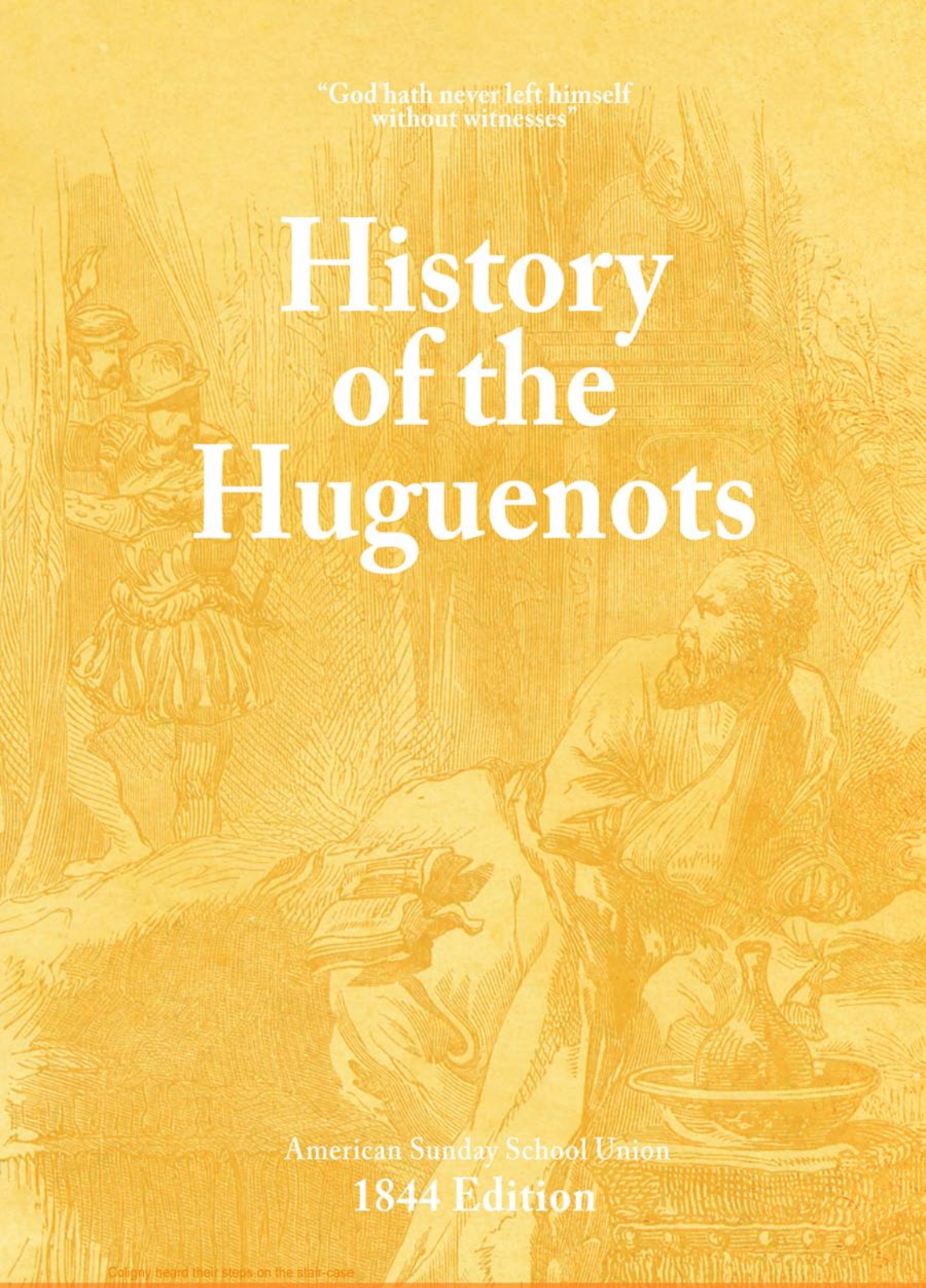
"God hath never left himself
without witnesses"

History of the Huguenots



American Sunday School Union

1844 Edition

Coligny heard their steps on the stair-case

A Hail & Fire REPRINT
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PREFACE

to the Protestant Reprint of

"A History of the Huguenots"

by Hail & Fire

PROTESTANT HISTORY & MARTYROLOGY

These works have been placed online so that those of a Protestant and Gospel faith might have these rare and historic resources readily available. Many today have hastily compromised this great cloud of witnesses for the same 'ecumenical unity' from which their own nations and peoples and families escaped by so dear a price paid in the past. To such we humbly address a word of caution: Look not to the past to whitewash it for the sake of what seems to be a new ecumenism; for the past is a record of the very trial of men's creeds and it is the record itself afforded to all that we might examine and judge the fruits of the religions and doctrines that men live by in this world. Only by putting out our own eyes of wisdom do we exonerate the doctrine and the dogma, and condemn the man only who lived by it. We may each study and analyze the facts of history; we may suspect and dissect; we may seek proofs and compile arguments and in polemical treatises put forth our findings, theories and our opinions; but we cannot change nor may we begin now to change or to suppress that which, in times past and in the ages in which the events took place, is witnessed and not denied by any party to the events, is testified by supporters and detractors alike, is recorded in decrees, dogmatic and ecclesiastical decisions, letters and histories written by men of every sort - even by all men. As Alexis Muston says to the purpose of his Vaudois martyrology and history, "Why relate such atrocities? more than one voice will exclaim with emotion. To inspire horror of the odious principles which have produced them. Do you suppose that an account of the blood which was shed will never be called for? Nay; these vile oppressors of mankind, tyrannizing by the sword, tyrannizing by deceit, tyrannizing by cupidity - these heroes of superstition and intolerance, who would have put an end to Christianity a thousand times over, if it could have been destroyed - these authors of so may wounds still bleeding in the world - must endure history to the last."

HISTORY

OF THE

HUGUENOTS.

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AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION,
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Coligny heard their steps on the stair-case. p. 64.

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PREFACE.

It has been truly said of nations as of individuals, that the great epochs in their history depend upon causes which have long been operating. The process is, perhaps, unobserved until some slight circumstance all at once develops what has been the growth of years. Those who look at this result often imagine that it is in reality, as it appears to be, the occurrence of a moment; but a discerning eye detects in it the combined influence of innumerable past events. Perhaps we are never more forcibly reminded of this principle than when we examine the origin of the Reformation in Europe. In several different countries, almost by a simultaneous impulse, and without inter-communication, error and superstition gave place to truth and freedom of thought. Such a crisis in the intellectual and moral history of nations (however modified by attending circumstances) must ever be contemplated with intense interest.

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It is easy to trace the various influences which distinctively marked the character of this mighty movement in Germany, Switzerland and France. In the two first of these kingdoms it met with a comparatively short-lived opposition, and its progress was characterized by triumphs rather than reverses. But in France, it was the beginning of an almost endless series of struggles. In no other country has truth encountered such resistance from the immorality of the people; an obstacle more difficult to overcome than the most formidable array of theoretical heresies; and in no other country did the reformed endure so much for the sake of their religion. But, if it is by great vicissitudes that the higher principles of our nature are developed, we shall be rewarded for studying a narrative which in every other aspect is painful. We shall meet with scenes which called forth the strongest energies of their actors; we shall find noble characters that were made more noble by the discipline of suffering.

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A HISTORY

OF

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CHAPTER I.

Dawn of the Reformation in France—Le Fevre and William Farel—Francis Angoulême and his sister—Count Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux—Francis ascends the throne—Portions of the Scripture translated and distributed—Apostasy of Briconnet—Persecution of his flock—Intolerant spirit of the court and ecclesiastics—Martyrdom of the Hermit of Livry.

VERY early in the sixteenth century, while Luther and Zuinglius were yet groping in the mazes of Popery, a light had dawned in France which was destined to disperse the darkness of by-gone ages. In the university of Paris were two individuals who had long been searching for a system of truth which could satisfy the demands of their spiritual nature. One of these was James Le Fevre, a doctor of theology, and a distinguished professor in the university; the other was his pupil, William

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Farel, a young student from Dauphiny. Both had been zealous Papists; yet even when they were most faithful in their devotion to the Papal church, Le Fevre seems to have had a presentiment of a brighter day at hand. Often when he and Farel had been chanting the mass, or adoring the Virgin, Le Fevre would take his pupil by the hand and say: "My dear William, God will change the face of the world, and you will see it."

Finding the inefficacy of their austerities to bring peace to the soul, they applied themselves earnestly to the study of the classics and of philosophy. Le Fevre introduced into the university a new standard of scholarship; and learning was pursued with an ardour unknown before. Still, they sought in vain the good they craved. At last, they betook themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and their perplexities vanished.

Le Fevre immediately began to communicate, in his lectures, the truths which he had discovered in his new researches, and the whole university was aroused by his teachings. Nor was he satisfied with bringing before his pupils the abstract principles of Christianity. He urged upon them the obligations which the knowledge of such doctrines imposes. "If thou art a member of Christ's church," said he, "thou art a member of his body; and if thou art a member of his body, then thou art full of the divine nature; for the

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fulness of the Godhead dwelleth in Him bodily. Oh! if men could but enter into the understanding of this privilege, how purely, chastely and holily would they live, and how contemptible, when compared with the glory within them—that glory which the eye of flesh cannot see—would they deem all the glory of this world!"

Farel listened with delight to such words as these from the lips of his teacher; words which found a response in his inmost heart. "Now," he exclaimed, "every thing appears to me to wear a different aspect. Scripture is elucidated, prophecy is opened, and the epistles carry wonderful light into my soul. A voice before unknown—the voice of Christ, my Shepherd and my Teacher—speaks to me with power."

He applied himself diligently to the study of the Scriptures in their original languages, and every day new light beamed upon his mind. But he was not the only one of Le Fevre's pupils to whom all things had become new. Many of his associates were now first inspired with sentiments to which they were afterward faithful, even unto death.

The progress of truth was not long confined within the walls of the university. It soon reached the court of Louis XIII., and among the lords and ladies of the Louvre,* a few welcomed its light.

* See note on page 40.

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At the palace were two young cousins of the king. One of these was Francis of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. He was a prince of elegant person and of intellectual superiority. His ambition was not satisfied with the usual accomplishments of a prince of his time. He aspired to an education more worthy of his noble intellect, and distinguished himself in literary pursuits. His sister Margaret, afterwards Queen of Navarre, whom he loved with peculiar tenderness, was the companion of his studies. Their tastes were similar; and both were distinguished for extensive information. Like her brother, her person was elegant, and she united to those eminent qualities, which in their combination constitute remarkable characters and command admiration, those gentler virtues which win the affections. In the gay world, at the festive entertainment and the royal court, she shone with queenly splendour, charming and captivating all hearts. Passionately fond of literature and gifted with no ordinary genius, it was her delight to shut herself up in her apartment and there indulge in the pleasures of study and meditation.

"This princess, so charming, so full of wit, and living in so polluted an atmosphere as surrounded the court of France at that period, was one of the first to be moved by the religious impulse just then communicated to France. Hesitating, and not knowing on

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what to lean in the midst of the profligate society that surrounded her, she sought somewhat on which her soul might rest, and found it in the gospel. She turned toward that fresh breath of life which was then reviving the world, and inhaled it with delight as coming from heaven. She gathered from some of the ladies of her court the teachings of the new preachers. Some there were who lent her their writings, and also certain little books called in the language of the time, 'tracts.' They spoke of the primitive church, of the pure word of God, of a worship in spirit and truth, of a Christian liberty that rejected the yoke of human traditions and superstitions, that it might adhere only to God. It was not long before the princess sought interviews with Le Fevre and Farel. Their zeal, piety, and Christian deportment favourably impressed her; but it was her friend, the Bishop of Meaux, who was her guide in the path of faith."* This prelate, Count William Briconnet, was a nobleman of the court, and had recently returned from an embassy to Pope Leo X., at Rome. The new movement in Paris excited his attention, and soon he was an eager listener to the public dissertations of Le Fevre and Farel. He became deeply interested in the truths he thus heard, and, by Le Fevre's advice, he began, for himself, the study of the Bible. Margaret frequently met him at the

* D'Aubigné, Hist. Ref.

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palace, and rejoiced to find in him one who could appreciate her own religious sentiments. As their friendship increased, he became her spiritual guide; and from the correspondence which passed between them when he was absent on official duty in his diocese, we discover how much their intercourse was characterized by religious feeling. On one occasion, when she was compelled to listen to the instructions of those who would reclaim her from her heresies, as they were called, Margaret writes to the bishop, "As a sheep, wandering in a strange land, and turning from her pasture in distrust of her new shepherds, naturally lifts her head to catch the breeze from that quarter of the field where the chief shepherd once led her to the tender grass, just so am I constrained to implore your love. Come down from your mountain and look in pity on the blindest of all your fold, astray among a people living in darkness." In another letter she complains that "the times are so cold, the heart so frozen up;" and in closing a letter signs herself, "your cold-hearted, hungering, and thirsting daughter, Margaret."

In the year 1515, Francis I. succeeded Louis XIII. on the throne of France. He was fond of patronising literary men, and from his own love of learning he encouraged free discussion among them. He also founded in the universities professorships of Hebrew and Greek, and thus unconsciously facilitated

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the progress of the new inquiries. Gradually, but surely, the principles that had been discussed diffused themselves among all classes of people, and there was an increasing demand for evangelical instruction.

In the year 1524, Le Fevre published a French translation of the New Testament, and the next year he completed a version of the Psalms. These portions of the Scriptures were eagerly received by a people who waited for the truth; and their circulation was attended with obvious effect. They were read by individuals and families, and at length attracted universal attention.

A society of religious persons at Basle, in Switzerland, published a large edition of these sacred writings, with such small religious works as Luther's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The books were distributed from house to house, through many provinces of France, by colporteurs employed for the purpose. Thus, at this early period, we find the same active benevolence among Christians which has been thought a peculiar characteristic of their religion in the nineteenth century.

But the pure word of God could not be circulated in a nation so corrupt, without exciting the malignity of those whose wickedness it condemned. The king's mother, Louisa of Savoy, was an unprincipled and vicious woman, and quickly showed her opposition to the truth.

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By her influence at court she had elevated Antony Duprat, one of her favourites, to the office of chancellor of the kingdom. This man might well be called an impersonation of evil, and no one could be better qualified to mature and carry out Louisa's designs against the new religionists. The Parliament of Paris,* also, and the Sorbonne,† awoke to the danger which threatened the established faith; and these three parties, often at variance on other matters, united in endeavouring to crush the newly arisen heresy; and Francis, no longer influenced by his fraternal tenderness for Margaret, co-operated in their designs.

Le Fevre and Farel were forced to retire

* There were ten Parliaments in France, which held their sittings in the ten principal cities. They were superior courts of judicature, to which appeals were often made from the decisions of inferior tribunals. Their only legislative function was that of registering and proclaiming the royal decrees.

† The Sorbonne was originally a college in the university of Paris for the education of the clergy of the Papal church. It derived its name from Robert of Sorbon in Champagne, a theologian by whom it was founded and endowed in the year 1250. The whole theological faculty of the university came at length to be called "the Sorbonne." Its opinions and decisions were regarded by the French church as of great authority. The kings seldom took any important step in the religious affairs of the kingdom, without consulting the Sorbonne. It was, however, as much opposed to the Jesuits as to the Reformation, and in the disputes which agitated the church, it took part with the Port Royalists rather than the Jesuits. Its fame and authority had greatly declined, when the Revolution of 1792 put an end to its existence.

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to Meaux. In this little city, Briconnet, the bishop, had preached with so much effect that the number of converts exceeded four hundred. He not only taught them himself, but procured instruction for them from the most learned and devout of the students in the university of Paris. An old record, which preserves the history of these ancient Christians, says: "Many were taken with so ardent a desire to know the way of salvation, that artisans, carders, fullers, and combers, while at work with their hands, had their thoughts engaged in conversation on the word of God and getting comfort from thence. On Sunday and on festivals especially, they employed themselves in reading the Scriptures, and inquiring into the good pleasure of the Lord." "Not only the word of God was preached, but it was practised: all kinds of works of charity and love were visible; the morals of the city were reformed, and its superstitions disappeared."

This was too alarming a progress of truth to remain unnoticed by the Papal ecclesiastics. Some Franciscan monks in the city eagerly commenced a persecution of the apostates, as they were called. Briconnet was frightened out of his profession, and forced to take part in condemning those more faithful than himself; and a poor wool-carder, named John Le Clerc, was appointed to be the first victim to the fury of the inhuman zealots. He was publicly whipped through the streets during

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three successive days, and on the third day was branded on the forehead as a heretic. He endured these tortures with noble fortitude, cheered by the silent sympathy of his friends and the encouraging words of his pious mother. His life was no longer safe at Meaux, and he removed to Metz; yet he did not escape the violence of the Papists. In the course of a few months he died for the sake of his religion, under tortures too dreadful to be described: but his name is honoured in history as that of the first martyr in France.

Many of the French Christians left their country to avoid persecution from the Sorbonne. Le Fevre found refuge at Strasburg, and in the society of the German reformers he enjoyed the full exercise of the religion which, in France, he could enjoy only under painful restrictions.

Farel had been for several years the pstaor of a church at Montbeliard in Switzerland, but on account of his fearless exposure of their false doctrines, the Papists drove him from the place. He also fled to Strasburg, and arrived there in season to welcome his venerable preceptor, and to remind him of the words he had uttered long before, and which were now being fulfilled: "William, God will change the face of the world, and you will see it."

Meanwhile the spirit of intolerance continually strengthened itself at Paris. The queen-mother, and the ecclesiastical bodies of the

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city, instituted a court for the trial of persons tainted with Lutheran doctrines, and all who were found guilty were delivered over to the Parliament, who forthwith condemned them to the flames. Many were the true-hearted ones who thus sealed their lives by a faithful death. But we will only transcribe the story of one of them, as it is preserved in thrilling narrative by a recent historian.*

"In the forest of Livry, three leagues distant from Paris, and not far from the site of an ancient abbey of the order of St. Augustin, lived a hermit, who, having chanced in his wanderings to fall in with some of the men of Meaux, had received the truth of the Gospel into his heart. The poor hermit had felt himself rich indeed, that day, in his solitary retreat, when, along with the scanty dole of bread which public charity had afforded him, he brought home Jesus Christ and his grace. He understood from that time how much better it is to give than to receive. He went from cottage to cottage in the villages around, and, as soon as he crossed the threshold, he began to speak to the poor peasants of the gospel, and the free pardon which it offers to every burdened soul,—a pardon infinitely more precious than any priestly absolution. The good hermit of Livry was soon widely known in the neighbourhood of Paris; many came to visit him at his poor hermitage, and he discharged

* D'Aubigné, Hist. Ref.

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the office of a kind and faithful missionary to the simple-minded in all the adjacent districts. It was not long before the intelligence of what was doing by the new evangelist reached the ears of the Sorbonne and the magistrates of Paris. The hermit was seized,—dragged from his hermitage,—from his forest,—from the fields he had lately traversed,—thrown into a dungeon in that great city which he had always shunned,—brought to judgment—convicted,—and sentenced to 'the exemplary punishment of being burnt by a slow fire.' In order to render the example the more striking, it was determined that he should be burnt in the close of Notre Dame; before that celebrated cathedral which typifies the majesty of the church of Rome. The whole of the clergy were convened, and a degree of pomp was displayed equal to that of the most solemn festivals. A desire was shown to attract all Paris, if possible, to the place of execution; 'the great bell of the church of Notre Dame swinging heavily,' says a historian, 'to rouse the people all over Paris.' And accordingly, from every surrounding avenue, the people came flocking to the spot. The deep-toned reverberations of the bell made the workman quit his task, the student cast aside his books, the shopkeeper forsake his traffic, the soldier start from the guard-room bench, and already the close was filled with a dense crowd which was continually increasing. The

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hermit, attired in the robes appropriated to obstinate heretics, bare-headed and with bare feet, was led out before the doors of the cathedral. Tranquil, firm and collected, he replied to the exhortations of the confessors, who presented him with the crucifix, only by declaring that his hope rested solely on the mercy of God. The doctors of the Sorbonne, who stood in the front rank of the spectators, observing his constancy, and the effect it produced on the people, cried aloud,—'He is a man foredoomed to the fires of hell.' The clang of the great bell, which all this while was rung with a rolling stroke, while it stunned the ears of the multitude, served to heighten the solemnity of the mournful spectacle. At length the bell was silent,—and the martyr, after having answered the last interrogatory of his adversaries, by saying, that he was resolved to die in the faith of his Lord Jesus Christ, underwent his sentence of being 'burnt by a slow fire.' And so in the cathedral close of Notre Dame, beneath the stately towers erected by the piety of Louis the younger, amidst the cries and tumultuous excitement of a vast population, died peaceably a man whose name history has not deigned to transmit to us,—the Hermit of Livry."

But it was in vain that the bigoted and cruel priests of Paris endeavoured to consume the spirit of free and living religion, which was insinuating itself among all classes of society.

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Among the crowds who looked on at the death-scene of the martyr, there were many over whom the spectacle of terror excited a strange power; instead of being frightened from a faith which so girded its disciples with strength to endure, they were won toward it by an irresistible charm.

CHAPTER II.

John Calvin—Marriage of Margaret to Henry D'Albret—Her writings—Expiatory procession instituted—Version of the Psalms—Calvin publishes his Institutes—Persecution of the Christians in Provence—Death of Francis I.—Accession of Henry II.—Influence of the Lorrain princes—Conversion of Admiral Coligny—Edict of Chateaubriand—Attack upon an assembly of Protestant worshippers—The Pré-aux-clercs—Five members of the Parliament committed to the Bastile—First national Synod of the Reformed—Death of Henry and accession of Francis II.—Martyrdom of Dubourg—Catharine de Medicis—Protestants first called Huguenots—Death of Francis II.—Accession of Charles IX.—Outrages at Vassay—Beza—Persecutions increase—Death of the king of Navarre—Treaties of Amboise, Longjumeau, and St. Germains—Plot against Condé and Coligny—Bloody warfare—Catharine's new policy—Coligny and Jane of Navarre at the French court—Forebodings of the Huguenots.

In 1525 there was in the university of Paris a young student, then a devoted Papist, who was destined ere long to emancipate himself from his thraldom, and to become a leader

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among the French Reformers. This lad of sixteen was John Calvin. He had been from his earliest childhood remarkable for his genius and scholarship. He was first among his fellows, and besides his intellectual powers, he was noted for the quickness of his moral perceptions. Amid the allurements which surrounded him, he swerved not from the path to which conscience directed, and though, as he himself says, he was naturally timid and pusillanimous, his sense of right was so strong, that he often reproved his companions for their faults, and became distinguished among them as the "*accusative.*" He seems to have been even then ready for a more pure and spiritual religion than that to which he blindly adhered; and as soon as his uncle, Peter Olivetan, made known to him such a religion, he earnestly embraced it. While pursuing his studies of theology and law at the universities of Orleans, Bourges, Paris, and Saintonge, he became a most diligent student of the Scriptures, and was unwearied in communicating to others the knowledge which he thus attained. But his influence was becoming too powerful to escape the observation and interference of the papal authorities, and Calvin was compelled to retire to Basle in Switzerland.

Meanwhile the princess Margaret, by her marriage to Henry D'Albret, had become Queen of Navarre. In her new elevation she distinguished herself as a patroness of agri-

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culture, learning and religion, and made her court an asylum for the persecuted Protestant ministers. While she loved Francis with a sister's tenderness, she opposed with her characteristic firmness his severe treatment of the Protestants. By her intercession, Calvin was permitted to return to Paris; although the hatred of his enemies obliged him to remain concealed.

In 1533, she published a book entitled "The Mirror of the Sinner's Soul."* This little volume seems to be a transcript of her own spiritual history; and, as recording the actual experience of one whose external circumstances were so unfavourable to the cultivation of Christian character, it must be interesting both to the philosophic and the religious reader. With beautiful truth and simplicity, the pious princess expresses her own emotions and conflicts, as, in words like the following, she writes:

"By spirit noble, yet by nature serf,
Of heavenly seed begotten here on earth;
God's temple—wherein things unclean find room;
Immortal—and yet hastening to the tomb;
Though fed by God—in earthly pastures roving;
Shrinking from ill—yet sinful pleasures loving;
Cherishing truth—yet not to truth conformed;
Long as my days on earth prolonged are,
Life can have naught for me, but constant war.

* Another of her works, which was translated by Queen Elizabeth of England, is mentioned in Lorimer's Protestant Church of France, under the title of "A godly Meditation of the Christian Soul."

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"I have forgotten Thee, for pleasure erring,
In place of Thee my evil choice preferring;
And from Thee wandering, whither am I come?
Among the cursed to the place of doom.
I have forsaken Thee, O Friend sincere,
And from thy love, the better to get free,
Have clung to things most contrary to thee.
"My Father, then,—but what a Father thou,
Unseen—that changest not—endless of days,
Who graciously forgivest all my sin."

The persecutions which she witnessed all around her, probably suggested the touching lines in which she images a prisoner's complaint:

"O refuge free to all who feel distress,
Their help and stay—Judge of the fatherless,
Exhaustless treasure of consoling grace!
The iron doors, the moat, the massive wall
Keep far from me, in love forgotten thrall,
Friend, kinsman, brother,—each familiar face:
Yet mercy meets even this extremity;
For iron doors can never shut out Thee: [place."
Thou, Lord, art with me here—here in this dismal

A publication containing such sentiments could not escape the condemnation of the Sorbonne. As soon, however, as its author was discovered, Francis annulled the censure. But Margaret was no longer able to protect the pious refugees. Some fled to other countries: and those who remained, endured persecution or death.

In 1535, Francis instituted what was called the "expiatory procession." It took place in the depth of winter, and consisted of the officers of the court, the foreign ambassadors

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and the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries, headed by the king, who walked, having borne before him an image of St. Genevieve, the patroness of the city, under a canopy supported by his sons. The bearers of relics and shrines were barefooted and clothed only in long shirts. The king frequently kneeled on the ground, imploring the blessing of Heaven upon his kingdom. At the close of the ceremony he pronounced a malediction upon all heretics. The zeal of the king and his papal subjects seems to have been highly inflamed by this solemn farce, which was followed by the execution of many Protestants, and the burning of eight, in the four quarters of the city. Of many of these atrocious scenes the king was a witness. Calvin found Paris to be no place for him, and withdrew secretly, to return no more.

To his allies in Germany, who were horror-struck at these cruelties, Francis attempted to exculpate himself by alleging that these were not true Protestants, but disorderly enthusiasts. To the Pope, Paul III., he wrote an account of the burning of the heretics, and begging to be considered one of his most devoted sons!

The same year was printed at Neufchatel, in Switzerland, an improved translation of the entire Scriptures into French, by Peter Olivetan, Calvin's relative; and soon afterward a version of the first fifty psalms appeared,

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dedicated to the king, by Clement Marot, a poet of considerable originality.

"This 'Holy Song-book' for the harpsichord or the voice, was a gay novelty; and no book was ever more eagerly received by all classes. In the fervour of that day they sold faster than the printers could take them off their presses; but as they were understood to be *songs*, and yet were not accompanied by music, every one set them to favourite tunes, commonly those of popular ballads. Each of the royal family, and every nobleman, chose a psalm or song which expressed his own personal feelings, and adapted it to his own tune. The Dauphin, afterwards Henry the Second, a great hunter, when he went to the chase was singing, 'As the hart panteth after the water-brooks.' The queen's favourite was, 'Rebuke me not in thine indignation,' which she sung to a fashionable air. Antony, king of Navarre, sung 'Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel,' to the air of a dance of Poitou. We may conceive the ardour with which this novelty was received; for Francis sent, to Charles the Fifth, Marot's collection, who both by promises and presents encouraged the French bard to proceed with his version, and entreated Marot to send him, as soon as possible, *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus*, because it was his favourite psalm, (the 107th,) 'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good.' The universal reception of Marot's Psalms induced Theo-

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dore Beza to conclude the collection, and ten thousand copies were immediately dispersed. But these had the advantage of being set to music, for we are told they were 'admirably fitted to the violin and other musical instruments.' And who was the man who had thus adroitly taken hold of the public feeling to give it this strong direction? It was the solitary Thaumaturgus, the ascetic Calvin, who, from the depth of his closet at Geneva, had engaged the finest musical composers, who were, no doubt, warmed by the zeal of propagating his faith, to form these simple and beautiful airs to assist the psalm-singers. At first this was not discovered, and Papists as well as Huguenots were solacing themselves on all occasions with this new music. But when Calvin appointed these psalms, as set to music, to be sung at his meetings, and Marot's collection formed an Appendix to the Catechism of Geneva, this put an end to all singing of psalms for the poor Papists! Marot himself was forced to flee to Geneva from the fulminations of the Sorbonne, and psalm-singing became an open declaration of what the French called 'Lutheranisme,' when it became with the Reformed a regular part of their discipline."*

In 1536, Calvin, then twenty-seven years old, published at Basle his "Christian Institutes,"

* D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, p. 348.

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and dedicated them to Francis I., entreating his majesty's protection for those of a similar faith in France. But the king's counsellor, Cardinal de Tournon, persuaded him that the work was an insult to himself and to the memory of his ancestors, who had died in the papal religion; and the haughty monarch disdained to notice it. Yet there was one winning influence which still inclined Francis at times to examine the reformed religion. His faithful sister, Margaret, persuaded him to invite Melancthon to Paris, for the purpose of instructing him in Luther's doctrines, and of discussing them with the ecclesiastics of the city; but here again the Cardinal de Tournon was at hand to prejudice the king, and before Melancthon could comply with the request, it was withdrawn.

The indiscreet zeal of some of the followers of the reformed faith contributed to aggravate the prejudices of the king; they went so far as to affix to the principal buildings in Paris, and even to the gates of the Louvre, libels upon the papal creed. Francis was enraged, and issued an edict for the severe persecution of the Protestants, and this edict was rigorously fulfilled.

Although, in the vicinity of Paris, they were watched with a jealous eye by their enemies, and many suffered death, yet their condition was quite favourable compared with that of the Christians of Provence, a district in the

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south of France, which was inhabited by some descendants of the ancient Waldenses. Their confession of faith was reported to the Parliament, and a decree of extermination was pronounced against them, with an order that Merindol, their chief town, with every building, covert, and all the woods about it, should be destroyed. William de Bellany, the governor of the province, sought to turn away the vengeance of the king by a representation of the irreproachable, benevolent, hospitable and truly loyal character of the people—a people so industrious that there were no beggars among them, and so honest that neither bolt nor lock was used among them. By these humane efforts the execution of the decree was delayed for a time; and he was seconded by the earnest entreaties of Margaret, who, on hearing of the bloody edict, wrote to Francis. But Bellany was soon afterwards appointed envoy to Smalkald, and his successor, Baron D'Oppeda, was a violent and blood-thirsty man, who hated the reformed religion. On pretence that these simple people were plotting against the government, he obtained a new warrant for their punishment; and passing even beyond the orders received, he massacred them in the most barbarous manner. More than four thousand perished, and seven hundred were condemned to the galleys. Merindol and Cabrieres, their principal towns, were burnt, besides two-and-twenty villages;

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and the whole country around laid waste. Notwithstanding his own persecutions of the Protestants, Francis was offended by D'Oppeda's unauthorized atrocities, and forbade him to appear at court.

The churches in Meaux, and other parts of France, having rapidly increased, notwithstanding the decree of extermination, the Christians were still harassed by their persecutors. Courts of justice (as they were improperly called) were established in various provinces for the express purpose of apprehending and condemning them. Many suffered martyrdom; but this, instead of checking the progress of their religion, excited new interest in it, and converts were constantly made. At the death of the king, which occurred in 1547, the Protestant churches were numerous in every province of the kingdom. They had, however, no regular church organization or discipline, and most of them were without pastors.

The only son of Francis I. came to the throne under the name of Henry II. As he was a man of much less activity than his father, the reformed communities hoped for greater indulgence than had been granted them under the previous reign; but here they were speedily disappointed. The tournaments and brilliant illuminations with which his coronation was celebrated, were intermingled with the mortal sufferings of men who had long been imprisoned for their religion. The

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king passed from one place of execution to another, while the shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*"* arose amid the shrieks of the dying Protestants!

The most powerful family at court, at this period, was that of the Lorrain princes, often mentioned in history as the house of Guise. Henry's father had warned him, but it seems ineffectually, against the ambition of this family. Francis, Duke of Guise, was a favourite at court, on account of his martial accomplishments; and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, acquired with the king a still greater influence. Both these princes were determined Papists and made a zeal for religion the pretext for all their civil measures. By their superior talents they maintained complete control over Henry, and their first object, next to self-promotion, was to root out what they called heresy. Yet there were at this time some circumstances decidedly favourable to the Protestants. Many of the nobles professed the reformed faith for the sake of opposing the Guises; and though at first only influenced by political motives, most of them afterwards embraced it from a conviction of its truth. Gaspard de Coligny,† Admiral of France, was among this number, and by his high station, as well as by his sincere devotion to the Protestant cause, ren-

* "Long live the King."

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dered it essential service through a long course of years.*

If any doubt remained as to Henry's intentions respecting religion, it was terminated by his issuing, in 1551, an edict, called the "Edict of Chateaubriand," commanding the civil and ecclesiastical courts throughout France to unite in crushing Protestantism. No person was to be allowed an office as magistrate, or teacher in any university, unless he should first pass a satisfactory examination respecting his religious belief. Penalties were threatened against those who should even give shelter to the Protestants, or present the slightest petition for them, in case of their arrest. The press was subjected to a strict censorship, and any individual who should import books from Geneva or other places, where there was not a conformity to the papal faith, were liable to a fine, and severe punishment. Booksellers' shops were subjected to a most rigid inspection, and the property of heretics confiscated. But the strength of the Protestant cause increased more than ever, and in 1555, a regularly organized reformed church was established at Paris, under the direction of Ferriere Maligni.

The Parliament of that city included some

* It is an interesting fact that the conversion of this nobleman, and several others, was effected instrumentally by their reading the Bible, probably for the first time, while they were prisoners after the battle of St. Quentin.

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individuals of high moral character, and, as a body, it would not sanction the new edict. This exasperated the Cardinal of Lorrain, and he endeavoured, but without success, to establish the inquisition. In the course of a few months, however, he obtained the temporary appointment of three inquisitors-general. The vigilance of Matthew Orri, one of the inquisitors, soon discovered an opportunity for new inflictions upon the Protestants. About four hundred of them had assembled at a house in the Rue de St. Jacques, to celebrate the Lord's supper, when their enemies discovered them and surrounded the building. No disturbance was made until the company began to disperse, when the rabble seized upon a great number, murdered some and conveyed others to prison. Among these last, were some ladies of the court and maids of honour to the queen. But their rank did not protect them. The affair ended in the burning of five indivduals.

The next summer a custom was introduced which gave great offence to the Papists. A public promenade, called the Pré-aux-clercs, became a place of daily resort for the students of the university, most of whom were Protestants, full of the spirit of chivalry and eager to defend their religious principles. Here they sung Marot's Psalms in the open air, and multitudes attracted by the novelty of the scene resorted thither. The fashion became

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so general as to supersede the popular games and dances, and people of all classes, even some connected with the court and the tribunals, joined in the parade. The monks of St. Victor, indignant at the boldness of the youthful enthusiasts, resolved on chastising them. Several battles were fought on the spot, in which the students were the conquerors. They celebrated their victories by offering thanksgivings to God, in the simple music of their hymns. These scenes produced great excitement in Paris. Many of the nobility declared themselves on the side of the Protestants. Among these were Antony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, with his wife, Jane D'Albret, daughter of the late Queen Margaret, and his brother Louis, prince of Condé.

The Cardinal of Lorrain and other prelates complained that these assemblies were seditious, and denounced the parliament, because it refused to take up the matter. At length, the king was persuaded that heresy infected the parliament, and one day, when it was in session, he appeared in the midst of it, accompanied by the cardinal and other officers of state. Some questions respecting the liberties of the Protestants were just then in discussion, and several of the counsellors advocated their cause, in the face of the king and his suite. When the session broke up, Henry made a signal to Montgomery, captain of his guards, to arrest five of the members and confine them

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in the Bastile,* declaring, with an oath, that he would see them all burned with his own eyes. He urged on their trial with eagerness; but

* The Bastile was formerly a famous castle in Paris for the imprisonment of offenders of rank. It was first used among the nobility, for the punishment of filial disobedience and other unworthy conduct in members of their families, the offender being released at the will of the parent or guardian. It soon, however, became customary for ministers of state, and other officers of government, to commit to the Bastile those by whose honest discharge of duty they were subjected to inconvenience, and this was often done without the least investigation of their offence, and the cause of their detention was nowhere recorded. It sometimes happened that a person thus unjustly imprisoned remained in the Bastile thirty or forty years, or even until death; succeeding officers taking it for granted that there were sufficient reasons for his being thus incarcerated.

The invention of the *lettres de cachet* opened the door for the most flagrant exercise of tyranny on the part of ministers and intriguing favourites, who found in the Bastile a ready means of ridding themselves of those who stood in their way. These *letters of arrest* were issued in the name of the king. They were in the hands of the ministers of state, and whenever they saw it desirable to put an individual out of the way without inquiring into his offence, it was but to insert his name in the appropriate blank space in one of these *letters*, and the order went as from the king for his imprisonment. These arrests became at length so arbitrary, that men of the greatest merit were committed to these cells for no greater offence than giving displeasure to a minister, a favourite, or a mistress. There is somewhere a touching story of a prisoner who had been confined forty-seven years, and when, on the accession of Louis XVI., he was liberated, he found himself so completely a stranger to the face of nature, and to living men, that he asked to be carried back to the Bastile. One of the first acts of the Revolution of 1792, was to demolish this monument of despotism.

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before it was finished, he was wounded in the eye at a tournament, by a splinter from the lance of this same Montgomery, and shortly after died. As he was borne from the place where he fell, to the palace, he looked toward the Bastile, and expressed a fear that he had unjustly imprisoned innocent men. But the Cardinal of Lorrain was at his side to stifle the monitions of conscience, and exhorted him not to indulge a thought which could be suggested only by the father of lies. Many saw, in the event, the righteous vengeance of God, in causing the king's death by the same hand which he had employed to imprison the Protestants.

The severe measures of the court had not prevented the Reformers from adopting new methods to strengthen themselves, in the very centre of the kingdom. In the month of May, 1559, they held their first national synod in Paris; but it was done with so much secrecy as to escape the notice of the government. A confession of faith and articles of church discipline were drawn up, which were adopted by the Protestant churches throughout France, and embrace the leading doctrines of evangelical churches in the present day. This was a transaction of great importance. It was intrinsically so to the reformed church itself, as the spirit of the times rendered it essential to its stability, that each member should understand the doctrines which called forth such bitter opposition. It was also

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necessary, because their enemies represented their opinions as monstrous, dishonourable to God and subversive of salvation.

During Henry the Second's reign the Protestants had increased continually, notwithstanding the rigorous persecutions to which they had been subjected; and when his eldest son, Francis II., came to the throne, in July, 1559, there was hardly a province or town in the realm which did not contain a strong party in their favour. But the young king had no predilections for their religion, and the Lorrain princes easily influenced him to follow his father's example.

Among the first acts of his reign was the execution of Dubourg, one of the members of parliament, whom Henry had imprisoned. This noble counsellor was a man of great learning and integrity. He had formerly been a distinguished professor of law in the university of Orleans; and after his condemnation, Otho, Count Palatine of the Rhine, who wished to give him an appointment in the university at Heidelberg, sent deputies entreating the king to pardon him. But it was of no avail. Dubourg met death with calmness and constancy. The last words heard from him were, "Father! abandon me not, neither will I abandon thee." This execution seemed to be the signal for fresh outrages upon the Reformers. A new tribunal was established for the purpose of condemning them. Spies were dis-

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persed throughout Paris, who sought them out in such multitudes as to surprise even the Cardinal of Lorrain by their zeal.

At the time of his accession, Francis was only sixteen years old, and on account of his youth, the queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis, took a large share in the administration of government. This celebrated princess was daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis, and niece of pope Leo X. She was born at Florence in 1520, and at the time of her husband's death, was thirty-nine years old. During his life, she had very little power, and no opportunity for displaying to the world her real character. She was jealous of the Guises, and, out of policy, had professed to be favourable to the Protestants, so that in the beginning of Francis's reign, they presented a petition to her, requesting her protection. She read it with tears, (which were always ready when they suited her purpose,) and assured them she would neglect nothing which could contribute to their prosperity. She also commissioned the Admiral Coligny, to procure for her a conference with some of the reformed ministers in Paris, and a time was appointed for the interview, but when the hour arrived she cunningly evaded the engagement. She never befriended the Protestants, unless she had some selfish end to accomplish, and, as soon as circumstances allowed her to act freely, she proved herself capable of unparalleled treachery.

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She was a woman of extraordinary powers, but, governed by evil passions, she was great only in wickedness. Before the death of Henry, the palace of Tournelles was the royal residence, but, immediately after that event, Catharine removed to the Louvre,* and by her order Tournelles was razed to the ground, the gardens destroyed, and even the trees cut down. The Louvre was, at that time, more like a fortification than a king's palace; but was the better suited to the deeds of darkness which Catharine herself caused to be done within its walls, during a series of reigns in which her sons, one after another, bore the title of king, but through them all she was the ruling spirit. Could the stones of that

* The Louvre is an old palace in Paris, on the north bank of the Seine. Its erection was commenced in 1214, under Philip Augustus, by the building of a fort and a state prison. Charles V. added some embellishments, and in 1380 brought thither his library and treasury. In 1528, Francis I. erected that part which is now called the *Old Louvre*. Succeeding sovereigns, even down to Napoleon, made additions of galleries, façades, and colonnades, and some parts of it are considered the finest specimens of architecture in France. Since the Revolution of 1792, the lower floor has been appropriated to an immense collection of antiquities. During the reign of Napoleon, the spoils of art obtained by his conquests were deposited here, and the collection was thus enriched by paintings and statuary of surpassing magnificence. On the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne, these were returned to the several cities whence they were taken. The National Academies hold their sessions, and the exhibitions of national industry take place at the Louvre.

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ancient pile even now "cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answer," what scenes of horror would be revealed—tales untold in the page of a history, already more defaced than any other with records of outrage and murder.

It was about this period, 1560, that the French Protestants first received the name of Huguenots. Various accounts are given of its origin, and perhaps it is impossible to decide between them with certainty. Some suppose that they took the name from the circumstance that their party defended the rights of the Bourbon princes, who were descended from Hugh Capet. Another opinion is, that the term is derived from a German word, which signifies "sworn confederates." There was a society in Geneva called by this name, and it is very possible that the French Protestants purposely adopted the same designation.

The reign of Francis continued only seventeen months. He died on the 5th of December, 1560, leaving the throne to his brother, Charles IX., who was then only in his eleventh year. Catharine de Medicis became regent during the king's minority, and soon found opportunity to exercise her crafty policy. She had been alarmed at the power of the Guises during the two preceding reigns, and her first step toward balancing it, was to recall the Constable Montmorency. But he

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soon united himself with them. Various factions had arisen among the courtiers, and she wisely concluded that the best means of securing her own supremacy, was to promote discord among them all. The Huguenots were no longer an insignificant sect, but a powerful party in the state, including as we have seen some of the princes royal, and having two thousand one hundred and forty churches in the kingdom, some of which included ten thousand members;* and from a selfish motive, Catharine for the time encouraged them.

On the other hand, the Papists had won to their side Antony, the timid king of Navarre. The opposition between the two parties assumed every day more and more the aspect of a state dissension, and an occurrence soon took place which was far from allaying the strife. The Papists of Paris had sent an earnest request to Guise, to come to their aid; the queen-mother having seen fit just then to favour the Huguenots. He accordingly left Joinville the last of February with a numerous suite, which augmented as he advanced, so as to become in fact a small army. He arrived at the town of Vassy on Sunday morning,

* The church in Orleans had seven thousand communicants and five ministers. It was common for two ministers to be established over one church. At this period there were 305 ministers in the province of Normandy alone; while in the year 1837, the whole number of reformed pastors in France was but 366.

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while the Huguenots were assembled for worship. He inquired what occasioned the chiming of the bells, at that early hour;* and when the cause became known, many of his train put spurs to their horses and soon reached the church, where about twelve hundred were devoutly engaged in worship. They hastily closed the doors and windows, but the assailants burst in, and a contest ensued in which sixty Huguenots were killed, and more than two hundred wounded. The pulpit was destroyed, the Bible and service-books burned, the alms-chest and the bodies of the fallen victims plundered, and several houses in the neighbourhood broken open and robbed.

This outrage caused universal excitement, and the Huguenots deputed Beza,† who with

* His mother, Antoinette, had often complained of the insult offered by the Huguenots, in daring to disturb her by ringing these bells.

† Theodore Beza was born of noble parents at Vezelai, in Burgundy, in 1519, and educated at the university of Orleans. He was elected in 1549 to the Greek professorship of Lausanne, (Switzerland,) where he remained ten years. He was an accomplished scholar, a logical disputant, and was exceedingly eloquent; and all his powers, natural and acquired, he devoted to the service of religion. In 1559, he was established as a minister at Geneva, where he became the intimate associate of Calvin. He was sent by the university of Geneva to attend the conference above mentioned, upon which occasion the ability, moderation and dignity with which he acquitted himself, commanded the respect of a crowded audience. He remained with the Prince of Condé during the civil wars of this period, and afterwards was an eminent member of the synods held at

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Peter Martyr and ten other ministers had come to France for the purpose of attending a public disputation at Poissy, to present Catharine with a remonstrance in their behalf. The King of Navarre was present at his interview with the queen, and reproached him because the Huguenots, since the late massacre, had attended worship in arms. Beza replied with the celebrated words, "Sire, it belongs in truth to the church of God in whose name I address you, to *suffer* blows, not to *strike* them. But may it please your majesty to remember that *the church is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer.*" The queen assured the Protestants that their injuries should be redressed, but as the promise did not proceed from a love of justice, and it suited her convenience to forget it, the redress never came.

Similar scenes of violence occurred in many other places. At Tours, three hundred Huguenots were shut up without food three days, and were then tied together, two by two, and led to the river-side, where they were murdered in various ways. At Sens, the inhabitants were summoned by the bell of the cathedral, during several successive days, to

Rochelle, Nismes, Montbeliard and Berne. His long life was spent in intense study, and in various efforts to advance the Reformation. He expired on the 13th of October, 1605. Sully speaks of him as a friend whose approbation was an ample compensation for the malice of a thousand others.

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massacre "the heretics." These violent deeds excited the Huguenots to take up arms in self-defence, and a civil war followed, which convulsed France to its very centre, and which continued with slight intermission until the year 1570. The Prince of Condé and Coligny were the chief commanders on the side of the Huguenots, and the Duke of Guise led the Papists. In one of the numerous battles fought at this period, the King of Navarre was shot, and the wound proved fatal. The mind that had been so wavering in life, wavered even in death—the Papal priest and the Huguenot minister were both in attendance, and both claimed him as a disciple. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, committing his son, Prince Henry, to a faithful old domestic. Catharine, from enmity toward Guise, sided with the Protestants until the duke was assassinated in 1563, when she openly gave herself to the papal cause.

Many scenes of thrilling interest present themselves in the history of these troubled times, but they cannot well be disconnected from a mass of details which it would be tedious to recount. Many hard-fought battles occurred, succeeded by intervals of peace so short that, in the brief space of seven years, there were three distinct treaties; the first dated at Amboise, March 19th, 1563, the second at Longjumeau, March 20th, 1568, and the third at St. Germain, Aug. 15th,

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1570. The first of these gave little satisfaction to either party. Calvin and Beza reproached the Prince of Condé with having sacrificed the interests of the Protestants by it. Meager as were the privileges it promised them, it was scarcely registered before it was violated by the Papists, who complained angrily of the concessions it made to the Protestants. The result was a war in which both parties fought with lion-like desperation. The treaty of Longjumeau was well understood by Coligny and the other Huguenot leaders to be a mere pretext, on the part of Catharine, for gaining time to retrieve her affairs, and prepare for inflicting upon the Protestants an irrecoverable blow. There were no signs of reconciliation on either side; but on the contrary a restive impatience for the signal to assail each other. The clergy inflamed the hatred of the Papists by declaring from the pulpit, that faith should not be kept with heretics, and that to massacre them was pious, just and helpful to salvation! In consequence, assassinations were perpetrated, without the shadow of legal retribution, and to poison or poniard a Huguenot was not regarded as a crime. In fact, their perils were greater than during the war, for in three months time above two thousand were murdered in various ways. One man, in Ligny, was burnt alive by the populace, with wood from his own pile, in the presence of the civil magistrates, for

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refusing to ornament his house on occasion of the *Fête Dieu.*

The different chieftains had retired to their own estates, Condé to his castle at Noyers in Burgundy; and Coligni to Chatillon, where they were visited by all the Protestant nobility. "Their retreat," says the admiral's historian, "would have been extremely satisfactory to this princess (Catharine) if she had not seen that one half of the kingdom paid their court to them; and, in fact, so great was the confluence at Chatillon and Noyers, that the Louvre was a desert in comparison." Catharine saw that all her plans for putting down the Protestants must prove fruitless, unless she could destroy the leaders in whom their affection and confidence were so firmly centred. Her fertile invention was never at a loss for a stratagem, and she speedily devised one for seizing Condé and Coligny. The treacherous spirit of the times excited all men to habits of vigilant observation, and the discernment of these leaders caught some slight indications of the plot which was in progress, in time for them to elude it. Coligny, with his family, removed for greater safety to the residence of Condé, but before the lapse of many weeks, they discovered a government engineer sounding the moat. They quitted Noyers at once, and as secretly as possible for a party of mothers, children of every age, nurses and female attendants, escorted by one hundred and fifty men.

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A gentleman, who by frequent hunting was familiar with the by-paths and fords, conducted them to the banks of the Loire, opposite Sancerre, and, the water being low, the whole party went through safely. A heavy storm almost immediately raised the river, so that their pursuers, whom they saw upon the opposite bank, were unable to reach them. They arrived at La Rochelle after a perilous journey, joyful and thankful for their great deliverance. There the Queen of Navarre met them with her son and daughter, and four thousand soldiers.

Catharine's indignation at the defeat of all her plans vented itself in the revocation of all the edicts in favour of the Protestant religion. She forbade, on pain of death, the exercise of any other than the papal religion, and ordered all who professed the reformed faith to quit their offices. This was regarded as a declaration of war, and multitudes flocked to the standard of the Huguenots. When a people, long oppressed, once gain the ascendancy, the redress of injuries alone does not satisfy them; and in this case, every thing identified with the papal faith was visited with the popular fury; but it fell with heaviest vengeance upon the ecclesiastics, who were regarded as the instigators of all the wrongs inflicted upon the Protestants. Fidelity compels the historian to acknowledge that the cause of the Huguenots was at this period stained by atrocities too

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much resembling those which had been perpetrated upon them by the Papists.

This renewal of the conflict was followed by two years of bloody warfare. We turn away, sickened, from the record of cruelties committed all over France. It is enough to know that a peaceful death, under the domestic roof, was almost an unlooked-for privilege in any rank of society.

The contest was at last suspended without any decided triumph on either side: both were weary of a struggle which had cost the lives of many brave men,* and Catharine began to

* One of these was the Prince of Condé. At the battle of Jarnac, owing to a previous hurt, he came upon the field with his arm in a sling, and as he rode along the lines, a kick from a fractious horse broke one of his legs. Concealing the pain, and waving his sword, he valiantly exclaimed, "Nobles of France! know that the Prince of Condé with a broken leg, and his arm in a scarf, has yet courage to give battle." He rode immediately to the assistance of Coligny, who was unexpectedly drawn into a general battle with the royalists, the odds being greatly against him. Condé's horse was soon killed under him, and finding himself surrounded, he gave his sword to two gentlemen whom he recognised, receiving their promise for his safety. They raised him from the ground and placed him under a tree. At the same moment the captain of the Duke of Anjou's guard rode up, and asked who was the prisoner? On hearing, he exclaimed, "Kill him! kill him!" and discharged his pistol through his head. There is no doubt that this murder was perpetrated at the instigation of the Duke of Anjou, who could never endure a rival whom he knew to be more truly great and noble than himself. The treatment of the remains evinced a hatred amounting to malignity. The body was thrown across an old

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think war an expensive means of exterminating "heresy."

The first development of the new course of policy which she thought fit to adopt, was the treaty of St. Germains. The terms of this treaty were so favourable as to create suspicions in those who studied the policy of the times. The Protestant leaders were slow to appear at court, and many were apprehensive that as soon as the Huguenots were disbanded, and scattered to their homes, some new plot, more ruinous than all that had gone before, would burst forth. Catharine professed a deep interest in the prosperity of the Huguenots, and employed every art to inspire their confidence. She punished every infraction of the treaty by the Papists, with exemplary severity, and treated the Protestant leaders with marked consideration. Charles called it *his* peace. Some deputies sent to the king were met by him at Blois, and received in the kindest manner, and on their departure were loaded with presents. Marshal Biron was employed to inform Coligny that the king wished to avail himself of the warlike spirit of the nation abroad, and as there was none to whom he could so confidently trust the projected war in

ass that happened to be at hand, and carried to Jarnac with the head and limbs dangling on either side, and placed in an exposed lower room of a building occupied by the Duke of Anjou—a spectacle to the whole army! At length it was given to his brother-in-law, and interred by the Prince of Bearn at Vendôme.

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Flanders, as himself and Nassau, he desired his presence at court for the purpose of conferring on the subject. Coligny at length consented to go to Blois where the court then was. He was accompanied by fifty gentlemen as a protection from private enemies. The king received him with expressions of great joy, saying this was the happiest day of his life, and adding those ambiguous words, "I hold you now; yes, I hold you, and you shall not leave me again." He admitted him to his council, confided to him important secrets, and restored to him his pensions, so that the jealousy of the courtiers was strongly excited. In order the more perfectly to deceive the Huguenots, Charles and his mother proposed the marriage of his sister Margaret to the young Prince of Navarre. It was long before the Queen of Navarre could look upon the proposal as any thing but a plot which would end in some fatal catastrophe; but Coligny represented to her the great advantage which such an alliance would secure to the Reformers, and after much effort, so far removed her suspicions that she appeared at court, and consented to the marriage. This artful manœuvre made the desired impression upon the mass of the Huguenots. They looked upon it as an unquestionable seal of the king's favour, and were disposed to trust all his plausible professions. Yet there were a few who could not be blinded. They were constantly appre-

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hensive of some sudden development of Charles's real designs, and endeavoured to disabuse Coligny, whose unsuspecting trust seemed to them an astonishing infatuation. But to their warnings he replied, "I trust in my king, and in his word; to live in such alarms would not be living; it is better to die at once than to live a hundred years in fear." When these anxious friends found it impos sible to draw him away from Paris, they re tired themselves, and one of them said at part ing with the admiral, "I had rather save my life with fools than lose it with the wise."

Meanwhile preparations were in progress for celebrating the nuptials of Henry and Margaret, and every method was employed to attract the Huguenots to the capital. The papal ministers of state remonstrated in vain, and the pope himself despatched a legate to dissuade the king from giving his sanction to so unholy an alliance. But Charles pacified both by his secret reply—"You may assure his Holiness, as the event will prove, that my only object in concluding this marriage is to avenge myself on God's enemies, and to chastise those great rebels."

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CHAPTER III.

Complaints of the Queen of Navarre—Her death, character and will—Marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois—Preparations for a fearful event—Attempt upon Coligny's life—Apprehensions of the Huguenots—Signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew—Death of Coligny—Arrest of Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé—Sully's narrative of his own escape—Narrative of Marshal de la Force—Orders for the extension of the massacre throughout France—Humanity of some of the governors—Manner in which the intelligence was received at the different courts—Walsingham's statements.

The court had taken up its residence for a few months at Blois, and from that place, on the 8th of March, 1572, the Queen of Navarre wrote to her son an account of her reception. She complained that she could not see the Princess Margaret except in the queen's apartments or in the presence of a governess, and adds, "Two or three times I have spoken of this treatment to the queen-mother, but she did nothing but rally me, and behind my back she makes me say quite the reverse of the real words with which I address her. I have been blamed by my friends for some speeches which, in fact, I never uttered; but how to give the lie to the queen, I really know not; for when I tell her that people report that I have said so and so, although these reports proceed directly from herself, she denies them as she would a murder, and laughs in my

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face.* My usage indeed demands more than the patience of Griselda. The princess is handsome, sensible and genteel, but nurtured in the most wicked and corrupt society that ever was, for I see nothing but what shares in the contagion. My son," she concludes, "you have rightly judged from my former letters that their great endeavour is to separate you and me from God; and this new account will corroborate your opinion, and show you the anxiety I am enduring for your sake. Pray earnestly to God whose assistance you need at all times, but especially at the present. And I too will add my fervent prayer that he may grant you all your just desires." In a postscript she alludes to a private interview which she had succeeded in obtaining with the princess. "I have never seen her so peremptory before, and I do believe she speaks just what she is tutored to say, and that all we have been informed concerning her favourable view of our faith has been invented only to entrap us."

Towards the last of May, the Queen of Navarre went to Paris, and on the 9th of June she died. The report was circulated that she

* Catharine could not help respecting Jane's character. She found it required a longer study than was ordinarily necessary for her understanding of human nature. "How shall I read this queen?" she one day asked of one of her courtiers. "Madam," replied he, "both of you are women,—put her in a passion and keep your own temper."

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died of a malignant fever, but there is reason to believe that she was poisoned by means of a pair of medicated gloves which she took from Catharine's perfumer.

A life of such purity could not be safe in a palace that maintained a professed *poisoner*. Her health had previously been firm; she was but forty-four years of age, and from Catharine's subsequent history, we may suppose that no humane misgivings, no conscientious scruples, would interfere with such a disposal of one whose example was a living reproof of her own baseness.

The character of this princess is too interesting to be passed without a more minute notice than we have yet given it. She was a woman of superior mind and rare accomplishments. She spoke several languages with fluency, and wrote with elegance and grace. Her virtues would have adorned any age, but they shone with peculiar lustre amid the darkness and impurity of the period in which she lived. She was educated in the reformed religion by her mother, Queen Margaret, and through the whole course of her life evinced for it an undeviating attachment. Even the defection of her husband did not shake her constancy. When he at length avowed his determination to place his son under the tuition of papal governors, she passionately embraced the child, and exclaimed, "O my son, if you renounce the religion of your mother, she will renounce

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and disinherit you. Keep to the faith in which you have been hitherto educated, and God will be your guide and support." When advised by Catharine (who witnessed the scene) to *appear* to yield, and even to attend mass in conformity to her husband's wishes, she replied, "Rather than attend mass, if I had my son in one hand and my kingdom in the other, I would throw them both into the sea." That a queen possessing such a spirit should have been charged with an unwise zeal for advancing the Protestant religion in her dominions, and that she should have incurred the admonitions and threatenings of the pope, is not a matter of wonder.

Jane patronised men of learning, and especially those distinguished for piety; and, for the benefit of her subjects in Biscay, she superintended a version into their dialect of the New Testament, and of the Genevan catechism and prayers, which had never before been translated. Her two children, Henry and Catharine, she assiduously trained with reference to the station they would in future occupy at the head of the Protestants, and in her last will, which she made on her death-bed, she exhorts her son "to abide unshaken in the faith which he had been taught, to shun the vices and disorders of the court, and to preserve with exactness the religious laws and constitutions which she had framed for his subjects; to cherish his sister with gentleness

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and affection, to watch over her education in the principles of the reformed faith, and at a fitting age to espouse her with her full consent to some Protestant prince of a rank equal to her own." She also "entreats the queen-mother, the king, and his two brothers, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, to receive the prince and princess, her children, under their protection, and to secure to them the free exercise of their religion."

Papists and Protestants unite in admiration of this queen. Davila, a Roman Catholic historian, says of her, "She was a woman of invincible courage, very great understanding, and of bravery far beyond her sex. These eminent qualities, accompanied with a remarkable modesty and unexampled generosity, would have procured for her an eternal commendation, if she had not been imbued with the opinions of the Reformation, and obstinately adhered to them, through her desire to penetrate the profound mysteries of theology unaided by the sciences."

At the death of his mother, Henry assumed the title of King of Navarre; and after necessary delays occasioned by the funeral ceremonies, his marriage with Margaret of Valois was solemnized on the 18th of August. This marriage, as we have seen, was like most royal marriages, only a political measure. Margaret herself was so averse to it, that when asked at the altar whether she accepted Henry

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as her husband, she obstinately refused to answer, and Charles, at length, placing his hand at the back of her head, bowed it forward in token of assent.

The four succeeding days were occupied throughout the whole city with fêtes and dances, and the court took advantage of these festivities to divert the people from its dark designs. Yet, to some wakeful eyes, there were not wanting indications that a fearful plot was in progress. All strangers were ordered, upon pain of death, to leave the city within a certain time, unless removal was impossible; and to insure the publicity of the command, it was proclaimed with trumpets through every part of Paris during three successive days. Another suspicious circumstance, was the addition of four thousand picked men to the king's body-guard.

But Coligny still confided in Charles's friendship, and would not listen to any contrary suggestion. The king continued to manifest the greatest regard for him; and, in order to allay any suspicion that might arise from the recent re-inforcement of his troops, he represented to the admiral that he had ordered it from fear of the Guises. "I know," said he, "their pride, their desire of revenge, and their ambition; and, moreover, how much they have courted and obtained popularity in this great city. Grieved, indeed, should I be, if any trouble should result to you from the power-

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ful retinue of armed men which they have brought with them, under pretext of swelling the pomp of these nuptials; for an injury to you would be felt by me as if offered to myself. With your privity and consent, therefore, I shall gladly quarter a regiment of my own guards within the walls, who may secure the public peace, and be at hand on the slightest appearance of tumult." Yet at this very moment the faithless king was coolly deliberating the complete destruction of the Huguenots, and preparing for the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. "I consent," said he, "to the admiral's death, but let there not remain one Huguenot to reproach me with it afterwards."

Coligny soon had reason to know that if the king and Catharine were true to him, others were not. On Friday, the 22d of August, as he was slowly walking from the Louvre to his own house, a person fired upon him from behind a grated window. But the assassin missed his aim, and the balls struck the admiral, one in each arm. This event caused great alarm among the Protestants. The chief leaders of their party went immediately to Coligny's residence to discuss the affair, and decide what must be done. But the plot was too intricate, and too deeply concealed for them to detect it even at this late hour.

Charles probably thought that the at-

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tempted murder of Coligny would excite the Protestants to rebellion, and so afford a specious pretext for the massacre he meditated, or else he anticipated a tumult between them and the followers of the Duke of Guise, and in that case, by the aid of his own troops, they would easily have been overpowered. But the scheme failed, and the king was forced to adopt a new course of deception. He pretended to institute a search for the murderer, and went himself, the same afternoon, with his mother and courtiers to visit Coligny. He expressed great concern for him, and addressed him in these deceitful words, "My father, depend upon it, I shall always consider you a faithful subject, and one of the bravest generals in my kingdom. Confide in me for the execution of my edicts, and for avenging you when the criminals are discovered."* Catharine also professed deep grief, and affirmed that she did not believe the king himself could now sleep in safety at the Louvre. The young princes, Navarre and Condé, with other Protestant noblemen, would have withdrawn immediately from Paris, and taken the admiral with them; but the king and Catharine succeeded in allaying (though not in removing) their suspicions. Navarre ordered some of his own Swiss

* The Duke of Sully states that the assassin was known to have left Paris, mounted on one of the king's horses!

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guards to patrol the court-yard, and six attendants slept in the admiral's chamber. Charles recommended that, for his greater security, the leading Huguenots should remain near his residence. On the same pretence he stationed the Duke of Anjou's guards, the most ferocious band among the French soldiery, in the vicinity.

After the king's return to the Louvre, some of Coligny's friends once more urged him to leave Paris; but nothing would convince him of the treachery which awaited him, and all that remained for his prudent counsellors to do, was to effect their own escape from the doomed city.

The next day, August 23d, was a fearful one for Charles. He was not yet, like his mother, completely hardened in crime. The twenty-two years of his life had not sufficed for even her fiendish assiduity to blot out all traces of his better nature. He had still a conscience, and the hours came when it would speak in spite of her efforts to silence it. It was indeed no newly planned scheme, the sudden prospect of which agitated the king. He had been meditating it for months, and co-operating in his mother's wiles for enticing within their grasp thousands of his unsuspecting subjects. Yet he could not take the last decisive step towards its consummation without a violent inward struggle. His conduct during the day betrayed hesitation and alarm;

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but at last he put an end to the contest which unmanned him, and became more eager than any one else for a general massacre of the Huguenots. Every thing was soon decided on. The great bell of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, which was used only on public rejoicings, was to give the signal at the first dawn of day. Instantly, torches were to be put in the windows, and chains placed across the streets; soldiers were to be stationed in the open places, and for the sake of distinction they were to wear a piece of white linen on their left arms, and a white cross on their hats. The Duke of Guise was to begin the work of destruction by despatching the admiral at the first stroke of the bell.

It was necessary to preserve secrecy until the last moment. The King of Navarre, who remained with his bride at the Louvre, had been induced on some slight pretext to assemble about his person a large number of Huguenot gentlemen. Margaret herself knew nothing of the plot, and when about to retire, her elder sister, the Duchess of Lorrain, who was in the secret, entreated her not to go. The queen-mother was angry with the duchess, and after Margaret had left the apartment said, it might excite suspicion if she did not go, and that "if it pleased God, no harm would befall her."

The Count de la Rochefoucault, one of the leading Protestants, was a favourite guest

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with Charles, and passed that evening with him in free and familiar intercourse. The king detained him as long as possible, and when at last he retired, Charles profanely said, "I see clearly that God wills him to perish." He was not so ceremonious in securing the life of his surgeon, Ambrose Paré. He sent for him into his chamber, and ordered him not to stir from it without express permission.

All was now ready. In the still summer night the soldiers were collecting at their posts, while the sleeping citizens dreamed not of the horrors to which they should awake. Catharine foresaw that the troops would need some strong stimulus sufficiently to excite them to their barbarous work; and accordingly they were told that a conspiracy had been discovered among the Huguenots which involved the lives of the king, the queen-mother, and even the King of Navarre. This was enough; and they waited impatiently for the first word of command. Catharine did not disappoint them. She knew her own resolution, but she feared if the signal were left to Charles he would waver at the last. Accordingly she sent some one to ring the bell an hour earlier than had been first agreed upon. Charles was so agitated on hearing the report of a pistol a few moments after, that he sent orders to stop the massacre. But it was too late. The Duke of Guise was already at Coligny's hotel. The

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guards whom Charles had placed there, on pretence of friendship, rushed in, and made their way to his chamber, killing several Swiss soldiers as they passed. Coligny heard their steps on the staircase, and perceiving his own fate, said to those who were with him, "Save yourselves, my friends, all is over with me; I have long been prepared for death." His attendants* escaped through the tiling of the roof, and in a moment the assassins entered. "Art thou Coligny?" said the first who presented himself. "I am he, indeed," said the admiral. "Young man, you ought to respect my gray hairs, but do what you will, you can only shorten my life by a few days." Instantly he was covered with stabs. The body was then thrown out of the window to the Duke of Guise and his comrades, who were waiting below. The duke wiped the blood from the face in order to identify his prey, and then gave orders to cut off the head, which was sent to Catharine, in compliance with her orders!

The ringing of the bell of St. Germain had been answered by the bells of all the churches and of the Louvre itself. The slaughter was begun in every part of the city, and as the day dawned, it was upon a most appalling

* Merlin, the admiral's chaplain, was among them. In attempting to cross the tops of the houses, he fell into a hay-loft, and there concealed himself three days, during which time his only sustenance was an egg which a hen laid every morning close to him

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spectacle. Mutilated bodies were falling from the windows; the dead and dying lay together in undistinguished heaps, or were drawn over the pavements to the river, which was literally dyed with blood. The executioners, in the midst of the slaughter, blasphemously mimicked the psalm-singing of the Protestants! Paris resounded with the shrieks of the defenceless people who in vain sought to escape their murderers. Some attempted to reach Coligny's house; others ran towards the Louvre.* But safety was found nowhere. The Louvre itself was a frightful scene of carnage. The Huguenots who had remained there in the train of the King of Navarre were called out one by one before a double line of soldiery, and killed with their halberds. Most of them died without speaking; others appealed to the sacred promises of the king. "Great God," said they, "be the defence of the oppressed! Just Judge, avenge this perfidy!"

Even the apartment of the royal bride was stained with blood. Her husband left it at an early hour that morning, and she had fallen into a short slumber, when she was roused by loud cries of "Navarre, Navarre!" at the door, and immediately a man rushed in covered with blood, and pursued by four sol-

* Charles himself fired upon the Huguenots from the windows of the Louvre, shouting with fiend-like fury, "Kill, kill!"

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diers. The shrieks of the princess brought to her aid the captain of the guards, who left his own bloody work below long enough to lead her to the apartments of the Duchess of Lorrain. As she reached the door, another Huguenot was killed at her side, and she herself fell almost senseless with terror. When she recovered, she asked for her husband, who, with Henry (the young Prince of Condé) had been summoned before the king through long lines of soldiers ready to massacre them. Charles commanded them with oaths to renounce their religion, and as they expressed their unwillingness, he told them he would no longer be thwarted by his subjects: that they ought to teach others by their example to revere him as the likeness of God, and be no longer the enemies of his mother's images. The Prince of Condé boldly answered that he was accountable to God alone for his religion, that his possessions and his life were in his majesty's power, and he might dispose of them as he pleased, but that no menaces, nor even death, should make him renounce the truth. They were then put in confinement, with information that if they did not profess the popish faith within three days, they would be executed for high treason.

Meanwhile the work of violence went forward through every street in Paris, but the fearful day is best described by those who witnessed its deeds.

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Sully, the historian, has left the following narrative of his own sufferings :—"I went to bed the over-night very early ; I was aroused about three hours after midnight by the noise of bells and the confused cries of the populace. St. Julien, my governor, went out hastily with my valet-de-chambre to learn the cause, and I have never since heard any thing of those two men, who were, without doubt, sacrificed among the first to the public fury. I remained alone, dressing myself in my chamber, where, a few minutes after, I observed my host enter, pale and in consternation. He was of the religion, and having heard what was the matter, he had decided on going to mass to save his life, and preserve his house from plunder. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think fit to follow him. I resolved on attempting to get to the college of Burgundy, where I studied, notwithstanding the distance of the house where I lived from that college, which made my attempt very dangerous. I put on my scholar's gown, and taking a pair of large prayer-books under my arm, I went down stairs. I was seized with horror as I went into the street, at seeing the furious men running in every direction, breaking open the houses, and calling out, 'Kill ! massacre the Huguenots !' and the blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my fright. I fell in with a body

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of soldiers: I was questioned; they began to ill-treat me, when the books which I carried were discovered, happily for me, and served as a passport. Twice afterwards I fell into the same danger, from which I was delivered with the same good fortune. At length I arrived at the college of Burgundy: a still greater danger awaited me there. The porter having twice refused me admittance, I remained in the middle of the street at the mercy of the ruffians, whose numbers kept increasing, and who eagerly sought for their prey: when I thought to ask for the principal of the college, named Dafaye, a worthy man, and who tenderly loved me. The porter, gained by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, did not refuse to fetch him. This good man took me to his chamber, where two inhuman priests, whom I heard talk of the Sicilian Vespers, tried to snatch me from his hands to tear me to pieces, saying that the order was, to kill even the infants at the breast. All that he could do was to lead me with great secrecy to a remote closet, where he locked me in. I remained there three whole days, uncertain of my fate, and receiving no assistance but from a servant of this charitable man, who came from time to time and brought me something to live upon."

Marshal de la Force has given, in his Memoirs, a relation of what occurred to his

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own family on the day of the massacre.—"A horse-dealer who had seen the Duke of Guise and his satellites go into Admiral Coligny's house, and gliding through the crowd, had witnessed the murder of that nobleman, ran immediately to give information to M. Caumont de la Force, to whom he had sold ten horses the week before. La Force and his two sons lodged in the faubourg St. Germain, as well as many other Protestants. There was not then any bridge which joined this faubourg to the city. All the boats had been seized by order of the court to carry over the assassins. The horse-dealer plunged in, and swam across to inform La Force of his danger. La Force was out of the house, and had time enough to save himself; but seeing his children did not follow him, he returned to fetch them. He had scarcely entered again, when the assassins arrived. One Martin, at their head, entered his room, disarmed him and his two children, and told him with dreadful oaths that he must die. La Force offered him a ransom of two thousand crowns; the captain accepted it; La Force swore to pay it to him in two days, and immediately the assassins, after having stripped the house, told La Force and his children to put their handkerchiefs in their hats in the form of a cross, and made them tuck up their right sleeves on the shoulder: that was the token for the murderers. In this way they passed

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the river and were conducted into the city. The marshal declares that he saw the river covered with dead bodies. His father, his brother and himself landed before the Louvre, and there saw several of their friends murdered. From thence Martin took his prisoners to his house, made La Force and his sons swear that they would not go out thence before they had paid the two thousand crowns, left them in the custody of two Swiss soldiers, and went in search of other Protestants to massacre in the city. One of the Swiss, touched with compassion, offered to let the prisoners escape. La Force would do nothing of the kind; he said he had pledged his word and would rather die than forfeit it. An aunt of his had procured for him the two thousand crowns, and they were going to be delivered to Martin, when the Count de Coconas came to tell La Force that the Duke of Anjou wished to speak to him. Immediately he made the father and the children go down stairs, bareheaded and without their cloaks. La Force plainly saw that they were leading him to death; he followed Coconas, praying him to spare his innocent children. The younger (aged thirteen years, and the writer of this) raised his voice and reproached the murderers with their crimes, telling them they would be punished for it by God. In the mean time the two children were led with their father to the end of the street. They

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first gave the elder several stabs; he cried out, 'Ah, my father, O my God! I am dead.' At the same instant the father fell upon his son's body covered with wounds. The younger, stained with their blood, but who by an astonishing miracle had received no stab, had the prudence to cry out also, 'I am dead.' He threw himself down between his father and brother and received their last sighs. The murderers, believing them all dead, went away, saying, 'There they are, all three.' Some wretches afterwards came to strip their bodies. The young La Force had one stocking left; a person employed about Verdelet's Tennis Court, a ball alley, wished to have it, and in taking it off he mused on the body of the child. 'Alas!' said he, 'what a pity! This is but a child, what can he have done?' These words of compassion encouraged the little La Force to raise his head gently, and say, in a low voice, 'I am not yet dead.' The poor man answered, 'Do not stir, child; have patience.' In the evening he returned to save him. 'Get up,' said he, 'they are no longer here,' and put a shabby cloak upon his shoulders. As he conducted him, some of the executioners asked, 'Who is that boy?' 'It is my nephew,' said he, 'who has got drunk; you see what a state he is in; I am going to give him a good whipping.' At last the poor game-marker took him to his

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house and asked thirty crowns for his reward. From thence, the young La Force was taken, in the disguise of a beggar, to the arsenal, to his relative Marshal Biron, grand master of the artillery. He was concealed there some time, but at length hearing that the court were hunting after him to destroy him, he made his escape in the dress of a page, under the name of Beaupuy."

Toward the evening of this first day of horrors, the king with his court, including Catharine and the ladies of her train, walked out in the neighbourhood of the Louvre to see the lifeless bodies of the Protestants, many of whom had been at the palace the preceding day. The Duke of Sully states that they went to view the body of Coligny, suspended from the feet by an iron chain.

As night approached, orders were given that all the citizens, except the military and the police, should, on pain of death, retire to their houses; but this proved only a suspension, not an end of the slaughter. The savage populace were not to be so soon satisfied with the work they had begun: with some slight cessations, it was continued during the week.

But it was necessary for Charles to determine what reasons he should assign to his own subjects and to foreign powers, for these unparalleled atrocities. Here, again, we see the vacillation of a guilty, conscience-smitten

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spirit. First he wrote to the governors of all the provinces, that the massacre had arisen out of a tumult between the Huguenots and the Guises, which was so violent that he was not, during the day, able to restrain it; but he thanked God it was at last terminated. At the same time he commanded the governors to observe, strictly, the *verbal* orders which would be communicated by the bearers of the despatches. These orders, as subsequent events proved, were for the destruction of the Huguenots throughout every province of France. In one letter he went so far as to say, that he himself had joined with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to avenge the death of the admiral. And the ambassador to the Diet of Poland had been beforehand instructed to represent the affair as occurring against the king's wishes.

In his report to the French ambassador in England, he said that he had discovered a dreadful conspiracy among his subjects, and, to prevent its speedy development, he was obliged to forego the usual forms of justice and punish its partisans in this summary way.

But on Monday, (the day after the massacre commenced,) Catharine and the Duke of Anjou persuaded Charles that he would degrade himself in the view of other nations, if he represented such an event as taking place in the very centre of his kingdom, against his

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authority. Accordingly, he changed his plan, and in his report on Tuesday the 26th, after attending mass, and returning thanks for the happy event, he assembled the parliament, and declared that whatever had taken place was by his own command.

During all this time, the remains of the noble Coligny were exposed to every species of insult. The head was sent to the Cardinal of Lorrain at Rome; and the body, after being shockingly mutilated, was suspended over a slow fire. Before it was consumed, Francis Montmorency, son of the late marshal, and nephew of Coligny, employed some persons to steal it away by night from the gibbet. It was deposited in a leaden coffin and concealed in a secret chamber at Chantilly, the family residence of the Montmorencies, until in later years it could be interred with fitting solemnity at Chatillon, Coligny's own estate.

The parliament of Paris passed a decree convicting the admiral of treason, and commanded that his memory should be made infamous; that his property should be confiscated; that his body, if it could be found, (and in case it could not be, his effigy,) should be publicly disgraced on a gibbet: and that his house at Chatillon should be razed to the ground, the trees about it cut down, and in some central spot on the estate a column should be erected, bearing this decree, en-

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graved in brass. The admiral's children were degraded from their nobility, and declared incapable of filling any civil office, or of holding any property within the limits of France for ever. The decree moreover ordered, that, on every future anniversary of his death, the general rejoicing should be testified by public processions and thanksgivings.

On Thursday the 28th, new proclamations were issued, announcing that the king would strictly observe the treaty of peace made with the Huguenots at the close of the war in 1569. But in direct violation of that treaty, he commanded them to abstain from all public or private meetings, and in case of their holding such meetings, the magistrates were directed to "fall upon them and cut them in pieces as enemies of the crown."

The king added, "whatever verbal instructions I may have given to those messengers whom I have heretofore forwarded to you, or to my other governors or lieutenants, (when I had just cause to apprehend certain sinister events, well knowing the conspiracy which the said admiral had formed against me,) —all those instructions I have revoked and do now revoke, willing that neither by you nor by any others, should any part of them be executed." But this tardy revocation was too late to stop the execution of his previous command. Massacres had commenced in most

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of the provinces, and were carried on with demoniac cruelty. One thousand Protestants perished at Orleans and five hundred at Rouen. But the sanguinary scenes enacted at Lyons are almost without a parallel in history. The streets ran with blood. The beautiful river Rhone, which flows by the city, was literally choked with the dead bodies of the Huguenots which were refused a burial. The inhabitants of remote villages on its banks anticipated the news of some dreadful battle, of which the slain floating on the bosom of the river were the victims; and in terror awaited the approach of the invading enemy. Mandelot, the chief magistrate of Lyons, forced even the public executioner, in reply to some of his merciless mandates, to tell him that he "was not an assassin, but worked only according to the orders of justice." In a letter which Mandelot addressed to the king, he says, "Sire, I humbly entreat you to believe that I most deeply regret that any one individual has been saved; and that not a single one has been so through my means. The pope's legate at Lyons made the sign of the cross over the murderers, fresh from their deeds of blood, absolving them from all guilt—a statement we could scarcely credit, were it not corroborated by the proceedings at the very court of Rome, to which we shall allude presently.

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Yet there were some provinces whose governors had too much humanity to fulfil the royal commissions. The governor of Auvergne addressed the king in the following terms: "Sire, I have received an order, under your majesty's seal, to put to death all the Protestants who are in the province. I respect your majesty too much to suppose the letters are other than forgeries; and if (which God forbid) the order has really emanated from your majesty, I have still too much respect for you to obey it."

The commander at Bayonne wrote in a strain not less spirited: "Sire, I have communicated your majesty's commands to the faithful inhabitants, and to the garrison. I have found among them good citizens, and brave soldiers, but not one executioner. They and myself most humbly entreat your majesty to employ our arms and our lives in things possible, and however hazardous they may be, we will devote thereto the last drop of our blood." This humane and high-minded officer died suddenly a short time afterwards, and it was generally believed that he fell a victim to the king's resentment.

The Bishop of Lizieux displayed similar resolution when Charles's lieutenant arrived with a commission to murder all the Protestants in his diocese. "No, sir," said the bishop, "I will always oppose the execution of such an order. I am pastor of the church of Li-

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zieux, and the people you say you are commanded to kill are my flock. Although they are at present wanderers, having strayed from the fold which has been confided to me, they may nevertheless return, and I do not give up the hope of seeing them come back. I do not perceive in the gospel that the shepherd ought to suffer the blood of his sheep to be shed; on the contrary, I find there that he is bound to shed his blood and give his life for them. Return, then, with this order, which shall never be executed so long as I live." Two months elapsed before a tolerable degree of tranquillity was restored to the Protestants. The suppositions, as to the number who perished in this persecution, are various. Most historians record it to have been sixty or seventy thousand; others give a smaller estimate, while one writer, himself a Papist,* states the number to have been nearly one hundred thousand.

The report of the massacre spread rapidly over Europe. The messenger whom Charles sent to tell the pope that "the Seine flowed on more majestically after receiving the bodies of heretics," was received with acclamations of joy. Circumstances indicate that there had previously been a secret correspondence on the subject between Charles and the court of Rome. On hearing the news, one of the

* Perefixe, Archbishop of Paris, who, though a Papist, was indignant at this horrible massacre.

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cardinals exclaimed, "The King of France has kept his word." The pope with his court went in grand procession to celebrate high mass; a *Te Deum* was sung in commemoration of the event, and the firing of cannon announced it to the neighbouring villages. A medal was struck, bearing on one side the head of Gregory XIII., and on the other, a destroying angel exterminating the Protestants, with this inscription, "Massacre of the Huguenots, 1572."

At the court of Spain, also, the greatest joy was expressed. The king, Francis II., only regretted that Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been spared. Having read the letter, he sent it to the Admiral of Castile, who, receiving it while at supper, read it to his guests for their entertainment!

In England, the French ambassador was greeted in a very different manner. "Nothing," says Hume, "could be more awful and affecting than his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face. Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartments. The courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass without affording him one salute or favourable look till he was admitted to the queen herself." Nor could the despatches from Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's envoy at Paris, have served to allay the displea-

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sure of her court. "There is," he writes, "no regard here to word, writing, or edict, be it never so solemnly published, nor to any protestations made heretofore to foreign princes for the performance of the same." "The king's own conscience—so common a companion is fear with tyranny—makes him to repute all those of the reformed religion, as well at home as abroad, his enemies, and so, consequently, not to wish one of them alive." "I think it less peril to live with them as enemies than as friends." He then alludes to the manner in which the late sanguinary scenes were spoken of among the Parisians—as "a *Bartholomew breakfast* and a *Florence banquet;*" and adds, "they are here so far embrued in blood as there is no end to their cruelty; for no town escapeth where any of the religion is to be found, without general murdering and sacking of them, and yet they protest all this to be done against their will, though it be evidently known that it is done by their commandment." "All men look for some mischievous issue of their government. It lacketh but the Cardinal of Lorrain's presence to hasten the same to its full ripeness." "What will be the issue of these tragical things here, God only knoweth, but generally every man feareth that all will go to ruin."

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CHAPTER IV.

Navarre and Condé attend mass—Escape of many Huguenots to other countries—War declared against the Protestants—La Rochelle invested—Compromise with the Rochellois—Anjou elected to the crown of Poland—Siege of Sancerre—Sickness and death of Charles IX.—Accession of the King of Poland to the crown of France—His marriage—Duplicity of Catharine—Escape of Condé, Alençon and Navarre—The Huguenots welcome them—Treaty of Bergerac—Effeminacy of Henry III.—Death of Condé—Assassination of Guise—Death of Catharine de Medicis—Reconciliation between Henry and the King of Navarre—King of France stabbed by James Clement—Declares Henry of Navarre his successor—Death of the king, and joy of the people—Opposition to Henry's accession—Conditions on which Henry is acknowledged king—Du Plessis' remonstrance—The Huguenots publish a book of "Complaints"—Edict of Nantes.

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been kept in confinement since the morning of the 24th, when they refused to comply with Charles's commands to renounce their religious belief. In the mean time, repeated efforts were made, by a Jesuit employed for the purpose, to subdue their firmness, not without some effect upon the King of Navarre; but the Prince of Condé was inflexible. After the restoration of order in Paris, they were again summoned into the presence of Charles. The King of Navarre

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was soon forced to obedience, but Condé still remained firm, and the king sent him back to prison with a fierce look, and the words "*The mass, death, or the Bastile.*"* This severe treatment at length extorted from him an external compliance. He appeared at mass in public, with the King of Navarre, and both received absolution. To make their conversion sure, they were required to write to the pope for his approval of their repentance, and Navarre was compelled to enforce the papal religion upon his Bearnese subjects. But that true-hearted people had not pledged themselves in vain to the faith of their former sovereigns, and they boldly refused to forsake it.

Charles and his ministers soon found that all their severity had not been able to exterminate the religion they hated. The Abbé Crillon (himself a Papist) says, "The court thought to have drowned Calvinism in the

* In one of Walsingham's letters written at this time, he says, "They prepare the Bastile for some persons of quality. It is thought that it is for the Prince of Condé and his brethren." What ideas were entertained of this place of punishment may be inferred from some expressions in one of the same nobleman's later communications. "On Sunday last, the young Princess of Condé was constrained to go to mass, being threatened otherwise to go to prison, and *consequently to be made away.* The Prince of Condé hath also yielded to hear mass on Sunday next, being otherwise threatened to go to the Bastile, *where he is not likely long to serve.*"

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blood of its principal defenders, but that *hydra* resumed fresh vigour."

A few of the Huguenots, notwithstanding all the precautions of their enemies, had escaped to England, Germany and Switzerland. Coligny's children found asylums at Geneva, Basle and Berne; and, by the benevolence of Beza and his colleagues, many refugees, more destitute, were supported. Some fled to mountain-fastnesses, preferring a wretched subsistence on roots and berries, with the enjoyment of their religion, to the comforts of life with a violated conscience. Some of the bolder spirits established themselves in the strongholds of Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, and Rochelle; and when Charles again declared war against them, in November of the same year, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Rochelle was first attacked by the royal army. Its means of defence were considerable. Yet its garrison was so small that the women fought by the side of their husbands and brothers. The besieging forces were commanded by the Duke of Anjou, and included the chief nobility of France. The Dukes of Alençon, Guise, Aumale and Longueville, the king of Navarre and Prince of Condé, were of his suite. Alençon had been strongly attached to Coligny, and neither he, Navarre, nor Condé, came to the siege with much zeal. The Duke led his

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army five times to the attack, but was as many times repulsed by a people who fought for their dearest liberties. The siege lasted nine months, during which the royal army lost forty thousand men, and among them sixty officers of distinction.* The king was forced to a compromise with the Rochellois. The terms of peace guarantied liberty of conscience to all Protestants, and a permission for the exercise of the reformed worship in the cities of Nismes, Montauban, and Rochelle. The offices and estates which were lost by the Huguenots during the war were to be restored, and those who had been compelled

* One of these was Cosseins, who commanded the Duke of Anjou's guards on St. Bartholomew's day. Brantôme (a Papist) gives the following relation concerning him. "Cosseins was grievously depressed after the massacre of Paris. His conduct at Rochelle evinced that he was bowed down with melancholy and remorse; and more than once he avowed to his friends a presentiment of his approaching end. On the night which proved fatal to him, he had been ordered to make a reconnoisance of an obscure spot, from which the enemy seldom fired; and indeed during that whole night, not more than two arquebusses were discharged, the contents of one of which he received. When the shot struck him, he cursed the remembrance of St. Bartholomew, and died in two days afterward." The same writer gives a similar account of the despair which Tavannes, another officer who distinguished himself at the Paris massacre, expressed on his deathbed. As the narrative was communicated to the historian by a Huguenot prince, he expresses some doubt as to its justness, but concludes that after all it might be true, "*since God often sends such afflictions to the bloody-minded.*"

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to abjure their religion were allowed to take back their recantation.

The Duke of Anjou (very fortunately for his military reputation) was precisely at this juncture elected to the crown of Poland; he had therefore a plausible pretext for retiring from a war in which he had been wholly unsuccessful. As he passed through Heidelberg, on his way to his new dominions, he was entertained by Frederick III., the Elector Palatine. This prince was a zealous reformer, and had not forgotten the murderous scenes in which the duke had distinguished himself the year before at Paris. In various ways he contrived to remind his guest of St. Bartholomew's day. He was surrounded with French Protestants, who since that time had been at his court for protection. He led the duke to his picture-gallery, and, drawing aside a curtain which concealed a picture of Coligny, asked him if he did not recognise the greatest captain of his time? And if he knew the loss which France had sustained by his murder? The duke began some apology for the deed, but Frederick stopped him short, saying, "We know all that story, sire," and immediately left the apartment.

The failure of their designs upon Rochelle did not discourage the court from renewed efforts to distress the Huguenots. Sancerre, another of their chief cities, had not been

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included in the provisions of the treaty, and it speedily became the scene of greater sufferings than had been endured by the Rochellois. During the siege, five hundred persons died of famine. Those who survived were reduced to such extremities for want of food, that the libraries in the city were ransacked for the sake of their parchments. "Often," says one of the sufferers, "have I read characters uneffaced by cooking, on the morsel which was about to be devoured with insatiable eagerness." Yet their distresses could not induce them to surrender, until they had obtained permission for the free exercise of the Protestant religion.

But we turn from these scenes of heroic suffering to a more melancholy picture. The short career of Charles was fast drawing to a close. Since the horrid transactions of August, 1572, he had been fearfully tortured with remorse. His surgeon, Paré, relates that, "after the fatal day, he used to come to him and confess, that from the beginning of the massacre, he felt as if he had been in a high fever, and that the forms of the murdered, with their faces besmeared with blood, seemed to start up every moment before his eyes, both while he slept and when he was awake." He was at all times accustomed to indulge himself sparingly in sleep; but, since his short slumbers had been disturbed with these dreadful visions, he was obliged, when once awakened,

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to have recourse to music as a soother of his unquiet spirit. He was tormented with a strange malady which caused the blood to exude from every pore, and at times agonized his whole frame with convulsions.

Among the collections of D'Israeli we find the following minute particulars, which are extracted from the journal of Pierre de l'Etoile, respecting the last days of this unhappy king.

"King Charles, two days before his death, having called for Mazzille, his principal physician, and complaining of the pains he suffered, asked him if it was not possible that he, and so many other celebrated physicians that were in his realms, could give some alleviation to his disorder; 'for I am,' said he, 'cruelly and horribly tormented.' To which Mazzille replied, that whatever had depended on them had been tried, but that in truth God only could be the sovereign physician in such complaints. 'I believe,' said the king, 'that what you say is true, and that you know nothing else. Draw from me my *custode*, (or large cap,) that I may try to rest.' Mazzille withdrew, and gave orders that all should leave the king, except three, viz., La Tour, St. Pris, and his nurse, whom his majesty greatly loved, although she was a Huguenot. As she had just seated herself on a coffer and began to doze, she heard the king groan bitterly, weep-

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ing and sighing; she then approached the bed softly, and drawing away his *custode*, the king said to her, giving vent to a heavy sigh, and shedding tears plentifully, insomuch that they interrupted his discourse, 'Ah! my dear nurse, my beloved woman, what blood! what murders! Ah! I have followed wicked advice! O my God! pardon me, and be merciful. I know not where I am, they have made me so perplexed and agitated. How will all this end? What shall I do? I am lost for ever! I know it.' Then the nurse thus addressed him: 'Sire, be the murders on those who forced you to order them; your majesty could not help it, and since you never consented, and now regret them, believe God will never impute them to you, and will cover them with the mantle of justice of his Son, to whom alone you should look for aid. Ah! for the honour of God, let your majesty cease from this weeping.' Having said this, she rose for a handkerchief, for his was drenched in tears. Charles having taken it from her, made a sign that she should retire and leave him to repose."

In the same work we find an extract from the narrative of Dr. Cayet, who was one of the preceptors to the King of Navarre.

"King Charles, feeling himself near his end, after having passed some time without pronouncing a word, said, as he turned him-

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self on one side, and as if he seemed to awake, 'Call my brother!' The queen-mother was present, who immediately sent for the Duke of Alençon. The king perceiving him, turned his back, and again said, 'Let my brother come!' The queen, his mother, replied, 'Sire, I do not know whom you mean; here is your brother.' The king was displeased, and said, 'Let them bring my brother the King of Navarre; it is he who is my brother.' The queen-mother observing the dying monarch's resolute order, sent for him; but for reasons known only to herself, she commanded the captain of the guards to conduct him under the vaults. They went to the King of Navarre and desired him to come and speak to the king. At that moment, this prince has since repeatedly said, he felt a shuddering and apprehension of death so much that he would not go. But King Charles insisting on his coming, the queen-mother assured him that he should receive no injury. In this promise, however, he put but little trust. He went, accompanied by the Viscount D'Auchy, on whose word he chiefly relied. Having, however, observed under these vaults a great number of halberdiers and arquebusiers in ranks, he would have returned, when the viscount and the captain re-assured him that no harm should happen to him. The soldiers bowed, and their behaviour was respectful. By a private staircase,

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he entered the chamber of the king, who immediately, on perceiving him, turned towards him and stretched out his arms. The King of Navarre was affected. He sighed, and wept, and fell on his knees at the side of the bed. Charles embraced, and having kissed him, said, 'My brother, you lose a good master and a good friend. I know it is not you who occasions me so much trouble. Had I believed what they said, you would not have been alive; but I have always loved you. It is to you alone I trust my wife and daughter; earnestly do I recommend them to your care. *Do not trust the queen;* but God protect you.' The queen-mother here interrupted him: 'Ah! sire, do not say that!' 'Yes, madam, I must say it; it is the truth. Believe me, my brother, love me; assist my wife and daughter, and implore God for mercy on me. Adieu, my brother, adieu!' The King of Navarre remained till his majesty expired." *

On the death of Charles IX., Henry, the favourite son of Catharine, ascended the throne. He had been an unwilling exile from his country to wear the crown of Poland; and he now received with eagerness the summons which recalled him to France. So earnest was he to escape from his banishment, that he left Cracow in the night like a pursued criminal rather than like a king. The Diet of Poland

* D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, pp. 173, 174.

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felt itself insulted by his sudden flight, and the grand chamberlain followed him with a troop of five hundred horsemen; but before they could overtake the fugitive, he had reached the Austrian dominions. Here he was magnificently entertained by the Emperor Maximilian.* And at the luxurious courts of Vienna and Venice, the new responsibilities which he had pleaded in excuse for his hasty retreat from Poland were forgotten. It was nearly three months before Henry reached Lyons, where his mother and her court awaited his arrival; and when he did arrive, he seemed not to have the slightest appreciation of his duties as the sovereign of France. He became intoxicated with pleasures, and so effeminate that no trace remained of his former self, the warlike Duke of Anjou. Catharine encouraged this feebleness of character, which promised to establish her own power; and Henry threw away his time and energies in the society of his parasites, and in the most indolent self-indulgence.

On the 13th of February, 1575, his nuptials were solemnized with Louise de Vaudemont, a relative of the late Cardinal of Lorrain; and

* The royal families of France and of Austria had been closely allied by the marriage of Charles IX. with the emperor's daughter. Maximilian, Charles of Savoy, and the duke and senate of Venice, all advised Henry to grant his Protestant subjects peace, and the free exercise of their religion.

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on the 18th he was crowned under the name of Henry III. On both these occasions he spent so many hours arranging his jewels and those of his bride, that the "Te Deum" and some other of the usual religious ceremonies were deferred until the evening, contrary to the ordinances of the church.

A monarch who could trifle thus, while in the act of assuming the sovereignty of a nation that so much needed a wise and energetic government, was ill-fitted to control the factious elements which were working within it.

It would be useless as well as tedious to relate minutely the intrigues, the dissensions and the internal wars, which fill up the fourteen years of this reign. The indolence of the king, the activity of the rival parties in the state, and the disposition of the queen-mother, which found its element in turmoil, all contribute to make the history of this period a tangled labyrinth which we instinctively avoid. We become confused with only a glance at its tortuous windings, and the ever-changing manœuvres of the crafty queen who moves among them. Now she sides with one party and now with another. At one time she gives herself up to all the frivolities of the court, and at another, when she wishes to impose upon the Reformed ministers, she devotes her evenings to the study of a scriptural vocabulary, in order to prepare

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herself to adopt their style of conversation. Whichever way we turn, we see, during this reign, one unbroken tissue of perplexities.

Navarre and Condé, whom we lately saw abjuring their religion, soon found their constrained life at court to be but a splendid imprisonment. They were constantly attended by a numerous train of gentlemen, who were, in fact, their keepers. They were always with Catharine on public occasions, and at the different palaces, and she spoke of them as her beloved children. Condé made his escape, and the watch maintained over Navarre became yet more vigilant.

The Duke of Alençon, on his brother's accession to the throne, had taken the title and estates of Anjou. He was a man of a rough and independent spirit, and was disgusted with the etiquette and costliness of his brother's court. He had no sympathy in the schemes of his mother, and being under a jealous inspection, he resolved to leave Paris. Catharine confided the care of beguiling Navarre's weary hours to his wife, Margaret, while she followed Alençon to bring him back. Margaret herself sighed for a freedom which nobody could enjoy within the precincts of the court of Catharine de Medicis, and proposed to effect her own and her husband's liberation. On an appointed day Navarre went on a hunting excursion, but Margaret was prevented by sick-

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ness from joining him. During the chase, he contrived to evade his attendants, swam the river Paissy, and at length reached Guyenne a part of his own domain. The Duke of Sully, then but a youth, was with him. When Navarre found himself on the banks of the Loire, by the bridge of Saumur, he thanked God, and recurring to the death of his mother, Coligny, and other of his friends, vowed that he would never return to Paris until he could return free.

Henry III., remembering his conduct on St. Bartholomew's day, well knew that he could not expect to possess the confidence of the Huguenots; he therefore decided upon renewing the war with them, as the best measure for insuring his own safety.

The means used to destroy the Protestants, while they had driven to Germany, Switzerland, Holland and England, great numbers of the best citizens of France, and consequently removed much of the wealth of the nation, had also opened the eyes of many to the iniquitous character of the government, and had enlisted in favour of the Reformed the feelings of numbers who were not prepared to subscribe to their creed.

Navarre and the Prince of Condé, notwithstanding their inconstancy, were welcomed by the Huguenots as their leaders. An army of fifty thousand men was speedily gathered under their standard. The loyalists were,

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however, successful in several rencontres; and had the king availed himself of the advantages gained, the Protestant party would have been again exceedingly reduced; but his own effeminacy and the exhausted state of the public finances inclined him to offer terms of peace, which Navarre thought proper to accept, and the treaty was signed at Bergerac. The terms, though not satisfactory to the Huguenots, were more favourable than those of any preceding treaty. During this reign the war against the Huguenot subjects was renewed. The Prince of Condé was poisoned by his own wife, and the Duke of Guise was assassinated by order of the miserable and contemptible monarch.

On the 5th of January, 1589, a few days after the murder of Guise, died Catharine de Medicis, in the seventieth year of her age. On her death-bed she exhorted the king to live on friendly terms with the Bourbon princes, and especially the King of Navarre; she assured him he would "never enjoy peace until he granted liberty of conscience to his subjects."

"No one concerned himself either with her illness or her death. She had been for thirty years constructing a mausoleum for her husband, herself and her children, in three costly chapels attached to the cathedral of St. Dennis, and the sums expended in their erection are compared by Pasquier to the expenditure

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on similar depositories by the kings of Egypt. Yet even these idle hopes of posthumous distinction were frustrated. The town of Blois, where she died, was unable to furnish drugs and spices for her embalmment; and necessity compelled a hasty interment by night, in a simple grave, in an obscure corner of the church, such as would have been allotted for the meanest individual."*

In April of the same year, Henry III. and the King of Navarre came to a formal reconciliation. This was an important event; for the death of Alençon, Duke of Anjou, which had occurred in 1584, left Navarre the nearest heir to the crown of France; and an occurrence soon took place which rendered it more than ever desirable that the succession should be undisputed.

James Clement, a Dominican monk, and a violent fanatic, was employed by the Leaguers† to assassinate the king. The immediate agent was the Duchess of Montpensier, sister of the late Duke of Guise. He gained access to the royal presence by pretending that he was the bearer of some important commission which he must de-

* Smedley, Reformed Religion in France, vol. ii. p. 218.

† The Leaguers were a political party opposed to the reigning monarch, and who afterwards allied to themselves the influence of Rome and Spain against the French throne.

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liver to the king in private. As he kneeled to present the letter, he drew a dagger from his sleeve, and plunged it into the breast of the king. Henry drew it out, and struck the monk in the face. He was instantly put to death by the attendants.

Henry survived two days. When his wound was ascertained to be fatal, he sent for Navarre, entreated him to adopt the papal religion, took an affectionate leave of him, and in the presence of the court declared him his legitimate successor.

On the death of Henry, the people gave themselves up to an excess of joy. Hymns of thanksgiving were sung in the churches, the Dominicans chanted a Te Deum, bonfires were lighted, the black scarf which had been worn by the League since the death of Guise was exchanged for green, portraits of Clement were hung up in public places for the veneration of the populace, his relations were enriched, and the Duchess of Montpensier (who only regretted that the tyrant did not know before his death that it was she that directed the blow) lodged his mother in her house and invited her to her table. The pope had some time before excommunicated the king, and it is the opinion of historians that the design originated at Rome, and that the Jesuits, who to *this day* do not allow that Clement was a murderer, were the chief agents.

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It is scarcely possible to conceive a more perplexing situation than that in which Henry IV. found himself at this juncture. The League, which was a most formidable confederacy, planned and headed by the Duke of Guise and aiming at a change in the dynasty, determined to elevate one of their own party to the throne; and while most of the Papist noblemen, on account of Henry's religion, protested against his claim to the crown, those of them who did recognise it, demanded that he should again renounce Protestantism. The Huguenots were equally importunate that he should be true to their faith; and the whole country was distracted with rival parties.

Henry addressed letters to the different parliaments; also an offer of accommodation to the Duke of Mayenne, the leader of the League, which was rejected. He assembled a parliament at Tours, where his claim to the crown was acknowledged and justice administered in his name. He then proceeded to establish himself at Dieppe, both for the sake of its ready communication with England, and the facilities for retiring by sea to La Rochelle, in case of defeat.

Meantime every voice in Paris united in rejecting the *Bearnois heretic*, as he was called; and Cardinal Bourbon, an aged, insignificant and imprisoned man, was proclaimed king by the League, under the title

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of Charles X. The Pope's legate obtained from the Sorbonne a proclamation, announcing, that "all persons were in a state of mortal sin, and exposed to damnation, who should recognise Henry of Navarre as king." To so great an extent did the preachers advance in their profane virulence, that they not only denied the authority of the pope to absolve Henry, if he should be converted, but even the power of God to effect that conversion.*

The united strength of the political and ecclesiastical power was directed with a concentrated energy towards the extinction of Henry's claim to the throne. Numerous battles succeeded, in which the army of the League was commanded by the Dukes of Mayenne, Parma and D'Aumale. The army of the Huguenots was less than their enemies; sometimes in the ratio of one to ten, and at others of five to ten; but they were not fighting for power or territory. Every thing in their political and religious condition which makes life dear was at stake, and their leader was a man of a fearless spirit; and, though a prince, he was inured to stern hardship and toil. Having shared the sufferings, privations and dangers of his followers, he possessed their unbounded confidence and affection. His deeds of valour are among the most daring to be found in the

* Smedley.

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annals of war, but a minute account of them is not necessary to our purpose.

At length the Papists proposed to the king the following conditions upon which they consented to acknowledge his sovereignty. First, that he should allow himself to be instructed for six months in the religion of the church of Rome. Second, that the exercise of the reformed religion should be suspended throughout the country during that time. Third, that for the same period he should grant no office to any Protestant. Fourth, that they should be permitted to send to the pope an account of their reasons for acknowledging him as their sovereign. The king consented to all these articles except the second, and at the expiration of the period appointed for his instruction in the papal doctrines, he prepared to renounce a second time the faith in which he had been educated.

Although Henry was strictly a man of the world, and governed by political considerations, we can hardly conceive that he should finally forsake the religion to which he was bound by so many strong ties, without recoiling from the step. The whole body of the Huguenots, out of regard to their own temporal prosperity, and some of them from religious motives, entreated him not to abjure their religion. Du Plessis Mornay, one of the noblest spirits among them, who had

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been for years a friend and counsellor of Henry, wrote thus to him at this turning point of his life: "I am not ignorant of the troubles to which your majesty finds yourself exposed, for I have always foreseen them. The first thing requisite, (let me entreat your majesty to pardon my freedom,) is to pour out the soul in contrition before God, against whose wrath neither the wisdom nor the strength of man can afford succour. The next thing, after having done our utmost, is to trust ourselves with confidence to his hands, well assured that no human conspiracy can avail against his blessing. Fortified by such resolves, you need not fear, sire, that means of success will ever fail, since they are inexhaustible with God, who will be on your side, and since you will find faithful servants, prepared to abide by you through every storm and at every disadvantage. Above all, sire, you will have but men to combat, and you will have made your peace with God, who also can give you peace with men. May it please your majesty to receive this letter, as proceeding from the very bottom of my heart, from which I implore the Creator to comfort and counsel you with his Holy Spirit, to his glory, and your own salvation."

In a letter which Henry wrote on the evening before his abjuration, we find an expression which indicates that he was not free

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from misgivings. "To-morrow," says he, "I make the perilous leap."

On the morning of July 25th, 1593, he submitted to the ceremonies appointed by the papal church for celebrating his return to her bosom. We cannot for a moment justify his inconstancy. It is deeply to be lamented and utterly to be condemned; yet we are to remember, that he was a man, not of piety, but of ambition; and we must acknowledge that he was surrounded with perplexities: "Irreconcilable interests in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred among themselves, and hatred against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animosity on the part of enemies; treachery within, violence without; rocks and precipices on all sides."*

Notwithstanding his faithlessless to their religion, he did not forget the interests of the Protestants. He refused to sign a pledge which was presented to him at his abjuration, the purport of which was that he should destroy the heretics in his kingdom; and, although, during the first years after his accession, they were exceedingly harassed in their circumstances, he did at length make important provision for their welfare.

In 1597, a book was issued by the Huguenots, entitled "Complaints of the Reformed Churches of France, about the violences they

* Sully's Memoirs.

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suffer in many parts of the kingdom, for which they have with all humility applied themselves at several times to His Majesty and the Lords of the Council." The volume contains a long catalogue of grievances. In many places they were not allowed to meet for religious services; or if they had a legal permission, their assemblies were disturbed by mobs which, in some instances, murdered numbers of the worshippers. They were often taken to prison when detected at their private devotions. They were forbidden to sing psalms, and religious books found in their possession were burned. The sick were compelled to receive the visits of papist priests, who prevented Protestants from administering any consolation to their suffering friends. Their children were forcibly taken from them and baptized by Papists; and, in some cases, parents were not allowed to superintend the education of their children unless they would become connected with the papal church. They were excluded from public offices and from the trades; but what was more grievous to them than all, it was with great difficulty that they could obtain a burial for their dead, and their tombs were often violated.

The book closes with a petition for an edict which should secure to their persecuted people such liberties as were granted to all others of the king's subjects.

Henry could not forget the long-continued

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and faithful services of the Huguenots toward him as their chief, and this remonstrance produced so much effect, that in April, 1598, he issued for their protection the celebrated edict of Nantes. This document contained ninety-two original articles, and fifty-two others, explanatory of particular points. Full liberty of conscience was granted, and permission for the public exercise of their religion in certain specified places in the kingdom. They were declared eligible to all offices; the public universities, schools and charitable institutions were thrown open to them. Courts of justice including officers of their own religious faith were established, before which their difficulties might be adjusted, and most of the grievances recounted in their book of complaints were alleviated.

A proclamation so favourable to the Protestants naturally met with opposition among the Papists, and it was a year after its signature at Nantes, before it became a part of the national law. When it was presented to the parliament of Paris, for sanction, Henry said, "You see me here in my cabinet, not as the kings, my predecessors, were wont, in royal robes and in a habit of ceremony; nor as a prince who gives audience to ambassadors; but dressed in my ordinary garb, as a father of a family, who would converse with his children." When some opposed the edict, he added, "I know there have been

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parties in the parliament, and that seditious preachers have been excited. I will put good order into those people without waiting for it from you. I will shorten by the head all such as venture to foment faction. I have leaped over the walls of cities, and shall not be terrified by barricades. I have made the edict. Let it be observed. My will must be executed, not interpreted. I am king; as such, I will be obeyed."

Another occasion of the delay of the registry of the edict was the residence of the pope's legate at Paris. Those who wished, if possible, to annul the act of toleration, asserted that it would be indecorous in the government to recognise the liberties of heretics in the very presence of the pope's representative. Yet a circumstance occurred before his departure, which, but for the promptness of Sully, would have given the legate as much offence as the recognition of the liberties of the Protestants. He wished to see the palace of St. Germain before his return to Italy, and orders were given that the state apartments should be prepared for his reception. The *concierge* of the palace, thinking it due to the dignity of the cardinal that he should occupy the most richly furnished rooms, selected those which, as it happened, were adorned with tapestry wrought for Jane D'Albert, Queen of Navarre, every device in which contained some ingeni-

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ously executed satire upon the Court of Rome. Sully, going to the palace shortly before the arrival of the legate, corrected a mistake which would have been regarded as a designed affront. To prevent the possibility of a similar oversight in future, the offensive tapestry was destroyed!

CHAPTER V.

Condensed view of the condition of the French Protestants—Acts of the Fifteenth National Synod—History of Princess Catharine—Henry's marriage with Margaret annulled—Marriage with Mary de Medicis—Intrigues against Du Plessis—His work on the Eucharist—Conference at Fontainbleau—Injustice to Du Plessis—Sixteenth National Synod—Doings of the Synod at Gap—Reviving of the order of Jesuits in 1603—Their attempt to establish themselves in Rochelle—Dissensions among the Huguenots—Project of the court for uniting the Protestant and Papal churches—Sagacious conduct of D'Aubigne—Attempt to seduce Sully from the Protestant faith—Henry's preparations for a great enterprise—His assassination.

Let us now pause and briefly glance at the internal history of the Protestant church in France, since the disastrous 24th of August, 1572, a period of twenty-six years; and it is worthy of special observation, that it was a period of such civil commotion that a papist historian was compelled to say that

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France groaned for twenty-six years under the massacre of St. Bartholomew. During the successive reigns of the family of De Medicis, the French court presented an unbroken series of intrigues and conspiracies. Human life was lightly valued. There was no individual security, no national peace and prosperity. The government had not one spark of the spirit of wisdom, or integrity, or regard for human happiness. According to the computations of both Protestant and Papist historians, there were sacrificed during that period (to the fanatical fury of the persecutors) upwards of four hundred princes and nobles, nearly one hundred and fifty thousand gentlemen, and more than seven hundred and fifty thousand of the common people!

We are prone to imagine that a persecuted church is necessarily a pure church. But in the present instance at least we are forced to a different conclusion; and it is rather a matter of wonder that the Protestant religion survived at all, than that the number of its professors was diminished, and the spirit of piety weakened. That the Protestants, as a body, were sincere Christians, their heroic endurance of this protracted and frightful persecution abundantly testifies. But it is impossible to evade the evidence, that the ceaseless oppressions inflicted upon the French church occasioned its permanent

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injury. "Multitudes," says an old writer, "were frighted out of their native land, and others were frighted out of their religion." In such a dreadful hurricane as that was, no wonder if some leaves, unripe fruit and withered branches, fell to the earth and were lost irrecoverably." Not only was the number of the Christians diminished, but that portion of the church which did remain greatly declined from its original purity.

The abjuration of Navarre and Condé was attended with the most unhappy influence upon the aristocracy among the Huguenots. Nearly all their men of rank and worldly importance imitated the apostasy of their leaders. The humbler classes who adhered to their faith, manifested their sincerity by the continued endurance of oppression, rather than by any positive growth in their Christian character. Indeed little more can be said of the French church at this period, than that it maintained an existence.

The reports of its synods present a melancholy record compared with those of former periods. Some of their most important articles relate to the degeneracy of the churches, the unwillingness of the people to support their pastors, and the schemes of the pastors for obtaining greater worldly good; while no small space is occupied with pitiable trivialities, such as strictures respecting dress, and regulations about baptismal names. So

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indifferent a matter as the mode of reading a psalm was thought worthy of minute cognizance. "Churches that, in singing psalms, do first cause each verse to be read, shall be advised to forbear that childish custom, and such as have used themselves unto it shall be censured."

Yet there are more favourable features in these documents, which should not pass unnoticed. Provision was made for the education of youth, particularly ministerial candidates, and wishes expressed that a college might be established in each of the Provinces. The churches were directed "to do their endeavour to advance the kingdom of God, as much as in them lieth, not only at home, but if it may be done without incommoding their own flocks, abroad also;" and "all ministers are exhorted to be earnest with God in their public prayers, for the conversion, preservation and prosperity of the king; and whenever they be at court, and have access to his majesty, they shall do their duty in reminding him seriously of his soul's salvation. And the pastors, ordinarily residing at court, or in its neighbourhood, shall be writ unto more especially, to put this our counsel into practice."

An enumeration which was made of the Reformed churches in France in 1572 estimates the number at two thousand; and when a similar reckoning was ordered in

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with which her history is invested, render a sketch of her story appropriate.

We left Catharine at the death-bed of her mother. She was specially committed by her to the care of her brother. But his life, from that day, until he ascended the throne, was a series of engrossing vicissitudes. At one time he was threatened with the Bastile, or watched like a criminal at large, wherever he went; then, escaping for his life; anon sharing the hardships of war with the persecuted Huguenots;—at length returning to Paris to assert his claim to the crown by force of arms: and always and everywhere made unhappy by the total want of mutual fitness and sympathy between him and his wife. He cherished, indeed, a tender regard for his sister Catharine, but the protection and solace he could extend to her, while thus the sport of adverse circumstances, were small indeed; and had not her peculiarly beautiful and attractive person and manners been accompanied by a singular purity of heart, and the same inflexible firmness which distinguished her mother, so fair a flower could not have bloomed unblighted in so faithless and licentious a court.

She was importuned by many lovers. In early youth she was destined for the Duke of Alençon; but the jealousy between Henry III. and the duke prevented the union. Her hand was sought by the Duke of Lorrain, the

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Prince of Condé, James of Scotland, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Duke of Montpensier. Her brother rejected the overtures of Philip of Spain, and the entire body of the Huguenots opposed itself to the pretensions of the Duke of Savoy, who was a bitter enemy of the Protestants. Her affections were engaged to the Count de Soissons, son of James, Prince of Condé, but Henry had a strong dislike to him; and when Catharine reminded him of her mother's last injunction, that he should marry her to a prince of her own rank, with her *full consent*, he ever replied, "yes, a *Protestant* prince." The count was a Catholic, and the double part which he played, in persuading Catharine that he was at heart a Protestant, and only deferred an open declaration of his faith from political necessity, together with his duplicity and selfishness in various other transactions, confirmed Henry's conviction that he was unworthy of his sister. She was betrothed to him for several years, the nuptials being always delayed by one political reason or another, until at length she became assured that his heart and his professions were at variance, and she resolutely and for ever withdrew from him her confidence and her affections.

Her health sunk for a time under the pressure of extreme mental suffering. Henry, though he could not fully appreciate her feel-

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ings, cherished her with fraternal tenderness. He sought to alleviate her depression by the bestowment of worldly honours, and assurances of entire liberty of conscience in respect to her religious faith and worship.

She seems to have been first restored to herself by the following letter from the synod of Montauban.

"To you, madam, we now look for our sole illustrious patronage. Continue firm, we entreat you, in the true faith; let not the persuasions of the king nor the arts of the Romanists prevail. Write to us, we beseech you; give us comfort and assurance."

She promptly addressed a reply to Du Plessis.

"All I see, all I feel, but the more confirms me in my convictions. May God never withdraw from me the light of his countenance. I can poorly express what I have endured for months past. It seemed as if the very fountain of life was dried up. I should have comfort in conversing with you on what I cannot write. You know well the pain my brother's abjuration has given me. But I have a strong hope that when the present unsettled state of affairs has passed away, he will, through God's grace, repair the breach which, for the good of his people, he has now suffered to be made in his conscience. Do not believe any thing you may hear against me. If they still say I have

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been to mass, receive my denial in one word, that I have never been there either in act or thought. Neither does the king request it; he leaves me free in the exercise of my faith. Of this I hope soon to give you a proof; and depend upon it, I will not go to mass, till you are pope in very deed."*

Catharine declined Henry's proposal that she should reside with him; but wishing to give a public demonstration of her unshaken attachment to the Reformed faith, she accepted his invitation to visit him, and entered Paris attended by a large suite, in which were several Huguenot ministers and her chaplain, La Faye. The Protestant worship was immediately held at St. Germains, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper celebrated, four hundred communicants being present. While she remained at the Louvre, she had regular worship, attended by Protestants of every rank.

The Papists sent a formal deputation to remonstrate with the king for allowing this strange desecration of the palace, to which Henry indignantly replied, that "he thought it much more strange that such language should be held to him, in his own palace, concerning his own sister."

Having given these open testimonials of her fidelity to her religion, Catharine gladly

* Du Plessis was often called by the Papists the Protestant pope.

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withdrew from a palace where almost every association and recollection was of a painful character, and retired to Fontainbleau.

At the time when the Duke of Bar made overtures of marriage, Catharine was past forty years of age. He was the son of a former suitor of hers, the Duke of Lorrain, and much younger than herself. The manners of a woman of forty, who could inspire such an attachment in so young a man, must have possessed a peculiar charm. He was a Papist, and it was long before Catharine could set aside this only objection. In the hope of effecting her conversion, the king ordered a discussion to be held in her presence, between Duval, professor of theology in the Sorbonne, and Tileneus, who held a similar station in the university of the Reformed church at Sedan. This controversy was too full of scholastic subtleties to produce much effect, and the faith of the princess remained unchanged by a dispute which even the intellect of Sully, who was present, did not attempt to fathom.

The pope hesitated to grant a dispensation. The prelates, consequently, refused to solemnize the nuptials. At length the king found means to remove the scruples of the Archbishop of Rouen, and he hastily and unceremoniously performed the service in the royal cabinet. Catharine withstood the gentle efforts of her husband to win her over to the

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papal faith, and he was subject to incessant persecution on account of his having married a heretic; yet their union seems to have been productive of a degree of domestic happiness rarely enjoyed within the circle of royalty. This princess died in 1604, true to the religion she had so long professed. With this event the privileges which, to the great annoyance of the Papists, the Huguenots had so long enjoyed in holding public worship in Paris, were discontinued.

The pope's nuncio delayed long to offer the king his expressions of condolence on the death of his sister. At length he assured Henry of his participation in his sorrow, but said that his own grief was occasioned, not by the death of the princess, but by the peril of her soul. Henry forbore an angry reply to this ill-timed obtrusion of bigotry, but said that "he had sufficient confidence in the grace of God to believe that it could provide for his sister's eternal happiness even in her latest moments."

In 1600, Henry had entered into negotiations with the papal court for the dissolution of his marriage with Margaret, whom he had never loved, and by whom he had no children. He obtained a bull by which it was annulled, and before the close of the following year he was married to Mary de Medicis, daughter of Francis, then late Grand-duke of Tuscany.

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There is too much reason to believe that the condition on which the pope consented to sanction these domestic changes was the sacrifice of Henry's tried and faithful friend Du Plessis. Although Henry made abundant protestations of friendship for Du Plessis, it is not to be believed that after his abjuration, and after he had fallen into some of the same degrading vices which stained the character of his predecessors, he really loved a man by whose fearless obedience to the dictates of his conscience, and by whose exemplary purity of life, he must have felt himself constantly reproved. The general frankness of Henry's character forbids the idea of his direct agency in the train of fraud by which Du Plessis was circumvented. But it is difficult to resist the evidence that he was not scrupulous about the equity of the method, if the influence of that man might be destroyed who was to him an external conscience, and in whose presence he was perpetually dissatisfied with himself.

Du Plessis had published a treatise on the Eucharist, in which, according to the fashion of the day, he was not sparing of harsh epithets towards his opponents. The object of the work was to prove, on the authority of the fathers, that the reformed mode of celebrating the Lord's supper was sanctioned by the example of the primitive Christians. In this work, the pope was called Antichrist,

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which was the more offensive, because the title page announced the author to be "Counsellor of State to the King of France," the ally and eldest son of the papal church.

The first attacks upon the work were of such a nature that Du Plessis paid no regard to them; but he was at length assailed in a manner which called for a vindication of his character as a man of truth and honour. It was asserted, that his book abounded in false citations and garbled extracts; and when he expressed his readiness to verify every quotation before commissioners appointed by the king, Du Perron accepted the challenge, and offered to point out five hundred "enormous falsehoods." It should be stated that, in those days, the perfect precision and accuracy which are now observed in making quotations were not customary, and, if the general meaning of an author was expressed, it was deemed sufficient.

A conference was appointed to be held at Fontainbleau; and it was calculated that a full investigation of the charges would occupy six months, a period which even a body of divines could not be expected to devote to such an examination, much less a royal commission of laymen. After much discussion of the arrangements, sixty disputed passages were submitted to Du Plessis for verification, and a single night was allowed him to prepare his defence. The time suf-

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ficed, however, only to prepare answers to nineteen of the charges. The commissioners were either Papists, or Protestants of more than doubtful character.

The dispute took place in the presence of the king, and a brilliant cortége assembled in the council-hall. Du Perron was a man of great personal elegance and fluency of speech, and possessed the power of a prompt application of his very extensive reading, while Du Plessis was slow of speech, and deficient in gracefulness of demeanour.

On the second morning, when the commissioners were prepared to examine the remaining points, it was announced that Du Plessis was prevented by severe illness from attending at the council-hall. Fatigue, sleepless anxiety, deep indignation against the ingratitude of those who gave him up to the injustice of his enemies, and a keen sense of the injury inflicted not only on himself, but on the great cause of which he was the acknowledged leader, had preyed upon his spirits.

The charge of "enormous falsehoods" was withdrawn, and that of "misapprehension" substituted. Willing to avoid a further discussion in which Du Perron's success would have been doubtful, the king availed himself of the illness of Du Plessis to dissolve the conference. He had more than once, during its session, evinced not only an ungenerous spirit towards his faithful friend, but the

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grossest partiality towards Du Perron. The evening after it was dissolved, he ordered that the victory should be signalized by a banquet in the council-hall, that he might, as he said, sup on the field of battle.

The next morning, Henry wrote a letter to the Duke d'Espernon, with whom he had never been on terms of confidential intercourse, announcing the triumph of truth, and the "great blow that had been struck for the church of God." This document was published and industriously circulated, throughout and even beyond France. The mental sufferings of Du Plessis were bitter indeed; but he was sustained by the consciousness of integrity, and that portion of his correspondence which was written at this painful epoch evinces an admirable dignity and meekness of spirit. "I am suspected," he writes, "of sowing discontent; and two reasons may give currency for this charge: one, that my enemies know, in their hearts, they have given me just occasion to cast aside all respect for human authority; but they do *not* know the cause which operates in restraint,—the fear of God which sways me far more powerfully than any injuries from man. Another, that they judge my intentions by their own actions, which, assuredly, I will never adopt as my model."

He had the consolation of perceiving, that his influence over the Huguenots was undi-

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minished; for he was appealed to by them soon afterwards, on questions of importance, and his decision received with a deference which reminds us of Henry's taunt in calling him "the pope of his sect."

The sixteenth national synod met at Gregau on the ninth of the following May, and Du Plessis presented a request that his book might be sent to Geneva with instructions to the pastors there to verify his quotations, for which the ample libraries of that city afforded peculiar facilities.

In the autumn of this year, (1601,) Henry sent Du Plessis, as governor of Saumur, a dry official announcement of the birth of a son, the heir to the throne; to which Du Plessis returned a letter breathing a spirit of the truest obedience and loyalty, yet without the least compromise of self-respect.

In 1603, the national synod, convened at Gap in Dauphine, inserted in their Confession of Faith a declaration against the pope, as Antichrist, and the son of perdition, whom the Lord would "confound by the breath of his mouth, and destroy by the brightness of his coming." This open condemnation of the pope was regarded by the Papists as might be expected. Henry, believing it intended for his own special annoyance, threatened the suppression of the Bibles and Testaments which contained the amended Confession. The Huguenots pleaded that it expressed

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only what had always been the declared belief of all the Reformed churches, and that it was one of the chief causes of their separation from the church of Rome.

The acts of the two following synods were not fitted to allay the jealousy created by the doings of the synod of Gap. The one held at Rochelle, in 1606, appointed M. Lorgnes de Vignier, a pastor of Blois, to write a treatise upon Antichrist; and the synod of 1609, held at St. Maixant, "returned thanks to the author for his great and worthy pains," and ordered the work to be perused by the university of Saumur, and afterward to be printed with his name. Du Plessis saw the imprudence of exasperating the Papists, and persuaded the synod to adopt some modifications, and thus remove the aggressive aspect of their acts. Soon afterward, the king received a letter from an unknown hand, attributing to the synod of St. Maixant seditious designs, and alleging that a conspiracy was forming among the Huguenots, of which Du Plessis was the great instigator. Sully, though not personally a friend to Du Plessis, at once gave the king irrefragable proofs of his innocence, and of the falsehood of the statements respecting the Huguenots.

In 1603, the order of Jesuits, which had been suppressed in 1594, began to revive; and an edict for its re-establishment was submitted to the parliament of Paris. A delay

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of twelve months evinced the public distrust of the order, and the edict was firmly resisted by the president of the parliament. Once restored, they omitted no means of reviving Henry's suspicions of the Huguenots. Gonthery, one of the order, preached a sermon in the royal presence, which abounded with insinuations against them, and allusions to their pretended disaffection towards the king. He charged them with denying the validity of Henry's second marriage, and, of course, the legitimacy of the present heir to the throne; and concluded by asserting that it would be easy to exterminate these vermin, if each one would sweep the space before him.

Du Plessis framed a memorial in reply, showing that the Huguenots founded their belief in the king's right to the crown, in the validity of his second marriage, and in the legitimacy of his issue, on far more stable ground than any acknowledgment of the papal authority; that many of Henry's predecessors, for whom no good Frenchman would have hesitated to sacrifice his life, had incurred papal excommunication; that they accepted him as their king, not on account of the approval of Rome, but of his hereditary right; that they admitted the legality of his present marriage, not because it was sanctioned by a dispensation of the Vatican, but because it was just, necessary and beneficial

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to his kingdom. The Maréchal d'Ornano assured the king that, if any Jesuit had preached so inflammatory a sermon in his presence, in his government at Bordeaux, as that which Gonthery had delivered, he would have thrown him into the Garonne on his descent from the pulpit. Henry silenced the murmurs which arose on both sides by reproving Gonthery for his violence, and ordering the suppression of Vignier's treatise.

With characteristic effrontery the Jesuits attempted, in less than two years after their restoration, to establish themselves in Rochelle, the chief city of the Huguenots. Through the intrigues of Father Cotton, one Seguiran, a zealous Jesuit, obtained a license from the secretaries of state without the knowledge of the king. He announced himself at the gate of Rochelle as one of the Society of Jesus, and the bearer of letters from the king. But the warden roughly answered, that neither were true, and refused him entrance. The appeal made by the Jesuits to the king on the occasion, was received with apparent indignation; but he privately assured Sully that the Rochellois were in the right, and that he should countenance no such aggressions upon the privileges of the Huguenots. He wished to avoid the appearance of censuring his secretaries; and, therefore, by Sully's mediation, the Jesuit having received an authentic commission,

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was admitted for a few days within the city, and then recalled.

Every thing in the condition of the Huguenots was adapted to teach them the importance of peace, union and mutual forbearance among themselves; yet they evinced the same weaknesses which have often since then dishonoured the church of God: a disposition to dispute and to attach undue importance to things not in themselves essential, or the discussion of which, for reasons affecting their political condition, it would have been the dictate of wisdom to postpone. It is not the design of this volume, to give the details or even to enumerate the topics which were agitated, more or less, at almost every meeting of the national synod. There was one of the deputies whose spirit of conciliation was ever like oil upon the troubled waves. The endurance of private oppression and individual wrong seemed to inspire Du Plessis with new devotion to the cause of religion, while it added lustre to his meekness and wisdom. He was always firm in the support of truth, yet he steadily opposed all unchristian controversy, and every bitter expression of opposition to the Papists.

An attempt often fruitlessly made seems to have occupied the attention of the court at this time. It was no less than a project for the union of the Papal and Protestant

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churches. Apprehensive of a treacherous sacrifice of their interests, the Huguenot ministers appointed D'Aubigné (a man well fitted to penetrate the mazes of Papist policy) to conduct the negotiation on their part. He first obtained the promise of those who appointed him, that they would abide by the restoration of such doctrine and church government as could be satisfactorily founded on the usage of the church during the first four centuries. He then proceeded to hold a conference with Du Perron, who, it will be recollected, was the antagonist of Du Plessis. The gracious, cajoling, caressing manner in which Du Perron received him, convinced D'Aubigné of his intention to deceive. Du Perron accepted the offer of the Huguenots, provided they would add forty years to the first four hundred. "I see," said D'Aubigné, "that you want to profit by the council of Chalcedon, and it is very much at your service." "Then," replied Du Perron, "you must consent to the elevation of crosses." "No doubt," said D'Aubigné, "for the sake of peace we will pay crosses now, all the honour which they received *then*—but will you in return venture to reduce the pope's authority within the limits which were assigned to it, if we give you even two more centuries to boot?"

When the conversation was reported to the king, he asked D'Aubigné why he had

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so readily assented to the council of Chalcedon? The reply was, that it was in order to obtain a tacit confession that the first four hundred years were insufficient to substantiate the claims of the Romanists. The prelates and Jesuits who were present in the royal closet murmured at this frank declaration. The Count of Soissons exclaimed that such speeches were unsuited to the royal ear, and Henry, in order to escape the gathering storm, took refuge in the queen's apartments.

This affair, trifling as it now seems, was deemed so important that some of the king's friends advised the imprisonment of the bold Huguenot, and Henry desired Sully to confine him in the Bastile; but D'Aubigné received a friendly hint of the impending danger from Madame de Chatillon, and he fearlessly sought an interview with the king, gave a detail of his numerous services, and concluded by asking a pension. The submission implied in this request induced the monarch to countermand the order, which Sully afterwards assured the minister had actually been given!

This plot to delude the Protestants into an abandonment of vital principles, was succeeded by one of a different character. It was an attempt to seduce from their ranks Sully, the prime minister of Henry IV. Henry was made to believe that the eminent services which Sully had rendered the state

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merited higher rewards than he had yet received. The result was the offer to his son of the king's natural daughter in marriage, with a princely settlement; and for himself, the envied station of Constable of France, likely soon to be made vacant by the death of Montmorency. The equivalent for these unrivalled distinctions was the renunciation of Protestantism. Sully had none of the nice scruples of a divine respecting the doctrines of the Reformation, and his advice to Henry to abjure, because he thought the welfare of the nation required the sacrifice, shows that he was not a very devout Huguenot; nevertheless he was an honest man, and no baits held out to his avarice, or incense offered to his ambition, could draw him aside from the path which his conscience directed him to pursue. The proposals were rejected, and after obeying the king's injunction to pause a month before his final decision, he informed him, with expressions of deepest respect and gratitude, that he was still unconvinced, and therefore adhered to his resolve.

The close of Henry's reign was signalized by preparations for a great enterprise, the ultimate design of which was the establishment of peace throughout Europe. He was several months in making these preparations, and when they were completed, as he was to be long absent, Mary de Medicis insisted

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upon being appointed regent, to which he courteously consented. To her earnest solicitation to be crowned also, he objected that it would be very expensive, and that there was not time before his departure. She urged his compliance, alleging that she was the only Queen of France who had not received that honour. A consciousness that she had reason to complain of his infidelity to her, always rendered the king irresolute in refusing her demands, and he yielded. Under the influence of an artful Italian favourite, who had her own ends to answer, Mary's claims were often exorbitant.

That was an age when astrology and second-sight had much power over the imagination even of the cultivated and the brave, and Henry was haunted with the dread of some fearful catastrophe in connection with this coronation, in consequence of which Sully attempted, but in vain, to dissuade the queen from it.

The day before Mary's entrance into the city was to take place, Henry was busy with his preparations for his journey. After dinner he went into his oratory, and remained so long at his prayers that the attendants ventured to remind him that the carriage he had ordered was in waiting. He seated himself in it with several noblemen. The curtains were drawn up for the purpose of seeing the preparations for the next day. While pass-

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ing two carts in a narrow street, all the attendants except two rode forward at some distance, and as the royal carriage moved slowly along, Ravaillac stepped upon the hind wheel and struck the king twice through the left breast.* The blood gushed into his throat and he was instantly suffocated. The curtains were dropped, the noblemen alighted, and the carriage turned back to the Louvre, the blood staining the street all the way.

Seldom is a royal death-bed surrounded with such sincere mourners as kneeled by that of Henry IV. One took his lifeless hands and kissed them; another threw himself at his feet, weeping bitterly. Not a word was spoken; all waited as if hoping he would break the silence. Sully, who by appointment waited for the king at the arsenal, was so overpowered that L'Estoile represents him as more dead than alive. The general sorrow was never so great in France. Many, it is said, died of grief.

Probably at this day, when crime is so often shielded from just retribution by the plea of insanity, Ravaillac would be pronounced a lunatic, but there is too much reason to believe that this was the winding up of a deep laid plot. The investigations of the parliament were conducted in an aimless and al-

* This event took place in May, 1610, when Henry IV. was fifty-seven years of age.

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most cowardly manner, as if it were feared that strict examination would reveal more than the magistracy were willing should be brought to light.

Ravaillac dictated, while in prison, a full confession, but the clerk who was employed wrote it in a character which defied all attempts to decipher it; a thing no one would have dared to do in the case of a state prisoner, unless assured of high protection.

The Jesuits were suspected of projecting this infamous deed on account of the favour shown by Henry to the Huguenots. One of their number who visited the murderer while in prison, when questioned as to his confessions, replied, that "God who had given to some the gift of tongues, to others prophecy, had conferred on him the gift of *forgetting confessions*."

Henry IV. blended in admirable proportion the authority of a sovereign with the mildness of a parent, and he possessed (as no other King of France ever has) the reverence and love of his subjects. By the wisdom and energy of his various plans for eliciting and employing the resources and regulating the revenues of the nation, France was raised to a height of power and prosperity unknown to her before. He participated in the vices of the age and the court, and that he abandoned a religion of principle

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for one of ceremonies was little to be wondered at. It better suited an unholy life.

Though his abjuration inflicted a deep wound upon the Protestant cause, his reign is one to which the Huguenots have ever recurred as that of their greatest tranquillity. His death was the harbinger of a series of calamities, for many long years unbroken, and almost unequalled in the history of the church.

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CHAPTER VI.

Regency—Concino Concini—Sully retires to Rosny—Attempt to supplant him with the Huguenots—The Mystery of Iniquity published—Proposal for a meeting of deputies of all Protestant churches—XXII Synod at Vitre—Severe education of the young king—The king's confirmation of the edict of Nantes—Condé's conspiracy, imprisonment—Assassination of D'Ancre—Bishop of Luçon—Outrages upon the Bearnese—Release of Condé—Bentivoglio's investigations—Synod at Alez—Re-assembled at Rochelle—Abjuration of Lesdiguières—Policy of Spain—Proclamation at Fontainbleau—Perfidy of the king at Saumur—Character of Du Plessis—Brave resistance of St. Jean d'Angely—Montauban invested—Hostilities at Rochelle—Treaty—Breaches of it—Appointment of a court commissioner at the Assembly—Cardinal Richelieu—Return of Peace—Synod at Castres.

The period which follows the death of Henry IV. is scarcely surpassed, even in French history, for turbulence, (if we except that memorable revolution which at the close of the last century shook Europe to its centre;) and the countless calamities which befel the Huguenots are so interwoven with the intricacies of civil history, that it will be difficult to present a connected view of their affairs through the succeeding reign.

Louis XIII. was in his ninth year when

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the murder of his father raised him suddenly to the throne. The consternation occasioned by the event, and the necessity of immediate steps to prevent a violent commotion among the people, prevented that deliberate action which the state of the nation required, upon so important an appointment as that of the regency. And Mary de Medicis, who was to have been constituted regent during the absence of her husband, was now raised to that high office during the minority of her son. She was a woman of feeble understanding, intellectually and morally incapable of taking grave and comprehensive views of the responsibility thus laid upon her. She had little knowledge of state affairs, and was jealous of power, and so entirely selfish in her disposition, that those who could most effectually flatter her vanity, could not fail of holding the helm of the state. The emblems of mourning which veiled the walls, and covered the furniture, and the stillness which reigned through one portion of the palace, were singularly contrasted with the unwonted splendour and gayety of the apartments where Mary, surrounded by parasites, mingled her tears for Henry with the irrepressible expressions of pleasure at the prospect of her new elevation. On her marriage she had been attended to Paris by an Italian named Concino Concini, with his wife, Leonora Dori, who was lady of the bed-chamber

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to the queen. Both these persons possessed an indomitable love of power; but the understanding of Leonora was greatly superior to that of her husband, as well as of the queen. The mutual alienations which had marred connubial life in the palace, are attributed in a great measure to this artful woman, who exercised a paramount influence over the mind of Mary. The favourites were always regarded with dislike by the king, but he had not the resolution to send them back to their own country; and they so managed as to secure to themselves, through the queen's instrumentality, numerous sources of emolument, and at the time of Henry's death, Concini was possessed of immense wealth.

The first step towards the elevation which he sought, was his admission to the council of state, in which he took his seat, about two months after the assassination of the king. By his great riches, he soon after purchased the office of gentleman of the chamber from the Duke de Bouillon, and the Marquisate of Ancre; and in 1615, he became Maréchal of France. The queen surrendered herself to his guidance, and the French saw themselves under the sway of a low-born foreigner whom they hated and despised.

The court of the infant king was the scene of as many factions as there were individuals possessing power. In one thing, and but

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one, were they all united—the removal of the wise and upright Sully. Concini's ambition demanded the overthrow of a man whose piercing discernment would penetrate his designs, and whose high morality would thwart his schemes; and the nobles and public officers abhorred a man whose exactness and integrity in the management of the national revenue stood in the way of their eager rapacity. His account of the demands upon the bounty of the regent, justifies his assertions, that there was a general conspiracy in the court to pillage the exchequer. There was nothing in the reserve and austerity of Sully's character to invite the confidence of a female sovereign, who was too weak and selfish to be capable of estimating his sterling qualities. She could also little hope for the countenance of the pope, while she retained a Huguenot at the helm of her government. The sagacious statesman foresaw that if he attempted to retain his station, the disgrace of a dismissal awaited him, and he prudently resigned his most coveted offices and withdrew to his estates in Rosny.*

* "Sully, in his retirement, lived in a degree of elegance, unusual for a private gentleman. The customs of subordination between parents and children practised there were singular. He and his wife were seated in arm-chairs at the head and foot of the table. His children, though full grown, had benches, and were not permitted to sit, unless commanded to do so. Sully always wore a large gold medal—which had *in relievo*

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The next step was to supplant him with his Huguenot brethren, and to this Bouillon lent his influence. The royal consent was obtained for a political meeting of the Protestants at Chatelherault; but this place being within Sully's principality, where, of course, his counsels would be regarded with deference, Bouillon proceeded to the transfer of the meeting to Saumur. In order to exclude, as far as possible, the influence of Sully, he persuaded Du Plessis that the presidency ought not, on this occasion, to be conferred on a member of high rank, lest the jealousy of members from the middle ranks should be excited; but, notwithstanding his manœuvres, the majority of the deputies insisted upon the elevation of Du Plessis to the chair, an invidious honour, which he was extremely unwilling to accept. Nearly four months of heated discussion ensued, in which nothing was done for the public good. A memorial of their wrongs was drawn up and presented to the court, to which but an unsatisfactory answer was returned. The assembly was convulsed by internal dissensions; and, having sat until the expiration of the

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the figure of Henry IV.—hung round his neck by a chain of gold and diamonds. He often took it from his bosom, contemplated it, and kissed it with reverence and affection. Never had a king a more devoted friend and servant; and, perhaps, never a nation a more skilful and faithful financier." *Mrs. Lee, Hist. Huguenots.*

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utmost limit allowed by the law, the meeting was dissolved.

The great point of disagreement was, the manner in which the provisions of the edict of Nantes were to be administered; whether according to the *registration*, as Bouillon insisted, or as it was *promulgated*, which Sully and his son-in-law, the Duke of Rohan, maintained. Momentous privileges were involved in the difference.

Soon after the sittings of this tumultuous assembly were closed, Du Plessis published, both in French and Latin, his "Mystery of Iniquity," a work on the rise and progress of papal authority. It was full of illustrative pictures, of a character that could not but rouse the indignation of the Papists. The Sorbonne passed a merciless censure upon the work, for which, however, Du Plessis felt himself in some measure compensated by a letter of high commendation from James I., King of England.

The education of the young king was conducted with great severity. He was whipped if he neglected his prayers. He was kept so long at confession by Father Cotton, that, on retiring from his oratory, he was obliged, from fatigue, to go to bed; yet, on the same day, was compelled to attend on the preaching of a tedious sermon, during which he fell asleep exhausted. His governor awaked him and inquired, ironically, why he did not bring his

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pillow. At the close of such a day of discipline, he was brought by his mother's desire to her apartment. At his entrance, she arose ceremoniously, on which the poor child said, he "would be content with less respect, if they would give him less whipping also."

On attaining his fourteenth year, Louis XIII. assumed the outward privileges of majesty. His first act was, the formal confirmation of the edict of Nantes, as if to commence his career with solemn promises, to which his entire reign was to give the lie. The queen and Maréchal de Ancre were, however, still the rulers of France; and, in the progress of the discontents occasioned by their arbitrary course, the deputies of a political assembly of the Huguenots held at Nismes hastily concluded a treaty of peace with the Prince of Condé, who was at the head of a political party and was preparing to appear in arms. By the prompt intervention of Sully and Du Plessis, this headlong step was reversed, and an accommodation effected which was confirmed by an edict published at Blois.*

* A most beautiful instance of the magnanimity of Sully is recorded in connection with the history of Condé's conspiracy. Forgetting the injuries the queen had inflicted upon him, he demanded an audience, and frankly assured her that her want of energy at this juncture was likely to prove fatal to herself and children, who would be much safer in the field protected by a thousand horsemen, than they could be at the Louvre. Such were the fruits of his devoted attachment to Henry IV.

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But the jealousies of Concini forbade repose, and the queen, at his instigation, commanded the arrest of Condé. The dukes of Vendôme, Mayenne and Bouillon were to have shared his fate, but received intimations of the impending danger in time to escape. The committal, to the Bastile, of the first prince of the blood, was a signal for great commotions. During three days, the Hotel d'Ancre, in Paris, was pillaged by the populace; and the government was too much alarmed to attempt an interference. The Huguenots proceeded to the actual occupation of Sancerre, which, though it was one of their garrisons, had been preserved to the crown; and the queen, unwilling to exasperate them, authorized them to retain it. D'Ancre, however, again gained the ascendancy. The tumults respecting Condé's imprisonment were hushed; and the nobility who had taken arms, intimidated with threats, laid them aside and were silent.

The young king, apparently absorbed in boyish amusements, was nevertheless deeply chagrined by the overbearing treatment which he received from his mother and governors; and, as subsequent events proved, he was not a heedless spectator of the drama which was in progress in his court. Charles Albert de Luines, of doubtful origin, who held some unimportant office about the person of the king, resolved to avail himself of the

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agitated state of the court to obtain some place of eminence. He contrived, by various little devices, to gain a strong ascendency over the mind of Louis; and at length obtained his consent to the arrest of Concini, upon which he gave orders to the agents employed for the purpose, to assassinate him; which was immediately done in the court of the Louvre. Vitry, the chief actor in this murder, was speedily rewarded with the high dignity which Concini had held, that of Maréchal of France.

The populace heaped every imaginable insult upon the remains of Concini; the legal tribunals dragged his widow to the scaffold as a traitoress; and a series of revolting indignities were concluded, by the burning of her headless body to ashes! We cannot fail to trace, in these and other phrensied transactions of frequent occurrence in French history, the same spirit which, in the Revolution of 1792, raged uncontrolled, and with scarcely less fury in the temples of justice than in the streets of Paris.

With Concini, the queen's power expired; and she was permitted (not to say compelled) to retire from court, and became in reality a prisoner at Blois.

The congratulations offered to the king by the next synod, held at Vitre in 1616, on the "many and wonderful blessings which God had graciously vouchsafed him, and their

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admiration of his wise and generous resolution, in executing a just punishment upon the grand disturber of his kingdom," stand in direct contradiction to the sentiments which a Christian synod would be expected to entertain respecting so great a crime as murder.

But we shall form too severe a judgment of these good men if we forget the sanguinary character of the age in which they lived, and that even the church of God had not yet fully learned that "the weapons of her warfare are not carnal but spiritual;" and that the interests of the Reformed religion, interwoven as they were with the state, were sometimes in their view staked upon the death of a bitter and powerful enemy. We expect too much, when we look for the fulness of stature, and the beautiful symmetry of perfect men in Christ Jesus, in a church which had so recently come out from the embrace of a most insidious, defiling and bloody heresy. As well complain of the child that he is not full grown, while we ought to admire in him the germs of manly elegance, wisdom and strength.

The queen was accompanied to Blois by Armand Jean Du Plessis, Bishop of Luçon. He had been introduced at court by D'Ancre, and, at the time of his assassination, held the office of secretary of state. De Luines, perceiving his commanding talents, and fearing

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the result of his intrigues, soon effected his removal from Blois to Avignon.

The privileges of Bearne, as a reformed state, notwithstanding the union of Navarre and France under one crown, had been hitherto respected. But one of the first acts of De Luines was, to confiscate the property which Jane d'Albret had given to the Huguenot church, and to restore the ascendency of the papal faith; in consequence of which, the greatest part of the year 1618 was spent in stormy discussions with the indignant and resolute Bearnese.

Meantime the queen-mother, not satisfied with the retirement of Blois, made her escape by descending a ladder at night, from one of the castle windows; and, hastening to Angoulême, soon found herself at the head of a powerful band of adherents. De Luines, by the promise of a cardinal's hat, induced the Bishop of Luçon to persuade her to accept of terms of accommodation. The overtures were successful, but De Luines well knew that the queen had been too deeply injured to admit of her becoming at heart reconciled, and, therefore, to counterbalance her party, released the Prince of Condé, who had been three years in the Bastile. He at once proposed an expedition into Normandy, where the queen was secretly assembling her troops. She had twenty thousand men, while the royal army numbered only

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six thousand; but, through the imbecility of her general, in an engagement at Pont de Cé, she was compelled to surrender at discretion; and, with this disaster, terminated all her hopes of regaining her power.

This formidable enemy being thus disposed of, the king marched his victorious army to Bordeaux on Pau, and compelled the Bearnese Protestants to relinquish their churches and revenues to the Catholics.

Before the annexation of Bearne, a political assembly of the Huguenots had been allowed to meet at Loudun. The deputies, as before, refused to disperse until an answer had been received to their memorial of grievances. The king reiterated his peremptory orders that they should disperse; but they continued their session from September, 1619, until the following April, and then declared their meeting not *dissolved*, but *suspended*, and parted with the understanding that they were to meet again without a renewal of the royal permission. The bold, and, perhaps, unjustifiable attitude assumed by the Huguenots on this occasion, induced Bentivoglio, the pope's nuncio, to inquire minutely into their organization.

Bentivoglio alleges, and possibly with some justice, that the Protestants purposed to separate themselves from the monarchy, and to establish a republic. And who can wonder that, having endured, through a suc-

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cession of reigns, persecutions and oppressions in every form that malignity could devise, and being never, at any time, allowed the privileges which were granted to other subjects of the realm, they should have looked forward to a period when they could separate themselves from the body of the nation; and, under governors chosen from among themselves, enjoy liberty of conscience? Was it not the same spirit which led the Waldenses to seek religious freedom in the Alps, and which impelled the Puritan band to come to this western world? The uniform testimony of historians is, that the Huguenots, even under bitter provocation, were loyal subjects. They feared God first; next, they honoured the king. Whatever may have been their wish as to an ultimate separation from the body of the nation, nothing is more strongly attested than their high sense of duty as subjects, a fact often allowed by their worst enemies. Bentivoglio enumerates the encroachments they had gradually made, the enlargement of political privileges which they had contrived to secure the advantages they had taken of the minority of Louis XIII. But the Huguenots maintained, that the privileges they were charged with securing by stealth, were theirs by the edict of Nantes. The memoir concludes with asserting, that the chief hope of

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the "downfall of this hydra was built upon their internal dissensions."

During the king's expedition to Bearne, mentioned above, the twenty-third national synod assembled at Alez in the Cévennes. The deputies seem to have scrupulously avoided all allusion to the political events which were transpiring, and in which the interests of the Protestant church were so deeply involved. The only reference to them is in the expression of their sympathy for "the doleful change" which had befallen the churches of Bearne, on account of which they appointed a day of fasting and prayer. Their benevolence was called forth by an application for the relief of Quevedo, a Spaniard who had just escaped from the Inquisition; for whose benefit they gave a certain sum, to be put into the hands of the consistory of Montpelier, and paid quarterly so long as his deportment justified his profession, "that so he may learn some honest trade whereby to gain a livelihood." Six hundred livres, also, were voted to the "afflicted church of Privas for a present supply," and the other churches in the kingdom were requested to make collections for them. Several other similar applications were as promptly met. Sympathy with afflicted individuals and churches, and an enlarged liberality, were distinctive characteristics of the French Protestants. In their own deepest depression, and when their

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sufferings awakened the sympathy of the charitable and humane of other nations, they never forgot the injunction, to "remember those that are in bonds, as being bound with them." The Mediterranean was at about this period infested with pirates from the African coast, who seized great numbers of captives from the maritime provinces. The most earnest appeals were made by the ecclesiastical bodies in behalf of these sufferers, and were answered by large contributions, which were continued for a long series of years; and, being faithfully applied, were the means of emancipating great numbers from a slavery which had else been hopeless.

The twenty-third meeting of the synod was not *dissolved*, but, like the former, was *suspended*, and the deputies re-assembled at Rochelle without a renewal of permission, asserting that they had adjourned from Alez on the faith of the royal promises; but that those promises were violated, and for six months their grievances had remained unnoticed. Bearne had been subjected to the pope, the tyranny of the Jesuits grew more formidable, and all the immunities of the Protestants were diminished. They applied to the king for the same extension of privileges that his predecessors had allowed them. But he answered, laconically, that the one had acted out of fear, and the other out of

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love; but that he wished them to know, that he neither loved nor feared them.

The influence of Spain upon the civil affairs of France was strengthened by the marriage of Louis to Anne of Austria, and of Louis's sister Elizabeth with Philip, son of the King of Spain. That court was not backward to encourage dissension in a kingdom which it had always been its policy to weaken. The success of the government against the Bearnese was urged as a reason for waging war against all the Huguenots. The court showed itself ripe for hostilities, and the disposition evinced by the Huguenots was not the most peaceful. They regarded the pacific counsels of Du Plessis as the result of his failing energies, and a few even dared to attribute them to sinister motives. Such suspicions of one whose conduct in a career of almost fifty years of public life had been without a stain, awaken a feeling of impatience, and almost of indignation. But we must remember, that of all the great and noble who once espoused the cause of the Reformation, but few remained true after the abjuration of Henry IV.; and of those few, one and another, even in their advanced years, had been won over to the Papists, by some dazzling temptation of wealth, title, or official dignity.

The deputies at Rochelle made a new military distribution of the provinces, dividing the

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kingdom into eight circles, and assigning the government of them to distinguished generals, the most efficient of whom were Soubise, La Tremouille, La Force and his sons Rohan and Chatillon. Bouillon declined the command of their army on the plea of infirmity, and Lesdiguières had gone over to their enemies.

The assembly held a paramount authority in its own hands, and all its commissions and ordinances were stamped with a seal emblematic of independence. Bouillon, though he could not engage in actual service, rendered important aid by his advice to the assembly. He recommended that Saumur, which was a stronghold under the command of Du Plessis, and the most important pass on the Loire, should be re-inforced with six thousand men, in the hope that thus the war might be kept within a narrower compass, and, perhaps, be soon and advantageously terminated. But, owing to some misunderstanding or dissension, the movements of the troops were less prompt than those of Louis, and Saumur was left unprovided with soldiers, money, or stores.

The king had issued a proclamation at Fontainbleau against the assembly, threatening the disturbers with punishment, and promising protection to all the Reformed who remained true to the royal cause. There were spies in the Huguenot assembly, and by these, its deliberations and the advice of Bouillon

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respecting Saumur were communicated to the king, and he advanced immediately upon it. As a token of respect, the Huguenot garrisons were ordinarily cantoned without the walls, during a royal visit; but Du Plessis refrained from the customary act of deference until he had received from the constable, and, indeed, from the king himself, the most solemn assurances that the immunities of the city should be held sacred, and that, after a temporary stay, Saumur should be restored to its governor without any infringement of its privileges.

"No sooner, however, had the troops withdrawn from the castle, than Du Plessis was commanded to admit the royal train within its gates, under a pretence that the court was too numerous for any other quarters. Not even a single apartment was reserved for the accommodation of his own family; his library was plundered; his cabinets were ransacked in search of papers which might compromise his safety; and, after the silver clasps had been torn from a splendid series of his works, some of them written with his own hand, the rest printed on vellum, and all enriched with copious marginal notes, several of the volumes were tossed into the castle ditch. He was quickly given to understand that the king, intending to retain military possession of Saumur, was at the same time willing to indemnify the governor for his private losses,

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and all the arrears which were owing to him by the government: an hundred thousand crowns in addition, and the bâton of a maréchal, were the terms proposed. But, he indignantly replied that he would never bargain with his sovereign, being always prepared to render him fitting obedience; all that he sought in return was, adherence to the promises which it had been the king's pleasure to offer, that he would not innovate in Saumur; a matter not less important to the royal service than to his own private interests. 'Never,' he continued, 'was I assailed by a bribe. Had I loved money, I might have been in possession of millions; and, as for dignities, I was always more solicitous to deserve than importune to demand them. Neither in honour, nor in conscience, can I sell the liberty and security of others.'"*

Saumur now became a royal garrison, and Du Plessis retired to privacy, in which he passed the short remainder of his eventful life. He is a noble example of the compatibility of the highest endowments of the statesman with the purity, humility and fervent devotion of the true Christian. He lived in a period pre-eminently tempestuous, both in politics and religion, and few could so well abide the test of their integrity as statesmen, or their sincerity as Christians. For discretion

* Smedley.

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in the cabinet, valour in the field, a steady adherence to his own high sense of duty, and a lenient and forbearing judgment of others, the world has seldom seen his equal. And it is not the least of the many testimonies to his disinterested regard for the interests of his country and of religion, that he died impoverished by his large contributions and the sacrifices he had made for the public weal.

The proscribed assembly still held its sessions at Rochelle, and that place, with St. Jean d'Angely, were proclaimed by the king to be in a state of open rebellion: their privileges were annulled, and all intercourse with them forbidden. Every Huguenot in the kingdom was required to present himself before the magistrates of his district, and disavow the acts of the assembly and declare his readiness to enter the royal service against it. Every cautionary town* on the royal march opened its gates, and was rewarded for its unhesitating submission with the destruction of its military defences.

The progress of the king was undisputed until he arrived at St. Jean d'Angely. This place was commanded by the Duke of Soubise, who defended it bravely; and his bro-

* *Cautionary towns*, were towns assigned to the Huguenots by the crown, with garrisons in them, commanded by a Huguenot general appointed by the king. These military establishments were maintained by the royal treasury.

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ther, Rohan, threw in a reinforcement of a thousand soldiers, and an hundred gentlemen, before proceeding to Guienne, the circle intrusted to him by the assembly. The women shared, night and day, the toils and dangers of the men, and both showed themselves worthy of their brave ancestors, who had defended their city during three sieges. At the end of a month they were obliged to capitulate. The king sent word that he should make no treaty, but would give full pardon to all who would ask it, and swear fidelity for the future; upon which the gates were thrown open. The fortifications were razed, and the city dismantled, not only as a security against future rebellion, but as a punishment to a people who were declared by the king to be always first to revolt in times of trouble.

On the 21st of August, Montauban was invested by the king in person, attended by his generals. But in November following, Louis, after severe losses, withdrew his troops, confessing, with tears in his eyes, how deeply he was chagrined at the unfavourable turn in his affairs.

Some of the king's most influential counsellors advised to peace, as the most effectual mode of weakening the cause of the Protestants, who always seemed to acquire vigour by resistance. But a change of policy soon took place, and in January, 1622, the war

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was renewed and great barbarities were perpetrated on both sides. The Huguenot army numbered twenty-five thousand men. La Force had gone into Quercy and Lower Guienne to assume the government assigned to him by the assembly, and was received and honoured almost as a sovereign. The Duke d'Elbœuf and Marshal Themines were sent with a large body of troops to reduce those provinces to obedience.

We omit the details of this war, designed by the monarch to compel the Protestants, not so much to submit to his authority as to violate their consciences in joining the idolatrous services of the Papists. Suffice it to say, that the history is full of cruelty and fraud, and the results were long doubtful. Signal advantages were gained on both sides, and at length, Tonniens, whose garrison was commanded by Montpouillan, a son of La Force, after being nobly defended several months, was obliged to capitulate, and was burned as an example.

Hostilities were not yet terminated at Rochelle. Four successive engagements took place between the king's fleet and the Rochellois, in which the brave seamen of that city fully sustained their old reputation for valour and skill. Such, however, was the superior force of the royalists, that the fleet of Rochelle must have been annihilated but for the providential intervention of a hurri-

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cane which lasted several days, in which interval the news of the conclusion of a peace was received. Guiton, the mayor of the city, a man of steady and unbending resolution, at first refused to be included in the treaty; but their means of defence being sadly reduced, a deputation at length announced the adhesion of the assembly to the pacification.

The strongholds of the Huguenots being reduced one after another, a treaty was formed on the basis of the edict of Nantes. But when was a treaty with the Huguenots held sacred? They were now no longer in a situation to demand its fulfilment. All their towns were lost, except Montauban and Rochelle. Most of their nobles had gone over to the royalists; and others, weary of the endless perplexities and sufferings and the slavish life which a seceding people, under a government combined of civil and ecclesiastical despotism, must endure, were prepared to follow their example. In fact, the short period of this nominal peace was full of trouble and evil forebodings to the Huguenots.

The royalists, instead of demolishing, according to promise, their citadel at Montpelier, vigorously prosecuted its repair; and at Fort Louis, the stronghold near Rochelle, their movements indicated any thing but pacific designs.

Another violation of the treaty was the ap-

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pointment of a commissioner to be present at the synods and assemblies of the Huguenots, to regulate their discussions and report them to the king. They were also greatly perplexed and embarrassed by the command forbidding any one to exercise the office of a preacher, except such as were born in France. The reason assigned by Louis for this arbitrary rule was, that "his natural subjects, who are such by their birth, would be more true unto his service than any foreigners," besides which he avowed that he had "some private reasons which he need not tell them."* The Huguenots remonstrated,

* These may have been personal objections to encountering their fearless independence. Some, we know, and probably many of these foreign preachers, were from Scotland, and they had not breathed in vain the atmosphere which the spirit of John Knox had shed over the Reformed churches of North Britain. An instance of this Christian courage is related of Welsh, a son-in-law of the great Scotch reformer. The king and his court came to the small town where he filled the office of minister. During sermon-time, Louis sent an officer commanding his immediate presence. Overawed by the address of Welsh, he failed to enforce the order. After sermon, "Mr. Welsh, with much submission, went to the king, who was then greatly incensed; and, with a threatening countenance, asked who he was, and how he durst preach heresy so near his person, and with such contumacy carry himself? To which, with due reverence, bowing himself, he did answer; 'I am, sir the servant and minister of Jesus Christ, whose truth I preached this day: which, if your majesty rightly knew, you would have judged it your duty to have come and heard. And for my doctrine, I did this day preach

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because if this went into effect, many of their churches would be left destitute of a pastor; and they pleaded besides, the injustice of allowing foreigners to hold the office of preacher in the papal church while it was denied to the Reformed. Louis, therefore, consented to the retention of such as were already in the ministry, but forbade that others should be received in future. Yet even this agreement he violated, by deposing two Scotch ministers at Bordeaux, Primrose and Cameron, who had offended the royal confessor Arnoux, by proposing some searching questions on certain doctrines inculcated by the Jesuits.

The power and spirit of the Huguenots was weakened by the death of two of their most distinguished leaders, the Duke of Bouillon and Du Plessis. The former,

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these three truths to your people: 1st. That man is fallen, and by nature in a lost condition; yea, by his own power and abilities, is not able to help himself out of that estate. 2d. That there is no salvation or deliverance from wrath by our own merits, but by Jesus Christ, and his merits alone. 3d. I did also preach this day, the just liberties of the kingdom of France; that your majesty oweth obedience to Christ only, who is Head of the Church; and that the pope, as he is an enemy to Christ and his truth, so also to the kings of the earth, whom he keepeth under slavery to his usurped power.' Whereat, the king for a time keeping silence, with great astonishment turned to some about him, and said, 'Surely this is a man of God.' Yea, the king did afterwards commune with him, and with much respect dismissed him."

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though a great intriguer and of too ambitious a temper, was an important support to their interests by his military experience, his great wealth, and his firm adherence to the Reformed faith. In the death of the latter they lost the brightest ornament of the Protestant cause in France.

In the spring of 1623, the Bishop of Luçon, by the intercession of the queen-mother, was honoured with a cardinal's hat, under the name of Richelieu, and commenced that career of ambition which has made him more conspicuous in French history than any other ecclesiastic. His admission to the king's council took place the following year, and of his gigantic plans, one portion soon began to be developed—the depression of the Huguenots. He conceived that two things were essential to national strength; conformity to one creed and the exclusion of foreign influence from the cabinet. The latter he quickly accomplished, and no king in Europe was now able to learn what passed in the councils of the court of France. The former he attempted to effect gradually, by suppressing the few liberties that remained to the Huguenots, desisting occasionally when circumstances made it most politic to do so, yet never losing sight of the design.

The disheartened Rochellois were at length prepared to accede to such terms as the court prescribed. At first, the king resolved to

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punish their pertinacious resistance by the refusal of peace on any terms, but political necessity modified his resolution. He had entered into an alliance with England, the United Provinces, Venice and the Duke of Savoy against Spain, and the English ambassadors urged the conclusion of peace with the Huguenots before any foreign war was commenced.

On this return of peace, Sept. 16, 1626, the national synod met at Castres. The king signified his pleasure that none of their pastors should leave the kingdom, or receive employment from any foreign prince, without his express permission. By the catalogue of the number of churches and pastors at this period, it appears that there were six hundred and twenty-three churches, not including those of Bearne, and six hundred and thirty-eight pastors; and yet some of the churches are represented as destitute.

A petition setting forth their wrongs was addressed to his majesty, but without effect, unless to aggravate them.

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CHAPTER VII.

The Duke of Buckingham sent with a fleet to succour the Rochellois—His unskilful movements—His return—Warlike preparations around Rochelle—Sufferings of the inhabitants—Arrival of the Earl of Lindsay's fleet—Surrender of Rochelle—Terms—Violations of the Treaty—Siege of Privas—Pardons dispensed—Death and Character of Rohan—Synod at Charenton—Synod at Alençon—Death of Richelieu and of Louis XIII.—Second Synod at Charenton—Cardinal Mazarin—Cromwell—The *Fronde*—Slaughter of the Piedmontese—Loyalty of the Huguenots—Sway of the clergy—Threatening indications—The last Synod, at Loudun—Death of Mazarin—New restrictions against the Huguenots—Sympathy of the Germans—Abjuration of Turenne—Eminent men among the Huguenots.

The Duke of Buckingham at this time swayed the councils of Charles I. of England. Various intrigues, the motives and intricacies of which there would be little use in tracing, were employed to embroil the prime ministers of the two countries, one of whom was skilfully pursuing his mazy state policy, while the other thought only of his own guilty pleasures. Buckingham was persuaded to send a secret agent to the Duke of Rohan, to concert some plan in behalf of the distressed Huguenots. The Duke of Soubise, who had gone to England in the hope of obtaining some aid for them, prevailed upon Charles to announce himself their protector, and to avow

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in the state paper which declared the reasons for his rupture with the French government, Louis's sanction of the numerous violations of the late treaty, by which the towns, garrisons and fortresses of the Protestants had been blocked up, although they, on their part, had adhered to the conditions of the treaty.

In July, 1627, the Duke of Buckingham, charged with the powers of admiral of the fleet and commander-in-chief of the land forces, sailed with a fleet of an hundred ships and seven thousand soldiers for the protection of Rochelle. But the abruptness of those preparations prevented the existence of any previous understanding between the fleet and the Rochellois, so that when this formidable armament appeared before their city, they at once closed the gates, doubtful of the benefit they should derive from such unexpected visitors. They did indeed groan under the oppressive yoke laid upon them, but they had made no preparation for so soon renewing their endeavours to throw it off. The neighbouring fortresses seemed to frown upon even the thought of religious freedom. The king was at the head of a powerful army, which could at any hour be marched toward their city; and, worse than all, there was within their own walls a party who, probably through weariness of a hopeless contest, were brought under the influence of the court, and kept up a correspondence with

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it. A middle course was at length decided upon. The Rochellois sent a messenger to Buckingham, to express their grateful acknowledgments to the King of Great Britain for his offered aid, but stated their unwillingness to adopt any decision until they had consulted the other reformed churches of France.

Meantime, Buckingham employed himself in an unskilful attempt to effect a descent upon the Isle of Rhé. He was met by a spirited resistance from Thorias, the commander, by which six hundred of the assailants were killed. Thorias rallied his soldiers, and prepared to stand a siege in the citadel of St. Martin. Pinnaces were fitted out from the French ports to convey him provisions, and were successful in bringing a large supply into the citadel; while the English, whose zeal in the cause had never been excessive, were greatly discouraged by a storm which carried away their batteries and defences, and dispersed their fleet.

Fresh efforts were now made by the commander of the king's troops, to persuade the Rochellois to submission. The royal proclamation was unheeded by the inhabitants; but the mayor declared that, if the king would truly fulfil the treaty of Montpelier, and place Fort Louis in the hands of Chatillon, La Force, or La Tremouille, the inhabitants would instantly fly to fill the royal ranks, and obey

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his majesty's orders in repelling the English. The answer to this was a prompt effort to prevent the conveyance of supplies into Rochelle, and a strengthening of the means of attack. A discharge from one of the batteries of the city, against the workmen, was the signal for a renewal of hostilities.

It was now the first of October. The English had again rallied their forces by sea and land, and captured so many vessels bound to the citadel, that Thorias had agreed to surrender if not relieved by the eighth. But again the winds were favourable to the besieged. A gale, on the night of the seventh, dispersed the English fleet, and a flotilla laden with provisions entered with a supply for the citadel. A division of twelve hundred men also effected a landing, and Buckingham decided upon one more desperate attack before re-embarking for England. On the morning of the sixth of November, he attacked the citadel on both sides. But his scaling-ladders were too short, and his force every way inadequate to a successful assault upon a fortress manned by fifteen hundred men, well furnished with every means of defence. After a contest of two hours, he ordered a retreat, and, two days afterwards, left the island.

The withdrawal of the English left the Rochellois in a worse situation than ever; because their co-operation with Buckingham, though tardy, was considered a defi-

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ance of the king, who employed the whole of the following winter in preparations for a vengeance deep and lasting, and from which there should be no escape, or recovery.

Rohan and Soubise were proclaimed traitors. Fifty thousand crowns were offered for the head of Rohan, and the promise of a title of nobility to the man who should assassinate him.

The king, and Richelieu, (whose powerful genius was as well adapted to the field as the cabinet,) projected and superintended the erection of lines of circumvallation extending in a circuit of nine miles around Rochelle, by which all intercourse with the adjacent country was completely cut off. But the reduction of the city was deemed doubtful while its communication with the sea remained unobstructed; and Richelieu, with an ingenuity transcending that of all the professed engineers in the employ of the king, planned a gigantic work of masonry, which might have challenged a comparison with that constructed by Alexander before Tyre. It was a solid mole, beyond the range of cannon-shot from Rochelle, extending fourteen hundred and eighty yards, having a single narrow opening for the entrance of vessels. This entrance was formed by the overlapping of one part upon the other, so as to form a lateral passage, before which a stockade of piles interlaced with chains,

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seemed to preclude all possibility of unallowed ingress or egress. The frame-work of huge piles was filled up with unhewn stones. The structure decreased from a base of seventy-two feet to a crest of twenty-four, which was so far above high water as to form a safe promenade, and was constantly occupied by sentinels.

In February, 1628, the king returned to Paris for repose, after his seven months' campaign, leaving the cardinal with supreme power in the army.

Richelieu sent a trumpeter to Rochelle to exhort the inhabitants to submission; but, with a resolution unbroken by suffering, they refused. A violent storm at this time injured the mole, so that several vessels laden with corn, and bringing encouraging communications from England, gained an entrance. The people were inspired with new hopes, and their joy was still greater when, on the 11th of May, the English fleet, commanded by the Earl of Denbigh, appeared in the offing. It consisted of eleven ships of war, thirty or forty small armed vessels, and as many more laden with provisions. But the earl, after remaining a week in the roads, set sail for England, leaving the wretched Rochellois in amazement at his inexplicable conduct, and in a state of despair proportioned to the bright hopes awakened by his arrival.

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The wretchedness of the people was extreme. All the horrors of famine raged in the devoted city; yet the greater part of them steadfastly declined the cardinal's overtures, hoping that the autumnal gales would destroy the mole, and that efficient succour would yet come from England. But a faction within the walls clamoured for surrender, and, in order to compel their opponents to accede, collected the women and children, the feeble and aged, and drove them out, a company of spectres, beyond the walls; where, when the day dawned, and they were seen gathering grass and roots for food, the soldiers discharged their muskets upon them, or stripped them of their miserable clothing, and pursued them with insults until they were re-admitted within the walls.

The Rochellois were destined to have their hopes mocked once more by the prospect of aid from England. At the end of September, the Earl of Lindsey, with a considerable fleet, arrived off the Isle of Rhé. But the mole had been repaired, and the other works strengthened; and, at the end of a month, which passed without a single effort to relieve the city, the earl discharged a few shot, weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

At length the demands of hunger, with other miseries so long endured, subdued the heroic spirit of the Rochellois, and Richelieu

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being disposed to an adjustment, deputies were sent to the camp to discuss the terms of surrender. The very leniency of these awakened distrust. With the exception of a few examples of severity, the citizens were to be treated with indulgence. Their property was to be restored, and the free exercise of their religion allowed them. But the opportunity of annihilating the civic privileges of a little city which had for seventy years maintained the independence of a republic against the crown, was not to be thrown away. The magistracy, which had been for centuries the pride of Rochelle, was abolished, the municipal estates confiscated, the fortifications razed. Not even a garden-wall was allowed to remain. No foreigner was permitted to take up his residence there, and none already there to remain, unless he had resided there previous to the arrival of Buckingham.

The gates were thrown open on the 30th of October, 1628, after a siege of fifteen months, during which a population of twenty-seven thousand had been reduced to five, and of six hundred Englishmen left by Buckingham, only sixty-two survived. Perfect order was observed on the entrance of Richelieu, and the mortification of the hungry citizens was soothed by an abundant and gratuitous distribution of food.

The king's advisers induced him to ex-

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clude the aged Duchess of Rohan and her daughter from the benefits of the capitulation, on account of the exertions of her sons Rohan and Soubise in behalf of the Protestants. They had lived three months upon horse flesh, and a few ounces of bread a day, and now were carried away prisoners, deprived of the attendance to which their quality entitled them, and of the exercises of their religion.

A few days only elapsed before the papal religion was declared to be the religion of the city. The Huguenot temple was turned into a cathedral, while to the exiled worshippers a spot in the suburbs was assigned, on which they were permitted to build a church. When they complained of the infringement of the treaty which promised them the right of worship within the walls, they were tauntingly pointed to the soldiery who were demolishing the walls, as a proof that their new place of worship would not be beyond the walls. A cross was erected in the castle yard, commemorative of the surrender of the city, which event was ordered to be celebrated by a solemn thanksgiving and a procession on every returning anniversary of the 30th of October. The bell, which in former days had summoned the corporate assemblies of the city, was ordered to be melted. When Guiton, the resolute mayor, was informed of these last acts of perfidy, he said, "Had I known that the

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king would have failed in his promises, he might have entered the city, but not while a man remained alive in it.

Greatly dispirited by the loss of their chief towns, the Protestants were glad to accept the best conditions that could be negotiated. By great resolution and perseverance, Rohan obtained for the Huguenots much more favourable terms than could have been expected, considering that their present situation precluded all hope of a successful vindication of their rights by force of arms.

Nothing, therefore, remained for himself, but to procure the release of his mother and sister, and retire from France. Louis would have given him a cordial reception at court, but his independent spirit, and his views of religious freedom, constituted an obstacle in his own feelings not to be surmounted; and he withdrew to Venice, where he was for several years generalissimo of the armies of that Republic. He was subsequently employed by Louis as an ambassador, and at the period of his death was commander of the French army.

Even his enemies pronounce him one of the greatest men, and one of the ablest generals of his age; and had Henry IV. died childless, his lineage (being descended from John, King of Navarre) would have entitled him to the crown of France.

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During the remainder of his life, Richelieu, the great mover of the court machinery, was so much absorbed in political affairs as to suspend for the present (though not to forget) his design in regard to the extinction of the Huguenots. Thus the insignificance to which they had been reduced saved them from the difficulties which would have overwhelmed them, had the minister carried out the project with which he began his career. They had indeed few of the privileges which had so many times been guarantied them by treaty; but they enjoyed a measure of exemption from trouble which was incompatible with a struggle for the attainment of those privileges.

In December, 1643, Cardinal Richelieu died; and Louis XIII. in May following. On his death-bed, the king appointed Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian, one of his executors; and, by means of his influence over Anne of Austria, the royal widow, he obtained the office of first minister during her regency. Conscious that, as a foreigner, he was regarded with jealousy, he had little disposition to offer needless opposition to the prejudices of the Huguenots, and, therefore, began his administration by confirming the edict of Nantes, and licensing the meeting of the twenty-eighth synod, which convened at Charenton near the close of the following year.

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The royal commissioner addressed them with a special command not to send young men designed for the ministry to Geneva, Switzerland, Holland, or England, for education, as, in those countries, their minds would become infected by republican principles, and false views about secular and political affairs.

This was the period of the Protectorate in England, and Cromwell's elevation modified the relations of France with that country. To the interest which he avowed in the Huguenots, the indulgence of Cardinal Mazarin toward them may, perhaps, in part, be ascribed. Cromwell sent private agents over to observe the condition of the French Protestants, who reported on their return that the cardinal caused the provisions of the edicts to be fulfilled.

That they regarded their condition as a comparatively happy one under his administration, is proved by their numerous testimonies of gratitude. During the troubles of the *Fronde** they adhered to the king, and the very towns which had been dismantled by

*A conspiracy, of which the Prince of Condé was one of the chief leaders. This was the same whose mother purchased her discharge from prison for the murder of her husband, by resigning him to a Catholic education.

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Louis Thirteenth, armed in behalf of the royal cause. St. Jean d'Angley raised a company of volunteers, and at Montauban four bastions were thrown up with incredible speed by the citizens—one of them solely by the young theological students. At Rochelle, Condé, relying on the insurrectionary disposition of the inhabitants, presented himself before the town, and appealing to their grateful remembrance of the services of his ancestors in their behalf, called on them to espouse his cause; but they indignantly repelled his proposals, informing him that they were prepared to stand a siege; and he withdrew to Moissac, from whence a body of troops from Montauban shortly dislodged him.

The queen and cardinal showed their appreciation of the unexpected demonstrations of loyalty evinced by the Huguenots, by receiving all Protestant deputations with distinguished favour, and Mazarin spoke of the citizens of Montauban as his "good friends." The edict of Nantes was solemnly confirmed, and all subsequent decrees, by which any of its provisions had been made void, were revoked.

Bartholomew Hervart, a wealthy Protestant, was raised by the cardinal to the responsible station of comptroller of the finances, and, through his patronage, many Huguenots were employed as commissioners and

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collectors. The allowances for the churches were punctually and liberally paid, and ministers in necessitous circumstances were relieved.

In 1655, the news that the French troops had been employed by the Duke of Savoy as his most efficient agents in the slaughter of the Piedmontese Christians, excited the terror of the French Protestants and awakened suspicions of a gathering storm. But the prompt intercession and remonstrances of Cromwell in behalf of the "oppressed saints," the invitation which he sent to his allies to unite with him against the duke, should he persevere in these atrocities, and the assurance that he possessed the power not less than the will to vindicate their cause, dissipated their apprehensions and intimidated their oppressors. Louis declared the acts of his troops unauthorized, reprimanded the officers, and admonished the duke to forbear.

The numerous and unsolicited testimonies to the loyalty of the Huguenots in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV., afford abundant evidence that the series of persecutions with which he at length saw fit to wear them out, were wholly unmerited.

A writer who has carefully investigated the historical facts of that epoch, says, "He" (the king) "complains of the clergy, the

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Jansenists, the nobility, the courtiers, the magistrates, the financiers, and does not make the slightest mention of the Calvinists." In a letter to the Duke de St. Aignan, Louis says of the Protestant religion, "those who profess it being no less faithful to me than my other subjects, they must not be treated with less attention and kindness."

But history is full of evidences of the potent sway which the papal clergy held over the governments of Europe; and, in no instance is it more strikingly illustrated than in the entire change which they effected in the feelings and policy of Louis XIV. towards the Huguenots. From being more favourable to their interests than any previous sovereign, excepting Henry IV., he became the most malignant, persevering, implacable, and ingeniously cruel of all their persecutors.

The calm which they had enjoyed since the death of Louis XIII. betokened, to some shrewd and experienced observers, the gathering of a tempest, and the low mutterings of its thunder began to be heard in 1656, when, at the vehement solicitation of the papal clergy, the king revoked the declaration of St. Germain.

At length a law was established, the operation of which was exceedingly severe upon ministers and churches. It not only punished the relapsed individual with perpetual banish-

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ment, but ministers were forbidden to expostulate with, or exhort their brethren who had gone over to the papal faith; and, should any one, smitten with misgivings at the step he had taken, come into a Protestant worshipping assembly, the minister was required to dismiss the congregation, and close the temple. The effect was to reduce the number of worshippers, and greatly to perplex and embarrass the ministers.

Cromwell died in 1658, and thus Louis was freed from an alliance which, considering the influence which the Protector had over the Reformed, and the totally diverse spirit of the two governments, must have been rather distasteful to him. It was an adverse event to the cause of Protestantism.

The death of Cardinal Mazarin, which occurred in March, 1661, was another unfavourable event for the interests of the Huguenots. Colbert, the comptroller-general of the finances, succeeded Mazarin in the king's confidence, and he had the penetration to discover that the Protestants possessed many of the traits of character essential to good subjects. He employed them extensively in manufactures and the marine service; but, occupying an office wholly secular, he had not the power to evade the plots and intrigues of the clergy against them, so that a gradual and irretrievable diminution of their privileges ensued.

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Through some quibble of the law, the tenure by which they held many of their places of worship was pronounced invalid; and, in consequence, a great number of Protestant chapels were levelled to the ground. They were forbidden to sing psalms not only in the streets and public places, but even in their own houses so as to be heard by passengers, and soon afterward a new restriction forbade them to sing in their chapels, in case the procession of the host were passing by, under a penalty of 1000 livres. The preachers were not allowed to be called ministers of God's word, "because," as they said, "the word of God is pure, true and holy, whereas that taught by the pretended reformed ministers is false, profane and corrupt." The interference with funeral rites was peculiarly grievous; only a limited number of persons being allowed to attend,* the interment to take place at an hour which would preclude publicity, and funeral processions were declared to be "altogether unsuitable for heretics, such honours being due to those only who were of the same faith with the king." The ministers were reprimanded for the "insufferable presumption" which prompted

* This number was three—and the remains of the outlawed Huguenot were denied rest, even in the open field where domestic affection, with many tears, was compelled to deposit them. They were often disinterred, and treated with the grossest indignity.

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them to appear in public in cassocks and sleeved gowns. A preacher seen in a gown elsewhere than his chapel was fined 300 livres. The plea that their education entitled the Huguenot ministers to the costume of other graduated scholars was rejected.

The German Protestants were alarmed by these acts of injustice towards their French brethren, and Frederick, the Elector of Brandenburg, wrote to the king, remonstrating against such violations of their rights. Louis replied, that as a mark of his special esteem, he would inform Frederick, that the reports which had excited his sympathy for the French Protestants were wholly unfounded; that he felt pledged by the gratitude he owed them for their fidelity during the late commotions in his kingdom to secure them in the enjoyment of all the privileges to which they, in common with his other subjects, were entitled.

The Huguenot church, at this time, could boast of but few names illustrious for rank and station. Princes, nobles or warriors, were scarcely found of their number. Maréchal de Turenne, who had once rejected the most potent inducements to abjure, now became a Papist, and his eminence for integrity and sincerity made his example the more deleterious to their cause.

There remained the Duke of Schomberg, distinguished for his military talents; the

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house of La Force and a branch of the family of La Rochefoucault; the two Ruvignys, father and son; the father was minister to the court of England, and the son deputy-general of the Huguenots at the court of Louis. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he fled to England and was engaged in the military service during the Irish war, and was made earl of Galway in 1691. Abraham Duquesne was distinguished for his bravery and success in the naval service, but his victories over the Dutch, Genoese, and Spanish fleets, could not atone for his being a Huguenot, and his ungrateful sovereign denied even the customary honours to his remains.*

But though the number of the nobility among them was now small, it is greatly to the honour of the Huguenots that they had always, even in this reign, (celebrated above all others for its learning and taste,) their full proportion of eminent men in every department of science and literature; and this, not-

* His son, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, escaped to Switzerland, where he purchased an estate at Eaubonne, and erected a cenotaph to his father, inscribed with the following words: "This tomb waits for the ashes of Duquesne. His name is known over all seas. Traveller! if thou demandest why the Hollanders have erected a splendid monument to Ruyter, conquered, and why the French have refused an honourable burial to the conqueror of Ruyter,—that fear and respect which is due to a monarch whose power makes itself known afar off, forbids me all reply."

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withstanding their interests were all crushed, and themselves completely shut out from the royal patronage. To this fact, the Catholic writers, particularly the Bishop of Avranches, bear testimony. Samuel Bochart, minister of Caen, a church remarkable for its evangelical spirit and its love of literature, was a great oriental and biblical scholar. Benoit wrote the History of the Revocation of the edict of Nantes. Travernier was a celebrated traveller. Rapin was the author of a History of England. Cameron in his researches in biblical criticism is said to have anticipated the remarks of later and more noted writers; Voltaire said of Jacques Basnage that his talents fitted him to govern an empire rather than a parish; L'Enfant was a scholar of whom Voltaire also said, that he had done more than any other man to spread the knowledge of the energy and beauties of the French language to the extremities of Germany. Saurin and Superville were eminent for learning and oratory; Claud and Peter Allix, ministers of Charenton, were both distinguished divines, and the former, according to the Catholics themselves, an equal antagonist with Paschal and Arnaud.

To this list may with propriety be added, Madame Dacier, so eminent for her classical attainments that she was employed to edit

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some of the Delphin editions of the classics, for the use of the king's son. Yet even this could not shield her from his displeasure.

CHAPTER VIII.

Protestant Courts of justice abolished—New modes of Persecution—Claud's Remonstrance—Jesuits and Jansenists—Father La Chaise—Further injustice to the Protestants—Dragonnades—Marillac—Benevolent Interference of the Duchess of Lunenburg—Sufferings of those who abjured—Letters of Christina, exqueen of Sweden—Marillac's report of Conversions—Confederacy in Languedoc, Cevennes, Vivarais and Dauphine—Cruelties to the Insurgents—Martyrdom of the Pastors—Destruction of the Academies and Colleges.

In 1676, the courts before which the civil and criminal charges of the Huguenots were presented, and in which the balances of justice had ever been held with an even hand, were abolished; and the preposterous reason assigned for this act, was the peaceable character of those for whose benefit they had been established! Fifty years having elapsed, as the preamble stated, since any new trouble had been occasioned by those who professed the Protestant faith, they were on that account deprived of their peculiar tribunals, in order

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that the remembrance of past animosities might be obliterated, and also that the execution of the law might be secured.

Previous to this, the return of the year of Jubilee, 1676, seemed to give a fresh impulse to the monarch's religious zeal. A new expedient was resorted to, for increasing the number of conversions—the use of money. Great numbers were induced to seek relief from accidental necessities, or temporary pressure of pecuniary perplexities, by becoming Papists; and to prevent them from retracting, the proclamation against relapsed heretics was renewed. For the same purpose it was ordained that all persons who should abandon the Reformed faith should be exempt from processes for debt for a period of three years from their abjuration.

The sick and dying were haunted by the priests, who tormented them with arguments and interrogatories even in their last moments, in the presence of official witnesses, vaunting the recantation which they extorted with the last quivering sigh. The sacred fountains of domestic affection and filial piety were poisoned, and the foundations of social and civil order undermined by enactments reaching to the inmost recesses of family relationship and obligation. Papists were forbidden to intermarry with Protestants, and the children of such were pronounced illegitimate, and incapable of inheritance, and no plea of affection

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of his flagrant violations of the laws of morality, to impel him, in token of his repentance, to fresh acts of oppression towards the Huguenots. He denied the monarch the sacraments on account of his licentious practices, and then made the enactment of hostile edicts the condition of pardon and a renewal of privileges.

With an almost incredible ingenuity were methods invented for the perplexity and annoyance of the Reformed, and the crafty enactments of the Jesuits were so contrived as to defy all attempts at contravention. No seats were allowed in their temples, in order that the worshippers might be disgusted with attendance. A Protestant was forbidden to become a notary, or to go into any branch of the legal profession, and as it was soon discovered that the effect of this was to increase their number in the medical profession, they were not permitted to become physicians; neither were they allowed to adopt the calling of a grocer, apothecary, or bookseller, and no tradesman among them was suffered to have an apprentice.

But a greater outrage than any of these, remained to be perpetrated in the system called the *dragonnades*. A letter from Louvois, now prime minister, to Marillac,* inten-

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the Huguenot church against Du Perron's project for amalgamating it with the Catholic.

* The duty of an Intendant required him, originally,

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dant of Poitou, will give some idea of the system, and, at the same time, show that these accounts are not Protestant fabrications. "His majesty has learned with much joy, the great number of persons converted in your district. His majesty appreciated your endeavours to increase the number, and desires you will continue your exertions, using the same means which have hitherto succeeded. M. Colbert has been charged to examine what can be done, in reducing the taxes for those who are converted, in order to diminish the numbers of that religion. His majesty has commanded me to send, at the beginning of next November, a regiment of cavalry into Poitou, which will be lodged in the places you will be mindful to propose before that time; and his majesty will deem it right that a greater part of the officers and horsemen should be lodged with Protestants: but he does not think that *all* should be lodged with them. That is to say, that when by a strict distribution the Protestants would support *ten*, you can send *twenty*, and put them upon the richest of the Protestants, *assigning as a pretext*, that when the troops are not sufficiently numerous for all to be charged with them, it is but just the poor should be

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to visit all the towns of a province for the purpose of inspecting the state of its internal affairs, once a year; but somewhat before this period, the intendant had become a resident, and usurped the power of governor.

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spared, and the rich have the burden." This letter contained also an exemption from any share of "the burden," for those who would abjure.

In some cases the appearance of the dragoons sufficed to cause the abjuration of a whole village, so that, in a few instances, they were obliged to retire without the claim of a lodging in a single house. But when a part only abjured, those who remained stead fast were proportionably the greater sufferers.

The duchess of Brunswick Lunenburg, a lady of benevolent spirit, used all her influence in behalf of the Protestants, and many impending rigours were warded off by her exertions. To her it was attributed that, amid the general devastation of temples, the one at Mauze was spared. She even interceded with the king himself in their behalf.

The mental sufferings of those who abjured were often intense. They frequently returned weeping and imploring the forgiveness of their brethren, and of God; and the worshipping assemblies, held in the forests and desert places, were ever surrounded with a mournful circle of those forced converts to papacy, who stood at a distance from the congregation of their true-hearted, and therefore happy brethren, yet within the sound of the preacher's voice. Many a one among them bitterly experienced in his own soul the awful truth conveyed in the words, "a wounded spirit

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who can bear!" One of these unhappy persons, a lady of quality, the wife of an "inflexible confessor of the truth," having continued steadfast more than a year, was at last conquered by the persevering Papists. Her keen remorse, her sincere contrition, and her recital of the manner in which her resolution was overcome, cannot but awaken the deepest commiseration. Yet there were hundreds and probably thousands, who, having abjured, were smitten with the same anguish of spirit.

"Alas, my dear Mr. ——, blame me not if I have not acquainted you with the unhappy state in which I am. So great was my confusion by reason of my fall, that I have not the boldness to publish it myself. It is impossible to express unto you my grief, 'tis such that I am not able to bear up against it; I am oppressed by the weight thereof; I am neither able to live nor die; nobody can conceive how lamentable my state is. I was so content with my trial, and so resigned to the will of God, that I could willingly have suffered death, if he had called me thereunto. I was acceptable, and in good reputation among all persons, and enjoyed a wonderful rest and repose of mind. . . . . .

"Alas! how do I find true in experience, that the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak, and that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of an offended God! How terrible are

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my sins, since the castigation of them is so terrible! Whilst I write, I pour out tears, I do assure you, and they flow from me night and day. I repent. O my God, help my weakness! I forgive you that upon the first hearing of this thing, you cried out to all against me, and did judge that it was the world, estate, and ease, and to conclude, whatever you please, was the cause thereof. I do not justify myself at all, nor do I plead any thing for my excuse. I was weak and feeble, my faith failed me in a time of need, and God did not enable me to suffer for his name. In my unhappy state I have nevertheless this perfect confidence in the mercy of my great God, that he will raise me up, and I shall glorify him, whether it be in life or death, and that Christ will be always gain to me, whether I live or die. He desires not the death of a sinner, but his conversion and life. My God, draw me and I will run after thee, and do thou lead me to the haven of happiness! Thou seest my heart, O my God; 'tis entirely thine, as well as my mouth: I will confess thee everywhere!

"For the space of four hours, I was tormented by fifteen persons. I cried with all my strength, begging the gallows and death. I was nigh unto death, and how happy had I been if I had died! I had not one moment of rest; I knew not where I was by reason of the great noise that was made. They

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made use of this great trouble and confusion, and, well perceiving that, if they suffered me to return to myself, they would gain nothing, therefore they repeated their assaults with the greater force, and reduced me to the most pitiable condition in the world. I do not hide my anguish from any one, and I speak with greater courage than ever. By the grace of my God, I am prepared to suffer all the evil which can betide me in this world. The good God will be my defence and support." . . .

Thus, it appears that, when the courage and steadfastness of the martyr proved unconquerable, an attack was made through the enfeebled nervous system, which, harassed beyond the last measure of endurance, carried the vanquished spirit with it.

In returning to the period of 1681, where we left the general history, it will be appropriate to give some extracts from letters written by Papists, at that time, corroborating the statements made respecting the sufferings of the Huguenots. The first is from Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, a strong Papist. Her letter is addressed to the Chevalier de Terlon, French ambassador at Stockholm. "I will frankly avow that I am not quite persuaded of the success of this great design, and that I cannot rejoice at it, as an affair very advantageous to our holy religion. Military men are strange apostles. I consider them more likely to kill, to ravish, and to plunder, than

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to persuade; and, in fact, accounts beyond doubt inform us that they fulfil the mission entirely in their mode. I pity the people abandoned to their discretion. I sympathize with so many ruined families, so many respectable persons reduced to beggary, and I cannot look upon what is now passing in France without compassion."

In another letter to Cardinal Azolino, the compassionate ex-queen writes, "I am overwhelmed with grief when I think of all the innocent blood which a blind fanaticism causes daily to flow. France exercises, without remorse or fear, the most barbarous persecution upon the dearest and most industrious portion of her people. . . . . Every time I contemplate the atrocious torments which have been inflicted upon the Protestants, my heart throbs, and my eyes are filled with tears."

The words of one of the most abject flatterers of Louis XIV. are, "But if the king has been obliged to use some severity, and to send soldiers into the houses of the most obstinate, to bring them back into the pale of the church, we have reason to hope, that, like the Donatists, they will rejoice that this holy and salutary violence has been adopted for withdrawing them from the lethargy into which the misfortune of their birth had thrown them."

The number of conversions reported by

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Marillac, while he was Intendant of Poictou, was thirty-four thousand. In 1682, he was succeeded by Basville, who, within three years, announced twelve thousand more—the result of "*measures replete with mildness.*"

In the summer of 1683, a confederacy was attempted in Languedoc, Cevennes, Vivarais and Dauphiné—the first semblance of combination that had appeared since this persecution began. It was resolved that every thing short of insurrection should be done to evince the firmness of their determination to adhere to their religion; and this, in order that the government, who had received, as genuine, the lists of conversions reported by the intendants, might be undeceived. But the offending provinces were pronounced in a state of rebellion, and the Duke of Noailles and General St. Ruth were ordered thither to compel an acquiescence in "the king's gracious designs." An amnesty was offered the Protestants, but the severity of the terms only gave inflexibility to their resolution. They defended themselves bravely, but were overwhelmed by their assailants. Some escaped into a wood, but numbers were killed. Some were taken prisoners; and of these, thirteen being selected, one was compelled on the spot to act as the hangman of the other twelve. The victory was followed by the usual destruction of dwellings and tem-

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ples. The Duke of Noailles, in one of his letters, says: "These wretches went to the gibbet with the firm assurance of dying as martyrs, and demanded no other favour than that they might 'be safely executed.'" This insurrection, as it was called, elicited from Louvois more severe orders to the Duke of Noailles. "His majesty desires you will order M. de St. Ruth to place troops in all the places you deem necessary; to support them at the expense of the country; to seize the culpable and hand them over to M. d'Aguesseau for judgment; to destroy the houses of those killed in arms. You will give orders for demolishing ten of the principal temples of the Vivarais; and, in a word, to cause such a desolation in the country, that the example may keep the other *religionnaires* within bounds, and teach them how dangerous it is to revolt against the king."

Many of the pastors, whose exhortations had animated the courage of the insurgents, were arrested, and some of them condemned to die as the chief authors of the troubles. Homel, who was accused of preaching to armed congregations, first endured the rack and was then broken on the wheel, and his head and trunk exposed at the two different places where his exertions had been most conspicuous. He was past seventy years of age, and his gray hairs, his unbending

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constancy, and the protracted agonies he endured in consequence of the intoxication of his executioner, called forth the deepest sympathy even of the Papists.

The last act of violence perpetrated before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and which was doubtless expected ultimately to prove the death-blow to Protestantism, was the destruction of the colleges and academies. The enlightened and liberal views of the French Protestants on the subject of education had formed a striking characteristic of them, as of every other branch of the church of the Reformation. In their individual and associated capacity they were ever the promoters of learning. They were indefatigable in establishing schools, and in each of the thirteen provinces into which the Huguenot church was divided, they had founded a college for the better preparation of their young men for the university. They had five universities, Saumur, Montauban, Nismes, Montpelier and Sedan. In 1619 they attempted to establish a college of philosophy and literature at Charenton, but were circumvented by the Papists. At the period to which we now refer, the number of their institutions of learning had become smaller through the rigours of past years; but there are still large numbers of students, taught by men of eminent acquirements. Sedan was specially protected by edict, and was to the Protestants

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what the Sorbonne was to the Papist, but it was the first to be razed.

CHAPTER IX.

Revocation of the edict of Nantes—Methods for subduing the spirit of the Protestants in Paris—New modes of torture—Temples razed—Assemblies in the deserts—Instances of suffering among eminent men—Fulcran Rey—Banishment of the ministers—Claude—Saurin—Escape of Protestants to other countries—Benefits to those countries—Loss to France—Story of Amadée—Bion's account of the galley-service.

THE privileges guarantied by the edict of Nantes had been so wrested from the Protestants, or so nullified, by counter edicts, that it seemed as if its revocation could add little to their calamities. Yet it proved an angry wave sweeping away the last broken remnants that the previous surges had left. This memorable event took place at Fontainbleau, on Thursday, October 18, 1685. The act of revocation consists of a preface and twelve articles. The design of the preface is to vindicate the measure; and it is full of fabrications, one of which is, that as the greater part of the Protestants had embraced the papal faith, the edict was useless. By the *first* article, the king suppresses and repeals the protective edicts in all their extent; and ordains that all the temples which are yet found

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standing in his kingdom shall be immediately demolished. By the *second*, he forbids all sorts of religious assemblies, of what kind soever. The *third* prohibits the exercises of religion to all lords and gentlemen of quality, under corporal penalties, and confiscation of their estates. The *fourth* banishes from the kingdom all the ministers, and enjoins them to depart thence within fifteen days after the publication of the edict, under the penalty of being sent to the galleys. In the *fifth* and *sixth*, he promises recompense and advantage to the ministers and their widows who shall change their religion; and ordains that those who shall be born henceforward shall be baptized and brought up in the papal religion; enjoining parents to send them to the churches, under the penalty of being fined five hundred livres. The *seventh* forbids schools for the instruction of Protestant children. The *ninth* gives four months' time to such persons as have departed already out of the kingdom to return; otherwise their goods and estates to be confiscated. The *tenth*, with repeated prohibitions, forbids all his Protestant subjects to depart out of the realm, or to convey away their effects under pain of the galleys for the men, and confiscation of money and goods for the women. The *eleventh* confirms the declarations heretofore made against those that relapse. The *twelfth*, hypocritically, and in direct contradiction to

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the preceding articles, promises protection to the obstinate, in anticipation of their future conversion, on condition that they hold no religious assemblies under pretext of praying, or performing any religious worship whatever.*

Chancellor Tellier, the father of Louvois, and one of the king's chief advisers, had long been resolved upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes; the protection of heresy, which that document furnished, being, in his opinion, the only barrier against the accomplishment of Louis's grand scheme of having but *one fold and one Shepherd.* He died ten days after sealing the edict of revocation.† He was so notorious for the crafty baseness and cruelty of his disposition, that the Count de Grammont said, on seeing him leave the

* The Duke de Saint Simon, a Papist who enjoyed the best facilities for knowing and appreciating the reasons for this edict, says, "The revocation of the edict of Nantes, without the least pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions, rather than proclamations, which followed it, were the fruits of this dreadful plot, which depopulated one-fourth of the kingdom, ruined trade in all its branches, placed it so long under the public, avowed pillage of the dragoons, and authorized torments and executions, in which thousands of innocent persons of both sexes perished." He gives a long list of bitter aggravations, and concludes, "Such was the general abomination produced by flattery and cruelty."

† He refused his official seal after that, saying he wished that act to be the last of his life—profanely adding, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!"

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king's closet after a private audience, "I picture to myself a beast of prey licking his jaws, still stained with blood."

A few days after the event which destroyed the last liberties of the Huguenots, Madame de Maintenon wrote thus: "The king is very well pleased at having completed the great work of bringing the heretics back to the church. Father La Chaise has promised that it shall not cost one drop of blood, and M. de Louvois says the same. I am glad those of Paris have been brought to reason. Claude was a seditious man, who confirmed them in their errors: since they have lost him they are more docile. I think with you that all these conversions are not sincere; but, at least their children will be Catholics."

The semblance of toleration in the last article of the revocation gave offence to the most zealous Papists, and several memorials were addressed to Louis, complaining of the favour shown by it to the contumacious.

Spies were employed to prevent any of the French subjects from attending worship at the chapels of the Protestant ambassadors. It was supposed that the Huguenots in the capital might (owing to the facilities which a large city affords) evade some of the oppressions which, in the country, could not be escaped. But the ingenuity and perseverance of the persecutors was not to be baffled

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anywhere. To prevent persons from the country taking refuge in the crowded population of the city, an ordinance was issued a few days before the edict of revocation, enjoining all those Protestants who had come to Paris or the suburbs, within a year, to return to their homes within the space of four days, under penalty of a thousand livres. The attorney-general, and other magistrates, summoned the heads of families, and commanded them to change their religion. In order to intimidate the whole body, the elders of the consistory, and some of the most firm of the other laymen, were imprisoned. Those measures proving ineffectual, the secretary of state, Seignelay, collected in his hotel above one hundred Protestant merchants, and closing the gates, declared they should never pass out of them till they signed an act of abjuration, which he prescribed. It was in vain that they remonstrated, and appealed to the last clause in the act of revocation; they were haughtily required *to obey;* and every one signed the paper, in which it was expressly declared that they renounced heresy, and returned to the Catholic church, and that, *freely and without constraint.*

Scenes of violence and suffering which no pen can describe, followed the edict of ruin, and the immense amount of the records of cruelty forbids all attempt to give other than a brief outline of a few of the methods which

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were adopted to carry the several articles into effect.

Men and women were hung up by their hair, and smoked with wisps of wet hay. They were thrown into fires kindled for the purpose, and, when partly burnt, taken out. Wine was forced down the throats of some until they became intoxicated, and their consent obtained to join the Papists. Infants were taken from their mothers, and placed in near apartments where their cries could be heard, and there kept until famine put an end to their sufferings. Many were kept from sleeping for eight days together; their persecutors relieving each other by turns, that their victims might not obtain an instant of rest. The sick and dying were tormented by the beating of a dozen drums around their bed, for many days and nights together, so that the poor wretches, if not released by death, became insane. If all these, and many more horrors, did not compel submission, they were thrown into prisons, such as we would fain hope are not to be found in modern days. Those who attempted to flee were pursued and hunted like wild beasts.

The temples, now few in number,* were destroyed; an English clergyman, who was

* In the province of Bearne alone, a monk boasted that out of one hundred and twenty-three churches, resting on the most unquestionable legal titles, only twenty were spared.

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travelling in France at that period, with a young gentleman to whom he was tutor, was present at Saumur when the temple was condemned. The congregation were all in tears, while the last psalm was sung, the last benediction pronounced; and they, one by one, passed before their ministers to receive their parting blessing. At Poictiers, the occasion was, if possible, more moving. At Charenton, the sight of so vast an assembly, consisting of several thousand persons, all condemned to slavery, banishment, or death, was overpowering. Yet these were but a few out of the many instances, in which the people were driven forth, like ancient Israel, from their temple, weeping as they went. The courage and faith and devotion of these poor creatures were most touching, especially in the case of some obscure and humble individuals, whose strength in the day of trial transcended that of many more eminent in the church.

Notwithstanding the expulsion of the ministers, and the interdict of the *second* article, against all religious assemblies, meetings were held in desert places, under the covert of old barns, and in deep forests, at which from one to two thousand persons were present; and some who before were wholly unused to public speaking, became edifying and consoling preachers to their afflicted brethren. They were often interrupted by the approach of the soldiery, but, not dis-

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couraged, soon met again. Jurieu relates an instance, when it was announced to a congregation of two thousand people that the dragoons were at hand, and the pastor exclaimed, "Let those that are afraid depart," but not one moved from his place. The winter, the precipices, the darkness, were no impediment to their assembling at the appointed time and place. Sometimes it was in the dead of night, and four thousand persons have been thus convened at once; the lights by which they sung from their psalm-books being suspended from the spreading branches of the trees. Sometimes a whole congregation were surprised and fired upon by their enemies; when they were not satisfied with shedding blood, but cut down the very trees on which the lamps had hung, or razed the barn or farm-house that had sheltered them. Upon many a mountain-side that had thus been consecrated to the worship of God, the remains of the dead bodies of the Christians were found everywhere, scattered upon the ground, and suspended from the trees.

Of the "lords and gentlemen," prohibited under the third article from the exercise of their religion, many who had never before known hardship or privation, were reduced to the last extremity of suffering. One whole family, a nobleman and his sons, were condemned to the galleys. A distinguished gentleman, named Le Febvre,

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was imprisoned in a solitary and hideous dungeon fifteen years, where he died. After describing the place of his confinement, and the treatment inflicted upon him, he adds, "You will feel for me in this misery, but think of the eternal weight of glory that will follow. Death is nothing. Christ has vanquished the foe for me; and when the fit time shall arrive, the Lord will give me strength to tear off the mask which the last enemy wears in great afflictions. The fear of living long is greater than that of dying soon; yet it is more expedient to endure life than to desire death." "Far be it from me to murmur. I pray without ceasing, that he would show pity, not only to those who suffer, but also to those who are the cause of our sufferings. He who commanded us to love our enemies, produces in our hearts the love he has commanded. The world has long regarded us as tottering walls; but they do not see the Almighty hand by which we are upheld."

Louis de Marolles, a man of science, and a counsellor at St. Menehaud, in Champagne, in writing to his wife, after describing the horrors he endured from a disordered and almost insane state of mind, produced by the solitude and darkness of his prison, says, "After the Lord has delivered me out of so sore a trial, never have any doubt, my dear wife, that he will deliver me out of all others. Do

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not therefore disquiet yourself any more about me. Hope always in the goodness of God, and your hope shall not be in vain." "Ever since those sorrowful days, God has continually filled my heart with joy. I possess my soul in patience. He makes the days of my affliction speedily pass away. I have no sooner begun them, than I find them at an end. With the bread and water of affliction, he affords me continually most delicious repasts." These expressions are extremely interesting, whether they are regarded as the language of a spirit made "joyful in all its afflictions," or as the effort of a delicate and tender affection to cheer the anxious heart of her he loved. He never wrote again. He died June 17, 1692. He had been several years in the galleys, but, on account of his advanced age, was transferred to the citadel of Marseilles, where he endured the privation of every comfort, and, at last, was denied a decent burial,—was thrown into a grave by Turkish convicts, who shrunk from the defilement of touching a Christian.

Pierre Mauru replies to the inquiries of a friend, as to how many blows of the hoop or cudgel he had ever received, that it was out of his power to tell—sometimes forty at a time for many successive days; but he adds, as if hastening over the account, that he might speak of his consolations, "I must tell you, that though these stripes are painful,

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the joy of suffering for Christ gives ease to every wound; and when, after we have suffered for him, the consolations of Christ abound in us by the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, they are a heavenly balm which heals all our sorrows, and even imparts such perfect health to our souls, that we can despise every other thing. In short, when we belong to God, nothing can pluck us out of his hand." After describing what he endured in the galley, he adds, "But in the depths of distress, which nature could hardly endure, my God left me not without support. In a short time, all will be over, and I shall forget all my sorrows in the joy of being ever with the Lord. Indeed, whenever I was left in peace a little while, and was able to meditate on the words of eternal life, I was perfectly happy; and when I looked on my wounded body, I said, 'here are the glorious marks which St. Paul rejoiced to bear in his body.'"

There are so many instances like these, each possessing an interest of its own, and all worthy of everlasting remembrance, that it is difficult to make a selection for the pages of so small a volume as this. We will only add a few extracts from a copious account of the martyrdom of a young theological student, named Fulcran Rey. He was condemned to be hanged.

Multitudes of persons came to see him in his prison, and nothing was left untried to

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persuade him to renounce his faith. At the bar, the intendant said, "Mr. Rey, there is yet time for your preservation." He answered, "Yea, my lord, and for that reason I will employ the time that remains in endeavouring for my salvation." "But," said the intendant, "you must change, and you shall have life." "Yes," said he, "I must change, but it is to leave this miserable world, and go to the kingdom of heaven, where a happy life attends me, which I shall speedily enjoy." When the judges saw him inflexible, they ceased urging him. He answered all their questions with a respect, sweetness and moderation, which melted all the auditors. When once more solicited, before his sentence was pronounced, he said, "I am ready to die, if God has so appointed it. All the promises which can be made will never be able to shake me, nor hinder me from rendering what I owe to my God." He endured the rack without breathing a complaint. When he first saw the gibbet which was to terminate his sufferings, he said joyfully, "Be strong, be strong! This is the place which I long since proposed to myself, and for which God himself hath prepared me. How welcome doth this place appear to me!" He would have sung, but the judges saw how deeply the sympathies of the crowd were moved, and imposed silence upon him. He obeyed. At the foot of the ladder, he was allowed to pray.

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As he went up, he saw the monks following him, and said, "Retire, I have told you and tell you again, I have no need of your succour. I receive enough from my God to enable me to take the last step of my journey." He would have said more, but the effect of a sermon, preached in such a place, and from the lips of one to whose enraptured sight the vision of heaven seemed to be unveiled, was to be dreaded upon the recent converts to Papacy. His voice was therefore drowned by the beating of drums.

The execution of the *fourth* article, banishing all the ministers, was attended with great oppression. Some had but two days allowed them, and those to whom a longer time was granted, were unable to dispose of their effects. Their books, of which the Papists had ever shown a peculiar hatred, as a source of their power and influence, were seized and destroyed. They were not permitted to take any relative with them, not even their aged parents; though, as in some instances, blind, infirm, and dependent upon them; and their children over seven years they were compelled to abandon. Great numbers, in making their escape, were perfidiously made prisoners, being detained on the frontiers until the fifteen days had expired, in order to prove their identity, and that they had not carried away any thing belonging to their flocks; or because of some pretended difficulty in obtain-

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ing a passport. Having then exceeded the time allowed, they were put on board the galleys. How many holy men passed the remainder of their lives in that merciless bondage, shut up in such society as gives to the pure and devout mind the most vivid idea of hell, will never be known till the day of final retribution. Yet, "while the sufferings of Christ abounded in them, so also did their consolations abound by Christ," and they "reckoned the sufferings of this present time not worthy to be compared with the glory that should be revealed."

Claude, of whom Madame Maintenon said that he was "a seditious man," with Basnage, and two hundred other ministers, found an asylum in Holland.* Claude was treated

* From his exile, Saurin addresses the tyrant in these memorable words, "And thou, dreadful prince! whom I once honoured as my king, and whom I yet respect as a scourge in the hand of Almighty God, thou also shalt have a part in my good wishes. These provinces (Holland) which thou threatened, but which the arm of the Lord protects—this country which thou hast filled with refugees, but fugitives animated with love—these walls which contain a thousand martyrs of thy making, but whom religion renders victorious, all these yet resound benedictions in thy favour. God grant that the fatal bandage which hides the truth from thine eyes may fall off! May God forget the rivers of blood with which thou hast deluged the earth, and which thy reign hath caused to be shed May God blot out of his book the injuries which thou hast done us; and while he rewards the sufferers, may he pardon those who exposed us to suffer. Oh! may God, who hath made thee to

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with marked hostility, because, by his zeal, talents, and power over the Huguenots, he was feared by his enemies. He was ordered to quit Paris in twenty-four hours, and, to insure his obedience, one of the king's valets was charged with conducting him to the frontier. One hundred and fifty went to England and Scotland, and many to Geneva.

Notwithstanding the severity of the penalties, of a breach of the *tenth* article, and the extreme hazard of attempts to escape, scarcely a foreign ship left the ports of France without carrying emigrants. Some concealed themselves in empty casks, or under bales of merchandise, and many fled in an open boat, or a fisherman's skiff. Forty persons, including the family of a nobleman, with two infants, escaped in a vessel of seven tons burden, and safely reached the coast of England, though it was the depth of winter. Within a few months after the edict of revocation, one hundred and fifty thousand of the best subjects of Louis XIV. left his kingdom, and within the lapse of a few years, nearly a million of French exiles were scattered over the various Protestant countries, whose hospitality and charity seemed to expand in proportion to the increased demands upon their aid.

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us, and to the whole church, a minister of his judgments, make thee a dispenser of his favours, and an administrator of his mercy."

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These refugees were not only sober citizens and very many of them intelligent and highly educated men, but vast numbers were skilful artisans and manufacturers, and in the countries of their adoption, they prosecuted their various trades with great success. They introduced the arts of printing calico, making glass, and weaving velvets, cambrics, silk, and many sorts of worsted fabrics, into England; and other nations were enriched by the process which deprived France* of one half of her revenue; for as they carried the secrets of their trades with them, the countries that received them were no longer dependent on France for their most costly luxuries. God gave them favour in the eyes of those to whose protection they fled. To the poor, and the infirm, great sympathy and liberality were shown. In London alone, not less than three thousand such persons were supported by public subscription.

There were sixty churches of French refugees in Holland, and the Prince of Orange had three ships of war manned by them, and three regiments of Huguenot soldiers. In London there were twenty-two French

* A large part of several provinces, which had been chiefly inhabited by Protestants, lay fallow the year following the edict of revocation. Madame de Maintenon, in a letter to a relative, advises him to avail himself of the opportunity to purchase an estate in Poictou, where land could be had for a "mere nothing."

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churches supported by the government. In the military service of England, there were eleven regiments, and in all Great Britain more than fifty thousand refugees. A grandson of Du Plessis Mornay, named De Souligne, found an asylum in Scotland, where he published an able work on the political and social evils attending Popery, and in which he bears a most grateful testimony to the "great charity manifested toward the poor refugees who suffer for their religion."

A considerable number came to America, and some facts respecting them will be given in another place.

But while immense numbers effected an escape, many failed to elude the vigilant agents of Louis. A memoir of one of these persons, which was published about the year 1716, will give some idea of the condition of those whose efforts were unsuccessful, and also of the introductory processes by which many were brought to the galleys. The term *galley-slave* is one which conveys to every mind an idea of the deepest misery which can be endured by human beings, yet many persons have no definite knowledge of the horrors of that inhuman system of punishment.

"During the dragooning period, twenty-two soldiers were quartered in the family of a widow, in the province of Perigord. They insisted on her subscribing the form of abju-

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ration prescribed; and on her refusal, plundered her of all she possessed. Not satisfied with this injustice, she was carried before a person of authority, and at length, by threats, induced to sign, receiving a promise that her four children should remain unmolested. When she wrote her name, she obstinately persisted in adding, 'compelled by fear.' This was considered a breach of promise, and, though she was left at liberty herself, her two younger sons and a daughter were seized and confined in convents. The eldest was a lad of eighteen, and with a resolution uncommon for his youth, he contrived and executed a plan of escape, with a companion near his own age."* They travelled on by-roads to Paris, where they arrived on the 10th of November, 1700, and there sought of a friend the necessary directions for reaching the frontier and embarking for Holland. They encountered many dangers and hair-breadth escapes, and were at length arrested at Marienburg and carried before the governor, to whom they denied any intention of absconding. "The governor seems to have felt some compassion for the heretics,

* The writer is indebted to the interesting work of Mrs. Lee, on the "History of the Huguenots in France and America," for the extracts from this Memoir, the account of the galley-service, and for the notices of La Fayette's intercession with Louis XVI. in behalf of the French Protestants.

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and took pains to persuade them to abjure, as otherwise they would be condemned to the galleys for attempting to abscond, of which there was sufficient evidence. They had now determined to abide wholly by the truth, and place their reliance in God alone. 'We are determined,' said they, 'to endure even the galleys or death, rather than renounce the faith in which we have been educated.'" "Several of the priests used every argument to convert them, and finally offered bribes. For Amadée, the subject of the memoir, one offered to procure an excellent alliance, and said he knew a beautiful woman with a large fortune, who would accept of him for a husband, after he had proved himself a converted son of the church.

"The youth rejected the bribe, and refused the offer, with too much contempt for the Christian patience of the confessor, who repaired to the governor, and told him that the heretic was evidently under the power of the devil. Two days after, their sentence was read to them. 'Whereas they were without a passport from court on the frontiers of the kingdom, and being of the religion which pretends to be reformed, they were found guilty of having endeavoured to quit the kingdom, against his majesty's order to the contrary. For which crime they were condemned to serve in his majesty's galleys for life, and all their goods to be confiscated, &c.'

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"The young men were now conducted to a dungeon, where they remained till they set off for Tournay, accompanied by four archers, who hand-cuffed them, and tied them together. In this manner they went through Philipville, Maubeuge and Valenciennes, walking bound through the day, and at night consigned to loathsome prisons, without a bed to rest on, and only sustained by a scanty portion of bread and water. On their arrival at Tournay, they were placed in the prison of the Parliament, and allowed a pound and a half of bread per day. Under this allowance they became weak and emaciated, and suffered inexpressibly from the filth of their apartment. They sold the clothes they wore for a little more bread, and, though from instinct, seeking to prolong their existence, felt an earnest conviction that death alone could release them from suffering." From this prison they were removed to one more tolerable. The ecclesiastic who had undertaken to effect their conversion, seems to have felt great compassion for them, and, by his humane intervention, efforts were made to procure their pardon for having endeavoured to leave the kingdom. The most sanguine hopes were entertained that the result would be favourable, but a letter to the president of the parliament of Tournay, from the Marquis de la Villière, extinguished them.

"Gentlemen :—A. M. and Daniel le Gras.

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having been taken on the frontiers without a passport, it is his majesty's pleasure, that they be condemned to the galleys."

"Three days after they were removed to Lisle. Though only fifteen miles, as they walked chained and hand-cuffed, they were extremely fatigued, but obliged to go through various examinations before they were led to their dungeon. Here were about thirty galley-slaves in total darkness, not a gleam of light entering the prison—men, not condemned for opinion, but for atrocious crimes."

We pass over the details of the abuses they endured from those convicts. The grand-provost, master of the prison, was of Protestant extraction, and was moved by a letter from a relative who felt the deepest commiseration for the young heretics, to remove them from the common prison, and supply their wants free of expense.

"Amadée and his companion were now comparatively well situated; but this could not last long. At the end of three months they were ordered to depart with a company of galley-slaves. It was the last ordered to Dunkirk; the rest were to be carried to Marseilles, which was a journey by foot of three hundred miles, and to be performed with chains about the neck. The provost advised them to seize this opportunity, as he could control the manner of their going. They assented, and the kind provost ordered them

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to be distinguished from all the others, by being transported in a wagon, supping with the guards, and having a bed allowed them at night. So different was their treatment from that of the others, that they were supposed to be persons of high rank, and crowds flocked to see them. Women were faithful to the compassionate instincts of their hearts. One beautiful girl approached Amadée, holding a rosary with a crucifix attached to it, which she offered him. Though he would gladly have accepted it as a token from the tender-hearted maiden, he felt that it would be considered as a sign of abjuration of his own faith, and heroically declined it. That evening she came to his prison bringing a priest, and declared her object to be his conversion. Let us not think lightly of a faith which could make a young man, not yet twenty, resist the allurements of youth, beauty, and a virtuous alliance, and embrace stripes and bondage.

"'This,' said Amadée, 'was a trial which God enabled me to go through. Once I became faint from my emotions, and I was on the point of yielding. I pressed the soft, delicate hand that I held, to my lips, again and again, and tried to release it, but I could not let it go. The priest saw my yielding spirit. 'That hand may be yours,' said he, for all eternity, 'by renouncing your heresy, and embracing the true religion.' Did God

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put those words into his mouth to nerve me with courage? 'No!' I exclaimed, with new resolution; 'it might be mine for this life, but I should purchase it by an eternity of misery. Let me rather die a galley-slave, at peace with my own conscience and my God.' Yet, when I saw her no more, when the last glimpse of her sweet and sorrowful face was gone, when even her white dress could no longer be discerned, I sank down and wept aloud. At length the agony of my soul began to yield to a still, small voice within. I grew calm and thought I was dying. God hears my prayers, said I; he has sent his angel to minister to me, and to conduct me to the realms of bliss."

At Dunkirk he was put on board a galley, which he thus describes. "Ours was an hundred and fifty feet long, and fifty broad, with but one deck, which covered the hold. The deck rises about a foot in the middle and slopes toward the edges to let the water run off more easily; for when a galley is loaded it seems to swim under the water, and the sea continually rushes over it. To prevent the sea from entering the hold, where the masts are placed, a long case of boards, called the 'coursier,' is fixed in the middle, running from one end of the galley to the other. The slaves, who are the rowers, have each a board raised from the deck under which the water passes, which serves them for a foot-

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stool, otherwise their feet would be constantly in the water. A galley has fifty benches for rowers, twenty-five on each side; each bench is ten feet long, one end fixed in the coursier that runs through the boat; the benches are half a foot thick, and placed at four feet distance from each other, and are covered with sackcloth, stuffed with flock, and a cow-hide thrown over them, which, reaching to the footstool, gives them the appearance of large trunks. To these the galley-slaves are chained, six to a bench. The oars are fifty feet long, and are poised in equilibrio upon the *apostic*, or piece of timber for this purpose. They are constructed so that the thirteen feet of the oar that go into the boat, are equal in weight to the thirty-seven which go into the water. It would be impossible for the slaves to grasp them, and handles are affixed for rowing.

"The master, or comite, stands always at the stern, near the captain, to receive his orders. Their sous-comites, one in the middle, and one near the prow, each with a whip of cords, to exercise as they see fit on the slaves. The comite blows a silver whistle which hangs from his neck; the slaves have their oars in readiness and strike all at once, and keep time so exactly, that the hundred and fifty oars seem to make but one movement. There is an absolute necessity for this rowing together; for, should one be lifted up,

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or fall, too soon, those before would strike the oar with the back part of their heads. Any mistake of this kind is followed by blows given with merciless fury. The labour of a galley-slave has become a proverb. It is the greatest fatigue that a man can bear. Six men are chained to each bench, on both sides of the coursier, wholly naked, sitting with one foot on a block of timber, the other resting on the bench before them, holding in their hands an enormous oar. Imagine them lengthening their bodies, their arms stretched out to push the oar over the backs of those before them; they then plunge the oar into the sea, and fall back into the hollow below, to repeat again and again the same muscular action. The fatigue and misery of their labour seem to be without a parallel. They often faint, and are brought to life by the lash. Sometimes a bit of bread dipped in wine is put into their mouths, when their labour cannot for a moment be spared. Sometimes when they faint, they are thrown into the sea, and another takes the place."

There are probably few situations in which a man can be placed, in which the lustre of genuine piety will not produce a visible effect upon those around. Even the iron-hearted wretches under whose lash Amadée and his companions groaned, were at length touched by his meekness, his patient endurance, and his Christian magnanimity.

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"As in all orders of society, some are more odious than others, there was an evident distinction among the comites of the different galleys. One, who presided over a galley that lay near, was named Palma. He was notorious for his cruelty. All looked upon it as an aggravation of their misfortunes to be placed in this galley. 'As our numbers multiplied,' says Amadée, 'it was announced that several of us were to be distributed on board this galley. I prayed that my lot might not fall to this comite. When the lots were drawn, a man approached me, and ordered me to follow him. Eager to know my fortune, I begged him to inform me to what galley my lot had fallen. 'The galley of Palma,' said he.

"'O heavens!' I exclaimed, 'has God thus deserted me?'

"'What do you mean?' said he, frowning.

"'He is as merciless as a demon,' I exclaimed; 'nothing can exceed his cruelty.'

"'I should like to know,' said he, fiercely, 'who gives that character of me; they should soon feel my wrath.'

"I now perceived that it was Palma himself to whom I was speaking. 'God's will be done,' said I; 'I will serve you faithfully and without murmuring; the treatment remains with you.' He made no reply, but conducted me to his galley, and ordered the *sous-comite* to chain me as usual. As I was young and

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vigorous, he put a heavy chain around my leg. Soon after Palma came to the bench where I was placed; he observed that they had put one of the heaviest chains upon me, and immediately ordered a lighter one, and even chose the chain himself. From this time he favoured me particularly, and when the hard-hearted captain ordered Palma to give the Huguenots a *hempen breakfast*, meaning a whipping, he let his blows fall lightly on me, and I even thought he spared the others for my sake. When the captain, as is customary, appointed a galley-slave to take care of the provisions, Palma recommended me to him, as a slave whom he could trust, 'but,' added he, 'he is a Huguenot.' 'How then can he be trusted?' asked the captain. He yielded so far to the representations of Palma as to order me before him. 'They tell me,' said he, 'you are the only slave that can be trusted, and you are a Huguenot.' I answered submissively, that there were other Huguenots on board the galley who could be trusted. 'I will try you,' said he, 'and give you the care of the stores; but, remember, for the slightest infidelity you receive the bastinado.' The office entitles the slave who holds it to an exemption from the oar, and a dinner every day upon the captain's provision.

"Such a situation was comparative happiness to the hard duty I was undergoing; my

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heart beat rapidly. I made no reply. 'Dog of a Christian!' he exclaimed, 'have you no thanks?' At this moment, a struggle not inferior to that I had experienced once before, took possession of my mind. 'There is another Huguenot on board this galley,' said I, 'who is every way more worthy of this office than myself. He is an old man, broken down by labour; he is unable to work at the oar, and even stripes can get but little service from him. I am yet able to *endure;* grant him this place, and let me still continue at the oar.' The captain seemed doubtful whether he understood me. 'I know who he means,' said the *comite*, 'it is old Bancillon.' 'Let him be brought,' said the commander. Bancillon was brought forward, bowed by age and labour, his venerable head covered with white hair. The *comites* acknowledged that, excepting inability of strength, he had no faults, and was respected for his integrity by every one." It is unnecessary to pursue the details. He was appointed to the office, and the young Amadée returned to the oar. "How weak was my virtue," he exclaims; "though it enabled me to resign the office to this venerable minister, (for such he once was,) it could not restrain bitter emotions. I felt my face bedewed with scalding tears of regret, as I once more commenced my hard labour. But when, a short time after, I beheld the venerable Bancillon losing the emaciated and dis-

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tressed appearance he had worn, smiling benignantly on me, and imploring for me the blessing of Heaven, I no longer murmured, I was rewarded for my sacrifice.

"One circumstance ought not to be omitted relating to Bancillon. He soon won the entire confidence of the captain, and the jealousy of those around him was aroused. They laid a plot to ruin him. He discovered it, and without exposing them to the bastinado by revealing it, informed the captain that he wished to resign his office. 'Do you know the penalties?' said the captain. 'I know,' replied the old man, 'that I must return to the oar. My sight and my memory fail me; I will try to perform my duty, and death will soon release me from the hard service.'

"While he was speaking, one of those who had devised his ruin, suspecting that he was informing the captain, came forward and revealed the plot to secure his own pardon. The captain investigated the matter, insisted on his resuming the office, and grew more lenient towards the Huguenots for his sake. There were six of these in our galley, and all of them won more forbearance from the *comites*, by their quiet and orderly behaviour, than might have been expected.

"Forty of these galleys were maintained during the reign of Louis XIV. at a most extravagant expense. It has been a subject of inquiry, what were the motives, as the

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success of this kind of boats is not supposed to be proportioned to that of frigates, and other ships of war. They provided maintenance for the younger brothers of noble families, particularly knights of Malta, who were generally the head officers. They likewise afforded a secure prison for criminals of all kinds. There are, perhaps, nautical advantages, as it matters not which way the wind blows, they being always subject to the oar.

"On the 17th of January, 1713, our Protestant friend, with twenty-two other prisoners, arrived at Marseilles; nearly half of the number had died in the transportation. They were put on board a galley where there were other Protestants, who had preferred stripes and suffering to abjuration of their religion. Let us hasten to the conclusion of this melancholy story. By the intercession of Queen Anne, of England, liberty and pardon was granted to a certain number of the galley-slaves, on condition of their quitting the kingdom at their own expense. This number was limited to one hundred and thirty-six, and Amadée was amongst them. The number of Protestant slaves was upwards of three hundred.* Those were not released till near-

* The whole number of Huguenots sentenced to the galleys during the reign of Louis XIV. must have been very great, as the official lists of those who were bastinadoed show that nearly sixteen hundred of them had endured this punishment.

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ly a year afterwards. By the aid of the charitable, the poor captives, after encountering many obstacles, arrived on Sunday within a league of Geneva. There they halted at a small village, situated in a mountain, where they could view their land of rest.

"We may judge of their emotions after what they had endured. The gates of the city were closed on Sunday till four o'clock. They waited till that hour, and then proceeded to the town. Intelligence, however, had previously reached the place, of the arrival of the convicts. They were met by crowds of people of every age and sex, and the dignitaries of the city. But the scene became more deeply interesting; many had friends and near relations on board the galleys. Exclamations were heard, 'My son!' 'My husband!' 'My brother!' All received welcome embraces; it was a band of Christian brothers meeting, and language seemed wanting to express their mutual feelings."

A few more extracts, and the last respecting the galley-service, are from the pen of M. Bion, a priest who officiated on board one of these boats, and who was converted to Protestantism by the exemplary conduct of the Huguenot prisoners.

"In the year 1703, several Protestants of Languedoc and the Cevennes were put on board our galleys. They were narrowly watched and observed, and I was exceeding-

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ly surprised on Sunday morning, after saying mass on the bancaffe, (a table so placed that all in the galley may see the priest when he elevates the host,) to hear the *comite* say he was going to give the Huguenots the bastinado, because they did not kneel or show respect to the mysteries of the mass, and that he was proceeding to acquaint the captain therewith. The very name of bastinado terrified me; and though I had never seen this dreadful execution, I begged the *comite* to forbear till the next Sunday, and said that in the meantime I would endeavour to convince them of what I then thought their duty and my own. Accordingly I tried all the methods I could possibly think of for that purpose; sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed for them; and often urging the king's command, and quoting the passage of St. Paul, 'that he who resists the higher power, resists God.' I had not at that time a design to oblige them to do any thing against their consciences; and I confess that what I did, proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness. This was the cause of my zeal, which would have been more fatal to them, had not God endued them with sufficient resolution and virtue to bear up against my arguments and the terrible execution which they had in

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view. I could not but admire the modesty of their answers and the greatness of their courage. 'The king,' said they, 'is indeed the master of our bodies, but not of our consciences.'

"At last the dreadful day being come, the *comite* narrowly observed them, to see the fruits of my labours. There were only two out of twenty that bowed the knee to Baal: the rest generously refused it, and were accordingly, by the captain's command, served in the manner following." He then describes the punishment, "from the sight of which the most obdurate are obliged to turn away their eyes," and which is the more unmercifully administered by the Turk employed for the purpose, because he thinks it acceptable to Mahomet, thus to chastise infidels. "The only balsam applied to their wounds is a mixture of vinegar and salt; after this, they are thrown into the hospital. I went thither after the execution, and could not refrain from tears at so much barbarity. They perceived it, and though scarcely able to speak, through weakness and pain, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed, and for the kindness I had always shown to them. I went with a design to administer some comfort to them, and was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was truly wonderful to see with what patience and Christian constancy they bore their tor-

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ments; in the midst of their pains never expressing any thing like rage, but calling upon Almighty God, and imploring his assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I did, my conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a religion whose capital errors I had before perceived; but, above all, which inspired so much cruelty—a temper directly opposite to the spirit of Christianity. At last, their wounds, like so many mouths preaching to me, made me sensible of my errors, and experimentally taught me the excellence of the Protestant religion. But it is time to conclude and draw a curtain over this horrid scene, which presents none but ghastly sights, and transactions full of barbarity, but which all show how false it is, what they now pretend in France for detaining the Protestants in the galleys, viz., that they do not suffer there on a religious account, but are condemned for rebellion and disobedience. The punishments inflicted on them when they refuse to adore the host, the rewards and advantages offered on their compliance in that particular, are a sufficient argument against the above pretence, there being no such offers made to those condemned for crimes. It shows the world, also, the most incredible barbarity practised against the French Protestants; and at the same time sets forth, in a manner the most honourable, their virtue, their constancy, and zeal for their holy religion."

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CHAPTER X.

A succession of severe edicts—Edicts eluded--Emigrants to Switzerland—Basville's cruelties—The religious character of the inhabitants of the Cevennes and Vivarais—Transportation of Huguenots—Jurieu's book on the Prophecies—Peace of Ryswick—Outrages in the principality of Orange—New policy adopted in the royal council—Du Chaila's cruelties—His murder—Camisard war--Laporte, Rolland, Castanet and Jean Cavalier—Extent of the insurrection—Negotiations of peace—Terms--Dissent of Ravanel and Rolland—Renewal of severities—Death of Rolland—Return of Camisard emigrants from Geneva—Execution of Ravanel, Castanet and Catinet--Old age of Louis XIV.—His death—Calamities in his family—Fenelon.

It was not long after the revocation of the edict, before the despot found new enactments, enforced by the most unflinching agents, to be necessary in order to counteract the natural results of his severity. These were published in rapid succession, but were also evaded in numerous instances. The penalty of death was awarded to any minister who should be found in the kingdom, and all persons receiving, sheltering, or assisting them in any way, were condemned to the galleys for life. A reward of five thousand five hundred livres was promised to any one who would give information by which a minister might be arrested. Yet

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many did return, and were joyfully welcomed by their flocks, and all hazards were braved for the sake of protecting them; and their success in eluding the vigilance of the government was wonderful. They assumed the disguise of pilgrims, pedlars, or soldiers, and crowds attended their preaching in caverns and mountain fastnesses; and, notwithstanding the dangers incurred, worship in the desert became very general; and those wild places witnessed many a religious service, and the plighted marriage vows of many a true-hearted pair.

Emigration also continued in spite of the laws, and in spite of the rewards offered to the captors. A letter from Geneva describes the influx of emigrants there as immense. Not a day passed in which there were not from thirty to ninety received and supplied, and in two short months more than five thousand Huguenots found refuge there. One morning there were seen at the gates five hundred carts, laden with household goods, and followed by persons who came from all quarters. Within three weeks, seventeen thousand five hundred persons passed into Lausanne. The inhabitants of Zurich wrote to Berne and Geneva, asking that some of the poor fugitives might be sent to them, promising to receive them as their own brethren, "into their country, their houses, yea, and into their very hearts."

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The condition in which they reached the hospitable homes so freely tendered, is thus described. "Women and maids came to us in the habits of men, children in coffers, packed up as clothes, others without any other precaution at all than in their cradles tied about their parents' necks; some passing this, others that way; all stopping either at the gates or churches of the city, with cries and tears of joy and sorrow mingled together; some demanding, 'Where are our fathers and mothers?' others, 'Where are our wives and children?' not knowing where to find them, not having learned any news of them from the time they departed from their houses. In short, every one was so affected with those miserable objects, that it was impossible to refrain from weeping. Some had no sooner passed the first barricado, but prostrating themselves upon their knees, they sung a psalm of thanksgiving for their happy deliverance; though, poor creatures, they had not wherewithal to get themselves a meal, and might have gone to bed supperless, had not the Lord of his great goodness extraordinarily provided for them. Thus we spent two months, every day affording us new adventures, fresh and eminent examples of self-denial, and that in divers ways.

"No longer ago than yesterday, in despite of all guards at the several passes, and dangers of the galleys, there arrived hither no

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less than fifty persons." "Four young ladies of Grenoble, disguised in men's apparel, after they had lodged four or five days in the forests and mountains, without any other provision than a little bread, travelling only by night, came hither but a few hours ago, in this their gallant equipage."

Bishop Burnet, in his "History of his Own Times," describes some of those very scenes, at Geneva, Lausanne and Zurich, and in nearly the same language.

The sympathy of foreign Protestants was not confined to those who came hungry and destitute among them. They wrote letters of commiseration to those who were in the galleys, or immured in loathsome prisons, and liberal contributions were made for the mitigation of their miseries. Yet those benevolent acts sometimes were the occasion of increasing their sufferings, by their being accused of holding some cabalistic correspondence against the government; so that not unfrequently they were obliged to ask their kind-hearted friends to withhold from them all expressions of sympathy, and leave them to endure as they best could.

The new Papist converts were very generally found deficient in zeal, resorting to all manner of subterfuges to avoid a participation in the ordinances and ceremonies of the church, so that they soon came to be watched as vigilantly, and to be treated with as much

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severity, as the Huguenots themselves. To deter them from relapse, among other things a decree was issued ordering that the remains of all relapsed heretics, who should in their last moments refuse the sacrament of the host, should be drawn on a hurdle.

Notwithstanding these various expedients for exterminating the least remnant of Protestantism, Basville, the intendant, who succeeded Marillac, thus wrote to the king thirteen years after the experiment commenced: "There are districts, comprising more than twenty or thirty parishes, in which the *curé* is at once the most wretched and the most useless among its inhabitants. Do what he will, he can neither make a single Catholic proselyte, among the residents, nor induce any one already professed to settle within his ministry." Afterwards, he speaks of "those ex-Huguenots, who, yielding to violence, had pretended to conversion,—as a sort of body living within the state in a singular manner, wholly devoid of any external profession of religion." This was the confession of the man by whose zeal in executing Louis's edicts thousands of innocent persons were, according to his own statement, sacrificed in the flames, on the gibbet, or on the wheel. The records of atrocities perpetrated by him form a history by themselves; but a history so revolting, that we shall pass it over with the

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introduction of a few paragraphs from a recent writer on the Huguenots.*

"The cruelties exercised by Basville were, for a long period, patiently endured by the Huguenots of Languedoc. Their constancy in meeting for prayer and religious exercises exposed them to frequent attacks, invariably followed by the condemnation of those who were unfortunately seized. Many were hanged; preachers were broken on the wheel, or burned alive; and numbers, convicted merely of being present, were sent to the galleys. To detail these revolting spectacles would be impossible; but the following instance will suffice to establish the violence and extent of the persecution, some years after Louis had been congratulated on the extinction of heresy in his dominions, and at a period when the court affected to deny the existence of any Protestants in France. Indeed, whenever an edict was issued against them, they were uniformly termed *new converts*.

"Some Protestants had assembled at Le Creux de Vaie, in the Vivarais,† when a body of soldiers fired upon them, killing many and wounding more; the remainder were nearly all secured. Basville condemned five of the prisoners to be hanged—four men

* Browning. † This occurred September 14, 1698.

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and a girl—they were each executed in a different town. Five others were sentenced to the galleys, and among them were three brothers, named Marlie. Their father was one of those who suffered capitally; another brother was wounded by the soldiers, and died in prison; their family dwelling was destroyed, and all their property confiscated. Thus an entire family was cut off, for no other cause than a perseverance in their religious duties.

"The mountaineers of the Cevennes and the Vivarais had for ages cherished the scriptural doctrines imbodied in the tenets of Protestantism. This is clearly proved by the conduct of the Vaudois and Albigenses, in the twelfth century; by the revival of the sacred flame among their descendants, immediately after Luther's preaching was made known; and by the firmness with which they resisted the tyranny of Basville and his associates. Even to the present day their descendants remain steadfastly attached to the faith for which their forefathers suffered so much; and there are many families lineally descended from Basville's victims, among whom the profession of Protestantism has never ceased." *

* The author of the work on the troubles in the Cevennes, from whose accounts these facts are derived, drew much of his information from actors in these scenes.

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One method remained, which the ingenuity of the persecuting spirit had not yet tried, for subduing those whose firmness had stood the test of imprisonment, the wheel and the galleys: this was transportation to the West India islands or to the wild parts of North America.

In the year 1687, hundreds of such were embarked from Marseilles, many of them in unseaworthy ships. In two vessels only, two hundred and twenty-four persons of both sexes were shipped for Martinique, and during a tempestuous voyage of three months, ninety-five of them died. Another transport was wrecked on a sand-bank off the island, through the negligence of the captain. There were one hundred galley-slaves on board, chained together by sevens, and these poor phrenzied creatures saw death approaching without the possibility of escape. Most of the women were drowned. De Serres, a Huguenot of Montpelier, who had been taken on board from a squalid dungeon, remained on the wreck two or three days, and then escaped to the shore on a plank; when the governor threatened to hang him unless he would renounce Protestantism. He suffered two more imprisonments, and at last escaped in a Dutch ship to Curaçoa.

One of the ships bound to America was visited off Cadiz by a gentleman who was in search of a relative. He says, "I was no sooner below, but I saw fourscore women, or maids,

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lying on mats, overwhelmed with miseries: my mouth was stopped and I had not one word to say. They told the most moving things in the world, and instead of giving them consolation, they comforted me; and I, not being able to speak, they told me with one common voice, 'We put our hands upon our mouths, and say that all things come from Him who is King of kings, and in him we put our trust.' There are yet six vessels upon their departure from Provence, laden with these poor men, who wait for nothing but a fair wind to hoist sail. I was willing to encourage my kinswoman. She said to me, 'Dear cousin, 'tis not death that I fear. If God will call me home, I shall escape a great many miseries which I have yet to suffer. But I am resigned to whatever He shall please to lay upon me.'"

In 1688, a book on the prophecies was published by Jurieu, in which the speedy triumph of truth and the overthrow of Popery were announced. The exiled ministers expressed their strong disapprobation of it, as visionary, calculated to provoke the hatred of the Papists, and to excite false hopes in the Huguenots. The result justified their views; for the hopes of the least enlightened portion of the Protestants were readily kindled by any prospect, however faint, of deliverance from the evils under which they groaned, and the resolution of the inhabitants of the

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Vivarias—always unbending—received a new impulse.

Several phrensied leaders arose among them, who for a brief period held a powerful sway over the minds of the simple mountaineers; and although the excitement did not merit the name of an insurrection, it was regarded as at least seditious, and was the occasion of an armed force being sent into the Vivarais under Count de Broglie and Basville. The assemblies upon the hill sides, listening to the exhortations of their leaders, were fired upon by the troops, and many were killed, yet the greater number effected their escape by precipices and woods which they, better than their pursuers, knew how to traverse.

In 1697, the peace of Ryswick* was concluded. The Huguenots had earnestly looked forward to this event with the hope that their interests would be fully and favourably recognised in the negotiation; not only were these hopes disappointed, but they soon discovered that when Louis's attention ceased to be absorbed with foreign disputes, he

* Louis made the greatest sacrifices in this negotiation, rather than admit any terms favourable to the Protestants. Monclus, Bishop of Alais, says—"He renounced the fruit of his victories, purchased with so much blood and toil; he even acknowledged the usurper of England, notwithstanding treaties which bound him to the dispossessed king—he granted all, he yielded all, he surrendered every thing—except the return of the heretics."—See Browning's History.

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found leisure to renew his tyranny over his Protestant subjects. The accounts which his flatterers gave him of the "infinite number of conversions" achieved by his pious zeal, had deceived him into the belief that only here and there a few poor remnants of Protestantism remained, to deface the uniformity of religion in his kingdom. Great, then, was his surprise on turning his attention to them again, to find that, in spite of the rigours of the law and the yet greater rigours of the military, and the sleepless vigilance of his intendants, Protestantism had still, in some of the provinces, a vigorous existence, and the work of conversion, which he had thought finished, was yet to be accomplished.

Violence was again employed to disperse religious assemblies, and the penalties against relapses were enforced with the utmost severity.

The temples in the independent principality of Orange, in the centre of Vaucluse, were resorted to by great numbers of Protestants of the surrounding district; but, that his heretical subjects should find protection in this little oasis, in the exercise of their religion, exasperated the despot, and his vice-legate sent troops thither on the pretence that the Papists were exposed to insult, and informed the populace that if they would plunder the Huguenots, the spoil should be their own. In consequence, the

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unsuspecting people, as they were returning home from meeting in small parties, were assailed and robbed, and many were led away prisoners; and, by Basville's order, ninety-seven men and thirty-eight women were driven to Montpelier. Outrages of this character occurred repeatedly in Orange.

On the least mitigation of the persecution, the people assembled in great numbers; and when it was revived, emigration as uniformly ensued. The king complained of the libellous character of the writings published by the fugitives in England and Holland. But nothing said or written of him, by others, could tell so infamous a tale as his own edicts, awarding confiscation, imprisonment, the galleys, and death in its most horrid forms, for the infraction of laws which, from the very nature of the case, could not be obeyed.

The royal council were divided in opinion as to the best method of conquering the yet disobedient subjects. Chancellor Ponchartrain, the successor of Louvois, advised severity; Cardinal Noailles, chief of the Jansenists, insisted on the superior effect of toleration; D'Aguesseau, who many years before resigned the intendancy of Languedoc, because he could not consent to become accessory to the enormities perpetrated against good and loyal subjects, recommended moderation. He dared not advise to the formal erasure of penal laws, as that would be asking a proud

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monarch to acknowledge that he had erred; the fears and jealousies of the Papists would have been awakened by such a step, and perhaps an undue spirit of triumph manifested by the Protestants. Thus, state policy dictated that the obnoxious laws should remain unchanged, while equity and clemency should be dispensed by stealth.

But this gentle policy had scarcely begun to develope itself, when the effect of cruelties for a long period practised by Basville, in Languedoc, burst forth in an insurrection in the Cevennes and Vivarais. Basville had found a fit instrument for the execution of his atrocities, in a Papist ecclesiastic of the name of Du Chaila. He had recommended himself as a zealous son of the church, by accompanying the intendant in his searches for Protestant assemblies; ferreting out, with peculiar skill, many a little secluded band of worshippers, and practising upon them inventions of his own, surpassing all others in severity.* His violent dealings at length came down upon his own head. The details are given as follows, by Browning.

"In July, 1702, a guide named Massip was arrested at Pont-de-Montvert, as he was conducting a party of fugitive Protestants to Geneva. Du Chaila had been informed by

* This is the testimony of Louvreleuil, a priest, whose work was published in 1704 and 1706.

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his spies of the projected evasion; and placed the whole party in the *ceps*,* to await judgment. Great interest was made to move the inexorable abbé in favour of some young ladies, who for security were travelling in male attire,—but in vain. And as a warm appeal was addressed to some assembled Huguenots, that an effort should be made for their rescue, the abbé declared that, on his return to Pont-de-Montvert, he would order Massip to be executed. The Huguenots re-assembled, nearly fifty in number; and, after prayer, proceeded in a body to that village, armed chiefly with swords, old halberts and scythes; only a few had fire-arms. They entered the place at night-fall. As they chanted a psalm on their march, the abbé, who was already there, imagined a religious assembly was holden, and accordingly ordered some soldiers to fall upon them. Almost immediately the house he lodged in was surrounded, and numerous voices claimed the enlargement of his captives. Du Chaila gave orders to fire; and one of the liberators being killed, his comrades forced open the door. While some proceeded to free the prisoners, others sought the abbé, who was barricaded in his chamber. An invitation to surrender was answered by a discharge of fire-arms, and the enraged as-

* Cells where the impossibility of moving occasioned terrible torments.

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sailants at once decided on setting fire to the house. The progress of the flames compelled the abbé to retreat. Aided by a servant he descended to the garden, by tying his sheets together. In the attempt he fell and broke his leg; yet, with his servant's assistance, he sought concealment among the shrubs and bushes, where the light of the conflagration caused his detection. The Huguenots at once reproached him with his cruelty, to which he replied by abjectly begging his life. He was almost instantly pierced with nearly fifty wounds, every blow being accompanied by expressions to this effect: 'That is for your violence toward my father!' 'That for sending my brother to the galleys,' &c. Several residents in the house were killed with him; but a soldier and one servant were spared, as the liberated prisoners spoke in their favour. This energetic proceeding gave rise to the war of the *Camisards*."*

The perpetrators of this retribution foresaw that the provocations which called it forth would not suffice for a moment as their apology to the government; they therefore had nothing to do, but prepare to meet the punishment which they knew awaited them,

* This name is supposed by some to have originated in the dress worn by the insurgents in this insurrection —the most striking peculiarity of which was the white frock. But the more probable opinion is, that it is a corruption of *Camisade*, a nocturnal attack.

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or to arm in defence of their liberties, and call upon all who suffered like evils, to join their ranks. They contrived to elude the pursuit of Count Broglie and his militia so completely, that, under the impression that they had retired to their homes, he dismissed his troops and returned to Montpelier, leaving small detachments in several different towns, under the command of Captain Poul, a kindred spirit to Basville. The murder of the abbé was avenged in the severest manner upon all the surrounding country, and those who had neither taken a part in it, nor felt any particular sympathy with the perpetrators, were made to suffer. The effect of this was to drive many in desperation to join the malcontents who would have remained peaceable, and endured without complaint the old rigours.

One of their number, named Laporte, a man of great energy, and some military experience, excited them by his harangues to attempt, in defiance of all dangers, the emancipation of their imprisoned friends, the punishment of their persecutors, and the establishment of their right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. He told them they might and probably would fail of success, but it was better to die in battle than under the hands of the executioner, or than to live hunted and tormented to the last extremity of endurance. He was at once

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chosen their chieftain, and Castanet and Rolland, men of like spirit, were at the head of two other corps. These leaders acted distinctly, yet in concert, and their troops rapidly increased by recruits from every quarter. Laporte's celebrity called forth a variety of schemes for his capture, but he was at length killed by a musket-ball. A new company was meanwhile formed under Jean Cavalier, a youth of twenty-one. He had been a shepherd, and afterward an apprentice to a baker, and was among the refugees at Geneva when he heard of the insurrection in the Cevennes. He was not only a man of little education, but was insignificant, and rather repulsive in his person; but he possessed shrewdness, energy and enthusiasm, and all the elements of character necessary to a successful leader of an ardent, independent, half-civilized body of men, animated by enthusiasm in religion, and goaded to desperation by persecution. The power of controlling other minds, which in him was a gift of nature, was enhanced by the fluent energy of his preaching—for when he became commander-in-chief of the insurgents, he assumed also the office of preacher. His character is invested with much interest, and many facts related of him show that the original structure of his mind was superior, and that he possessed a high degree of moral principle. On his election to the office of commander, he

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represented that several of their number were more competent, but at length accepted, on condition that he should have the power of life and death without calling a council of war. A ready consent was given, but he appears never to have abused the trust.

Every thing in the history of this people, for the previous thirty years; every thing in their present exigencies—the natural scenery which surrounded them, the woods, caverns, ravines, and hill-sides that were their only temples—all tended to invigorate the spirit of freedom, and to fan to a flame the love of their religion. The result was, firm union among themselves, implicit obedience to their leader, admirable order, invincible courage, and contempt of death. Among them habited as soldiers, were many of their wives, mothers and sisters: some, for the sake of the protection which they could find no where else, others from their enthusiasm in the cause, and others still as the bearers of provisions for their friends. The decorum and respect uniformly shown them testifies to the virtue of these religious mountaineers. Various authors state that there were no quarrels, no slanders, and no impurity among them; that oaths were unknown, that they possessed their goods in common, and addressed their chief as brother. Divine service was regularly and reverentially observed throughout the army; the Lord's supper administered, and

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baptisms and marriages celebrated. They always offered prayer for guidance, before commencing a march, and thanksgiving when they halted.

Their greatest embarrassment arose from the want of arms, of which all Protestants had long ago been forcibly deprived. These confiscations had been deposited with the priests, who were now often forced by the desperate Camisards to give them up; and, perhaps, in addition, their own culinary utensils of pewter. They are said to have stripped the lead off from many churches, to make bullets, and to have taken eighteen church-bells which they converted into culverines.

These troops, of which there were about ten thousand, while they acted in concert, were yet so distributed as to perplex and divide the efforts of their adversaries, and for four years they successfully resisted the government forces, commanded the first eighteen months by Marshal Broglie, who was followed by Montrevel, and he by the celebrated Marshal Villars. The names of these distinguished officers, and the length of the war, sufficiently demonstrate the invincible bravery of the insurgents. Thirty-four different engagements are described, in which the determined courage of the Camisards, and their familiarity with all the mountain retreats and passes, almost invariably

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gave them the advantage against superior numbers. They received their enemies with one knee bent, singing a psalm, and after the first volley was fired upon them, replied with decided effect. The retaliation of the government troops was severe upon the villages and hamlets, of which one hundred and sixty-six were burnt at one time, and four hundred and sixty-six at another; and they, beside, let loose from the prisons, upon the peasantry, a horde of the worst banditti.

The details of this war are intensely interesting, and it is not easy to resist the temptation to incorporate a connected sketch of it with the history of the Huguenots. But it would be impossible to give the particulars without recounting deeds of cruelty too horrible to be related, unless some important end were answered by so doing. The constituted religious bodies among the Huguenots never sanctioned the proceedings of the Camisards, but, on the contrary, severely reprimanded them.

At the end of four years' warfare, in May, 1707, the government, finding it impossible to conquer the Camisards without an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, made a formal treaty with Cavalier, as the only means of appeasing the revolt. D'Aygaliers, a Protestant nobleman, was the instrument of effecting the compromise. The Camisards obtained that for which they fought, religious

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freedom, and, for a long time, the whole of the Cevennes literally resounded with psalms. That they were perfectly justifiable in all their proceedings, none will assert; but if the oppressor is accountable for the effects of the aroused indignation of the oppressed, the blame falls lightly upon them in comparison with their enemies. There is much to be said in extenuation. What could, or ought to be expected of men, before whose eyes, in every village, a gibbet waited to execute the sentence of death upon each one that dared to think for himself, to pray with his children, or to sing one psalm of praise to God? So just did England and Holland regard this war, that steps were taken to aid the Camisards, which, however, were rendered ineffectual by circumstances not necessary to be given here. It is believed that, had they taken up arms sooner, they might have obtained terms of pacification of great value to the Protestants throughout the realm.

The negotiation was conducted on each side with the strictest honour. Marshal Villars recognised in the untaught peasant a lofty and generous spirit, and freely released to him a brother of fifteen years who was taken with arms in his hands, and who, in the commencement of the struggle, would have been instantly executed. Cavalier stipulated for himself and the ten thousand with him an unconditional amnesty, and the free exer-

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cise of their religion; the prisoners to be set free, the exiles invited to return, and those who chose, permitted to emigrate; and undertook on his part to insure the allegiance of this number, and to raise and organize for the king's service four regiments to be marched into Spain. In obedience to this condition of the negotiation, the Camisard troops began at once to assemble at Calvisson. A Papist writer says, "It was a strange sight to behold so many heretics, preaching, praying, prophesying, and singing by day and by night uninterruptedly, and to the full content of their hearts, but it was all submitted to for reasons which kings are sometimes obliged to obey."

Two of the chieftains, Ravanel and Rolland, refused their consent to the treaty; and no persuasions of Cavalier's could prevail upon them to reverse their decision. He repeated to them the arguments which D'Aygaliers had used with himself, but they were inflexible. Rolland accused Cavalier of having betrayed the cause, and declared that his conscience would not permit him to lay down his arms until the edict of Nantes was completely established, and all the imprisoned Protestants freed. Ravanel assailed him as a *coward* and a *traitor*, and vowed he would never consent to terms of peace until the temples were restored, and full religious liberty secured. Cavalier pleaded the king's pro-

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mises of toleration, but Ravanel would not admit the possibility that Louis would adhere to any engagements to the Protestants, however solemnly made; and cut short the interview by suddenly turning away with his followers, upon whom he impressed his own sentiments of distrust.

These symptoms of cherished hostility excited the apprehensions of the Marshal, so that after Cavalier's departure with his troops, he commenced the old system of severities, arresting every one suspected of sympathy with the Camisards. The prisons were again thronged. Above five thousand labourers were imprisoned on mere suspicion, until they gave evidence of conformity to Papist usages. He also let loose upon the province a band of atrocious convicts, as auxiliaries to the military forces.

Rolland at last sent messages to Villars that he was disposed to surrender, but was restrained by the unwillingness of his followers; and Villars complained to the government that he had to deal with madmen who, after they had consented to terms of pacification, suddenly broke off and took the attitude of enemies. D'Aygaliers renewed his efforts to persuade Rolland to yield, but Ravanel exerted a counter-influence, and at length the promise of an hundred louis-d'or induced a young man named Marlarte to betray Rolland's retreat. He did not discover

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the approach of the battalion sent to take him until it was too late to escape. He, with five others, fled from the house to a thicket of trees, where a dragoon levelled his musket at the formidable chief, and he fell dead. His companions were taken alive, and died with unshrinking firmness on the wheel. Ravanel remained unconquered when all the other chiefs had submitted to the terms of the government. The insurrection was terminated by the end of September; the Camisards were conducted under an escort to Geneva, and assurances given them that their captive brethren should be released, and that no Protestant should be molested in the exercise of his religion.

But the life which these exiles led at Geneva was ill-suited to their habits and education; they therefore soon became discontented, and were of course easily wrought upon by intriguers, who induced many of them, some of whom were leaders, to return to the Cevennes. A plot was soon afterwards detected, which led to the arrest of Ravanel, Castanet and Catinet, with two other chiefs. Three of the number made important disclosures; but no tortures could extort from Ravanel the name of a confederate, or a single confession.

Notwithstanding these examples, and the frightful severities which followed, the spirit of freedom would, at intervals, burst forth.

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The claims of the insurgents were founded in the inalienable rights of the immortal soul, and the ceaseless efforts of their oppressors could not erase them.

Louis, in his old age, lived in a secluded manner, Madame de Maintenon and his ministers taking care to keep him in ignorance of every thing in his kingdom, which would disturb his feelings. Father La Chaise being dead, a man named Tellier succeeded him as the king's confessor. If the Protestants who remained in the kingdom hoped for tranquillity because the king had become old and imbecile, they learned in bitterness their mistake; for though Tellier was not of the same family with the chancellor, who set his seal to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he possessed the same spirit. One of his edicts declared that if any of the pretended reformed resided in the kingdom, that of itself was sufficient proof that they had become Papists, because, otherwise, they would not have been tolerated.

The death of Louis XIV. took place in August, 1714. He left his kingdom agitated by faction, and in debt fifteen hundred millions of dollars. His death, like that of Henry III., was signalized by the most indecent expressions of popular joy.

The providence of God towards this monarch, to whose persecuting spirit more than three hundred thousand Protestants had been

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sacrificed, was strikingly marked in many particulars. From the year 1702 to 1711, his armies, once almost invincible, were worsted, and their overthrow at length completed by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim; and the places which he had in earlier periods conquered with great sacrifice of life and treasure were taken from him. His bodily infirmities became severe, and his mind was oppressed with deep melancholy. Even Madame de Maintenon complained of the weariness of entertaining an old man, incapable of being amused. He was accustomed to boast that he was the first king of France who had seen his great-grandchildren, but in one year (1712) death deprived him of his son at the age of fifty, his grandson at thirty, and a little son of his, a week after his father.

His grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, was the pupil of Fenelon.* He was in childhood

* It is interesting to compare the character of Fenelon with that of most of the Papist clergy who appear in this history. He was at one time chosen by Louis as a missionary to convert the Protestant inhabitants of Poictou and Saintonge. He refused a military escort, and when the king represented the danger to which he might be exposed, he replied, "Sire, ought a missionary to fear danger? If you hope for an apostolical harvest, we must go in the true character of apostles. I would rather perish by the hands of my mistaken brethren, than see one of them exposed to the inevitable violence of the military." To the Duke of Burgundy he wrote, "The work of God is not effected in the heart by force: that is not the true spirit of the gospel." When

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as remarkable for his arbitrary and vindictive temper as for the splendour of his talents. Yet so wisely and patiently did his tutor fulfil his difficult duties, that, with the blessing of God, he succeeded in infusing his own spirit into the bosom of his pupil. The impetuous and self-willed youth became a mild, dignified, humane and truly generous man. He was married to Adelaide, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, a peculiarly sincere, unsophisticated and lovely princess, domestic and simple in her tastes and habits; and their attachment, which was mutual, survived

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consulted by a military officer as to what he should do with those of his soldiers who were Huguenots, Fenelon said, "Tormenting and teasing heretic soldiers into conversion, will answer no end; it will not succeed, it will only produce hypocrites. The converts so made will desert in crowds." After his return from his mission in Poictou, he was appointed preceptor to the heir apparent, and how well he discharged his office the transformation in his pupil sufficiently evinced. But his book upon the duty of disinterested love to God was pronounced fanatical by Bossuet; and Louis, glad of any pretext for ridding himself of a man whom he feared and disliked, and whose purity of life was a constant reproof of his own vices, availed himself of the occasion to banish Fenelon from Paris. With his own hand he erased his name as preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy. But he could not obliterate his influence on the character of his son, nor extinguish the love and reverence with which he always regarded him. Neither could he prevent the meed of admiration awarded to him by all classes. Papists and Protestants, nobility, soldiers and peasants, all honoured him; and "Versailles, spite of her stern master, resounded with his name."

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the chilling frowns of state policy which had for years interposed to prevent their union. But they died within a few days of each other; and we are ready to wonder why they were not spared to bless and heal wretched, bleeding France, so long the prey of selfish and merciless tyrants.

CHAPTER XI.

Regency of the Duke of Orleans—Of the Duke of Bourbon—Martyrdom of the ministers—Loyalty of the Protestants—Synod in the deserts of Lower Languedoc—Jesuits deposed—Protestants excluded from all secular privileges—Death of Louis XV.—Louis XVI. —Mitigation of the evils suffered by Protestants—Origin of French infidelity—La Fayette—Edict of 1787—Efforts of Malesherbes in behalf of the Huguenots—Favourable acts of the National Assembly—Paul Rabaut—Property and privileges restored in 1790—Violent re-action of the free principles of the Revolution—Institutions of religion obliterated—The Consulship—Benefits conferred by Bonaparte—Restoration of the Bourbons—Commotions at Nismes —Cruelties perpetrated—Vitality of the spirit of persecution.

THE death of Louis XIV. was followed by a regency of nine years under the Duke of Orleans, during which the Protestants enjoyed comparative tranquillity. This leniency has been attributed to his miserable profliga-

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cy, which disinclined him to exertion of any kind; but perhaps it was owing to his jealousy of the inordinate growth and exercise of power on the part of the Jesuits, which led him to balance their influence by favouring the Jansenists. However this may have been, he soon opened the doors of the Bastile, from whose dreary walls many a Protestant victim of Father Tellier's malignity went forth to breathe the air and bless the light of heaven. He also permitted Lord Stair, the British ambassador, to have a church, in which the Protestant service was conducted both in English and French. Thus protected in their worship by the English ambassador, under the sanction of the regent, thousands attended at once. But the edicts against them remained unchanged, and the few privileges they enjoyed were by sufferance.

The Duke of Orleans was followed in 1723 by the Duke of Bourbon, who sought to immortalize himself by treading in the steps of Louis XIV. Under his administration parents were forced to give up their children to be educated by Papists, death was decreed against Protestant pastors, and confiscation against relapsed heretics. At the end of three years, Cardinal Fleury became prime minister. His mild disposition produced some mitigation of their condition; yet the spirit which pervaded the court was as hostile as ever to religious freedom, and the views

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entertained of them by the clergy are clearly indicated by an ecclesiastical memorial, dated April, 1745, in which they declare that the rising generation of Protestants were more obstinate and headstrong than their fathers. "They may," said they, "protest fidelity, and publish that the spirit which pervades their assemblies is free from revolt and insurrection; but they will be good subjects no farther than fear constrains them."

Ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the marriages contracted among the Protestants were considered illegal; because the clergy of the Papal church would perform the service for none who denied her authority, and they alone, according to the edict of revocation, were authorized. But the Protestants sought their proscribed ministers in the desert, and when their benediction could not be obtained, they declared their mutual choice, and pronounced their vows in the presence of some aged man, and received his counsel and blessing, and thus awaited the confirmation of their marriage by some pastor: and whenever it was known that a minister had arrived, he was resorted to by thousands for his sanction of their union, and that they might receive the communion of the Lord's supper.

The oppressions which hundreds of families endured in consequence of these restrictions respecting marriages, operated with great severity. The children of such parents,

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being in the eye of the law illegitimate, could not inherit the property bequeathed them, and it was confiscated to the crown; or, in many cases, made over to the nearest Papist relative. Some instances of this kind occurred among persons of high standing in society, and the discussions of the civil courts being open to the public, many facts of intense interest became extensively known. A sympathy was thus awakened in their behalf, and gradually a public sentiment formed against the oppressive measures in regard to such marriages; and there were even instances of Papist advocates pleading with irresistible eloquence the cause of injured Protestant families. On one of these occasions, the king's counsel bore this testimony to the character of the Protestants—they were "men who loved order and peace, who zealously promoted the public welfare, and who atoned for their errors by their virtues."

In 1746, a fresh persecution was set on foot for the oppression of these assemblies in the deserts. In the province of Languedoc and Guyenne, great numbers were condemned to the galleys for no other crime than attending such meetings. All ministers who fell into the hands of the government were executed. M. Desuvas, a young preacher, was arrested in 1745, and conducted to prison in Vernoux. Some of his flock, unarmed, assembled by the road-side to entreat

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that he might be spared. But the only answer was a discharge of muskets, by which six were killed. Of the crowds who came to Vernoux to implore his liberation, thirty-six were killed and two hundred wounded, many of them mortally. Such was the indignation excited by this wanton waste of life, that a body of young men armed with swords, scythes and forks, resolved to rescue the preacher, and avenge the death of their friends, but the pastors persuaded them to refrain. The celebrated Paul Rabaut, who was decidedly opposed to all resistance of the civil authority, addressed them on the occasion in the name of their imprisoned minister. In conclusion, he said, "Should God destine me to such an end, I implore you before-hand, and I claim it of your affection, to suffer me to die peaceably, that I may not become a cause of tears to your kindred and friends, or to your country, torn by the troubles which would follow such a revolt; and it is only on these conditions that I will continue my pastoral functions among you."

James Rogers, a venerable man of eighty, was condemned to the gallows for preaching. When his sentence was communicated to him, he went out of the jail into the adjoining yard, where many of the imprisoned Christians could hear his voice, and announced to them that the happy day was come in which he was to seal with his blood his testimony to

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the great truths he had preached to them; and concluded by exhorting them to be steadfast in the truth, and patient in endurance. He went, as did many others, to the place of execution, repeating the 51st Psalm.

Benezet, a very young minister, was executed at Montpelier. His patience, modesty, courage and joy, constrained the executioner to say that he did not hang a man, but an angel.

In 1762, three brothers named Grenier, the oldest of whom was but twenty-one years, were condemned for attempting to rescue their pastor, M. Rochette. Life was offered to them, if they would abjure, and the priests beset them with crucifixes until the fatal moment. But they said, "Speak to us of him who died for our justification, and we are ready to listen, but do not introduce your superstitions." After the two eldest were beheaded, the executioner entreated the youngest to escape, by renouncing his religion. "Do thy duty," was the intrepid answer. Those instances are selected from a great number on the records of Protestant history in the reign of Louis XV. Well might George Whitefield exclaim, "Speak, Languedoc, speak and tell, if thou canst, how many Protestant ministers have been lately executed, how many more of their hearers have been dragooned and sent to the galleys, and how many hundreds are now, in conse-

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quence of the above-mentioned edict, lying in prisons, and fast bound in misery and iron, for no other crime than that unpardonable one in the Romish Church—I mean hearing and preaching the pure gospel of the meek and lowly Jesus."

Yet the loyalty and submission of the Protestants was peculiarly exemplary through all the persecutions of this reign. Often did Papist criminals, imprisoned with Huguenots, endeavour to enlist them in a conspiracy for the release of both, but never with success. And in one instance where the Papists effected their own escape, leaving the doors open, the Protestants refused to follow them.

In 1744, after a lapse of more than half a century, leave was granted for the meeting of a synod in the deserts of Lower Languedoc. The acts of this body are a beautiful illustration of the spirit of forgiveness inspired by the gospel. A fast was commanded to be kept by all the reformed churches in the kingdom, "for the preservation of his majesty's sacred person, the success of his arms, a cessation of war, and the deliverance of the church." When the news of the king's illness was communicated to them, they fell on their knees and offered fervent prayer for his recovery; and on his restoration sang a Te Deum, and united in the general rejoicing. In a petition which they presented to Marshal Count de Saxe, asking his intercession for them with the

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king, they protest that they are "firmly resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty's service." They counselled their teachers to abstain from controversy with the Papists, to avoid complaints of the sufferings of the Protestants, to refrain from secular employments on "saints' days," and to bear patiently all the ill usage inflicted upon them on account of their religion. Yet the year following (1745) was marked with great severities towards them, in executing the ministers, as before related, punishing the worshippers in the desert, burning bales and casks of religious books, which had been secreted, and which were now of double value to the Huguenots, because they were cut off almost entirely from hearing the truths they loved from the lips of the living preacher.

It is believed that the year 1762 witnessed the last Protestant martyrdoms in France. The Jesuits, who had always been the most indefatigable and malignant enemies of the Reformed church, were about this time deposed as dangerous subjects, in consequence of the vast system of fraud which they were *proved* to have practised in commercial affairs.

Yet so universal was the exclusion of Protestants from all privileges, that, even at this late day, a profession of the Romish faith was necessary in order to be admitted to the "Hospital of the Invalids;" and this restric-

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tion was not removed until 1791. In a list of twenty-seven soldiers, entitled, in 1762, to subsistence, by order of the government the names of two German Lutherans are erased, the cause of which was given in the margin against each—"sent home to his own country with sixty francs, persisting in his religion."

In 1774, Louis XV. died of the small-pox. He had been a tyrant in his family as well as in his kingdom, yet his daughters lingered around his bed when none beside would encounter the danger, and the remains of the meanest of his subjects could scarcely have been hurried to the grave with less ceremony than were his.

On the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, there were some things in the posture of civil affairs favourable to a mitigation of the evils which the Protestants had so long endured. The king was a man of retired habits, literary tastes, and a mild and humane disposition, by which he would have been decidedly inclined to religious toleration, but for the prejudices of his education, his regard for the policy of his ancestors, and the counter-influences inseparable from a state religion. The financial concerns of the government were involved in a labyrinth of embarrassments; and, in this extremity, M. Neckar, a Genevan Protestant, was appointed director

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of the royal treasury. The iniquities of the papal clergy, and the enormities committed under the cloak of religious zeal, had produced a strong revulsion in the minds of a vast number of educated men. While the truly pious among the Huguenots had, with the genuine martyr-spirit, braved every imaginable suffering, most of those who were Protestants merely by education, had professed conversion to the papal faith in order to escape those terrific inflictions. These were unable to bow to papal tyranny, and the result was their renunciation of all religion. Hence arose Voltaire, D'Alembert; and the whole body of Encyclopedists. No books were ever written more subversive of Christianity, more atrociously atheistical, than their's. Yet, because they advocated independence of thought and freedom of opinion, the indirect effect was favourable to the religious liberties of the Protestants. The return of La Fayette from America, where he had for several years stood side by side with Washington and other illustrious men in their struggle for civil liberty, was not without its effect; and so perfectly was this understood by the government, that he was forbidden to appear in society except in his family circle—a restriction which failed of its design, because his relationships were so extensive that the limit left him free to associate with almost the whole court. His

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political course evinced an enlightened and just estimation of the inalienable rights of man, a most benevolent interest in the real welfare of the French nation; and that candour, calmness, wisdom and courage, which can appreciate impediments, wait for their removal, promptly seize the best moment to act, and fearlessly abide the consequences. Early after his return, he began to avail himself of every proper occasion for the extension to Protestants of those privileges which no government has a right to deny any of its subjects. He addressed to the king the following memorial in their behalf:

"A portion of our citizens who have not the happiness to profess the Catholic religion, find themselves condemned to a sort of civil death. The *Bureau* know too well the heart of the king not to be persuaded that his majesty, desirous of making true religion dear to his subjects, over whom he is the common father, and knowing that the truth makes its own way by its own strength, and that error always finds it necessary to employ violence, will join the disposition of a benevolent tolerance to those virtues which merit the love of the nation. The *Bureau* hasten to present, to his majesty, solicitations that a numerous portion of his subjects may cease to groan under a proscription equally contrary to the general tenor of religion, to good manners, to population, to national industry, and

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opposed to all moral and philosophical principles."

In 1787, Louis issued an edict by which, though it expressly states "that the non-Catholics cannot claim under its provisions more than the law of nature forbids being refused," viz., a recognition of their civil existence, yet their condition was sensibly improved. For this slender boon, they were indebted to the indefatigable efforts of Malesherbes, both in the council and by his pen. "It is," said he, "the least that I can do to repair, in the eyes of Protestants, all the harm which M. de Basville, my uncle, did them in Languedoc."

This edict conferred no privileges. No minister was yet permitted to sign a certificate of the birth, marriage, or death of one of his flock, and Protestant worship was not *permitted*, but *suffered*. Yet it was strongly opposed in the parliament, and was resisted by M. D'Espresmenil with fanatical zeal, calling on the magistrates to "beware of crucifying the Lord anew," by their sanction of such a measure.

The acts of the National Assembly opened a new era in the history of the Huguenots. By the decrees of this body, in September, 1789, all citizens were declared "equal in the eye of the law, and equally admissible to all dignities, places, and public employments, without any distinction but that of

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their virtues and talents." The celebrated Rabaut was a member of this assembly, and spoke with great eloquence in behalf of liberty of conscience. "I demand," said he, "for all the non-Catholics what you demand for yourselves—equality of rights: liberty, the liberty of their religion—the liberty of their worship—the liberty of celebrating it in houses consecrated for that purpose—the assurance of not being troubled in the exercise of their religion any more than you are in yours, and the perfect assurance of being protected like you, as much as you, and in the same manner as you, by the common law." "I suppress a crowd of motives which should render two millions of unfortunates interesting and dear to you: they could present themselves to you, yet stained with the blood of their fathers, and they could show you the marks of their own fetters."

In 1790, the Protestants might be said to be free, for their confiscated property was restored; heirs and claimants were invited to come forward and substantiate their claims, and emigrants solicited to return. Many did return, and, with joyful anticipations of future good, re-established themselves in the homes of their martyred forefathers.

The benefits which the Revolution in its beginning conferred on the Protestants so

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far exceeded their most sanguine expectations, that it is not to be wondered at that they hailed it as the golden morning of a cloudless day. How could men who had endured an iron oppression from their very infancy, who had not only been forbidden to hold the meanest civil office, but whose civil existence had not even been recognised—how could they behold the venerated Protestant pastor, Paul Rabaut, in the chair of the National Assembly, and not believe that the age of bigotry and prejudice had passed away, and the reign of truth and justice succeeded? But that freedom which disowns the government of God, and tramples on the Bible, speedily becomes a despotism more to be dreaded than the most irresponsible kingly power; and the reign of no monarch on earth was ever so terrific as the reign of the infuriated assertors of human liberty during the Revolution of 1792.

The joy of the Protestants was short-lived indeed. They soon discovered that the freedom of infidelity was to exterminate all religion. The religious meetings which had been allowed under Louis XVI. were prohibited, all private libraries were searched, and Bibles* and Testaments and every reli-

* So thoroughly was this profane work accomplished, that when, after the Revolution had passed, search was made for a Bible in Paris, it was three days before a single copy was discovered.

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to take possession of them as theirs. Land was given them to aid the extension of the Protestant church, and the pastors were, as in former days, assisted from the public treasury. Seminaries were opened for the instruction of young men for the ministry. Protestants were raised to some of the vacant offices of government, which gave them excellent facilities for protecting the religion. Edict succeeded edict in their behalf, and after Napoleon became emperor he restored to them the church and university of Montauban, which they had lost by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Complaints, scarcely audible, were sometimes uttered at the bestowment of these favours; yet it may almost be said, that for twenty years no one thought of asking what was the religion of his neighbour.

Atheism and tyranny had combined to sweep away the outworks of religion, and it may well be believed that the spirit of piety was languid and feeble, if not totally extinguished. Here and there was a descendant of martyred ancestors who had, by stealth, preserved the ancient family Bible and hymn-book, bequeathed from generation to generation, by which, as well as by the transmitted histories of his forefather's sufferings, the sacred flame was kept alive.

The restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814, furnished a pretext for enkindling the old

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hatred against the Protestants. They had always suffered under Catholic sovereigns, while they had enjoyed many privileges during the reign of Napoleon. Their enemies chose, therefore, to take it for granted that they would regret the deposed dynasty. So specious an occasion as the return of Louis XVIII. afforded for accusing them of disloyalty was not to be lost; although the religious services with which they celebrated the event, and the cordial manner in which they participated in the fêtes given on the occasion, evinced the most unfeigned joy.

In the city of Nismes and the surrounding districts, a large proportion of the population were Protestant. The mayor, M. Castelny, a Protestant of noble family, was publicly insulted by a bigoted faction, the leaders of which were three or four wretches, the dregs of the Revolution. They publicly ordered him to resign his office, and such was the hostility shown him, that he at length thought proper to withdraw. But Louis showed his marked displeasure toward the proceedings of the faction by immediately appointing M. Daunant, another Protestant, in his room. Yet the Papists often insulted the Protestants in the streets, with threats that they should go back to the *frigoulettes* (deserts)—that they would wash their hands in their blood —that St. Bartholomew's day was not far off, &c. The leaders before mentioned, who it

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was afterwards proved were instruments em ployed by influential persons, took pains to excite the ferocity of the lower orders, and to train them to the perpetration of outrages worthy of the administration of Basville. In Nismes, Uzes, and in many parts of Languedoc and Vaucluse, houses were plundered, temples shut up, pastors exiled, the dead disinterred and treated with indignity, and several hundred lives sacrificed. The horrors of one night alone, in which Nismes became a prey to the fury of these miscreants, would fill a volume.*

Every new phase of civil affairs, since the return of the Bourbons, has been attended with some indications of hostile feeling toward the Protestants. On the slightest pretexts, they are accused of disloyal designs, and every political ferment in districts most occupied by them is ingeniously attributed by Papists to them.

We are apt to speak of persecution as an evil peculiar to ages gone by, and from which the present age is exempt; but a careful observer of the aspect of things in papal countries, cannot fail to see that the root of bitterness retains its vitality; and, notwithstanding all that is said of the progress of society and the various humanizing and refining influences which are diffused over the

* See Browning's History.

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face of the world, it is easy to imagine such a combination of political and religious zeal as shall kindle anew the flames of persecution. At this very time, the Waldenses of Piedmont are suffering under the old edicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, revived and enforced by legal sanctions so lately as January 1st, 1838. Those edicts forbid any Protestant using his influence to prevent his family from yielding to Papist proselytism, under a penalty of a thousand crowns, "or any other punishment, according to our pleasure." They declare the children of marriages between Protestants and Papists illegitimate, and such children are taken at their birth to the foundling hospital at Pignerol. Some most afflicting cases have occurred, in which, when the parents, frantic with sorrow, have sought means for recovering their child, they have been subjected to fines, imprisonments and ruinous costs. The abduction of children from their parents is still practised—boys of twelve, and girls of ten years—if by any means they can be induced to express a willingness to receive papal instruction. Many an unsuspecting child has been beguiled by a sous, or the pleasure of seeing the pictures in the church.

These, and many other oppressions equally to be deprecated, are now endured by the Vaudois, under the tyranny of the Bishop of

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Pignerol, sustained by the government of Sardinia. Open and fiery persecution would be too startling; but where the press is under so rigid a censorship as it still is in many countries in Europe, the deepest anguish is endured and deeds of darkness are done in secret, and the groaning of the prisoner often goes up unto God without reaching a human ear.

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SKETCHES

OF

FRENCH-PROTESTANT HISTORY

IN

THE UNITED STATES.

THREE distinct attempts were made by the French Protestants, before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to found a colony in this western world. The first was in 1560, when Brazil was chosen as their asylum, for even before that time they had suffered much from popish persecution; and the whole spirit and policy of the French government was such as to awaken deep forebodings of still heavier calamities. Admiral Coligny and John Calvin took a warm interest in the project, and the Genevan reformer sent three ministers of the best of his own pupils to be the spiritual guides of the flock, who thus went forth to seek a peaceful home and liberty of conscience in South America. But the commander of this expedition, Villegagnon, proved treacherous

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to the cause, turned again to papacy, and, true to its spirit, put to death the three ministers, and left the distressed emigrants to the tender mercies of the Portuguese, by whom they were speedily destroyed.

The next attempt was in 1562, on the coast of South Carolina, probably in or near the island of St. Helena. The zeal of these emigrants was soon chilled by privations and difficulties, and yielding to discouragement, they set sail for France. Their stock of provisions failed, and after enduring extreme sufferings, they were taken up by an English ship, and carried to England. Two years later, a considerable colony arrived on the same coast at the river May, but they were cut off by a Spaniard, Pedro Melendez, who had received orders from the crown "to drive out the Huguenots and settle the country with good Catholics." Over the bodies of those who were hung by his order, he placed this label, "I do not this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." This cruelty was retaliated by a French force, whose commander hung the perpetrators on the same trees where his countrymen had been suspended, and inscribed on a tablet of wood, "I do not this as to Spaniards, but as to robbers and murderers." The country was now abandoned by both French and Spaniards, and remained in the undisturbed possession of the Indians more than one hundred years.

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There was a gradual emigration to the English colonies in America from the time of the siege of Rochelle, in 1628, until the revocation of the edict of Nantes, after which, in defiance of the most terrific enactments that tyranny could invent, and in spite of the vigilance of a police who were largely rewarded for every emigrant intercepted, 500,000, and, according to some historians, 800,000 persons made their escape from France to the Protestant states of Europe, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to America. After the edict of revocation, acts for naturalization and granting lands to the exiles were passed by several legislative bodies, and the colonial records of Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, at various periods, show that the claims of the Huguenots, as adopted children of a free country, were at length fully recognised. That they were not at once freely allowed in Virginia and South Carolina is to be ascribed, in part, to the national jealousy between the English and French, but more to the unsettled condition of civil affairs in those states. "If full hospitality was for a season withheld, the delay grew out of a controversy in which all Carolinians had a common interest; and the privileges of citizenship were conceded so soon as it could be done by Carolinians themselves.*

* In 1696.

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It had not yet been determined with whom the power of naturalizing foreigners resided, nor how Carolina should be governed."* These difficulties adjusted, not only was justice speedily done, but the most generous hospitality was shown. In the colonies where the people were taxed for the support of an established religion, special acts were passed exempting Huguenots from the burden, and securing to them entire freedom of choice as to their worship.

The first act of the legislature of Massachusetts Bay respecting them, was passed in 1662, "granting to John Touton, a physician of Rochelle, and others with him, leave to reside within the province."

In 1684, the inhabitants of Rochelle were alarmed by the publication of the "Warning to the pretended reformed," issued under papal sanction. The promise of an asylum in Massachusetts, given twenty years before, was remembered, and a letter was sent to New England, containing an earnest appeal and suggesting the expediency of facilitating their emigration by sending out a ship. This appeal was answered by William Dudley, afterwards governor of the province, and some others, by their sending a ship, as the letter requested. Thirty families came over, and established themselves in what was then called the Nipmug country, from its vicinity

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

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to the Indian tribe of that name. It was afterwards called Oxford. Gabriel Bernon was "undertaker for the plantation," and invested a large portion of his estate in lands in Oxford.* They formed a church, and had a minister of the name of Bondet, who also preached to the Christian Indians, of whom there were two settlements in the south part of Worcester county. They gave him forty pounds a year and increased his salary annually, a circumstance which indicates that they were in a prosperous condition.

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* Gabriel Bernon was a man eminent for his goodness. He was of an honourable family in Rochelle, and had been two years in prison for his religion before the revocation of the edict of Nantes. There is still in the family a copy of the psalms of David, which was given him by a fellow-prisoner. Its size is very minute, so that it could be carried in the bosom and easily secreted.

Mr. Bernon fled to England just before the edict of revocation, and came to this country shortly after. Although he invested a part of his property in the plantation at Oxford, he does not appear to have resided there, but in the Naragansett country, where the ruins of his house are still seen. He removed to Providence in the year 1698. He loved the ordinances of religion and was a most devout and exemplary Christian. Amid the trials which attended his emigration and residence here, and they were very many, it was, as he declares, his "most earnest desire to sustain himself in the fear of God!" He married for his first wife Esther Le Roy, daughter of Francis Le Roy of Rochelle, and for his second, Mary Harris, grand-daughter of William Harris, who landed at Watcheer Rock with Roger Williams, in 1636.

Mr. Bernon's only son died young; but he had a large family of daughters, and many of the best families in Rhode Island are his descendants.

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Their habits of skilful and well-directed industry seem to have speedily converted their wilderness-home into a cultivated plantation. They built a fort, for their protection against the savages, erected grist-mills and planted vineyards and orchards. So late as 1819, a luxuriant hedge of grape-vines, currant-bushes and a variety of garden shrubbery, still grew around the remains of the fort. The last of their peach trees was destroyed by the great gale of September, 1815.

In 1696 this plantation was attacked by the Indians, and a Mr. Johnson with his three children were murdered. Mr. Andrew Sigourney, hearing the guns by which Mr. Johnson was shot, at his front door, ran to the house, and seizing his sister, Mrs. Johnson, drew her out of the back door, waded with her through French river, and fled to Woodstock, where was a garrison. These hostilities on the part of the Indians compelled the inhabitants of Oxford to seek protection among their friends in Boston. Andrew Sigourney, whose descendants are numerous in this country, with some others, returned to the plantation and remained several years.

Those who continued in Boston united with the French church in that city. Their first minister was the Rev. Mr. Daillé. Their place of worship was a large school-house, until about the year 1715, when they erected a brick church in School street, on the site

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now occupied by a Universalist meeting-house. They were good members of society; enterprising, industrious, and ultimately wealthy and influential. By intermarriages and mercantile connections, they became so much associated with the other inhabitants as to relinquish a separate worship. Their meeting-house was purchased by a congregational church, and occupied by them many years. At length it fell into the hands of some Roman Catholics, who had fled from the persecution of the French Jacobins, and, in November 1788, mass was celebrated by Catholic refugees in the very church which had proved an asylum for Protestant worshippers less than a century before.

Traces of their peculiar skill in gardening and horticulture were still visible in Boston a few years since. But there are more enduring evidences of their beneficial influence than these. "The United States are full of monuments of the emigration from France."*

Bowdoin college owes its name and funds to a descendant of a refugee from Rochelle. Fanueil Hall, which is associated in the mind of every American with the stirring events of the war of Independence, was given by the son of a Huguenot. It was the son of Judith Manigault, who loaned to the country that afforded his mother protection the sum of $220,000 for maintaining that war, and this at so early a period that it was extremely

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

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doubtful whether it would terminate in rebellion or revolution.

General Marion, of South Carolina, the son of a French Protestant, "was one of the ablest partisan officers of the Revolution and one of the most successful. He seldom failed of capturing his enemy, and almost always did it by surprise. His courage was the boldest, his movements the most rapid, his discipline severe, and his humanity most exemplary."* For his intrepid conduct at the Eutaw Springs he received the thanks of Congress.

Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was one of the most eminent of American patriots. After having filled several offices of importance in the service of his country, he was appointed minister to Holland. On his voyage thither, he was captured, carried into London, and committed to the Tower on charge of high treason. Thus at the age of fifty-six was he condemned to be confined "a close prisoner—to be locked up every night, to be in the custody of two warders," who were "not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day or night—to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to him—to deprive him of the use of pen and ink,—to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." He was afflicted with great bodily

* American Biography.

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infirmities, and endured the severest privations; but the various methods employed by the British government to induce him to purchase liberty with the renunciation of his principles availed nothing. "*Pardon*" was repeatedly offered, if he would address but "two or three lines to the ministry, and say he was sorry for what was past;" but he answered, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, nor the dishonour of my children." When told that his estates in Carolina were under British sequestration, he replied, "None of these things move me."

In the year 1781, his eldest son, Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, went to France as the special minister of Congress; the imprisoned father was urged to write to him to withdraw from the French court, and assurances were given that this would operate in his own favour. He replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect; he would only conclude that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honour. He loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine, but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honour to save my life: and I applaud him."

When called upon at the close of a year, in the Tower, to pay 97*l.* 10*s.* sterling to two wardens attending him, he said, "I will not

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pay the wardens whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

He would not consent to be released on any terms that would imply that he was a British subject, and as he had been committed on the charge of high treason, "the ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at length proposed to take bail for his appearance at the Court of King's Bench. When the words of recognisance, "Our sovereign lord the king," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the Court of King's Bench the next Easter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Mr. Laurens was immediately released. When the time of his appearance at court drew near, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was requested by Lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens was startled at the idea of being released without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held himself to be a prisoner of war. From a high sense of personal independence and unwillingness to be brought under an apparent obligation, he replied, "That he durst not accept himself as a gift; and that as Con-

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gress had once offered Lieutenant-general Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."*

After his release, he was appointed one of the commissioners for negotiating peace with England, and for that purpose went to Paris, where he was joined by Dr. Franklin, John Adams and John Jay. On his return to America he declined numerous offices of honour and responsibleness, choosing to pass the remainder of life in retirement.

Mr. Jay was also descended from an honourable French Protestant ancestry. To him the United States owe the extension of their western boundary to the Mississippi. His far-reaching eye estimated the immense importance of its navigation to our peace and wealth, and his sleepless jealousy of French and Spanish intrigues, and his unbending resistance of those intrigues, secured it to us. But this was only one of a long series of services rendered with a purity of motive, an integrity, wisdom and enlarged patriotism, that made him worthy to be the friend and confidential counsellor of Washington. Mr. Jay was called at an early age to very responsible stations. No other individual in this country ever filled so many different offices of dignity and trust. And these services were rendered at a time when such offices, far enough from being sine-

* Ramsay's History of South Carolina.

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cures, imposed a burden of ceaseless anxiety and toil, and were encompassed with difficulties which do not exist in countries whose national standing is acknowledged, and whose foreign relations are understood and established. He was a delegate to the first Continental Congress, to the New York Provincial Congress, Member of the New York Convention, Chief Justice of the State of New York, member of the Council of Safety, President of Congress, minister plenipotentiary to Spain, and commissioner to negotiate the terms of the treaty of peace with England, the articles of which he draughted. On his return to America, he was appointed secretary of foreign affairs. On the organization of the Supreme Court of the United States, he was chosen chief justice. Afterward, when our relations with England became embarrassed and a renewal of the war was expected, he went out as envoy to England, and the country was indebted to his wisdom for an amicable and permanent adjustment of difficulties. On his return he accepted the office of governor of the State of New York. He was again appointed chief justice, but chose to withdraw from public life to the duties and enjoyments of a private gentleman.

Of the nine presidents of the old Congress, which conducted the nation through the war of independence, three were of Huguenot

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descent—Henry Laurens, John Jay and Elias Boudinot. It is an interesting fact, that, in the serene evening of life, each of the two last filled the office of President of the American Bible Society—a fitting close of lives so laboriously and honourably spent in the service of their country.

At a very early period many refugees found a home in the State of New York, then a Dutch colony. The first birth in New Amsterdam, as the city was then called, was that of a daughter of George Rapaeligo, in 1625. This was a scion from a French family who escaped to Holland after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and from thence removed to America. So great was the number of these refugees in New York, that the colonial documents were published in French as well as in Dutch and English; and they were not only numerous, but good, and after the first difficulties were surmounted, became wealthy. In every country in Europe and every colony of America that gave them a home, they proved themselves excellent members of society, the promoters of education and good order, possessed of that sterling integrity and enlightened spirit of freedom, which is essential to an intelligent and steady obedience to law and government.

They had in New York three settlements; one in the city, another at New Rochelle,

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and a third at Paltz. At New Rochelle, the French language was spoken until some time after the close of the war of the Revolution. For a considerable time, the emigrants there were unable to build a church, and their only place of public worship was in the city, twenty miles distant; and thither almost the whole population, parents and children, resorted on Saturday night after the labours of the week. Many went on foot, and those who rode, ate their simple meal, and passed the night in their wagons. After joining in worship with their brethren, they returned home as they came, during the night, so as to be ready for the toils of the next day, for the terms on which they had taken their lands obliged both men and women to perform very severe labours. Many of them had never known hardship, or an ungratified wish in France, yet none endured privation with more cheerfulness and fortitude than they. Instead of dwelling on their sufferings, and thus increasing their own sensibility to them, they often wrote home what privileges they enjoyed! The church or *temple*, as they doubtless called it, to which they so devoutly resorted, stood in Pine street, and its ancient aspect, and the church-yard with its leaning grave-stones, from which time had in most instances effaced the inscription, are still remembered by some who are scarcely past the period of youth.

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Among the emigrants to New York was Augustus, the grandfather of John Jay, whose life, written by his son, contains a brief sketch of the ancestral history.

In 1685, after the destruction of the temples in Rochelle, several companies of dragoons were marched into the town and quartered upon the Protestant inhabitants. Pierre Jay, an opulent merchant, took immediate steps for relieving his family of this intolerable burden. He found means to withdraw them, together with some articles of value, secretly, from the house, and succeeded in putting them on board a vessel which he had engaged for the purpose. They set sail without being discovered, and were safely landed at Plymouth, England. Mr. Jay remained behind, to save what he could from the wreck of his fortune. Soon after the removal of his family was discovered, he was arrested and put in prison; but, by the intercession of some Papists with whom he was connected, he was set at liberty. Several vessels in which he was concerned were expected at about that time from Spain. He instructed the pilot, who appears to have been attached to him, to anchor the first one that should arrive, at a place agreed upon. The first vessel that hove in sight was one owned solely by Mr. Jay. The pilot anchored her as directed, and gave Mr. Jay instant notice. As soon as he came on board, the canvass was spread

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and she sailed for England. The cargo of this ship, with the valuable articles which Mr. Jay had sent over with his family, and such as he contrived to secure about his own person, now constituted his only estate. All that was left behind was confiscated, and no part of it was ever recovered by himself or his descendants.

There was one circumstance to mar the happiness of this family, thus mercifully delivered from the rage of persecution. Mr. Jay's oldest son, Augustus, who had been sent to Africa, probably on some mercantile business, could not be apprized of the changes that had taken place, and, on his return to Rochelle, would be exposed to danger. Perhaps the anxiety of the parents was rendered more intense by the fear that, in circumstances so perilous, he might renounce the Protestant faith. When he arrived, the fury of persecution was at its greatest height, and every thing conspired to compel a prompt decision. He remained steadfast, choosing "to suffer affliction with the people of God." By the kindness of some relatives, he effected his escape, and sailed for South Carolina, resolved, as his parents had two other children dependent on them, to take care of himself. The climate of Carolina proving unfavourable to his health, he came to New York. He continued several years in the business of a supercargo. In the year 1692, he sailed for

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Hamburg. The vessel was seized by a privateer from St. Maloes, and the prisoners were sent to a fortress fifteen miles from that port. On the arrival of the news of the battle of La Hogue, orders were given that the prisoners should that night be put into close custody. By some negligence, a rumour of this order reached the ears of the prisoners themselves, and Augustus Jay and another, taking advantage of a storm which came on at evening, concealed themselves and eluded the vigilance of the sentinels, so that when the others were called, they proceeded to that part of the wall agreed on as a place of escape. Augustus dropped himself into the ditch without injury, but never saw or heard of his companion. He took the road to Rochelle, where he was concealed by an aunt of the name of Mouchard. By her skilful management he was conveyed to the isle of Rhé, went on board a vessel bound for Denmark, and thus escaped. He reached England safely, and saw his family for the first time since his departure for Africa before their emigration. His short stay was saddened by the loss of his mother, who had died just before his arrival. He returned to America, and in 1697 married Anne Maria, daughter of Mr. Balthazar Bayard, a descendant of a Protestant professor of theology in Paris in the reign of Louis XIII., whom persecution had compelled to take refuge in Holland

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In November, 1704, his son Peter, the father of John Jay, was born, and he married a lady whose maternal progenitors were Bohemian refugees from Popish persecution. An honourable ancestry indeed! Augustus Jay lived to the age of eighty-six, greatly venerated by his fellow-citizens, and died in New York in 1751. His grandson says, "He was remarkable for uniting great vivacity and good humour with deep and unaffected devotion."

In the early childhood of John, Peter Jay removed to New Rochelle, where his numerous family, among whom were two blind children, were reared. In the sketch of family history which Mr. Jay began to write for his children, he bears a grateful testimony to the good providence of God towards the Christian exiles. "From what has been said, you will observe with pleasure and with gratitude, how kindly and how amply Providence was pleased to provide for the welfare of our ancestor Augustus. Nor was his case a solitary or singular instance. The beneficent care of Heaven appears to have been evidently and remarkably extended to all those persecuted exiles. Strange as it may seem, I never heard of one of them who asked or received alms; nor have I any reason to suspect, much less to believe, that any one of them came to this country in a destitute condition."

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South Carolina was honoured as the home of a larger number of French exiles than any other of the United States. "In 1679, Charles II. sent, at his own expense, in two ships, a company of Huguenots to South Carolina to cultivate there the vine and the olive." In the year 1752, sixteen hundred French Protestants emigrated thither, and twelve years later, two hundred more. They constituted (as they did everywhere else) a most respectable class of inhabitants, and their blood flows in the veins of great numbers of the best citizens of Carolina and Georgia. It is greatly to be regretted that the early history of these families has not been more carefully preserved. It would have furnished many an example of patient and cheerful endurance, and numerous evidences of the care and faithfulness of God, and his gracious providence toward the posterity of his devoted servants. There were doubtless other women possessing as firm and cheerful a heart, and as strong a faith as Judith Manigault; and many letters as interesting as hers, written by men and women of "like precious faith." In 1685, at the age of twenty, she embarked for Carolina by way of London. She relates her adventures in a letter to her brother. "Since you desire it, I will give you an account of our quitting France, and of our arrival in Carolina. During eight months we had suffered from the contributions and the quarter-

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ing of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We therefore resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture. We contrived to hide ourselves at Romans, in Dauphigny, for ten days, while a search was made after us; but our hostess, being faithful, did not betray us when questioned if she had seen us. From thence we passed to Lyons, from thence to Dijon; from which place, as well as from Langses, my eldest bother wrote to you; but I know not if either of the letters reached you. He informed you that we were quitting France. He went to Madame de Choiseul's house, which was of no avail, as she was dead, and her son-in-law had the command of every thing: moreover he gave us to understand that he perceived our intention of quitting France, and if we asked any favours of him, he would inform against us. We therefore made the best of our way for Metz, in Lorraine, where we embarked on the river Moselle, in order to go to Treves—from thence we passed to Cochieim, and to Coblentz—from thence to Cologne, where we quitted the Rhine, to go by land to Wesel, where we met with an host who spoke a little French, and who informed us we were only thirty leagues from Lunenburg. We knew that you were in winter quarters there, by a letter of yours received fifteen days before our departure from France,

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which mentioned that you should winter there. Our deceased mother and myself earnestly besought my eldest brother to go that way with us; or, leaving us with her, to pay you a visit alone. It was in the depth of winter; but he would not hear of it, having Carolina so much in his head that he dreaded losing any opportunity of going thither. Oh, what grief the losing so fine an opportunity of seeing you at least once more has caused me! How have I regretted seeing a brother show so little feeling, and how often have I reproached him with it! but he was our master, and we were constrained to do as he pleased. We passed on to Holland to go from thence to England. I do not recollect exactly the year, whether '84 or '85, but it was that in which King Charles of England died, (1685.) We remained in London three months, waiting for a passage to Carolina. Having embarked, we were sadly off: the spotted fever made its appearance on board our vessel, of which disease many died, and among the rest our aged mother. Nine months elapsed before our arrival in Carolina. We touched at two ports—one a Portuguese, and the other an island called Bermuda, belonging to the English, to refit our vessel, which had been much injured in a storm. Our captain having committed some misdemeanor, was put in prison and the vessel seized. Our money was all spent,

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and it was with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina we suffered every kind of evil. In about eighteen months our elder brother, unaccustomed to the hard labour we were obliged to perform, died of a fever. Since leaving France, we had experienced every kind of affliction—disease—pestilence —famine—poverty—hard labour. I have been for six months together without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have even passed three or four years without always having it when I wanted it. God has done great things for us in enabling us to bear up under so many trials. I should never have done, were I to attempt to detail to you all our adventures. Let it suffice, that God has had compassion on me and changed my fate to a more happy one, for which glory be unto him." Gabriel Manigault, the early benefactor of our republic, was seven years old at the time his mother died, in 1711.

Most of the French Protestants who came to Carolina settled in the parishes of St. Dennis and St. James on the Santee. Those who settled in Charleston formed themselves, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, into a church, adopting as their model the ecclesiastical organization of the reformed churches of France, the worship being conducted in the French language. They were joined in the services of the Sabbath by many

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of their brethren from the plantations. "Hither, every Lord's day, gathering from their plantations on the banks of the Cooper river, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of the tide, they might all regularly be seen, the parents, with their children whom no bigot could now wrest from them, making their way in light skiffs through scenes so tranquil, that silence was broken only by the rippling of oars and the hum of the flourishing village at the confluence of the rivers."

Great numbers mingled with other congregations of the Episcopal, Presbyterian and other communions, and their descendants are now to be found in almost every religious denomination in the United States.

From a "Report of the Committee on the translation of the Liturgy of the French Protestant church of the city of Charleston, presented in October, 1836," the following paragraph is copied. "This church is the only remaining monument in our whole country of the principles which brought our fathers to the new world. In every other place in our sister States, as well as in this, the refugees long since yielded to the necessity of circumstances; and, unable from their dispersed condition, or the want of means, to maintain their peculiar worship, united with other sects. Of the four churches established in our State by the Protestant exiles from France, three became merged in the Pro-

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testant Episcopal churches in their vicinity, then supported out of the public funds. As soon as the language of the country was acquired, the transition from the one church to the other was natural and easy—for the French Reformed and the Protestant Episcopal, although differing in their government and discipline, are closely allied in their principles and forms of worship. The French church in Charleston has alone sustained its original and distinctive character. Here only may we worship and praise God according to the forms sanctioned by the wisdom and the piety of our ancestors. The Divine Head of the church has kindly placed in our hands the means of perpetuating this peculiar form of worship. Let these means be considered a sacred trust. Let this holy object be effected. Let the French refugees, who, for liberty of conscience, braved the terrors of persecution at home, and all the difficulties of emigration to a wilderness abroad, have *here* an abiding name. Let their Christian piety and its noble fruit, their characteristic probity, find in the perpetuation of this, our church, upon its own principles and with its own forms, AN ENDURING MONUMENT." A new Gothic church has lately been erected, and efforts have been made to gather the lineal descendants of Huguenots in the vicinity of Charleston into this congregation.

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One, at least, of the benevolent institutions of the emigrants still exists. It is called the South Carolina Society. It was formed on the mutual principle, and designed for the relief of those who were in necessitous circumstances, and for the education of fatherless children at a school established for the purpose. For many years this society was composed solely of descendants of French emigrants, but it now includes Americans of English origin. Almost all the eminent men in the State are members of it. It has ample funds for various benevolent purposes, and the school is still maintained.

Brief as are the records of French Protestant history in this country, it is impossible to review them without emotions of reverence. There have been few people on earth so upright and single-minded, so faithful in the discharge of their duties towards God and man, so elevated in aim, so dignified in character. To our Puritan forefathers we owe our first obligations, and these obligations we are wont proudly and gratefully to acknowledge. Let us not forget that the enlightened, independent, firm, and God-fearing spirit of the Huguenots has blended its influence with theirs to form our national character, and to establish those civil and religious institutions by which we are distinguished and blessed above all people. Never was a people more signally smiled upon by the

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good providence of God than they—never was there a people whose history more perfectly illustrated the faithfulness of the promises to believing parents in behalf of their children, and the truth of the divine declaration, "Them that honour me I will honour."

THE END.

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