

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PERSECUTIONS
AND
OPPRESSIONS
OF THE
Protestants
IN
FRANCE.

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FRANCE

By John G. Jones, Esq.

*An exact account of the Cruel Oppressions
and Persecutions of the French Prote-
stants.*

THE Cruelties exercis'd of late on the Protestants in *France*, do appear so detestable to all, who have not divested themselves of Humanity, that no wonder the Authors of them use their utmost endeavours to lessen what they cannot conceal. Were not this worse than barbarous usage, a project of a long contrivance, a Man might for Charity's sake, suppose this their palliating it, to be an acknowledgment of their own displeasure at it. However, their boldness is inexcusable, who shall endeavour to impose on the World in matters known; not by *Gazetts*, and News-letters, but by an infinite number of Fugitives of all *Conditions*, who have nothing left but Tears and Miseries to bring along with them into foreign Nations. 'Tis certainly too barbarous to oppress innocent People in their own Countrey; and afterwards to stifle their complaints in other places where they are driven; and by this means deprive them of a compassion which the bare instincts of nature never refuse to the miserable. Yet this is the course our persecutors of *France* have held; their cruelty must be attended with Impostures, that the mischiefs which they have acted may pass undiscovered.

I think we should be much to blame, if we suffer them to go on in this second design, as they have done in the first; and therefore we shall choose some principal instances, whereon we shall make such reflections, as thereby to judge with greater evidence and exactness on the whole proceeding. And as we shall offer nothing but what shall be perfectly true; so we shall advance nothing in our reflections, but what all the world of reasonable people will allow.

To begin with matters of Fact : There's no body but knows, that a while after his present Majesty of *France* came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War ; which proved so sharp and desperate, as brought the State within an hairs breadth of utter ruine. 'Tis also known, that in the midst of all these troubles, those of the Reformed Religion kept their Loyalty in so inviolable a manner, and attended it with such a Zeal and extraordinary fervour, that the King found himself obliged to give publick marks of it, by a Declaration made at *St. Germain's*, in the year 1652. Then as well at Court, as in the Field, each strove to proclaim loudest the deserts of the Reformists ; and the Queen Mother her self readily acknowledged, That they had preserved the State : This is known by all, but 'twill hardly be believed, though it be too true, what our Enemies themselves an hundred times told us ; and which the sequel has but too shrewdly confirmed, that this was precisely the principal and most essential cause of our ruine ; and of all the mischiefs which we have since suffered. Endeavours were used to envenom all these important Services in the Kings and his Ministers minds, by perswading them, that if in this occasion, this party could conserve the State ; this shewed, they could likewise overthrow it, should they have ranked themselves on the other side ; and might still do it, when such alike occasion should offer it self. That therefore this party must be suppressed ; and the good they have done no longer regarded ; but as an indication of the mischief, which they may one day be capable of doing. This Diabolical reasoning, *which hinders Subjects from serving their Prince*, to avoid drawing on themselves chastisements ; instead of recompences, was relish'd as a piece of most refined Policy. For as soon as the Kingdom was settled in Peace, the design was advanced of destroying the Reformists ; and the better to make them comprehend that their Zeal had ruined them, the Cities which had shewed most of it, were first begun with. Immediately then, on slight pretences, they fell on *Rochel*, *Montaubon*, and *Milan* ; three Towns, where those of the Reformed Religion had most signalized themselves for the interests of the Court ; *Rochel* underwent an infinite number of prescriptions, *Montaubon* and *Milan* were sackt by the Soldiers. But these being but particular strokes and meer preludes, which decided nothing, they tarried not long before they made appear the great
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and general Machins, they were to use in the carrying on of their intended design to the last extremity. 'Twill be a difficult matter to give an exact account of these several methods: For never humane malice produced such multiplicity of them; every day brought forth new ones for twenty years together. To take only notice of the chief of them; which were, First, Law Suits in Courts of Justice. Secondly, Deprivations from all kinds of Offices and Employs; and in general, of all ways of subsistence. Thirdly, The infraction of Edicts, under the notion of Explications of them. Fourthly, New Laws and Orders. Fifthly, Juggles and amusing Tricks. Sixthly, The animating of People, and inspiring them with hatred against us. These are the most considerable means, which the persecutors have employed to attain their ends, during several years; I say, during several years; for what they designed, being no easie matter, they needed therefore time, to order their Engins; not to take notice of their Traverses and Interruptions by forrain Wars; yet whose success have not a little contributed to encrease their Courage, and confirm them in the design which they had against us.

The first of these means has had an infinite extent. We should begin with the recital of all the Condemnations of Churches, or suppressions of exercises of Religion, and all the other vexations which have hapned by the establishing of Commissaries; this was a Snare dexterously laid immediately after the Treaty of the *Paceneers*, the King under pretence of repairing the Edict of *Nants*, sent them in the Provinces. The Roman Catholic Commissary was every where his Majesties Intendant; who was before a fit man for the purpose, armed with the Royal Authority, and who was well instructed in the secret Aim. The other, was either some hungry Officer, a Slave to the Court, or some poor Gentleman, who had usually neither Intelligence requisite in these sort of Affairs, nor the liberty of speaking his Sentiments. The Clergy had set them up; He was their Ambulatory Spirit. The Syndicks were received before them as formal parties in all our Affairs; the assignations were given in their name, the Prosecutions also; and as well the Discords of the Commissaries, as the Appeals from their Ordinances, must be finally decided in the Kings Council.

Thus in general, all the rights of the Churches, for the exercises of Religion, the burying places, and all such dependancies, were cal-

led into a review, and consequently exposed to the fresh pursuits of the Clergy, and the ill intention of the Judges. In which there was not the least dram of Equity; for the Edict having bin once executed, according to the intention of him that made it, there needed no second touches; it being moreover, wholly unlikely those of the reformed Religion, who had bin ever in the Kingdom the suffering party, could usurp any thing therein; and extend its limits beyond what belong'd to them. But there were other designs in hand than the providing against the Contraventions, and therefore by this order, the greatest part of the Churches cited for the justifying of their Rights, saw themselves soon condemned one after another, by Decrees of Council, how good and sufficient soever their Titles and Defences were. Scarcely passed a Week, wherein these kind of Decrees were not made; and if it hapned, that the Modesty of the Judges saved any of them, by the great evidence of their Right, as this sometimes hapned; besides that, the number was small, in comparison of those condemned, the Judges often received order to condemn them, when they shewed they could not in Conscience do it.

But the Oppressions of this kind, did not terminate in the bare condemnation of Churches; for particular Persons had their part. In ordinary and civil Affairs, where the matter concerned a piece of Land, perhaps, a House, a Debt between a Roman Catholick and a Person of our Religion; Religion was to be sure always one of the chief Heads of the Accusation; The Monks, the Emissaries, the Confessors, and all the whole Tribe of that Crew, interested themselves in the Affair. In Courts of Justice, all the cry was, *I plead against an Heretick, I have to do with a Man of a Religion odious to the State; and which the King would have extirpated.* By this means, there was no longer any Justice to be expected, few Judges were proof against this false Zeal, for fear of drawing the Fury of the whole Cabal against him, or passing for a favourer of Hereticks. 'Tis not to be imagined how many unjust Sentences these sort of Prejudices have given, in all the Courts of the Kingdom; and how many mens Families have bin ruined by them: When any one complained, the Answer was ready, *You have the remedy in your own hands; why do you not turn Catholick.*

Yet all this had bin nothing, had the Persecution kept here,
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and not proceeded to fasten on the Reputation, the Liberty, and even the very Lives of Persons, by a general inundation (as a man may term it) of criminal Procelles. Writings were Printed at *Paris*, and sent from thence to all Cities and Parishes of the Kingdom, which impowred the Curates, Churchwardens and others, to make an exact enquiry into whatsoever the pretended Reformists might have done, or said for twenty years past, as well on the subject of Religion as otherwise, to make Information of this before the Justices of the Place; and punish them without remission. So have we seen for several years, in execution of these Orders, the Prisons every where fill'd with these kind of Criminals; neither were false Witnesses lacking; and that which was most horrible, was, that though the Judges were convinced they were Knights of the Post, yet they maintained them; and carry'd them throw such Points, as they knew to be untrue. They condemned innocent and vertuous Persons to be whipt, to the Gallies, to banishment and publick Penances. And if a Spark of Honor or Conscience, at any time hindred them, yet there was always at least an impunity for the false Witnesses.

This kind of Persecution fell chiefly on the Ministers; for of a long time they might not Preach, without having for Auditors, or to speak better, Observators, a Troop of Priests, Monks and Missionaries, and such kind of People, who made no scruple to charge them with things, which they not so much as thought of; and turn others into a contrary meaning. They also went so far as to devine the Thoughts, to make Crimes; for as soon as ever any Minister spake of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh*, the *Israelites*, of good or bad People, (as 'tis difficult not to speak of these matters, when they explained the Scripture) These Spies never failed to report, that by *Egypt*, and the wicked, they meant the Catholicks, and by the *Israelites*, the pretended Reformists. The Judges concerned themselves in this, and what is most strange, the ministers of State themselves respected these Interpretations of thoughts, as evident Proofs. On these grounds, the Magistrates filled the Prisons with these kind of poor People, keeping them therein for whole years together, and often inflicted on them several corporal Penalties.

'Tis already seen by this first kind of Persecution, what were the Usages shewed in *France* to the Reformists before they came to the utmost violence. But we shall see them appear more, in what we have to add, touching the privation of Offices and Employments,

plys, and in general, of the means of gaining a Livelihood; which is the second way we mentioned; that has been used to effect our Ruine. 'Tis not hard to comprehend, that in a great Kingdom, as *France* is, where the Protestants were dispersed over all parts, there were an infinite number, who could not subsist nor maintain their Families, but by the liberty of serving the publick, either in Offices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties, each according to his Calling. *Henry* the great, was so well convinced of the necessity and Justice of this, that he made it an express Article, the most distinct perhaps and formal, of all contained in his Edict: And therefore 'twas here the Persecutors thought themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours. In this regard, they began with the Arts and Trades; which under several pretences, they rendered almost inaccessible to the Protestants, by the difficulties of arriving to the mastership of them, and by the excessive Expences, they must be at to be received therein, there being no candidate, but was forced for this purpose to maintain Law Suits, under the weight of which, they for the most part fell, not being able to hold them out. But this not being sufficient, by a Declaration made in 1669. they were reduced to one third, in the Towns where the Protestants were more in number than the other Inhabitants; and they were forbidden to receive any therein till this diminution was made, which at one stroke excluded all the pretenders.

Some time after they absolutely drove all the Reformists from the Consulships, and all other Municipal Officers of the Cities, which was in effect the depriving them of the Knowledg of their Proper Affairs, and Interests, to invest wholly the Catholics with them.

In 1680. the King issued out an Order, which deprived them in general of all kind of Offices and Employments, from the greatest to the smallest: They were made incapable so much as to exercise any Employ in the Custom-Houses, Guard, Treasury, or Post-Offices; to be Messengers, Coach-Men, or Waggoners, or any thing of this nature.

In the year 1681. by a Decree of Council, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solicitors, and Sergeants, making Profession of the Reformed Religion, were rendered incapable throughout all the Kingdom. A Year after, all Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion were ordered to discharge their Officers and Servants

vants of the said Religion, and not make use of them in any case without other reason than that of their Religion.

In 1683. all Officers belonging to the Kings Household, and those of the Princes of the Blood, were also rendered incapable of holding their Places. The Councellors and other Officers of *Ayds*, and Chambers of accounts, and those of Seneschalship, Bailywicks, and Royalties, Admiralty, Provostships, and Marshal's Courts, Treasury Excise, and others, who belonged to the Toll-Offices, and such like businesses, were ordered to leave their Places in favour of the Catholicks.

In 1684. all Secretaries belonging to the King and Great Officers of *France*, as well Titulary, as Honorary ones, and their Widows, were deprived by a Revocation of all their Privileges of what nature soever they were. They also deprived all those that had purchased any Privileges for the exercising of any Professions, as Merchants, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Vintners, and all others, without exception.

Nay, they proceeded to this excess, that they would not suffer any Midwives of the Reformed Religion to do their Office, and expressly ordained for the future, our Wives should receive no assistance in that Condition, but from *Roman* Catholicks: 'Tis not to be express how many particular Persons and Families they reduced every where, by these strange and unheard of Methods, to Ruine and Misery. But because there were yet many which could sustain themselves; other Methods of Oppression must be invented: To this end they issued out an Edict from the Council, by which the new Converts, as they call them, were discharged from any payments of their Debts for three years. This, for the most part, fell on the Reformists, who, having had a more particular Tye of Interest and Affair with these pretended Converts, because of their Communion of Religion, were reckoned amongst their Chief Creditors: By this Order they had found the secret to recompense those that changed, at the charge of those who continued firm: and this they did likewise by another way; for they discharged the Converts of all the Debts, which those of the Religion had contracted in common, which by consequence fell on the rest. Add to this, the prohibition to sell or alienate their Estates, on any Pretence whatever, the King annulling and breaking all Contracts, and other acts relating to that matter: if it did not appear, that after these Acts, they had stayed in the
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Kingdom a whole Year : so that the last Remedy of helping themselves with their Estates in extream Necessity, was taken from them. They deprived them likewise of another, which seemed the only one remaining, which was, to seek their Bread elsewhere, by retiring into other Countries, there to get their Living by Labour, since this was not permitted them in *France*. By repeated Edicts the King forbid them to leave his Kingdom, on severe Penalties, which drove them to the last Despair; since they saw themselves reduced to the horrible necessity of dying with Hunger in their own Countrey, without daring to go to live elsewhere. But the Cruelty of their Enemies stopt not here, for there yet remained some Gleanings in the Provinces, though very few, and as thin as those in *Pharaoh's* Dream. The Intendants in their Districts had order to load the Reformed with Taxes, which they did, either by laying upon them the Tax of the New Catholics, who were discharged thereof on favour of their Conversion, or by laying exorbitant Taxes, which they called Duties, that is to say, he who in the ordinary Roll was assessed at Forty or Fifty Livres, was charged by this Imposition at Seven or Eight Hundred. Thus had they nothing more left, for all was a Prey to the Rigour of the Intendants. They raised their Taxes by the effectual quartering of Dragoons, or Imprisonment, from whence they were not freed till they had paid the utmost Farthing.

These were the two first Engins or Machins which the Clergy made use of against us: To which they added a Third, which we have termed the Infractions of the Edict of *Nantes*, under pretence of Explication. Those who would know their Number and Quality, need only read the Books written and published on this Subject; as well by the Jesuite *Menier*, an Author Famous for his Illusions, as by one *Beauard*, an Officer in the Presidial Court of *Besier* in *Languedoc*. There you will find all the turns, which the meanest and most unworthy Sophistry could invent, to elude the clearest Texts of the Edict, and to corrupt the Sincerity thereof. But because we do here give you only a brief Account of our Troubles, we will content our selves with observing some of the Principal, issuing from this Fountain: What was there, for Example, more clear and unquestionable in the Edict than this; viz. That 'twas given with an Intention to maintain those of the Religion, in all the Rights that Nature and Civil Society

Society give to Men. Yet in 1681. there came out an Edict, that Children might at the Age of Seven Years, abjure the Reformed Religion, and embrace the Catholick, under pretence, that the Edict did not precisely mark, that at this Age they should continue at their Parents Disposal. Who sees not that this was a meer trick, seeing that on one hand, the Edict forbad to take the Children from their Parents by force, or fair means: and on the other hand, the Edict supposed and confirmed all the Natural Rights, of which, without Controversie, this is one of the most inviolable. Was there ever a more manifest Infraction of the Edict, than that, which forbad those of the Protestant Religion, who had passed over to the *Roman*, to return to that they had left, under pretence, that the Edict did not formally give them in expresse Terms this Liberty. For when the Edict permits generally all the Kings Subjects Liberty of Conscience, and forbids the perplexing and troubling them, and offering any thing contrary to this Liberty. Who sees not that this Exception, touching the pretended Relapsers, is so far from being an Explication of the Edict, that 'tis a notable violation of it.

Whereunto we may add the charge given to the *Roman* Catholicks not to change their Religion, and embrace the Reformed. For when the Edict gives Liberty of Conscience, it does it in proper Terms, for all those, who are, and shall be of the said Religion. Yet if we believe the Clergy, this was not *Henry* the Great's meaning, intending only to grant it to those, who made Profession of it, at the time of the making his Edict. That of *Nantes* gave also to the Reformed, the priviledges of keeping small Schools in all places, where they had the Exercise of their Religion, and by this Term of small or little Schools, according to the common explication, those were always understood, where one might teach Latin and Humanity. This is the Sence, which has been ever given in all the Kingdom, to this Expression, which is still given when it concerns the *Roman* Catholicks. Yet by a new Interpretation, this permission was restrained to the bare Liberty of teaching to read, and write, as if the Reformed were unworthy to learn any more; and this on purpose, to tire out the Parents, and drive them to this extremity, either not to know what to do with their Children, or be forced to send them to the *Roman* Catholicks for Education.

The Edict gave them the liberty in all places where they had Churches, to instruct publicly their Children, and others, in what concerns Religion, which visibly establisht the Right of reaching them Theology, seeing their Theology is nothing else but this Religion. And as to Colleges, wherein they might be instructed in Liberal Sciences, the Edict promised Letters Patents in good form. Yet 'twas supposed the Edict gave no right to the Reformed to instruct them in Theology, nor to have Colleges, and on this Supposition, three Academies were condemned, all that remained. That of *Sedan*; although grounded on a particular Edict, was suppress'd as the rest, and even before them.

But we must go further, and seeing we have undertaken, to shew in this Abridgment, the principal things they have done to exercise our Patience, before they came to the utmost Fury. We are not to pass over the new Orders, or new Laws, which were to us as so many new Inventions to torment us. The first of these Orders, which appeared, was touching the manner of Buryals, and entering the Dead. The number of Attendants were reduced to thirty Persons in those places where the Exercise of our Religion was actually established, and to ten where it was not. Orders were also issued out to hinder the Communication of Provinces with one another, by Circular Letters, or otherwise; though about matters of Alms and disposal of Charity. Prohibitions were likewise made of holding Colloquies in the Interval of Synods, excepting in two Cases, the providing for Churches destitute by the Deaths of their Ministers; and the Correction of some Scandals. They likewise took away from those places, allowed by the Edict, which they call'd *Exercices de fies*, all the Marks of the Temples, as the Bell, the Pulpit; and other things of this Nature. They were likewise forbidden to receive their Ministers in Synods to have any deciding Voice there, or to note them in the Catalogue of those that belong'd to Churches. Others forbade the singing of Psalms in private Houses, as also some that commanded them to cease singing even in their Temples when the Sacrament passed by, or at the time of any Procession. Others were made to hinder Marriages, such times as were forbidden by the *Romish* Church. Others forbade Ministers to Preach any where, except in the place of their usual Residence. Others forbade their settling in places, unless sent by the *Synods*, though the Consistories had call'd them thither according to their usual forms.

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Others were made to hinder the Synods from sending to any Churches more Ministers than were there in the preceding Synod. Others, to hinder those that design'd for the Ministry, to be educated in Foreign Universities. Others banish'd all Foreign Ministers, though they had been ordained in the Kingdom, and spent there the greatest part of their Lives. Others forbad Ministers, or Cardinals for the Ministry to reside in places where Preaching was forbidden, or nearer than six Miles of them. Others forbad the People to assemble in the Temples, under pretence of Praying, Reading, or Singing of Psalms, except in the Presence of a Minister, placed there by the Synod. One ridiculous one was made to take away all the Backs of the Seats in the Churches, and reduce them all to an exact Uniformity. Another, to hinder the Churches that were a little more Rich, to assist the Weaker, for the maintenance of their Ministers, and other necessities. Another to oblige Parents to give their Children, who changed their Religion, great Pensions. Another to forbid Marriages betwixt Parties of different Religions, even in the case of Scandalous Cohabitation. Another to prohibit those of the Religion, from that time, to entertain in their Houses any Domesticks or Servants that were Roman Catholics. Another which made them incapable of being Tutors or Guardians; and consequently put all the Minors, whose Fathers dyed in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, under the Power and Education of Roman Catholics. Another forbidding Ministers and Elders to hinder any of their Flock, either directly or indirectly, to embrace the Roman Religion, or to dissuade them from it. Another forbidding *Jews* and *Mahometans* to embrace the Reformed Religion; and the Ministers either to instruct or receive them into it. Another subjecting Synods to receive such Roman Catholick Commissaries as should be sent them from the King, with an express order to do nothing, but in their presence. Another for bidding the Consistories to assemble oftner than once in Fifteen days, and in presence of a Catholick Commissary. Another forbidding Consistories to assist, on pretence of Charity to the Poor Sick Persons of their Religion; and ordaining that the Sick should be carried into their Hospitals, strictly forbidding any Man to entertain them in their Houses. Another confiscating, in favour of Hospitals, all the Lands, Rents, and other Profits of what nature soever, which might have appertained to a condemn-

ned Church. Another forbidding Ministers to come nearer than Three Leagues to the place where the Priviledges of Preaching was in question or debate. Another confiscated to the Hospitals all the Revenues and Rents set apart for the maintenance of the Poor, even in such Churches as were yet standing. Another subjecting sick and dying Persons to the necessity of receiving Visits, sometimes from Judges, Commissioners, or Church-Wardens; sometimes of Curates, Monks, Missionaries, or other Ecclesiasticks, to induce them to change their Religion, or require of them expresse Declarations concerning it. Another forbidding Parents to send their Children before sixteen years of Age to travel in Forreign Countries, on any pretence whatsoever. Another prohibiting Lords or Gentlemen to continue the exercise of Religion in their Houses, unless they had first produced their Titles before the Commissaries, and obtained from them a License to have Preaching. Another which restrained the right of entertaining a Minister to those only, who were in Possession of their Lands ever since the Edict of *Nantes*, in a direct or collateral Line. Another which forbade Churches called *Baillage*, to receive into their Temples any of another Bailiwick. Another which enjoined Physicians, Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, to advertise the Curates or Magistrates of the condition of Sick *Protestants*, that the Magistrates or Curates might visit them. But amongst all these new Laws, those which have most served the Design and Intention of the Clergy, have been on one hand, the prohibition of receiving into their Temples any of those who had changed their Religion, nor their Children, nor any *Roman* Catholick of what Age, Sex, or Condition soever, under pain of forfeiting their Churches, and the Ministers doing publick Penance, with Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates; and on the other side, the setting up in all the Temples a particular Bench for the Catholicks to sit on; for by this means, as soon as any one resolved to change his Religion, they needed only to make him do it in private, and to find him the next Morning in the Temple, to be observed there by the Catholicks, who were in their Seat. Immediately Informations were made, and afterwards Condemnations, in all the Rigour of the Law. The *Roman* Catholicks needed only to enter into the Temple, under pretence, that they had a place there, and then they slipt in amongst the Croud, and immediately this was a Contravention to the Declaration; and an

an unavoidable Condemnation. 'Tis by this means they have destroyed an infinite number of Temples and Churches, and put into Irons a great number of Innocent Ministers; for Villains and false Witnesses were not wanting in this occasion.

All these Proceedings were so violent, that they must needs make a strong Impression in the Reformists Minds, whereunto these things tended. And in effect, there were many of them, that bethought themselves of their safety, by leaving the Kingdom, some transported themselves into one Kingdom, and some into another, according as their Inclinations led them. But this was what the Court never intended, for more than one reason; and therefore to hinder them, they renewed from time to time this Decree, which we have mentioned, which strictly prohibited, under the most severe Penalties, any to depart the Kingdom without leave; and to this end they strictly guarded all Passages on the Frontiers. But these Precautions did not answer their Expectations, and 'twas better to blind the People, by hopes of abating this rigorous usage at home; and to this end in 1669. the King revoked several violent Decrees, which produced the Effect expected. For though the Judicious saw well enough, that this Moderation sprang not from a good Principle, and that, in the Sequel, the same Decrees would be put in execution, yet the most part imagined they would still confine themselves within some Bounds in our regard, and that they would not pass to a total Destruction.

We have often drawn the same Conclusions from the several Verbal Declarations, which came many times from the Kings own Mouth, that he pretended not to indulge us, but he would do us perfect Justice, and let us enjoy the benefits of the Edicts in their whole extent, that he would be very glad to see all his Subjects re-united to the Catholick Religion, and would for the effecting this, contribute all his Power, but there should be no Blood shed, during his Reign, on this account, nor any violence exercised. These precise and re-iterated Declarations, gave us hopes the King would not forget them; and especially in essential matters, he would let us enjoy the effects of his Bounty and Equity. 'Twas the more expected by a Letter, he wrote to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Copies of which the Ministers of State took care to disperse through the whole Kingdom. His Majesty assured him, that he was well satisfied with the Behaviour of his *Protestant* Subjects,

Subjects, from whence he drew this natural Conclusion, that he intended not then to destroy us.

To which we may add the managements used sometimes in the Council, where Churches were conserved, at the same time when others were ordered to be demolish'd; to make the World believe, they observed measures of Justice; and that those which they condemned, were not grounded on good Titles. Sometimes they softned several too rigorous Decrees; other times they seemed not to approve of the violences offered by the Intendants and Magistrates; even to the giving of orders to moderate them. In this manner did they hinder the execution of a Decree made in the Parliament of *Rouen*, which enjoyned those of the Reformed Religion to fall on their Knees, when they met the Sacrament. Thus did they stop the prosecutions of a puny Judge of *Charenton*, who ordered us to strike out of our Liturgy a prayer which was composed for the faithful, that groaned under the Tyranny of Antichrist. 'Tis thus also, that they did not extreemly favour another Persecution which began to come general in the Kingdom against the Ministers, under pretence of obliging them to take an Oath of Allegiance, wherein other Clauses were inserted, contrary to what Ministers owe to their Charges and Religion. 'Twas thus also they suspended the execution of some Edicts, which themselves had procured, as well to Tax the Ministers, as to oblige them to reside precisely in the place where they exercised their Ministry. With the same design the Syndic's of the Clergy, had the Art to let the principal Churches of the Kingdom to be at rest, for many years without disturbance in their Assemblies; whilst they in the mean time, desolated all those in the Country. They suspended also the condemnation of the Universities, and reserved them for the last. It was also in this view, that at Court, the first seemed unable to believe, and at last not to approve of the excesses, which one *Marillac* an Intendant of *Poitou*, committed in his Province: A man poor and cruel, more fit to prey on the High-ways, than to be Intendant of a Province; though indeed they had a clause expressly to make these Expeditions. But amongst all these illusions, there's none more remarkable, than five or six, which will not be improper here to take notice of: The first was, That at the very time, when at the Court they issued out all the Decrees, Declarations, and Edicts, which we have spoken of here before, and which they caused to be

be put in execution with the greatest rigour, at the same time, that they interdicted their Churches, demolished their Temples, deprived particular persons of their Offices and Employments, reduced People to Poverty and Hunger, imprisoned them, loaded them with Fines, banish'd them, and in a word, ravag'd almost all; the Intendants, Governours, Magistrates, and other Officers in *Paris*, and over all the Kingdom, coolly and gravely gave out, the King had not the least intention to touch the Edict of *Nantes*, but would most Religiously observe it. The second was, that in the same Edict, which the King publish'd to forbid Roman Catholics to embrace the Reformed Religion, which was in the year 1682. That is to say, at a time when they had already greatly advanced the work of our destruction; they caused a formal Clause to be inserted in these terms, *That he confirmed the Edict of Nantes, as much as it was or should be needful.* The third, That in the Circular Letters which the King wrote to the B shops and Intendants, to oblige them to signify the Pastoral Advertisement of the Clergy to our Consistories, he tells them in express terms, *That his intention was not that they should do any thing that might attempt upon what had been granted to those of the Reformed Religion, by the Edicts and Declarations made in their favour.* The fourth, That by an express Declaration publish'd about the latter end of the year 1684. the King ordained, That Ministers should not remain in the same Church; above the space of three years, nor return to the first, within the space of Twelve; and that they should be thus translated from Church to Church, at least twenty Leagues distant from the other; supposing by a manifest consequence, that his design was yet to permit the exercise of Religion to the Ministers in the Kingdom for Twelve years at least. Though indeed they at that moment design'd the Revocation of the Edict, and had resolved it in the Council. The fifth consists in a Request presented to the King, by the Assembly of the Clergy at the same time, that they were drawing an Edict to revoke that of *Nantes*, and put into the Hands of the *Procurer General* to frame it; and in the Decree which was granted on this request, the Clergy complain'd of the misrepresentations which the Ministers are wont to make of the *Roman Church*, to which they attribute Doctrines which they do not hold, and beseech his Majesty to provide against it. And also expressly declared, that they did not yet desire the Revocation of the Edict, upon which the King;

King by his Decree expressly forbid the Ministers to speak either good or hurt, directly or indirectly of the Church of *Rome* in their Sermons; supposing, as every one may see, that 'twas his Intention still to let them Preach; were ever such illusions known! But was there ever any greater than this which they put in the very Edict we speak of? The King after having cancelled and annul'd the Edict of *Nantes*, and all that depended thereon, after having interdicted for ever all publick Religious Exercises, he also for ever banish'd all the Ministers from his Kingdom, and expressly declares, that his will is, that his other Subjects, who are not willing to change their Religion, may remain where they are in all Liberty, enjoy their Estates, and live with the same Freedom as heretofore, without any molestation on pretence of their Religion, till it shall please God to enlighten and convert them. These were Amusements and Snares to entrap them, as it has since appeared, and it still appears every day by the horrible usages they suffer, and of which we shall speak in what follows. But we shall, first, mention a preparatory Machin, which the Persecutors have not fail'd to employ to effect their Design, and which we have reckoned to be the Sixth in order. It consists in disposing insensibly the People by degrees to desire our Destruction, to approve of it when done, and to diminish in their Mind the Horror which naturally they must have at the Cruelties and Injustices of our Persecutors Contrivances. For this purpose several means have been used, and the commonest have been the Sermons of the Missionaries and other Controversial Preachers, with which the Kingdom has been for some years stockt, under the Title of *Royal Missions*. There were fitting Youths, chosen for this purpose, who had such an Education given them, which was so far from making them Moderate, as rather enflamed them; so that 'tis easy to comprehend what Actors these are, when they not only found themselves upheld, but saw themselves moreover set on, and had express Orders to inspire their Hearers with Choler. And so well did they acquit themselves herein, that 'twas not their fault if Popular Emotions have not followed thereon in great Cities, yea in *Paris* it self, had not the Prudence of the Magistrates hindred them. To the Preachers we must join the Confessors and Directors of Mens Consciences, the Monks, the Curates, and in general, all the Ecclesiasticks from the highest to the lowest; for they being not ignorant of the Courts Intention

In this matter, every one strove to shew most Zeal, and Aversion to the Reformed Religion, because every one found his Interest lay therein, this being the only way to raise and establish his Fortune. In this design of animating the People, there past few days wherein the Streets did not ring, as well with the publication of Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations against the Protestants, as also with Satyrical and Seditious Libels, of which the People in the Towns of *France* are very greedy.

But these things served only for the meaner sort of People, and the Persecutors had this Mortification to see this Design disapproved by all those who were a degree above the Mobile. Wherefore they employed the Pens of some of their Authors, who had acquired any Reputation in the World; and amongst others, that of the Author of the History of *Theodosius* the Great, and that of Mr. *Maimburg*, heretofore a Jesuite. He publish'd his History of *Calvinism*, of which he has since had the leisure to repent, by the smart and pertinent Answers which have been given him: Their Example has been followed by several others; and *Monsieur Arnaud*, who will always make one in these matters, would not deny himself the satisfaction of venting his Choler; and at the same time endeavour to recover the Favour he has lost at Court. But although his Apology for the Catholicks was a Work as full of Fire and Passion as the *Bigots* themselves could Wish, yet 'twas not agreeable, because his person was not; he was so ill gratified for it, that he complained thereof to the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, in a Letter, the Copies whereof were dispersed over all *Paris*. Amongst other things, he exaggerated his Misfortune, and compared himself with another, who for much less Services, received Twenty Thousand Livres, as a Reward from the King. This more and more shewed the Character of the Person. However they needed not him, not wanting violent Writers, amongst whom we must not forget one Mr. *Soulier*, formerly (as they say) a Taylor, and at present Author of the History of the *Edicts* of *Pacification*; nor Mr. *Nicole*, once a great *Jansenist*, and now a Proselyte of the Archbishops of *Paris*; Author of the Book entitled, *Protestants convinced of Schism*: nor the Author of the *Journal des Scavants*, who, in his ordinary Gazets highly affirms, That the Catholick Faith must be planted by Fire and Sword, alledging for the proof thereof a King of *Normay*, who converted the Nobles of his country, by threatening them, *To slay their Chil-*

dren before their Eyes, if they would not consent to have them baptized, and to be baptized themselves. For a long time we have seen in *Paris*, and elsewhere, nothing but such sort of Writings, to such a height was Passion come.

Whilst all these things, which we have here observed, were done in *France*, they by great steps advanced to their end. 'Tis not to be imagined the Reformed neglected their common Interests or did not all that respected a just and lawful Defence. They frequently sent, from the furthest Provinces, their Deputies to the Court; They maintained their Rights before the Council; Thither they brought their Complaints from all parts. They employed their Deputy General to solicit their Interests, as well with the Judges and Ministers of State, as with the King himself. Sometimes also they presented general Addresses, in which they exposed their Grievances, with all the Humility and Deference that Subjects owe their Sovereigns. But they were so far from being heard, that their Troubles were still encreased, and their Second Condition became worse than the First. The last Petition, presented to the King himself, by the Deputy General, in *March*, 1684. was express in Terms most submissive, and most capable of moving Pity, as every one may judge, having been since Printed; and yet it produced no other Fruit, but the hastning of what they had long resolved, namely, to use open Force to accomplish our Ruine.

This was effectually done some Months after, and executed in a manner so terrible and violent, that, as we said in the beginning, there are few in *Europe*, how distant soever from the notice of the common Accidents of the World, who have not heard the Report of it; but 'tis certain, the Circumstances are not known to all, and therefore we shall give an account of them in few Words; if it be but to stop the Mouth of their Impudence, who publish abroad, That no Violences have been offered in *France*, and the Conversions there made, were with free Consent. At first they took this Measure, to quarter Soldiers in all their Provinces, almost at the same time, and chiefly Dragoons, which are the most Resolute Troops of the Kingdom. Terror and Dread marched before them, and as it were, by consent, all *France* was filled with this News, That the King would not longer suffer any *Hugonots* in his Kingdom; and that they must resolve to change their Religion, nothing being able to keep them from it.

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They began with *Bearn*, where the Dragoons did their first Executions; these were followed soon after in High and Low *Guienne*, *Xantoigne*, *Aunis*, *Poitu*, High *Languedoc*, *Vivarets*, and *Dauphiné*; after which they came to *Lionis*, *Gervennes*, Low *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Valcès*, and the Country of *Geix*, afterwards they fell on the rest of the Kingdom, *Normandy*, *Bourgoigne*, *Nivernois*, and *Berry*; the Countries of *Orleans*, *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Britany*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, and the Isle of *France*, not excluding *Paris* it self, which underwent the same Fate; the first thing, the Intendants were ordered to do, was to summon the Cities and Commonalties. They assembled the Inhabitants thereof, who profest the Reformed Religion, and there told them, 'twas the King's Pleasure they should without delay become Catholics; and if they would not do it freely, they would make them do it by force. The poor People, surpris'd with such a Proposal, answered, They were ready to sacrifice their Estates and Lives to the King, but their Consciences, being Gods, they could not in that manner dispose of them.

There needed no more to make them immediately bring the Dragoons, which were not far off. The Troops immediately seized on the Gates and Avenues of the Cities; they placed Guards in all the Passages, and often came with their Swords in their Hands, crying, *Kill, Kill, or else be Catholics*, they were quattered on the Reformists at Discretion, with a strict Charge, that none should depart out of their Houses, nor conceal any of their Goods or Effects, on great Penalties, even on the Catholics, that should receive or assist them in any manner. The first days were spent in consuming all Provisions the House afforded, and taking from them whatever they could see, Money, Rings, Jewels, and in general, whatsoever was of value. After this, they pillaged the Family, and invited, not only the Catholics of the place, but also, those of the Neighbouring Cities and Towns, to come and buy the Goods, and other things which would yield Money. Afterwards they fell on their Persons, and there's no Wickedness or Horror which they did not put in practise, to force them to change their Religion. Amidst a thousand hideous Cries, and a thousand Blasphemies, they hung Men and Women by the Hair or Feet, on the Roofs of the Chamber, or Chimney Hooks, and smoakt them with Whips of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it, and when they had taken them down, if

they would not sing, they hung them up immediately again. They threw them into great Fires kindled on purpose, and pulled them not out till they were half Roasted. They tyed Ropes under their Arms, and plunged them to and again into Wells, from whence they would not take them, till they had promised to change their Religion. They tyed them as they do Criminals, put to the question; and in this posture, with a Funnel fill'd with Wine, poured it down their Throats, till the Fumes of it depriving them of their Reason, they made them say they would consent to be Catholics. They stript them naked, and after having offered them a 1000 infamous Indignities, they stuck them with Pins from the top to the bottom. They cut them with Penknives, and sometimes with red hot Pincers took them by the Nose, and dragged them about their Rooms, till they promised to become Catholics, or that the Cries of these poor Wretches, that in this Condition call'd on God for their Assistance, constrained them to let them go. They beat them with Staves, and dragged them, all bruised, to the Churches, where their bare forced Presence was accounted for an Abjuration. They held them from sleeping seven or eight Days, relieving one another to watch them Night and Day, and kept them waking. They threw Buckets of Water on their Faces, and tormented them a 1000 ways, holding over their Heads Kettles turned downwards, whereon they made a continual Noise, till these poor Creatures had even lost their Sences. If they found any sick, either Men or Women, that kept their Beds, distempered with Fevers, or other Diseases, they had the Cruelty to bring twelve Drums sounding an Alarm about their Beds, for whole Weeks together without Intermiſſion, till they had promised they would change. It hapned in some places, that they tyed Fathers and Husbands to the Bed-Posts, and before their Eyes forced their Wives and Daughters. In another place Rapes were publickly and generally permitted for many Hours together. They pluckt off the Nails from the Hands and Toes of others, which could not be endured without intollerable Pain. They burnt the Feet of others. They blew up Men and Women with Bellows, even till they were ready to burſt.

If after these horrid usages, there were yet any that refused to turn, they imprisoned them; and for this chose Dungeons dark and noysom, in which they exercised on them all sorts of Inhumanity.

manity. In the meantime they demolished their Houses, desolated their Hereditary Lands, cut down their Woods, and seized their Wives and Children, to imprison them in Monasteries. When the Souldiers had devoured and consumed all in a House, the Farmers of their Lands furnished them with Subsistence; and to re-imburse them, they sold by Authority of Justice the Fonds of their Hosts, and put them in possession thereof. If some, to secure their Consciences, and to escape the Tyranny of these Furious Men, endeavoured to save themselves by Flight, they were pursued, and hunted in the Fields and Woods, and were shot at like Wild Beasts. The Provosts rode about the High-ways, and the Magistrates of places had orders to stop them without exception. They brought them back to the places from whence they fled, using them like Prisoners of War. But we must not fancy, that this Storm fell only on the common Sort, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Quality were not exempted from it. They had Soldiers quartered upon them in the same manner, and with the same Fury as Citizens and Peasants had. They plundered their Houses, wasted their Goods, rased their Castles, cut down their Woods, and their very Persons were exposed to the Insolence and Barbarity of the Dragoons, no less than those of others. They spared neither Sex, Age, nor Quality; wherever they found any unwillingness to obey the command of changing their Religion, they practised the same Violences. There were still remaining some Officers of Parliament which underwent the same fate, after having been first deprived of their Offices, and even the Military Officers, who were actually in Service, were ordered to quit their Post and Quarters, and repair immediately to their Houses, there to suffer the like Storm; if to avoid it, they would not become Catholics. Many Gentlemen and other Persons of Quality, and many Ladies of great Age and antient Families, seeing all these Outrages, hoped to find some retreat in *Paris*, or at the Court, not imagining the Dragoons would come to seek them so near the Kings Presence; but this hope was no less vain, than all the rest; for immediately there was a Decree of Council, which commanded them to leave *Paris* in Fifteen days, and return without delay to their own Houses; with a prohibition to all Persons to entertain or lodge them in their Houses. Some having attempted to present Adresses to the King, containing Complaints of these cruel Usages, humbly beseeching his Majesty to stop the course

course thereof, received no other Answer, than that of sending them to the *Bastile*.

Before we proceed any further, 'twill not be amiss to make some Remarks; The first shall be, that almost every where, at the Head of these Infernal Legions, besides the Commanders and Military Officers, the Intendants also, and the Bishops march'd every one in his Diocese, with a Troop of Missionaries, Monks, and other Ecclesiasticks. The Intendants gave such Orders as they thought most fitting to carry on Conversions, and restrain natural Pity and Compassion; if at any time it found a place in the Hearts of Dragoons, or their Commanders, which did not often happen. And as for the Bishops, they were there to keep open House, to receive Abjurations, and to have a general and severe Inspection that every thing might pass there according to the Intentions of the Clergy. The second thing observable is, That when the Dragoons had made some to yield, by all the Horrors which they practis'd, they immediately changed their Quarters, and sent them to those who still persevered. This Order was observed in this manner even to the end, insomuch that the last, that is to say, those who had shew'd the greatest Constancy, had, in fine, quartered on them alone all the Dragoons, which at the beginning were equally dispers'd amongst the Inhabitants of the place, which was a load impossible to be sustained.

A Third Remark, which we shall make, is, That in almost all the considerable Cities, they took care before they sent Troops thither, to gain by means of the Intendants, or some other private way, a certain number of People, not only to change their Religion themselves, when it should be seasonable, but also to assist them in perverting others: So that when the Dragoons had sufficiently done their part, the Intendant, with the Bishop, and the Commander of the Forces, again assembled these miserable Inhabitants, already ruined, to exhort them to obey the King, and become Catholics; adding thereto most terrible Threats, that they might over-awe them, and then the new Converts failed not to execute what they had promised, which they did with the more success, because the People did yet put some kind of Confidence in them.

A fourth Observation is, that when the Master of the House, thinking to get rid of the Dragoons, had obeyed and signed what they would, he was not freed from them for all this; if his
Wife,

Wife, Children, and the meanest of his Domesticks did not do the same thing ; and when his Wife, or any of his Children or Family fled, they ceased not to torment them, till he had made them return : which oftentimes being impossible, the change of their Religion did not at all avail them.

The Fifth is, That when these poor wretches fancied their Consciences would be at rest by signing some form of an Equivocal Abjuration offered them ; a little while after these cruel men came to them again, and made them sign another, which plunged them into such depths, as cast them into the utmost despair. Nay farther, they had the boldness to make them acknowledge, That they embraced the Roman Religion of their own accord ; without having bin induced thereunto by any violent means. If after this they scrupled to go to Mass, if they did not Communicate, if they did not tell their Beads ; if by a sigh escaped from them, they signified any unwillingness, they had immediately a Fine laid upon them, and they were forced to receive again their old guests.

In fine, for a sixth remark ; As fast as the Troops ravaged in this manner the Provinces, spreading terror and desolation in all parts ; Orders were sent to all the Frontier Countries and Sea-port Towns, to guard well the passages, and stop all such who pretended to escape from *France* : So that there was no hope of these poor wretches saving themselves by flight. None were permitted to pass, if he brought not along with him a Certificate from his Bishop or Curate, that he was a Catholick : others were put in Prison, and used like Traytors against their Country. All strange Vessels lying in the Ports were searched ; the Coasts, Bridges, Passages to Rivers, and the High-ways, were strictly guarded, both night and day. The Neighbouring States were also required not to harbour any more Fugitives, and to send back again such as they had already received. Attempts were also mad to seize on, and carry away some, who had escaped into Foreign Countries.

Whilst all this was acting in the Kingdom, the Court were consulting to give the last stroke, which consisted in repealing the Edict of *Nantes* ; much time was spent in drawing up the matter and form of this new Edict. Some would have the King detain all the Ministers, and force them as they did the Laity, to change their Religion, or condemn them to perpetual Imprisonment.

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They alledged for their reason, that if they did not do it, they would be as so many dangerous Enemies against them in Foreign Nations. Others on the contrary affirmed, that as long as the Ministers continued in *France*, this their presence would encourage the People to abide in their Religion, whatsoever care might be taken to hinder them ; and that supposing they should change, they would be but as so many secret adversaries nourished in the bosom of the Church of *Rome* ; and the more dangerous on the account of their knowledge and experience in Controversial matters. This last reasoning prevailed ; 'twas then resolved on to banish the Ministers, and to give them no more than fifteen days time to depart the Kingdom. As to what remained, the Edict was given to the Procurer-General of the Parliament of *Paris*, to draw it up in such a form as he should judge most fitting. But before the publishing of it, two things were thought necessary to be done ; The first to oblige the assembly of the Clergy, separately to present to the King a request concerning the matter above mentioned, in which also they told his Majesty, that they desired not at present the repealing the Edict of *Nantes* ; and the other to suppress in general, all kind of Books made by them of the Reformed Religion, and to issue out an Order for that purpose. By the first of these things, the Clergy thought to shelter themselves from the reproaches, which might be cast on them as the Authors of so many Miseries, Injustices an Oppressions which this Repeal would still occasion : And by the other, they pretended to make the Conversions much more easie (as they styled them) and confirm those which had bin already made, by taking from the People all Books, which might instruct, fortifie, and bring them back again.

In fine, This Revocative Edict of *Nantes*, was signed and published on *Thursday*, being the 8th of *October*, in the year 1685. 'Tis said the Chancellor of *France*, shewed an extream joy in Sealing it ; but it lasted not long, this being the last thing he did. For as soon as he came home from *Fountainbleau*, he fell sick, and dyed within a few days. 'Tis certain, that this mans policy, rather than his natural Inclination, induced him in his latter years to become one of our Persecutors.

The Edict was Registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, and immediately after in the others. It contains a Preface, and Twelve Articles. In the Preface, the King shews that *Henry* the Great's Grand,

and Lands of his Obedience; there continue their Commerce, and enjoy their Estates, without Trouble or Molestation upon pretence of the said Religion, on condition, that they have no Assemblies under pretext of Praying, or exercising any religious Worship whatever.

In order to put this Edict in execution, the very same day that it was registred and published at *Paris*, they began to demolish the Church of *Charenton*. The eldest Minister thereof was commanded to leave *Paris* within twenty four Hours, and immediately to depart the Kingdom. For this end they put him into the Hands of one of the Kings Footmen, with orders not to leave him till he was out of his Dominions. His Collegues were little better treated; they gave them forty eight hours to quit *Paris*, and then left them upon their Parole. The rest of the Ministers were allowed fifteen days, but it can hardly be believed to what Vexations and Cruelties they were all exposed. First of all, they neither permitted them to dispose of their Estates, nor to carry away any of their moveables or effects, nay they disputed them their Books and private Papers, one pretence, that they must justify, their Books and Papers did not belong to the Consistories where in they serv'd, which was a thing impossible, since there were no Consistories, that then remained. Beside, they would not give them leave to take along with them either Father or Mother, or Brother or Sister, or any of their Kindred, though there were many of them infirm, decay'd and poor, which could not subsist but by their means; they went so far, as even to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years Old; nay, some they took from them that were under that Age, and even such as yet hang'd upon their Mothers Breasts. They refused them Nurses for their new born Infants, which the Mothers could not give Suck. In some Frontier Places they stopped and imprisoned them, upon divers ridiculous Pretences; they must immediately prove that they were really the same Persons, which their Certificates mentioned; they were to know immediately whether there were no Criminal Process or Informations against them; they must presently justify, that they carryed away nothing that belonged to their Flocks; sometime after they had thus detained and amused them, they were told that the fifteen days of the Edict were expired, and that they should not have Liberty to retire, but must go to the Gallies. There is no kind of Deceit and Injustice which they did not think of to involve them in Troubles.

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Asto the rest, whom the Force of Persecution and hard Usage constrained to leave their Houses, and Estates, and to fly the Kingdom, it is not to be imagined what dangers they exposed them to. Never were Orders more severe or more strict, than those that were given against them. They doubled the Guards in Posts, Cities, High-Ways, and Foards, they covered the Country with Soldiers, they armed even the Peasants to stop those that passed, or to kill them: They forbid all the Officers of the Customs to suffer any Goods, Moveables, Marchandize, or other Effects, to pass. In a Word, they forgot nothing that could hinder the flight of the persecuted, even to the interrupting almost all Commerce with Neighbouring Nations. By this means they quickly filled all the Prisons in the Kingdom; for the fear of the Dragoons, the Horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and their Children taken away, and of living for the future in a Land where there was neither Justice nor Humanity for them, obliged every one to think of an escape, and to abandon all to save their Persons. All these poor Prisoners have been since treated with unheard of Rigours, shut up in Dungeons, loaded with heavy Chains, almost starved with Hunger, and deprived of all Converse, but that of their Persecutors. They put many into Monasteries, where they experience none of the least Cruelties; Some there are so happy as to dye in the midst of their Torments, others have at last sunk under the Weight of the Temptation, and some by the extraordinary Assistance of Gods Grace, do still sustain it with an Heroick Courage.

These have been the Consequences of this new Edict in this respect; but who would not have believed that the Twelfth Article would have shelter'd the rest of the Reformed; that had a mind still to stay in the Kingdom, since this Article expressly assures them, that they may live there, continue their Trade, and enjoy their Estates, without being troubled or molested upon pretence of their Religion. Yet see what they have since done, and yet do to these poor Wretches. They have not recall'd the Dragoons and other Soldiers which they dispatched into the Provinces before the Edict: On the contrary, they to this day commit with greater Fury the same Inhumanities, which we have before represented: besides this, they have marched them into Provinces, where there were none before, as *Normandy, Picardy, le Berry, Champagne, Nivernois, Orleans, Belessois*, and the *Ile of France*.

They do the same Violence there, exert the same Fury they do in other Provinces. *Paris* it self, where methinks this Article of the Edict should have been best observed, because so near the Kings Presence, and more immediately under the Government of the Court, *Paris*, I say, was no more spared than the rest of the Kingdom. The very day that the Edict was published, without more delay, the Procurer-General, and some other Magistrates, began to send for Heads of Families to come to their Houses. There they declared to them, that 'twas absolutely the Kings Will that they should change their Religion, that they were no better than the rest of his Subjects, and that if they would not do it willingly, the King would make use of means, which he had ready, to compel them. At the same time they banish'd by Letters under the Privy Seal, all the Elders of the Consistory, together with some others, in whom they found more of Constancy and Resolution; and to disperse them, chose such places as were most remote from Commerce, where they have since used them with a great deal of Cruelty, some complied, others are yet under Sufferings.

The diligence of the Procurer-General and Magistrates, not succeeding so fully as they wish'd, though Threats and Menaces were not wanting, *Monsieur Seignelay*, Secretary of State, would also try what influence he could have within his Division at *Paris*. For this end, he got together about five or six score Merchants, and others into his House, and after having shut the doors, forthwith presented them with the form of an Abjuration, and commanded them in the Kings Name to sign it; declaring, that they should not stir out of Doors till they had obeyed. The Contents of this Form were, not only that they did renounce the Heresie of *Calvin*, and enter into the Catholick Church, but also that they did this voluntarily, and without being forced or compelled to it. This was done in an Imperious manner, and with an air of Authority, yet there were some that dared to speak, but they were sharply answer'd, That they were not to dispute it, but to obey; so that they all Sign'd before they went out.

To these Methods they added others more terrible, as Prisons, actually seizing of their Effects, and Papers; the taking away of their Children, the separation of Husbands and Wives; and in fine, the great Method, that is to say, Dragoons and Guards. Those that most firmly stood out, they sent to the *Bastile*, and to the

the *Fort l'Evêque*; they confin'd them to their own or others Houses, where they lay concealed for fear of Discovery; they plunder'd those of many others, not sparing their persons, just as they had done in other places.

Thus the 12th Article of the Edict, which promised some relaxation, and a shadow of Liberty, was nothing but an egregious deceit to amuse the credulous, and keep them from thinking to make their escape, a snare to catch them with the more ease. The Fury still kept its usual course, and was heated to such a degree, that not content with the Desolations in the Kingdom, it entred even into *Orange*, a Sovereign Principality, where the King of Right has no power, and taking Ministers away from thence by force, remov'd them into Prisons. Thither the Dragoons were sent, who committed all kind of mischief; and by force constrained the Inhabitants thereof, both Men, Women and Children, and the very Officers of the Prince to change their Religion. And this is the state of things in the year 1685. and this is the accomplishment of the dealing which the Clergy has shewed us three years since, towards the end of their Pastoral Letter; *You must expect mischiefs more dreadful and intolerable, than all those, which hitherto your Revolts and Schisms have drawn down upon you.* And truly they have not been worse than their words. There are some in the Kingdom who still continue firm, and their Persecutions are still continu'd to them. There are invented every day new Torments, against those whom force has made to change their Religion, because they are still observed to sigh, and groan under their hard servitude; their hearts detesting what their mouths have profest, and their hands signed. As to such that have escaped into Foreign Countreys, who are at least 150000 persons, their Estates are Confiscated; this being all the hurt which can be done to them at present. I say at present; for 'tis not to be questioned, but our Persecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties farther. But we must hope in the compassions of God, that whatsoever intentions they may have in destroying the Protestant Religion in all places, he will not permit them to effect their designs. The World will surely open its Eyes; and this which they now come from doing with a high hand, and a worse then barbarous Fury, will shew not only the Protestants, but the wise and circumspect Catholics, what they are to expect, both one and the other, from such a sort of People.

In effect, he that shall give himself the leisure to reflect on the matters of Fact which we come now from relating, which are things certain, and acted in the face of the Sun, he shall see not only the Protestants suppress'd, but the King's Honour sullied, his Countreys damnified; all the Princes of *Europe* interess'd, and even the Pope himself, with his Church and Clergy, shamefully discredited.

For to begin with the King himself: What could be more contrary to his Dignity, then to put him upon breaking his word, and perswading him that he might with a safe Conscience violate, revoke, and annul so solemn an Edict as that of *Nantes*.

To palliate in some sort the Violence of this proceeding, they make him say in this new Edict, *That the best and greatest part of the Reform'd Religion has imbraced the Catholick; and therefore the execution of the Edict of Nantes, and whatsoever else has been done in favour of the same Religion, remains void.* But is not this an Elusion unworthy of his Majesty, seeing that if this best and greatest part of his Subjects of the Reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick; they have done it by force of Arms, and by the cruel and furious Oppression which his own Troops have laid upon them.

Perhaps one might thus speak, had his Subjects changed their Religion of their own free will, although that in this case too, the Priviledges of the Edict continue for those that remain. But after having forced them to change by the horrible inhumanities of his Dragoons; after having deprived them of the Liberty which the Edict gave them; to say coldly, that he only revokes the Edict, because it is now useless, is a Raulery unbecoming so great a Prince. For it is as much as if he said, that he was indeed obliged to continue to his Protestant Subjects all the Priviledges due to them; but having himself overthrown them by a *major* Force, he finds himself at present lawfully and fairly disengaged from this Obligation: Which is just as if a Father, who himself had cut his Childrens Threats, should glory in the being henceforward freed from the care of nourishing and protecting them. Are other Kings wont thus to express themselves in their Edicts?

What they make him moreover say, to wit, *That Henry the Great, his Grandfather, gave only the Edict of Nantes to the Protestants, that he might the better effect their re-union to the Roman Church; That Lewis the 13th also, his Father, had the same design,*
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when he gave the Edict of *Nismes*; and that he himself had entered therein at his coming to the Crown, is but a pitiful *Salvo*. But suppose (seeing they are willing we should do so) the truth of this Discourse, and take we it simply, and according to the Letter, in the sense wherein they gave it us, what can we conclude thence, but these following Propositions: That *Henry* the Great, and *Lewis* the 13th, gave only the Edicts to our Fathers to deceive them, and with an intent to ruine them afterwards with the greater ease, under the mask of this Fraud. That not being able to do this, being hindered by other affairs, they have committed this important secret to his present Majesty, to the end he should execute it when he met with an opportunity. That his present Majesty entering into the thought of this at his first coming to the Crown, he only confirm'd the Edicts and Declarations of 1643. and 1651. with other advantageous Decrees to the Reformed Religion, but to impose on them the more finely, (lay snares in their way) or if you please, crown them, as they crown'd of old the Sacrifices; That all that has been done against them, since the Peace of the *Pirenees*, till this time, according to the abridgment which we have made of it, has been only the execution of a Project, but of a Project far more ancient than we imagine, seeing we must date it from the Edict of *Nantes*, and ascend up to *Henry* the Great: In fine, That what has been till now, has been a great mystery, but is not one at present; seeing the King by this new Edict discovers it to all the World, that he may be applauded for it.

Will it not be acknowledged that the Enemies of *France*, who are willing to discredit the Conduct of its Kings, and render them odious to the World, have now an happy opportunity. *Henry* the Great gives his Edict to the Protestants with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, he gives it them as a Recompence of their Services; he promises solemnly to observe it; and as if this was not enough, he binds himself thereunto with an Oath; he executes it to the utmost of his Power, and they peaceably enjoy'd it to the end of his Reign: yet all this is but a meer Snare, for they are to be Dragoon'd at a proper time: But being himself surprized by Death, he could not do it, but leaves it in charge to *Lewis* the 13th his Son. *Lewis* the Thirteenth ascends the Throne, issues out his Declaration immediately, that he acknowledges the Edict of *Nantes* as perpetual and irrevocable, it needing not a new Confirmation.

firmation, and that he would Religiously observe every Article of it, and therefore sends Commissioners to see it actually executed. When he begins a War, he protests he designs not at Religion, and in effect he permits the full Liberty of it, in those very Towns he takes by Assault: He gives his Edict of *Nismes*, as the Edict of a Triumphant Prince, yet declares therein he understands, that of *Nantes* should be inviolably kept, and shows himself to the last as good as his Word. But this is only intended to lull the Protestants asleep, in expectation of a favourable occasion to destroy them. *Lewis* the Fourteenth, at his coming to the Crown confirms the Edict, and declares, That he will maintain the Reformed in all their Priviledges; he afterwards affirms in another Declaration, how highly he is satisfied in their Services; and mentions his design of making them to enjoy their Rights. But this is but a meer amusement, and an artifice to intrap them, the better to colour over the project of ruining them at a convenient time. What a Character now of the Kings of *France* will this afford, to its Enemies, and foreign Nations; and what confidence do they think, will be henceforward put in their Promises and Treaties; for if they deal thus with their own Subjects, if they carels them only to ruine them, what may Strangers expect from 'em. Consider we a while what they make the King say, That at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the design which he now comes from executing. They would say without doubt, from the time he actually took in hand the Reins of Government; for he was too young before, to enter personally on any design of this nature: he enter'd thereon then precisely at the time, when the Civil Wars were ended. But what does this mean, but that he undertook this design, at the very time when the Protestants came from rendring him the most important Service Subjects were ever capable of. They came from rendring him the highest Testimonies of Loyalty, when the greatest part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him. They had vigorously opposed his Enemies progress; rejected the most advantageous offers, kept Towns for him, yea whole Provinces; receiv'd his Servants and Officers into their Bosoms, when they could not find safety elsewhere, sacrificed their Estates to him, their Lives, their Fortunes; and in a word, done all with such a Zeal, as becomes faithful Subjects in so dangerous a conjuncture. And this is the time when the King enters on the design of destroying

stroying and extirpating them. This so confirms the Truth of what we said in the beginning, that it puts it out of all question, that the Project of their Destruction was grounded on the Services they had rendred the King. *Do Christian Ethics* allow these most unchristian Policies? Is it not a strange thing, that we must be taught this important Secret, and all *Europe* besides; for although the Protestants have done nothing in this occasion but their Duty, it could never be imagined their Duty should be made their Crime, and their Ruine should spring from whence should come the Safety. God has brought Light out of Darknes, but the unchristian Politicks of *France*, on the contrary, has brought Darknes out of Light. However they cannot deny but that in this new Edict, the King is made to say, *He has entred on the design to destroy the Protestant Party, in the very time wherein they have signaliz'd and distinguish'd themselves with great success for the interest of the Crown*, which will furnish perhaps matter enough to thinking Men for Reflexion, as well within as without the Kingdom; and will shew them what use is made of Services, and what Remcompence is to be expected for them.

But we shall say no more of the Expressions of the new Edict, but rather consider the matter of it. Was ever a worse and harder usage than that which we have suffered for the space of Twenty Years, which have been employed in forming the late Tempest which has fallen upon us. It has been a continual Storm of Decrees, Edicts, Declarations, Orders, Condemnation of Churches, Desolation of Temples, Civil and Criminal Processes, Imprisonments, Banishments, Pennances, Pecuniary Mults, Privation of Offices and Employs, depriving Parents of their Children, and all those other Persecutions which we have already briefly sum'd up. We are told on one hand, that the King would continue to us the Edict of *Nants*, and he delivered himself on several occasions to that Effect; and on the other hand we were made to suffer in our Estates, our Reputations, our Persons, our Families, in our Religion, and our Consciences, and all by unjust and indirect ways; by unheard of Inventions, by Oppressions, and publick Vexation, and sometime under-hand Dealings; and all this under the Vail of the Kings Authority, and because this was his good pleasure. We know very well the Authority of Kings, and the Respect and Submission with which we should receive their Orders. And therefore have we, during all these unsup-
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portable

portable Usages, a Patience, and an Obedience so remarkable, that it has been an Admiration of the Catholicks themselves, our Countrymen. But it must be acknowledged that those who put his Majesty on dealing thus with us, or have used his Name and Authority for this, could not do him otherwise a greater dishonor than they have done. For after all, those Kings who would have themselves esteemed for their Justice and Equity, govern not their Subjects after this manner. They are not for putting all to an uncertainty, filling all places with Lamentation and Terror. They seek not their satisfaction in the Tears, and Groans of their innocent People; nor are they pleased with keeping their Subjects in a perpetual Agitation. They love not to have their Names mention'd with terror, nor meditate continual designs of extirpating those, who give constant and unquestionable Proofs of their Loyalty; much less to invent cruel projects, which like Mines, in their time shall destroy their own Natural Subjects; for what else have been these flie and equivocal Declarations, Counter-Orders, and revocative Edicts.

There are three things, very remarkable, in this whole Affair, the First is, that as long as they have been only in the way, the true Authors of the Persecution have not concealed themselves, but the King, as much as they could: 'Tis true, the Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations, and other things, went under the name of his Majesty; but at the request of the Agents, and Factors for the Clergy: And whilst they were busied in these matters, the King declared openly his Intention of maintaining the Edicts, and that 'twas abuses which he design'd to correct. The Second is, that when they came to the last Extremities, and to open force, then they have concealed themselves as much as they could, set forth the King at his full Length. There was nothing beard but these kind of Discourses, *The King will have it so, the King has taken it in hand, the King proceeds further than the Clergy desires*; by these two means they have had the Address to be only charg'd with the lesser parts of the cruelties, and to lay the most violent, and odious part at the Kings door. The Third thing which we should remark is, that the better to obtain their Ends, they have made it their business to perswade the King, that this Work would Crown him with Glory, which is a horrid abuse of his credulity, an abuse so much the greater, by how much they would not have themselves thought the Authors of this Council; and when any particular Person of them are ask'd this day, *What they think of it*, there are few of them but condemn it. In

In effect ; what more false an Idea could they give to his Majesty of Glory, than to make it consist in surprizing a poor People, disperst over all his Kingdom, and living securely under his Wings and the Remains of the Edict of *Nantz*; and who could not imagine there were any Intentions of depriving them of the Liberty of their Consciences, of surprizing and overwhelming them in an Instant, with a numerous Army, to whose discretion they are delivered ; and who tell them that they must either by fair means or foul, become *Roman* Catholicks, this being the Kings will and pleasure. What a falser Notion of Glory could they offer him, than the putting him in the place of God, making the Faith and Religion of Men to depend upon his Authority, and that hence forward it must be said in his Kingdom, *I don't believe because I am perswaded of it, but I believe, because the King would have me do it* ; which to speak properly, is, that I believe nothing, and that I'll be a *Turk*, or a *Jew*, or whatever the King pleases. What falser Idea of Glory, then to force from Mens Mouths by Violence, and a long Series of Torments ; a Profession, which the Heart abhors, and for which one sighs night and day, crying continually to God for Mercy. What Glory is there in inventing new ways of Persecutions, unknown to former Ages ; which indeed do not bring Death along with them, but keep Men alive to suffer, that they may overcome their Patience and Constancy by Cruelties, which are above Humane Strength to undergo ? What Glory is there in not contenting themselves to force those who remain in his Kingdom ; but to forbid them to leave it, and keep them under a double Servitude, *viz.* both of Soul and Body ? What Glory is there in keeping his Prisons full of innocent Persons, who are charged with no other fault, than serving God according to the best of their Knowledge, and for this to be expos'd to the Rage of the *Dragoons*, or condemned to the Gallies, and executions on Body and Goods ? Will these Cruelties render his Majesties Name lovely in his History, to the Catholick or Protestant World ?

But we should be very loath to exaggerate any thing, which may violate the Respect due to so great a Prince ; but we do not think it a failure in our Duty, fairly to represent how far these refined Politicians have really interest'd his Honour, in the sad Misfortunes wherein they have plunged us, and how Criminal they have thereby made themselves towards him. They have committed no

less Misdemeanours against their Country, of which they are Members, and for which a Man would think they should have some consideration. Not to speak here of the great number of Persons of all Ages, Sexes and Qualities, which they have cut off from it by their fierce Tempers; although perhaps this Loss be greater, than they were willing to imagine. Its certain, that *France* is a very Populous Country, but when these Feavourish Fits shall be over, and they shall in cold Blood consider what they have done, they will find these Diminutions to be no matter of Triumph; for 'tis not possible, that so many Substantial People, so many intire Families, who distinguish themselves in the Arts, in the Sciences, Civil and Military, can leave a Kingdom without one day being missed: at present, whilst they rejoyce in their Spoils, possess themselves of the Houses and Estates, this loss is not felt; 'tis recompensed by Booty, but it will not be always so: Neither shall we insist here on that almost general Interruption of Traffick, which these most *Unchristian Persecutors* have caused in the Principal Towns of the State; although this be no small Mischief: The Protestants made up a good part of the Trade, as well within the Kingdom as without, and were therein so mixt with the Catholicks, that their Affairs were in a manner inseparable. They dealt as it were in Common, when these Oppressions came upon them; and what Confusions have they not produced? How many industrious measures have they broken? How many honest designs have they not disappointed? How many Manufactures ruined? How many Bankrupts made? and how many Families reduced to Beggary? But this is what the Oppressors little trouble themselves about; they have their Bread gained to their Mouths, they live in wantonness and ease; and whilst others dye with Hunger, their Revenues are ascertain'd to them. But this hinders not the Body of the Estate to suffer, both in its Honour and Profit; and we may truly say, that Four Civil Wars could not have produced so much Mischief, as time will shew to spring from this Persecution.

But we will leave the consequence of this affair to time, and only say, That the Edi^c of *Nantes*, being a fundamental Law of the Kingdom; and an agreement between two parties, by a reciprocal acceptation under the peaceable Reign of *Henry* the Great; by the publick Faith, and by mutual Oaths, as we have already seen; this must certainly be of ill example to the interest of the
State;

State : That after having made a thousand infractions of it, it must be at length revok'd, cancel'd, and annul'd, at the motion of a Cabal, who abuse their interest ; and hereby make themselves fit for enterprising, and executing any thing. After this Violation, what can henceforward be thought firm and inviolable in *France*. I speak not of particular mens affairs, but of general establishments, Royal Companies, Courts of Justice, and all other ranks of men interest'd in Society, even the very rights of the Crown, and form of Government. There are in the Kingdom a great many thinking men, I mean not your Poets, and such like kind of Flatterers, who make Verses, Orations, Panegyricks, and Sermons too for Preferments and Benefices ; but I speak of solid and judicious persons ; who see into the consequences of things ; and know well how to judge of them ; shall we think that these men, see not what is too visible, that the State is pierc'd through and through, by the same blow given the Protestants ; and that such a open revocation of the Edict, leaves nothing firm or sacred. It's to no purpose to alledge distinctions in the matter, and say that the pretended reform'd Religion, was odious to the State, and therefore was thus undertaken. For not to mention the dangerousness of the example ; as to the general aversion to our Religion in the minds of the Catholics, it is certain, that excepting the Faction of the Bigots, and what they call the propagators of the Faith ; neither the Commons, nor great People, have any animosity against us ; but on the contrary, do bemoan our misfortunes. Not to touch further on this, who knows not what an easie matter it is to run down any^e cause, or render it odious or indifferent in the minds of the People. There are never wanting reasons and pretences, in matters of this nature ; one party is set up against another ; and that is called the State, right or wrong, which is the prevailing one : like as in Religion, not the best and honestest, *but the powerfullest, and boldest part, are termed the Church*. We must not judge of these things then from their matter, but their form. Now if ever there was since the World stood, a matter authentick and irrevocable, it was the Edict of *Nantes* ; To revoke and cancel it, is to set up ones self above our obligations to God, as well as to Men ; 'tis to declare openly, that there are no longer any ties or promises in the world. And this is no more then the wise will easily comprehend, and I doubt not but they have done it already.

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Some perhaps may make an objection on this occasion, which 'twill be good to answer; which is, that as the Edict, consider it how we will, is become only a Law of State by *Henry* the Great's Authority so it may likewise be revok'd and annul'd by *Lewis* the 14th his Grandson and Successor. For things may be ended by the same means they have bin begun. If *Henry* the Great, has had the power to change the form of governing the State, by introducing a new Law; why has not *Lewis* the 14th the same power to alter this form, and annul whatsoever his predecessor has done? But this objection will soon be answer'd, by considering it's built upon a false principal, and offers a falser consequence. It is not the single Authority of *Henry* the Great which has establisht the Edict. The Edict is a Decree of his Justice, and an accord or transaction that pass between the Catholicks and the Reformists. Authoriz'd by the publick Faith of the whole Estate, and seal'd with the seal of an Oath, and ratified by the execution of it; now this renders the Edict inviolable, and sets it above the reach of *Henry's* Successors; and therefore they can be only the Depositaries and Executors of it, and not the Masters to make it depend on their wills. *Henry* the Great never employ'd the force of Arms to make the Catholicks consent to it; and though since his death, under the minority of *Lewis* the 13th. there have bin Assemblies of the States General, the Edict has remain'd in full force; 'twas then, as we have already said, a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, which the King could not touch. But supposing this were not a work grounded on the bare Authority of *Henry*, which is false, it does not therefore follow, that his present Majesty can revoke it. The Edict is a Royal Promise, which *Henry* the Great made to the Reformists of his Kingdom, as well for himself as his Successors for ever; as we have already seen; and consequently this is a condition or hereditary Debt, charged on himself and Posterity. Moreover, it is not true, that *Henry* the Great, has changed any thing in the Government of the State, when he gave Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects; for this Liberty is matter of right, and more inviolable than all Edicts, seeing that it is a right of Nature. He has permitted a publick exercise of the Reformed Religion; but this exercise was establisht in the Kingdom before his Edict, and if he has enlarged the priviledges of the Reformed, as without doubt he has, he did not do it without the Consent and Ap-
probation

probation of the State; and has herein violated nothing of his lawful engagements. But 'tis not the same with *Lewis* the 14th. who of his own pure Authority, makes a real and fundamental Change, against the concurrence of one part of his Estate, and without the consulting the other; hereby violating his own Engagements, those of his Kingdom, and even the Laws of Nature too. In fine, if we consider what means have been used to arrive at the Revocation in question, how shall a man not acknowledge the State is sensibly interested therein. They are not contented to suppress the Religious Assemblies, and to null the Protestants priviledges by unjust Decrees; but they also send them Soldiers to dispute points of Religion with them; They are Sack't like People taken by Assault, forced in their Consciences; and for this purpose, Hell it self is let loose upon them; and *this is the effects of a Military, and Arbitrary Government, regulated neither by Justice, Reason, nor Humanity*. Can it be thought, that, France will be at ease in this manner, or that wise people will think this an equitable way of governing? There needs only another design, another passion to satisfy, another vengeance to execute; and then, we be to them who shall oppose it; for the Dragoons will not forget their Office.

To these two Reflections, which respect the *French King* and his States, we may add a third, which will have regard to the Interests of Kings, Princes, and other powers of *Europe*, as well of one as of the other Religion. We shall not be much mistaken, if we say, that they have a common and general concern herein; inasmuch as these skilful Artists in misery, do as much as they can to trouble the good understanding that is betwixt them and their People. We are perswaded, that their wise and just Government will, in this respect, put them beyond all fear: but this hinders not examples of this nature, from being always mischievous, and naturally tending to beget in the minds of the Vulgar, (who commonly judge only of things in general) suspicions and distrusts of their Sovereigns, as if they dream'd of nothing but devouring their Subjects, and delivering them up to the Discretion, or rather, the Fury of their Soldiers. The greater moderation and Justice that Princes have, the less they are obliged to those who furnish people with matter for such dangerous thoughts, which may produce very ill Effects.

Beside, is it not certain, that the Princes and States of *Europe*, cannot without a great deal of pleasure see *France*, which makes so great a Figure in the affairs of the World, and gives them so powerful an influence, now put her self in such a condition, as that no just Measures can be taken from her? For after so scandalous and publick a violation of the word of three Kings, and of the publick Faith, what Credit can be given for the future, to her Promises or Treaties? It will not be sufficient to say, that they will have no force but what Interest inspires; but that they will hereafter depend on the Interest or Capriciousness of a sort of Heady People, that will give nothing either to the Laws of Prudence or Equity, but manage all by force. If they have had the power, to do within the Kingdom what they have lately put in execution, what will they not do as to Affairs without? If they have not spared their own Country-men, with whom they had daily Commerce, who were serviceable to them, will they spare the unknown? Will they have more respect to Truces or Conventions of four days Transaction, than to an Edict of an hundred years continuance, and that the most August and Solemn that ever was which yet they made no other use of then to amuse a People, and to involve them more surely in an utter Desolation? Methinks they have resolv'd to bring things to this pass, That there being no more Faith to be had in *France*, all her Neighbours should be continually upon their Guard against her, and the more so when she promises, then when she threatens; more in Peace then in War; so that there is no more hopes of being at quiet, but what the Surety of Hostages, or the diminution of her Forces can give.

This being so in respect of all Princes and States in general, what may the Protestant Princes and States in particular think, but that it is the design of *France* to ruine them all, and to make no stop till she has devoured them? Every body knows, that the Protestant Princes understand their Interests well enough, to be able to discern them through the Clouds, wherewith they would cover them; and 'tis not doubted but they see, that this is a beginning or Essay, which *France* expects shortly to give the last stroak to. The Court there has suffer'd it self to be possess'd with gross Bigotry, and a false Zeal of Catholicism. 'Tis the *Cenius a-la mode*; each there is become a persecutor, even to Fire and Sword; and there are some perswaded, that this shall weigh

weigh down the Ballance. Vain Glory is no small Ingredient in this design, Policy has her Prospects, and Mysteries in it too; and as these Prospects have no Bounds, so her Mysteries want not invisible Springs, and surprising ways, which she will joyn when she pleases to the Power of Arms. She thinks the Season is ripe, and she needs only to dare. The easiness she has found in making Conquests and Conversions swells her Courage, and already some talk of nothing but a further progress in so fair a way. 'Tis to be hoped that Protestant Princes and States will from thence draw their just Conclusions.

As to Catholick Princes and States, they have too sagacious Judgments, not to see how much they share in this Affair. It will be made use of to break the good understanding which is betwixt them and the *Protestants*, by amusing those with the fair Pretext of the Catholick Religion, and cunningly inspiring these with Jealousies of a general Design to destroy them. If the Catholick Princes and States remove not these Suspicions, if they suffer *France* still to aggrandize her self by her pretended Zeal for Catholicism, which at the bottom is but a Mask, they may already be assured, that they are lost. It will signifie little to say, *We are good Catholicks as well as you*, this will not secure them from *Dragoons*, all that will not take the Yoke shall be Hereticks; nay, worse than an Heretick; for now the greatest Heresie is not to submit; *Spain, Germany and Italy* already know this in some measure.

But it will not be thought a *Paradox*, if, to all that we have said, we add, That the *Pope* himself, and the whole Body of the *Roman Church*, find themselves sensibly interest'd in the Persecution of us. And yet we will say nothing herein, but what is evident Truth, and which the wisest of the *Roman Catholicks* must agree to. For is it not the worst Character that can be given of the *Roman Clergy*, to represent them as an Order of Men, who not only cannot endure any thing that is not subject to them in a Religious, but also in Civil Society; as Men that are not content to Anathematize all that displease them, but design nothing so much as to exterminate them, not only to exterminate them, but also to force their Consciences, and inspire their Opinions; and propagate their way of Worship by the knocking Arguments of *Swords and Staves*; as an Order of Men, who neither Faith nor Justice, who promise only to deceive, who for

a while curb their fury only, that afterwards they may the more insult, that in *Peace* as well as *War*, contrive only to overturn and destroy, that make Alliances only to surprize, and finding themselves more powerful, deny those they have surprized the Liberty to escape. These are the exact Features and Colours by which the *Roman* Clergy may be easily known, if we judge of them by the persecution in *France*, the like whereof was never seen to this day: The *Egyptians* and *Assyrians* once persecuted the *Israelites*, but forced them not to embrace the Worship of their Idols; they contented themselves with making them Slaves, without doing violence to their Consciences. The Heathens and the *Jews* persecuted the primitive Christians, forced their Consciences indeed, but they had never granted them an Edict, nor by persecuting them did violate the publick Faith, nor hindred them to make their escape by Flight. The *Arrians* cruelly persecuted the *Orthodox*, but besides that, they went not so far, as to make the common sort of people sign formal Abjurations; there was no Edict or Concordat between the Two Communions. *Innocent* the 3^d. by his *Crossades*, persecuted the *Waldenses*, and *Albigenses*, but these people also had no Edict. *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, furiously persecuted the *Jews*, but he gave them leave to depart out of his Kingdom, and they had no Edict. It was the same with those Remains of the *Moors*, who had settled themselves in some *Cantons* of the Kingdom of *Granada*, they were defeated in a War, and commanded to retire into the Country from whence their Ancestors came. In the last Age the Duke of *Alva* exercised dreadful Cruelties upon the *Protestants* of the Seventeen *Provinces*, but he did not hinder them from flying, nor violated any Edict; and at the worst, death was their Release. The *Inquisition* is to this day in *Spain* and *Italy*, but they are Countries, in which no Religion, besides the *Roman*, was ever permitted by Edicts, and if the *Inquisitors* may be accused of Violence and Cruelty, yet they cannot be convicted of Perfidiousness.

But in this last Persecution of *France*, there are Five things that strike the Mind with horror; they make the Consciences and Religion of Men to depend Sovereignly upon the Will of a King, they violate a Faith Authentickly sworn to, they force Men to be Hypocrites, and wicked, by seeming to embrace a Religion which they abhor; they prohibit all Flights or retiring out of the Kingdom; they do not put to death, but preserve Life to oppress it
with

with longer Torments. If after this the Court of *Rome* and its Clergy, dispersed over the rest of *Europe*, disclaim not so odious and so criminal a Conduct; if they condemn it not, it will be an indelible Stain to the Honour of their Religion. Not only Protestants, who are of a different Communion, but also in an infinite number of their own *Catholicks*, will be mightily scandaliz'd thereat: nay, even the *Turks* and *Jews* and *Pagans* will rise up in Judgment against them. They may already know what they have bin condemned of, in what passed in the Council of *Constance*, concerning *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, whom they put to Death, notwithstanding the safe Conduct of the Emperor *Sigismund*; but there is something greater here: There only Two Men were concerned, here more than 1500000. these they put to Death, and if they had done the same to these, they would have embraced their Death with Joy and Comfort. The Council thought its Authority greater than *Sigismund's*, but there cannot be produced one above that which has establish'd our Edict.

We are not ignorant of the different Methods which the Persecutors take to shelter themselves from publick Condemnation. Some take a speedy course to deny the Fact; and to perswade the World, *That Force and Violence have had no share in the Conversions, but that they were soft, and calm, and voluntary; and that if there were any Dragoons concerned therein, 'twas because the Reformed themselves desired them, that they might have a handsom pretence to change their Religion.* Was there ever seen so much Impudence? What will they not deny, who can deny what's done in the Face of the Sun, and what a whole Kingdom from one end of it to the other hath seen, and to this day sees? For in the beginning of the year 1686. whilst I am composing this sad Rehearsal, they continuè to exercise in *France* the same Rage, that ended the preceding year, the same *Dragoons* both in Cities and Countries execute the same Fury against some lamentable Remains of Protestants, who will not fall down and worship.

They are used like Rebels in their Persons, in their Estates, in their Wives, and in their Children; and if there be any difference, 'tis in this that their sufferings are still increasing. Yet if we will believe the Clergy, haranguing the King, and the Bishop of *Valence* their Speaker, he tells his Majesty how miraculous his Reign is, seeing such infinite numbers of Conversions are made to the *Roman Church*, without violences and Arms; much less,

saith he, *by the force of your Edicts*, as by the example of your *exemplary Piety*. If we will believe the greatest part of the Abjurations which these poor Opprest People, are forc'd to make, they speak indeed the same sence, *viz. That they have done this without being constrain'd thereto*. Thus is the Credulity of the publi ck impos'd on: They have Seeds of Imposture sown at their Feet, which are to grow with the time. Posterity who shall see these Records, will believe they contain the truth; Here, say they, is what has bin told the King, who must not have falshoods offer'd him: Here is the proper acts and deeds of those that were converted. Why will not then Posterity believe it, seeing that at present, there are indeed people impudent enough, or to speak better, paid well enough to publish it in strange Countries; and there are found credible persons enough to believe it. But I pray what likelihood is there, that 150000 persons already gone out of *France*, without any thing constraining them to it, should leave their Houses, their Lands of Inheritance, their Effects, and several their Wives and Children, for to wander about the World, and lead a miserable Life for a humour. Is there any likelihood, that Persons of Quality of both Sexes, who enjoyed 10, 15, 20, 30 thousand Livres *per annum*, would abandon these their Estates, not only for themselves, but for their Successors; expose themselves to the perils, and incommodioufness of long Journies, and reduce themselves in a manner to Beggary; which is a condition the most insupportable in the world, to Persons of Quality; and all this without any reason, without any occasion? What likelihood that this 150 thousand persons who have already escap'd, some of 'em into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, some into *Denmark*, others into *Holland*, some into *Suedeland*, and others into *England*, and some into *America*, without seeing or knowing one another, yet have agreed to tell the same lie, and to say with one voice, That the *Protestants* are cruelly persecuted in *France*; and that by unheard of Severities they are forc'd to change their Religion; altho' there is no such matter? Is it likely that the Embassadors and Envoys of Foreign Princes, should lye all of them in consort, in telling them this news, wherein there is no truth? But I pray, if in *France* the *Protestants* thus voluntarily, and without constraint change their Religion, & that the *Dragoons* are call'd in only as their good friends, whence happens this so strict & general Guard on the Frontiers, to hinder Peoples departure? How is it that the

Prisons

Prisons of the Kingdom are cram'd, with Fugitives stopt by the way? Whence is it, that those who have chang'd, are watch'd with such great care to hinder their flight; to the obliging them to deposit sums of money to secure them from the suspicion of it? This must be an Epidemical Distemper that has seiz'd on his Majesties Subjects, that shall make them fly thus without reason? But is not this a fine cover, to say that the Protestants have themselves call'd in the Dragoons, to have the better pretence to change their Religion? It is about 10 or more years since there was a Banket up to traffick for Souls. Mr. *Pelison*, has for a long time bin the great dealer of *Paris*, in this infamous Trade of purchasing Converts. These Conversions have of late, bin the only way of gaining applause, and recompences at Court, and in a word, a means of raising ones Fortune; and yet we must be told, that instead of being Converted by these easie ways, we had rather choose the help of Dragoons, that is, of being pillag'd. At least let any one tell us, why since these pretended voluntary Conversions, the People not willing to go to Mass, they have bin oblig'd to send them Troops, and use them with the same severity as before.

This is so gross and palpable an untruth, that others have undertaken to defend these Violences, as being naturally of the genuine Spirit of the Catholick Church; and for this purpose, they have continually in their mouths that passage of the Gospel, *compelle intrare*, compel them to come in, and the persecution which the Orthodox of *Africk* offer'd the *Donatists*, &c.

Were this a place to dispute against these furious Divines, we could easily show 'em the vanity of these allegations; but we shall rather ask 'em, whether the Jews and Pagans had agreed upon an Edict with the Apostles, when our Saviour says to them, *compel them to come in*. Has *St. Augustin* ever written, for he is cited in this matter, That we ought to be perfidious towards those whom we esteem as Hereticks, when we promis'd to live with 'em like Brethren and fellow Citizens. The *Donatists*, had they any Edicts which would shelter 'em from the insults of the Orthodox? If we yield to this detestable Divinity, what will become of all us Christians? For in short, the *Papist* is as much an Heretick to the Protestants, as the Protestants are to the *Papist*; yet they live together in peace, on the Faith of Alliances, Treaties and Promises. But these publick Pests as much as in them lies have brought all things into confusion, and a State of War. They

arm,

arm the Catholics against the Protestants, teaching the Catholics by this example, that their Religion obliges him to betray and surprise the Protestants, when they can do it unpunish'd ; and knock out their Brains if they will not change their Religion. They arm the Protestant against the Catholic ; for after all, what Peace and Society can we have with People, who not only make no Conscience to break their Faith ; but on the contrary, make it a case of Conscience to break it, when they shall find occasion. Thus have they by their Dragoons desolated a Kingdom, and plunder'd above a 100 thousand Families. Do we think this method, is pleasing to him, whom we both own to be the Author of our Faith ; he has said, *That he will not suffer Hell Gates to ruine his Church* ; but he has not said, he will open Hell Gates for the propagating his Church. Now if there were any thing that looks like the Gates of Hell, it is the persecutions of *France*.

Whatsoever Antipathy there may be between the See of *Rome* and us, we will not believe that the present Pope has had any part, or that the Storm has fallen on us from him. We know he is a mild Prince, and his temper leads to more moderate Councils than those of his Predecessors. Moreover we know, the Clergy of *France* do not always consult him in what they undertake ; and we have had often offered to us, what has bin done against *Rome*, to induce us to submit our selves to the King's will in these other matters ; and how small a deference is paid to its Authority. So that we hope the Pope himself, considering us still as Men and Christians, will condole us, and blame the methods us'd against us, had he no other reason than the interest of Religion. *Perhaps one day, it will be our turn to blame that which will be taken against him.*

However, 'tis certain the Protestants of *France* are the most fit objects of publick compassion, the world ever knew. Some sigh and lament under a hard Slavery, which they would willingly change for Irons in *Algiers* or *Turkie*. For there they would not be forced to turn *Mahometans*, and might still entertain some hopes of liberty by the way of ransom. Others are wandering about strange Countries, stript of their Estates, separated in all probability, for ever from their Parents, their Relations and Friends, whom they have left in the most doleful condition imaginable. Husbands have left their Wives, and Wives their Husbands ; Fathers their Children, and Children their Fathers. We have
seen

seen our Estates vanish in a moment, our honest ways of living, our hopes, our Inheritances.

We have scarcely any thing left us but our miserable Lives, and they are supported by the Charity of our *Christian Brethren*.

Yet amongst all these Afflictions we are not destitute of Comfort; we, if ever any did, do truly suffer for Conscience sake; the Malice of our *Persecutors* not being able to charge us with the least Misdemeanour. We have served our King and the State with Zeal and Faithfulness. We have submitted to the Laws and to Magistrates; and for our Fellow-Citizens, they have no reason to complain of us. We have for Twenty years together suffered with an unexemplary patience all those furious and dreadful Storms aforementioned. And when in *Picardie* and *Cevennes*, some have thought themselves bound in Conscience to preach on the Ruines of their Temples illegally demolisht, their small number, which were but a handful of Men, Women and Children, has only served to stir up more the Resignation and Obedience of our whole *Body*. In these latter Storms we have been like Sheep, innocent and without defence. We then comfort our selves in the Justice of our Cause, and our peaceable *Deportment* under it.

But we comfort our selves likewise in the *Christian Compassion* shewed us by *Forrein Princes*, and more especially of his Majesty of *England*, who has received us into his Countries, succoured and relieved us, and recommended our distressed Condition to all his Subjects; and we have found in them not only new Masters, or the Affections of new Friends, but of real *Parents* and *Brethren*. And as these bowels of Commiseration have been as *Balm* to our Wounds, so we shall never lose the remembrance of it, and hope we nor our Children shall ever do any thing, by Gods Grace, unworthy any of these their protections.

All our Affliction then is, to see our Religion oppressed in the Kingdom of *France*; so many Churches wherein God was daily served according to the simplicity of the Gospel, demolished, so many Flocks dispers'd, so many poor Consciences sighing and groaning under their *Bondage*; so many *Children* deprived of the lawful Education of their *Parent*; but we hope that at length the same God who heard heretofore the Sighs of his *People* in the *Servitude of Egypt*, will also hear at this time the *Cries* of his Faithful Servants. We call not for Fire from Heaven, *We are for no resistance*, we only pray that God would touch the Heart

of our *Persecuters*, that they may repent, and be saved together with us. We entreat such a deliverance, as he in his Wisdom shall think fitting.

However 'twill be no Offence to God nor Good Men to leave this Writing to the World, as a Protestation made before him, and them against these Violences; more especially against the Edict of 1685. containing the Revocation of that of *Nantes*, it being in its own Nature inviolable, irrevocable, and unalterable. We may, I say, complain amongst other things against the worse than inhumane Cruelties exercised on dead Bodies, when they are drag'd along the Streets at the Horse Tayls, and dig'd out, and denyed Sepulchers. We cannot but complain of the Cruel Orders to part with our Children, and suffer them to be Baptized, and brought up by our Enemies. But above all, against the impious and detestable practise, now in vogue, of making Religion to depend on the Kings pleasure, on the will of a Mortal *Prince*, and of treating perseverance in the Faith with the odious name of Rebellion: This is to make a God of Man, and to run back into the Heathenish pride and flattery amongst the *Romans*; or an authorising of Atheism or gross Idolatry. In fine, we commit our Complaints, and all our Interests into the Hands of that Providence, which brings Good out of Evil, and which is above the Understanding of Mortals, whose Houses are in the Dust.

An EDICT of the French KING, Prohibiting
all Publick Exercise of the Pretended Reform-
ed Religion in His Kingdom.

LEWES, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to all present and to come, Greeting. King Henry the Great, Our Grandfather of Glorious Memory, desiring to prevent, that the Peace which he had procured for his Subjects, after the great Losses they had sustained, by the long continuance of Civil and Forreign Wars, might not be disturbed by occasion of the pretended Reformed Religion, as it had been during the Reigns of the Kings his Predecessors, had by his Edict given at Nantes, in the Month of April, 1598. Regulated the Conduct which was to be observed with Respect to those of the said Religion, the places where they might publicly exercise the same, appointed extraordinary Judges, to administer Justice to them; and lastly, also by several distinct Articles provided for every thing, which he judged needful for the maintenance of Peace and Tranquility in his Kingdom, and to diminish the Aversion which was between those of the one and other Religion; and this, to the end that he might be in a better condition for the taking some effectual course (which he was resolved to do) to reunite those again to the Church, who upon so slight occasions had withdrawn themselves from it. And forasmuch as this Intention of the King, our said Grandfather, could not be effected, by reason of his suddain and precipitated Death; and that the Execution of the foresaid Edict was interrupted during the Minority of the late King, Our most Honoured Lord and Father, of Glorious Memory, by reason of some new Enterprises of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, whereby they gave occasion for their being deprived of several Advantages which had been granted to them, by the foresaid Edict: Notwithstanding, the King, Our said late Lord and Father, according to his wonted Clemency, granted them another Edict at Nismes, in the Month of July 1629, by means of which the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom being now again re-established, the said late King, being animated with the same Spirit and Zeal for Religion, as the King our said Grandfather was, resolved to make

good use of this Tranquility, by endeavouring to put this pious design in Execution, but Wars abroad, coming on a few years after, so that from the Year 1635, to the Truce which was concluded with the Princes of Europe, in 1684. The Kingdom having been only for some short Intervals altogether free from troubles, it was not possible to do any other thing for the advantage of Religion, save only to diminish the number of places permitted for the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as well by the Interdiction of those which were found erected in prejudice to the disposal made in the said Edict, as by suppressing the mix'd Chambers of Judicature, which were composed of an equal number of Papists and Protestants, the erecting of which was only done by Provision, and to serve the present Exigency.

Whereas therefore at length it hath pleased God to grant, that Our Subjects enjoying a perfect Peace, and We Our selves being no longer taken up with the cares of protecting them against our Enemies, are now in a condition to make good use of the said Truce, which we have on purpose facilitated, in order to the applying our selves entirely in the searching out of means, which might successfully effect and accomplish the design of the Kings, our said Grandfather and Father, and which also have been our intention ever since we came to the Crown; we see at present (not without a just acknowledgment of what we owe to God on that account) that our endeavours have attain'd the end we proposed to Our selves, forasmuch as the greater and better part of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion have already embraced the Catholick, and since by means thereof, the Execution of the Edict of Nantes, and of all other Ordinances in favour of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, is made useless, we judge that we can do nothing better towards the entire effacing of the Memory of those Troubles, Confusion and Mischief, which the Progress of that false Religion, hath been the cause of in Our Kingdom, and which have given occasion to the said Edict, and to so many other Edicts and Declarations which went before it, or were made since with reference thereto, than by a total Revocation of the said Edict of Nantes, and the particular Articles and Concessions granted therein, and whatsoever else hath been Enacted since in favour of the said Religion.

I.

We make known, that We, for these and other Reasons us thereto moving, and of our certain Knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, have by the present perpetual and irrevocable Edict, Suppress'd and
Annul'd

Annul'd, do suppress and annul the Edict of the King, our said Grand-father, given at Nantes in April, 1598 in its whole extent, together with the particular Articles ratified the Second of May, next following, and Letters Patent granted thereupon; as likewise the Edict given at Nismes, in July 1629. declaring them null and void, as if they had never been Enacted, together with all the Concessions granted in them, as well as other Declarations, Edicts, and Arrests, to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Nature soever they may be, which shall all continue as if they never had been. And in pursuance hereof, we Will, and it is our Pleasure, that all the Churches of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, situate in our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Dominions belonging to us, be forthwith demolished.

II.

We forbid our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to Assemble themselves, for time to come, in order to the Exercise of their Religion, in any Place or House under what Pretext soever, whether the said places have been granted by the Crown, or permitted by the Judges of particular Places; any Arrests of our Council, for Authorizing and Establishing of the said places for Exercise, notwithstanding.

III.

We likewise prohibit all Lords, of what condition soever they may be, to have any publick Exercise in their Houses and Fiefs, of what quality soever the said Fiefs may be, upon Penalty to all our said Subjects, who shall have the said Exercises performed in their Houses or otherwise, of Confiscation of Body and Goods.

IV.

We do strictly Charge and Command all Ministers of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who are not willing to be Converted, and to embrace the Catholick Apostolick and Roman Religion, to depart out of our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, fifteen days after the Publication hereof, so as not to continue there beyond the said term, or within the same, to Preach, Exhort, or perform any other Ministerial Function, upon pain of being sent to the Gallies.

V.

Our Will and Pleasure is, that those Ministers who shall be converted, do continue to enjoy, during their Lives, and their Widows after their decease, so long as they continue so, the same Exemptions from Payments and Quartering of Souldiers, which they did enjoy during the time of their Exercise of the Ministerial Function. Moreover we will cause to be paid to the said Ministers, during their Lives a Pension, which by a third Part shall exceed the appointed Allowance to them as Ministers; the half of which Pension shall be continued to their Wives, after their Decease, as long as they shall continue in the state of Widow hood.

VI.

And in case any of the said Ministers shall be willing to become Advocates, or to take the Degree of Doctors in Law, we will and Understand that they be dispensed with, as to the three Years of Study, which are prescribed by our Declarations, as requisite, in order to the taking of the said Degree, and that after they have pass'd the ordinary Examinations, they be forthwith received as Doctors, paying only the Moiety of those dues which are usually paid upon that account in every University.

VII.

We prohibit any particular Schools for instructing the Children of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and in general all other things whatsoever, which may import a Concession of what kind soever, in favour of the said Religion.

VIII.

And as to the Children which shall for the future be born of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, Our Will and Pleasure is, that henceforward they be baptized by the Curates of our Parishes; strictly charging their respective Fathers and Mothers to take care they be sent to Church in order thereto, upon Forfeiture of 500 Livres or more, as it shall happen. Furthermore, Our Will is, that the said Children be afterwards educated and brought up in the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Religion, and give an express Charge to all Our Justices, to take care the same be performed accordingly.

IX. And

IX.

And for a Mark of our Clemency towards those of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who have retired themselves out of our Kingdom, Countries and Territories, before the Publication of this our present Edict, our will and meaning is, that in case they return thither again, within the time of four Months, from the time of the Publication hereof they may, and it shall be lawful for them, to Re enter upon the Possession of their Goods and Estates, and enjoy the same in like manner, as they might have done in case they had always continued upon the place. And on the contrary, that the Goods of all those, who within the said time of four Months, shall not return into our Kingdom, Countries or Territories, under our Obedience, which they have forsaken, remain and be Confiscated in pursuance of our Declaration of the 20th. of August last.

X.

We most expressly and strictly forbid all our Subjects of the said pretended Reformed Religion, them, their Wives or Children, to depart out of our said Kingdom, Countries, or Territories under our Obedience, or to Transport thence their Goods or Effects, upon penalty of the Gallies, for Men, and of Confiscation of Body and Goods for Women.

XI.

Our Will and Meaning is, that the Declarations made against those who shall relapse, be Executed upon them according to their Form and Tenor.

Moreover, those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, in the mean time, till it shall please God to enlighten them as well as others, may abide in the severall respective Cities and Places of our Kingdoms, Countries and Territories under our Obedience, and there continue their Commerce, and enjoy their Goods and Estates, without being any way molested upon account of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, upon condition nevertheless, as aforementioned, that they do not use any publick Religious Exercise, nor assemble themselves upon the account of Prayer or Worship of the said Religion, of what kind soever the same may be, upon forfeiture above specified of Body and Goods.

Accordingly.

Accordingly, We Will and Command our Trusty and Beloved Counsellors, the People holding our Courts of Aids at Paris, Bayliffs, Chief Justices, Provosts, and other our Justices and Officers to whom it appertains, and to their Lieutenants, that they cause to be Read, Published and Registred, this Our present Edict in their Courts and Jurisdictions, even in vacation time, and the same keep punctually, without contravening or suffering the same to be contravened; for such is Our Will and Pleasure. And to the end to make it a thing firm and stable, we have caused our Seal to be put to the same. Given at Fountainbleau in the Month of October, in the Year of Grace 1683, and of Our Reign the 43.

Signed

L E W E S.

This signifies the
Lord Chancellors } VISA.
perusal.

Le Tellier.

Sealed with the Great Seal of Green-Wax,
upon a Red and Green string of Silk.

Registred and Published, the Kings Procurator or Attorney General, requiring it, in order to their being Executed according to Form and Tenor, and the Copies being Examined and Compared, sent to the severall Courts of Justice, Bailiwicks, and Sheriffs Courts of each District, to be there entred and Registred in like manner, and charge given to the Deputies of the said Attorney General, to take care to see the same Executed and put in Force, and to certifie the Court thereof. At Paris in the Court of Vacations the 22d. of October, 1683.

Signed

De la Baune.

The Profession of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Faith, which the Revolting Protestants in France are to Subscribe and Swear to.

I*N the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. I Believe, and Confess with a firm Faith, all and every thing and things contained in th. Creed which is used by the Holy Church of Rome, viz. I receive and embrace most sincerely the Apostolick and Ecclesiastical Traditions, and other Observances of the said Church. In like manner I receive the Scriptures, but in the same sense as the said Mother Church hath, and doth now understand and expound the same, for whom and to whom it only doth belong to judge of the Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures; and I will never take them, nor understand them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.*

I profess that there be truly and properly seven Sacraments of the New Law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary for the Salvation of Mankind, altho not equally needful for every one, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extream Unction, Orders and Marriage; and that they do confer Grace; and that Baptism and Orders may not be reiterated without Sacrilege: I receive and admit also the Ceremonies received and approved by the Catholic Church in the solemn administration of the forementioned Sacraments.

I receive and embrace all and every thing and things which have been determined concerning Original Sin and Justification by the holy Council of Trent.

I likewise profess, that in the Mass there is offered up to God, a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and Dead; and that in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really and substantially, the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that in it there is made a change of the whole substance of the Bread into his Body, and of the whole substance of the Wine into his Blood, which change the Catholick Church calls Transubstantiation. I confess also, that under one only of these two Elements, whole Christ and the true Sacrament is received.

I constantly believe and affirm, that there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls there detained, are relieved by the Suffrages of the Faithful.

In like manner, I believe that the Saints reigning in Glory with Jesus Christ,

Christ, are to be worshipped and invocated by us, and that they offer up Prayers to God for us, and that their Reliques ought to be honoured.

Moreover, I do most stedfastly avow, that the Images of Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, and of other Saints, ought to be kept and retained, and that due Honour and Veneration must be yielded unto them.

Also I do affirm, that the power of Indulgence was left to the Church by Christ Jesus, and that the use thereof is very beneficial to Christians.

I do acknowledg the holy Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church, to be the Mother and Mistresse of all other Churches; and I profess and swear true obedience to the Pope of Rome, Successor of the Blessed St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

In like manner I own and profess, without doubting, all other things left defined and declared by the Holy Canons and General Councils, especially by the most holy Council of Trent; and withal, I do condemn, reject, and hold for accursed, all things that are contrary thereto; and all those Heresies which have been condemned, rejected, and accursed by the Church.

And then swearing upon the Book of the Gospel, the Party recanting must say: I promise, vow and swear, and most constantly profess, by God's assistance, to keep intirely and inviolably, unto death, this self same Catholick and Apostolick Faith, out of which no person can be saved; and this I do most truly and willingly profess, and that I will to the utmost of my Power, endeavour that it may be maintained and upheld as far as any ways belong to my charge; so help me God and the holy Virgin.

The Certificate which the Party Recanting is to leave with the Priest, before whom he makes his Abjuration.

I N. N. of the Parish of N. do Certifie all whom it may Concern, That having acknowledged the Falseness of the pretended Reformed, and the Truth of the Catholick Religion, of my own Free-will, without any Compulsion, I have accordingly made Profession of the said Catholick and Roman Religion in the Church of N. in the hands of N. N. In Testimony of the Truth whereof, I have signed this Act in the presence of the Witnesses, whose Names are under written, this----- day of the Month of the----- year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, and of our Redemption-----