, the *chemise* (provincially spelled *camise*) or smock-frock of the peasantry; and some brigands, who pretended connection with them, but whom Cavallier frequently disavowed, and even executed, when they fell into his hands, were known on account of the extraordinary atrocities which they perpetrated as *Les Camisards Noirs*. The citizens of Montpellier named themselves in opposition *Les Camisards Blancs*, or, from a cross which they wore in their hats, *Les Cadets de la Croix*. Like most other self-organized bodies, this union, which spread widely over the neighbourhood, soon learned to act independently of the very authority which it professed to support; and Montrevel, alarmed at its excesses, found it necessary to concert measures for their restraint.*

Fearful indeed must have been the cruelties which he thought it politic to forbid; for at the very commencement of a severe winter he issued orders for the entire devastation of a district covering forty leagues; and when the process of pulling down cottages was found to work too slowly, fire was employed to scare the reluctant peasants from the roofs under which they continued to linger. The

French of J. Cavallier. Dublin, 1726, p. 157. A little onward he continues, "Some, who pretend to be more learned than I, say that this name is derived from the Hebrew or the Greek; but, in my opinion, it has more reference to their wearing their shirts after this manner than dependent on those languages."

The learned derivations to which Cavallier here alludes are explained in a tract, "Mélange de Litterature Historique et Critique sur tout ce qui regarde l'état extraordinaire des Cevennois appelez Camisars," Londres, 1707; in which the writer, after observing that "Ils se contentoient de changer leurs chemises sales pour les blanches quand ils en trouvoient," adds that others have suggested *Camis*, the name of a Japanese idol, and the verb *ardre* to burn—*ardre les Camis*—metonymically *Camis-ards*, idol-burners. Or it may be traced to the Greek *κάμα* (*kámaros*) labour, *ἵς vis*, and *ἀρ*, an expletive syllable; and thus may signify a hard-working man. Or, stretching at once to the height of etymological absurdity, it may be deduced from *Cham*, the son of Noah, who possessed *Mitzraim*, in Egypt. Phœnicia was colonized from Egypt, and Gaul from Phœnicia; therefore, *Oham-mitzraim*, &c. &c. p. 46.

* Brucey, tom. ii. p. 220. *Hist. des Camisards*, tom. ii. p. 114.

country thus depopulated became a vast desert and a frightful solitude, upon which the eye could not dwell without horror;* and famine was the necessary result in the ensuing spring. The Camisards, stung to desperation by their increased sufferings, and preferring death by the sword to that which awaited them under the slower process of hunger, incessantly provoked the royal troops to combat; and, in some instances, owing to the negligent confidence of their antagonists, and to their own superior local knowledge, they obtained signal triumphs. In an engagement near Martinargues, they surprised and cut off to a man a very large detachment; and the recall of Montrevel was the consequence of this defeat. Before retiring, he avenged himself by a victory which, if it had been obtained earlier, might have changed the fortune of the war.

The choice of his successor evinced the importance which government at length 1704. attached to the troubles of the Cévennes; and the Maréchal Villars, who ere long was to save his country from the ruin apparently impending over it after the great disaster at Blenheim, was summoned to put an end to the rebellion. Villars at once perceived the full difficulty of his task. The enemies to whom he was opposed might challenge or decline battle at their own pleasure; every mountain afforded them an impregnable fortress, every cavern a sure retreat; they might be beaten indeed daily and hourly, but on each fresh day and hour they were again prepared to renew combat. Till they should be exterminated, peace was hopeless; and their extermination would probably be the work of many years, purchased by a large sacrifice of life. Villars therefore resolved to attempt conciliation; and after the lapse of a few months, he found Ca-

* "Le pays étoit devenu un vaste desert et une solitude affreuse, qu'ils ne pouvoient plus regarder sans horreur."—Brugsy.

vallier equally sensible with himself of the advantages of an amicable treaty. In the first conference which Lalande, an officer of high rank, was instructed to hold with the insurgents, a purse which he offered to Cavallier was rejected with firmness, but without scorn. Lalande scattered its contents, a hundred louis, before the rudely-accoutred band which formed the body-guard of their mountain chief. Wistfully as they might eye the treasure, not a man stirred from his rank till Cavallier notified permission by a private sign. "Peace," he said, "is concluded; and you may accept the coins to drink the king's health."*

The negotiation was conducted on each side with strict regard to honour; and Villars, himself a great and generous spirit, recognising in the untutored peasant a kindred greatness, soon excited the confidence which he entertained. In a personal interview, held by appointment in the Garden of the Recolets at St. Cesaire, a village about a league

May 6. distant from Nismes, he secured the attachment of Cavallier, not by tendering a bribe, but by freely releasing his brother; a stripling barely fifteen, who had been taken with arms in his hands, and who, at an earlier period of this ferocious struggle, would have been immediately and unrelentingly executed. Cavallier stipulated, that himself, and all who with him were prepared to renew their allegiance (he stated their numbers to be ten thousand), should receive unconditional amnesty, and be permitted the exercise of their religion. On those terms he undertook to organize four regiments for the king's service, which should immediately be marched into Spain.

These conditions were accorded, and many Camisards assembled at Calvisson, the chief town of the neighbourhood, preparatory to their military distri-

* Brueys, tom. ii. p. 315.

bution. "It was a strange sight," says the Romanist historian of the insurrection, "to behold so many heretics, preaching, praying, prophesying, and singing, by day and by night, uninterruptedly, and to the full content of their hearts; but it was all submitted to for reasons which kings are sometimes obliged to obey."* The general tranquillity which Cavallier had hoped to restore by this negotiation was interrupted by the withdrawal of his Lieutenant Ravel, with the majority of his followers, on a suspicion of treachery, which some Dutch emissaries succeeded in exciting. But Cavallier himself, abiding by his engagement, and having convinced Villars of his integrity, received a brevet of colonel, with a pension of 1500 livres annexed to the commission. His reception at Versailles was cold. He was uncourteously introduced to the king as "the chief of the rebels, who was come to implore his majesty's clemency;" and when, having recovered from the confusion which this announcement had occasioned, he was proceeding to remark on his *treaty* with Villars, Louis peremptorily and indignantly forbade the employment of that term.† Finding himself more closely observed by the ministry than the sincerity of his intentions deserved, and receiving intimation that his imprisonment was meditated, he escaped to Savoy, and thence retired, first to Holland, and afterward to the British Islands. In the last-named country he published his *Mémoires*, and was confidentially employed. At the battle of Almanza he commanded a regiment of Huguenot refugees; and Voltaire relates, on the authority of the Duke of Berwick, from whom he had frequently heard the narrative, the desperate fury with which that regiment encountered a body of its countrymen in the hostile army. Without firing a single shot,

* "Par les raisons que les Rois sont quelquefois obligés de suivre."—*Brueys*, tom. ii. p. 340.

† *Memoir of the War in the Cévennes*, p. 303

they attacked each other with the bayonet; and when they parted combat, not 300 men among them were left alive on both sides.* Cavallier was afterward appointed to the government of Jersey, which honourable post he enjoyed till his death.

After the secession of this their only leader who ever claimed any higher title to notice than is afforded by mere physical bravery, the Camisards gradually declined. One by one their chiefs were killed or taken prisoners; the project of Guiscard, as we have before shown, proved abortive; Roland was betrayed, surprised, and shot, during an
 1704. assignment with a peasant girl of whom he
 Aug. 14. was enamoured; and when Villars was needed for more important service in Germany, not more than two insurgents of note remained
 1706. to be subdued by the Duke of Berwick his
 Jan. 6. successor. Of these, Ravel was arrested at the very moment in which a vaunting prophecy of security was fresh upon his lips. "*Serve Dieu*," he exclaimed in ecstasy, using his wonted asseveration, "I will answer for it, that in less than three weeks, the king shall no longer be master in Languedoc or Dauphiné. They are everywhere searching for me, but here I am, and I defy them!"† When Catinat, the last of the fanatics, was seized after a desperate resistance, he dared his captors to use him with severity; affirming that the English would be sure to avenge any violence offered to himself, by prompt reprisals on the Maréchal Tallard, who was at that time their prisoner. Both the prophecy of the former and the menace of the latter were received with incredulity. Ravel and Catinat were burned alive at Nîmes; and with them the rebellion may be considered to have terminated; although more than one effort at partial rising was afterward

* *Siècle de Louis XIV.* cap. 26.

† Brueys, tom. ii, p. 463.

attempted, and an expedition was despatched from England to awaken the embers of insurrection so late as the summer of 1710. The Duke de Noailles, who at that time commanded in the south, repulsed the attempt, and captured the few troops who had effected a landing.

On the first dispersion of the Camisards in the Cévennes, three vagabonds, who appear to have been held in little esteem in their own country, took refuge in England. For a while, Elie ^{1706.} Marion, Jean Cavallier, who claimed kinsmanship with the ex-leader,* and Durand Fage, produced considerable and very mischievous excitement. The sober Huguenots, already long established under the British government, were greatly scandalized by the extravagant pretensions of these impostors; and the elders of the Savoy congregation, sanctioned by the authority of the Bishop of London, whom they acknowledged as their ecclesiastical head, summoned them to render an account of their mission. Fage alone obeyed the mandate; and having boldly asserted inspiration, was declared ^{1707.} _{Jan. 2.} to be a cheat and a counterfeit.†

So far as an insight can now be obtained into the strange doctrines which they professed, they appear to have distributed the prophetic endowments into four subdivisions. The lowest degree, *L'Avertissement*, was but slightly regarded; and was indeed no

* A relationship which the colonel always denied. See his affidavit, cited by Edmund Calamy, in his *Caveat against the New Prophets*, p. 52; and also in the *Enthusiastic Impostors no divinely inspired Prophets*, p. 4. The original certificate may be found in *Nouveaux Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des trois Camisars, Londres, 1708*; which tract contains also two other declarations from the same hand; and all three papers present a very sorry account of the prophets.

† "By an authentic act of the said church some weeks ago published in the Postboy." *The Honest Quaker, or the Forgeries and Impostures of the pretended French Prophets and their abettors exposed*. 1707. Pro face. In the *Nouveaux Memoires, &c.* is a *Lettre écrite par ordre et au nom de l'Eglise Francaise de Threadneedle Street à My Lord Evêque de Londres*, stating that certain ministers and elders who had been deputed to examine the prophets were convinced of their imposture.

more than a mere inward feeling that the individual was about to become a recipient of the Spirit, which descended upon him in the second stage, *Le Souffle*. Thus inspired, he was not entitled to pronounce decisions till admitted to the privileges conferred by *La Prophétie*, which at once rendered him a judge without appeal. In the ultimate height of perfection, *Le Don*, he was, for the most part, too elevated and abstracted to mingle with earthly affairs; but the gift of healing and of working other miracles rested upon the few to whom this high calling was vouchsafed.* Like every race of ignorant enthusiasts on record, they declaimed loudly against human learning.† During their "agitations," they delivered predictions and blessings, and frequently expressed themselves either in a language of which they were not masters in their moments of self-possession, or, with a resemblance strikingly worthy of remark to enthusiasts of a more recent date,‡

* This fourfold division is related by Brueys, tom. i. p. 377. A long list of miraculous cures is given in *A Relation of the dealings of God to his unworthy servant John Lacy, since the time of his believing and professing himself inspired*, 1708; and in Sir Richard Bulkeley's *Answer to several Treatises lately published on the subject of the Prophets*, 1708. A key to these and similar cures, in which imagination is the chief sanative agent, is furnished by Bp. Douglas in his *Criterion*, p. 139. Ed. 1832.

† "Tis not by university learning that thou shalt be qualified for the work I design thee to be engaged in; therefore, depend not upon it, for it will be of no use to thee in this particular. But depend thou alone upon the leading of the Holy Spirit, and thou shalt find that by the same thou wilt be better qualified for my work than thou couldst be by all the learning of both the universities of the land."—Blessing pronounced July 18, 1708. *Falsehood of the New Prophets manifested*, p. 17. The writer of this tract, Henry Nicholson, of Trinity College, Dublin, had been thrown into frightful convulsions during some of the prophetic meetings, which he at first attended with an inclination to credulity.

‡ The parallel is distinctly and temperately drawn in a late publication by the Rev. William Goode, *The modern Claims to the possession of the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit stated and examined*, 1833, p. 160-187; where may be found numerous illustrative extracts. Mr. Goode speaks, however, far too favourably of the contemporary reputation of the three leading prophets. The charges imputed against them may be false, but they are accused of very revolting atrocities in the *Nouveaux Mémoires*.

in a tongue wholly unknown, and therefore admitting only conjectural interpretation.*

Their followers in London were numerous; and among them were two gentlemen of some mark and notoriety,—Sir Rich. Bulkeley, a baronet apparently not devoid of letters, although slenderly provided with judgment, and John Lacy, Esq., or, as he afterward wrote himself, “John, surnamed Lacy.” Both these proselytes possessed wealth, which they were not backward in dispensing, and both of them also

* Fage, on one occasion, delivered himself in the following words: “*Mon enfant, je m'en vaille repandre sur les ennemis mes jugemens terribles, et ma derniere sentence sera, Tring trang, swing swang, hing hang*” which unintelligible jargon so stumbled Mr. Facio (one of the scribes who wrote down the words pronounced by the prophets while under inspiration), that had been conversant in 52 languages, that he returned home under the greatest concern imaginable, being under apprehension that hitherto he and his friends had been scandalously mocked and imposed on. Here he paused, and gave me room to ask him how he surmounted this difficulty; which he said was by applying himself to prayer, in which he was directed *not to reject the prophet*. Besides which solution, he thought the words, or rather inarticulate sounds, might allude to the law among the Jews, not to exceed forty stripes in punishing some offences; and though he did not count the blows which Fage gave himself, yet he believes they were about that number, and that the Holy Spirit condescended to express himself by the sound of blows, as a man, driving a wedge, cries ‘*Ha! ha!*’”—*Enthusiastic Impostors, &c.* p. 22. Mr. R. Baxter might have written some passages in his *Narrative of Facts* (relative to Mr. Irving's congregation, 1833) with this account before his eyes.

Sir Richard Bulkeley, a witness on the part of the claimants, assures us that Mr. Lacy, who had “not read a Latin book for twenty years last past,” when under “the Latin impression,” spoke that language fluently, without being able to construe his speeches. Mr. Dutton, “a young gentleman, an attorney in the Middle Temple, who has no more Latin than is just necessary for his profession, but knows not one Hebrew letter from another, nor hardly a Greek one,” would “utter with great readiness and freedom complete discourses in Hebrew for near a quarter of an hour together, and sometimes much longer.” Sir R. Bulkeley, it is true, could not “talk Hebrew,” as he very ingenuously confesses; but nevertheless, as he also tells us, “I caught at several words here and there, as he went on, which I knew to be Hebrew—of all which he understood not one, but had an impression upon his mind that it was a hymn of praise to God for the calling of Israel. And afterward, under inspiration, it was declared to him in my hearing, ‘Thou shalt speak the Hebrew language better than any that does now speak it.’” —*Answer to several Treatises, &c.* p. 92-94.

wielded the pen in behalf of their favourite doctrines.* The French churches in London prosecuted Marion and two of his scribes for their blasphemous publications; and they were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, to give security for good behaviour for a year, and to stand in the pillory at Charing Cross and the Royal Exchange.†

In spite, or perhaps in consequence, of this trial and punishment, the reputation of the prophets increased, till they ventured upon an experiment of unparalleled daring; and being prudently left undisturbed in its progress, they at length completed their own discomfiture. Lacy, and after him many of his fellow-believers, consoled one Dr. Emes, a practitioner of medicine, while lying on his death-bed, by an assurance of a speedy resurrection; and the 25th of May, 1708, when five months should be completed from his burial, was announced as the day on which this stupendous miracle was to be exhibited. "Know ye the day on which my servant was interred? Five months from that day, the 25th of May, you shall behold him rise again. One month above the number of days that Lazarus was in his grave—the very hour he was put into the earth

* Lacy's most notorious work was entitled *A Cry from the Desert*; it was for the greater part translated from *Le Theatre sacre des Cevennes*, par Maximilian Misson.

† A paper with the words following was affixed to Marion's forehead: "Elias Marion, convicted for falsely and profanely pretending himself to be a true prophet, and printing and uttering many things as dictated and revealed to him by the Spirit of God, to terrify the queen's people." His accomplices were similarly denoted: "John Daude and Nicholas Facio, convicted for abetting and favouring Elias Marion in his wicked and counterfeit prophecies, and causing them to be printed and published, to terrify the queen's people." *Appendix to a Sermon by Edmund Chishull—The great danger and mistake of all New uninspired Prophecies relative to the end of the World.* 1708. p. 42. Among other judgments which Marion had threatened in his *Prophetical Warnings* published in 1707, was the speedy burning of London (p. 117); a mischievous prediction very likely to have been verified through the madness of some of his followers.

shall he rise. . . . I say you shall see him who is now dead."*

On the appointed day, a multitude of believers accordingly resorted to the burial-ground in Bunhill Fields, from twelve at noon to six in the evening; the hours named for the performance of the mighty work which it was thus blasphemously vaunted was to exceed our Saviour's crowning miracle, in that proportion which months bear to days. The prophets were warned that they should be guarded by an angelic host, that the dead man should rise without any disturbance of his grave, and that he should walk naked, but without shame or indecency, to his own habitation.† The ridicule which attended their expectation and their disappointment‡ was kept alive in numerous pamphlets, and had a sensible effect

* *Appendix II. to Spinckes's New Pretenders to Prophecy re-examined.* 1710. "The predictions concerning the raising the dead body of Mr. Thomas Emes, commonly called Dr. Emes, late of Old-street-square, in the parish of St. Giles by Cripplegate, London; who, on or about the 4th day of December, 1707, was taken with a most violent headache or megrim, and died on the 22d day of December, 1707, and was buried on the 25th of the same month, being Christmas-day, in the burying-ground in Bunhill Fields, near Moor Fields." All these predictions, seventeen in number, were delivered between December 5, 1707, and the following Jan. 1. Two of them were spoken by "A. M. K., a child 12 years old, in a public assembly, under the inspiration of the Spirit." The condition of another prophet is thus fearfully described. "J. P. was for a long time under violent agitation, and laboured greatly with great struggles in his throat and organs of speech, almost as if he were choking, and uttered some inarticulate sounds. Here the Spirit violently threw him upon the floor, where he lay stretched out as dead, without motion or breathing. After some time, there came a trembling motion into every part of him at once, his feet, legs, arms, and shoulders; after which there appeared some breathing, which grew still louder and stronger in him. After he had been some time in that manner, he said," &c.

† *Id.* p. 49.

‡ A Warwickshire booby, Stephen Halford, prophesied in a similar manner that he would die at a particular hour, and rise again after a certain number of days. His friends prudently committed him to safe custody at Birmingham, till the predicted season had passed; and he then admitted his delusion, adding, that if he had continued with the prophets, he verily believed that he should have died.—*Spinckes, Appendix I., A Letter from Stephen Halford's Brother.* "The shortest way with the French Prophets, or an Impartial Relation of the Rise, Progress, and total Suppression of those Seducers, who attempted lately to pervert several inhabitants in the Town of Birmingham, in Warwickshire. In a letter

in diminishing their numbers; although it does not seem to have abashed their leaders; for Sir Richard Bulkeley refused the test of sense as conclusive in a matter so highly spiritual,* and Lacy did not openly abandon the expiring heresy, notwithstanding many avowed declarations beforehand that his faith depended upon the fulfilment of the prediction in which he had so signally failed.†

It was perhaps owing to a natural suspicion engendered in government by the conduct of these knaves and fanatics, that an important privilege which had been granted to the exiles was rescinded. A bill, often before proposed and rejected, had been carried through both Houses of Parliament in 1709, by which all foreign Protestants were naturalized, upon taking the oath of allegiance and receiving the sacrament in any Reformed congregation. The Commons passed this measure by large majorities. Burnet supported it on its arrival in the Lords, where it was vehemently opposed by Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester; and, after occasioning great obloquy to its advocates,‡ it was repealed within three

from thence to an eminent Tradesman in London." 1708.—Hutchinson, *Short View of the pretended Spirit of Prophecy*. 1708. p. 37.

* "If I should ask these men how they knew that Mr. Emes was not raised at the time predicted, they must not own it to be a sufficient answer (even if they had been then in the burying-place) that they did not see him; for I have shown out of the Scriptures, that the eyes of unbelievers are holden, they are too dim to perceive a raised body."—Preface to *Whitro's Warnings*, p. 19. Abraham and Deborah Whitro were two of the prophetic congregation, who, in a schism which divided it, were accused of "speaking their own words in the person of God." Sir R. Bulkeley espoused their cause. Nevertheless, we are assured by Dr. Woodward, a clergyman engaged in controversy with Lacy, that "A. W. was always drunk," and that he "beat his wife so grievously since he was inspired, that she was in danger of her life."

† Spinkes writes as follows of Lacy, about two years after Dr. Emes's death. "I am desirous to say all I can for him, and therefore testify on his behalf, that he now lives orderly and frequents his parish church; and though I have reason to believe he does secretly abet and encourage his former companions, he does not publish any farther *Warnings or Relations of God's dealings*; nor can I learn that he pretends to any new revelations."—p. 7.

‡ *History of His Own Times* (fol.), vol. ii. p. 525.

years.* During the conferences which preceded the peace of Utrecht, Queen Anne appointed two commissioners, to whose charge the interests of the refugees were especially committed. Nothing, however, appears to have been effected by their diplomacy; and we learn no more than the appalling fact, that 185 Huguenots, even at that moment, languished in the galleys.†

Little indeed had occurred in France which could induce Louis XIV. to relax from severity; for his declining years were imbittered by severe domestic losses, which swept away the most cherished hopes of his family, and by the disappointment of many favourite dreams of ambition. Broken by sorrow and infirmity, he surrendered himself almost passively to the influence of the Jesuits, and obeyed the dictation of Le Tellier, a yet more dangerous confessor than his predecessor La Chaise. That Protestantism had ceased to exist in France was the unceasing assertion which that spiritual director sounded in the ears of his royal penitent; and his counsels invariably tended to prevent the revival of the heresy which he falsely pronounced to be extinct. The measures of government, therefore, although fluctuating, were never characterized by any symptom of tolerance; and even after the death of Louis, when the reins of power devolved upon the "godless regent," the Huguenots

* 10 Anne, c. 5.

† Tindal, *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. iii. p. 329. (fol.) Unless some later attempts (of which we are not aware) were made to renew the miracles of the prophets, their memory long remained green, at least among the non-conformists. Ralph Thoresby, a weak and credulous, although a good and devout man, was educated among the dissenters, with whom, even after his accession to the establishment, he continued to hold familiar communication. In one of his visits to London, so late as the year 1723, the following entry occurs in his *Diary*. "In Bishopsgate we called upon Mrs. Mary Maillard, who was so miraculously cured by faith in Jesus Christ, when reading the ii. of St. Mark. I had the relation of all the circumstances from her own mouth, and the attestation by her husband, who is a minister of the Reformed French Church, and subscribed also by herself in my album."—Vol. ii. p. 373.

were indebted for the short repose which they enjoyed to the carelessness of their ruler, not to his compassion or his conviction. Persecution would have demanded activity; and no tones would more harshly have interrupted the orgies of the *Palais Royal* than those of polemical disputation. If a stroke of his pen, by subscribing a single *Lettre de Cachet*, could at once have immured all Protestantism in the Bastile, so far perhaps the Duke of Orleans might have exerted himself for its suppression; but first to subdue, and afterward to legislate for, myriads of a recusant sect, were labours from which he recoiled even in contemplation.

The regent, however, was wise enough in his generation to assume merit for this inaction; and the love of pleasure, which occasioned his sluggishness, was transformed into a virtue and extolled as clemency. When Lord Stair, the British ambassador, asked permission to address his highness in behalf of the Protestants serving in the galleys, the duke peremptorily refused the application; stating, that of his own free motion he intended to set them at liberty, and to open the prison-doors to every man confined on account of religion. Those, he said, who in the late reign had misrepresented the Huguenots as a factious body had been equally false in the portraiture which they had drawn of himself; and he knew therefore experimentally how little dependence was to be placed upon their descriptions. Lord Stair kept an open chapel at Paris, in which service was performed in both French and English; and the government readily connived at the great resort to it on Sundays.* Other assemblies indeed continued to be forbidden by law; but pardon was extended to the few cases of disobedience brought

* *Letter from Henry Newman, Esq., Oct. 13, 1715. Correspondence with Ralph Thoresby, vol. ii. p. 315.*

before the tribunals ; and emigration ceased almost so soon as the restriction upon it was suspended.

The facile regent, however, was succeeded by a minister of different temper ; ^{1723.} and under the brief rule of the Duke of Bourbon, a grandson of the great Condé, preparations were made for the renewal of severity. Nine years of comparative liberty had evinced how large was the number of the remnant of Huguenots which still inhabited France : they had assembled for worship almost without attempting concealment ; they had educated their own children in their own profession of faith ; they had been permitted without molestation to fill various civil offices ; and, above all, their marriages had been celebrated without interruption, and had been tacitly recognised. Nevertheless, the old fiction, by which heretofore so great misery had been occasioned, was diligently revived ; and in spite of countless proofs to the contrary, Protestantism was declared not to exist in France. The new converts, as they were again termed, were compelled, under menaces of grievous penalties, to attend mass, however great might be their repugnance ; and yet, by a strange contradiction, a certificate of faith, not granted until after the strictest and most scrupulous examination, was in all instances demanded as a necessary preliminary to the marriage-contract.*

The short-lived despotism of Bourbon was succeeded by the gentler sway of the ^{1726.} Cardinal of Fleury, during which the penal code, although not annulled, was allowed to slumber. That period, so happy for France, passed away too rapidly ; and on the death of the wise, fortunate, and beloved old man, to whom his country was indebted for her unwonted repose and prosperity, the policy by which those blessings had been generated was hastily aban-

* Rulhière, p. 227.

1744. done. Dormant laws were called into new action; the priests denied the sacraments afresh; and the magistrates punished the Calvinists for not partaking in ordinances which the church refused to administer. The Huguenots, thus excluded from baptism and burial, rites which form, as it were, the two portals of human existence; and from the nuptial benediction, a solemnity upon which depends so large a portion of happiness at the season in which it can be most vividly enjoyed,—re-organized their own church; and professing obedience to the government, virtually defied its ordinances. A national synod was convened at Nîmes, and one of its chief acts was the regulation of meetings for worship,—meetings which, for lack of roofs under which they could be celebrated, were held in the open air, and which in consequence received the appropriate name of *Les Assemblées du Desert*.

In order to dissipate the suspicions of government, all frequenters of these assemblies were forbidden to resort to them with arms; and ministers were enjoined to preach, at least once in each year, on the duties of submission to the powers that be. Throughout the provinces, in full day, and chiefly in the vicinity of large towns, throngs, sometimes amounting to 20,000 persons, of both sexes and of all ages and conditions, flocked together to perform acts of devotion, to join in prayer, to receive spiritual instruction, to dedicate children to their hereditary faith, or to sanctify a legitimate union by the authority of religion. No statute indeed could be devised more keenly oppressive and more universally demoralizing, than one which, while it imbibed present happiness, destroyed the natural rights of generations yet to be; which dishonoured wives, and bastardized issue, in many thousand families; and which, so far as human law was concerned, reduced a virtuous and civilized community to a state of barbarous concubinage.

Notwithstanding the pacific temper of the Huguenots, measures of violence were adopted for their suppression; and the scenes of horror which have rendered the *Dragonnades* a by-word were too frequently renewed. The prisons overflowed with new converts, whose sole offence was attendance upon their forbidden worship; and in some districts, so great was the number of culprits, that Justice (if we may so far abuse her name) was obliged to adjust the punishment which she inflicted, not according to the proportion of imputed crime, but according to the tale of criminals. Thus, in Languedoc, one-fourth of whose population was accused of heresy, some indulgence became compulsory; and *what* was then esteemed indulgence may be determined, when we add, that in the single year 1746, eight-and-twenty Huguenots of that province were condemned to the galleys; among whom were a physician, two military officers, and the entire family of the Lord of Lasterne. In Dauphiné, on the contrary, extreme severity was employed; and one sentence of the Intendant of Anet in Gascony awarded the oar for life to five-and-forty gentlemen, convicted of having been present at assemblies. The troops despatched on this most odious service were instructed to disperse unarmed congregations by the point of the bayonet; and that commander was deemed especially merciful, who ordered his men to reserve their fire to the latest moment, in all cases in which defence was not attempted.*

A new and most ruinous emigration recommenced wherever escape was possible; and much valuable property was exported by the refugees. Five persons carried with them from the single diocese of Montpellier 480,000 livres in ready money; and the intendant who made this report of a fact concerning which he could not be mistaken, was an active and

* Rulhière, p. 485.

vigilant partisan of government.* But the spirit of the times had improved, and the feelings of the nation were no longer in accord with those of its rulers, when they sought to arouse the yell of persecution. The Huguenots were pitied, concealed, and assisted; and the other and more urgent public cares with which the close of the disgraceful reign of Louis XV. was distracted, contributed to their relief.

The benevolent projects of Louis XVI. were denied opportunity for development; but they may be augured, not only from the general temper which actuated his too gentle policy, but from a memorable reply by which he silenced an objection offered to the appointment of a minister of finance. "He cannot fill the post, he is a Protestant," was the remark of some bigoted opponent. "*Sully l'étoit aussi*," was the mild answer of the more enlightened king.† The work of Rulhière, to which our latter pages owe very considerable acknowledgment, is no other than a perpetual commentary on a *Mémoire* concerning the Huguenots, their actual situation in France, the causes of that situation, and the remedies which might be applied to it, drawn up by the Baron de Breteuil, at that time one of the secretaries of state, and submitted to the king in 1786; — a state-paper sufficiently evincing the profound attention which Louis XVI. would have devoted to ecclesiastical peace, if the hurricane of the revolution had not swept away all ordinances divine and civil.

For a season, as is too well known, the French rejected the acknowledgment of a God; and it was not until the establishment of the consular government, upon the ruins of the many shadowy factions which had preceded it, had restored some semblance

* Rulhière, p. 488.

† Le Mercier, *Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 29.

of order, that even the outward forms of Christianity were considered to be a public care. Napoleon was far too wise a statesman not to perceive that a constitution unconnected with religion must want stability; and he filled up the crevices and junctures of his new polity with the only cement by which it could obtain consolidation and coherence. 1799. When the Roman Catholic faith was again declared to be the religion of the state, a very full toleration was extended to all other professions. The Reformed were permitted to assemble in consistories and synods. A population of 6000 souls in the same *Commune* entitled a church to the possession of a consistory; and five consistories completed the *Arrondissement* demanded for a synod. The meetings of these synods, however, were far more rigidly controlled by the consular government than they had been during any period of the abolished monarchy. No assembly might be convened without express permission from the executive, nor could it protract its sittings beyond the short term of six days. All the matters proposed for discussion were to be submitted beforehand to the approbation of the counsellor of state charged with the general superintendence of public worship; and they were to be debated in the hearing of a prefect or a sub-prefect, who without delay was to communicate to government a *proces-verbal*.* We believe that similar regulations subsisted after Napoleon assumed the imperial title; but it is remarkable that not one line of the *Cinque Codes* which bear his name, and by which doubtless he wished that posterity should chiefly recognise his jurisprudence, is directed to ecclesiastical regulation.

At the restoration of the Bourbons, the Protestants in the south of France were exposed to several vexatious grievances, which have been dignified

* Herbin, *Statistique de la France*, tom. iii. p. 340.

with the title of a persecution. The reader, however, who has acquainted himself with the times of Charles IX., of the league, and of Louis XIV., will at once dismiss that name as an exaggeration. The

1814. charter of 1814 proclaimed the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion to be the religion of the state,* but it contained two express clauses, by one of which all Frenchmen were declared equally admissible to civil and military employments; † by the other, every man was authorized to profess his religion with equal liberty, and was assured of protection for his worship. ‡ The

1830. same words were repeated in the charter sworn to in 1830, by Louis Philippe, in which, however, instead of the Romish religion being declared the religion of the state, it is only characterized as the faith professed by the majority of Frenchmen. §

On the existing state of the Reformed religion in France we are purposely silent, because, after the most diligent inquiry, we are unable to affirm any thing respecting it with certainty. We are assured from authority not admitting of dispute, that whatever statistical returns have appeared, even under official guarantee, are little to be trusted; and that the general opinion, which estimates the number of Reformed at about one million, is founded only upon conjecture. || In some quarters, indeed, a parade of conversion and a bustling show of proselytism have occasionally been exhibited; but it may be feared, that the harvest has in most instances been counted before even the green blade has appeared; that the

* Art. 6.

† Art. 3.

‡ Art. 5.

§ Art. 6.

|| Even Soulier has been driven by conviction to adopt this opinion. After showing an error of 450, in a computation which made the Protestants of a particular consistory amount to 2651, he continues, "D'après cette expérience, je me suis assuré que les Tableaux connus étaient bien loin d'être exacts, et que pour les rectifier, il faudrait entreprendre un travail long et difficile."—*Statistique des Eglises Reformées de France*. Preface vii.

seed has been loosely scattered, not in well-ploughed furrows, but in a soil rank with weeds, choked with its own fatness, and unprepared to produce salutary increase. The recent opening of a chapel for the celebration of the Anglican service in the very heart of Paris, is among the most favourable signs of the progress of light; and Providence may yet intend to raise up for the French a reformer, who, with piety, with learning, with eloquence, with discretion, and with courage, shall prune from Rome her corruptions, without injury to those portions of her discipline and her doctrine, which germinate from the stock of Scripture, and which ought therefore to be grafted upon every true branch of the CHURCH OF CHRIST.

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