The Church History Series

II

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

From the Dawn of Reform to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

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THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

BOOK I.

THE MOVEMENT FOR REFORM UNTIL THE EDICT OF NANTES.

I.

Prelude.

'I know no words that can depict the wretched state of the French people at this time,' says one of our most eminent literary authorities, writing of the period when the doctrines of the Reformation began to permeate France. 'Incessant war had taken brave young men out of the fields, and left thousands of them dead on a foreign soil, or returned them to the country men of debauched life, bullies, cripples. The immense cost of these wars had been defrayed by excessive taxes, recklessly imagined, cruelly enforced. The lust and luxury of a debased court had grown fat for years upon the money of the poor. Almost every year saw the creation of new salaried officials, whom the people had to carry on their backs, and pay besides, for doing them the honour to be burdens. The morals of the people were perverted, they were impoverished, embittered, made litigious, and de-

voured by lawyers before judges, of whom scarcely one in ten was unassailable by bribe. The Church was a machine for burning heretics and raising tithes. Against the debasing influence of a corrupt court, which extended among all ranks of the nobility, and through them was displayed before the ignorant among their fields,—against the vice bred in the camp, and dispersed along the march of armies, or brought home by thousands of disbanded soldiers,—the Church, as a whole, made not one effort to establish Christian discipline. Pastors laboured only at the shearing of their flocks; bishops received, in idle and luxurious abodes, their own large portion of the wool. Instead of dwelling in their bishoprics, and struggling for the cause of Christ, no less than forty of these bishops were at this time in Paris, holding their mouths open like dogs for bits of meat, and struggling for the cause of Guise or Montmorenci!'[1]

And this state of things had gone on to a greater or less degree for ages, for it is a very romantic notion to suppose that in feudal times the people were anything but miserable. There were possibly periods and places in which their existence became bearable, but as far as this world is concerned it was that of sheep born to be shorn or slaughtered; of bees who toiled ceaselessly to make honey, which their masters as regularly ate. And, owing to the feeble condition of the French monarchy, there was probably no country in Christendom in which the lot of the common people was worse than it was in France. What with seigniorial rights and ecclesiastical fees, they were so crushed that in a merely material sense serfdom was preferable to the miseries of such a parody of free-

[1] Henry Morley's *Palissy the Potter*, vol. i. p. 251.

dom. Of seigniorial rights, Renaudin names no less than ninety-three. The shearing was so close that the peasant had to pay a tax for the use of the rain-water in the ditches and ruts on the roadside, for the dust his cattle made on the highway, and the honey his bees gathered from the lord's flowers. What the seigniors left the clergy took. There were dues for baptisms, communion, confession, penance, masses, betrothal, marriage, extreme unction, interment; there were blessings to be paid for on the fields, gardens, ponds, wells, fountains, houses newly built, grapes, beans, lambs, cheese, milk, honey, cattle, swords, poignards, and flags; there were offerings to the mass, offerings to the first-fruits, offerings of the first-born of domestic animals, etc., etc. Had these innumerable payments gone to support a body of true pastors, it would have been a bad system; but as it was, a considerable part found its way to the pockets of influential laymen, and a still more considerable share into those of the aristocratic rulers of the Church, such as the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose shameless pluralism exceeds all belief. While these wealthy shepherds spent their days in court intrigues, or amused themselves with parading as lights of the Renaissance, the actual pastors were sunk in ignorance. Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, stated in his sermons (1559), that out of ten priests there were eight who did not know how to read.

In addition to all this ecclesiastical fleecing, the royal taxes, ever increasing, became, under Francis I., owing to his Italian wars, captivity in Spain, and luxurious court, a burden truly frightful.

The people, during the fifteenth century, were in such abject poverty that a famine produced results like those which now occur in India. In 1488, misery,

pestilence, and despair carried off in Paris alone 80,000 victims. In 1419, there was no harvest; the labourers were dead or had fled; little had been sown, and that little had been ravaged. The crowds round the bakers' shops in Paris were incredible; heaps of starving boys and girls lay on the dunghills, dying of cold and hunger. In 1421, the famine was even worse; wolves scoured the depopulated country, scratching up the new-made graves, and even entered Paris. No doubt things rarely reached this pitch, nevertheless misery was chronic. The towns gradually delivered themselves from many burdens, and ruling themselves, the citizens grew even wealthy. But in the open country the people were still dominated by the nobles, who from their unapproachable donjons could at any time swoop down on the villages and scour them out, setting fire to what they could not carry off, chasing before them the herds and the inhabitants, dishonouring the women, cruelly torturing the men and children, and those who could not ransom themselves.

These things, and worse than these, went on for ages in the presence of a Church universal and supreme, which said enough to let the people know that this was not the will of God, but, on the contrary, the exact opposite to His will, and yet made itself responsible for the whole system by mixing itself up with it, and becoming its chief support. Could any plan have been more likely to produce discontent? And the welcome which the Reformers everywhere received is proof of the wide and deep discontent. The very word Reform was in itself an evangel, but it was rendered ten thousandfold more so than it otherwise would have been, since its doctrine did not merely promise a better order of society, more liberty, equality, fraternity. It promised to make of every

individual who believed it a man, to lift him out of that servile, cowardly spirit which kept him a slave in heart as well as in body; and this it did by making him feel that God knew and called him personally, asking him to enter into a personal alliance with Him, offering him pardon and justification through the one atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and adoption into the redeemed family of God. He who had consciously entered into this alliance, who had felt the new, the Divine life within him, had no fear of standing before the proudest. He felt himself more than equal to any earthly prince, for he knew himself to be one of God's chosen servants, predestined to eternal salvation before all worlds.

An aged man lay in the Bastille. He had commenced life as a poor artisan, ignorant and indigent. He had embraced the Gospel as taught by the Reformers. A great artist, to whose talents the Valois owed much. Henri III. went to visit him. 'My good man,' said his royal patron, 'for five and forty years you have worked for the queen-mother and myself. We have endured your living in your religion among fires and massacres, now I am so pressed by Guise's people and my own, that in spite of myself I have been constrained to put you in prison, and unless you are converted, you will be burnt to-morrow.'

'Sire,' replied the old prisoner, 'you have several times said you have pity on me; but I have pity on you, for you have uttered the words, "I am constrained." That is not to talk as a king; I who have part in the kingdom of heaven will teach you more royal language; and it is this, that the Guisards, all your people, and even yourself, will not know how to constrain a potter to bend his knees to statues, for I know how to die.'

II.

Day-break.

In 1521 the pope made a treaty with Charles V., Emperor-elect of Germany, and invited him to come and drive Francis I. out of Italy. The unfortunate inhabitants of the North-eastern provinces of France soon saw hovering on the frontier the terrible German *lanzknechte*, and trembled for themselves and all dear to them. They knew there was no army to defend them, the king having drained the country of its soldiers. Fear of coming trouble made them think of God.

It was under such circumstances that the doctrines of the Reformation were first preached in France, and in one city especially they took root and bore much fruit. The small episcopal town of Meaux was, as it were, the Bethlehem of the Reformation.

Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, not only wished a general Reformation of the Church, but he did what he could to bring it about in his own diocese. Among the men who gathered round him, Jacques Lefèvre stands out as the patriarch of French Protestantism. He was at this date nearly seventy years of age, a doctor of theology in the University of Paris, with a great reputation for learning. Born in Picardy, in the middle of the fifteenth century, of very humble parentage, Lefèvre owed his distinguished position both to the light of genius and to the light of grace. When the doctrine of justification by faith was just dawning upon Luther, Lefèvre was already preaching it in France.

Among his disciples was a youth from the Dauphiné, named Guillaume Farel, ardent in spirit and intensely religious, who, after seeking satisfaction in vain at the shrines of superstition, at last found it in the preaching

of Lefèvre. 'My dear Guillaume,' the old seer would say, 'God will renovate the world, and you will see it.' Lefèvre, like Moses, caught only a glimpse of the Promised Land; Farel, as another Joshua, entered in, and living the life of a man of war, won many a battle and set up the flag of the Reformation both in France and Switzerland. 'If we look to dates,' says D'Aubigné, 'we must admit that the glory of beginning the Reformation belongs neither to Switzerland nor to Germany, but to France.'

Farel was supported by other missionaries: Pierre de Sebville, at Grenoble; Amédée Maigret, at Lyon; Michel d'Arande, at Maçon; Etienne Machopolis and Etienne Renier, at Annonay; Melchior Wolmar, at Orleans; Jean de Catuce, at Toulouse. These are but names, but let us hold them sacred, for they represent men who were apostles of purity and light.

And what was the condition of the people among whom they went to preach? Slaves bound in fetters of gross superstition, their masters meanwhile careless of every yoke, moral or religious. Bishops might be seen pressing people to drink with them, rattling the dice-box, yelling after rooks and deer, entering houses of debauchery.[1] A brothel was attached to the royal palace, but no one in the court could have exceeded the king himself in licentiousness. If any one will examine his portraits as preserved in the Louvre, they will see a rake's progress depicted more vividly than anything Hogarth has imagined.

And these rulers in Church and State would listen to any scurrility; their tolerance was truly wonderful. Rabelais not only satirised all classes of society, but

[1] Such were the charges, and worse, Lefèvre openly made in his lectures, and they are mild to any one who knows the times.

even the king himself, nay, he even passed his joke with the pope in person, no offence being given as long as a moralist turned the world into a pantomime, and feathered his shafts with plenty of obscene wit. But when the preacher seemed really serious, when he spoke the plain truth in solemn language, when in all sincerity he called out for reformation, then these cultured, vicious sons of the Renaissance very soon cried, 'Away with him; it is not fit that such a fellow should live!'

Old Paris was divided into three parts, in each of which the dominating power centred respectively in the Chateau, the Cathedral, and the University. Thus the king's power in Paris was practically shared with the bishop and the provost of the Sorbonne. The doctors of the latter institution, led by a theologian, Noel Beda, and supported by the chancellor, Antoine Duprat, together with the monks, led the persecution. When the scribes, lawyers, and Pharisees, the Sorbonne, the Parliament, and the monastic institutions on the southern bank of the Seine, had well raised the cry of heresy, lighted the fires, and collected the mob, then Herod and Caiaphas were willing to appear and sanction the persecution with their presence and authority.

One of the first things done was to frighten the Bishop of Meaux into silence. In Paris, however, the Sorbonne had to deal with a man of infinitely more fortitude than the good Briçonnet. Louis de Berquin is spoken of by Beza as one who might have been the Luther of France. By birth he belonged to the nobility, was very pious, and quite remarkable for purity of life. A learned and honest man, he could not put up with the ignorance and tenebrous ways of the Sorbonne, and spoke his mind freely to the king. A controversy caused him to look into the Bible. He was astonished

to find not a word about praying to the Virgin Mary, and other fundamental doctrines of the Roman Church, but much that he had never heard taught. Conviction with Berquin was soon translated into act, and the Sorbonne denounced him to the Parliament. Francis stepped in, and Berquin went on his way. A second time the Sorbonne cited him, and now before the bishop; but the king removed the cause to his own tribunal, and only exhorted Berquin to prudence. A third time he was prosecuted by the same set of scribes and lawyers, and this time, Francis being at Madrid, and the queen-mother on their side, they reckoned on destroying their victim; but the king sent an order for his release. The Sorbonne was enraged, and Francis made them still more furious by ordering them to censure certain propositions denounced by Berquin, or to establish them by texts from the Bible.

Suddenly an image of the Virgin at one of the crossings in Paris was mutilated. There was a plot, they cried, an attack on religion, on the prince, on order. All law was going to be overturned, all titles to be abolished. Behold the fruits of the doctrines preached by Berquin! The cry succeeded, a panic seized the parliament, the people, and even the king. Berquin was imprisoned for the fourth time, and condemned to be hanged and burnt on the Place de Grève. And thither, on the 21st of November, 1529, he was taken to execution, guarded by six hundred men—proof of the sympathy felt for him, or believed by his enemies to be felt for him. He descended from the tumbril with a firm step, and accepted death with such serenity that after the execution the grand penitentiary said aloud before the people that for a hundred years no one in France had died a better Christian.

Such scenes, added to the preaching and dissemi-

nation of the Scriptures and religious tracts, caused the desire for reform to spread far and wide. In the autumn of 1534, a violent placard against the mass was posted about Paris, and one was even fixed on the king's own chamber. The cry was soon raised, 'Death! death to the heretics!'

Francis had long dallied with the Reformation—it was to his interest as a king to support it—and his sister Margaret, its sincere friend, influenced him in its favour. His great opponent was Charles V., and the chief political fact of the times was their rivalry for the leadership of Europe. But Francis I. had not the moral courage to follow the example of his ally, the King of England, or he might have placed himself at the head of a Protestant League in Europe, and have become in a way a second Charlemagne.

But when the moment for decision came, and on the 21st of October, 1532, he met Henry VIII. at Boulogne to discuss the appeal of the German Protestants, he covered his irresolution by playing the gallant to Anne Boleyn. So now, two years later on, he develops into what was quite contrary to his disposition, a cruel persecutor.

A certain bourgeois of Paris, unaffected by any heretical notions, kept in those days a diary of what was going on in Paris, and from this precious document, long printed as one of the archives of the history of France, we learn that between the 13th of November, 1534, and the 13th of March, 1535, twenty so-called Lutherans were put to death in Paris. On the 10th of November seven persons were sentenced to be taken in a tumbril to be burnt, and on their road to make an apology before a church, holding a lighted taper in their hands. This was the usual process with heretics.

13th Nov. Barthelmy Milon, the son of a shoe-

maker, and a paralytic, was burnt alive in the cemetery of St. Jean.[1]

14th Nov. Jean du Bourg, a rich draper, who had put up one of the placards, had his hand cut off before the Fontaine des Innocents, and was then burnt alive at the Halles. A printer of the Rue St. Jacques was burnt alive the same day on the Place Maubert.

18th Nov. A mason was burnt alive before the church St. Catherine du Saint-Anthony.

19th Nov. A bookseller hanged and his body burnt on the Place Maubert.

4th Dec. A young clerk burnt alive before the Temple.

5th Dec. A young illuminator hanged, and his body burnt at the end of the Pont St. Michel.

7th Dec. A young hosier flogged naked at the cart's tail, and then banished.

Christmas and its attendant feasts now intervening, the tragedies were suspended—a sort of interlude, which concluded on the 25th of January with an imposing procession of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, coped and mitred, carrying all the relics in Paris, followed by the king, bare-headed, a lighted torch in his hand, and accompanied by all the princes, knights, legal authorities, and representatives of the trades of Paris. Innumerable citizens, each holding a lighted taper, kept the way on both sides, all kneel-

[1] Michelet tells a beautiful story of this poor boy. A spiteful little *gamin de Paris*, paralysed and malicious, he sat at his father's door mocking the passers-by. A servant of God, thus reproached, turned back, spoke gently to the poor boy, and gave him a copy of the Gospels. Barthelmy read it, was converted, and became an exemplary youth, labouring for his living as a teacher of writing and armorial engraving; but, being found possessed of a placard against the mass, was burnt as above related.

ing devoutly at the passage of the host. It was the *amende honorable* to the mass, so outraged by that unfortunate placard. The roofs of the tall, gabled houses were covered with people, and every window crowded with heads to watch the gorgeous procession, its brilliant colours lit up by thousands of flaming lights, make its way through the dark, narrow streets. After mass the king dined with the bishop, Jean de Bellay, friend of Rabelais and even of Melanchthon, and the repast concluded, Francis, seated on a throne, protested, in presence of the assembled notables, that he would not pardon the crime of heresy even in one of his own children; nay, if one of the members of his body was infected, he would cut it off with his own hands.

After this hypocritical parade six Lutherans were roasted alive, and, to give still more satisfaction to the savage vengeance of the persecutors, the martyrs were suspended to a movable gibbet, which rose and fell, so that they were alternately plunged into and then drawn out of the flames. This mode of execution was called the *estrapade*.

The appetite for blood having been thus whetted, the numbers destroyed would have been considerable, had not most of the best-known heretics in Paris fled. On the 25th of January seventy-three Lutherans were summoned by sound of trumpet to appear, their goods were confiscated, and their bodies condemned to be burnt.

16th Feb. Etienne de la Forge, a wealthy merchant, much esteemed, was burnt alive at the cemetery of St. Jean. His wife was condemned two months later, and her goods confiscated.

19th Feb. A goldsmith and a painter were flogged naked at the cart's tail, their goods confiscated, and themselves banished.

26th Feb. A young mercer burnt alive at the end of the Pont St. Michel. His wife died of grief seven weeks after. On the same day a young scholar of Grenoble was burnt alive.

13th March. A chanter of the chapel royal was burnt alive at the crossway of Grostournois, near St. Germain l'Auxerrois.

A great number of these martyrs were, it will be seen, young people. Thus the prince of the Renaissance tried to stifle the germs of a new world.

III.

Calvin and Geneva.

The panic caused by the Anabaptist outbreak at Munster may perhaps account for the extreme cruelty described in the last chapter, as the siege was in actual progress at the time. It was to defend the memories of the martyrs of the 29th of January, 1535, and of others who had suffered elsewhere, and to save, if possible, those menaced with a similar fate, that Calvin wrote his *Institution of the Christian Religion.* A timid, feeble-bodied young student, he had fled from France, in the hope of finding some retreat where he might lose himself in the studies he loved. Passing through Geneva with the intention of staying there only for a night, he met the indefatigable, ubiquitous, enterprising, courageous Farel, who, taking him by the hand, adjured him to stop and carry on the work in that city. Calvin shrank instinctively, but Farel proceeded to imprecate such a fearful curse on all he should do if he left them, that he was forced to yield. Four months, however, elapsed before he would be made a pastor, and he said that he was right glad at heart when, after a year or two, he and Farel were

exiled from Geneva, thinking it a release from a career he wished to avoid. But he had to go back under pressure of a cordial invitation from the Geneva authorities, backed by Martin Bucer's threats of a heavy curse.

If we look at the frontispiece portrait, taken from one in the print-room in the British Museum, and which carries with it the marks of authenticity, we behold a man who is evidently controlled by an overpowering sense of duty. Nevertheless, under that sadly painful expression, we see a character peculiarly fitted for the work to which Calvin was called. In that large, full forehead, what intelligence! in that long, thin nose what penetration! in those dreamy, thoughtful eyes what concentred life! in that severe mouth what inflexibility! in that extraordinary beard—a tuft with two tails, springing out in advance of the great beak of a nose—what intense individuality! In some of his portraits the pose of his head renders this strange beard still more peculiar. It is thrown forward in a way absolutely defiant, while the eyes look upward. A born king—might we not rather say a born tyrant, using that word in its noblest, best sense?

Calvin, once settled at Geneva, had no more doubt about his calling than if he had been Moses himself. No doubt he lacked the humanity, the glowing imagination, the prophetic insight of the Hebrew seer; but he had a similar genius for legislation, a similar power of organization, the same ability to compel men to accept his rule of life.

Cities have a calling even as individuals. Geneva filled as important a part in the Reformation as Calvin. Its geographical position marked it as a city of the nations. Upon it converged the roads which connected Central Germany with Southern France. An

episcopal city during the Middle Ages, it had just asserted its liberty against the usurpation of the Duke of Savoy and the treachery of its own bishop. While its traditions were thus theocratic, it was ready to be the scene of new essays in social organization.

Calvin came, saw, and conquered, for his foes, though numerous, were by no means his match. Out of this free, laughing, gay Geneva, he sought to make a *civitas Dei*, a city set upon a hill, the example, the centre, the rock of the new and Divine life now surging in the chaos into which Europe had fallen. Calvin's unerring logic, his pure and living style, dominated the greater part of men of culture, learning, or power of thought attached to the Reformation. Minds as original as his own, but of an entirely different mould, naturally abhorred his mode of thinking and acting. But their influence was as nothing compared to his. The law went forth from Geneva, forming not only an ecclesiastical society in Switzerland, but a far greater one in France, as well as that of Scotland, and in the end vastly affecting that of England.

Calvin's mind was essentially a legal one. He was, first and before all things, a legislator. He was able to accept certain points as not to be discussed, but these premisses admitted, he argued from step to step, fearless of the consequences. He accepted the general position of all the Reformers, who, regarding the Bible as the palladium against the encroachments of papal authority, gave it the position formerly occupied in their minds by the Church. The Bible, the sole rule to follow, without mixing with it anything else, or adding to it or taking from it—this was the starting-point from which he deduced everything he taught.

In this way Calvin found the germs of his new ecclesiastical polity. The Church must be reformed according to the New Testament. Many references

were there made to the customs of the primitive Church. He found mention made of four offices: pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The pastors he formed into a college which controlled all the spiritual affairs of the Church, selecting and appointing the candidates for the ministry, and nominating them to various charges with the sanction of the people. To this first ecclesiastical court he added a second for discipline. This was formed chiefly of elders and deacons, but the clerical element being permanent, while the lay fluctuated, the ministers easily preserved the leading influence; and it was of this court Calvin himself gradually assumed the presidency, and by means of which he carried on his work. He enunciated with great force the doctrine so closely connected with his name: the doctrine of election and of reprobation, of the existence of a line of chosen saints and a line of lost sinners. But in the ecclesiastical society he founded he attempted no such division; every Genevese was a member, and so amenable to the Church courts. Thus the functions of the consistorial court of discipline easily covered everything connected with the life of the people. The minutest point in dress, the greatest affairs in the State, could be brought within its jurisdiction. It may, as an instrument of despotism, be placed in the same category as the Star Chamber and the Inquisition. But how different the results! Geneva, during the last three centuries, has produced more men of eminence in science and literature than any other town of equal size, some of its families having become almost scientific dynasties. Education, luminous and progressive, has ever been characteristic of the city of Calvin. Whence the difference? It all lies in the motive. Calvin's institutions had no other object than to secure to man the advance in light and liberty made by the Reformation;

the Star Chamber and the Inquisition were instituted to crush every aspiration in that direction.

From Geneva went forth the influence which sustained the cause of the Reformation in its deadly strife of three centuries. The pastors of the Desert, the Camisards, the sufferers from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, looked to it as the Puritans of England, the Covenanters of Scotland, and the Protestants of the Netherlands had done, as a sacred city where dwelt the ark of God and the shechinah; Geneva was even more the Protestant Jerusalem than the Protestant Rome.

IV.

Light and Joy Flood France.

Geneva under Calvin—words fail to describe its value to the cause of the Reformation. Thirty presses worked day and night to print a multitude of books which ardent colporteurs carried over France, chief among them being a small edition of the Bible[1] and a book of French psalms set to music.[2] Many of these indefatigable missionaries gave their lives in the cause. Pierre Chabot, discovered by a spy of the Sorbonne in 1546, suffered martyrdom in the Place Maubert. He argued modestly with his judges, he harangued the people from the executioner's cart; he would not cease until they tightened the cord and finally stopped his

[1] The first translation of the Scriptures was made in 1494 and published in 1498. Others followed.

[2] In the British Museum, under the head 'Liturgies, French Reformed Church,' may be found one of these books published in 1566, a pocket edition, about the length of a thumb, beautifully printed, and containing not only the Psalms with the music to each, but the form of prayers and the catechism, baptismal and other services.

voice. O this terrible Word! if it were thus allowed to turn the scaffold into a pulpit, all would be lost; henceforth, in every case, convicted heretics were to have their tongues cut out.

Nevertheless, and perhaps in consequence of such barbarities, the Reformers rapidly increased, so that it is reckoned that by the middle of the sixteenth century one-sixth of the population of France had embraced their doctrine. How the seed germinated may be gathered from a work left us by Bernard Palissy, called *L'histoire des troubles de Xaintonge.* The first stirrings of the public conscience in the province of Saintonge were caused by some monks who had either been in Germany or had in some way had their eyes opened to the great scandal of the time—the concentration of ecclesiastical property in the hands of a few, and those frequently not clergymen at all. When the priests and holders of benefices understood that these bold monks wished to interfere with their property, they incited the magistrates to come down upon them, which the magistrates did with exceeding good-will, being themselves in several cases holders of some morsel of benefice. The monks, having no desire to die at the stake, hid themselves in the isles of Oléron, Marepues, and Allevert, where they became schoolmasters or learnt some trade. At first, and with many precautions, they spoke only in secret to the people; but finding how many were with them, by the tacit permission of a grand-vicar, they began to preach, and so little by little the people in Saintonge had their eyes opened, and became alive to abuses which they would otherwise have ignored.

As the bishop, an august personage twenty-three years of age, a cardinal and a prince of 'the precious blood of Monseigneur St. Louis,' resided at court, these things might have gone on without hindrance

had not the fiscal attorney, a man of perverse and evil life, sent word to Monseigneur de Bourbon that the place was full of Lutherans. He received orders to extirpate them, together with a good sum of money. The preachers were arrested and clothed in green, that the people might consider them fools. To this the fiscal attorney added a further piece of malicious cruelty, for he bridled them like horses, filling their mouths with an apple of iron, and so led them to be burnt alive at Bordeaux. This was in 1546.

Some time after this, in 1557, an old priest named Philibert, who had been shut up, probably at this time for his religious opinions, but who had obtained his release by dissembling his convictions, returned to Saintes after a long stay at Geneva, determined to repair his fault. He preached the new doctrines, and advised the Reformed to send for ministers and commence some form of a church; meanwhile he and his assistants sold Bibles and other books printed at Geneva.

Philibert went about with apostolic simplicity. Though weak and ill, he was often begged to use a horse, but he would never do so, contenting himself with the help of a staff; neither did he carry a sword, but went about without fear, though quite alone.

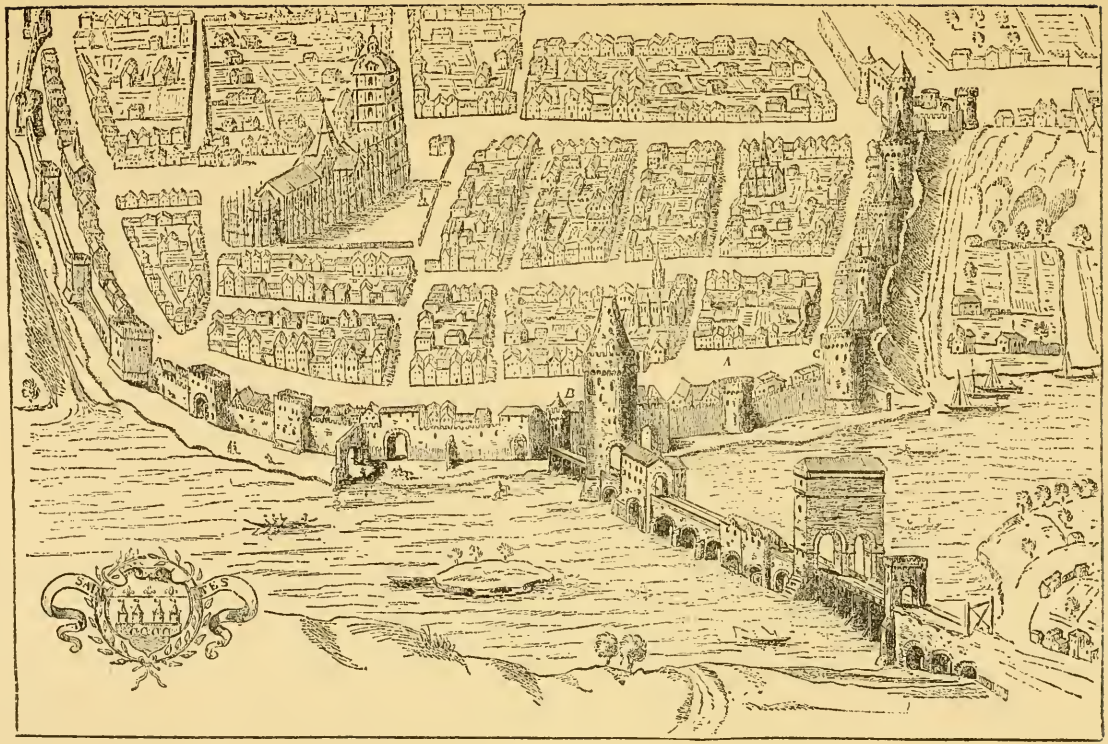
Having one day prayed with some seven or eight persons, he left for the isles, where he gathered the people by sound of the bell, preached to them and baptized a child, which last act so alarmed the magistrates, to whom the spiritual effects of a Divine message appeared nothing in comparison with the magic of a rite, that they set off in pursuit of this humble missionary with quite a caravan of horses, men-at-arms, cooks, and sutlers. Having with great ceremony rebaptized the child and arrested Philibert, they sent him for trial to Bordeaux, because they feared their own

townsmen, who held him in reverence as a holy man. He died on the gallows, the 18th of April, 1557.

The writer to whom we owe this history was a devoted disciple of the martyr, and after his death set himself in his own simple way to carry on his work. 'There was,' he says, 'in Xaintes, an artisan poor and indigent beyond description, who had so great a desire for the progress of the Gospel that he explained it one day to another artisan, poor and unlearned as himself, for both of them knew but little. However, the first said to the other that if he were willing to employ himself in exhorting it would be the cause of great good.' Although he to whom he spoke was without knowledge, it gave him courage, and he assembled one Sunday morning some nine or ten persons, and read to them certain passages of the Old and New Testament which he had written out. He explained what he read, saying that each according to the gifts that he had received from God ought to distribute to others. He read them the words in Deuteronomy xi. 19, urging them to preach on all occasions, in travelling, in taking their meals, in rising up or lying down, in sitting by the wayside, never, in fact, to lose an opportunity. They then agreed to take it in turns to exhort six weeks at a time.

Such is the artless story of the foundation of the first Reformed Church in Saintes, and thus doubtless sprang up spontaneously in various parts of France many others, the direct action of the Spirit of God upon the heart of the people.

And elsewhere, as in Saintonge, it was some converted priest or monk who first preached to the people the doctrines of the Reformation. But what stirred up inquiry everywhere was the dissemination of the writings of Luther, and the tracts published by the Swiss Reformers, which were disseminated far and wide.



SAINTES IN THE TIME OF BERNARD PALISSY.
(From an ancient plan.)

The former were brought to the fairs at Lyons and carried down the Rhone, were scattered all over the South of France, while the latter came packed in tuns as merchandise, and were carried everywhere by the colporteurs. However the work began, the people took it up; and, as in primitive times, it was the poor in this world, rich in faith, who became its preachers. Such was Pierre de la Vau, a native of Pontillac, near Toulouse, who was seized in the act of preaching, standing on a boundary stone in the Place de la Couronne at Nîmes, and condemned to death, the 8th of October, 1554. 'He was,' says Crespin, 'a shoemaker by trade; but, for all that, fervent in the Word of God and well instructed in it.' And, as if to unite this class and the last, we are told that the Dominican prior who attended him at his execution, partaking the religious convictions of the victim, spoke to him only of Jesus, and the necessity of believing in Him to have eternal life. His words were heard and reported, whereupon a writ of arrest was issued against him, but he escaped to Geneva. The spirit of Savonarola thus dwelt in some of his brethren.

In the environs of Dieppe, in the weavers' villages, and in those of the cloth-merchants in the district of Caux, it was a Deborah or a Naomi who, venerated on account of her sorrows and experience, commenced the movement by reading and explaining the Bible to a few persons. The new doctrines won their way, house by house, family by family, without any teaching but that of the very poor, who thus themselves came back again to the simple doctrines and practices of the New Testament.

The particular results of the influence of this little Church at Saintes indicate what was going on all over the country. In a few years, gambling, dancing, ballad-singing, revelling, fashionable dressing had

nearly all disappeared. No more murders, hardly any abusive words. Law-suits had diminished. As Easter-time approached, people made up their quarrels. The townsfolk no longer went to gamble and drink at the inns, but spent their time with their families. Even children seemed to be strangely thoughtful.

Nothing, in fact, so occupied the minds of the people as religious worship. 'You see,' said the Catholics to the priests and monks, 'how the ministers make prayers, and lead a holy life. Why do you not do the same?' Then the priests and monks began to make prayers and preach like the ministers. 'Thus in these days,' says Palissy, 'there were prayers from one end of the city to the other. The same edifice was used for both forms of worship; the Catholics who came to hear mass met the Reformed returning from the exhortation.'

This great spiritual movement filled the hearts of the people with such joy that they burst out into song. You might have seen, on Sundays, companions of the same craft walking about the fields and woods, singing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs; while the young women, seated in the gardens, delighted themselves in singing together all kinds of holy pieces. For this burst of holy joy, Marot and Beza paraphrased the psalms, and Goudimel set them to new music, boldly turning them into chants, part-songs, quartettes.

But the companions of a craft did not wait for the composers any more than they did for the ministers. It was enough in those days to meet to sing. They felt as the children of Israel after they had escaped from the hands of Pharaoh. They sang in the spirit of Zacharias, when the Holy Ghost opened his mouth and he prophesied. These poor artisans and rustic maidens prophesied, and we to-day witness the fulfilment.

But what long years of sorrow and affliction followed this spring-time of joy! yet through it all they never forgot the sweet savour of that early psalmody. 'Music,' said Luther, 'is the best consolation of the afflicted. It refreshes the heart and restores its peace.' So it was with the early martyrs, who constantly went to the stake singing. Yes, such was the joy of heart in those days, that a chronicler describes the young virgins as going more gaily to execution than they would have done to their nuptials. Such was the enthusiastic strength the new life gave them, that we read of a peasant who met some prisoners on the way to execution, and asked the reason of their sentence. He was told they were heretics; and he at once claimed a place by their side, got into the cart, and went to die with his brethren.

V.

The Five Scholars of Lausanne.

To overflow with joy in affliction, to make the prison and the scaffold jubilant with songs of praise—what better proof can we have that the kingdom of God had come nigh, that at this moment France was entering into a new life? The martyrs of the primitive Church could not have triumphed over death with more exulting faith than some of these early confessors for the cause of Reform in France. Nothing is more beautiful in martyrology than the story of the five scholars of Lausanne, burnt at Lyons on the 16th of May, 1553.

Martial Alba, Pierre Navihères, Bernard Seguin, Charles Favre, Pierre Escrivain,—these were the names of the young brothers so blessed and honoured in their exodus from this world of sin and suffering.

They had returned, towards the end of April, 1552, into France, in order to begin their work as ministers of the Gospel. Betrayed and denounced almost as soon as they entered France, they were arrested at Lyons and thrown into prison. Here they lay for more than a year, notwithstanding the untiring efforts of sympathetic friends. In these dungeons—and what dungeons only those who have descended into such places as the *oubliettes* still to be seen under the pontifical palace at Avignon can form any idea—in these dungeons joy lit up their hearts, to think that the world counted them accursed, while God had chosen them to maintain the cause of Jesus Christ.

But nothing we can say will equal the touching story of their last hours as told by the chronicler.

'These then are the arms with which these holy persons were provided to maintain their last combat, which took place the sixteenth of the month of May (1553), a whole year having rolled away since they were imprisoned. The sixteenth, say I, brought them deliverance, and was the blessed day for which the crown of immortality was prepared for them by the Lord after so virtuous a fight. About nine o'clock in the morning of the said day, after having received sentence of death in the court of Rouane—the which, in short, was to be led to the place of the Terreaux, and there burned alive until their whole bodies were consumed,—all five were put in the place where criminals waited, after having received sentence, until the appointed time, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. These five martyrs betook themselves first to praying to God with great ardour and vehemence of spirit, marvellous to those who beheld them; some prostrating themselves on the ground, others looking upward; and then they commenced to rejoice in the Lord and to sing psalms. And as two o'clock

drew nigh, they were led out of the said place clothed in their grey dresses and tied with cords, exhorting one another to maintain constancy, since the end of their course was at the stake close at hand, and that the victory there was quite certain.

'Being then placed on a cart, they commenced to sing the 9th Psalm: "I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart," etc. However, they had not time to finish it, so much were they taken up with invoking God, and uttering several passages of Scripture as they passed along. Among others, as they passed by the Place of the Herberie, at the end of the bridge of the Saône, one of them, turning to the vast crowd, said in a loud voice, "The God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep, our Lord, according to Christ by the blood of the eternal covenant, confirm you in every good work to do His will."[1] Then commencing the Apostles' Creed, dividing it by articles, one after the other, they repeated it with a holy harmony, in order to show that they had together one accordant faith in all and through all. He whose turn it was to pronounce the words, "Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," raised his voice, in order that the people might know that it was a false calumny which their enemies had spread that they had denied this article, and spoken ill of the Virgin Mary. To the sergeants and satellites who often troubled them, menacing them if they did not hold their peace, they twice answered, "Do not prevent us in the short time we have to live from praising and invoking our God."

'Being come to the place of execution, they mounted with joyful heart on to the heap of wood which was

[1] Literal translation of the chronicle.

round about the stake. The two youngest among them mounted first, one after the other, and the executioner having stripped them of their clothes, bound them to the stake. The last who ascended was Martial Alba, the oldest of the five, who had been a long time on his knees upon the wood praying to the Lord. The executioner, having bound the others, came to take him, and having raised him by the armpits, wished to put him down with the others; but he earnestly asked the Lieutenant Tignac to grant him a favour. The lieutenant said to him, "What wilt thou?" He said to him, "That I might kiss my brothers before dying." The lieutenant granted him his request, and then the said Martial, being led up to the wood, kissed and was kissed in turn by all the four standing there tied and bound, saying to each of them, "Adieu, adieu, my brother!" Then the other four there bound kissed each other, turning round their heads and saying one to the other the same words, "Adieu, my brother!"

'This done, after the said Martial had recommended his said brothers to God before coming down and being bound, he also kissed the executioner, saying to him these words, "My friend, do not forget what I have said to thee." Then, after being tied and bound to the same stake, all were inclosed with a chain which went round about the stake. An attempt was then made to hasten their death by strangling them, but it failed, upon which the bystanders heard the five martyrs continually exhorting one another with the words, "Courage, my brothers, courage!" which were the last words heard in the midst of the fire, which soon consumed the bodies of the aforesaid valiant champions and true martyrs of the Lord.'

VI.

The Martyrs and the Psalter.

In no Church has the Psalter ever occupied such a place as it did for three centuries in that of the Huguenots. In the degree we catch the spirit of the Psalms, in that degree we enter into the soul of the Huguenot life and faith. The first Huguenots died with some words from the Psalter on their lips, nearly always singing them, as was their wont in worship.

Jean Leclerc, executed at Metz, 1524, in the midst of frightful tortures, continued to chant these verses of Psalm cxv: 'Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands.' Wolfgang Schurch, burnt at Nancy, 1525, died singing Psalm li. Aymon de la Voye, in quitting his prison to go to the stake, intoned the hundred and fourteenth psalm: 'When Israel went out of Egypt.' Fifty-seven Protestants of Metz were put in prison, from whence fourteen were led to execution; their brethren sang as they passed Psalm lxxix. As they were about to have their tongues cut out, the cry arose:[1]

'Let the sighing of the prisoner come before Thee;
According to the greatness of Thy power preserve Thou those
that are appointed to death;
And render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom
Their reproach, wherewith they have reproached Thee, O Lord.'

Nicholas, martyred at Hainaut in 1548, answered the Cordeliers, who overwhelmed him with reproaches on the scaffold, in the words of the sixth psalm:

'Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity;
For the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping,
The Lord hath heard the voice of my supplication;
The Lord will receive my prayer.'

[1] Gagging was first tried, but the strings burnt in the flames, and the martyrs burst into song.

Macé Moureau, burnt at Troyes, 1550, chanted a psalm in the flames. Many more similar illustrations might be given, but for a complete account the reader is referred to Douen's great work, *Clement Marot et le Psautier Huguenot.* Five young persons condemned to death at Lyons, for preaching Reform, sang as they went to the scaffold the ninth Psalm; a tremendous appeal to the just and righteous God, who forgetteth not the cry of the poor, but maketh inquisition for blood, an appeal full of triumphant faith, an appeal which has been most assuredly answered.

VII.

New Shepherds and a New Fold.

In 1551 appeared the Edict of Chateaubriant, by which persons accused of heresy were rendered amenable both to the secular and ecclesiastical courts, so that, absolved at one tribunal, they could be immediately cited before the other. Intercession was forbidden, sentences were executed notwithstanding appeal, suspected persons had to produce certificates of orthodoxy. But light is thrown on the motives of the powerful personages of the day by the provisions according to which informers were to receive a third part of the property of the condemned, while the entire estates of those who fled the country were to be confiscated to the Crown. Very soon this courtier or that favourite was denouncing the man whose property he or she desired to have. Sometimes they ruined a whole family, or got possession of an entire canton. Thus were enlarged, as was again the case at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the domains of families then in process of being made 'noble and great.'

But this edict was not enough for some of the cormorants. The Cardinal of Lorraine, a man whose orthodoxy could stretch to any point, was willing to join Paul IV. and the Sorbonnists, and to introduce the Inquisition into France. Happily, the French lawyers retained their old traditional dislike to clerical despotism, and the attempt failed.

However, the Protestants had the possibility of the Inquisition hanging over them, as well as of the machinations of the Jesuits, who by some change in public opinion might be permitted to enter France. Organization in the presence of such danger was clearly necessary, and thus they were almost compelled to turn their free communion into a well-drilled organization.

The movement commenced in Paris in 1555. M. de la Ferrière having received some Protestants into his house, proposed to them to choose a pastor. After many objections they elected not only a pastor, but elders and deacons. Their example was followed elsewhere, each city, town, or commune constituting a Church in itself. The work progressed so rapidly that by 1561 there were 2,150 Churches thus organized in France. To unite the Churches into one general body, a national synod was convoked in 1559. Eleven Churches were represented, and their delegates met in Paris from the 26th to the 29th of May.

They adopted a Confession of Faith prepared by Calvin and his disciple, De Chandieu, composed of forty articles. All the dogmas generally regarded as fundamental to the evangelical creed are stated in this confession with luminous precision. Certain doctrines seem more than usually accentuated. Such, for example, as the entire corruption and condemnation of human nature, with the decree of sovereign election. But these doctrines, which have come to be so pecu-

liarly associated with Calvin, occupy a place quite secondary to that of the supremacy of the Bible as the all-sufficient rule of faith. Articles II., III., IV., and V. are devoted to the exposition of this doctrine. It follows the declaration of the existence and character of God; the second article affirming that He reveals Himself in His works, but still more clearly in His Word contained in the Holy Scriptures; the third states the limits of these Scriptures; the fourth that they are known to be the Word of God, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit; the fifth asserts that the word contained in the Scriptures proceeds from God, and receives its authority from Him alone; that it is the rule of all truth, containing all that is necessary; that it is not lawful even for angels to add to it; nothing, however sacred, can be put in contradiction to it.

This elevation of the Bible to a position exactly opposed to that in which Catholicism placed the Church, is most noteworthy. The same opposition of ideas is observable in other points. As the ordinary means of grace, preaching the Word almost occupies in Calvinism the place of the sacraments in the Roman Catholic Church, and the all-important term, the Catholic Faith, is superseded by that of the Reformed Religion, or The Religion, as a Huguenot loved to say.

Many traces may be found in this confession of antagonism to the Anabaptist views; in fact, their supposed errors are referred to with more severity than those of the Papists. This is not surprising, considering that the chief feature presenting itself at the moment was the anarchical tendency of their views. It had, however, a deplorable effect, since it tended to lessen with French Calvinists the influence of the highest standard of Christianity, the Sermon on the

Mount. Its immediate effect was to accentuate in the Calvinistic polity the authority of the ruler, so that it would be difficult to place it higher. 'God,' the thirty-ninth article says, 'wishes to be considered the Author of every form of human government, and has put a sword into the hand of the magistrate to repress, not only sins against the second table of the commandments of God, *but also against the first.*' 'Consequently,' the fortieth says, 'all their laws and statutes must be obeyed, the yoke of subjection endured with goodwill, even if they are unbelievers, provided the supreme empire of God remains intact.' The confession concludes: 'Thus we detest those who wish to cast off their superiors, to introduce community and confusion of goods, and overturn legal order.'

Various articles set forth the discipline to be observed. Wherever a sufficient number of believers existed a Church ought to be formed, a consistory elected, a minister called, the sacraments regularly celebrated, and discipline established. The consistory, once elected, filled up its own vacancies; the pastor, elected for the first time, was on subsequent occasions to be named by the provincial synod or the conference. The consent of the people, however, was always to be regarded as necessary. While they were not to be asked to vote, nothing was to be done contrary to their will.

When difficulties arose the matter was to be referred to the provincial synod or the conference. A conference was formed by the union of the Churches of a district, and it was to meet at least twice a year. Each Church was represented by its pastor. Above the conference was the provincial synod, composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen. They were to meet at least once a year, and all that was beyond the power of a conference was to be referred to them. Highest

of all came the national synod, which was to form a final court of appeal, and was to take cognisance of all affairs of national importance. It was composed of two pastors and two elders, delegated by each of the provincial synods, and its president was always to be a pastor. It was to be annually convoked, and its deliberations were to commence by the reading of the Confession of Faith and the Order of Discipline.

The constitution which Calvin thus gave the Reformed Church of France reveals throughout his luminous, logical, legislative genius. In the confession the man himself is peculiarly seen in all his convictions and in all his antipathies. He does not even forget to pillory Servetus by name. But whether we sympathise with its statements or not, we cannot deny its grandeur, still less its immense influence and historic importance. Nothing, I imagine, except the Psalter, had greater influence in forming the Huguenot character.

This constitution, as regarded the Church, was founded on the equality of all believers, pastors, or laymen, high or low. Liberty and authority were both maintained, and if the latter predominated over the former it was a necessity of the times. On the principle that the religious institutions of a nation mould its civil ones, we have here the first step in the education of France in republican forms of government.

VIII.

The Calvinistic Constitution at Work.

But as the letter of a new constitution cannot afford an idea of its practical working, especially at first, and

among a people formed under a totally different system, a brief account of what happened in the early days of one of the local Churches thus formed will be helpful.

Nîmes is a city which from the earliest times until the present day has been one of the chief centres of the Protestant faith in France. The foundations of the Church had been laid by such preachers as the shoemaker De la Vau, and the Dominican prior Deyron, but it only appears to have been organized on the arrival of a pastor from Geneva, Guillaume Mauget, September, 1559. His first preachings took place in secret at night, as houses used as conventicles were liable to be rased and demolished; but after a time they grew bolder, and in 1560 they openly held meetings in a private house, assembling there every day, and on the 13th of April in that year the Church for the first time united in celebrating the Lord's Supper. On the 20th of May following, they had grown so strong that they took possession of the Church of Saint Etienne-de-Capduel, contiguous to the Maison-Carrée. When the Comte de Joyeuse, who commanded in Languedoc, was about to proceed against those concerned in the seizure, he found a majority of the chief people in the law-court of Nîmes were sympathetic, so he merely contented himself with telling the magistrates and consuls to prevent such enterprises in future. However, there was naturally great excitement, and the Comte de Villais entered the city with a number of soldiers to maintain order, whereupon the chief Protestants fled.

Following, however, the fluctuation of the general ebb and flow of the Protestant cause all over France, they soon returned, and on the 23rd of March, 1561, the pastor Mauget formed a consistory, composed at first of the pastor, ten elders or superintendents, and three deacons. By 1567 there were four pastors, nine

elders, and five deacons, besides several officers specially appointed to certain duties; the treasurers of the moneys for the ministers and for the poor, the receiver of legacies, the clerk of the consistory, the monitor, who went about giving notices of meetings, etc., and the precentor.

The consistory commenced by establishing religious meetings in private houses in each quarter of the city. There were nine such divisions in 1567, each under the superintendence of an elder, whose duty it was to conduct a service of prayer, reading the Scriptures, and catechising those who were proposing to take part in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On Sunday these local associations met in some spacious building to hear sermons from the pastors—a church when they could get it; in the temple which in 1567 they were permitted to build.

The consistory divided its work into five parts: assistance to the poor, receiving abjurations, passing censures, receiving back to the peace of the Church, and divers matters. A word on each will throw light on the degree of organization attained at this early period:

1. Assistance to the poor consisted of gifts in money, in bread, in clothing, in remedies for the sick, in marriage portions to girls without fortune, in premiums for the apprenticeship of poor children, in liberalities towards prisoners, captives, foreigners, and converts, who were no doubt often deprived of any means of living. The money for these works was obtained from the voluntary offerings placed every Sunday in the basins held by deacons at the doors of the temple, from collections made from house to house, from letting the seats, and from boxes placed in the tradesmen's shops, into which customers dropped, as the *right of the poor*, a sum proportioned to the price of

their purchases, finally from legacies made to the consistory.

2. Abjurations, at this time numerous and daily, consisted in a declaration that the proselyte renounced 'the mass and all Papal idolatry,' and wished to make a public profession of the Evangelic Religion. The section of the consistory appointed to this work then inquired into the degree of their belief and morality of their conduct, and if satisfied, the proselyte was solemnly received into the Church on Sunday after Divine service.

3. Censures. The consistory constituted itself a court of morals. Its monitor was instructed to summon before it all who had contracted mixed marriages, or had sent their children to Catholic schools; all guilty of scandalous conduct—fornication, adultery, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, quarrelling, duelling, taking part in dances, comedies, masquerades, frequenting public-houses, or gambling, or neglecting to attend the religious meetings or the Holy Supper. Each inquiry was carefully conducted, without precipitation, but without delay. Witnesses for and against were duly examined, the public then had to withdraw, and the innocence or guilt of the inculpated party was decided. The censures consisted of suspension from the communion without being publicly named from the pulpit, suspension with such public naming, finally excommunication.

4. Reception into the peace of the Church. This took place on repentance; but in grave cases a public confession was exacted, made kneeling on the ground behind the communion table.

5. Divers matters. Visiting families to heal domestic troubles, visiting the lukewarm, visiting prisons, the college, the hospital. This department extended itself in troublous times over the whole civil govern-

ment of the city, even to the extent of taking measures for its defence, electing captains for each quarter, raising taxes for payment of the troops. In a word, the police, the city guard, the inspection of the conduct of the inhabitants, all the chief affairs of the city, and consequently nearly all the powers, both of the municipal as well as the royal authorities, gradually became the object of its deliberations, its votes, and its rules.

The consistory was wholly renewed every year, but by a marvellous stroke of statesmanship the members going out continued to form part of the actual governing body, under the title of the old consistory. In the election of pastors, the civic authorities, the magistrates, and consuls were invited to unite themselves to the consistory old and new, so that this important matter was settled by all the notables of the Church in an extraordinary assembly denominated the Assembly of the three bodies. Pastors were of two sorts, permanent or temporary; of these last were the professors in the school of theology.

There were three services on Sunday and one on Wednesday morning, during which the shops were closed, no carriages or carts allowed to go about, and the city gates padlocked. During the remainder of the week there were public prayers every evening, and catechising on Thursdays. All these services were taken by the pastors in turn, and he who commenced on Sunday was called the pastor of the week. The salaries of the ministers were raised by a certain rate, levied by the consuls of the city on each family, and detailed in a book called *la tariffe*.

This condition of things at Nîmes could only have existed in its entirety at such times as the Huguenots held the upper hand in the troubles which now broke out in France. In the rapid fluctuation of events

they are one month lords and masters of the city; and the next obliged to fly, or at best to hold their meetings in secret. Thus it was with them in the spring of 1561, but towards Pentecost they got more bold, and openly celebrated that feast in a garden in the suburbs of the city. The tables were prepared by an elder, and two communions were held: one at break of day, presided over by the Huguenot pastor Mauget; the second at eight o'clock in the morning, at which Martin, a barbe of the Waldensian Church, officiated. He was a native of the Val Luserne, in the valleys of Piedmont, and had become pastor of the Waldensian Church of Meundol, ruthlessly destroyed by Francis I., and he was now in a temporary sense one of the pastors at Nîmes.

IX.

Reform and 'the Gentlemen of France.'

Among the higher classes the Reformation found many earnest adherents, a thing in no way surprising, as the vast majority in all classes suffer sadly when might, and not right, reigns supreme. Three women, Margaret of Navarre, her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry IV., and Louise de Montmorenci, a contemporary of Margaret and the mother of the Colignys, are illustrious examples. The sons of Louise de Montmorenci seem to have been given to the cause, in order to show through all time what sort of men its principles could make. They began life loaded with the wealth and honours of this world. Odet Coligny was a cardinal at sixteen; Gaspard was colonel-general in the French army and an admiral of France; François, the younger, was lord of Andelot, and, like his brothers, had splendid prospects. Short

of the throne, there was no position at which they might not reasonably aim. Dandelot was the first to come under the influence of the Reformation, Gaspard apparently the last. Of a slower and deeper nature than his brothers, he followed them first, then finally led them and the whole Protestant party.

This long process of cautious deliberation followed by bold, sustained action is characteristic of Coligny. In civil matters it was long before he took the head of the party opposed to the Guises. Neither he nor his brothers appear to have been in any way connected with the conspiracy of Amboise—a political attempt to throw off the tyranny of the Guises, in which many Protestant gentlemen were concerned.

But it was chiefly among the lower *noblesse*, the gentlemen of France, that the cause of Reform made the greatest progress. When Charles IX. came to the throne, nearly the whole of the French nobility had deserted Catholicism. The poorer nobles were in a most uncomfortable position. They were a caste as distinctly different from the plebeians around them as the Brahmin is from the Sudra. They could not enter into trade, and would not live in the cities. They sometimes enlisted as private soldiers or became leaders of bands of mercenaries. For others whose ideas were more healthy, a special trade, that of glass-making, was reserved, and in the course of this history we shall more than once find some illustrious servants of the Lord among these *gentilhommes verriers*. Under such circumstances the poorer French nobility were especial sufferers from the forces which work in society just in the degree it is most completely under the influence of the laws of nature. They found those they regarded as their inferiors rising in wealth, while those above gradually absorbed their ever-diminishing patrimonies. Dissatisfied with their lot, they welcomed

anything that promised a change in the order of things, and to them a Reformation in religion could not help meaning an effort towards the Reform of crying social and political evils. Some were attracted by purely religious considerations, but the majority, it cannot be doubted, attached themselves to the cause of Reform from mixed considerations, in which a hope to better their own condition was an important element.

Their spirit is well illustrated in the book which Henry the Fourth called *The Soldiers' Bible*, a book whose real title, Montluc's *Commentaries*, gives no idea of the entertainment in store for the reader. The Sieur de Montluc was one of those poor gentlemen who by hard fighting and the blindest loyalty passed through every grade of soldiering until he obtained the *bâton* of a Marshal of France. At threescore and fifteen he sat down to write the history of his life, which covers all the first period of the Reformation in France; and if he had been vigorous with his sword, he was even more so with his pen.

'All things,' according to Montluc, 'depend on the gentry, so that if a man could not get their love he would never perform anything worth speaking of'; a remark which throws a flood of light on the position they took with reference to the cause which they espoused, and to the rulers against whom they so often rebelled. They dominated over the first, and kept the latter in a perpetual state of alarm.

These gentlemen delighted in a life of strife and bloodshed; they scorned to live in towns, where they would have to compete with the burghers for the municipal offices. However, to judge from the Sieur de Montluc—and he is without doubt a typical character—they were sincerely religious. Montluc affirms that he was never in action without imploring the Divine assistance, and never passed a day of his life

since he arrived at the age of man without calling upon the name of God and asking pardon for his sins. And he assures us that many times in the sight of the enemy he was so possessed with fear that he felt his heart beat and his limbs tremble; but no sooner had he made his prayer to God than he felt his spirits and his heart return.

All this shows the soil on which in the upper ranks of French life the preaching of the Reformers fell; for Montluc himself was, and continued to the end, a stout Catholic, fiercely struggling against the Huguenots, unable, as he says, to 'believe the Holy Ghost is among a people who rise in rebellion against their king.' And as his loyalty was only just a little more thorough and more absolutely unquestioning than that of other good men around him, we give his doctrine on the subject, that we may better estimate the struggle it must have cost a man so intensely loyal as Coligny to take up arms.

'If, therefore, you would have God to be assisting you, you must strip yourself of ambition, avarice, rancour, and be full of the love and loyalty we all owe our prince. And in so doing, although his quarrel should not be just, God will not for all that withdraw His assistance from you: for it is not for us to ask our prince if his cause be good or evil, but only to obey him.'

It is easy to imagine the horror of such a man when he heard that the consuls of St. Mazard, being remonstrated with on account of their rebellious proceedings, and told that the king would be highly displeased with them, replied: 'What king? We are the kings. As to him of whom you speak (it was Charles IX., then a boy), we'll give him a whipping, and set him a trade, to teach him to get a living as others do.' He tells us it was not only at St. Mazard that they talked at this

rate, but it was common discourse in every place. So he took the law into his own hands, and proceeded to execute summary vengeance against all the rogues who durst thus wag their wicked tongues against the majesty of their king and sovereign. Accompanied by two hangmen, he struck off heads, hanged on trees, and flogged to death his unhappy prisoners. And he thought if every one had been as fast as he to put out the fire, it would not have consumed all.

Such was the world in the midst of which these little Reformed Churches came into being. At first you hear plaintive voices rising in prayer or quavering forth one of Gretier's touching melodies: the scene an old kitchen, the time midnight, the light from the blazing log upon the earth showing a group of earnest, toilworn men and women who have met to praise God and tell what He has done for their souls. Then as the small hours of the night are coming on, the doors are slowly unbarred, the little company separate with many words of fraternal love; each takes his lantern or trusts to the kindly light of the stars, and they all are soon dispersed over the city.

But other scenes are soon enacted. Learned men, doctors in law and logic, or men once eminent in ecclesiastical rank, are holding assemblies in castellated mansions in the midst of noble parks, the chatellain with his sword at his side, his lady with her farthingale and ruff, their relatives and friends, their vassals and retainers, their servants and their serfs, are all collected to hear an earnest exhortation in choice and powerful French, to sing the noble psalms of Marot and Beza, and to hear read what they emphatically call the Word of God.

But amongst high and low in the conventicle held in the seignorial hall, and in the conventicle held in the burgher's kitchen, the one subject that touches every

heart, that awakens the most passionate feeling, is the account narrated by an eye-witness of the martyrdom of the Lord's elect.

As the isolated executions, the murdering of one or half a dozen enlarges into massacres where a whole congregation is put to the sword, the spirit of furious wrath can no longer be restrained. These gentlemen, accustomed for ages to vindicate the slightest stain on their honour, the least harm done to one of the meanest of their serfs, by the summary vengeance of the sword, will no longer endure to see their dearest, most venerated friends thus treated. Everything combines to send their blood up to boiling heat; their new faith and their old wrongs, their private designs and the public misery. Nor can their divines restrain them, who teach so unhesitatingly the equal importance of the Old and New Testament. In the former they find abundant support. *They* are now the Israel of God, their enemies are the Gentiles, who are ever warring against the Lord and His anointed. They guard their swords, they put their morions on their head, and they sally forth to sing the Huguenot Marseillaise, the grand and majestic paraphrase of the sixty-eighth Psalm composed by Beza, and set to one of the most lovely, the most plaintive of melodies, made by an old composer named Matthew Gretier. Would you recall the intensely religious spirit in which these old Huguenot wars were undertaken, play over the music given in the appendix. Read the Psalm in English and French, and imagine its power intoned by a whole army of warriors, accompanied by the simple music of the day, the drum and the flute. So great was the enthusiasm its appeals and its prophetic denunciations excited, that they sang it on their knees, which, one day observing, the Duke of Joyeuse, minion to Henry III., and commander of the Catholic

army, cried, 'Look, look, they kneel!' 'Yes, my lord,' said some old warrior, 'when the Huguenots kneel, it is then they mean to fight.'

But our narrative has not arrived at this time. As yet the difference between the Protestant and Catholic gentlemen of France is not very apparent. Nevertheless, it is the difference between law and justice, of which the honest Catholic and the sincere Huguenot were each in their rough way respectively the champions. That there were Huguenots inclined to defy the law we have seen; that there were Catholics who considered it a cumbrous and useless impediment we have also seen. The Guise tyranny affords a monstrous example, in the way it avenged the conspiracy of Amboise. The conspirators were mainly Huguenot gentlemen, whose object was to deliver themselves and France from this tyranny. They were unsuccessful, and those who had engaged in it were executed without even the least form of law. The square in Amboise was covered with gibbets, blood ran down the streets; as executioners were not to be had in sufficient numbers, the prisoners were tied hands and feet and thrown into the Loire. The leading men, kept for the delectation of the court, were executed in its presence: the queen-mother, her sons, her maids of honour, and the courtiers coming to the windows to see them executed.

What the sword could not do the pen accomplished. François Hotman, who had been converted by beholding the constancy of the martyrs, wrote an awful pamphlet, published in 1560, in which he stigmatised the cardinal as the Tiger of France. 'Each line,' says Henri Martin, 'of the bitter eloquence of the Calvinistic Nemesis seems traced with the point of the sword and the blood of martyrs.'

Agrippa d'Aubigné, passing with his father that

same year through Amboise, saw the heads of the victims still on the gibbets. It was fair-day, and there were seven or eight thousand people in the streets, nevertheless the old man could not restrain himself from crying out, 'The butchers! they have decapitated France!' As the lad looked up, wondering at his father's emotion, the latter said, 'My child, after mine, thy head must not be spared to avenge these leaders full of honour. If thou sparest it, thou shalt have my curse!'

X.

Science and Art among the early Huguenots.

Among the Huguenot psalters I have examined was one of 1556, a tiny pocket edition, giving not only the music to each psalm, but all the Huguenot formularies of prayer, the whole printed in the very smallest type. On the frontispiece is a woodcut—a hand coming out of a cloud holds a pen crowned with a laurel wreath—appropriate emblem of a revolution which owed so much to the pen.

'One of the advantages of the Reformation,' says a Catholic writer, 'was to have for its interpreters the greater part of the learned men of the day.' As early as the reign of Francis I., Guillaume Budé, a learned man who stimulated that monarch to found the College Royal, gave strong presumptive evidence that he was in sympathy with the anti-ritualistic movement, for he left orders in his will that his body should be buried at night, by the light of a torch or two, without any public ceremonies; and the probability is confirmed by the fact that his wife was one of the 'evangelicals,' and three of his sons figure among the Reformed. In a short space of time

the leaven had so spread among the learned that a majority of the professors in the University of France were suspected of heresy. Such was the case with Vatable, professor of Hebrew, who translated the psalms for Clement Marot, and Mercier, his disciple, who was even more decidedly Protestant; with Toursal, the Hellenist, and Postal, the Orientalist, with Montauré, a clever mathematician, and others, not forgetting Tournèbe, the most learned of them all. Of those who served the learned we find the printer Wechel and the publishers Estienne had leanings towards Reform; while among those who patronised them, the Cardinal of Chatillon and the Bishop of Valence might be counted as sympathetic. But the most important adhesion in the way of learning to the cause of Reform was that of Pierre de Ramée, one of those powerful intellects which rise in stirring times from the very bottom to the highest rung on the social ladder. Pierre de Ramée was the son of a labouring man, his grandfather having been a charcoal burner. A little boy, he twice trudged to Paris to get an education, but was driven back by want of food. His uncle, a carpenter, took pity on him, and he became servant to a student, studying at night, until he began to suffer from ophthalmia.

But he made his way through all the learned cobwebs and all the educational briars of his time, not, however, without becoming bitterly contemptuous of the mediæval methods of instruction, and an opponent of Aristotle. Against that 'adored' philosopher Ramée maintained a life-long war. In his *Master of Arts Thesis*, he undertook to prove that all Aristotle had ever said was false. He was applauded at the time as an ingenious dialectician, but when the learned found he was in earnest, the Aristotelians became furious and implacable. Even Beza could not forgive him for

his opposition to Aristotle. He was driven away for a time from the University, but came back under the ægis of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Among the many benefits which that powerful prelate had conferred on him, he declared the chief was his conversion to the cause of Reform, into which when once he clearly saw his way Ramée threw himself with characteristic intensity. He designed to reform all the liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, as well as the pronunciation of Latin. With martyrs all around him, he could not but foresee the end; but the spirit in which he worked may be judged from the following words uttered in 1563: 'I am glad to think, if I have been beaten by so many tempests, if I have passed over so many rocks, that my misfortunes will, at least, be useful in rendering the route to you more easy and more secure.'

Such was the spirit of enlightened Reform. It looked with peculiar interest on the next generation. The State in those days, and up to the time of the Revolution, made no provision for the general education of the people. This was entirely in the charge of the Church; it was therefore part of a pastor's business to teach the young, and a catechism was very early prepared for the purpose. However, the schoolmaster soon appears, and occupies an honoured position in the Church. 'The school,' says Michelet, 'is the first word of the Reformation and the grandest. It writes at the head of its revolution: Universal instruction, schools for boys and girls, free schools, where all are seated together, rich and poor.'

The Catholic writer who notes how the learned supported the cause of Reform, remarks also that it had the privilege and monopoly of talent. Jean Goujon, the earliest and one of the greatest of French sculptors, Claude Goudimel, the musician, and the

illustrious Bernard Palissy, were all Huguenots. Nor must we forget Clement Marot, who did for the Reform one of the very greatest services possible, by putting into verse the psalms of David. On their first appearance they were all the vogue, the very courtiers sang them. If in Marot the Reformation may claim to have struck one of the earliest and best notes in the French lyre, in Du Bartas it gave France its first poet in the heroic style. Poetry and Reform are twin brothers. He who aspires to better the world is already a poet.

XI.

Catherine de Medici.

The death of Francis II., in 1560, seemed a dawn of hope. Power passed from the Guises into the hands of Catherine de Medici. She chose for her minister Michel l'Hospital, and made him chancellor. He proved a man of astonishing virtue, thoroughly honest, loyal to the true interests of the king and the country, and a friend and protector of the Reformed Churches.

The royal treasury was in debt to no less an amount than 45,500,000 livres, equal to 140 or 145 millions of francs, and at the value of money now-a-days probably equal to 400 millions. In order to meet this great deficit, he advised the queen-mother to convoke the States-General. Their meeting brought out in clear relief the desire of the country for a thorough reformation, civil and religious.

The orators of the nobility and of the third estate attacked the clergy. The first wished that the debts of the State should be paid at the expense of the ecclesiastical order, and that the clergy should be deprived of all civil and feudal jurisdiction. The orators of the third estate declared that the Church

could never return to its primitive sincerity until the priests from the highest to the lowest had amended their three principal vices, ignorance, avarice, and superfluous pomp.

This was no temporary burst of indignation. For seventy-seven years prior to the calling of this States-General, that is from 1484 to 1561, the third estate had again and again demanded a long list of reforms in the Church.

The day upon which the States-General closed, the 31st of January, 1561, L'Hospital signed an ordinance which decreed in the name of the king the greater part of the reforms desired by the nation. The edict was registered at Orleans, whence its name, and not, as usual, in the Parliament of Paris, because the chancellor knew that its provisions had many violent enemies among the *chats fourrés*, as Rabelais called the gentlemen of the furred robes at the Palais de Justice.

At this auspicious moment, the selfish ambition of the Bourbon princes, who were regarded as the leaders of the cause of Reform, nearly spoilt all. The King of Navarre, the unworthy husband of Jeanne d'Albret, wanted to be regent. However, he was soon overcome by one of Catherine's Delilahs, and so reduced to loyalty.

While Navarre had been recalcitrant, Catherine had sought to arouse the Constable Montmorenci against the Calvinists, by telling him that they were proposing to inquire into the gifts and largesses obtained from the late kings, and that they even spoke of compelling restitution. The provincial estates of the Ile-de-France, who wanted to make the King of Navarre lieutenant-general of France, and the real head of the government, demanded an inquest into the public thefts, and in this demand they were encouraged by Coligny.

This intimation led Montmorenci, who was uncle to the Colignys, henceforth to range himself on the side opposed to Reform. He was seen going to mass at the same chapel as the Duke of Guise, and on Easter Day they took the communion together. The pair now joined themselves to Saint-André, and the Triumvirate, as they were called, determined on a plan for exterminating the Calvinists. The chief action was to centre in France, where every sectarian was to perish, but its head and natural director was to be Philip of Spain, under whom a grand alliance of Catholic Europe was to be formed. The German Catholics were to prevent the German Lutherans from going to help the French Huguenots; the Swiss Catholics were to rise against the Swiss Protestants; and the Duke of Savoy was to fall on the centre of heresy, the accursed city of Geneva, and destroy all its people without distinction of age or sex. For funds they looked to the pope, to the revenues of the Church, and confiscation of the property of the heretics.

While this dark project was fermenting in the minds of the three conspirators, *la pauvre commune*, as the Catholic mob of Paris was tenderly called by the Parliament, became perceptibly agitated. Led by the black-robed bands of the University, they attacked an hotel where the Calvinists were in the habit of meeting, broke the windows, forced the door, and killed the porter. A general massacre would have ensued, had not the mob caught sight of more drawn swords than they bargained for. L'Hospital tried to stop these outrages by threatening to hang everybody who used the injurious words, Papists, Huguenots, or who attacked houses under pretext of breaking up illicit assemblies. The same edict also renewed the order to set all persons free arrested on account of

religion, while those who had fled the kingdom were invited to return.

The Parliament of Paris refused to allow this edict to be published in the capital. The chancellor replied by a request to the bishops to render a full account of the ecclesiastical property in each diocese, upon which the clergy, who in the States-General had protested against every design tending to attack their possessions, now turned for protection to the house of Guise.

The Cardinal of Lorraine had learnt the art of managing women as a courtier of Diana of Poitiers; he now showed what he could do even with an enemy, succeeding to such a degree with the queen-mother, that L'Hospital had to consent to a united sitting of the Council and the Parliament, with a view to determining the nature of the legislation with regard to the Reformed. After a debate of three weeks, the friends of justice were defeated by a majority of three, and it was resolved that whosoever took part in heretical conventicles should incur pain of death, simple heresy to be punished with banishment. While Guise declared that he would sustain this edict with his sword, and Coligny that it could never be executed, the chancellor set himself to soften all its provisions, and to render it difficult to work, by introducing as many legal checks as he could devise.

XII.

The Conference at Poissy.

This apparent defeat in the direction of Reformation and the pacification of the country did not deter Catherine and her chancellor from proceeding to carry out the scheme proposed by Dubourg in the Parlia-

ment of Paris: a national synod for agreement on religious reform. However, they did not dare to call it more than a colloquy, or conference. The feeling throughout the country was so strongly in favour of Reform, that, notwithstanding their late victory, the Guises had to submit. The cardinal hoped, by inviting a number of doctors of the Augsburg Confession, to create a dispute on the doctrine of the Real Presence, and thus make vividly manifest the sectarian spirit of the Reformation.

On the other hand, L'Hospital and the queen-mother were bent on obtaining some arrangement with the Huguenots, which they could force on the pope and the Council of Trent, which, though twice interrupted, was on the eve of being opened for the third time.

The least that Catherine expected the dissidents to demand is shown in the letter which she wrote to prepare the mind of the pope for the negotiation. Removal of images from the altars and the sanctuary, simplification of the rites of baptism, the communion in both kinds, abolition of private masses, suppression of the *fête* of the Holy Sacrament, and the chanting of the psalms in the vulgar tongue; such were the reforms Catholic monarchs could propose and popes consider in the sixteenth century.

The conference opened at Poissy, the 9th of September, 1561. Theodore de Beza, Peter Martyr, and eleven other Calvinist divines, together with twenty-two lay deputies, representing the Protestant Reformers.

Born in 1519, Beza was just in the flower of his fame. The chosen disciple of Calvin, he had lately succeeded to his master's position in Geneva, the great Reformer's departure being at hand. He came therefore to Poissy with all the authority of the recognised

head of the Calvinistic religion. And, certainly, the colloquy at Poissy did not fail from want of tact on the part of Beza, for he had all the qualities of the best order of diplomatists. Intelligent, firm, even severe, his handsome visage, agreeable manners, and ready eloquence, softened off the hard points of Calvinism. Sincere, and without the least suspicion of originality, he won the confidence of friends and foes.

The Protestants asked for such arrangements as would have made the conference a reality: that it should be presided over by the king and the great officers of state, that they should debate on equal terms with the bishops, and not as criminals before judges, that all differences should be decided by the Word of God alone, that secretaries should be appointed on both sides in equal numbers to draw up the account, which should be agreed to mutually.

But Catherine begged them to be content with her royal word, and as far as she was able she was true to all that she had promised, for no one, except L'Hospital, was more desirous for the success of the conference.

She brought the young king, then only eleven years of age, to the conference, and he opened the proceedings by a speech, in which he exhorted those who took part in the proceedings to lay aside all passion, and to discuss simply for the honour of God, the discharge of their conscience, and the re-establishment of the peace of the realm.

Then the chancellor spoke, urging that there was no need for consulting books, the point was to understand the Word of God and conform to that. Instead of regarding the Reformed as enemies, they should remember that they were as much baptized Christians as themselves, and receive them as fathers did their children. The Cardinal of Tournon asked for a copy of

the chancellor's speech, that he might consider it with his brethren; it contained, he said, important points not mentioned in the letters of convocation.

The bishops also took care to declare that they did not understand that they were holding a national council, but had only met to reform abuses under the good pleasure of the pope.

Theodore de Beza and his little company were then introduced by the Duke of Guise. They tried to pass beyond the bar which separated them from the prelates, but were refused, and kept standing throughout the debate like so many criminals on their trial. But Beza, as if to compel that recognition of equality before God which was denied them before men, knelt down with all the pastors, and making a solemn confession of the sins of the people of France, implored a blessing on the assembly. He was listened to with mingled astonishment and emotion.[1]

As the colloquy had been arranged to go wrong on the question of the Real Presence, it proceeded like a machine that had been tampered with. As long as Beza spoke of other questions he was patiently listened to, but when he stated his doctrine of the Lord's Supper a murmur ran along the episcopal benches, and cries of *blasphemavit* were raised. In an after-meeting held by the bishops the Cardinal of Lorraine professed himself shocked. 'Would to God,' he said, 'that either Beza had not spoken, or that we had been deaf!' It was determined that one of the most learned doctors, probably some Sorbonne professor—for this body were particularly infuriated against the Protes-

[1] The Confession of Faith adopted by the Reformed Church of France (see p. 39) was presented to Charles IX. at Poissy, by Beza. Schaff's *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Church*, vol. ii. p. 357.

tants—should draw up an answer which the Cardinal of Lorraine would pronounce.

The speech was delivered a week afterwards, and Beza wished to reply on the spot, but the bishops refused to allow him. The Cardinal de Tournon prayed the king to drive out of the kingdom every one who would not sign what the Cardinal of Lorraine had said. 'The assembly of prelates,' he urged, 'begs this very humbly, in order that in this very Christian kingdom there may be but one faith, one law, and one king.'

The Cardinal of Lorraine knew, however, that all the success of the colloquy lay with the Protestants, and that unless some stigma could be attached to their representatives, the friends of the Religion would be greatly emboldened. He could not produce his Augsburg divines, for one of them had fallen ill of the plague on the road; but suddenly taking a paper from his breast he read three or four of the principal articles of the Lutheran confession, and asked if the Calvinist ministers would sign them. Beza parried this palpable trap by remarking that they would first of all like to know if the cardinal and his fellow prelates, repudiating the doctrine of transubstantiation, were prepared to set them the example. Lorraine, nettled at Beza's audacity, cried, 'We are not equal; I am called upon to subscribe to no confession, neither to this nor to yours.' 'Then,' replied Beza, with a *naïveté* that was absolutely unanswerable, 'if you do not wish to subscribe to it yourself, it is not just to ask us to do so.'

However, L'Hospital and the queen-mother, notwithstanding so many apparent difficulties, persevered. They knew the heart and the intellect of France were with them. So now they would not let Beza go until an effort had been made to produce a common formulary which all moderate men could adopt. A committee was accordingly appointed, including on the one

side Beza, Peter Martyr, and three Protestant pastors, and on the other the Bishops of Valence and Seez, and three Catholic doctors. In the common confession of faith these ten theologians prepared it was declared that:

'Jesus Christ, in His Holy Supper, truly presents and exhibits to us the substance of His body and of His blood by the operation of His Holy Spirit, and that we receive, and eat sacramentally, spiritually, and by faith this same body which is dead for us.'

The queen and L'Hospital appeared to have been full of hope from this agreement of the rival theologians, and Beza is said to have been under the impression that the Cardinal of Lorraine fully approved this confession. But when it was read before the assembly at Poissy on the 4th of October, the majority of prelates and doctors declared it insufficient, captious, and full of heresy. They prepared another, in which they declared that the body of Jesus Christ was received in the Eucharist really and substantially, and they prayed the king to compel Beza and his adherents to subscribe to this or quit the kingdom.

Thus the colloquy of Poissy was shipwrecked; and the best and only opportunity that the Gallican Church had to make terms with its most earnest, most believing people passed away. However, the effort was not without its fruits. There was a great increase among the adherents to Protestantism, one of whom was, as has been said, the celebrated philosopher, Pierre de Ramée, or Ramus.

His decision was brought about, not by the arguments of Beza, but by the reply of the Cardinal of Lorraine, in which that wily speaker, while gracefully acknowledging the abuses of the Church and the vices of the clergy, and confessing the extreme superiority of the primitive Church over the Roman Church, con-

cluded, however, that after all a man ought to remain attached to the latter. The clear and logical mind of Ramus would not allow him to be satisfied with a conclusion so directly opposed to the scope of the argument, and he wrote to his benefactor to say that since he had shown him that of all the fifteen centuries since Christ, the first was the golden age, while all that followed had grown more and more vicious and corrupt, he had determined to attach himself to the age of gold, and reject all the rest.

On the 17th of January, 1562, an edict was published giving the Protestants the free exercise of their religion. At the College of Prasles, over which Ramus presided, and where he had no doubt commented on the scandalous way in which part of the second commandment was suppressed, the students made an iconoclastic raid on the chapel, and broke all the statues of the saints.

If violence and iconoclasm broke out in Paris under the influence of this breakdown of the attempt to bring about a moderate reform in Church and State, how much more was it to be expected in the fiery and tempestuous south! The Protestants in Nîmes having been refused the use of the cathedral by the Estates of Languedoc, unexpectedly got possession of it late in 1561. They were coming out of the neighbouring Church of St. Eugénie, which had been granted, when they saw a hubbub at the door of the cathedral. Some ill-behaved children had been driven out by the beadle. Two noblemen coming up went into the cathedral, and the Huguenots immediately followed. Terrified at the sight of them, the bishop and his clergy fled, whereupon the intruders broke the images and demolished the altar. Emboldened by this, they ran in ever-increasing crowds into several other churches, destroying some of the sacred vessels. Two days after,

their great preacher, Viret, preached in the cathedral, it being Christmas, and received there the public abjuration of the Prior of Millau, in Rouergne, of the Abbess of Tarascon, and several nuns of the abbey of St. Sauveur. On the first Sunday in the new year, 1562, two communion services were held in the cathedral, and three ministers were ordained by the imposition of hands. At the communion, nearly 8,000 communicants sat down, having at the head the members of the consistory, the magistrates and the consuls, in their red robes and hoods.

However, the cathedral did not remain long in their hands, for the edict of January, 1562, granting the free exercise of their religion to the Protestants, required the return of all the churches they had taken from the Catholics; besides, their own provincial synod decided this ought to be done, and in fact all ecclesiastical property of which they had become possessed. It opposed image-breaking, burning crosses, or any other scandalous act, all gatherings in the streets, and the wearing arms in religious assemblies.

XIII.

Terrible Position of the Huguenots.

The friends of corruption and superstition felt strengthened by the failure of the colloquy. It was a great blow to the reconciliatory policy of Catherine and her minister, and the Guises began to prepare for the extermination of their foes. The first thing they sought to do was to prevent the German Lutherans from helping the French Calvinists. Four of the Guises went to Alsace to win over Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, a German prince, very influential and much respected. 'Mass,' the Cardinal of Lorraine

told him, 'was no longer celebrated in three of his bishoprics unless there were communicants, and he was going to abolish it altogether.' At Duke Christopher's explanations of his own creed, the Duke of Guise cried out, 'Oh, if that's it, I'm a Lutheran!' After this attempt to hoodwink the Germans, this same duke, with one of his brothers, went to a little town in the domains of the family, called Vassy, and there, on Sunday, the 1st of March, 1562, slaughtered sixty Calvinists, and this, notwithstanding the Edict of Toleration issued by the Royal Council on the 17th of January of the same year.

At the news of this truculent deed the Calvinists throughout France were agitated and indignant. Beza, supported by the Prince de Condé, at once demanded justice of the queen-mother, the latter offering to support her with an army of 50,000 Protestants. Catherine begged Guise to put off his return to Paris. He came nevertheless, entering the city at the head of 2,000 horsemen, and was received at the Porte St. Denis to the cry of *Vive Guise!* all the Protestants quitting the city.

The queen-mother tried to keep on good terms with both parties; Condé she authorized to take up arms, recommending herself and her sons to his protection, while she told the Parisians she would bring the king to Paris and the citizens should be armed. However, she did not keep her word, but went to Fontainebleau, leaving the King of Navarre, who had ceased to be Huguenot, to represent royalty in Paris.

Here was a position for the Calvinists. A great conspiracy for their extermination, the royal power dominated by the leaders of the conspiracy. Were they to allow themselves to be slaughtered, all law and justice to be trodden under foot, and the Religion suppressed? Michelet blames the Huguenot leaders

for allowing so many years to pass in silent endurance of atrocious injustice; and he seems to think that the final shipwreck of their cause was due to their long incertitude on the capital question, Ought we to be obedient to the powers that be, just or unjust?

This was the real question which Coligny was called upon to answer at this terrible crisis. He was in an agony of doubt. His friends gathered round him at Chatillon, urging him to mount his horse and join Condé. For two days the discussion went on, and still he refused. But at night, after he had retired to rest and had fallen asleep, he was awoke by the deep sighs of his wife. 'Here,' she said, 'we lie, lapped in luxury, while the bodies of our brothers, members of Christ, bones of our bones, flesh of our flesh, lie in dungeons or in the open fields, at the mercy of the dogs and the birds of prey. When I think of the prudent language with which you have closed the mouths of your brothers, I tremble lest to be so wise for men should prove to be unwise for God. Can you refuse to use the military genius He has given you in the service of His children? The knight's sword which you carry, is it to oppress the afflicted, or to cut the talons of tyrants? You have confessed the justice of taking up arms, can you give up the love of right because you doubt its success? God takes away sense from those who resist Him under pretext of sparing blood; He knows how to save the soul which wills to lose itself, and to cause that soul to be lost that seeks to take care of itself. Monsieur, the spilt blood of our brethren and your wife cry out to God that you will be the murderer of those you do not prevent being murdered!'

To this impassioned appeal Coligny listened patiently. Then sadly going over all his arguments of the previous evening—the folly of popular risings, the doubt-

fulness of entering an unformed party, the difficulty of struggling against those who had possession of an ancient State, in maintaining which so many were interested, of commencing a civil war in the midst of external peace—he said to her: 'When you have reflected over these arguments, lay your hand on your breast and see if you have constancy to endure the reproaches most people make when they judge a cause by its failure, the treasons of our own people, flight, exile, shame, nakedness, hunger, and, what will be more difficult to bear, that of your children. Then think of your death by the executioner, after having seen your husband dragged through the streets and exposed to the contempt of the vulgar, and for a conclusion, your children the degraded valets of your enemies, strengthened and triumphant through your efforts. I give you three weeks to consider, and if, after then, you are willing to accept all these chances, I will go to perish with you and your friends.'

'The three weeks are past,' she replied. 'I summon you in the name of God to defraud us no longer!'

Coligny said no more, but next morning mounted his horse and rode off to join Condé. The Rubicon was passed, and the first civil war began (1562).

Coligny's interior struggle is a clue to that which the whole body of French Protestants had gone through since the death of Henry II. Considering all things, no one can be surprised that they came to the resolution to take up arms, since the royal authority was not strong enough to protect their lives and liberties. It is very important to notice where the religious scruple lay which had hitherto prevented them taking up arms. It was not the very earnest injunctions which our Lord gave His disciples against resisting their enemies, but the apparent support which St. Paul gave to the doctrine of passive ob-

edience. Moreover, too, the very thoroughness with which they had thrown off the old superstitions connected with papal and episcopal authority rendered thoughtful and prudent men more afraid than their Catholic forefathers to put themselves in open rebellion against the royal authority.

At last the opposing forces approached each other. Condé's brother, Navarre, and Coligny's uncle, Montmorenci, were, with the Duke of Guise, the leaders of the Catholic forces. As usual, the war consisted of parleys, engagements, sieges. The Huguenots lost Bourges and Rouen, but at the siege of the latter city the King of Navarre was killed. At the battle of Dreux both sides lost a leader, Condé and Montmorenci being taken prisoners. Finally, a Huguenot officer assassinated the Duke of Guise, and the war collapsed. Montmorenci and Condé were commissioned to arrange terms of peace, which, through the moral weakness of the latter, were very unfavourable for the Protestants (1563).

The colloquy at Poissy had taught Catherine much. At one time she had thought the Calvinists would conquer, and accordingly had made arrangements for changing her religion and that of the king. But, finding that during the civil war the mass of the people remained faithful to the ancient religion, she came to the conclusion that it was safer to side with the Catholics. This, it became clear to her, was the policy she ought to take, when, by the deaths of Guise and Navarre, the Catholic party was without a head. Henceforth she took that position, and came to look on Coligny and Condé as her personal foes. In June, 1565, Catherine had met the Duke of Alva at Bayonne, and the question they discussed was how to deal with Protestantism. Alva led the queen-mother from point to point, until he made her see that there was only one

remedy, and that was extirpation. He particularly insisted on the destruction of Coligny. 'One salmon,' he kept saying, 'is worth many frogs.' True to her cat-like nature, she gave so little sign of this change in her policy, that she still supported L'Hospital as chancellor. His well-known devotion to justice and humanity served as a cover to the designs she began to entertain.

The cause of corruption and tyranny was now greatly strengthened by the entry of the Jesuits into France, first under another name, and then openly. Their success was rapid; they soon had flourishing establishments at Lyons, Toulouse, and Bordeaux. But the religious character of the strife was greatly intensified by the accession, at the close of the year 1565, of Pius V., the most fanatic of popes. To strengthen the Catholic cause in France, he despatched such military forces as his utmost efforts could command, giving their leader the monstrous injunction to 'take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that should fall into his hands.'

On the other hand, the new life in Christendom surged and boiled like some active volcano. All things presaged a general eruption. It burst out in the Netherlands, and it was impossible that France should not feel the general upheaval.

XIV.

Killing or Being Killed.

The change in the action of Coligny, in 1567, is evidence of the great progress in the Reform movement. Instead of the fear and doubt with which he entered on the first war, he now proposed to raise the Calvinists *en masse*, to attack and destroy the Swiss

mercenaries, to arrest and drive out of France the Cardinal of Lorraine, to seize the king, and govern the country in his name (1567).

The rising took Catherine by surprise, and she fled with the king to Meaux, and then fled back, pursued by the Huguenots, to Paris. They established themselves at St. Denis, and demanded religious liberty without distinction of places or persons, equal admission of the followers of both religions to all offices in the State, the reduction of the imposts, and the convocation of the States-General.

The old Constable, Montmorenci, took the field against his nephews. All the reactionary forces in Paris joined to put down the Huguenots; the city of Paris gave 400,000 livres, the prelates voted 250,000 crowns in the name of the clergy, the crown pledged its diamonds at Venice for 100,000 crowns, its rubies at Florence for 100,000 more.

A battle took place on the 10th of November at St. Denis, in which Coligny and Condé commanded the Huguenots, while Coligny's uncle and cousins led the royal troops. Condé charged with fury, and Montmorenci was surrounded and killed. In the end the Huguenots had to retire. Their numbers were too small, and the gentlemen, of whom their army was mainly composed, were too independent, too unwilling to endure protracted fatigues. Coligny had in consequence to agree to a treaty, for the maintenance of which there was no guarantee.

Peace was no sooner made than Catherine began to prepare for another war. The pope gave her permission to alienate 50,000 crowns from the goods of the Church, the bull expressly stipulating that the money should be used for the extermination of the heretics.

The Huguenot leaders were now seen flying from spot to spot. On one occasion, hurrying from Noyers

to the other side of the Loire, they, and the large company of women and children with them, were in the greatest danger. The country was covered with troops, and they knew of no bridge or crossing-place which would not be blockaded. While wondering what they should do, one of their gentlemen came up and told them that, owing to the late drought, a ford existed, where they could cross. They pushed on, and by the aid of two or three little boats, in which they put the women and children, they got over. But no sooner were they safely landed than a sudden rise took place in the river, protecting them from their pursuers, who by this time were seen on the other side. But now the Loire overflowed its banks, and a boat could not cross without danger. Moved by a deliverance which seemed little less than a miracle, the fugitives fell on their knees and sang the 114th Psalm, celebrating the passage of the Red Sea.

L'Hospital being now dismissed, Catherine wrote to Philip II. that religious liberty had been revoked, and that there remained nothing to be done but to combine the military operations in France and the Netherlands. In September, 1568, the Parliament of Paris forbade, under pain of death, the exercise of any religion other than the Catholic and Roman, and ordered all Protestant ministers to quit France in a fortnight. Another decree obliged all Protestants to resign any offices they held in the judicature or the finances, and compelled all members of Parliament or the universities to take an oath of allegiance to Catholicism. As the news spread the Protestants rose indignant, and the court heard with consternation that a rebellion raged through France. In three weeks the greater part of Poitou, Angoumois, and Saintonge were conquered by the Huguenot generals. The estuary of the Gironde was in their hands, and in the south-east the governors

PORTRAIT OF COLIGNY.

(From an ancient print.)

of the various towns could do nothing to stop the popular rising.

The Duke of Anjou, followed by the young Dukes of Guise and Montmorenci, and, advised by Tavannes, advanced against the Protestants, and at Jarnac defeated Condé and Coligny. Condé was killed and his body infamously outraged by the despicable commander, who when he became Henry III. had Guise murdered and kicked the corpse.

But the Huguenot leaders did not lose heart. Jeanne d'Albret presented her son, afterwards Henry IV., and the young Condé to the army as those who would revenge the death of their general.

Meanwhile Coligny, in whose hands the command was now concentrated, had been condemned by a decree of the Parliament of Paris, dated the 19th of March, 1569, to be hanged and strangled in the Place de Grève, and then to be taken to Montfauçon, and there to be hanged in the highest place that could be found. If he could not be apprehended, then this was to be done to his effigy. All his goods were declared confiscated to the king, his children ignoble, villeins, low-born, infamous, incapable of holding any office, dignity, or wealth in the kingdom. In fine, a reward was offered of 50,000 crowns for Coligny, dead or alive.

On the 3rd of October, 1569, the Huguenot army was beaten at Moncontour. It was a terrible disaster. Out of twenty-five thousand soldiers only six or eight thousand remained, the rest were slain or prisoners. Coligny was wounded in three places at the commencement of the action, and had to be carried off the field. The admiral, lying in his litter wounded, defeated, and hopeless if any man should be, suddenly saw the curtain lifted, and another wounded man look in his face, shining with the peace of heaven. '*Si est ce*

que Dieu est très doux,' [1] he says, drops the veil, and sinks back on his litter. It was like an angel from heaven strengthening the hero in the darkest moment of his life.

XV.

Demoralization.

If we consider the sort of world in which the French Reformed Churches arose, we shall not be surprised if, instead of the peaceful triumphs of Christian civilization, we read of scarcely anything but sieges and battles, popular risings, and cruel massacres. Nor must we expect to find the members of these Churches always stainless. Yesterday themselves Catholics, infected with the turbulent spirit of the times, educated in the intolerant notions of the Middle Ages, with its gross inequalities and its rough notions of popular justice, we may deplore but cannot be surprised if that happened in France which always happens in religious wars. An exterminating and persecuting spirit had become part of the temperament of Roman Catholicism before Protestantism was born or dreamt of. It was only when the latter began to use 'force,' the time-honoured weapon of the Roman Catholic Church, that Protestantism caught a similar spirit and fell occasionally into acts of terrorism.

The massacre of the Protestants of Vassy, in 1561, inaugurated a series of massacres which, taken altogether, Michelet declares were more murderous than that of St. Bartholomew. It is said that between

[1] The opening line of the paraphrase of the seventy-third Psalm.

'Surely God is good to Israel,
Even to such as are pure in heart.'

1561–1562, forty-eight persons died of fright, six were buried alive, twenty-three burnt, nine drowned, four hundred and forty-three hanged or shot, one hundred and seventeen women died of hunger and cold, forty-two children had their throats cut; the pen refuses further details: . . . altogether one thousand three hundred victims.

It was this terrible condition of things that brought about the first civil war. During the four years that followed the peace of 1563, the condition of the Protestants throughout France had been getting worse and worse. Their great and powerful enemies, the pope and the King of Spain, were urging their extermination; edicts were being sent out against them, forbidding them to make collections, to assemble synods, etc.; the Duke of Alva had crossed the Alps, and was marching along the frontier, passing near to Geneva. Altogether the danger was so great that even Coligny made up his mind that the only thing to do was to seize the king, and govern in his name. It was at this juncture that a tumult in Nîmes ended in a massacre of some priests, a deplorable act and a disgrace to the Huguenot cause. Unfortunately, we know its details only through Catholic historians, the Protestant chroniclers of the time having been ashamed to say anything about it. The peculiar excitement in which the Huguenots were then living had in Nîmes been worked up to a pitch by the fact that their Catholic governor had interfered in the annual election of the consuls, and although the Protestants were the more numerous and influential, had caused four Catholics to be elected.

A slight circumstance put a spark to the tinder. It was the second day of the fair at Nîmes, Michaelmas, 1567. Some soldiers overturned the basket of one of the market women and kicked her vegetables into the

air. The woman raised a cry, and all the market was soon in the greatest confusion, the disorder being increased by the outcry made against the soldiers who, to save themselves, put their hands to their swords: 'To arms! kill the papists!' It was the signal for an outbreak.

The first consul tried in vain to appease the tumult. The people, led by a military man, rushed to the episcopal palace; the bishop had just time to get out at the back, and was conducted by a Huguenot away from the town. Meanwhile the first consul was arrested, the bishop's palace pillaged, the vicar-general killed, the cathedral sacked; and, if we are to believe Catholic historians of Provence and Languedoc, the insurgents threw a Franciscan monk and a number of priests down a well. This massacre is known in Nimois history as the Michelade, because of the particular feast at which it occurred.

Whether Christians are right, under any circumstances, in taking up arms in defence of their faith, is a question which this history suggests, and which it can hardly fail to answer. Already the French Calvinists had met with defeat after defeat, already a very great number among them had come to a premature and violent end, and already they had become, what was worst of all, demoralized. As the war continued, their spiritual life declined, and a fierce bandit temper began to prevail. These things tried Coligny perhaps more than his defeats. With his own hands he chastised one of his captains whom he caught pillaging; and to employ the wild energy of others, he sent a whole band into Brabant to assist the Netherlanders. But he had foreseen this result. When, during the first war, he had noticed that there was no swearing, no dice-playing, no pillaging in the Huguenot camps, but constant prayer and psalm-singing, he

said, with a sad forecast of the demoralization war must surely bring, '*De jeune hermite, vieux diable.*'

This demoralization of the Protestant laity had a serious influence on their ecclesiastical position. In the consistories, the provincial and the national synods, the laity had been originally well represented; under the moral condition brought about by these wars, Beza and the Genevese authorities were in favour of shutting them out, and confining the rule of the Church to the ministers. But as this would have been impossible with regard to the powerful nobility at their head, as was shown in the national synod of 1571, it is clear that if victory instead of defeat had crowned their efforts, the Reformed Churches would have been handed over to clerical and aristocratic domination.

In the midst of all these difficulties, Coligny struggled on with the heroism of despair. A new army was got together in the south-eastern provinces. Moving to the north-west, Coligny crossed the Loire, defied the enemy near Arnay-le-Duc, and marched towards Paris. Meanwhile a powerful ally was coming to his aid.

Charles IX. was one of the most unfortunate of princes. His birth, his temperament, his surroundings hurried him into a crime which loads him with infamy; but he was the best of his race, the only member of the whole Valois family with whom we can feel the slightest sympathy. There was a touch of honesty, of generosity, of nobility about him which rendered him more and more inexplicable to his mother, who felt him slipping out of her hands. Her favourite son was the infamous and dastardly Anjou, and the result of her proceedings had been to create in the king's mind a violent antipathy to his brother. The battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, at which Anjou nominally

commanded, had given him a false glory, for no one could be less of a hero than this effeminate prince. His very presence fretted the king, who in his loneliness turned to the only man strong enough to help him, even to Coligny, at that moment an apparent rebel. This doubtless was the explanation of the treaty which the Protestants now obtained, by which liberty of conscience was conceded, and a certain measure of liberty of worship. Protestants were again eligible for the public service, and were to have those offices restored from which they had been ousted; and as a guarantee four cities—La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité—were to remain for two years in their hands.

XVI.

Charles IX. and Coligny.

Thus to all appearance these terrible civil wars were happily concluded, and to seal the reconciliation a royal marriage was arranged between Henry of Navarre and the king's sister, Margaret.

Invited to court, Coligny responded to the king's affectionate welcome with ardour, and thought of nothing but carrying out the grand idea of his life, which was to make France the head and centre of the Protestant movement. He soon induced the king to break with Spain, to look askance at Queen Elizabeth, and to support the patriots in the Netherlands. In this way he promised not only to enlarge France, but to give it colonies.

Charles threw himself into Coligny's policy, and pushed on his sister's marriage with some violence. Catherine, Anjou, and their Italian set watched for some moment when they might turn the king against

his new minister. But the heroic courage of Coligny in remaining at Paris surrounded by enemies who he must have known were thirsting for his blood, maintained the confidence of the king. A strong conviction that his whole course was predestined, and his life absolutely secure until the appointed moment, is the only explanation of the almost reckless way in which Coligny exposed himself. He went on his course totally regardless of his foes.

To the Catholics this temper must have looked like domineering audacity, and they resolved to assassinate him without delay.

Catherine and her 'most dear' Anjou accordingly confederated with the man who had been nurtured from childhood in the belief that Coligny had caused his father to be assassinated. The Duke of Guise undertook the murder of the admiral. If the Huguenots rose to revenge him, the populace of Paris would side with the Guise, and there would be a general *mêlée*, in which many of the queen-mother's enemies would be killed.

The royal marriage took place on the 18th of August, 1572. Four days after, as Coligny was returning from the Louvre to his lodging, he was fired at from a house in the cloister of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The index finger of his right hand was taken off, and the shot lodged in his left arm.

Charles was playing at tennis with Guise and Téligny, Coligny's son-in-law, when the news was brought him. 'Am I never to have peace?' he exclaimed. He went to see the admiral, his mother and his brother followed him. The wounded man asked to see the king alone. Catherine cut the interview short, and in the coach as they were returning pressed Charles to tell her what Coligny had said. 'He told me to beware of you,' he replied, in a worried, angry manner.

Catherine saw that there was no time to lose, the blow had failed, the Huguenots would be alarmed and on their guard. She called together her fellow conspirators, and they determined that the king must be induced to consent to the destruction of Coligny forthwith. They went to the king's cabinet and affirmed one after the other that the Huguenots were arming against him in defence of the admiral. Excited and worried, Charles seemed to believe what they said, but resolutely refused to listen to any proposal against Coligny. The conspirators felt themselves losing ground, especially as one of their number, the Marshal de Retz, began to falter, and to say that to put the admiral out of the way would be perfidious and disloyal. However, no one seconding him, the rest picked up their courage and combated his doubts with energy. And they conquered, for all at once 'we recognised,' said the Duke of Anjou, long afterwards, in a moment of repentance, 'a sudden change and a strange metamorphose in the king, who ranged himself on our side and embraced our opinion, going much farther and more criminally, so that he who had been persuaded with difficulty it was now difficult to restrain, for rising up and commanding silence, he, with fury and anger, in swearing by the dear God, said to us, "Since you find it good to kill the admiral, let it not only be done, but at the same time all the Huguenots in France, in order that there may be none to reproach us, and let the order be given at once!" And going out furiously he left us in his cabinet, where we held a consultation during the rest of the day and during a good part of the night as to the best means of carrying out the project.'

XVII.

The Murder of Coligny.

On the night before the massacre of August the 24th, 1572, the admiral's daughter Louise, with her husband Téligny, did not wish to quit their father, but he begged them to go and take a little repose. As day began to break, Guise, D'Aumale, and the bastard of Angoulême made their way to Coligny's hotel. One of their number knocked at the door; the man who kept the keys came to open it, when he was at once thrown down and poignarded. The arquebusiers that Guise had brought immediately threw themselves on the Swiss who were guarding the hotel, but who after a struggle succeeded in barricading the door of the staircase.

Coligny, hearing the noise, thought there was a popular outbreak in the neighbourhood of the hotel. He rose from his bed and put on a dressing-gown. But the shots which struck the window told that it was an attack on the hotel itself. He asked a minister present to offer prayer, and he himself invoked Jesus Christ, his God and Saviour, commending himself into His hands.

Suddenly, one of his servants rushed into the room, and addressing Coligny said: 'God has called us to Himself, my lord; the hotel is forced, resistance is impossible!'

The admiral quietly answered: 'It is a long time since I have been ready to die; save yourselves if it be possible, for you cannot preserve my life. I recommend my soul to the grace of God.' All fled, one servant alone, Nicolas Muss, refused to go.

The murderers soon burst into the room; the first was a servant of Guise, named Behme. 'Are you the

admiral?' he said, pointing a sword at Coligny's breast.

'Yes, I am he,' replied the victim; 'you ought to respect old age and my infirmity, but you cannot make my life more brief.'

Behme with an oath plunged his sword into the admiral's breast, and then struck him several blows on the head, the others then severally gave a blow, and Coligny fell to the ground.

'Have you finished?' a voice cried from the bottom of the court.

'It is done,' replied the assassins.

'Then throw him out of the window,' said the Duke of Guise; 'they can't believe it unless they see it with their own eyes.'

The murderers lifted the body; there was life in it yet, for it made an effort to get out of their hands. They threw it on the pavement, and it was only then Coligny gave his last sigh.

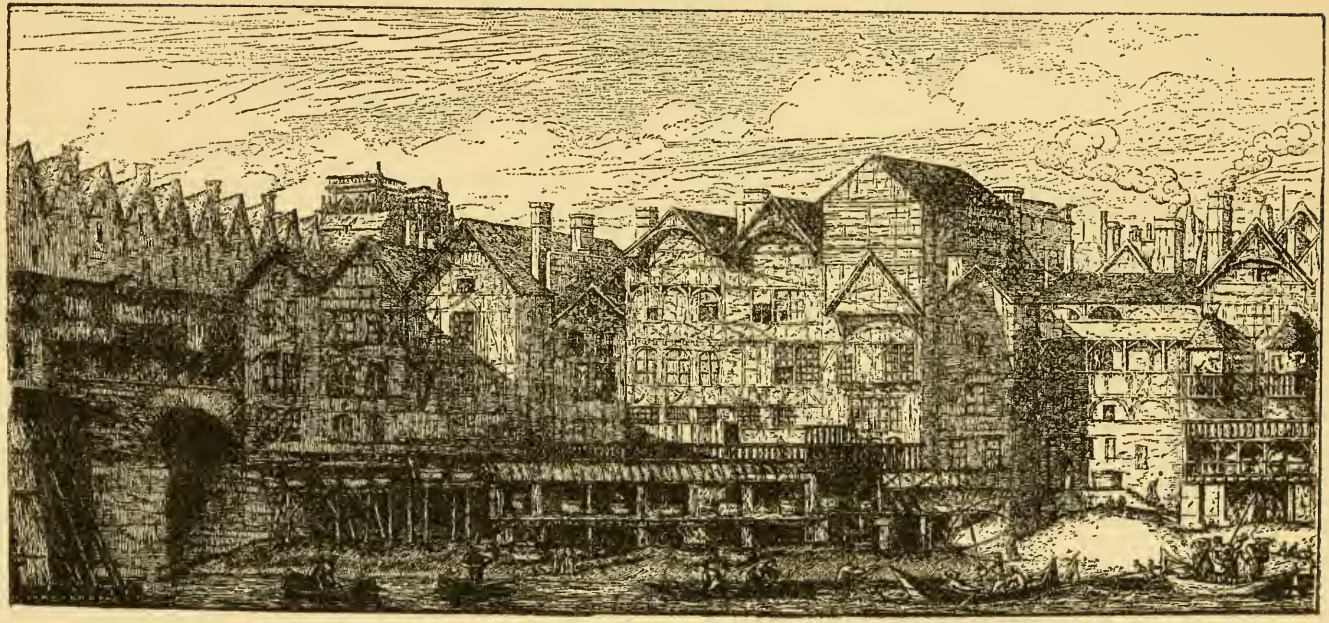
Guise took a pocket-handkerchief and wiped the face. 'Yes, it is he; I recognise him.' And striking the venerable head with the heel of his boot, he sprang on his horse and rode away, saying, 'Courage, soldiers; we have begun happily, now let us go after the others.'

XVIII.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

'How often had I predicted it! how often did I warn them it was coming!' Catherine de Medici might have mockingly taken up Beza's querulous lament and have repeated, 'What warnings I gave them of it!'

The betrothal on the 17th of August produced an explosion; the preachers foamed, the anger of God



View of Paris (time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew).

was about to fall, there would be torrents of blood. The weddings took place on the 18th, and for four days, or rather nights, the court madly danced or played the buffoon. One night they acted in masquerade an Italian play, The Mystery of the Three Worlds. Paradise filled with nymphs was attacked by the two young Protestant princes, and defended by the king and his brothers, who, at the pike's point drove the assailants off to the shores of hell, where the devils kept them imprisoned for a whole hour while their conquerors danced with the nymphs. Then the combat recommenced, explosions of gunpowder took place on all sides, the smoke and sulphurous stench putting the whole company to flight.

Thus the cat played with the mice, almost telling its victims the fate intended for them. This tenebrous play was acted between the 18th and the 21st. On the 22nd, the first attempt to assassinate Coligny was made. The Protestant princes and gentlemen swore among themselves to avenge the admiral. The news spread through Paris that the furious Huguenots were going to cut the throat of the favourite, the Duke of Guise. On Saturday the king was driven into consenting to the massacre. The order was given to Guise by Catherine and Anjou at 11 p.m., and at midnight the city was called upon to arm. Four hours were thus occupied, but by the break of day Coligny was killed. Then came a moment of hesitation. Catherine and Anjou, satisfied with the death of their great enemy, would have drawn back, but it was too late. Guise and the Paris Catholics were not to be defrauded. The slaughter commenced in the Tuileries. The gay young bridegrooms, offered their choice of the mass or death, accepted the former; their followers were slaughtered. Hunted from room to room, forced by the royal archers down the stairs of the palace, they

were driven at last like a flock of sheep into the court-yard of the Louvre. Here they were murdered under the eyes of the king, who either came or was dragged to the window. These men, his guests, made him pathetic appeals. One of them, the hero of Saint-Jean-d'Angely, claimed the performance of his promise in a voice so terrible that the very court seemed to shake.

The king's brain gave way, he evidently went mad; a number of Huguenots from the *quartier* St. Germain coming to the Louvre for protection were fired upon. The king, who was at the window, saw them turn. 'They fly! they fly!' he exclaimed. 'Give me an arquebuse.' And taking a gun this poor king, torn by a legion of devils, fired on his own people!

Far from approving the massacre, the authorities at the Hôtel de Ville sent to the king begging him to prevent his household, his princes, and his servants from going on killing and pillaging. The king immediately sent an order to stop all. But it was too late; all the bad passions in the city were let loose. Thus a great number of tradesmen fell victims to the unparalleled opportunity of getting rid of competitors without fear of the consequences. The Parisian Protestants were for the most part shoemakers, booksellers, binders, hatters, weavers, pin-makers, barbers, armourers, dealers in second-hand clothes, coopers, watchmakers, jewellers, carpenters, gilders, button-makers, ironmongers. However, the lists of the missing on this terrible occasion show how Calvinism had drawn into its ranks the most illustrious artists in France. Jean Goujon (1515–1572), one of the greatest sculptors France has produced, came, on St. Bartholomew's day, to his end. Tradition says he was shot while at work on a scaffold in the Louvre. Claude Goudimel (1510–1572) was among the victims at Lyons. He was one of the first musicians of his time

and did a great work in setting the Huguenot psalter to music.

After such a Sunday's work as that of the 24th of August, 1572, the murderers were somewhat fatigued; besides, both the city and royal authorities said stop. Not so the religious bigots. Suddenly the bells were heard ringing from church to church. It was the tocsin, that appeal to popular fury so common in the free cities of Flanders and Italy. The massacre re-opened with a new and peculiar atrocity. Neighbours killed neighbours, women with child were ripped open, fathers were slaughtered with their little ones hanging to their knees, infants were seized by the neck and thrown like blind kittens into the river; the Seine, in fact, was the grand receptacle for the dead. The air was full of frightful cries, sudden shrieks, pistol shots, bursting of doors, the howling of the mob as they dragged a corpse to the river.

This was the fate of the illustrious Ramus, who was only put to death on the third day of the massacre, the 26th of August. Paid assassins forced the College of Prasles, and found him in his study on the fifth floor. They hardly allowed him a moment of prayer before they fired on him and ran him through with a sword. Then they threw him out of window into the court below, and dragged the body by a cord to the river. There it is said to have been decapitated, and, after floating in the river, dragged to the shore, where it lay exposed to every indignity.

Seeing the popularity of the massacre, the king was now induced to claim all its credit; so, on the 26th, he went down to the Parliament, and said, 'It was I who ordered the massacre.' Upon this adventurers, more or less authorized, departed for the provinces, where in the various cities they constituted themselves directors of systematic murder and pillage. The

Protestants were thrown into prison, then massacred. In some places the local authorities superintended; generally they stood aside; sometimes they resisted.

While there can be no doubt that this massacre was exactly what the leaders of the Catholic party in Europe had desired for years, it would be unjust to hold the great bulk of the French clergy and laity responsible. The Bishop of Lisieux absolutely refused to permit a massacre of Huguenots in his diocese, and gave the king's lieutenant a written discharge to that effect. The Catholics on the banks of the Rhone shuddered to see the river blotted with corpses, and cried to God against the assassins.

On the other hand, the Parliament of Paris, the representative of law, but not of justice, established a *fête* in honour of the holy work done on this blessed day of Saint Barthélmy. Moreover, they found Coligny the guilty cause of it all, and condemned him to be dragged through the mire and hanged. His effigy was suspended on the Place de Grève, while his scorched, mutilated remains were hanged in a ludicrous position at Montfauçon. The king and the court went there to mock and ridicule. They had the incredible inhumanity to take Coligny's two sons to look at their father's corpse. The elder began to sob, but the younger gazed steadily. Perhaps he dimly foresaw what after ages admit, viz. that Coligny is one of the noblest figures in the whole history of France.

XIX.

After St. Bartholomew.

Henry IV. often related to his most intimate friends that eight days after the massacre a number of ravens

gathered about the flag on the Louvre. Their noise brought every one to look at them, and the women communicated their fright to the king. That same night, two hours after going to bed, Charles IX. sprang up, had the people of his chamber called, and among others his brother-in-law, that they might hear a tremendous noise in the air, a concert of voices, screaming, groaning, howling, just like that heard on the night of the massacre. These sounds were so distinct that the king, believing some fresh disorder had broken out, sent his guards through the city to prevent murder. But having brought back word that the city was in peace, and the air only troubled, he also remained troubled, principally because the noise continued for seven days at the same hour.

These sights and sounds, which, in the midst of a court the dupes of sorcerers and astrologers, a guilty conscience imagined, were a real and awful foreboding of judgment to come. The Louvre and the representatives of Charles IX. and his court would surely see it realized. For a time, however, Charles was in a full tide of glory. The pope chanted the *Te Deum*, and sent him the golden rose. Two months after the massacre, Queen Elizabeth stood godmother to his infant daughter; six months later on, William of Orange recognised him as Protector of Holland, and king of whatever he could conquer in the Low Countries, the Taciturn's brother, Louis of Nassau, working to make him Emperor of Germany and his brother King of Poland. But what seemed most of all to cover him with glory was the visible jealousy of Philip II. and the Duke of Alva. They were enraged to think that beside Charles they appeared feeble and vacillating. Yet the King of France was to the last degree wretched and miserable. His face had become pale and haggard, his eyes jaundiced and menacing;

he talked constantly of killing. To distract his melancholy, he had parties of pleasure at the places of public execution, and spent his nights in riots. A year of this life, and he was in his grave, glad on his own account, as well as for France, that he left no posterity. For the state of the country soon assured him that, however much he might have frightened foreigners by the apparent strength of the blow, his own people were for ever alienated. One of the first results was that the Protestants in self-defence began to form themselves into a distinct political society.

A number of pastors and gentlemen met at Montauban, and drew up the plan of a confederation. Each Protestant city was to name a council of a hundred persons, without distinction of class, to direct all their affairs: justice, police, taxation, and war; and these councils were to elect a general head. Moderation and gentleness were to be shown towards pacific Catholics, but those in arms were to be treated with the utmost rigour. The Duke of Alva's recipe, 'A good salmon is worth a hundred frogs,' showed his ignorance of the genius of the Reformation. Appealing to the individual conscience, it made men; the little became great.

Nothing could exceed the bravery shown at the siege of Sancerre. Rather than submit, the beleaguered citizens ate slugs, moles, bread made of ground straw and crushed slate; they cooked the harness of their horses, and even old parchments. At La Rochelle the courage of the besieged was remarkable even in that age of marvellous endurance. At low water, women and ministers, and even children, might be seen in the water under fire trying to set light to the royal vessels. Under their brave *maire*, Jacques Henri, they refused to submit, and finally preserved

the city, as a sort of Protestant republic, in the face of the Catholic monarchy. These brave and successful defences so inspired the Protestants that they met in confederation at Montauban in 1573, and demanded all that had been accorded by the treaty of 1570.

Meanwhile new maxims on law and political liberty were gaining ground among Catholics, and a political party, under the Duke of Alençon, was formed, with which the Huguenots, in December, 1573, formed a league. This alliance proved full of difficulties. The religious Calvinists, mostly tradesmen, regarding religious objects as of the first importance, were slow to fight, but when they began, did not wish to lay down their arms until the end was attained. The political malcontents, mainly noblemen, were ready to take up arms on the first occasion, and equally ready to sacrifice religious objects to political ones. However, the alliance was so powerful, that, to dissolve it, the court offered both parties favourable terms. To the Protestants, free exercise of religion all over the kingdom, Paris alone excepted; admission to public employment; mixed chambers in the parliaments, securing equal justice; eight places of safety; right of opening schools and convoking synods; rehabilitation of the memory of Coligny; and re-establishment of Navarre and Condé in their rights.

The treaty, signed at Chastenoy, May 6th, 1576, gave great umbrage to the Catholic portion of the nation. In the States-General held in that year, the three orders demanded that all Protestants, ministers, deacons, overseers, and schoolmasters, should be compelled to quit the kingdom, or be made guilty of a capital offence. France was distinctly divided into two nations.

XX.

New Dangers.

The Huguenots again took up arms, the religious party among them being by far the most determined. The Huguenot lords, although besought by Beza to lay their heads on the block rather than allow the Word of God to be limited, would not listen to the consistories, but signed a peace in September, 1577, by which the exercise of the Reformed religion was restricted to certain places, and all Protestants excluded from public employ.

The levity of the nobles was all through these struggles the weak element in the Protestant cause. Dominating it by their position, they yielded at the least seduction or at any unusual fatigue. During forty years among all the Protestant martyrs only three noblemen are found. And yet under Henry II. they had joined the cause of Reform in crowds. It passes all belief that within six years of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Catherine de Medici should have been able to visit, accompanied by her flying squadron of fallen women, the Protestant court of the King of Navarre, and that Huguenot lords and Catholic courtesans should have carried on the hypocritical farce of conversing together in 'the language of Canaan.' But Henry of Navarre was a type of the noblemen who were Protestants because they were turbulent and ambitious, and who, either personally or by their immediate descendants, fell away directly it served their purpose.

Unhappy Protestant people of France, led by such careless worldlings, and that in the face of ever-increasing danger! The great conspirator of Europe was not dead, and that vast plot of which all the

strings ended in Madrid was ever taking new forms. In France it now appeared as the Holy League. The Duke of Guise, the murderer of Coligny, was its leader, and its object was to put down the Reformed Religion by terror and place him on the throne of France. *Le Balafré*, as he was endearingly called in Paris, played the part of Absalom, and grew in popularity just in the degree that the Duke of Anjou, now Henry III., declined. To outbid this formidable rival the king himself signed the articles of the League, and burnt some women in Paris. But it was of no use. *Le Balafré* was carried in triumph to the Louvre, and openly spoken of as the king of Paris. Henry III. grew desperate, and had him assassinated, kicking his corpse, just as he had kicked that of Coligny. Twelve days after Catherine de Medici died, and Henry III., abhorred by all his Catholic subjects, was forced to make friends with the Huguenots.

The last of the Valois, it was clear that the crown would devolve on the Protestant King of Navarre, and to prepare the way that politic prince issued an appeal to the Catholics.

The League revenged the murder of the Duke of Guise. Within eight months Henry III. was assassinated in his turn. Nearly every one of the criminals of St. Bartholomew came to a miserable end.

XXI.

The Edict of Nantes.

Henry of Navarre was now the only possible King of France, but the Catholic nobility refused allegiance unless he abjured Protestantism. For decency's sake he asked for six months' delay, during which time he would consent to instruction in the Catholic religion.

To bring him rapidly to decision, all his Catholic followers deserted. On the 25th of July, 1593, he converted himself, to translate literally French idiom, here strictly applicable. Never did any action appear more worldly-wise, never was any followed by more disastrous consequences. It was the first step in the ruin of the house of Bourbon and of the French monarchy, and, infinitely more to be deplored, of the religious sentiment in myriads of sincere minds.

The Protestants at once learnt that in the affairs of the kingdom of heaven worldly success means ruin. Their own leader King of France, he at once agreed to the demands made by the dominant party in Rouen, Meaux, Poitiers, Agen, Beauvais, Amiens, St. Malo, and Paris, that no Huguenot preaching should take place within their walls, but must be confined to the suburbs.

To allay the discontent of his late co-religionists, the king tacitly consented to their holding political assemblies. For this purpose France was divided into ten districts, each of which named a deputy to the general council, which, whatever its numbers, was composed two-fifths of gentlemen, two-fifths commoners, one-fifth pastors; that is, three-fifths men of the third estate. Below this general council were provincial councils, composed of from five to seven members, of which one must be the governor of a fortress, and one a pastor.

The deputies took an oath of obedience, and it was obligatory on the members of the Churches to respect the decisions of the councils. A permanent fund of 4,500 crowns was contributed by the faithful. The council-general received reports and complaints from the provincial councils, and communicated them to the court.

In 1597 the Reformed Churches complained that

throughout entire provinces, Burgundy and Picardy for example, there was no free exercise of religion; that in Brittany they had but one place of worship, in Provence only two; that their members were maltreated, stoned, thrown into the river; that assemblies were fired upon with cannon; that Bibles were burnt; that consolation to the sick was forbidden; that children were carried off or baptized forcibly by priests accompanied by the police; that hostage cities were taken away or dismantled; that their poor were neglected, even where Protestants gave most to the common purse; that they were systematically excluded from office, even from the magistracy of the cities; that there was no justice before the tribunals; that they were made to pay enormous fines and subjected to imprisonment on the least pretext; that their dead, even those buried in the chapels of their ancestors, were shamefully exhumed—their complaints, in fact, fill a volume.

Such was the condition of the French Protestants, after three-quarters of a century, during which they had passed through four civil wars. But they had appealed to force, and by its decision they had to abide. As to Henry, he was a thorough man of the world. He had great objects, and his rule was beneficent. But the Protestants would have failed to secure the advantages they had obtained, even under Charles IX. and Henry III., had they not had these political assemblies. Five were held between 1595 and 1597; their pertinacity and threatening attitude, coupled with the fact that he was closely pressed by the Spanish arms, compelled Henry to consent at last to their demands. Finally, after long and laborious negotiations, they obtained in April, 1598, the Edict of Nantes. By its provisions full liberty of the individual conscience was guaranteed, public worship was

permitted in all places where it was established in 1597, and in the suburbs of all cities; lords high justices could have it celebrated in their mansions; gentlemen of the second degree were permitted to receive thirty persons to private worship. All the public offices were opened to Protestants, the schools to their children, the hospitals to their sick, the right to print books was accorded, of mixed chambers in some of the parliaments, and a special chamber of the edict was established in Paris, composed, however, with one exception, entirely of Catholics.

Thus, after three-quarters of a century, during which they had maintained a series of great wars, in which they had lost, including those who had been massacred, or put to death at the stake or on the gallows, five hundred thousand of their co-religionists, the Protestants only obtained permission to exist and to share in the civil privileges of their countrymen, and this under a king who was one of their own people. But what could the Reformed Churches do with such a man? He belonged to another sphere, a totally different order of things.

Agrippa d'Aubigné, whose severe and inflexible character often embroiled him with the court, tells how, having heard that Henry had threatened to kill him, should he fall into his hands, he went immediately to the lodging of the king's mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrees, and when the royal carriage arrived, presented himself among the flambeaux. 'Here,' said the king, 'is *Monseigneur* d'Aubigné,' a very ill-omened title. However, D'Aubigné advanced, and the king not only embraced him, but told Gabrielle to kiss him, and then ordered him to give her his hand. He led the lady to her apartment, where the king walked about talking to him for two hours. In the course of the conversation, Henry showed his visitor the cut he had

received shortly before from a young pupil of the Jesuits, who had tried to assassinate him. 'Sire,' said the austere Calvinist, 'having only renounced God with your lips, He has only pierced your lips. If you renounce Him with your heart, He will pierce you to the heart.' 'Very fine words,' said Gabrielle, 'but not well employed!' 'True, madame,' replied D'Aubigné, 'for they will be of no use.' The king, apparently unaffected, sent for his infant child, and put it, quite naked, into the stern old Calvinist's arms. What could D'Aubigné reply to such an argument? The king belonged to one world, he to another. The one represented Nature, the other Grace.

BOOK II.

FROM THE EDICT OF NANTES TO ITS REVOCATION.

I.

Prosperous but Declining.

At no period in French history, from the days of Henry II. to those of Louis XVI., did the French Protestants come so near the Hebrew ideal of well-being as during the twelve years of Henry the Fourth's reign. After the Edict of Nantes their legal position was assured, and though still subject to occasional insult and injury, it might be said with some show of truth that during this short period they sat 'every man under his vine and under his fig tree, none daring to make them afraid.'

In such circumstances it was natural that they should prosper. Their industry, thrift, and intelligence, energised by religious faith, and sharpened by a long-continued struggle for existence, together with their sense of mutual dependence as members of a persecuted party, were exactly the conditions which must lead to the acquisition of wealth.

Abraham Bosse, whose clever graver has preserved for us the character, costume, and manners of the Louis-Treize period, has a large and fine series por-

traying 'Married Life.' The class he depicts are the wealthy bourgeoisie, the class to which the Huguenots largely belonged; and as Abraham Bosse was himself a Protestant, and this work a series of faithful delineations, it is fair to conclude that they are largely drawn from the life by which the artist was surrounded. The impression of material comfort they give is exactly that produced by other Protestant artists of the time, especially by those of the Netherlands.

In these engravings we see spacious parlours with pictures and instruments of music, large and well-furnished bedrooms; a kitchen-scene shows the ovens filled with the comestibles. In one engraving a numerous party of ladies are enjoying a good dinner in a bedroom, in celebration of the recovery of one of their number from the perils of child-birth. When the engraver gives us a glimpse into the farmyard, or any figures of the peasantry, it is in the same style. Abundance is characteristic. All seem well-to-do, some incline to be jovial. Compare this with what the monuments of the time tell us about the general condition of the French peasantry, and the difference is so amazing that we can but conclude that this Protestant engraver was at least brought up, if he did not continue to live, in a Land of Goshen.

Instead of the crossing of swords, there was controversial warfare. The poorest Calvinist was a match for most of the Catholic clergy, while a public disputation or a caustic pamphlet was the chief weapon of the accomplished layman or minister. Duplessis-Mornay, whose exalted station, inflexible integrity, and great learning had won for him such a position that he was called the pope of the Calvinists, believed to such a degree in the power of argument, that he thought a controversy, after the precedent of the colloquy at Poissy, might convince Henry of Navarre that he

ought not to enter the Roman Catholic Church. The king encouraged the delusion at that time; but when, in 1600, Duplessis-Mornay demanded a public controversy with Cardinal Duperron as to what the Fathers had said about the doctrine of transubstantiation, Henry took care it should be fruitless. For the pope specially interested himself in it; and Henry, who wanted his sanction to a divorce from Marguerite de Valois, was determined Urban IV. should not be vexed by a Protestant victory.

In one of the first of his domestic scenes, Bosse represents a group of elders seated round a table absorbed in a grave discussion. Three are venerable-looking men in tall hats and long beards, two ladies dignified and somewhat severe. In another part of the room an evil-looking man makes love to the daughter of the house, and one of the little ones is frightening another with a great mask. Who can doubt that the artist has here attempted to depict a typical case ?

For this passion for controversy was not confined to disputes with Catholics; we may be sure that still more bitter debates went on between the two great theological parties into which Protestantism was divided. On the one hand there were the Arminians, who represented moderate Calvinism, and the Gomarists, who held the extreme view on the other. There were also the political divisions into which the Huguenot party was divided, a division existing from these times until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, broadly expressed by the words moderate and zealous, or, as the more thorough going Calvinist would have said, 'lukewarm and zealous.'

II.

Facilis Descensus Averni.

Henry IV. being very ill sent for Agrippa d'Aubigné. After he had closed the door, and had twice knelt down and prayed, he adjured D'Aubigné to tell him if he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. D'Aubigné proposed four tests by which the king might try his conscience. The conversation, we are told, lasted four hours and was intermingled with frequent prayer.

Perhaps Henry was able to assure himself that he was moved to abjure Protestantism more by the hope of healing the wounds of his country than by a desire to grasp the crown of France; but his example had a fatal effect on the younger Huguenot nobles, who naturally concluded that the way to rise in life was to walk in the footprints of their royal master. In fact, Henry's example had made respectable that worldliness which previously had worn the cloak of conformity. The old Protestant historians divided the Calvinists at the opening of the reign of Louis XIII. into four classes: the ambitious, the zealous, the judicious, and the timid; and for the first and last classes, which it is according to human nature to suppose were far the more numerous, there was no easier course than to follow so illustrious an example as that of the most popular monarch that ever sat on the French throne.

The chances of defection from the Reformed Church were infinitely increased by all the tendencies of French civilization during the first half of the seventeenth century, which were entirely opposed to that harsh manner of feeling and acting and speaking which sometimes characterized Calvinism. An extreme re-

finement was cultivated in certain high circles. Grace in deportment, elegance in dress, a poetic phraseology,[1] a punctilious code of honour, became prevalent fashions. Duelling was quite the rage. Readers of English history know how it alarmed James I.; a much stronger man, Cardinal Richelieu, tried to put it down in France, but was completely defeated, the tide being too strong.

III.

The Counter-Reformation in France.

Such a time was propitious for the advance of Jesuitism, but very disheartening to those holding a creed serious and profound as was that of Calvin. Henry IV. had permitted the society to re-enter France; it did more perhaps by its general influence than by the direct action of any of its leading members. It had leavened the whole of the Catholic world; it was the soul of the counter-Reformation, which at this time was nearly everywhere victorious. In Germany and in the

[1] Shakespeare has satirised the affectation of refinement then becoming the fashion in his play entitled *Love's Labour Lost*. The scene is laid in *France*, and the King of Navarre says:

> 'Our court, you know, is haunted
> With a refined traveller of Spain;
> A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
> That hath a mint of phrases in his brain;
> One whom the music of his own vain tongue
> Doth ravish like enchanting harmony;
> A man of complements, whom right and wrong
> Have chose as umpire of their mutiny.'
>
> Act. i. Sc. 1.

As this play was first published in 1598, it is clear this sort of fashion had come into vogue during Henry the Third's reign.

Netherlands, the very countries which had taken the lead in the Reformation, all the world were hastening to declare themselves Catholic. The tremendous reaction was enough to fill the most courageous with despair.

And now appeared a man exactly suited to the times: a man gentle, cultured, earnest, serious, and sweet, but who nevertheless prepared the way for the Jesuits and the Dragonnades; for no one can work for a cause without really strengthening its main currents, and that in the very degree of his personal virtues.

It was just two years before the Gunpowder Plot that François de Sales came to Paris and preached with great success in the court of Henry IV. A man of birth, a practised lawyer of the most amiable temper, moderate in all things, François de Sales advocated a reasonable and a practical piety. So far from teaching asceticism, provided the heart was humble and devout, he permitted considerable conformity to the world in action and demeanour, and did not require great demonstrations of religious fervour. With his gentle, persuasive voice, his mild, winning words, his moderate and orthodox mysticism, his grace, courtesy, and tolerance, he was exactly the preacher to please a people worn out by the acrid debates and furious struggles of its two intense and austere creeds. Everybody was delighted, especially the ladies. In 1608 he published his most famous work, *La Vie Dévote*. The success was enormous. Edition after edition appeared, some got up in a style peculiarly winning and attractive, all the text being in running hand, with flourished and caligraphic love-knots. The reader could scarcely fail to be struck with the moderate and reasonable tone of the book, and the acquaintance the author seems to have with all the difficulties of life. Everything is

dwelt upon in a brief, complete, and interesting manner. The doctrine is entirely and wholly Catholic, according to the teaching of the Council of Trent. There is not the slightest taint in it of the evangelical creed. At the same time there is no passing note of controversy; the gospel, as understood by Luther, Calvin, and all the Reformers, is not denied, it is simply ignored. Nowhere is this leaving out of every characteristic note of Protestantism more manifest than in the chapter on the Word of God. The devotee is admonished to hear and read the Word of God as spoken to him and to his friends, and as read in books of devotion and the lives of the saints, but his instructor carefully abstains from mentioning the Bible.

The methods are strictly Catholic, and consist of the sacrament of penance, meditation, and prayer. The imagination has to be cultivated. All, however, is moderate, sweet, tasteful, gentle. Thus he concludes his chapters on meditation with such injunctions as, *Faites le petit bouquet de dévotion*, or, *Faites le petit bouquet spirituel*, by which he alludes to a pretty conceit, in which he supposes the meditation has been like a morning walk in a beautiful garden, which you are loth to leave without making a bouquet of four or five of the most lovely flowers, in order that their fragrance and beautiful forms may remind you of the refreshing scenes with which you commenced the day. Finally, the bishop is careful to tell you that from the very outset it is necessary to have a director, and that the great means of acquiring perfection are obedience, chastity, poverty. Nor can we doubt that he would have said, in accordance with all the teachers of his school, 'And the greatest of these is obedience.'

With the aid of the excellent Madame de Chantal he founded the Order of the Visitation, one of those

associations in which holiness was sought through a life of practical benevolence.

With this idea no one has more identified his name than the friend of the Bishop of Geneva, Vincent de Paul. Refusing all wealth and honours, he devoted himself to the immense crowd of wretched beings which the disastrous civil wars had made more than usually numerous. He founded the Brothers and Sisters of Charity, he interested himself in the welfare of criminals and galley-slaves, found leisure for innumerable missions, made efforts to reform the morals of the clergy, and did his utmost to get virtuous prelates appointed. Men thought of him as a loving old man, his arms filled with infants, whom he had picked up in his solitary walks through the dark streets of Paris in the dead hours of the night.

In company with these two appears a third—Pierre de Berulle, the reformer both of the monastic orders and the secular clergy. For the first, his model was St. Theresa; for the second, St. Philip Neri. Pierre de Berulle was a man, like De Sales, of a singularly sweet manner and an address tender and persuasive. 'If you want,' said Cardinal Duperron, 'to convince a heretic, bring him to me; if you want to convert him, take him to M. de Genève (François de Sales); [1] and if you want both to convince and convert him, let him go to M. de Berulle.'

What could the Calvinists do in the presence of such fascinating influences? Their austere creed, and the exclusiveness that resulted from it, was no match for the practical piety, rational, moderate, and perfectly orthodox, inculcated by François de Sales; still

[1] The pope very early set François de Sales, who was Bishop of Geneva, the task of converting Theodore de Beza, who received him with much courtesy, but their conferences had no result.

less for the practical benevolence, also rational and perfectly orthodox, which now made itself felt everywhere, but especially in the

'Lonely and wretched roofs in the crowded lanes of the city,
Where distress and want concealed themselves from the sunlight,
Where disease and sorrow in garrets languished neglected.'

How could they protect even their own families from the fashion for the culture of the sentimental which now set in, and which naturally prepared every young Huguenot, who gave himself or herself up to it, to become the easy prey of the Church that rested so much on this culture? The Calvinists were like Dædalus in the Labyrinth of Crete: they might make themselves wings and fly over these mountains of difficulty and these oceans of despair, but they were doomed to see their children fall one after the other. Icarus perished because he flew too high; these young Huguenots because they had not faith to fly at all. They thought it easier to swim with the tide than to fly against the wind.

Defections like those of the inheritor of the name of Henri de Condé, or of the daughter of the Marshal de Lesdiguières, might be easily sustained, but it was heartbreaking to see the descendants of such illustrious Calvinists as Coligny and Agrippa d'Aubigné selling themselves to the enemy.

IV.

In their Misery the People Worship the Devil.

The Calvinists might have regarded without dismay the defection of their aristocratic members, had they felt themselves rooted in the heart of the country, had

the people been on their side. But the people, ignorant and superstitious, and suffering terrible privations, were very unfavourably disposed to the Huguenots. When for more than one generation the people in the country had seen their cottages burnt, their farmyards fired, their vineyards and their corn-fields destroyed, and their orchards turned into charcoal; when the people in the towns had been exposed to sudden assaults, to risings, to massacres—in one word, to the horrors of civil war extending over forty years, it was natural that they should begin to curse the contending parties, and, unaware, in their ignorance of contemporary history, who were really the aggressors, should listen to the lies afloat concerning the Huguenots, and mingle both parties in one common abjuration.

In the States-General of 1614 the third estate depicted in moving terms the horrible condition to which the French peasantry were reduced, who, they declared, might be seen browsing on the grass like animals and with the animals; and this statement they twice repeat, Guienne and the Auvergne being specially mentioned on the second occasion. The misery which such a statement indicates was certainly not wholly due to these civil wars, but rather to the fact that the mass of the poor were ever being crushed lower and lower by the unjust system to which they were subjected. The burden of taxation really fell on them, for the poorer the masters grew the more they were obliged to insist on their so called rights, until their exactions rendered the peasants more miserable than ever. Thus in the same States-General the orator of the third estate denounced the nobility to the king in the most passionate language. 'Lions and tigers,' he said, 'are not so bad, for they do no evil to those that nourish them.' It was therefore calculated to render

the Protestant cause still more unpopular that it numbered some thousands of the nobility in its ranks. The wretchedness of the people may be further seen in the fact that at this time the worship of the devil prevailed in many parts of France.[1]

This return to the darkest paganism had been known during the Middle Ages, coming into greater or less prominence according to the misery or happiness of the times. It now appeared in forms less brutal, but mingled with insincerity, jugglery, and sacrilegious trickery. This long fighting, this murdering in the name of God and the Church, had destroyed faith; and supposed Catholics parodied in these demoniacal convocations the rites of the Church, mimicking baptism, the elevation of the host, the consecration of priests, etc.

The superstition that prevailed everywhere is beyond conception. In the convents there were scenes of dark and mystic wickedness, which at times broke out into great and all-absorbing scandals. Even the Calvinists, whose habit of mind freed them perhaps more than any other religionists from mysticism, were not absolutely proof against the tendency of the times.

Thus Agrippa d'Aubigné relates, apparently believing it, the miracle of an old woman of seventy receiving power to suckle an infant left in her charge; and he himself had in his house a deaf and dumb man who was able to give information concerning events past and future. This 'mute monster,' to use the descriptive title of the narrative, foretold that the

[1] The importance of this in any complete understanding of the misery of the poor at this period, may be judged from the fact that Michelet has devoted four chapters in his history of France to the terrible superstition prevailing in the reign of Louis XIII.

king would die in three years and a half, with the attendant circumstances; also that La Rochelle would be besieged and would fall, that its fortifications would be dismantled, and that both the city and the Protestant party would be ruined.

V.

A Last Effort at Reconciliation.

The Huguenots, however, were still a great political power. About the year 1600 there were 760 parishes in their possession, 4,000 of the nobility were Calvinists, they held 200 fortified places, and it was believed that they could put 25,000 men in the field. They were then, in fact, well organized, both religiously and politically. It is evident, however, that some of the more thoughtful among them began to doubt if this sort of thing was any real strength to a cause which they had believed was that of the kingdom of heaven. This probably explains their division into two parties, the enthusiasts and the moderate, the zealous and the timid. At any rate, some of the most enlightened among them were prepared to make the greatest sacrifices rather than continue a system which they felt must end in their ruin.

In the last year of Henry the Fourth's reign, three months before his death, seven pastors met in Paris at the house of Pierre Dumoulin, the minister of the temple at Charenton. One of the company was Daniel Chamier, a man of great learning, and whose zeal in the Protestant cause is undoubted, for he was killed on the ramparts during the siege of Montauban. These seven pastors deputed Agrippa d'Aubigné, who happened to arrive at the time, to go to the king and tell him that in order to end all these troubles the

Calvinists would agree to accept a reform of the Church which would restore it to what it was at the end of the fourth century and at the commencement of the following.

Henry sent D'Aubigné to Cardinal Duperron, who had just returned from Rome, where they had tried to poison him, and who consequently was in an unusually favourable mood for such a proposition. He received D'Aubigné with a kiss on both cheeks, and proceeded to lament the miseries of Christendom, asking if there were no means of doing some good. D'Aubigné did not reply at first, but being further pressed, he said that Guicciardini had pointed out the way to proceed when he said, referring to the Church as well as the State, that good institutions which had descended to a people from their ancestors should be reformed from time to time by being led back to their first institution: 'We therefore propose to you, resting as you do on antiquity, to accept for immutable law the constitutions of the Church as established and observed in the fourth century; and each side pointing out what they consider corrupt, you beginning, as the elder, it shall be reformed according to this standard.' The cardinal cried out that the Calvinist ministers would disavow such a proposition; but on being assured that they would agree to it, he remained pensive some time, and then said, 'Give us forty years more.' D'Aubigné replied that, if the general proposition were accepted, they would agree to fifty when the subject came on for discussion. But then said the cardinal, 'You would have to agree to the elevation of the cross, and you dare not do that.' D'Aubigné intimated that for the sake of peace this would be accepted, but retorting on the cardinal, he said, 'You would not dare to accept our first demand, which would be to put the authority of the pope where it was at the end of the fourth

century. No,' he continued, 'you would not dare to do that, even if we gave you two hundred years more.' The cardinal replied, 'We must do this at Paris, even if they would not do it at Rome.'

Three months after, the knife of Ravaillac cut the thread of this hopeful negotiation, and the Jesuits more and more got the upper hand.

VI.

Persecution Recommences.

Elie Benoit relates that the bailiff of a certain village was requested by the curé to compel a locksmith, whose shop was opposite the church, to leave off singing. As the man took no notice of the first summons, the sergeant came and, with every legal form, repeated the order. It was necessary that the officer should write the locksmith's answer, but the man said he had nothing to reply. 'I must put something,' said the sergeant. 'Oh, well, put then:

> "Jamais ne cesseray
> De magnifier le Seigneur;
> En ma bouche auray son honneur
> Tant que vivant seray."' [1]

This incident was one of the results of the law of 1626, forbidding Huguenots to sing psalms in the street or in their shops. After the assassination of Henry IV. (1610), a persecution began, often very small, but perpetual. The Calvinists were attacked in their various rights. The magistracy, mostly Gallican, strove to prove their loyalty to Catholicism by render-

[1] Ps. cxlvi. 2. In our version: 'While I live will I praise the Lord; I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being.'

ing the mixed chambers a farce. Huguenots were not allowed to enter a hospital to console a sick brother, or to hold their schools within the cities, or even in the suburbs of episcopal towns.

In the States-General of 1614, a demand had been made for the prosecution of Huguenots who prevented their children from being Catholics. The next thing was to carry them off and shut them up in convents. Huguenots could not take a corpse to be buried without being pursued with cries and insults. Henry IV. had known how to keep these barbarities in check; but now the authorities only moved when some very great commotion occurred. At Tours, the cry being raised that the Huguenots had killed a child, the people rose and burnt the temple, and dug up a body just interred, dragged it over the road, and tore it to pieces. The same scene was repeated at Poitiers, at Mauzé, and at Croisic. Henceforth the Protestants were obliged to bury their dead at night, a proceeding which obtained for them the name of *parpaillots*—night-moths.

While these things filled the Protestants with dejection, the reformed monastic orders displayed a jubilant energy. In Poitou and Languedoc the Huguenots were very numerous. The Capuchins covered these two provinces with their missions. The Franciscans claimed marvellous triumphs in the south-west, also a stronghold of Protestantism. Father Villèle, of Bordeaux, was said to have brought almost the whole town of Foix to Catholicism, and to have converted the very man, now more than a hundred years old, who had led into Foix the first Protestant preacher, sent there by Calvin. The Jesuits were everywhere making extraordinary progress and winning golden opinions by their fraternities of the Virgin, who nursed the sick and wounded in the war. The Catholic

Church had in fact completely imbibed their spirit, and the work of conversion was pushed on by every means, fair or foul.

VII.

Going down to Egypt for Help.

Habit, we know, is a second nature, and forty years' more or less fighting had made recourse to the sword only too natural. Thus some of the Huguenot pastors were among the most ready for violent measures. Pierre Beraud published, in 1626, a famous tract, in which he taught that ministers of religion might carry arms and shed blood. Sentiments of this kind brought them naturally into union with the turbulent nobility, whom it is difficult to credit with much better motives than the maintenance of their own position and the aggrandisement of their family. The more powerful among them professed themselves to be the champions of the Huguenots, using the influence they thus obtained for their own advancement.

In 1611, the nobility of the Dauphiné attempted to get the entire management of Protestant affairs in that district. 'As to the synod belongs the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, to us,' they said, 'belongs the direction of political affairs.' Their aim, or at least their tendency, was always to an aristocratic republic.

And this belief in the advantage of fighting under the ægis of some powerful nobleman was so ingrained in the Huguenots that it came to be a sort of sacred tradition that the Reformed Churches must have a protector at court. Under this fatal notion the Huguenots, a few years after the death of Henry IV., accepted as their leader a bigoted Catholic, whose interest in

their cause was that for the moment it assisted his projects. The Prince de Condé, the representative of the younger branch of the Bourbons, made himself, in 1614, the mouthpiece of all the grievances in the kingdom; among other things he complained that the Edict of Nantes was not observed. He and his friends made themselves so dangerous that the court bought them. Condé received 450,000 livres for the expenses he had been at, the Duke of Longueville a pension of 100,000 livres, the Duke of Mayenne 100,000 livres and the reversion of the government of Paris, the Duke of Bouillon other pecuniary advantages. The latter was a Protestant.

This movement having proved so advantageous, Condé soon issued another manifesto, in which he appealed for support to the Gallicans and the Huguenots. He wrote to the Protestant assembly at Grenoble, and that body, not only welcomed his advances, but begged the court to listen to his remonstrances, to declare the majority of the king, and bring to justice those who had murdered Henry IV. Condé's army was directed by the Protestant Duke of Bouillon, and the Grenoble assembly transferred itself to Nîmes, where, by the intervention of the Duke of Rohan,[1] who had joined the prince, a treaty was concluded in September, 1615, between the assembly and their Catholic leader. The duke also obtained the adherence of his father-in-law, Sully, the great finance minister of Henry IV.

Condé, however, signed a truce the following January,

[1] Henri de Rohan, the representative of one of the chief families in France, was the son of an heroic mother, whose devotion to the Reformation places her among that list of heroines which is one of the real glories of France. The duke himself was the most earnest and sincere of all the warlike leaders of the time. He was a partisan leader of the highest order.

and commenced to negotiate. The assembly having transferred itself to La Rochelle, resolutely stood out for its own conditions. The prince, however, ignored its pretensions, and signed a peace, saying, 'Those who will not do as I shall be made to do it.' Thus the Huguenots got no advantage for all their efforts beyond a confirmation of the privileges they already enjoyed, and a declaration that when the king, in his coronation oath, swore to extirpate heretics, it did not refer to his subjects of the Reformed religion living under the protection of his edicts. Condé, on the other hand, was to have one million and a half livres for his expenses; altogether Richelieu reckoned that this war cost the king six millions, and the country twenty millions more. The advantage Condé obtained for the people was the re-establishment of the salt tax, suppressed in 1610. Well might they say, 'What have we to do with the quarrels of the great? Let them settle it among themselves, we will not mix ourselves up with it. We know too well how they treat their friends.'

VIII.

Jesuit Coup d'État in Béarn.

The drama proceeds with all the certainty of a decree of predestination. The royal power is bound to attain the unification of the country and the suppression of everything dangerous to its authority; the Jesuits cannot rest in the counter-Reformation which at this moment was just reaching its crisis, all being ready for the springing of the mine and the storming and capture of the citadel. The Calvinists, on the other hand, were everywhere arriving at their final goal. Geneva and the Netherlands were already republics;

the Protestants of England, France, and even Germany, were nearer the same form of government than they imagined. A collision between the two forces was inevitable, and the result was equally inevitable. The party which everywhere, and by every means, was growing weaker, must yield to the party which everywhere, and by every means, was growing stronger; the weakest must go to the wall.

The first blow was struck in France. When Béarn became Protestant, the ecclesiastical property was used to support the Reformed faith. However, the Catholic clergy did not cease to claim it, though the government was deaf to their complaints, fearing the resentment of the Huguenots, who regarded Béarn as a second Geneva. But now the time had come; the Jesuit Cotton, the friend of De Sales, gave place to a more violent type of his society, the Jesuit Arnoux, who induced Louis the Thirteenth's minister, the Duke of Luynes, to issue a decree establishing the Catholic religion in Béarn. The decree was to take effect in September, 1617. The commotion excited was great. A Protestant assembly met at Orthès, and was supported by the Parliament at Pau, who declared such a change could not be made without its consent. The Orthès assembly obtained the convocation of a general assembly at La Rochelle, which met in December, 1617. This proceeding, opposed by the politicians, was supported by the pastors.

Intestine warfare in the court delayed for a time the conclusion of the royal work in the Béarn; the queen-mother was struggling against the favourite, Luynes. Unfortunately the Huguenots, indignant with Luynes, allowed themselves to be drawn into supporting Marie de Medici. A surprise at Les Ponts de Cé routed her party, and the court made up their quarrels, leaving the Huguenots in the attitude

of rebels. The king at once proceeded against Béarn, where he made an easy entry, owing to the discord of its two factions of Beaumont and of Grammont. He compelled the Parliament of Pau to register the decree returning the ecclesiastical property to the Catholic clergy, and at the same time united Béarn and Lower Navarre to the kingdom of France (Oct., 1620).

The passage of the royal troops was marked by many outrages against the 'cursed religion,' as they named the Reformed faith. The temples were burst open, and the tables on which the commandments were written pulled down. The peasants were beaten, the Reformed compelled to make the sign of the cross and kneel down as the host passed. All this was done under the king's eyes; elsewhere the soldiers did as they liked. The king, they said, had given them leave to pillage the Huguenots. They drove away the pastors, outraged the women, and forced the people to mass by aid of a cudgel. It was the first symptom of the Dragonnades.

IX.

The Huguenot Commonwealth at La Rochelle.

The Protestants throughout the kingdom saw in these tyrannical proceedings the coming despotism in Church and State; and in the general assembly which met at La Rochelle in 1621, the party called 'the zealous' predominated. Under their impulse the assembly planned a complete organization of Protestant France. The aristocratic leaders held aloof, but the 'zealous' accused them of desertion, and threatened to give them up as leaders. De Rohan, stung with this reproach, united himself to the assembly, and so

did his brother, Soubise;[1] other noblemen soon followed.

The king advanced towards the Loire in April, 1621, backed in the war he was about to wage by the clergy of the Roman Church. The pope offered two hundred thousand crowns on condition the Huguenots were brought, willingly or unwillingly, into the fold of the Church; the cardinals offered a similar sum, and the priests a million.

To the edict which the king launched against the assembly, it replied by a manifesto in which it justified the war, and by a plan organizing Protestant France under military leaders. This organization, though it never got as a whole beyond paper, is very important, as marking the extreme point to which the Huguenots arrived politically; and although they kept up the form of doing all 'under very humble subjection to the king given by God,' it is clear that they were on the same road as that which, a few years later, led the English Puritans to a commonwealth.

Protestant France was to be divided into eight military governments, each under the rule of a commander appointed by the assembly, the whole to be directed by a general-in-chief. This general was to have a council composed of the lords of his army and three deputies from the assembly. Each commander was to have a council of lords, with three deputies from the provincial assembly of his district. The general assembly reserved to itself the right of making peace. The resources of the war were to be obtained from the royal and ecclesiastical goods. The discipline

[1] The Duke of Soubise always did as his brother, until the final ruin of the Protestants as a political party, when he fled to England, where he died in 1642, and was buried in Westminster Abbey by order of Charles I.

and morality of the troops were to be preserved by the presence of pastors attached to the armies, and by the rigid exclusion of all women. A map of the arrangement would give some idea of the great inequality of the divisions of the numbers of the Protestants in different parts of the country. In a general way it may be said that they were strong in the west, the south, and the south-east; but weak in the north, north-east, and central France; and it is much the same in the present day. La Rochelle and Montauban were their strongest places. The first the assembly kept under its own control, and that of the magistrates of the city. Montauban was committed to their most trusty lieutenant, the Duke of Rohan.

The Protestants met with a series of misfortunes. Bouillon and Lesdiguières refused their commands, the latter entering the royal army. Saumur was taken by a fraud out of the hands of Duplessis-Mornay; La Force was driven from Béarn; St. Jean d'Angely, called the bulwark of La Rochelle, was taken in three weeks; the Protestant fortresses were delivered up by their governors; in Lower Guienne all the Protestant towns except Clairac opened their gates to the royal army, and that town was taken in twelve days, its consuls and a pastor being hanged.

The conquering army was at last stopped by Montauban. The siege commenced the 18th of August, 1621, and continued two months and a half. The *élite* of the French nobility accompanied the king; but no impression was made, and the bad season coming on they had to raise the siege and go home. The evening before, a Huguenot soldier in the royal army began to play on his flute the commencement of the Huguenot battle hymn, the sixty-eighth psalm. The besieged city heard the musical message, and comprehended that their deliverance was at hand.

And the reader will the better understand how that flute did all that science can do by telegraph cypher, telegram, or telephone, and what was the secret inspiration of the Huguenot resistance, if we venture on a literal translation of the first words of the paraphrase :

> 'Let God only arise, and suddenly will be seen
> The enemy's camp break up to abandon the place,
> And His haters flying in all parts before His face.
> God will make them all fly away,
> As one sees fade into nothing
> A cloud of smoke;
> As wax before the fire,
> So the strength of the wicked
> Is consumed before the Lord.'[1]

X.

Huguenot Learning and Methods of Education.

(*First half of the seventeenth century.*)

In the midst of all this turmoil, side by side with these spurred and booted warriors, we see everywhere learned and thoughtful students. Unfortunately, much of this learning was spent on controversial theology, the famous Synod of Dort (1618–1619) having, by its forcible suppression of the followers of Arminius, greatly accentuated Protestant divisions. Several of the Dutch Arminians fled to France, where they found sympathisers among the Huguenots. However, at least two of the most eminent among the pastors, Dumoulin and Rivet, were Calvinists of the severer type.

Pierre Dumoulin (1568–1658) was saved from the

[1] See Appendix.

massacre of St. Bartholomew, a child four years of age. At thirty-one he became pastor of Charenton. In 1621 he was driven by the Jesuits from Paris, and took refuge at Sedan. Amongst his principal writings were a *Defence of the Reformed Churches of France*, *The Buckler of the Faith*, and *The Anatomy of the Mass*. Dumoulin lived to be ninety years of age. The joy with which he quitted life, while it proves his ardent piety, suggests also the depressing nature of the conflict in which he had borne a leading part. 'Oh, how good you are!' he said to those who told him he was going to die. 'Kind Death, how welcome thou art! How happy shall I be to see my God, to whom I have so long aspired!'

André Rivet (1572–1651) was a leading man at this time, presiding in 1617 at the national synod held at Vitré. He quitted France in 1619, and became a professor of theology in Holland. He wrote an *Introduction to the Study of the Bible*, in which he rests Biblical criticism on grammar and philology rather than on allegorical interpretation.

John Cameron (1579–1625), a Scotchman by birth, was first pastor at Bordeaux, and then succeeded Gomar, the great defender of extreme Calvinism, as professor of theology at Saumur. He was, however, of another school, and even attacked the writings of Theodore de Beza. Cameron was much honoured, the national synod of Castres voting a pension to his children as a mark of respect to his memory.

Daniel Chamier (1565–1621) was one of the most powerful spirits the Huguenots possessed. He disputed with Cotton, wrote with force and acumen against Bellarmine, and was president of the national synod of Privas, which refused to accept either pardon or amnesty from Marie de Medici (1613). His willingness to make great ecclesiastical concessions shows the

breadth and humanity of his learning; his inflexible and courageous adherence to the Protestant cause, and at all risks, shows the rock-like character of the man. 'He was,' says Bayle, 'as odious to authority as he was dear to the Churches.' He was killed by a cannon ball on the ramparts of Montauban (1621), where he went every day to encourage and exhort the soldiers.[1]

Benjamin Basnage (1580–1652), Garissoles (1587–1650), and Jean Mestrezat (1562–1657), all appear to have been men of courage and zealous for the cause. Mestrezat was appointed pastor of Charenton when quite a youth. In an audience he had with Louis XIII., Richelieu asked him how it was the Protestants had pastors who were not French. 'It is much to be wished,' said Mestrezat, 'that many of the Italian monks now in France had as much zeal for his majesty as these foreign pastors, who recognise no other sovereign than the king.' Richelieu struck him on the shoulder, saying, 'Here is the boldest minister in France.'

The Huguenot pastors of this time were men of great learning. Louis Cappel (1586–1658), professor at Saumur, was one of the first Hebrew scholars of the age. Samuel Petit (1594–1643) was a profound orientalist. He occupied in 1627, at Nîmes, the three professorships of theology, Greek, and Hebrew. One day he heard a rabbi denouncing Christianity in Hebrew, and, without any resentment, immediately replied in Hebrew, exhorting the rabbi to study better the faith he attacked. A cardinal offered to get him admission into the Vatican library, and to entrust him with a review of the manuscripts; but he declined,

[1] One of the last of Chamier's descendants was returned member of Parliament for Tamworth in 1772.

fearing that it might cost him liberty of conscience. He was of a gentle, peaceful disposition, adverse to all controversy, a good type of 'the moderate' in Huguenot politics.

This learning was fostered and encouraged by a number of academies scattered freely over France. Sedan, in the north-east, Saumur, in the north-west (1599), Montauban, towards the south-west (1598), Die, in the Dauphiné (1604), Montpellier (1598), and Nîmes (1561), to the south, were all centres of learning, well supplied with professors, and a body of students, who passed through a course of eloquence, philosophy, and theology, and more or less instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. They played a great part in Protestant education in France, and were not confined to students in theology, though no doubt the education of a learned and orthodox ministry was their supreme object. For the pulpit occupied during the first two centuries after the Reformation a place in Protestant Europe only paralleled in a few exceptional cases, and at rare intervals, in anterior history.

Candidates were proposed and examined at the sitting of the provincial synods, and, if accepted, they were required to sign the confession of faith. They preached before the synod on being proposed, and again at the close of their course, as students in theology; and, if finally approved, they were ordained, either at a consistory or in a synod. The candidate knelt, while one of the leading ministers addressed him on the duties of the pastorate, after which some of the pastors present laid hands upon him. The officiating minister then gave him the right hand of fellowship, and the Sunday following he preached his entrance sermon.

As the limits of each Church were those of its town or district, there were frequently several pastors

attached to the same Church. On Sunday, there were three sermons preached by three different pastors. A liturgy was used, which permitted the minister, after reading an exhortation and confession, to occupy the greater part of the service in free prayer and preaching. Chanting the psalms was a very important feature in the service, which concluded with a long prayer from the formulary. On Wednesdays there was a short service, consisting mainly of an exhortation, the rest of the service being accommodated to circumstances.

The pastors were assisted by elders and deacons, chosen by the consistories with the assent of the people. The office of the former was, with the pastors, to watch over the people, to cause them to assemble, to make known scandals to the pastors; also to watch over the pastors and deacons, especially to maintain purity of doctrine in the former. The deacons had the care of the poor, and with the elders gave notice of the communion, which was done by leaving a little lead ticket at the dwelling of each person entitled to be present.

The Communion of the Lord's Supper was celebrated at a long table, some of the elders presiding; the deacons cut up bread, which the ministers distributed, and also the wine. If any one had an invincible repugnance to wine he was not expected to take more than the bread. The supper was administered first to the men, then to the women, the pastors sitting at a table on a raised daïs. The communion commenced with an address on its nature and meaning and the duties of the participants; while it proceeded, a layman, often an artisan, but generally the schoolmaster, read passages from the Bible, and caused psalms to be sung.

As the Lord's Supper was regarded as another form

of preaching the Gospel, and an act of fellowship among believers, so baptism meant nothing more than reception into the Church. The service of infant baptism, as practised in 1566, considerably softens the severity of Calvinist doctrine, since it says that Christ did not come to diminish the grace of God, but that all circumcision was under the Old Testament baptism is under the New, implying that as the Jews were elect for their fathers' sake, so among Christians there was also an election of families. This at least was the impression the service must have conveyed.

French Calvinism regarded the education of its little children in Christian doctrine as of the highest importance. It was customary to collect them in the temples and teach them a catechism, which was an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. As taught in the middle of the sixteenth century, prior to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, it is a most interesting document, by no means hard, narrow, or unintelligent.

The Reformed Churches of France were from the very first of the same mind as those of Germany and Switzerland with regard to the education of the people, for they devoted a whole chapter of their 'Discipline' to the subject.

But it was not until after the Edict of Nantes that they were able to carry into effect the article of their 'Discipline' which said: 'The Churches shall make it a duty to raise schools and to give orders that the young people be instructed.'

In the project of the Edict, in 593, it was agreed that the Reformed might build and rent colleges for the instruction of their youth, and the Edict expressly permitted them to 'hold public schools,' in places where the exercise of their religion was recognised, and to provide by special legacies for

the support of the scholars belonging to their religion.

Each Church had a regent or schoolmaster to teach reading and arithmetic to the children, and in centres of importance there was a second regent, who taught the elements of Latin. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the salary of the first order of schoolmaster in these primary schools was fifty livres a year, which rose sometimes to nearly a hundred or even two hundred livres, to which was added the contributions of the richer pupils, not generally numerous. The schoolmasters who taught Latin received from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty livres per annum, and the pupils paid from ten to fifteen sous a month. These salaries were fixed by the consistories. The instruction given was in reality nearly gratuitous.

XI.

Louis XIII. and Richelieu.

The war recommenced in 1622. Louis XIII. hanged or sent to the galleys every prisoner taken. This so intimidated the Protestants that they fell away in vast numbers; and some of their chiefs, unaccustomed to such exterminatory warfare, made their peace with the king. At Négrepelisse, a little town near Montauban, the king struck a blow intended to terrorise. In half an hour every inhabitant was murdered, women flying with children in their arms found no mercy, the streets were choked with the dead, and running with blood. Those who fled into the castle surrendered next day at discretion, and were all hanged. At Toulouse the royal captains and great lords, the Prince de Condé, etc., etc., with six hundred gentle-

men took the communion together, some even joined the Confraternity of the Blue Penitents.[1]

However, the royal army was stopped this time at Montpellier, and towards the middle of October the king agreed with Rohan to articles of peace. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed, religious assemblies permitted, but no political assembly was to be held without the king's express permission. Montpellier was to be dismantled, La Rochelle and Montauban were still to remain fortified places. Finally the Protestant leader, the Duke of Rohan, received a mortgage of 600,000 livres on the Duchy of Valois, and another sum in ready money of 200,000 livres; his pensions were re-established as well as those of his brother.

This treaty was but a stopping to take breath; the drama had an inevitable end. The authorities and the people, animated without doubt by the general influence working through Europe, irritated the Protestants by persistent petty persecutions, disturbing them in their religious worship, depriving them of their temples, taking from them their cemeteries and disinterring their dead; beating, wounding, and driving the pastors away from the churches, compelling them in their synods to deliberate in the presence of a royal official. The more zealous among the Huguenots, moved not only by these things, but also by their sympathies with the great currents of feeling surging in Germany and England, were ready at every opportunity to draw the sword. A partisan warfare raged in Languedoc under Rohan and his brother Soubise. The flame flickered and died down, then rose again; but the greater part of the Huguenot people refused to arm. In vain did Rohan denounce their indiffer-

[1] The same who had formerly induced the Huguenots to support his rebellion.

ence, cupidity, venality; it was of no avail, something seemed to tell them the struggle was hopeless. And so it was, for a man had arisen who had sworn to ruin the Huguenot party, a man who possessed the ability to do all he determined. In his *Testament Politique*, Cardinal Richelieu gives the picture he put before Louis XIII. of the condition of France in 1624. 'I can truly say,' he tells the king, 'that the Huguenots share the State with the State, that the grandees conduct themselves as if they were not its subjects, and the more powerful governors of provinces as if they were themselves their sovereigns. . . . I promise your majesty to employ all my industry, and all the authority it may please you to give me, to ruin the Huguenot party, to lower the pride of the grandees, to reduce all your majesty's subjects to their duty, and to cause your name to be respected in foreign countries as it ought to be.' And on determining to attack and subjugate the Protestant citadel, La Rochelle, Richelieu saw he should attain all these ends. This is why he took so profound an interest in the siege, commanding in person, and directing all things as a general in the field.

XII.

The Siege of La Rochelle.

On the western coast of France, facing the Atlantic, stood La Rochelle, long the most independent city in France. Its privileges had been granted by Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Edward II., and had been acknowledged by Louis XI. Its inhabitants, numbering in 1625 28,000 souls, governed themselves by means of 100 magistrates, consisting of a mayor, twenty-four sheriffs, and seventy-five peers. They had their own troops, a marine, a treasury, and very extensive rights

of jurisdiction. Intelligent, industrious, excellent sailors, they were rich and prosperous.

In 1557, the Reformation commenced in La Rochelle. It soon won the city, which thus became the Calvinist stronghold. It was in fact a Protestant republic, to which every one fled who had energy, courage, and was uncompromisingly Calvinistic. This indomitable seat of liberty Richelieu determined to conquer. He came attended by the king, and by various generals and engineers, by three militant bishops, who, careering about the camp on horseback, acted as his lieutenants.

There were no means of conquering the place except by starvation. But how starve a great maritime town that looked out on the sea, and was promised the succour of the English fleet? The cardinal determined to build across the harbour an immense dyke, or rather two, which very nearly met, the opening being dominated by a great fort. The generals laughed, did not believe it possible, possibly they did not want La Rochelle to fall; for that gone, even Catholic noblemen might expect to be eaten alive by this ecclesiastical monster. It was certainly not from the Huguenots that the cry subsequently arose, 'No more priest-generals.'

However, the cardinal's engineers set to work, and in six months the dyke was constructed. Meanwhile Buckingham came and went, and the Rochellois saw nothing could be done but to endure to the uttermost. They elected for their mayor an old sailor, named Guitou. He refused the office, but when they persisted, he took out a dagger, and laying it on the council chamber of the town hall, said, 'The man who proposes we surrender, I plunge this into his heart.'

Three times an English fleet appeared in front of

the town, for the English Parliament was determined at every cost to succour La Rochelle. But each time the expediton was a failure, and so the Rochellois looked in vain for supplies. At last they ate boiled leather, and a cat sold for forty-five livres. Indeed, it is related that a man kept his child alive for a week by blood drawn from his own veins. Reduced to the last extremity, they decided to drive out all the poor, all the infirm, all widows and old and helpless people. This band of miserable outcasts were received by the hostile camp with a volley of musketry. They returned in despair to the city, whose pitiless gates were barred. They fell into the trench, and here, for a morsel of bread, the women endured the last extremity of dishonour from the soldiers of a prince of the Church and of the most Christian king. What a sight for the angels was this end of a religious war! Two sets of militant Christians, both animated by their respective ministers, drive backwards and forwards the very people whom Jesus Christ most loved—drive them to a death the most horrible, the most despairful it is possible to imagine.

After this La Rochelle was bound to fall; it was only a question of time. Yet the stubborn city refused every offer; it knew that this was the end. At last, when the third English fleet had failed to relieve them, it became clear the defence was hopeless, and they gave way. When Richelieu entered there were only 12,000 living out of 28,000. He ordered the corpses to be cleared away, the streets cleansed, and the principal temple to be made the cathedral. Then, on the 1st of November, 1628, this minister of Jesus Christ, this prince in His so called Church, performed the miracle of the mass. The king entered the same evening, and a Jesuit very appropriately celebrated the Feast of the Dead. To this feast came a long line of ravening birds,

who fastened and fattened on the dead carcase of Protestant Rochelle. It was the final scene, and Richelieu, knowing all was over, behaved with a magnanimity towards the conquered worthy of the genius and perseverance he had displayed.

But, whatever the benefit to France of this great feat, the locality was permanently ruined. Two hundred and fifty years after the event the Poitevin peasant is fanatic and superstitious as the Bretons themselves. Catholic Rochelle is still to be seen with almost one-third less inhabitants to-day than it had in 1627. The cardinal's dyke is still there, but the insects have seized on the city. A plague of white ants, imported from India, have fastened on its timbers, and especially infect the Prefecture and the Arsenal. The city built on a rock was to stand, but that which makes ought else its foundation is doomed to fall. The Protestant Churches of France had in the fall of La Rochelle a terrible but a just lesson. 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.'

XIII.

The End of Political Protestantism.

Richelieu celebrated his success over Protestantism by a pagan triumph at Paris, in which, in accordance with the allegorical taste of the age, Louis XIII. was represented as Jupiter Stator, holding in his hand a gilded thunderbolt; a representation less open to ridicule than such exhibitions often were, because it expressed the truth about the situation and the cardinal's policy. He was really making Louis XIII. the founder of a new order of things, and though he caused his Jove to launch thunderbolts, he did his best to have them gilded.

Notwithstanding the general impulsion towards national unity, a section of the Protestants were still Calvinistic enough to desire a separate existence. Their leader was the Duke of Rohan, a man who in this corrupt and vacillating age led a pure and earnest life, and in whom the old Huguenot spirit burnt strongly, as it did in his aged mother, a woman of great courage, fortitude, and constancy. Rohan bitterly denounced the refusal of his co-religionists to continue the struggle for a cause which was the only barrier to the incoming despotism. To obtain the means to carry it on, he went so far as to conclude a treaty with Spain, by which in exchange for a subsidy of 300,000 ducats and a pension, he agreed to maintain the war as long as the King of Spain willed, and if peace was made to recommence it if Spain so determined; while in the event of his succeeding to the extent of his being able to establish a State apart from France, he agreed to grant liberty of conscience to all Catholics, and to preserve all monks and nuns in the possession of their property, honours, and dignities.

To understand Rohan we must not only regard him as the last representative of the old political and of the new religious independence, but we must remember that the great Thirty Years' War had begun, and that Europe was really divided into two camps: the one fighting for Protestantism and individual and civic liberty, the other for Catholicism and spiritual and political despotism. When in this war we see James I. entering into friendly relations with the representatives of the Catholic party, and Pope Urban VIII. wishing success to the Protestants, we do not blame either of the two parties, but only those who sacrificed great objects for their own personal ends; so now it is not Rohan, but Spain, that is the traitor.

The Huguenot leader was supported by a political assembly convoked at Nîmes; but the Protestant cities and towns in the South of France refused to obey its injunctions, and each made their own terms with the king. Marching triumphantly through the Protestant districts, the royal army came to Privas, an important town in the mountainous district of the Vivarais, and near the Rhone, which was held by some of the most determined adherents of Rohan. The inhabitants fled into the woods adjacent; all who were caught were put to death or sent to the galleys. At the moment the invading army entered the town an explosion took place, whereupon eight hundred Huguenot soldiers were slaughtered, and fifty of the citizens hanged, the city being sacked and burnt.

Richelieu, it is said, was ill when Privas was taken; it was not his wont to treat the Huguenots cruelly, and when those in arms finally submitted, he not only included all in the amnesty, but made the king swear once again to maintain the Edict of Nantes. There was one point upon which he was inflexible: all fortifications were to be rased. Montauban, so long one of the two great Protestant fortresses, demurred to this; but when the Montalbanais heard that Richelieu was marching against them, they yielded, and welcomed him into the city to the cry of, '*Vive le roi et le grand cardinal*' (Aug. 21st, 1629). The victor received even the pastors courteously, telling them that in their quality as subjects the king would make no difference between Protestants and Catholics.

Thus political Protestantism was finally ruined in France, and a new era commenced.

XIV.

Passing under the 'Caudine Forks.'

The Reformed Churches of France might have found new strength in returning to their normal state, but they had been so long accustomed to look up to the powerful of the earth for protection, that now their leaders are all conquered and overthrown, they turn instinctively to the victor for help, even going so far as to request the royal bounty in support of their ministers.

The Catholic clergy, by ages of experience having learnt what it was to put their trust in princes, had accumulated immense property, to which they clung pertinaciously. Thus at the very time that Protestants were begging a little pecuniary aid, the French clergy were able to grant large sums of money to the king,—*dons gratuits*,—benevolences, as they were called in England. The result is obvious, the French Protestant Church fell into being a servant of servants, it became the tail of a State in which the Roman Catholic clergy had supreme influence.

In this miserable position the Huguenots were open to the cruel selfishness of a world which has nearly always conceived might means right. As long as their enemies dreaded the possibility of their ultimate success, they treated them with some consideration; now they knew that they could do no more, they took advantage after advantage. During the war, the clergy had not been prominent as persecutors; but now it had concluded in the final defeat of the Protestants, they commenced an exterminatory attack infinitely more difficult to bear than a struggle which meant a soldier's life, with all its hazards. A restless militia of Jesuits and monks and friars was sent out

against them, who, by continually exciting the fanaticism of the populace, left the Huguenots no peace. Their only earthly protector was the inscrutable Richelieu, whose policy rendered him equally so of Jesuits and Carmelites. As to the kings Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., they learnt nothing from this great statesman except that the Huguenots were a danger to the royal authority, and that therefore it was necessary to depress them. All the subordinate authorities follow the evident bent of king and people. No favour to the heretics, but perpetual injustice. The *intendants* of the provinces, royal officials who acted as provincial viceroys, took this line, and constantly favoured the Jesuits against the pastors, and the bishops against the synods. The provincial Parliaments, assemblies of lawyers actuated by the same spirit, easily made the balance of justice dip when Huguenots were parties to a suit, or explained the law with severity when they were cited for some infraction of the penal code. It was the same with the universities and colleges, more or less dominated by clerical influences. Thus the Huguenots, notwithstanding the Edict of Nantes, were made to feel that they would never be allowed their position in the State until they submitted to its religion.

XV.

The Huguenot Pulpit and Protestant Art.

(*Middle of the seventeenth century.*)

With so much in its favour, it is no wonder that the religion of the State pursued the work of conversion with energy. As few people like to be connected with a sinking cause, the upper classes could safely be left to

the force of the tide; but the mass of the Huguenots, scattered in more or less remote parts of the country, would not realize so readily the ruin of the Church; for them therefore it was judged advisable to make great missionary efforts.

The kind of men sent, however, proved that the rulers of the Gallican Church little understood the genius of the Reformed Faith. Coarse, uneducated persons ran all over the country, setting up at corners of streets, or in crossways, tables with piles of books, challenging the Huguenots to controversy. Sometimes they intruded into private houses, or even offered to debate with the pastors.

But these ill-considered efforts met with little success, for in being able to give a reason for the faith that was in him, no religionist was ever better instructed than the Huguenot.

Whatever were the shortcomings of the Protestant ministry, it had always been faithful to the rule which insisted on explaining to the people the principles of their religion. No ministry perhaps ever so cultivated the pulpit as a real source of power. They were enjoined to be prudent and restrained in their preaching, to abstain from digressions and amplifications, to avoid uselessly heaping up passages of Scripture, and that vain erudition which consists in stating a number of different explanations of the text or passage. They were urged not to indulge in violent and injurious language against the Roman Church, but to prevent and repress such language as much as possible. Upon a people thus educated, the mere exertions of illiterate controversialists were wasted.

A brief reference was made in a previous chapter to the more distinguished pastors of the French Reformed Churches during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The time has come to mention those who

were most prominent towards the middle of the century.

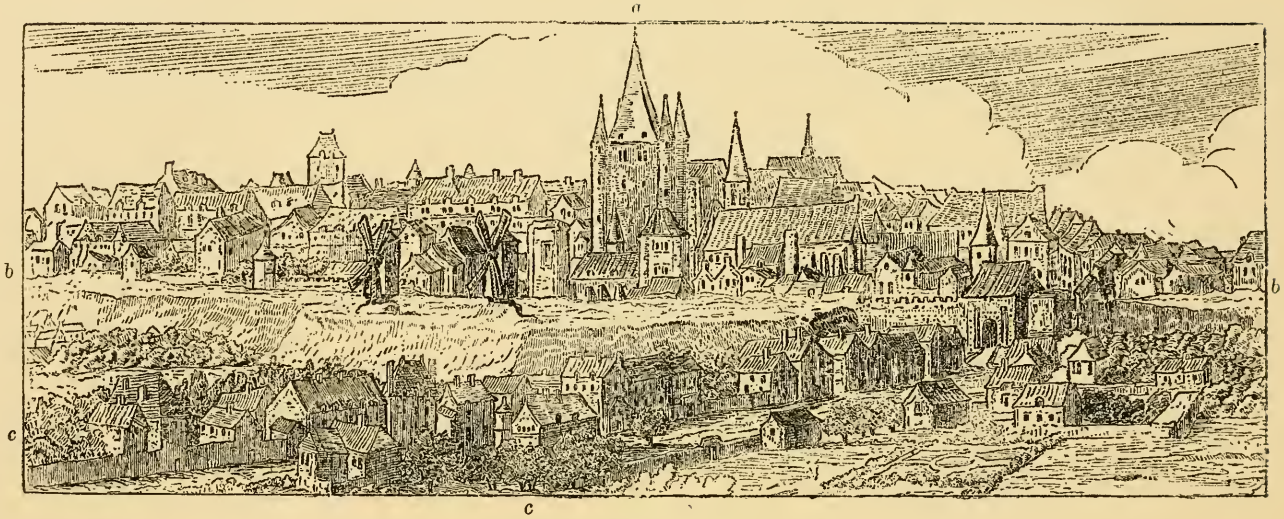
When Louis XIV. came to the throne, in 1643, Dumoulin, Basnage, Garissoles, and Mestrezat were still living; Aubertin, Drelincourt, Daillé, Amyraut, De la Place, Gaussin, and Bochart were in the prime of life.

Edme Aubertin (1595–1652) was the author of a powerful work on the Eucharist, in which he sought to prove that the doctrine of the Real Presence was unknown during the first six centuries of the Christian era.

Charles Drelincourt (1595–1669) achieved a renown not permitted to the more learned efforts of some of his contemporaries. His *Consolations in Prospect of Death* was long a popular work. He wrote more for edification than any other end, and his works were regarded as very useful. His *Summary of the Controversies* armed his co-religionists against the sophistries of the converters, while his *Preparations for the Lord's Supper*, and his *Charitable Visits*, show the practical nature of his works.

Jean Daillé (1595–1670) was of the same age as the two former, and, like Aubertin, a man of solid ecclesiastical learning. He was brought up in the house of Duplessis-Mornay, and had travelled in all the principal countries of Europe. His first tract was entitled *The Usage of the Fathers;* his *opus magnum* was his *Apology of the Reformed Churches,* in which he vindicates them from the charge of having broken the unity of the Catholic Church. He was a most laborious student, and might pass for the original of one of those philosophers which his contemporary Rembrandt (1608–1669) so often depicted, seated in a crypt-like kitchen, deep in meditation, while his wife or servant prepared his frugal morning meal.

Moise Amyraut (1596–1664), professor at Saumur,



VIEW OF PARIS IN 1630.

Showing the Boulevard du Temple with the adjacent suburb where the Protestants were allowed to have a place of worship. *a*. Abbaye du Temple. *b, b*. Boulevard or rampart. *c, c*. Suburb or faubourg du Temple.

was the exponent of a doctrine which lay midway between that of the Calvinistic and the Arminian schools, and which declared that the death of Jesus Christ was sufficient for all men, but only efficacious for the elect. Although he published a confession of faith in a sense contrary to Arminianism, this moderate advance in that direction rendered him open to the charge of heterodoxy. However, his great reputation for learning and his amiable character enabled him to live down this reproach, and in his later life he was one of the most honoured Fathers of the Reformed Church. During the last ten years of his life he bestowed the whole of his salary on the poor without distinction of religion. His literary industry must have been great, as he published nearly forty works. It is not surprising that such a man should have been esteemed by patrons of learning like Richelieu and Mazarin.

One of Amyraut's colleagues at Saumur was Josué de la Place (1596–1655), also a learned theologian. He held views of his own on original sin, arguing that while men bore the burden of Adam's sin, they were not as responsible as if they had personally committed the transgression.

Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), whose researches on the early peoples, places, and animals mentioned in Scripture are quoted to this day in commentaries, was a learned philologist, and much esteemed as pastor of the Church at Caen, in which town he suddenly died while speaking at the local Academy of Antiquaries.

Etienne Gaussin, a third professor at Saumur, and Michel le Faucheur, left works on pulpit eloquence, showing how much that art was then cultivated.

The temple at Charenton, near Paris, was as it were the Protestant cathedral, and in its pulpit from time to time appeared nearly all the more distinguished Huguenot preachers in France.

This edifice, built by the Protestant architect Debrosse, in 1606, was a grand quadrilateral, like an ancient basilica, with three galleries one above another. It was well lighted, for it had no less than eighty-one windows. It could hold 14,000 persons, and must have required a man of powerful voice to fill it. Its exterior was very plain, no doubt the necessity of surrounding it with a high wall caused the architect to reserve himself for its interior, for Debrosse, though austere in style, as befitted a Huguenot, was a man of ability, as may be seen from the Palace of the Luxembourg, of which he was the architect (1615–1620). He also built the aqueduct of Arcueil, which brought the water to Paris from the village of Rungis; a worthy worker, true to his interior life, comprehending instinctively that there could be no serious art in a building of which the architecture was not in harmony with its purpose.

Because some of the greatest works of art have been produced in Roman Catholic countries, people take it for granted that mediæval Christianity was more favourable to the birth of art than the Reformed Faith. The great Dutch school of painting, contemporary with the time now before us, shows that this is an unwarrantable assumption. The truth is, the existence of art is not dependent on any form of faith; whatever is sincerely and intensely believed will attain some artistic expression, its nature and degree being greatly affected by climate, culture, and other circumstances. But the finest climate and the utmost culture cannot get art out of doubt, scepticism, or Jesuitised religions.

In the joy of its new-found faith, Protestantism gave to the most spiritual of all arts, music, a new life and a marvellous development, comparable to that which happened to painting in Catholic countries,

through the great movement connected with the names of Francis and Dominic. But Protestantism, as this great Dutch school proves, not only became more than the foster-mother of the art of music, but the source of a school which, for interest, has no rival except among the early Italians. The struggle for independence, and the sufferings of the Anabaptists, were its inspiration. If Protestant France cannot be compared to Protestant Germany for music, or to Protestant Holland for painting, it must be remembered that it never succeeded in becoming more than a weak and struggling minority, and that its early guides took care not to allow the Anabaptist faith to make any way in its Churches. Nevertheless, its intense earnestness could not fail, at the first favourable opportunity, to develop artists. And the greatest among them appeared when the springs of faith were most simply evangelic. French Protestantism never excelled its Palissy, its Goujon, and its Goudimel; yet the line goes on, and in the middle of this seventeenth century there were quite a number of Huguenot artists.

The career of Sebastien Bourdon (1616–1671) shows the difficulties with which a Huguenot artist has to contend. Born at Montpellier, he entered at seven years of age the *atelier* of a painter in Paris named Barthélemy. At fourteen he painted a ceiling in fresco at a château near Bordeaux. He went to Toulouse, but not being able to earn a living, enlisted; the officer, however, seeing his talent, set him at liberty, and he made his way to Rome. Here he existed by making copies of the great masters for a furniture-broker; threatened, however, by another painter with denunciation as a heretic, he fled from Rome and returned to Paris, where he began to paint battle-pieces, hunts, and landscapes. In 1605 he obtained a commission from the Goldsmiths' Company to paint

a Crucifixion of St. Peter. In 1648 he helped to found the Academy of Painting, and was appointed a professor. During the wars of the Fronde he went to Sweden, and was employed by Queen Christina. He returned to Paris, where he painted many large pictures from Scripture.

Associated with Bourdon in founding the Academy of Painting were four other Protestants, Louis Elle, called Ferdinand, Samuel Bernard, the miniature painter, Louis Testelin, and Louis Dugreur. Fourteen other Huguenot painters became members of the Academy between 1648 and 1675; but in October, 1681, eight were excluded for the crime of heresy, the remainder apparently declaring themselves converted, or ready to be converted, as after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes only Catholics were admitted.

XVI.

The Protestant Churches of France no Longer Allowed a National Character.

1659.

Notwithstanding the learning and virtue of their divines, notwithstanding the influence of the many eminent persons in art, in science, in the army and navy, and among the nobility who still avowed themselves Protestant, the Reformed Churches of France submitted to a gradual enslavement.

Bound by principle and tradition to the State, the alliance became, after the fall of La Rochelle, a new illustration of the fable of the wolf and the lamb.

Their organ of action and expression was the synod, provincial or national. The court worked to render

the occurrence of the latter more and more rare. Between 1631 and 1645 three national synods were held. A royal commissioner was appointed to be present at the first, which took place at Charenton. Pastors and laymen were alike sad and humiliated; they felt at the mercy of their adversaries. The king named the deputies who would be most agreeable to him, and the synod obeyed. Later on the king willed that there should be only one deputy, and this office was finally made hereditary in the family of the Marquis de Ruvigny. The Reformed Churches entreated that they might add a deputy of the third estate, but this the king refused.

Six years passed before another national synod was held. It took place in 1637, in the city of Alençon, and on this occasion M. de Saint-Marc, the royal commissioner, said: 'I am come to your synod in order to make known to you the will of his majesty. All authority is of God, and consequently on this immovable foundation you are bound to obey. Moreover, the goodness of the king, and the care he takes of you, oblige you to it; his clemency and his power are the firmest support you can possibly have. I don't doubt that you have often reflected on the admirable providence of God in causing the royal authority of his majesty to be the means of their preservation.' The moderator, Basnage, replied that the Churches had not the least idea of departing from that submission to which the Word of God obliged them.

Already forbidden by royal authority to receive the teaching of the Synod of Dort, they were now forbidden to correspond with foreign Churches. Letters coming from Geneva and Holland were first opened by the royal commissioner, who, after he had acquainted himself with their contents, caused them to be read to the synod. Still more—one synod might

not correspond with another, the object clearly being to separate the dying ashes as much as possible.

The poor synod solaced itself by considering the slavery of the negroes. It concluded that the Word of God did not forbid the buying and keeping of slaves, but recommended the faithful not to abuse the privilege by selling their slaves to barbarians or to cruel people, but to those who would care for their immortal souls and bring them up in the Christian religion.

At the next synod, which took place at Charenton seven years later on (1644), they were pushed down a step lower still, the royal commissioner taking care to be first in complaining of the encroachments and usurpations of the Reformed Churches. He then declared that it was the will of the king that they should exclude from the evangelic ministry all who had studied at Geneva, or in Holland, or in England. The battle of Marston Moor (July 2nd, 1644) had taken place during the previous summer, and Henrietta Maria was in France.

Some deputies of the maritime provinces having reported that certain English Independents had established themselves in France, and were teaching that each flock had a right to govern itself, without regarding the authority of synods, the assembly enjoined the maritime provinces to take care that an opinion as prejudicial to the Church of God as it was to the State should not root itself in the kingdom.

However, the success of the English Puritans, and the troubles of the Fronde, had a beneficial effect on their condition. Mazarin felt it necessary to keep on good terms with the Huguenots, and for a short time they breathed freely. The exercise of their religion was again permitted in places where it had been illegally suppressed. The Edict of Nantes was again

confirmed in 1652, and its provisions carried out with some reality.

But this relaxation in the process of garrotting French Protestantism aroused the ire of the Catholic clergy, who bitterly complained of the *oppression* of the Catholic Church. They wished for the re-establishment of the legitimate explanations given to the Edict by the late king. They mourned to see how the heretics had destroyed all the wise precautions that great prince had taken to put a barrier to their restless spirit. Some temples having been built on property belonging to certain ecclesiastical lords, the assembly of the clergy demanded their demolition, as 'synagogues of Satan, raised on the patrimony of the Son of God.' They hinted that the reports which the Huguenots presented of their injuries amounted to the establishment of the political assemblies forbidden by various edicts, and that their collections in favour of the Vaudois of Piedmont, who in 1655 were atrociously massacred by their ruler, Charles Emmanuel II., Duke of Savoy,[1] indicated a dangerous plot. They also declared that in some places the Huguenots had again raised the fortifications, and that the deserters of the faith of their fathers aspired to the highest dignities of the State; and in conclusion they made a pathetic appeal for the protection of the king.

Mazarin, a very inferior man to Richelieu, was alarmed, and the council published a declaration which put things back into the state in which they were in the days of Louis XIII. Not only was the exercise of

[1] The occasion on which Milton wrote his noble sonnet:

'Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints.'

A poem which shows how Puritanism, like Huguenotism, had drunk in the spirit of the Hebrew Psalms.

the Protestant religion forbidden in places where it had been lately established, but ministers were forbidden to call themselves *pastors*, or their flocks, *Churches*.

The Edict of Nantes had mentioned by name every commune in which the Protestants were to have the right to preach; but in their now depressed condition their numbers had so dwindled that there were not enough to support a pastor, the result being that several such communes united under one pastor. The terms of the Edict being precise as to places, the only objection the authorities could take was to question the right of any pastor to preach out of the place in which he was domiciled.

The Parliaments lent themselves to the most rigorous interpretation of the law, and thus this pretext was used during forty years to suppress more and more Protestant preaching. The Huguenots having no longer any political assemblies, and the national synod being almost extinct, the provincial synods sent four deputies in 1658 to lay their troubles before the king. However, they got nothing but a promise that he would look at their report and do them justice. Finally he promised to observe the Edict of Nantes, if they rendered themselves worthy of this grace by their good conduct, fidelity, and affection for his service.

In 1659, Louis XIV., by the treaty of the Pyrenees, added to his realm Roussillon, Artois, and Alsace. Conscious of his immense strength, he turned the last screw of the garrote, and the existence of Protestant France as a national Church ceased, except in so far as it was represented by a solitary courtier, the Marquis de Ruvigny. Fifteen years had elapsed since a national synod had been held; one was now permitted at Loudun. On the king's side all was menace,

recrimination, accusation; on the side of the Protestants all was humility, abasement, expressions of gratitude. The commissioner called upon them to admire the benignity of the king, and forbade them to make any complaint, declaring that it was the king who had the most reason to complain of them, that their infractions of the Edict had even reached a supreme degree of insolence, for they had recommenced preaching in Languedoc and elsewhere after it was forbidden, a charge which had been made fifteen years before at Charenton, showing that they could not find a single new pretext for reproach.

The moderator, Jean Daillé, replied in a submissive voice: 'We receive with all respect and all possible humility all that which has been said to us on the part of his majesty.' In return, the commissioner pressed the synod to close its sittings quickly, and plainly told them this would be the last synod permitted. 'The expense is too great,' said the representative of a king who could waste millions on an ugly and useless palace; 'besides, you have provincial synods, which meet annually, and can do what is necessary.'

Daillé replied that they hoped the king would not deprive them of his liberalities, but as the synod was an absolute necessity, they would gladly support all its expenses themselves. They finally resolved, subject to the good pleasure of his majesty, that they would hold another synod at Nîmes in 1662.

But Louis XIV. refused absolutely to allow it. The national synod of 1659 was last held by permission of authority. Sixty-six years passed before another was held, and then it was in secret, in the Desert, under the heaviest penalties.

XVII.

Further Inroads on Huguenot Liberty.

After Henry IV. the Huguenots never had better masters than the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. When the latter died, in 1661, the ministers asked Louis XIV. to whom they should go. 'To *me*,' replied the king.

Persecution at once increased. Commissioners were named to inquire strictly in each province into the violations of the Edict of Nantes. To a great Catholic official, powerful at court, was joined some unknown Calvinist, who was occasionally a traitor. Of course the Protestant cause was generally found a delinquent. Among other things, the commissioners were to verify the right of public worship. Many churches had never had legal documents, or had lost them; the consequence was that services were interdicted, temples pulled down, schools suppressed, and charities confiscated to Catholic uses.

In 1663, the clergy, on the application of its assembly-general, obtained a law pronouncing the penalty of banishment on all who returned to the Reformed communion after having once abjured it. They could not, it was said, claim the benefit of the Edict of Nantes, as they had renounced it, and returning to heresy, they were guilty of profaning the holy mysteries of the Catholic religion. The law was suspended during the next year; it was probably found that banishment was losing its terrors, even for Frenchmen.

In 1665, an ordinance of the council authorized *curés*, accompanied by a magistrate, to go to houses where there were any sick people, and to ask them if they wished to die heretics, or to be converted to the true religion.

By a decree of the 24th of October, 1665, children were declared capable of embracing Catholicism, boys at fourteen years of age, girls at twelve; and the parents were to pay for their support away from home. The bishops, not satisfied with this, complained that the age was far too high, children must be allowed to enter the Catholic Church as soon as they expressed the wish. To this the Government practically said, 'Do as you will.' There were soon many juvenile abjurations; and when the parents sought justice in the courts, claiming that the children were not legally entitled to abjure, the lawyers proved that there was a great difference between inducing a child to change its religion, and the Church opening her arms to receive it when it presented itself by a sort of inspiration from heaven.

The desire to serve one's country as a public official is a legitimate, and may be a noble ambition; the Huguenots keenly felt their exclusion from this career. Colbert, however, finding it indispensable to have honest men in the Treasury, opened its doors to the Huguenots. There was some precedent for it in the fact that under Mazarin, a German Protestant, Barthélemy Herward, had been appointed superintendent of the finances and maintained there, notwithstanding clerical opposition. But of course the chief reason that enabled Colbert to act as he did, was that he was himself absolutely indispensable to Louis XIV., as the man who supplied all the money for his ambitious wars. Thus the Huguenots came into the Treasury, and, by their power of organization, economy, and probity, became the most reliable farmers and commissioners of the taxes it was possible for Colbert to find. One immediate effect was the rise in public esteem of the whole service; and though it was the age of Molière, La Fontaine, and Boileau, the Treasury officials were never satirised.

Shut out from all other public offices, refused admission into the municipal magistracy, the Protestants gave themselves up to trade and manufactures, to agriculture and the arts. Their lives were passed under an irritating and pettifogging tyranny. If a procession passed their temples when they were singing, they were compelled to leave off. They must bury their dead at break of day or at dusk, and only ten persons might follow, except in certain cities, where thirty were permitted. They could only marry at times fixed by the canons of the Roman Catholic Church, and the nuptial procession might not, in passing through the streets, relatives included, number more than twelve persons. Rich Churches might not support the ministers of poorer ones, besides other injurious restrictions.

This sure and steady process of slow starvation did not, however, satisfy eager spirits like that of the Bishop of Uzès, who in the General Assembly of the clergy, in 1665, declared to the king that it was needful to work with more ardour, in order to cause this terrible monster of heresy to yield up its last breath. He asked that henceforth no one should be allowed to go out of the Roman Church, adding that twenty-two dioceses in Languedoc had demanded this law of the provincial states, and that all the dioceses of the kingdom were ready to seal it with their blood.

This proposal was not carried out; but next year an enormous concession was made to the clergy, for all the judgments which had been given in individual cases were embodied into a general law, thus rendering perpetual the various successful efforts made to restrain the liberties granted by the Edict of Nantes. This was the commencement of the emigration, and of the great sympathy which more and more manifested itself

in foreign countries. The Elector of Brandenburg made representations on behalf of the oppressed Huguenots. England and Sweden also manifested their interest. The result was that nine of the articles in this new law were suppressed and twenty-one softened.

XVIII.

The Huguenots and the King.

Unbelief and despotism, faith and liberty—these two sets of parents make opposing worlds. Protestantism was born of the latter, and was, therefore, always inimical to, and hated by, the former. In France the world formed by unbelief and despotism grew stronger through every decade of this seventeenth century. In the last quarter of this period it reached maturity, and exhibited fruits which render its history one of the saddest, but, at the same time, one of the most instructive pages in history. Let us not think that we can afford to be ignorant of its warnings. The Apostle Paul, than whom none knew better that the world had outlived the Mosaic economy, said, referring to some of the facts of its history: 'These things were written for our instruction, on whom the ends of the world are come.'

This terrible despotism was able to impose itself on France, and to reach such a point because it was in harmony with public opinion. Everybody, from the beggar to the prince, believed in it. Even the bulk of the Protestants conceived it their highest earthly duty, as well as their greatest earthly advantage, to be employed in maintaining this despotism. What was the object of Louis Fourteenth's wars but to establish this despotism over Europe? And every victory he

gained enabled him to tread more heavily on the neck of France, and crush without fear the last breath from the Huguenot Churches, prostrate and dying. And yet the Reformed Churches of France duly returned thanks for those victories in their temples. It was as if the children of Ahaz had returned thanks to Jehovah for the triumphs of the idol at whose shrine they were about to be sacrificed.

There was it would seem hardly anything the Huguenots felt more than to be shut out of the public offices, nothing which their historians record with more pleasure than the way Colbert filled the finance department with Protestants, and maintained them there as long as he lived. It never seems to have occurred to the Huguenots, or even to their modern historians, that they were devoting all their virtue and all their pains to strengthening the system which was steadily crushing out the only cause worth living for—the cause of the kingdom of heaven. The reflection, obvious enough now, that all their savings only helped Louis to slaughter, to waste more money in his lusts and follies, does not appear to have crossed their minds. Colbert saw it at last, could not escape from it, and it killed him. But the Huguenot officials went on like a hive of busy bees making honey for the wasps, until the latter, unable to restrain themselves any longer, drove out all the bees and ate up all the honey.

This universal blindness is Louis Fourteenth's best excuse. 'He was deified,' says St. Simon, 'in the midst of Christianity.' A statue was erected to him in the Place des Victoires, with the inscription, *Viro Immortali.* Says the great Jurieu in his noble work, *The Sighs of Enslaved France:* 'The King of France believes himself tied to no laws. He is persuaded that his will is the law of right and wrong, and that he is answerable to God alone. He is absolute master

of the life, liberty, persons, goods, religion, and conscience of his subjects.'

Bossuet and Louis XIV. were entirely in accord on the absolute authority which kings have over their subjects; but there was one point where Bossuet stopped—he did not admit the right of the king over private property.

Louis made no such reserve.

'All,' he said, 'which is found in the whole extent of our states, of whatever nature it may be, belongs to us by the same title. The moneys in our privy purse, those which remain in the hands of our treasurers, and *those that we leave in the commerce of our people*, ought to be equally looked after by us. Kings are absolute lords, and have naturally the full and free disposition of all the goods which are possessed as well by Churchmen as by the laity, for use at any time according to the general want.'

XIX.

Public Opinion and the Huguenots.

To comprehend the story before us, it is necessary to understand the nature of the public opinion which could glory in such a monarch, while it pursued with unrelenting animosity the small section of the population who would not prostrate themselves at full length before the colossal idol the followers of Macchiavelli and of Loyola had combined to set up.

Bossuet's opinions may be taken as those of the French clergy. With him they embraced the whole sphere of things, with them they centred on the one subject that engaged their thoughts—the absolute, unquestioned supremacy of the Church. 'The one source of all our misfortunes,' said the Bishop of Valence to

an assembly of clergy in 1685, 'is, as you know, my lords, heresy. The destruction of heresy is our one business. Until now it has been very difficult, but now nothing escapes the zeal, penetration, and understanding of the king. However, as the malice of heretics is unbounded, there are many things the heart of a king so good and so generous has not been able to discover. There are many enterprises yet to repress. But this ought to console us; we are assured of success.'

Madame de Sevigné is one of the best representatives of 'Society' in the age of Louis XIV. To genius and good-humour she added such virtue as to appear quite a paragon among her contemporaries. Nevertheless she thinks it an honour to be a partner with the sharpest hand at the king's gambling-table and to chat with the king's mistress; while of the Huguenots she speaks as 'those demons,' 'those wretched Huguenots, who come out of their holes to pray to God, and who disappear like ghosts directly you seek them and want to exterminate them.' She expresses herself with her usual vivacity on the Dragonnades, which evidently met with her approval. 'The dragoons have been very good missionaries until now; the preachers' (Bourdaloue, etc.) 'that are going to be immediately sent will render the work perfect.' What she and her correspondent, the Comte de Bussy Rabutin, thought of the king and the Huguenots comes out in the following extract from a letter addressed to her by the comte soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: 'I admire the way the king has managed the ruin of the Huguenots. He had undermined this sect by degrees, and the edict he has just given, sustained by dragoons and Bourdaloues, will be their *coup de grâce*.'

If it is sad to find persons like Bossuet and

Madame de Sevigné sharing in and doing their very best to form the horrible public opinion of the day, it is still sadder when we come to find the people themselves animated by it, and making themselves its instruments.

It is true there have been times and occasions when the masses of the people have raged against the preachers of the Gospel, and joined in their persecution, but it has only been for a time; it has almost always ended in the people returning to the attitude in which they received it from the Lord Himself. But here we find the persecution persistent, and unprovoked by anything in the way of preaching; for a Huguenot pastor could not preach outside a temple.

No doubt fanaticism had much to do with it, and example still more; but this would hardly explain the antipathy the people displayed in not only enduring unmoved the ever-increasing cruelty and injustice with which the Huguenots were treated, but in giving that cruelty and injustice their help and support.

Abraham Bosse's engravings show us how prosperous the Huguenots were, how they dwelt in a Land of Goshen. But we hardly need proof of the fact: a religious, industrious people, holding together, must become rich; it is the universal law. In this case it was rendered more certain by the fact that the Calvinist Churches were chiefly recruited from the trading classes in the towns. The sight of this prosperity, in the midst of so much misery, could not fail to arouse envy, suspicion, hatred. The disabilities under which the Huguenots laboured, and a great *lacuna* in the creed upon which their character was formed, led them into positions which gave ground for dislike, and intensified the popular disfavour. Excluded from all the learned professions and all the public offices, they were necessarily driven into

buying and selling the ordinary commodities of life, or, if capitalists, of dealing in money. The Reformers, early accused of Antinomianism, had made much of the moral law; but it was that of the Old Testament rather than the New. The Sermon on the Mount, which was the true antidote to the snares and temptations of such a position, had far from an adequate place in Calvinistic theology. It is easy to see how a people thus situated must necessarily play the part of Pharaoh's fat kine, a law only to be avoided by their obedience to the laws of the kingdom of heaven.

The unpopularity brought about by this condition of things must have been further aggravated by the way in which Huguenots assisted Colbert in wringing the taxes out of the people. This eminent statesman, by the force of his violent will and his tremendous energy, galvanised France, and made it for a few years a Titan in war and commerce. Holland and England were becoming plethoric with wealth gained by their world-embracing marine. France should have the same, should share with these powers the commerce of the globe. Colbert did what he determined. In four years he had built seventy men-of-war, in six years he had a fleet of 194 ships. To man it, all sailors were declared to belong to the king, so that they could at any time be impressed, and made to serve on board the royal navy. But the creation of this fleet was not the end; it was a means to seize and maintain a commerce which had to be created. Colbert invited new industries into France, and to give them a chance of rooting, he passed prohibitory duties on English and Dutch linens and cloths. In three or four years wool alone kept 44,000 looms going. An enormous development of trade suddenly took place in Lyons, and great fortunes were made. Still further, to give life and impetus to this impro-

vised commerce, colonies were bought, commercial companies started, something like chambers of commerce instituted, and roads constructed.

For all these things immense sums of money were wanted, and how to force it out of a people starving and impoverished was the great question. Perhaps it might have been comparatively easy if Colbert had been king, and his work only one of peace and the development of trade; but there were Louis XIV. and Louvois, with their great wars and enormous armies; there was a vast body of idle nobility wasting their lives and their goods at court; there were myriads of priests and nuns who had to live, and added nothing to the general wealth. To sustain all this expense and all this waste, Colbert became a tyrant. The laws gave him thirty or forty means of raising money. In the expressive language of Jurieu, 'A thousand channels were open by which he could draw the blood of the people.' 'France,' said the same writer, 'pays 200,000,000[1] taxes. All the rest of the rulers in Europe, Spain, England, Sweden, Denmark, the emperor and all the German and Italian princes, the republics of Holland and Venice, do not altogether get as much out of their subjects.' For nowhere else was such a rack-rent system attempted. It was worked by farmers-general, who were responsible for the taxes of a district. In the villages the taxes were collected by the notables, who were made answerable in their own persons and property, and who, when they attempted the collection, were obliged to go about in a body, or they would have been stoned. In the end the people were robbed of everything, furniture, cattle, money, corn, wine; the prisons were full.

[1] Jurieu no doubt means *livres*. The *livre tournois* was the unit of the French monetary system, and was worth a trifle more than a franc.

Colbert died cursed by the people. It troubled him as he lay on his death-bed. 'Had I,' he said, 'done for God what I have done for this man' (Louis XIV.), 'I should be sure of being saved, but now I know not where I am going.' The Huguenots were, as we have stated, his best assistants. 'They entered,' says Elie Benoit, 'into the farms and the commissions, and rendered themselves so necessary in affairs of this kind that Fouquet, even as well as Colbert, could not do without them.

No doubt, whatever there was of justice, humanity, disinterestedness was found among the Huguenot officials; but the people could not distinguish one from another. The system was so terribly oppressive that a single clerk of the taxes appeared many times more a worse foe than a sea of 40,000 leagues with its pirates and its storms.

XX.

The Conversion and Jubilee of the King Inaugurate a New Series of Persecutions.

This glance at public opinion in France during the later half of the seventeenth century will enable us better to understand the persistent persecution with which the Protestants were pursued, a persecution tending more and more to extermination. The very existence of a people claiming the right to think differently from the king on the most important of all questions was a menace to absolute authority, and thus for political reasons there had been this persistent persecution from the accession of Louis XIII. in 1610, to the jubilee of Louis XIV. in 1676. But when in that year, owing to the so-called conversion of the king, religious motives were added to political ones,

the persecution took a more exterminatory form, and did not cease until it seemed to have extirpated Calvinism to its very roots.

The conversion of the king to exterior morality and religion is attributed to his last mistress and second wife, Madame de Maintenon, a grand-daughter of the great Agrippa d'Aubigné, who through the miserable character of her father was brought up in a convent and made a Catholic. Her influence over the king exceeded that exercised by any other person in the whole of his career, for she was a very serious person, and knew how to affect his conscience. She must therefore bear with his other intimate advisers—his confessor, Père la Chaise; his chancellor, Le Tellier; and his minister, Louvois,—the blame of all the frightful iniquity which now ensued.

Perhaps it was the ability the Huguenots had displayed in the management of the royal finances that induced the king and his council to believe that they were specially devoted to money-making, and might easily be bought if each man was duly paid his price. To this good work Louis determined to consecrate a third of his savings, as well as the proceeds of all the benefices that fell in, the temporals of which he took until the see was filled up. A bank was opened, and Pellison, a new convert to the king's religion, was appointed its director. It had its agents all over the provinces, and a regular system of business. No more than a hundred francs a head was to be given, and less in the general way. More might, however, be granted in special cases, if explained to his majesty, and he should judge it advisable. Pellison soon presented a list of eight hundred converts; the miracle was trumpeted forth in the gazettes. But ere long it had to be whispered to the king that he was being duped, that the people bought were rogues. Where-

upon Louis enacted that the rogues should not escape the chance of being reformed by Catholic discipline, for any relapse back again into Protestantism was to be punished with perpetual banishment and confiscation of goods.

Bribery having failed, Louis reverted to force. It was soon understood throughout the official world that there was no better way to please the king than to assist him in his great work of extirpating heresy from France; and very soon every one in authority began to enter into this congenial line of converting the Huguenots by force. One civil right after another was taken away; they were attacked in their tenderest points—family life and religious worship. The chambers of the Edict in Paris and Rouen were suppressed in 1669, and the mixed chambers in the Parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux in 1679. The provincial parliaments had long distinguished themselves by the severity with which they carried out all the cruel laws against heresy. In 1664, Elie Saurin, the Protestant theologian, passed the 'holy sacrament' without raising his hat. He was condemned by the Grenoble Parliament to be conducted in his shirt, barefooted, a lighted candle weighing two pounds in his hand, and a halter round his neck, to the principal door of the chief church in Embrun, and there to declare that he had foolishly and audaciously passed before the holy sacrament of the altar without raising his hat, that he repented of it, and asked pardon of God, the king, and the court, after which he was to be banished in perpetuity.

During the next year a man of high Catholic family, Louis Rambard, spoke against the holy sacrament, but consenting to remain Catholic, he was not then proceeded against. Ten years elapsed, and he became a Protestant, whereupon this same Parliament of Grenoble sentenced him to all the indignities they proposed for

Saurin, and in addition to have his tongue cut out, then to be hanged and strangled until natural (*sic*) death ensued, when his body was to be burnt and his ashes scattered to the winds. He was to pay 1,000 livres to buy a silver lamp for the Church of Die, and 500 more to buy a piece of ground to maintain it; in addition he was to give 1,000 livres to repair the said church, and fifty livres fine to the king to pay the cost of his trial. Rambard was able to escape to Geneva, and so to evade his cruel persecutors; but the extreme barbarity of the sentence shows how much the Protestants lost by the suppression of the mixed chambers in which they were represented.

Children were carried off as early as 1676. By an edict of June 17th, 1684, it was ordained that any child over seven years of age could abjure the pretended Reformed religion, and embrace that of the Church of Rome, its parents not being allowed to prevent it on any pretext whatsoever, but were required all the same to provide for its maintenance. The slightest act was sufficient as sign of adhesion. Children were torn from their parents, especially from the rich, who could pay a good sum for board, and were then shut up in a convent or a monastery. Parents, it appears, tried to save their little ones by sending them out of the country; a law was enacted forbidding this to be done before a child was sixteen years of age. All illegitimate children, of whatever sex or condition, were to be brought up as Catholics; and this law being retrospective, persons of sixty or eighty years of age who had had the misfortune to come into the world under these conditions were now summoned to enter the Church of Rome. In pursuance of this war on Huguenot domestic life, Protestants were forbidden to marry Catholics, or to become guardians or trustees even to their nearest relatives. They were not allowed

to have Catholics for valets, and then by a contradictory law they were to have none but Catholics.

In order to entice into abjuration those who were deeply in debt, a law was made granting a delay of payment for three years to the newly converted, the main inconvenience falling, it is natural to suppose, on their Huguenot friends. Another bribe held out was remission of the taxes for two years to the newly converted; those remaining recalcitrant paying double the usual rate, in order that the treasury might not lose by its generosity.

Medical men, surgeons, and others attending the sick, were ordered, under a heavy penalty, to give notice to the magistrates of a district, who were bound to pay domiciliary visits, in order to ask sick persons if they wished to abjure.

Such was the activity of the legists in these days that between the year 1660 and October, 1685, there were fulminated in France 309 orders, declarations, and edicts against the Huguenots. The pastors were more and more hampered, until the moment came for putting an end to their work; meanwhile they were not allowed to complain of the sadness of the times. They were obliged to live six leagues from any place where worship was interdicted, and at least three from any place where it was contested. No gatherings were to take place in the temples under pretext of prayers and singing psalms, except at the accustomed hours. No convert to Catholicism was to be received into a temple under pain of banishment and confiscation of goods for the pastor, and interdiction of all religious worship for the flock. Under this law it was very easy to demolish a temple and destroy religious worship, as, for example, at Montpellier, where a young girl named Isabeau Paulet, who had escaped from a convent, where they had not succeeded in con-

verting her, entered the temple unknown to the pastor, in consequence of which the Parliament of Toulouse interdicted him from ever again exercising his ministry, abolished the evangelic worship in Montpellier, and ordered the demolition of the temple in a fortnight (1682). The demolition of temples went on everywhere. In 1664, one of the temples of Nîmes was thus pulled down, as well as those of Grenoble, Montauban, Montagnac, Alençon, and one hundred and fifty-two churches of Lower Languedoc, of the Upper Cevennes, and Provence. In the diocese of Valence, twenty-four were destroyed in two years. In 1684, in the Dauphiné alone, twenty-four churches were suppressed by an order in council. Between 1660 and 1684 no less than 570 Protestant temples were closed or demolished in France, just upon two-thirds of the whole number the Reformed Churches possessed. The destruction of some of these places was accompanied by popular violence, as at Blois and Alençon, where the mob rushed into the temples, tore up the books, the seats, and the pulpit, and then burnt them.

Nor was it only their temples of which they were deprived: colleges, academies, hospitals, shared the same fate. The academy at Nîmes was suppressed in 1664, and that of Sedan in 1681. The ruin of that of Montauban had been effected soon after 1661. Those of Die, Saumur, and Puylaurens, were all condemned in 1684, the property of the first named being made over to the Hospital de la Croix. In a similar way the furniture of the Protestant hospital at Nîmes was in 1667 handed over to the Catholic hospital, and the building turned into an orphan asylum for Catholics or those who desired to become such.

Louis XIV., in fact, boldly illustrated his theory of the right of the crown to dispose of everything in France according to his view of the general want.

All the funds for the support of the Protestant poor were seized, and the recipients sent to the Catholic hospitals. Legacies to consistories were also annulled.

In fact, these bodies could no longer meet, except in the presence of a royal commissioner, the business they had to transact being about the most doleful possible, since it consisted in the receipt of orders, proclamations, edicts, each registering another step in ruin. Sometimes they had to receive the intendant of the province, accompanied by a retinue of officers and priests, and humbly listen to his orders. Sometimes they had to appease tumults rising among their long-suffering people; and all through they were themselves split into fractions, whose alienation grew every day in intensity.

Sometimes they sought spiritual strength and consolation by a day of fasting and prayer. Thus the Synod of Lower Languedoc assembled at Uzès in May, 1669, composed of seventy pastors and fifty-three elders, and after having meditated on the evils of the time, they celebrated, 'in order to appease the anger of God, which,' they conceived, 'weighed burning and terrible on the Churches,' an extraordinary fast, during which they listened to four successive sermons. At the conclusion of this austere service, the members of the assembly gave each other the kiss of peace and the right hand of fellowship, commending each other to God and the Word of His grace.

XXI.

The Booted Mission.

Louvois, annoyed to find that with the cessation of war and the rise of Madame de Maintenon his influence with the king had ceased, determined to throw

himself into the movement of the day, the conversion of Huguenots, and thereupon organized what is now known as *la mission bottée*—the booted mission.

In his capacity of war minister he had the control of the troops, and accordingly he sent a regiment of cavalry into Poitou, with orders to Marillac, the intendant, to quarter the greater number on the Protestants. 'Where,' he said, 'by a fair division the religionaries should have ten, you can give them twenty.' Marillac entered into the spirit of his orders, for he marched as if he were in a hostile country, causing his troops to collect all the arrears of the taxes, exempting converts and throwing the whole burden on those who obstinately adhered to their religion. About four to ten dragoons were lodged in each Protestant home, with orders not to kill their victims, but to do everything they possibly could to wrest from them an abjuration. Their amusements were from their own point of view as blasphemous as they were cruel, for to make them kiss the cross they tied it to their mouths, or dug them with it under the ribs; they struck the children with their canes or the flat of their swords or the butt end of their muskets, and that in so violent a manner as sometimes to lame the victim. They flogged the women with whips, or struck them in their faces with their canes; they dragged them through the mud by the hair of their head; they tore the labourers from their ploughs, and drove them to church with their own ox-goads.

Many felt these things beyond endurance, and determined to quit France. Thousands of Huguenot families emigrated; what, however, most alarmed the government was the flight of a great number of the sailors, who went off *en masse*. The intendants were ordered to desist, and the laws against emigration were put into vigorous execution: penal servitude for

life on the galleys to heads of families flying, a fine of 3,000 livres to all who helped them to do so, while all contracts entered into by emigrants for a twelvemonth previous to their departure were annulled.

During the years that elapsed between the first Dragonnades and the Revocation, every man had to choose between life and all he held dear and his conscience; there was no escape. Pilate, when he saw Jesus Christ at his bar, when he beheld that face on which the most virulent could discern no trace of evil, Pilate when he heard the cry, 'Crucify Him! crucify Him!' could not help exclaiming, 'Why, what evil hath He done?' so all Europe in astonishment and pity must have exclaimed as they heard of this atrocious persecution.

'Are we,' cried Jurieu, in 1683, 'Turks? Are we infidels? We believe in Jesus Christ; we believe in the eternal Son of God, the Redeemer of the world; the maxims of our morality are of a purity so great that none would dare to deny them; we respect kings; we are good subjects, good citizens; we are French as much as we are reformed Christians.'

The Protestants continued to send up the story of their sufferings to the court, the privy council, to the king himself. Ruvigny, their deputy-general, represented to Louis the great misery of two millions of his subjects. The king, it is said, answered, that to recall all his subjects to Catholic unity, he would give one of his arms, or with one hand cut off the other.

Was this fanaticism? Was it not rather the Ahab-spirit on the grandest scale? As long as that little Huguenot garden of herbs existed outside the Ludovican Church and State, Europe itself would not have made Louis happy. To the *camarilla* about him the ruin of the French Naboth brought literally results

similar in kind to those attending the fate of the Hebrew prototype.

'I beg you,' writes Madame de Maintenon (September 2nd, 1681) to her brother, who was about to receive a gratuity of 800,000 livres, 'to employ advantageously the money you are going to have. The estates in Poitou are going for nothing, the desolation of the Huguenots will make them go on selling. You will be able with ease to establish yourself grandly in Poitou.'

XXII.

Some Huguenots Attempt to Appeal to the Conscience of France.

We have already noted the contradictory law about valets; in 1683 similarly opposing enactments were published concerning the attendance of Catholics in Protestant temples; by an ordinance of the 8th of March, ministers who received a Catholic into the pretended Reformed religion, or suffered them to attend the temples and listen to sermons, were condemned to perpetual banishment from France, with confiscation of all their property. On the 20th of May following appeared a declaration, ordering that there should be an allotted place in the temples where Catholics could sit, who out of zeal for the increase of religion desired to attend the sermons.

In both instances the cause of the contradictory law was plain, the government wished to organise a system of espionage. Here was the commencement of another series of persecutions, more desolating, more unendurable than any that had yet occurred.

Have we not noted again and again in history, how, in the darkest moment of peril to a downtrodden and

oppressed people, the appearance of a man of great heart and boundless faith puts into them new courage, and they go forth resolute to endure and perhaps to conquer? God sends a man before them, and by his aid they are, at least for a time, sustained, and every such gasp is an assurance that they will weather the storm, and finally overcome the adversary. So at this time appears on the stage a man who, with Jurieu, carries on the great traditions of the Calvinist Churches of France.

Claude Brousson was born at Nîmes in 1647. The son of a tradesman, he was trained for the bar, and became an *avocat* in the mixed chamber of Castres, which he followed to Toulouse. For twenty years he had shown himself the disinterested protector of the poor, and the zealous defender of the oppressed Churches. And now that they were absolutely overwhelmed and in danger of total extinction, this man of faith risks all, that he may place himself at the post of danger, by becoming their advocate before the king, court, and country. He was a man of faith, of prayer, and a believer in the human conscience. He felt that in Louis XIV., in the governors, in the magistrates, in the Catholic people of France, there was a power to which he could appeal that would be on the side of the oppressed, and he was determined to risk all to compel them to listen to that still small voice.

On the 3rd of May, 1683, sixteen representatives of the Churches in Languedoc, the Cevennes, the Vivarais and Dauphiné, met in Claude Brousson's house in Toulouse, to consider what they should do. It was resolved to show Louis and all France that they and their cause were not dead, by the simultaneous gathering of the interdicted Churches in their accustomed places of worship, and where the temples had been destroyed,

in some place sufficiently out of the way to give no occasion of offence, and yet not so hidden but that all might know that a religious assembly had taken place.

Unhappily the great trials through which the Churches had passed had developed two characters: the zealots, who were ready for any enterprise, and the timid and politic, who yielded point after point until at last they yielded themselves. This party considered the Toulouse resolution rash, and would have nothing to do with it.

On the day appointed, several meetings took place over the country, but Louvois prepared beforehand, sent his soldiers, and the peasants fled into the woods, where they were killed by hundreds. It was a butchery, not a fight, says Rulhières. The temples in which the victims had worshipped were destroyed and their houses razed. Those who had yielded on the offer of pardon, on condition of abjuring, were hanged.

In the Vivarais the people thus attacked themselves took arms. Louvois promised an amnesty if they would lay them down, but he excepted all the ministers, besides fifty other prisoners, as well as all those he sent to the galleys. One aged pastor, Isaac Homel, an old man of seventy-two, he broke alive on the wheel (Oct. 16th, 1683).

Meanwhile some thirty pastors and lay deputies arrived from Lower Languedoc at Nîmes, desiring to hold a colloquy; but the Nimois consistory, led by the pastors Cheiron and Paulhan, and the deacon Saint Cômes, refused to agree to such a course, whereupon the others determined to ask permission of the temporary commandant of the province, who, however, absolutely refused to allow them to assemble as synod or colloquy under pain of being criminally pursued as guilty of lèse-majesty and as disturbers of the public peace.

The deputies, however, had come to Nîmes to hold an assembly, and were not to be moved from their purpose; so they held it secretly at the house of a dealer in muslins, named Vincent, on the night of the 2nd and 3rd of October. Burning with indignation at the wrongs they were suffering, and the impossibility of making their voice heard, they determined on nothing less than a revolt. Their project was to seize the city with the aid of the Cevennols, who they knew only waited the signal to rise.

But, as is so often the case in these projects born of over-powering passion, they were betrayed. The authorities at once arranged for the arrest of the conspirators, but before they attempted to do so, they sent to the commandant for some troops. These troops two important personages in Nîmes went to meet, but encountering a horseman on their route, they took him for a scout of the approaching dragoons, and asked him how far his companions were off. The horseman, who was a Nimois Huguenot belonging to the party of resistance, recognised his mysterious interrogators, and putting spurs to his horse arrived in time to warn his friends of their peril. It was evening, and raining in torrents, so that the inculpated parties were able to leave their respective homes and find hiding-places without being observed.

When the Duke of Noailles arrived with his regiment, and found himself unable to capture any of the leaders, he caused the city gates to be closed, and forbade any inhabitant under pain of death and the demolition of his house to give shelter to any of the proscribed. Those who were open to the threatened penalty were in terror, and some thought to denounce their guests. Among the latter were those in whose house Claude Brousson had taken refuge; however, they ended by begging him to leave. He wandered

about for two days and two nights, hiding himself in obscure holes and corners, almost paralysed by the cold, and dying of hunger, tracked by the watch, arrested, interrogated, and miraculously allowed to go. At last he noticed the orifice of the main sewer, which was in the principal street of the town, just opposite the Jesuits' College. He lost no time in descending, and creeping as well as he could through the black and fœtid mud, he reached, after many difficulties, the ditch outside the city walls, from whence he got into the open country, and in the end arrived safely in Switzerland.

XXIII.

The Second Dragonnades.

We have seen how the flame of piety, burning low, it may be, in the time of their prosperity, had during these days of affliction risen higher and higher. The destruction of the temples, the interdiction of public worship, only served to increase the ardour with which they 'longed for the courts of the Lord,' so that in some provinces people walked fifty or sixty leagues to attend public worship. The temples, now so scarce, became centres of mass-meetings, the first comers occupying the building, while vast numbers remained without holding a common worship; for the pastors, not being able to take a part, it was confined to singing psalms and reading prayers. At night, however, their ministers stole among them, exhorting them with tears to remain firm in the faith. Sometimes it happened that the worshippers found themselves confronted with a new edict from the authorities, as at Marennes, in Saintonge, where, in extremely rough weather, some ten thousand people had arrived one

Sunday, in 1684, to celebrate Divine worship in their temple. The building, capable of holding 14,000 people, was found closed, an order having arrived the previous night interdicting all worship, some relapsed, or some children of the newly converted having entered during a previous service. Weeping and sighing the people threw themselves into each other's arms, or with clasped hands lifted their eyes to heaven. They dared not stop in the neighbourhood, and in returning some, probably infants, for they had among them twenty-four, died.

These children had been brought to receive the initiatory rite of communion with the Church, for the persecutors, who spared no pains to suppress the preaching of the Word and public worship, who feared not to tread down the most sacred rights of humanity, shrank from interfering with the Huguenot ceremonials of baptism and marriage, the pastors performing them under the eyes of the authorities.

In 1685, Bossuet was fifty-eight years of age; Bourdaloue, fifty-three; Fénelon, thirty-four; in the very prime, therefore, of life, and from their positions as well able as any men to know what was going on in France. Bourdaloue, a Jesuit and a court preacher, representing Religion at Versailles, as Turenne had represented War, and Racine the Drama, Bourdaloue could not fail to have known all that was known at Versailles. Fénelon was director of an institution in Paris specially founded for the reception of Huguenot girls who had been made converts to the Roman Catholic religion. The detail might very well have been unknown to them, but they could not fail to have been aware of the general character of the persecution and the frightful turn it took in this same year, 1685. Yet it was in May of that year, at an assembly of the clergy, that Louis was not only complimented on

the success of his efforts to extirpate heresy, but the Bishop of Valence poetically remarked that the king had led wanderers, who perhaps might never otherwise have returned to the bosom of the Church, *by a road strewn with flowers*. As this bishop, coming from the Dauphiné, could not have been ignorant of the facts, and as there is no reason to suppose he was mocking his hearers, we must charitably conclude that he really thought so; but in that case what a light on the sufferings of the Dauphiné for generations, on the nature of the pontifical absolutism under which they groaned, on the notions of Christianity entertained by the prelates of the Gallican Church.

About the very time that Monseigneur de Valence was uttering this pretty nonsense, the Dragonnades recommenced with greater cruelty than ever.

Certain troops having been cantoned in Béarn to watch the Spanish army, and a truce having been proclaimed, Louvois thought he would turn them to account as missioners. Accordingly in July, 1685, the very month that English Nonconformity received such a blow at the battle of Sedgemoor, the commander of the troops, Boufflers, and Foucault, the intendant of the province, received orders to take in hand the conversion of the Huguenots.

The subjects of their efforts were immediately informed that they must return to the Catholic unity, and some hundreds were at once forced into a church, where the Bishop of Lescar officiated, beaten until they fell on their knees, when they were absolved of their heresy, and told they would be punished if they relapsed. The Huguenots everywhere fled into the forests, deserts, caverns of the Pyrenees, but being pursued, were driven back to their houses, where they were subjected to cruelties surpassing those practised in Poitou.

The soldiers rushed about their houses with drawn swords, crying, '*Tue, tue, ou Catholiques.*' They sacked the place, broke up the furniture, sold the things to the peasants; they repeated their usual violence against the persons of their victims. But in addition, at the express command of the intendant, Foucault, they commenced a maddening torture. They were to keep awake those whom they could not convert by other torments. By beating drums, by blasphemous cries, by pitching the furniture about, they kept these unhappy beings in continual agitation; and when these means failed, they tied them up by their heels until they were almost dead, or they brought burning coals near their heads, or applied them to various parts of their body. They pinched them, pricked them, dragged them about, blew tobacco smoke up their noses; there was no cruelty, however mean, or small, or barbarous, which came into their heads, that they did not practise. As to the women, the insults they had to endure cannot be described. They had no pity on their victims until they saw them fainting away, then they recovered them, but only to begin afresh their tortures.

This method of conversion was so effectual that out of 25,000 members of the Reformed Church in Béarn only 1,000 remained firm. The triumph was celebrated by a grand mass, and by processions in which the converts were paraded.

From Béarn the conquering troops marched to Montauban, where the same process was repeated with the same results; out of the twelve or fifteen thousand persons of which this important Church was composed, only twenty or thirty families saved themselves by flight into the woods or adjacent country. The ruin of the Church of Montauban was followed by all the others in its neighbourhood. Réalmont, Bruniquel,

Négrepelisse, etc., severally passed through a similar experience.

The fate of the Churches of Lower Guienne and Perigord was equally sad, and to show that the final apostasy was one which we should not, even if we had the heart, dare to blame, we will relate the case of Bergerac on the Dordogne.

This town, to-day only numbering some 12,000 inhabitants, contained at this time, it is said, a population of 50,000, and was from its commercial activity a serious rival to Bordeaux. For three years it had been harassed by the soldiers who, in the expressive language of an eye-witness of the *Mission bottée*, 'had eaten it up to the bones.' Two companies of cavalry were first sent, merely to observe the inhabitants, thirty-two other companies soon followed. Then came the commander Boufflers and the intendant Foucault, accompanied by the bishops of Agen and Périgueux. Two hundred of the citizens were summoned to the Hôtel de Ville, and told that the king willed that they should go to mass, and that if they did not do it willingly they would be forced to constrain them. The citizens unanimously declared that their lives and property were in the hands of his majesty, but God alone was the Master of their conscience, and that they resolved to suffer all rather than disobey its monitions; upon which they were told to prepare to receive a punishment worthy such obstinacy. Thirty-two more companies of cavalry and infantry were then sent for, which, with the thirty-four already in the town, made sixty-six, which were quartered on the Protestants, with the injunction to exercise upon their hosts every sort of violence until they had extorted from them a promise to do all that was ordered. This injunction having been faithfully carried out, the miserable victims were again taken to the Hôtel de Ville, where being

again pressed to change their religion they declared with tears in their eyes that they could not. Upon which thirty-four more companies were sent for, so that now the Protestants of Bergerac were delivered over to one hundred companies of soldiers, who acted as wolves among a flock of sheep. A whole company would be lodged in one house, costing a man who was not worth 10,000 livres, 150 livres a day, merely for their maintenance. When they had thus ruined their hosts they sold off their furniture at a nominal price. But this was not all: they tied up by the neck the various members of the family, father, mother, children, keeping watch that no one should come to assist them, and kept them in this state for two, three, four, five, and six days without food or anything to drink, and without permitting them to go to sleep. 'Ah! my father, ah! my mother, I can bear it no longer!' cries from one side a child in a dying voice. 'Alas! my heart begins to fail me!' cries the wife; and the brutal soldiery, far from being touched, torment them only the more, terrifying them with menaces uttered with horrid oaths. 'You dog, B . . . won't you be converted? won't you listen to us? You shall be converted. You dog, B . . . this is what we've come for.' At which the priests who stood by only laughed. Of course, for it could have but one end, nature could hold out for a certain time, but at last all gave in, crushed by tortures fiends only could conceive.

There was no safety but in flight, and when the troops arrived at Bordeaux, the greater part of the merchants fled, abandoning their houses and their property. The terror inspired was so great that there was no more need of violence. It was enough to speak of the dragoons to bring every one to his knees. A reign of terror had succeeded; it was a lesson the French people did not forget.

The king's council was itself astonished at the success of this last effort. Louvois wrote to his father, the chancellor, Le Tellier: '16,000 conversions have been made in the whole of Bordeaux, and 20,000 in that of Montauban. The rapidity with which the affair proceeds is such that before the end of the month there will not remain 10,000 religionaries in all Bordeaux, where there were 100,000 the 15th of last month.'

This letter was written early in September, 1685; on the 22nd of the same month the Marquis de Montanégre arrived at Nîmes with two companies of dragoons to carry out an edict of the previous July, interdicting for ever the exercise of the pretended Reformed religion in the episcopal cities, an edict demanded by the assembly of the clergy held at Versailles, in which the flowery Bishop of Valence had complimented Louis on the extreme grace with which he had managed his missions.

The Marquis de Montanégre was kind enough to allow the Nimois Reformed Church to assemble in their temple for the last time. Cheiron, the leading pastor among the moderates, ascended the pulpit and preached a pathetic discourse, in which he appealed to the congregation to persevere at every cost and every sacrifice, even to death, in order to obtain the crown of the martyrs glorified on high. 'We swear it!' cried a multitude of voices amidst a burst of sighs and tears, sobs and lamentations.

The next morning the authorities, followed by a crowd of people, arrived to close the temple officially. Cheiron and another pastor, Paulhan, were on the door-steps, and as they approached, Paulhan exclaimed in despair, 'No more temple, no more life!' 'It is not the time to groan or lament,' said the royal official, 'but to conform docilely and without resistance to the

will of the monarch.' Seals were then placed on the door, and a temple in which the hymn of praise and the preaching of the Word had gone on for a hundred and nineteen years was finally closed. In a few days, Elie Cheiron and Pierre Paulhan themselves illustrated the truth of Paulhan's exclamation, for they both abjured the Reformed faith and received the kiss of peace from the Bishop of Nîmes.

The total number of conversions brought about by the *Mission bottée* was reported as 250,000. The work of demolishing the Huguenot temples went on with equal speed. The following is a list of the temples condemned during the first fortnight in September, 1685, twenty-nine in all:

1st. Vans, Fraissinet, and Saint-Julien d'Arpâon.
3rd. Sauve, Aulas, Saint Martin, Lansuscle, and Barre to disappear.
4th. Valleraugue and Vébron.
5th. Bourdeaux to be razed to the foundation, Saint Christol near Alais, Tournac near Anduze, and Branoux.
6th. Salavas and Pompidon.
7th. Anduze, Cardet, Ribaute, Lagorce, and Saint Martin de Boubeaux to be demolished.
9th. Puylaurens, the material to be used in rebuilding the Catholic church of that town; Pons, to become a house for the education of female children of the new converts.
13th. Mondardie, Meyrueis, Vallerauve, Great Gallargues, Aulas, and Tournac, all pulled down this day.

The demolition of the synagogues of Satan extended to private houses. It was enough that a preaching had taken place in a house, even by a layman, for the

house to be razed to the ground. On the 14th of September, Louvois warns the intendant Bâville that the minister Havart has preached in four houses in a place called La Salle in the Cevennes, and he is to order the Duke of Noailles to raze these houses even with the ground, his majesty being well persuaded that such an example will remove any desire on the part of the religionaries to lend their houses for preaching, to the prejudice of the laws.

The same exterminatory zeal committed to the flames religious books published by the Huguenots. Thus, at Bergerac, the newly converted were required to deliver them up, when they were all burnt in the street (Sept. 27th).

By October the people were flying in all directions, seeking sea-ports like Nantes, or if towards the east, striving to get into Switzerland. The faithful among the nobility and gentry—and we may be sure that to have remained faithful in such an hour they must have been men and women of the purest metal—these great souls shone brightly. Their *châteaux*, still surrounded in the eyes of courtiers with a certain sacredness, were points of refuge for fugitives, and to this very period had maintained the right of public worship. They now received warnings, interdictions; nevertheless several of these noble ladies had the courage to go from house to house sustaining the weak and animating their courage. On the 8th of October, Louvois issues an order to confine all such ladies to their own houses, and put a guard at their expense.

A letter of the eminent Jean Claude (1619), the last of the pastors of Charenton, written to his son on the 12th of October, depicts the sorrowful state of the ruined Churches. 'All Lower Languedoc has yielded; Anjou nearly the same. What will be the success of the storm God only knows; but already I

have no hopes of three quarters and a half. Many are called, but few are chosen. As to myself, I shall stand firm, please God, until the end, and do not dream of going away until the last extremity. God will give me the grace to glorify Him until the end. I look to His pity for this.'

Five days after this letter was written, on the 17th of October, Louis XIV. signed the Edict of Revocation. The next day it was taken to the chancellor, Le Tellier, who sealed it with the great seal of France. When he had done this, the old man expressed his joy in the words of Simeon: 'Now let Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.' So at least it is said, and we have Bossuet's authority for saying that such were indeed his sentiments on the occasion. Six days after he died.

XXIV.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The revocatory edict suppressed the legal exercise of the Reformed worship in France. All pastors were to quit the kingdom in a fortnight, under penalty of being sent to the galleys. If they abjured, they were to have a salary one-third larger than they already enjoyed, with a half revertible to their widows; the expense of academic studies was to be defrayed if they wished to enter at the bar. Parents were forbidden to instruct their children in the pretended Reformed religion, but were enjoined to have them baptized and send them to Catholic churches, under a penalty of 500 francs. All refugees were to return to France within four months, under penalty of the confiscation of their property. No religionists were to attempt to emigrate, under penalty of being

sent to the galleys if men, and seclusion for life if women.

Such were the terms of this infamous edict. If ever the throne of wickedness framed mischief by statute it was on this occasion.[1]

Sydney Smith is reported to have advised men to take short views of life. In history the reverse is the only wise plan. Examine, reader, the history of another century, and then you will be able to judge if Le Tellier or his master had any reason to congratulate themselves on the fatal work of this 18th of October, 1685.

[1] Ps. xciv. 20.