French speakers at the Cape: The European background

M. BOUCHER
French Speakers at the Cape is primarily concerned with the European background of those settlers who came to South Africa from France and adjacent territories during the first century of White colonization. Some attention is also devoted to French speakers in the service of the Dutch East India Company in the period and to French visitors to the Cape. Since the French Calvinist impact upon Cape society plays an important part in this study, a general survey of the events leading to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the dispersal which followed that legislation is provided. Finally, the fortunes of some of those colonists who left the Cape to return to Europe is traced, with particular reference to the family of the minister, Pierre Simond. This study is based upon a wide range of archival material in Europe in addition to many published sources. Although interesting discoveries have been made, it does not pretend to have found the answer to every problem in the difficult task of tracing family origins. It is hoped, however, that the information collected here will lead others to make further fruitful investigations.

The map printed on the endpapers is that of 1643 by the French cartographer Nicolas Sanson. It shows France and her immediate neighbours at the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV.

The Hiddingh Currie Award has been granted to this publication on the grounds of its meritorious quality.
PHOTO: Sydney W. Newbery, London

From the Cape to London

Pierre (Peter) Simond (1691-1785), elder son of the Drakenstein pastor, Pierre Simond of Dauphiné
French speakers at the Cape in the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company rule: The European background

M. BOUCHER

This book has been financed by the Hiddingh-Currie Fund which is used solely for the publication of outstanding research work by UNISA graduandi

1981
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA
PRETORIA
Contents

CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS 18

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE
France: the religious background before 1629 6

CHAPTER TWO
France and the organization of the reformed church, 1629-1661 26

CHAPTER THREE
Towards a final solution 74

CHAPTER FOUR
The revolution and its consequences 74

CHAPTER FIVE
Cape settlers I: from the Loin to the Chouet 103

CHAPTER SIX
Cape settlers II: from the Khoekhoen to the Atlantic 139

CHAPTER SEVEN
Cape settlers III: from south eastern Africa and adjoining territories 169

In memory of Andrea
Contents

CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS ix

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE
France: the religious background before 1629 6

CHAPTER TWO
France and the organization of the reformed church,
1629-1661 26

CHAPTER THREE
Towards a final solution 53

CHAPTER FOUR
The revocation and its consequences 74

CHAPTER FIVE
Cape settlers I: from the Loire to the Channel 103

CHAPTER SIX
Cape settlers II: from the Rhône to the Atlantic 139

CHAPTER SEVEN
Cape settlers III: from south-eastern France and
adjoining territories 169
| CONTENTS |
|-----------------|-------|
| CHAPTER EIGHT   | Cape settlers IV: from Burgundy to Picardy | 214 |
| CHAPTER NINE    | Cape settlers V: from Flanders to Alsace on the turbulent frontier | 244 |
| CHAPTER TEN     | Some company men and callers at the Cape | 290 |
| CHAPTER ELEVEN  | No permanent refuge | 342 |
| SOURCES         | 389   |
| INDEX           | 427   |
Chief Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Archives communales</td>
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<td>AD</td>
<td>Archives départementales</td>
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<td>AdlE</td>
<td>Archives de l'Etat</td>
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<td>AE</td>
<td>Archives d'Etat</td>
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<td>AMAE</td>
<td>Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Archives nationales</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARA</td>
<td>Algemeen Rijksarchief</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMS</td>
<td>Baptemes; mariages; sépultures</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSEHA</td>
<td><em>Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes historiques, scientifiques et littéraires des Hautes-Alpes</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>BSHPF</td>
<td><em>Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bibl. mun.</td>
<td>Bibliothèque(s) municipale(s)</td>
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<td>Bibl. nat.</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bibl. Prot.</td>
<td>Bibliothèque du Protestantisme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibl. pub. et univ.</td>
<td>Bibliothèque publique et universitaire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bibl. wall.</td>
<td>Bibliothèque wallonne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Cape Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBG</td>
<td>Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRO</td>
<td>County Record Office(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Deeds Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>dtb</td>
<td>doop; trouw; begrafenis</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Etat civil</td>
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<td>EW</td>
<td>Eglise(s) wallonne(s)</td>
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<td>FCO</td>
<td>Foreign and Commonwealth Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FWK</td>
<td>Fichier, Waalse kerken</td>
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<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Gemeentearchief/archieven</td>
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| GSSLC        | Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City (Branch Genealogical Library, Church of Jesus Christ of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>HSL</td>
<td>Huguenot Society of London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td>Manuscript(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGKA</td>
<td>Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not. arch.</td>
<td>Notarieel archief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceedings HSL</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Rijksarchief/archieven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPR</td>
<td>Religion prétendue réformée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Stadsarchief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAL</td>
<td>South African Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHPF</td>
<td>Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme français</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Transvaal Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWK</td>
<td>Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unisa</td>
<td>University of South Africa</td>
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<td>Univ.</td>
<td>Université/University</td>
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</table>
Although French speakers at the Cape of Good Hope is the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company rule occupy a central place in this study, it is not my purpose to give prominence to their history in the early days of settlement in this country. Something of that history is dealt with here, but this book is essentially an exploration of the European background, both in a general sense and with specific reference to those who came to the Cape, permanently or temporarily, as colonists or company men, or who touched at the small township below Table Mountain in the course of longer voyages.

Since the French Calvinist impact upon Cape society plays so significant a part in this history, my study opens with a general survey of the period from the late 16th century in France to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its aftermath. In these chapters I have attempted to trace the fortunes of the reformed church, to see something of its organization, its strengths and its weaknesses, and to analyse the circumstances of the great dispersal of French Calvinists, with particular reference to the revocation of 1685. This is, admittedly, a path well trodden, but it is hoped that in this instance it will serve to place the emigration to the Cape of Good Hope in perspective and give further recognition to the work of recent scholars in the field, among them Daniel Ligou and the late Samuel Mours.¹

The background of the French-speaking settlers at the Cape is discussed on a regional basis and where new information has come to light, some attention has been paid to their period of residence in the United Provinces before leaving for the distant refreshment station of the Dutch East India Company in southern Africa. Interesting discoveries have been made in the archives of western Europe, but there remain many gaps in our knowledge and some of the hypotheses advanced here
may yet prove to have no firm foundation in fact. This book, and the sources upon which it is based, will perhaps lead others to a closer study of the regions discussed in the pages which follow. For surprisingly little research has hitherto been undertaken on the origins of the Cape Huguenot settlers. The major contributors on the French refugees, C. Graham Botha and J.L.M. Franken, scarcely looked beyond domestic archival sources and it was not until these last few years that an enthusiast took up the challenge. André M. Hugo’s archival discoveries in Champagne represented the first really significant advance in Huguenot studies in South Africa for over forty years, but his tragically early death has deprived us of further contributions from his pen. He left, however, some valuable suggestions for a wider approach and it is to his encouragement that the present study owes something of its form and extent.

No history of French contacts with the Cape in the period discussed here would be complete without some mention of that French drive for commercial, political and religious penetration of the Far East which brought so many interesting visitors to the settlement in Table Valley. This section of my penultimate chapter supplements earlier work in this field by R. Raven-Hart and E. Strangman on callers at the Cape. On the activities of the Jesuit scientist-missionaries it reflects important recent research by Joseph Dehergne. My concluding chapter fittingly brings the history of the Simond family to the centenary of the revocation which drove the Cape pastor Pierre Simond into exile. I am greatly indebted to N. Perry in this context for her pioneer researches into the career of the minister’s son, Peter, in England.

Documentary sources investigated in the preparation of this study cover a wide range. It is, however, much to be regretted that so little work had been carried out in Europe in earlier years. War, accident and civil commotion have, over the centuries, caused the destruction of many records, some clearly relevant to the Cape emigration. These include the municipal archives of Dieppe, lost in the Anglo-Dutch naval bombardment of 1694, the registers of the reformed church for Paris at Charenton, burned during the Communard insurrection of 1871, the many documents destroyed at Middelburg in 1940 during the German attack on the Netherlands and the reformed church collection at Orleans, lost in the aerial bombardment of that city by the Americans in 1944.

Regional studies and documentary transcripts have also been extensively used to supplement archival material. The bicentenary of the
revocation of the Edict of Nantes in particular led to the publication of a large number of books on the Protestant past in France, while the many contributions over the years to journals of Huguenot history are an invaluable source of information on the local scene. Special acknowledgement is due to the successive editors of the *Bulletin* of the French Protestant History Society and to those under whose expert supervision so many church registers and other documents have been published by the Huguenot Society of London.

A few words on the text will not be out of place. The language of the period presents a number of problems. Quotations from contemporary documents are reproduced in their original form, with occasional elucidations in parenthesis. The most usual form of a surname is given here, either with reference to a signature, or to the spelling most frequently encountered in documents of the period. It is pointed out that Dutch documents at the Cape and in the Netherlands contain several faulty transcriptions of French surnames. These errors have been perpetuated in published works on the Cape Huguenot settlement. With Christian names, however, it was felt that the only way to solve the problem of a great variety of spellings was to use the standard modern form in all cases.

An English spelling is naturally employed for place-names, where one exists. With regard to certain Flemish towns, the French forms, no longer locally acceptable, are often much better known to English speakers than the Dutch equivalents. It has been decided therefore to use such forms as Bruges, Courtrai, Furnes and Malines in preference to Brugge, Kortrijk, Veurne and Mechelen.

Some confusion may perhaps arise over the use of the words ‘church’ and ‘temple’ in discussing the reformed congregations of France before 1685. Here, at community level, ‘church’ is not synonymous with ‘temple’, the place of worship, but refers to the whole parochial organization, presided over by the minister and the lay members of the consistory.

This study could not have been completed without the help, advice and encouragement of many people. The names of some of them will be found in the last section of the bibliography and of these I should like to add a further word of thanks to Mr François Fouché of Bloemfontein and to Mr C.M. Hughes of London, whose kindness went beyond the documentary assistance acknowledged there. I also take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr C.F.A. Marmoy, honorary librarian of the Huguenot Society of London, for his generous help, as
well as to Miss Irene Scouloudi, honorary secretary of that society, and to Dr Walter Mogk of the Historisches Seminar of the University of Munich for the considerable body of information they were good enough to place at my disposal. My obligation to a host of librarians and archivists in South Africa and in Europe will be apparent from the bibliography and my appreciation of their good offices is offered here collectively.

I am also greatly indebted to the University of South Africa both for granting me the necessary study leave in 1975 and 1976 to carry out this project and for providing me with funds which helped to defray the heavy expenses involved in travelling between centres in Europe. The generous financial assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council towards the costs of this research is hereby gratefully acknowledged. My work owes much to the support of this body, but it will be appreciated that the opinions expressed and the conclusions reached in these pages are my own and can in no sense be regarded as a reflection of the opinions and conclusions of the Human Sciences Research Council.

The research upon which this study is based required prolonged absences far from home and immediate family. I am, however, fortunate in having good friends in distant places in whose company I was able to find precious hours of quiet relaxation. It is with great pleasure therefore that I offer here my warmest thanks to my boyhood friend Pierre Faure and his wife Odette of Thimécourt, to Herman and Annelies Reuter of Apeldoorn and to Leonard and Pauline Wilshin of Guildford.

There is one person more for whom I cannot find words enough to express my deep appreciation: my wife Enid. This research was undertaken in the shadow of personal tragedy for us both. Enid’s love, her support, her encouragement and her forbearance in sad and difficult circumstances will always be remembered with heartfelt gratitude and sincerest affection.

REFERENCES: INTRODUCTION

1. For the works of authors cited in this introduction see the sources at the end of the volume.
2. Franken's *Huisgenoot* articles, to which frequent reference is made in this study (see section II of the sources), have been reissued in a selection of his historical work published while my text was in the press: 'Die Hugenote aan die Kaap', *Archives Year Book for South African History*, XLI, 1978. I was, however, able to see the proofs of this new publication. Due acknowledgement of this courtesy is made in section IV, C of the sources.


4. For these documentary publications and for articles in the *Bulletin* cited in the text see the list of sources.
CHAPTER ONE

France: The religious background before 1629

This study of the background to French contacts with the Cape of Good Hope in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is primarily, although not exclusively, concerned with those who were members of the reformed church in France, the *Eglise prétendue réformée* as it was compelled to call itself before its dissolution in 1685. Not every French speaker, however, who came to these shores after Van Riebeeck's landing was a Calvinist. Some had doubtless left their native land for reasons unconnected with religious persecution; others reached the Cape on expeditions which bore testimony to the French drive to the east for commerce, empire and the dissemination of Catholicism. Among the settlers and servants of the Dutch East India Company too were French speakers from Protestant communities on and beyond the north-eastern borders of France whose first emigration to the United Provinces was perhaps not unconnected with French military penetration into the Spanish Netherlands.
Nevertheless the great majority of those who came to the Cape to settle had been members of the French reformed church who had chosen exile rather than submit to growing constraints and the eventual suppression of the public exercise of their faith. Whatever other aspects of French politics and social life may be fittingly touched upon in this introductory survey, particular emphasis must therefore be placed upon the history of French Calvinism.

The movement for church reform took early root in France – certainly before the close of the fifteenth century – and led to the formation in 1521 of the celebrated Meaux group of reformers under the leadership of the bishop of that town, Guillaume Briçonnet. It included such men as Jacques Lefebvre of Etaples, a fellow Picard from the Amiénois, Gérard Roussel, and Guillaume Farel of noble birth from the Gapençais in Dauphiné. Here were gathered precursors both of the Calvinist reformation and of the Catholic counter-reformation, although the effects of the latter, given impetus by the Council of Trent, were slow to be felt in a France long ravaged by a political and religious struggle for supremacy.1

Farel established himself at Geneva, where he was joined in 1536 by Jean Calvin from Noyon in Picardy. While there were other influences at work on the spread of Protestant reform in the sixteenth century in France and on her borders – Lutheranism in Alsace and Montbéliard;2 Scottish Calvinism at Châtellerault and Dieppe3 – it was Geneva which ultimately supplanted Strasbourg as the focal-point for French reform. The Swiss city supplied the model for the organization of the French reformed church, many of its pastors and a valuable place of refuge in times of trouble.4

The encouragement of the Genevan authorities and the undoubted abuses within the Catholic church in France were not the only reasons for the rapid strides made by the reform movement, particularly after 1545. Economic problems, as in Aunis, Saintonge and Gascony, drew the disaffected into the Calvinist camp. German students in such university centres as Bourges and Orleans, and German soldiers in the French service also played a part in the growing anti-Catholic movement. So too did the merchant class with its contacts beyond the French frontiers. The commercial centre of Lyons soon had its Protestant adherents; the clandestine distribution of Bibles and other religious literature promoted the growth of the reformed faith in such towns as Montauban, Poitiers and Saint-Maixent. Scattered groups of worshippers began to form churches on the Genevan model with pastors and
elders and by 1559 it was clear that the measures of repression, and particularly the burnings decreed by the *chambres ardentes*, calculated to arrest the spread of Protestantism, had completely failed. While contemporary estimates of near-parity in population between Protestants and Catholics were certainly exaggerated, it seems likely that at least 15% of the French people had accepted the reformed religion. The distribution of Calvinism in France, of which more will be said later, remained relatively constant until 1685.

The year 1559 saw the first Calvinist national synod in Paris and the promulgation of the Discipline of the church and its confession of faith. By this time, however, Calvinism had become a political force as well as an organized religion. The new faith had its supporters in the army and in circles close to the king, and the protracted struggle between Catholics and Huguenots – the name doubtless deriving from the German *Eidgenossen*, or confederates – was about to begin. It was a contest which could only be solved by compromise, either by religious amalgamation, or by the recognition of two irreconcilable faiths within the state on a legal basis. The first solution was not an impossible dream – there were elements within the Catholic church which would not have been opposed to an independent gallican establishment on the lines of the Anglican settlement in England – but the Valois brothers who reigned from 1559 to 1589, François II, Charles IX and Henri III, were not of the stamp of a Henry VIII or an Elizabeth I across the Channel. The conciliatory efforts of the queen-mother Catherine de Médicis and her chancellor Michel de l'Hospital which led to the conference of Poissy in 1561 between the contending parties failed to bridge a widening gap and with the massacre of Protestants at Wassy in Champagne in 1562 by the Catholics under François de Guise the struggle for supremacy began in earnest.

There followed a series of brutal civil wars in France which went far beyond a contest for religious supremacy. Indeed, neither Catholics nor Protestants could hope for complete victory and the wars were briefly interrupted by attempts to seek the compromise which was ultimately found. The concessions made were wrung from the Catholics; militant Calvinism, where it found itself in a dominant position, was not noted for its generosity to members of the opposing religious group. The roots of a solution which would permit the existence of an armed state within the state are to be found in the Peace of Amboise of 1563 which ended the first civil war after the assassination of François de Guise. This recognition of Huguenot strength was underlined in the Peace of Saint-Germain seven years later, after the Calvinist Gaspard de Coligny had
succeeded in taking control of royal policy and in ending the third war in which the Catholics had been markedly successful and in which the Huguenots had lost the Bourbon leader Louis de Condé, murdered after the battle of Jarnac in 1569.

The second compromise peace was again short-lived. In 1572, during the Huguenot domination of Charles IX, the king's sister Marguerite de Valois was married to the Protestant Henri de Navarre, the son of Antoine de Bourbon and destined twelve years later to become heir to the throne. The Huguenot ascendancy and the threat posed to their interests by this mixed marriage were little to the liking of the powerful Guise faction. With the aid of the Paris mob the Guises took their revenge in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572, an orgy of killing which spread to the provinces and in which Coligny lost his life. War was resumed, leading to the Pacification of Beaulieu on the Dordogne in 1576, in which extensive religious and political concessions were accorded the Huguenots by the new king Henri III and his mother Catherine de Médicis.

The ultra-Catholic party regarded this treaty as a capitulation to heresy, the Catholic League was formed with papal and Spanish backing to strengthen the forces of orthodoxy and Henri III became the virtual prisoner of the leaguers. Although he succeeded in 1588 in having François de Guise's sons Henri and Louis, cardinal of Lorraine, assassinated at Blois, the king himself died at the hands of a murderer, the Dominican friar Jacques Clément, in the following year. It was the end of the Valois dynasty and the way was open to the heir to the throne, the successful leader of the Huguenots, Henri de Navarre. The Catholic League, with Spanish help, put up a protracted resistance, but Henri's decision to renounce Calvinism in 1593 gained him massive popular support and he was enabled to ascend the throne as Henri IV. The Catholic League was dissolved and peace with Spain signed at Vervins in 1598.11

There remained the problem of a satisfactory religious accommodation, for although in the later civil wars the issue between the contending faiths had been subordinated to purely political considerations, no effective reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants in France had taken place. Moreover Henri IV's abjuration had not broken the power of the Huguenot party. Although Calvinism had suffered a decline in numbers during the religious wars through abjurations, emigration and extermination, its adherents probably represented about 10% of the population in 1598 and its leaders were still a political and
military force to be reckoned with.12 Even more a minority cult now in such regions of marginal Calvinism as Burgundy, Brittany and the Ille-de-France,13 the Huguenots were dominant in several parts of France, although mainly in those with a lower density of population than the national average.

Calvinism had taken firm root in a wide arc of territory west and south of the Massif central from Poitou to southern Dauphiné, with the greatest concentration in the eastern region of Languedoc and the thinnest distribution in Upper Guyenne and the former stronghold of the Catholic League between Toulouse and Montpellier. To the southwest of this arc Calvinism was strong in Béarn on the Spanish border, but north of the Loire, in eastern and north-eastern France and in Provence it was largely a religion of scattered churches, only locally strong as in parts of Picardy and in the Loire valley between Orleans and Blois. Calvinists were however more numerous in Normandy, where churches had been afforded a late breathing-space to recuperate and reorganize after Henri de Navarre had routed the Catholic League at Ivry on the Eure in 1590.14 Protestantism was particularly vigorous in the coastal Pays cauchois of Normandy, with large congregations in such towns as Dieppe, Honfleur, Bolbec and Le Havre. It was not, however, a majority faith in the region and Calvinists probably did not number more than 15% of the total population there, rural and urban.15

It was a characteristic of French Calvinism in the seventeenth century, even where it was strongest, that its churches, as Samuel Mours has said, “regroupaient ... de nombreux petits îlots épars, parfois assez distants les uns des autres ... Les Églises réformées étaient donc des Églises de disséminés”.16 This lack of cohesion not only inhibited religious life; it also weakened the power to resist attack. Only in parts of western and south-western France can this generalization be qualified.

This then was the background to the settlement between Catholics and Protestants arrived at by Henri IV in 1598. The Edict of Nantes consisted of four separate sections: the public edict of 93 articles, probably signed on April 30; the declarations for the registration of 56 secret articles, dating from May 2; and two royal warrants of April 13 and April 30 which were in effect guarantees to the Protestant party.17 All four sections confirmed and indeed extended earlier concessions to those who practised the Religion prétendue réformée; the warrants moreover gave a bite to the legislation sadly lacking in the attempted settlements during the troubled years of conflict. At the same time it must be remembered that these warrants were simply acts of the royal
favour, easily revocable; only the first two sections of the edict had legislative significance and in practice it was usually only the public edict which was registered by the *parlements*. It was the edict as registered by the Paris *parlement* which had the force of law throughout the kingdom.¹⁸ This was effected in February 1599, but not before that body had wrung an important concession from the king which barred Calvinists from holding services in episcopal and archiepiscopal cities, thus removing the exercise of the reformed faith from the major urban centres in France. Registration was not obtained without difficulty in the provincial *parlements*. Henri IV had to issue formal commands by *lettres de jussion* before those of Aix-en-Provence and Rennes complied in 1600; final registration was not obtained from the *parlement* of Rouen until 1609.¹⁹ This lack of enthusiasm for concessions to Huguenots was not surprisingly matched in Catholic church circles, although Daniel Ligou has pointed out that the Assembly of Clergy meeting in May 1598 was not as violently hostile to the religious settlement as has sometimes been averred.²⁰ The Catholics, however, instituted a conversion fund to encourage reformed church members to abjure.²¹

The Edict of Nantes was Henri IV’s solution to the problem of peaceful co-existence in the fields of religion and internal politics. He did not, as is evident from the preamble to the main text, lose sight of the possibility of achieving religious unity in the future, and the irrevocability of the legislation must be seen in terms of a situation in which a *modus vivendi* between powerful contenders had to be sought in the public interest.²² Nevertheless it represented, as Viénot has indicated, the first official declaration in a generally intolerant world that “les âmes sont libres de professer la religion qui leur paraıt la meilleure”.²³

At the same time it must be conceded that the Edict of Nantes did not place Catholics and Protestants on equal terms within the kingdom.²⁴ Catholicism was everywhere re-established and the revenues of which it had been despoiled restored. For the Protestants, religious life was, as it were, “frozen” as it existed in 1598. The edict recognized three categories of Calvinist worship. The first, the *culte de fief*, or seigneurial worship, was permitted without restriction to those members of the nobility who were *seigneurs haut justiciers*, having judicial powers which extended to the punishment of capital offences. Attendance at reformed churches established on the estates of such nobles was open to all. The lesser nobility, however, whose judicial rights were limited to minor cases, could merely hold private worship, at which no more than thirty people outside the family could be present.
The second category of worship was that which took place in localities where it had been publicly celebrated between the beginning of 1596 and the month of August 1597. Such congregations were said to enjoy the right of possession. The third category, the *culte de concession*, derived from legislation of 1577 which permitted worship in one locality in each bailiwick or *sénéchaussée*. Henceforth, in general, two places of worship would be permitted, but services had to be held outside the municipal boundaries.  

The seigneurial rights were, as Ligou has stated, precarious, since they depended upon the continued adherence of the noblemen to Calvinism and the maintenance of estates in Protestant hands. Nevertheless the existence of temples in private possession not only gave opportunities for regular worship to many Calvinists in isolated communities, but also provided at a later stage an alternative place of worship during the growing oppression of the reformed faith. Although there were a number of exceptions, the *culte de possession* dominated in the west and south where Calvinism was strongest; the *culte de concession* in regions of marginal Protestantism, particularly in the north, east and central regions of France.

The selection of places of worship was the work of commissioners, Catholic and Protestant, appointed to apply the terms of the edict. Some of the secret articles were unfavourable to Calvinism, especially with regard to the number of concessionary places of worship in bailiwicks and *sénéchaussées*, but a reasonable attempt was made to provide reformed church members with access to organized congregational life. Where, as in the *sénéchaussée* of Poitiers, only one centre was permitted, the numerous *cultes de fief* in the region served to redress the balance. Protestant worship was, however, forbidden, in theory, at court, in Henri IV’s Italian possessions “delà les monts”, in the army, unless a general was of the reformed faith, and initially at least, within five leagues of Paris.

Other significant articles in the main edict dealt with the provision and functions of certain *chambres mi-parties*, consisting of equal numbers of Protestants and Catholics, on the model of that which already existed at Castres. These had a judicial function. There was to be no discrimination against Calvinists in public life and no taxes were to be levied on them for purely religious reasons. They were not, however, exempt from the payment of tithes, usually received by the Catholic clergy, were compelled to observe Catholic feast-days and were subject to canon law with regard to marriage, particularly restrictive on the sub-
subject of the permitted degrees of consanguinity. Calvinist literature could only be sold at authorized places of worship.\textsuperscript{30}

The secret articles of the Edict of Nantes largely concerned the organization of the reformed church and its specified places of worship. Church government by local consistory, regional colloquy and synod, provincial and national, was guaranteed, with the proviso that national synods could only be held with royal permission. A later royal warrant dealt further with synodal sessions. On the question of church finances, sums could be levied on members for ecclesiastical purposes. Ministers were bound by the secret of the confessional, interpreted as the deliberations of the consistory, and were exempt from the taille and from such other charges as the obligation to house troops. Calvinists could open educational establishments wherever worship was permitted. The warrant of April 13, 1598 provided for an annual subsidy for the payment of ministers and the upkeep of colleges; another in August of that year gave the reformed church the sum of 50 000 écus as a reimbursement for Catholic revenues it had been compelled to surrender. Where Protestantism was strong, however, as in large parts of Languedoc, church tithes continued to be paid for the benefit of reformed consistories.\textsuperscript{31}

This in substance was the religious side of the settlement of 1598. It undoubtedly provided a new sense of security where the reformed faith was weak, but seen from the Calvinist standpoint, the restoration of the Catholic faith and a large part of its revenues could not be regarded as a victory for reform in regions of dominant Protestantism. The revival of Catholic fortunes in Languedoc for example was not always, in a material sense, to the advantage of the community.\textsuperscript{32}

There was, however, another important side to the Edict of Nantes. Although the main text suggests that it was Henri IV's intention to break the power of the Calvinists on the political plane, the royal warrant of April 30, 1598 recognized the inescapable fact that the former Huguenot leader had to deal with a united faction enjoying influential leadership among the nobility, strong bourgeois support and possessing an organization to match its church government. Each colloquy sent a delegation of two laymen and a pastor to a provincial assembly, a body which had a permanent executive council to advise an annual general assembly.

The partial silence of the edict on the subject of this political organization and the circumstance that the warrant of April 30, although later renewed, was only issued for a term of eight years indicate a dislike of
this aspect of Huguenot strength, but its existence – and the military power underlying it – could not be ignored. Hence Henri IV’s concessions to political Protestantism in the granting of a large number of places de sûreté, or places of safety to the Huguenots, the recognition of Huguenot control over other centres, some urban and others places particulières in the hands of the nobility, and the acceptance of certain places de mariage for Calvinists, usually in the vicinity of the places de sûreté. Strongholds in these categories were to be found in various parts of France, but were chiefly concentrated in the west, the south-west and in Dauphiné. Places of safety were in the control of a governor and were either garrisoned, or defended, as at La Rochelle, by a citizen militia. Places de mariage were also guarded by detachments of troops. Of the inland strongholds Saumur on the Loire was of special strategic importance. Its garrison of nearly 400 men served under Philippe de Mornay, the great Duplessis-Mornay of Calvinist history. Other Huguenot places de sûreté included Loudun, Niort, Bergerac, Châtellerault, Montpellier, Castres, Nîmes, Die and Embrun. Henri IV’s guarantee of Huguenot military autonomy was underwritten by an annual subsidy of 180 000 écus, but he kept the right to appoint the governors of the places de sûreté on the advice of the Huguenot assemblies.33

It will be apparent, therefore, that the Huguenots were given power within the state out of all proportion to their numbers and that the religious aspects of the Nantes settlement depended to a large degree upon the preservation of that power. Already, as Lublinskaya has indicated, there were attempts during the reign of Henri IV to encroach upon the political rights of the Calvinist bloc, particularly with regard to its military strength, although the king did not prevent the holding of political assemblies and even synods were emboldened to discuss political affairs.34

The Huguenots indeed represented a “state within the state”, possessing considerable autonomy and organs of government ecclesiastical and lay which opposed republican forms to the principles of absolute monarchy. Nevertheless it would be wrong to say that this republicanism in the forms of government always implied republicanism in political thought. Submission to royal authority may have taken a back seat during the years of civil disturbance, but, with the corollary of loyalty to the king’s person, it re-emerged after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes as a powerful force in Calvinist thinking. As early as 1611 Philippe de Mornay took up his pen in defence of the divine right of kings and emperors, and this current of loyalty to a divinely appointed
ruler was to remain strong among pastors and laymen even beyond the revocation of 1685 and the great dispersal.\textsuperscript{35}

The support afforded the Calvinists by Henri IV, despite his reservations about their political power, did much to strengthen the attachment of the reformers to the monarchy and leaders of the Huguenot party like Mornay, Sully and the writer Agrippa d'Aubigné, grandfather of the future royal mistress Madame de Maintenon, remained close to the court. Protestants had little to complain of before the king's assassination at the hands of François Ravaillac in 1610. Indeed, Henri's attempts to please all parties - no easy task for those who pursue a policy of compromise - were by no means unsuccessful, in part because of the existence of a valuable buffer between religious extremes in the politiques, the middle-of-the-road party, gallican in religious sympathy and seeing in the continued prosperity of the Calvinist cause a counterpoise to excessive romanism. Henri IV in fact made further attempts to bring about religious reconciliation by sponsoring dialogue at Fontainebleau between Mornay and the bishop of Evreux, Jacques Davy du Perron, a former Protestant. This approach was to be revived, but the spirit of the counter-reformation and the weakening of the Calvinist position were effective barriers to any such rapprochement.\textsuperscript{36}

There is much to be said for Ligou's view that Henri IV derived his success from his policy of balancing concessions. This practice can be seen at various levels. If the nullification of his marriage to Marguerite de Valois and his choice of the Italian Marie de Médicis as a second wife displeased the Protestant nobility, he flouted the Edict of Nantes by permitting his Calvinist sister Catherine to attend reformed services at court. If the return of the Jesuits aroused opposition, it was countered by another breach of the edict in the authorization given for a temple to be built for the Calvinists of Paris at Charenton, within the prescribed limits. Nor was he partial in his attitude to the contending parties. If unseemly disturbances by Catholics in the Orléanais incurred the king's displeasure, so too did Calvinist references to the pope as the Antichrist.\textsuperscript{37}

The decade following the death of Henri IV, the rule of the queen-mother Marie and the eventual assumption of power by the devout Louis XIII saw divisions within the Huguenot ranks which in themselves and in the court reaction to them precipitated a new civil war. This period cannot be seen merely as the exploitation of Huguenot weaknesses in order to undo completely the Nantes settlement, nor was it entirely a question of elements among the Calvinist nobility seeking
to wring further concessions from the court party in their own interest. Despite the clear successes of the counter-reformation in the religious field and the known antipathy in royalist circles for Calvinism, revocation of the religious clauses of the Edict of Nantes was not to be thought of while Protestantism was relatively strong. Marie de Médicis in fact was quick to renew the edict after her husband’s death, drawing attention to the fact that her action was scarcely necessary in view of its stated irrevocability.  

Abrogation of the political influence and political power of the Huguenots was, however, much in the minds of the court party. For militant Calvinism posed a very real threat to a country moving towards national unity, yet still striving to complete the integration of what Lublinskaya has called the twin “nationalities”, north and south. And it was particularly in the south, with its separatist tendencies, that Calvinism was at its strongest numerically, if not always in leadership. Latent separatism of a regional kind was therefore combined with religious separatism having political objectives and reluctantly given legal status. Contemporary fears of Huguenot aims, if over-stressed, were not unfounded: that the nobility, still the major force in the Calvinist hierarchy, sought ultimately to establish a sort of Dutch republic on French soil; that the rich Protestant bourgeoisie, already enjoying in many regions a quasi-independence in free cities, hoped to found a union of republican towns on the Flemish model.

There was, however, no firm alliance between the nobles and the bourgeoisie among the Huguenots and many of the latter were unwilling to jeopardize commercial advantages by playing power-politics for the benefit of the nobility. A growing party of moderation in Huguenot ranks saw the only hope of survival for the Calvinist cause in the devotion to the king’s person which Mornay preached. This view had much support among the urban merchant class, among those who worshipped at Charenton, close to Paris and court influences, and among the reformed congregations north of the Loire, where Calvinism was weak. Against this attitude stood a party of more resolute action, with strong support in the south-west and from many of the nobility. It soon came to have a man of decision at its head in the Breton, Henri de Rohan. Between the two came a smaller group which tried to strike a balance between Huguenot extremism and court hostility to the Calvinists. Among their number Mornay was the outstanding figure. This considerable division in Huguenot ranks and leadership was further accentuated by disputes and personal animosities among the Calvinist nobles.
Nor was disunity confined to the political arm of French Protestantism. The century had opened with an attack by the Dutchman Arminius on the Calvinist doctrine of predestination as expounded by Théodore de Bèze. It was to lead to the affirmation of orthodoxy and the rejection of Arminianism at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618–1619, attended by Swiss, English and German delegates, as well as Dutch Calvinists. Louis XIII prevented the attendance of a French delegation, but the Dordrecht decisions were endorsed by the Synod of Alès in 1620. Nevertheless, until the events of 1685 and beyond them, there were spiritual currents within the reformed church which diverged from the mainstream of Calvinist orthodoxy, with particular reference to doctrines of grace and election. They flowed from the Scotsman John Cameron, pastor at Bordeaux and professor at Saumur, Montauban and other academies; from his disciple Moïse Amyrault of Saumur; from Claude Pajon, long minister at Orleans. The doctrinal differences are interesting in the evolution of Calvinist thought, but they were far from shaking the orthodoxy of the French reformed church to its foundations. Nevertheless men like Cameron, Amyrault and Pajon had their following and the failure of Calvinism to show a united front in the spiritual field – the tendency indeed to seek an ecumenical basis which would unite all western Christendom, or at least the Protestant part of it – weakened a church in crisis.

On the Catholic and royal side there was also discord, but the growth of absolutism kept it within bounds as the century progressed. On the political front, the moderates of the first quarter of the century came to lose interest in the Huguenots as a counterweight when they ceased to be a military power; on the spiritual plane, an alliance between gallicanism and reform grew less likely in changed political circumstances. Moreover, this was the golden century of counter-reform in France, owing much to the very presence of a vulnerable minority faith. It is noteworthy that the century should witness a great extension of devotion to the real presence in the eucharistic sacrifice, a doctrine rejected by the Calvinists, and that much Catholic missionary work should be directed at members of reformed church congregations.

The Catholic reformation in France cannot therefore be ignored in any study of the vicissitudes of the reformed church. The seventeenth century was one in which old orders and congregations were rejuvenated and new ones flourished: the Jesuits and Capuchins; the Congregation of Saint-Maur; the Lazarists; the Order of the Visitation. It was the century which opened with the influence of François de Sales and
which saw the activities of great missionary priests: Vincent de Paul, apostle to the poor; Michel le Nobletz of Brittany; Louis Grignion de Montfort in Poitou; Jean-François Régis in the Cévennes; Jean Lejeune, “le Père aveugle”, particularly active in the diocese of Limoges. It was a century of clergy reform under the direction of such men as Adrien Bourdoise, Pierre de Bérulle, Jean-Jacques Olier and Jean Eudes. It was an age of great preachers: Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet of Meaux; Esprit Fléchier, bishop of Nîmes; the Jesuit Louis Bourdaloue. It was the century of a more zealous episcopate under such bishops as Nicolas Choart de Buzenval of Beauvais, Louis de Lascaris d’Urfé of Limoges, Jacques Desclaux of Dax, Nicolas Pavillon of Alet and Gabriel-Philippe de Froullai de Tessé of Avranches. The Jansenists of the latter part of the century cannot be left out of the picture, despite the fact that they represented a religious outlook which Louis XIV was at length to find intolerable and which, in its origins, if not in its sense of tradition, had views on the grace of God not dissimilar to the Calvinist position. Such leaders of the movement as the theologians Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel, and the writers Blaise Pascal and Pierre Nicole exercised a spiritual influence which was felt from Normandy to the *midi*. Port-Royal-des-Champs, the Jansenist abbey in the Hurepoix, south of Versailles, became an important religious centre and a place of retreat for study and meditation.\footnote{44}

This, however, is to anticipate; the Catholic reformation had yet to become a powerful force in the anti-Calvinist drive during the regency of Marie de Médicis between 1610 and 1616. Then, the Calvinists were by no means a powerless minority and in the political and religious fields their policy was to perfect their organization, to gain concessions in the Edict of Nantes and to obtain control of new strategic points. In general, they were unable to improve their position to any marked extent, although Rohan’s stand in 1612 at Saint-Jean-d’Angély in Saintonge was a check to the court party.\footnote{45} The incorporation of autonomous Béarn within the provincial synodal framework of the reformed church in 1616 considerably strengthened the Huguenot party in the south-west and gave it potential control of a strategic frontier.\footnote{46} Louis XIII, now king in fact as well as name, reacted the following year by uniting Béarn fully with France and in 1620, profiting from a lull in the Thirty Years’ War, undertook the military occupation of Béarn, capturing some Huguenot strongholds in Poitou and Guyenne on the way.\footnote{47}

It was this assertion of royal authority which provoked a new civil war between the Huguenots and a king whose power was surely based after his defeat in 1620 of forces supporting the queen-mother against him at
Les Ponts-de-Cé below Angers on the Loire. The Huguenots, meeting at La Rochelle, prepared for war, but their potential was somewhat weakened by defections, leaving only Rohan and his brother Soubise as outstanding leaders. It was a further stage in the decline of the Protestant nobility and, indeed, in the loss of power of the French nobility as a whole. Furthermore, Louis XIII’s assertion that he was fighting only rebellion and had no quarrel with Calvinism effectively kept the Huguenots living outside the zones of dense Protestant population out of the conflict.

The king, urged by his minister Luynes and by a Catholic bourgeoisie anxious to see the destruction of Huguenot urban privileges, moved to the attack in May 1621, after securing his position on the international stage. Already clashes had begun between Catholics and Calvinists in Poitiers and Tours, as well as in Languedoc, the Vivarais and other parts of the south-west. The advance of the royal troops in 1621 was a triumph and neither Soubise in the west, nor Rohan in the south could do much to halt it. Saumur fell in mid-May and Mornay was deprived of his governorship, and the towns of Poitou submitted with almost indecent haste, thereby considerably weakening Calvinism in the province. Only the Saintonge stronghold of Saint-Jean-d’Angély seriously delayed the advance. As the royal troops moved into the south-west, the same story was repeated, with only brief resistance at Clairac and Nérac. Not until Montauban was reached was Rohan able to compel the king to raise the siege of that city.

La Rochelle talked of peace, but Rohan was determined to continue the fight. The campaigns of 1622 were again largely a royal triumph. Dauphiné was isolated from the Protestant bloc across the Rhône, towns relinquished after the advance of 1621 were retaken and Louis’s armies converged on Montpellier in Languedoc. Here, as at Montauban in the previous campaign, he was unable to achieve a quick victory. Moreover, events outside France compelled him to think of peace. A treaty was therefore signed at Montpellier, not, in view of the precarious situation of the Huguenots, a particularly harsh one. Montpellier lost its erstwhile independence and like many other strongholds, was forced to raze its fortifications. Montauban and La Rochelle, however, were unaffected. Rohan was made governor of the Cévennes, the only large region in the country still outside royal control, and was also permitted to govern Nîmes, Castres and Uzès. On the other hand, the Huguenots had lost some eighty places of safety in the west and southwest and much territory had come under royal government. The war too had all but destroyed the Huguenot leadership among the nobility.
and it was evident that, Rohan apart, the only successful agents of resistance to the king had been the bourgeoisie of La Rochelle, Montauban and Montpellier. The situation did not augur well for Calvinist separatism as a political force in the future.\(^4\) After the treaty of 1622 the Huguenots sought outside help – even from Spain – and used delaying tactics to slow down the demilitarization of the south in the hope that Louis would be compelled to withdraw the occupying troops for service in the European war. The royalists in turn interfered in the municipal affairs of Calvinist towns and successfully wooed many more of the Huguenot nobility, securing, with the aid of financial inducements, a significant number of abjurations. Only in the separatist Pyrenean provinces of the south-west did the Calvinist nobility stand firm. Urban commercial classes were lukewarm to the idea of a renewal of civil war, even in La Rochelle, chief bastion of the Huguenot cause. A further check on Calvinist autonomy was introduced by the appointment of a royal commissioner, the Protestant lawyer Auguste Galland, to prevent the national synod of the church at Charenton in 1622 from becoming a political, as well as a religious assembly.\(^4\)

It was evident to Louis XIII and his new minister of 1624, Richelieu, that with royal power firmly established in most parts of south-western France, the retention by the Huguenots of La Rochelle was the only serious obstacle to the unification of the kingdom. Already blockaded by royal forces, its difficult position sparked off a new conflict in 1625. Soubise, despite early successes which countered the hostility of the city fathers for further fighting, was defeated on the Ile de Ré. No help was forthcoming for the Huguenots from England or the United Provinces and in fact Richelieu was able to obtain vessels from both countries for use against the defenders of the port. A royal naval victory in September 1625 allowed Louis's troops to occupy the Ile d'Oléron.

In the south and south-west Rohan found it difficult to arouse any enthusiasm for the war among the Calvinist municipalities. He was able to retain the Cévennes, while the king's forces suffered several reverses, notably at Sainte-Affrique in Rouergue and Le Mas-d'Azil in the county of Foix. On the other hand a royal “scorched-earth” policy caused widespread hardship in the countryside and in general the result of the campaigns was a stalemate. The Huguenots were exhausted by the beginning of 1626 and a delicate international situation made Richelieu equally anxious for peace. The Treaty of Paris of February 1626 generally restored the status quo, although Catholic worship was to be permitted in La Rochelle, the property of that church returned and a
royal commissioner appointed to see that the treaty terms were fulfilled.50

La Rochelle had been spared, but not for long. The last war of religion in France began in 1627 with a reaction to aid from England in the shape of Buckingham's abortive expedition. As in the past, the contest was fought in two regions: the west and the south-west. While Richelieu settled down to the long siege of La Rochelle, in which Jean Guiton emerged as the Calvinist hero, Rohan attempted to raise the midi. Although the royal troops there achieved no spectacular results, Rohan was effectively prevented from coming to the relief of La Rochelle. The tragic siege dragged on for more than a year, with further ineffective English attempts to come to the aid of the beleaguered Calvinists. Finally, in October 1628, the port capitulated after losing some 20,000 of its inhabitants. Rohan's position in the south became untenable and with Privas and Alès in enemy hands, he was forced to negotiate.51

The result was the signing of the Peace of Alès in June 1629, followed in the month after by the famous Edit de Grâce, drawn up at Nîmes. It was the end of political Calvinism. Although certain fiscal and other privileges remained to the Huguenots of several towns and provinces, the era of places de sûreté and political assemblies was over, quasi-independent city republics ceased to exist and the idea of a federal, pluralistic France gave way to the development of the unitary state. The royal subsidies too, a source of revenue already drying up, were no longer available to assist the reformed church.52

On the other hand, the religious settlement made at Nantes in 1598 was again guaranteed. It would, as Ligou has indicated, have been entirely in the spirit of the age if the Edict of Nantes had been abrogated in 1629. Richelieu did not regard the settlement as irrevocable and any decision to annul it would have been enthusiastically endorsed by the ultra-Catholics – Richelieu's eminence grise, the Capuchin Father Joseph, for example, or Bérulle.53

Why then did Calvinism survive as a religious faith? One reason was that the unitary state had not yet been fully consolidated. Men like Rohan and Soubise were not merely Huguenot leaders. They also represented powerful forces among the nobility seeking personal advantage without reference to religious persuasion. Richelieu's quarrel was not with sectarianism as such, but with those who might manipulate a minority to oppose his policies. The presence in the country after 1629 of a disaffected group stripped of all its privileges would have been a potential threat to France while unity was still to be achieved.54
Again, so drastic an action as revocation might not be necessary. Calvinism had declined numerically and would decline further. It was widely held that within a few years of Alès lack of leadership and a policy of cajolment would reduce its strength to insignificance. And if Calvinism did not die a natural death there was always the possibility that an all-encompassing gallicanism would emerge, with Richelieu at its head. This dream of Christian unity had its adherents still, although Catholics failed to realize that Calvinism went much further in its rejection of Catholicism than a mere dissatisfaction with abuses in process of eradication through the Tridentine reformation. Richelieu’s agents in the grand scheme, the apostate pastor of Aimargues in Languedoc, Louis du Laurens, and another convert to Catholicism, the lawyer from La Rochelle, Théophile Brachet de la Milletière, made little headway in the later years of the cardinal’s career.55

Finally, revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1629 would have caused serious difficulties in the field of foreign policy. Richelieu was about to play an active part in the Thirty Years’ War and was beginning to look towards Gustaf Adolf of Sweden as a useful ally in his struggle with the imperial and Spanish Hapsburgs. The French statesman needed Protestant help abroad; his involved diplomacy could scarcely be advanced by the persecution of Calvinists at home.56

Protestantism in seventeenth-century France entered therefore upon a new phase after 1629. No longer a political and military force, it had lost its only certain means of protection. Defections, particularly among the higher nobility, had considerably weakened its position. Tolerated for the moment, but not liked in court circles, Calvinism was viewed with suspicion by the great majority of Frenchmen, for as D.D. Bien has justly observed, “to French Catholics, Protestantism signified civil war, social disorder, rebellion, treason”.57 The survival of the reformed church was from this point to depend upon policies decided upon by its adversaries. There would be a relatively quiet interlude of three decades – the “annéees d’accalmie” of Samuel Mours58 – but the stage was already set for the final act which saw the destruction of the organized church in 1685.
REFERENCES: CHAPTER ONE


5. CRISTIANI, Eglise à l'époque du concile de Trente, pp. 377-385.


8. Despite such opponents of this theory as H. TOLLIN ("Concerning the name "Huguenot"", Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London (henceforth HSL), VI, 3, 1901, pp. 327-355), LÉONARD's conclusion is authoritative (History of Protestantism, II, p. 113n.).


12. R. MANDROU (Introduction to modern France 1500-1640; an essay in historical psychology, trans. R.E. HALLMARK, p. 126) gives 10-12% for more than a million adherents of the reformed faith.

13. For the weakness of Calvinism at the end of the sixteenth century in these provinces and in Picardy and Champagne see D. LIGOU, Le Protestantisme en France de 1598 à 1715, pp. 30; 32. The reformed faith suffered wherever the Catholic League was strong.


15. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp.33-34.


17. For the text see EUGÈNE and EMILE HAAG, La France protestante ou
vies des Protestants français ..., X, appendix LXIII, pp. 226-257: Edit de Nantes avec les brevets et les articles secrets. The legislation is analysed in LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 11-20.

18. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 9; 20; 22.
19. Registration is discussed in LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 20-25.
21. LÉONARD, History of Protestantism, II, p. 375. Pensions and other gifts were offered to converts from 1606.
27. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 26-27.
28. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 15-16.
29. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 12-13; LÉONARD, History of Protestantism, II, p. 168. The transalpine territories are so described in article XIV of the edict (HAAG and HAAG, France protestante, X, appendix LXIII, p. 231).
30. LIGOU, Protestantisme, p. 13.
31. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 15-18.
33. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 18-20. For the places de sûreté see HAAG and HAAG, France protestante, X, appendix LXIV, pp. 257-260.
34. A.D. LUBLINSKAYA, French absolutism; the crucial phase, 1620-1629, trans. B. PEARCE, pp. 156-157; LIGOU, Protestantisme, p. 52.
36. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 45-47; MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVII° siècle, p. 29.
37. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 47-49; 54; MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVII° siècle, p. 15.
38. LIGOU, Protestantisme, p. 55; HAAG and HAAG, France protestante, X, appendix LXXI, pp. 284-286.
40. LUBLINSKAYA, French absolutism, pp. 165-166.
43. LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 147-161; MOURS Protestantisme en France au XVII° siècle, pp. 47-50.


47. LUBLINSKAYA, *French absolutism*, p. 172.


54. See WAKEMAN's argument in his *Ascendancy of France*, pp. 147-148.


58. *Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle*, pp. 43-57: Chapter II.
The administration of France between 1629 and 1661 was in the hands of Richelieu and his successor Mazarin, invested with supreme power by the queen-mother Anne of Austria on the death of Louis XIII in 1643. Although the reformed church was not entirely unmolested in this period, Calvinism was generally accepted and no attempt on anything but a local scale was made to infringe the privileges of the church until Louis XIV assumed personal responsibility for national affairs in 1661.¹

That the reformed church enjoyed so long a period of relative calm can largely be attributed to the problems, internal and external, which faced the government in those years. In France itself, Richelieu still had to build firm foundations for absolute monarchy after 1629, since the power of the nobility, though waning, had not yet been effectively broken. This he sought to achieve in four ways: by force of arms, as in the defeat of Montmorency at Castelnaudary in Languedoc in 1632; by