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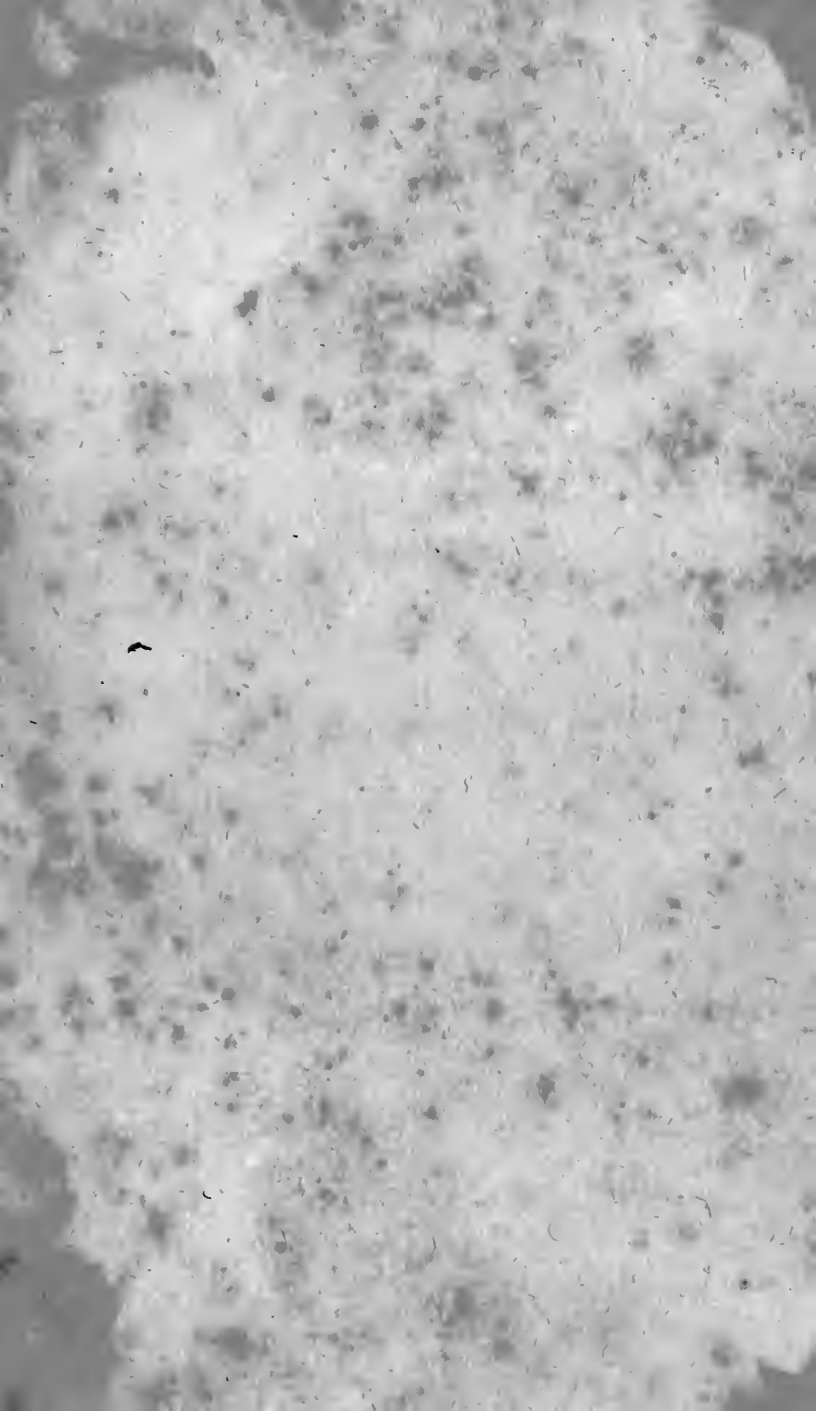
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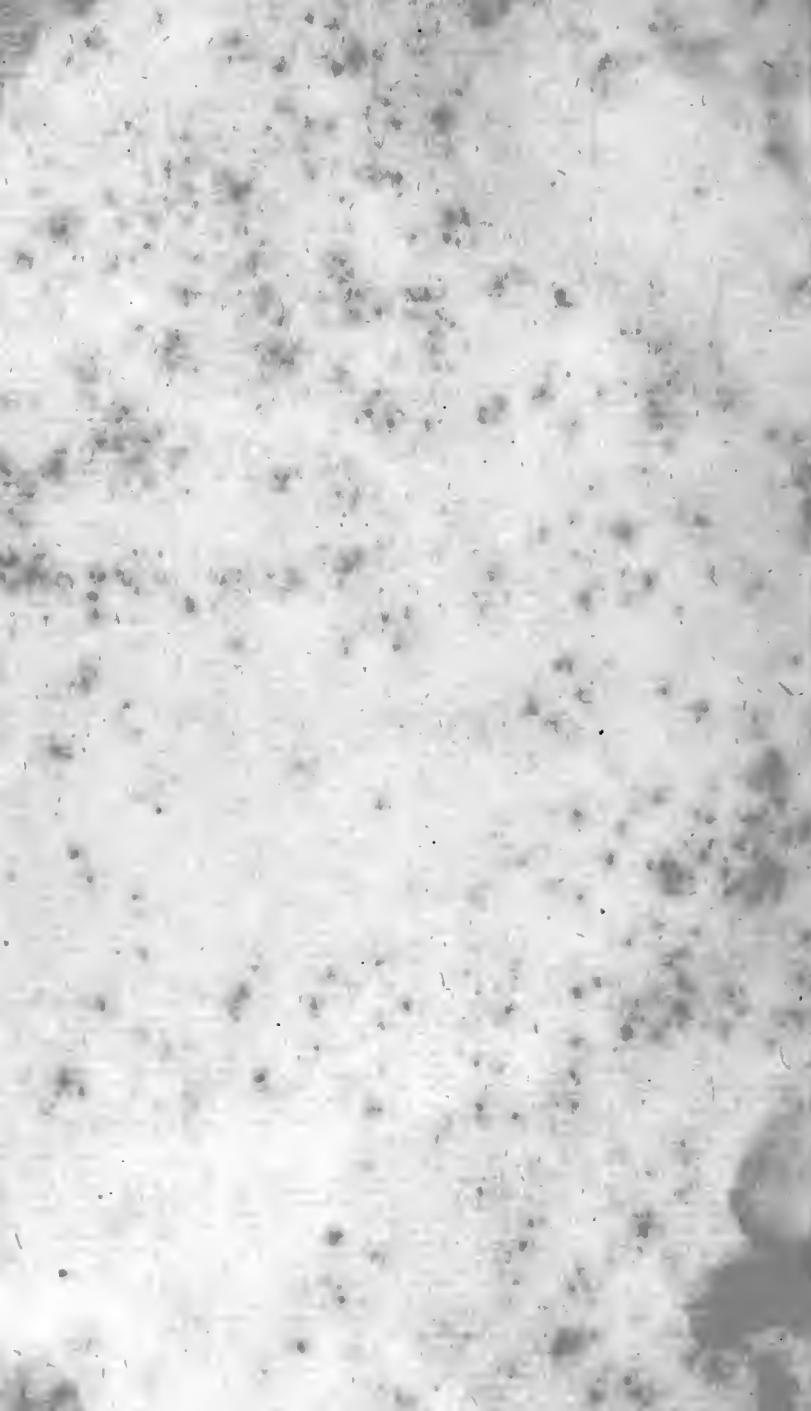
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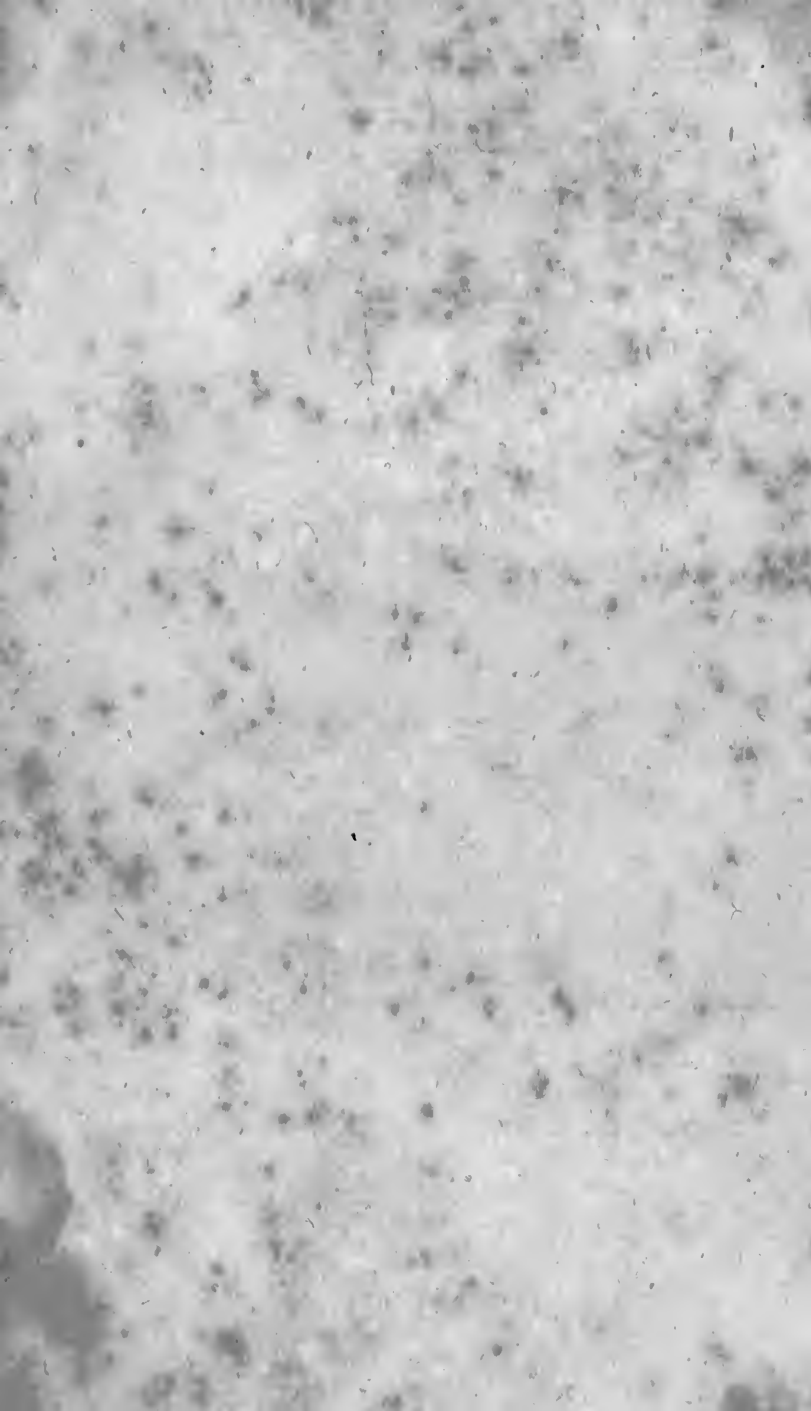
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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

FROM

The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,

TO THE

Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the
French Protestants under *Lewis XIV*. Extracted
out of the best Authorities.

A WORK never before Published.

By the Reverend

STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,

One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-Street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. IV. BOOK VIII.

L O N D O N :

Printed by H. WOODFALL, for the AUTHOR.
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NEW YORK

REFORMATION

OF THE
CHURCHES IN AMERICA

BY

W. W. WOOD

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W. W. WOOD

NEW YORK

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Decay and Fall of the Reformed Churches in France, notwithstanding all the Cautions they had taken, and the Sureties given unto them, is a Thing not at all to be wondered at, considering the Circumstances of the Times, and the Spirit of the Roman Religion. The Settlement of the Reformation in that Kingdom, notwithstanding the most powerful and violent Oppositions of its Enemies, is the greatest Wonder of all; our Fore-Fathers have had to struggle against the Pride, Covetousness and Avarice of a haughty, merciless Clergy, and against the Bigotry of a leud, debauch'd Court, (who thought Treason, Perjury and Cruelty, when used against supposed Hereticks, to be a just Compensation before God, for their other manifold Crimes) before they could obtain a tolerable Settlement in their own Country. But the natural Dispositions of their Enemies heighten'd by the cruel and bloody Spirit of Popery, and supported by royal Authority, was more than sufficient to compass their Ruin. It was compleated in a Reign when Perjury, Treachery, &c. in all the publick Transactions were brought to such a pitch, that *FIDES* The PUNICA had never so well denoted those odious Crimes, as †FIDES GALLICA did it in our Days. The Faith of the Carthaginians.

It is chiefly upon that account that I did not think proper to be so particular in the following Relations, as I have been in the foregoing. I shall enquire only into the true Causes of our Misfor- † The French Faith.

L1 2 tunes,

tunes, and single out the most remarkable Events which much helped to accelerate our Ruin. Finally, I shall conclude this Work with an Appendix, containing six or seven Ways and Means put in use, under Lewis XIV. to force us to renounce our Religion. But before we proceed, we must briefly say what Effects the King's Death had upon the People's Minds, what Changes it caused at Court, and in the Ministry; and how those who were, or at least ought to be, the most concerned in this Loss; demeaned themselves in the Prosecution of the Authors and Abettors of this most horrid Crime.





HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

BOOK VIII.

Containing the Decay, Fall, and utter Ruin of the Reformed Churches in that Kingdom, under the two Lewis's XIII. and XIV. from the 15th of May 1610, to the 11th of October 1685.

INSTANTLY after the King's Death, Lewis 13. 1610. Pope Paul V. the Lords that attended him in the Coach having cover'd his Face, and shut the Curtains, came down out of it, and ordered the Coachman to go back to the *Louvre*, but to call, as he went in, for a Surgeon and some Wine; in order to conceal that sad Accident from the People as long as possible; The deceased King is sadly lamented by all true French- and by that means it was really concealed for that Day, and part of the next. But when it came to be certainly known that he was dead, that Mixture of Hopes and Fears which kept that large City in suspense, broke out on a sudden, and the Air resounded with the Cries and lamentations of its Inhabitants; some swoon'd

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

fwooned away for Grief, others ran quite dismay'd through the Streets, many were hugging their Friends, without uttering any thing else, but, *Alas! what Misfortune!* Some confined themselves to their own Houses, Women were seen running with their Hair dishevel'd through the Streets, Fathers were heard saying to their Children, *Alas! what will become of you, poor Wretches, since you have lost your best Father!* Those who remembered the dreadful Calamities of the late Wars, dreading for the future, pitied the deplorable Fate of the Kingdom, and said, *That every Frenchman had his own Throat cut, with the same Stroke which had pierc'd the King's Heart.* Nay, it is confidently reported that many broke their Hearts upon this Occasion, and died; some upon the Spot, others in a few days after. Finally, there was such a Mourning, as if the half of Mankind were dead, or as if every private Man had lost his whole Family, his whole Estate and all his Hopes with that great and magnanimous King (a).

These Demonstrations of Sorrow were not peculiar to the City of *Paris* only, but the like seen throughout the whole Kingdom, wherever there were any true *Frenchmen*. Which was certainly the sincerest and best Encomium that could be made of the best of Princes, and ought to shame those Cynicks, who have attempted to blast his Government and asperse his Memory.

At Court every thing was in great Confusion. Excepting some of the faithful Servants of *Henry*, and some Lords who could expect no good from that unhappy Change, the other Courtiers easily forgot the deceased, and turned almost unconcerned to the rising Sun. The

Queen

(a.) Perfixe Vie de *Henry le Grand*, III. Partie.

Queen herself was not much troubled at it. She had lived with the late King in perpetual Jealousy, and her Ill-humour against him was much heightened by the Tales which her Favourites, *Galigai* and her Husband *Conchini* told her about the amorous Intrigues of *Henry*. That Prince had neither Power enough to command his Passion in that respect, nor Resolution enough to make his Consort sensible of her Fault in giving too much credit to the Reports of her Favourites, and suffering herself to be absolutely governed by their Counsels. Nay, if *Mezeray* be credited, these two Firebrands had carried their Impudence so far, as to threaten the King's Person, if he was ever so daring as to attempt any thing against them (*b*), as he was sollicitated to do, either by dispatching them out of the World, or at least by sending them back to *Italy*. Howbeit, as there was no great Union between the King and his Queen, this last was soon consoled, and the very same Day the King died, she was hard at work to secure to herself the Regency of the Kingdom, during her eldest Son's Minority; wherein she succeeded far beyond the Expectations, for which she was chiefly beholden to the Duke of *Espernon*. Indeed the King was no sooner dead, but that Lord took all the necessary Measures for preventing an Insurrection amongst the People, for keeping the Parliament in awe, and obliging them to do whatever he should require of them: for having secured with Troops, not only the *Lowre*, but several of the principal Streets, and even the Avenues of *Austin's Fryars*, where the Parliament kept its Sittings [because the Palace was to serve for the Feast of the Queen's Coronation] and the Parliament being assembled, i.e.

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

L1 4. came

(*b*) *Mezeray*, *Abregé Chronol.* Part III. Tom. vi. p. 367.

Lewis 13. came in suddenly, holding his Sword out of the
 1610 Belt, saying, with a fierce Countenance and a
 Pope Paul threatening Tone, *It is still in the Scabbard, but*
 V. *if this day the Queen is not declared Regent, sure*
it shall be drawn out, and I foresee that much
Blood will be spilt. Some amongst you, Gentle-
men, desire more time to consider, their Prudence is
out of season; what I do propose may be done this
Day, without Peril; to-morrow, it shall not be
done without Slaughter (c).

*The Queen
 Mother is
 declared
 Regent.*

Either the Parliament were frightened out of their Wits by such a terrible Threatning, or for some other Cause, they assumed to themselves a Right which had never before belong'd to them; and to the great mischief of the Kingdom, they declared the Queen-Mother Regent during the young King's Minority, without waiting for the Princes of the Blood; for *Condé* was at *Milan*, *Soissons* at one of his Country-Seats, and very little Notice was taken of *Conti*, who was deemed a silly Prince. The Ceremony was performed the next Day. *Lewis*, who was but eight Years and eight Months old, went to the Parliament attended by his Mother and the whole Court, and being seated on his Throne, by the Advice of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, and at the Request of his Attorney-General, declared the Queen his Mother Regent of the Kingdom, during his Minority, conformably to the Decree of the Parliament deliver'd the Day before; which being confirmed in this Assembly, was sent to the other Parliaments, and by them ratified. Young *Lewis* rehearsed well enough a little Speech which he had got by heart, in which the Composer had not forgot to make him say, *that he would follow the good Counsels of his Parli-*
ment;

(c) *Vie du Duc D'Espemon, Tom. II. liv. vi. p. 164, &c.*

ment; a Language much in use at the Beginning of a Minority, but quite forgotten as soon as the Authority of a Regent is fully settled. *Anne of Austria* and her Son *Lewis XIV.* said the same Thing; but for all that, how little have they regarded the Authority of a Company, which is the main Support of the Kingdom, and which has been instituted to be a Bridle to the arbitrary Power of the King?

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul.
V.

When the Ceremony was over, the King returned to the *Louvre*, all the People which crouded there, shouting and wishing his Majesty a long and happy Reign; but above all, demanding that the Villain-Parricide should be brought to condign Punishment. Happy would that Prince have been, had the good Wishes of his Subjects been sufficient to obtain for him the Qualifications of Mind and Soul requisite to follow the steps of some of the Kings his Predecessors, especially those of his royal Progenitor; but he was not naturally endowed with those fine Parts necessary for acquiring the one, and his Mother took great care lest he should be brought up to the other's (*d*).

The Count of *Soissons* was much surpris'd when he heard what had been done, during his Absence, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood; nevertheless he thought proper to dissemble, and alighted in the *Louvre*, as he came from *Montigni*, the *Monday* following the 17th of *May*, and went to pay his Respects to the King and the Queen-Mother, who received him very kindly, and gratified him with the Government of *Normandy* and large Pensions, besides a vast Sum of Money to discharge his Debts.

Then

(*d*) Le Vassor. Hist. de *Louis XIII.* Tom. I. Liv. i.

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul.
V.

Then the Regent recompensed those who had been very useful to her. The Pensions given to the Princes of the House of *Lorraine* were small under *Henry, Sully*, out of Policy, caused them to be raised to one hundred thousand Livres; the Duke of *Guise* was gratified with 200,000 Crowns for discharging his Debts. *Espernon* was in possession of such large Estates, and had so many fine Employments, that he seemed to be above all the Gratuities of the Court; he was recompensed according to his own Fancy; he was loaded with many extraordinary Marks of great Esteem and Veneration; he had an Apartment in the *Lowre*, by the Queen-Mother's Order, *I don't think I am safe here without him*, said that Princess. The Secretaries of State communicated unto him all the Packets and their Answers; in short, he was like to become as great, powerful and dreaded as in the Reign of *Henry the Weak*.

He was courted by the Count of *Soissons*. That Prince was very busy to strengthen himself against the Prince of *Condé* his Nephew, that he might prevail over him, when he should arrive from *Milan*. Besides that, he desired earnestly to marry his Son with the Heiress of *Montpensier*, whose Mother was Neice to the Duke of *Espernon*; that could not be done without the Uncle's Consent. Finally, *Soissons* mortally hated the Duke of *Sully*, and was in hopes that *Espernon*, who was equally offended against that Lord, would gladly improve the present Opportunity to ruin him; therefore he went so far as to propose to him to cause *Sully* to be stabbed in the *Lowre*. Tho' *Espernon* would have done many things to gain that Prince's Favour, nevertheless he abhorred the Proposition within himself, and told the
Count,

Count, that his Employment did not allow him to suffer any such thing to be perpetrated in the King's Palace. Tho' the Count was angry at this Repulse, nevertheless, his Ambition obliged him to dissemble, he stood in need of the Duke's Interest to supplant the Prince of Condé his Nephew. *Let a Prince be ever so much distinguished by his Birth and Power, he deserves nothing better than the utmost Scorn and Contempt, whenever he becomes so base as to advise, command or abet any such black Action (e).*

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

At Court the Jealousies broke out, and the Intrigues were increased on account of the settling the Council of the Regency. Every one pretended to have a Right to be a Member thereof, and the Number of the Pretenders was so great, that it was likely that it would degenerate into a confused Croud. But by the Advice of Chancellor *De Sillery*, the Duke of *Sully*, *Villeroy*, and the President *Jeannin*, the Queen-Regent admitted all the Princes and great Lords who desired to be admitted, 'till the Arrival of the first Prince of the Blood; whereby those old Ministers kept to themselves the chief Management of Affairs, which was what they wanted.

Great Jealousies at Court.

While the Court was busied about these Regulations, the Parliament was about *RAVAILLAC's* Tryal. The first President, with another and two Counsellors, had been to interrogate him several times; but they never could oblige him to name his Accomplices, who had set him to work. No wonder indeed, considering how little Care had been taken to hinder him from speaking with other People since his Confinement. For the two first Days that he was under Arrest in the House of *Retz*, or according

Ravallac tried.
Affected Negligence in the Prosecution.

(e) *Le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. ibid.*

Lewis 13. to others, in *Esperson's* House, every one
 1610. was admitted to see him and converse with
 Pope Paul. him; and People resorted thither in vast Crouds,
 V. some out of Curiosity, others out of Fear. Even
 when he was brought to the *Bastille*, several
 suspected Persons were allowed to visit him
 and converse with him, amongst whom was a
 Fryar, who after a long Conference, exhorted
 him *not to accuse Persons of Worth*. The Jesuit
Aubigny, who had received the Confession of
 the Criminal before he perpetrated the Fact,
 came off by barely saying to *Servin*, Attorney-
 General, that *God had given him the Gift to*
forget whatever was declared unto him in Con-
fession. That Impudence is not at all to be won-
 dered at, seeing it is grounded on the com-
 mon Doctrine of the Society concerning the
 Auricular Confession, and on their constant
 Practice. The Jesuit *Cotton* and several others
 bragged of the same Gift, of forgetting what-
 ever was declared to them in Confession. The
 late King having been acquainted with their
 horrid Maxim, that tho' the King's Life
 should lie at stake, yet a Confessor ought to
 conceal it with an inviolable Secrecy, *Cotton*
 being questioned by his Majesty about this
 Doctrine, asserted it as good and truly Christian,
 and answered the Objections made against it,
 making a Shift to evade the most terrible Con-
 sequences which result therefrom. The King
 having asked him, how he would behave him-
 self if it happened that somebody should de-
 clare to him, in Confession, that he had a mind
 to kill him; and that he could not deter him,
 either by his Exhortations or Counsels, from
 that wicked Design? He answered, that he
 would interpose his Body between the King
 and the Blow, to save him at the Expence of
 his

his own Life. But whereas such Strokes depend on certain Occasions which offer themselves unforeseen, and wherein it may happen that the Confessor neither ought or can be near his Prince; It is plain enough that this ridiculous Good-will of the Jesuit could never secure the King's Life against the Enterpizes of a Murderer. However, the King was obliged to be satisfied with this sham Mark of Fidelity, as he could not expect any other more real; besides that his Majesty durst not offend that perfidious Society, being afraid lest he should experience in his own Person, their dangerous Maxims.

It is confidently said, that the Commissaries, by orders from above, refused to receive such Evidences as might have served to dive into the bottom of that Mystery of Iniquity. A certain Gentlewoman, *D'Escoman* by Name, who had been in the Service of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, and who revealed very strange things, was silenced, tho' Queen *Margaret of Valois* the King's first Wife, was of opinion that a much greater Regard ought to be paid to her Deposition. Even afterwards, when that Affair was examined again, that Gentlewoman's Evidence was rejected a-new under many false Pretences; and whereas she persisted positively in her Deposition, lest a time should come when she might be more favorably hearkened to, she was condemned to a close Confinement for the remainder of her Life. She had charged the Duke of *Espernon* and the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, as Abettors of the Crime (f). This happened only in *January* and *July* the next Year.

As

(f) Her Name was, *Jaqueline Le Voyer*, alias *D'Escoman*, Wife to *Isaac De Varennes Esq*; Another says that she was married to one *Lancrock* formerly Taylor to the Duke of *Mayenne*, condemned to be hang'd for treasonable

Words

Lewis 13
1610
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. As to RAVAILLAC himself, on the 18th of
 160. May, the Parliament being assembled, they
 Pope Paul. considered what Forms they ought to follow in
 V. his Trial, and what kind of Torture they ought
 Ra to make use of, to force him to declare his Ac-
 lac's Trial, complices and Abettors, because every day he
 Condemna- grew more and more obstinate, and would con-
 tion and fess nothing. It was proposed to make use of
 Execution. one known at Geneva by the name of *Barate*,
 or *Beurriere*; which is so exquisite, that the
 Patient is obliged to speak whether he will or
 not: but that Opinion was opposed by the Ma-
 jority. The 19th he was interrogated by the
 first President; but he constantly refused to
 name any body, and so he did to the last. Fi-
 nally,

Words, but respited by King Henry's Mercy, and banished out of the Kingdom. However her Deposition was plain and positive; she never vary'd, her Relation of the Conspiracy and of *Ravaillac's* Designs were set out with all their Circumstances, and she did persist to the last in her Charge against the Duke of *Espenon* and the Marchioness of *Verneuil*. For some Months before the Execution of that horrid Plot, she had endeavoured to be admitted to the King's private Audience, but could never obtain it. The King and Queen, and all those to whom she made her Address, in order to disclose what she knew of that matter, refused to hearken to her. She wrote to the Queen a little before the King's Death, and sent her Letter under the Name of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*; but that Name being odious to her Majesty, she cast the Letter into the Fire without opening it. She revealed her Secret to the *Jesuits* in Confession, but the Confessor intreated her not to speak thereof to any body else. The first President *D'Harlay* was so well persuaded of the truth of her Deposition, that had he been free to act according to his wonted Integrity, the Duke and the Marchioness would not have escaped at so easy a rate. For on the 30th of January 1611, he sent word to the Queen, that God had kept him alive till then, to see and hear such strange things, that he would have thought impossible before, either to see or hear: and to some other Persons who questioned *D'Escoman's* Deposition, he said, lifting up his Eyes and hands, Lord, there is but too much, there is but too much! *Memoirs pour Servir à l'Histoire de France* Tom. II. pag. 357, 358, 359, 360, & 376, 377.

nally, Sentence was passed upon him on the 27th, whereby he was condemned to the usual Punishment of Traitors like him, and executed accordingly. When he was at the Place of Execution, frightened at the Cries of the People who cursed him, he said, I have been much deceived, when I was told, that the Act which I should perpetrate would be very agreeable to the People, seeing that now they provide Horses to tear me in pieces. He had taken notice, that one of the Spectators who was come on Horseback, was alighted to lend his Horse, which was very strong, and put it in the place of one of those to which he was to be tyed, which was too weak for that Office. But that was a strong Argument that he had been seduced by some other Villain to commit that horrid Crime (g.) But what put that Suspicion out of all doubt, is, that the King's Death upon a certain Day was known in several Parts of *Europe*, before the Parricide had been perpetrated; and that when it was done, it was publickly known at *Brussels* the very same Day before Night, and in other Places more remote from *Paris*; which could not be without a Divine Revelation, or without having received Notice before-hand from the Instigators themselves, that such a thing was to happen at such a Day.

In a word, it was plain enough that those who were at the Helm desired no better than to conceal from the People, as much as they could, the true Causes of the King's Death, lest some Persons of the highest Rank should be concerned therein, whom it was too dangerous to attack; especially at a time when the least Pretence was enough to cause an Insurrection. But all these Cautions screened not these Persons from publick

Lewis 13.
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V.

(g) Idem Ibid. pag. 321, 322, 323.

Lewis 13. lick Censure; and the Miseries of the last Years
 1610. of their Life was taken by many as a just Judg-
 Pope Paul ment of God upon them, at least for their Ne-
 V. glect in the Inquiry after the Authors of so hei-
 nous a Crime, if not for their own Guilt.

Proceed- The Parliament was so far conscious that the
ings of the Doctrine of the Jesuits, if not they themselves,
Parlia- had occasion'd this sad Catastrophe, that, the
ment a- very day of Ravallac's Execution, they order-
gainst the Doctrine of ed the Faculty of Divinity at Paris to assemble
the Jesu- themselves without delay, to confirm a-new the
its. Censure passed by their Predecessors in the year
 1413, and ratify'd by the Council of *Constance*;
 against those who assert, that a Vassal, or a
 Subject may, and is obliged in Conscience to mur-
 der a Tyrant whoever he should be, and to as-
 sault him by all ways and means; and that such
 an Action is not at all contrary to the Oath of
 Allegiance which Vassals and Subjects take to
 their Sovereign. The Faculty obeyed without
 difficulty. The Parliament issued out another
 Decree on the 10th of *June*, whereby they con-
 demned the Book of Jesuit *Mariana, De Rege*
& Regis Institutione, to be burnt by the com-
 mon Executioner's hands; as containing *seve-*
ral execrable Blasphemies, against the late King
 HENRY III, *and against the Persons and Dig-*
nities of Kings and Sovereign Princes: These
 are the Words of the Decree.

The Jesu- Besides that, the Jesuits had the mortification
its are ex- to see themselves exposed to the Censure of se-
posed to the veral Preachers, who spared them not in their
Censure Sermons. Amongst others, Abbot Dubois un-
of the dertook to confute Mariana's Doctrine, and by
Preachers. a Rhetorical Figure, he turn'd his Speech to
 the good Fathers, and exhorted them strong-
 ly, to take care for the future, lest in the Books
 published in the name of the *Society*, and with
 the

the Approbation of their *Superiours*, the Authors should insert any thing that might offend the Kingdom; *Unless*, says he, *they would expose themselves to Dangers and Perils; from which all their Prudence, strengthened with the Authority of all their Friends and Patrons, could not deliver them.* The Sermon made a great noise. The Society complained thereof to the Queen-Mother. The Bishop of *Paris* was charged to enquire into the matter; *Dubois* had Courage enough to insist upon what he had said. The Bishop had nothing to say, he exhorted the Abbot *to live friendly with all the Servants of God, especially with the JESUITS.* But *Dubois* was so imprudent as to go to *Rome* the next Year, where, upon some false Pretence or other, he was shut up close Prisoner (*b*).

Father *Cotton's* Patience was not proof against the Affront put upon his Brethren, and the almost general Indignation raised against them. Notwithstanding the Advice of his Friends to the contrary, he attempted to justify the Society as to *Mariana's* Book, pretending that his opinions concerning Kings were peculiar to himself, and not the Society's. For that end he published an Apologetical Letter directed to the Queen-Mother. But he was terribly disappointed in his Expectations; far from remedying any thing, he drew upon himself a Volley of Pamphlets, some more satirical than others; and whereas he pretended to disapprove *Mariana's* opinion, they bantered him upon that Confession, as being forced, and only given by the necessity of the Times. *It is a little too late*, did they say, *however, may be this will not be quite unserviceable to the Children of him whom such a Tenet has laid down into his Grave.*

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(b) Le Vassor Hist. de Louis 13. Tom. 1. Liv. 1
pag. 46. 47.

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Pope Paul
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The King's
Funeral.

The Prince
of Condé
arrives at
Court.

They were no less severely, tho' justly handled, at the King's Funeral Sermons by most part of the Preachers. That mournful Ceremony was perform'd on the 23d of *June*; the Royal Corpse was deposited amongst his Predecessors at *St. Denys* with the usual Pomp, together with the Corpses of *Henry III*, and the Queen *Catherine of Medicis*, which were then brought to the same Place. As to his Heart, it was delivered to the Jesuits according to his Orders, and by them carried to *La Fleche* in *Anjou*. About a Month after arrived the Prince of *Condé* from *Milan*, he made his entrance at *Paris* attended by 1500 Gentlemen; the 15th of *July*, having been met at *Senlis* by the Princes of the House of *Guise* and the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Sully*. Such a great Retinue caused some Jealousy to the Queen, being afraid lest he should attempt something against the Government, being supported by the Lords; especially by the Duke of *Sully*, Governour of the *Bastile*, Superintendent of the *Exchequer*, and great Master of the *Ordnance*. He, with the House of *Guise* and the Duke of *Bouillon*, sought to form a Party with the Prince to oppose the Count of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Espernon*, Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, and others of the same Party. However, the Prince was very graciously received by their Majesties. He failed not to grumble at what had been done during his Absence, but was soon appeased by a Pension of 200,000 Livres, *Gondy-House* which was bought for him for 70,000 Crowns, the County of *Clermont* and several other Gratuities bestowed upon him. (i.)

The Regency may be considered under four different Shapes.

Now, was I to enter into the History of this Regency any further than the Reformed Churches of

(i.) Mezeray Hist. de Marie de Medicis & de Louis 13. Tom. 1.

of *France* are concerned therein, I would execute it with more Sincerity and Truth than *Mezerau* has done the Scheme which he proposed to follow, and consider the said Regency under four different States. During the first, which was but of a short Continuance, the Government preserved that Grandeur and Majesty which shining over *HENRY* the Great's Conduct, thro' his heroick Virtues: because the same Ministers who had served the State under the late King's Authority were continued in the Administration, and lived together in good Intelligence, at least outwardly. This period lasted from the King's Death, to the Disgrace of the Duke of *Sully*, that is to say, about eight Months.

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Pope Paul
V.

In the second, we find still some Appearances of Strength even in its Weakness, proceeding from the Union that yet subsisted between the Chancellor, President *Jeannin* and *Villeroy*, and from the Profusion of the Treasury under the Administration of the said President, who, tho' a thorough honest Man, was not able to resist the unjust Pretensions and Demands of every body. By which means the great Lords were kept in by extraordinary Gratuities. This Period lasted till the Exchequer was exhausted.

The Third was full of Confusion and Disorder, proceeding from the open Misunderstanding and Division between the Ministers, occasioned by the Death of *Lady de Villeroy*, Niece to the Chancellor; for the Ties which united together these two Ministers being once broken, the Chancellor and his Brother *De Puisseux* carried their Imprudence and Ambition so far, as to side with *Marshal D' Ancre*, and to comply in every thing with his unruly Passions. During these Divisions, the Great Lords got

Lewis 13. the uppermost at Court: *Villeroy* lost his
 1610. Credit, the Chancellor stood his ground still
 Pope Paul V. for a while, thro' the Connivance of the Mar-
 shal and his Wife, who wanted his Assistance
 for compleating the Treaty of Marriage between
 the King and the Infanta of *Spain*. But as soon
 as this Point was over, and the King married,
 the Ministers of the old Court were all disgraced
 through their ill management, as well as thro'
 the exorbitant Power which the Marshal and
 his Wife had usurped at Court.

In the fourth, the Marshal and his Wife bore
 the sway almost absolutely, and by their Credit
 oftentimes defeated the best Counsels. This
 Period lasted to the tragical End of these two
 proud Favourites (*i*).

But this part of the History has so little re-
 lation, if any at all, with our own, unless it
 should be for the Part which our Great Men
 the Dukes of *Roban*, *Bouillon*, *Sully*, *Lefdi-
 guieres*, &c. play'd upon that Stage, that I shall
 forbear the speaking of it any further than for
 observing, that of all the Schemes of the late
 King, the Queen Regent followed none, ex-
 cept the Protection of the Estates of *Cleves*
 and *Juliers*. There had been great Debates in
 the Council about that point. The *Spanish*
 Faction pretended, that it was no longer time
 to give any Jealousy to the House of *Austria*,
 which was powerful and artful enough to find
 means for embroiling the State; that the
 Court

(*i*) *Mexeray* Ibid: There is such a vast Difference be-
 tween the Style and the Way of thinking of the Author of
 this History and that of the Abridgment, that one would
 think they are two different Authors; but the Editor of
 this observes that *Mexeray* was young and a Courtier, when
 he wrote this; but he wrote his Abridgment at another
 time, when he had regard only for Truth.

Court of *Spain* having propos'd to the late Henry IV. 1610. King a double Match between the *Infanta* and Pope Paul V. the *Dauphin*, and between the Prince of *Spain* and Madame of *France*, that Negotiation ought to be renewed; and consequently the Armies, which gave Jealousies to his Catholick Majesty, ought to be disbanded, and a strict Alliance between the two Crowns fomented (k). That Advice was exceedingly pleasing to the Queen, who being prepossessed by her *Italian* Favourites, bribed by the Court of *Madrid*, thought that the Settlement of her Authority depended intirely upon her good Understanding with the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

Nevertheless, the Chancellor's Opinion prevailed on this Occasion, for tho' that Magistrate was one of those who approved of the double Match with *Spain*, yet he thought that the Honour of the Crown of *France* was deeply concerned in disbanding the Armies so soon, which was to betray a Dread of the Court of *Spain*, create a Mistrust in their best Allies, and make them believe they had a mind to forsake them. Therefore he thought proper to keep up the Army of *Champaign*, and to send Troops into *Juliers* to expel Arch-Duke *Leopold* out of it. As to the Army of *Dauphiné*, he thought that it afforded greater Occasion of Jealousy to the King of *Spain*, and considered that it was commanded by a Protestant Marshal of *France*. For which two Causes it ought to be disbanded, but not so soon; at least, they ought to wait 'till the Prince of *Condé's* Arrival, 'till they knew better the Dispositions of the Court of *Spain*, and 'till the King and the Queen Regent's Authority should be firmly establish'd (l).

M m 3

The

(k) Mezeray *ibid.*

(l) *Idem ibid.*

Lewis 13.
1610.
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V.

The Resolution was taken accordingly to assist *Juliers*; but new Debates arose about the General that was to command those Succours. The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* had very just Pretensions to that Honour, as being the oldest Marshal of *France*. *Villeroy* had given him hopes that his Pretensions should be regarded, nevertheless, the Marshal of *La Châtre* was preferred; it was not thought proper to trust the Duke of *Bouillon*, a Protestant and a Man of the greatest Abilities, with an Army that was to join Prince *Maurice*, his Friend and Brother-in-law. He made a great Noise, but to no purpose; *La Châtre* set out, took about 12,000 Men of the Army of *Champaign* (the rest were disbanded) went to assist *Juliers*, forced *Leopold* to retire, and restored it, in the latter end of *August*, to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and the Duke of *Newbourg*.

That was the only thing of the vast Projects of *Henry the Great*, that was executed according to his Intentions. And indeed it must be owned that most part of them were impracticable under a Minority. But many things there were, which could have been easily done, and which would have been very advantageous to the Kingdom, had ever the Queen consulted the King, the Kingdom and her own true Interest and Glory, and wherein she took quite the reverse of what her royal Husband had resolved to do.

The Queen
repeals se-
veral Mo-
ney-Bills.

She began her Administration with a popular Act, whereby she won, at first, the Affections of the Subjects. She went to the Parliament, and revoked fifty-four Money-Bills, to ease the People; several Commissions were superseded

superfeded to the same End, and the Salt-Duties were lower'd a fourth Part. Lewis 13.
1910.

As to the Reformed, it was necessary to secure them against all manner of Mistrust. They had lost their All with the King. One may say, that they had seen two Qualities expiring with him, without which they could not flatter themselves to be maintained; the first was a sincere *Affection* he certainly had for them, on account of their faithful Services in his greatest Exigencies. He looked upon them as Friends on whom he might certainly depend, who deserved to be trusted, and necessary towards the Success of his Enterprizes. The second was his Honesty, wherein he was so strict that it can be positively said, that the like has never been seen in any Prince; he kept his Word so exactly, that more Favour was usually found in the Performance than in the Promise. But now the Reformed found themselves exposed to the Mercy of a Council, which stood ill-affected for them, wherein their ancient Enemies prevailed; and they did not question but that the *Italian* Policy, chiefly grounded on Fraud and Treachery, would soon get the upper hand at Court, and that Promises would only serve as a Mask to surprize the Credulity of People. Therefore the Reformed were looked upon, at Court, as able to do a great deal of Mischief in the Places where they were the strongest, if they had a mind to improve their Advantages. As to those who lived in Places where their small Number exposed them to be insulted, they took Measures which put the Court to a greater Loss, imparting their Fears to those who lived in remote Provinces, that they could no longer expect any Good from the Government. So that several of those who

thought

Pope Paul
V.
State of the
Reformed.

Lewis 13 thought themselves too weak for a Defence
 1610. retired into Places where they thought to be
 Pope Paul more safe: Just as if they had a new *Bartholo-*
 V. *mew's Day* to dread, at the first Sedition.

Sully's Im- That Dread was not peculiar to the common
prudence. People only, but some of the greatest Lords
 felt the Impulse thereof, tho' none so much as
 the Duke of *Sully*. As he was going to the
Louvre, upon the News of the King's Death,
 he met *Bassompierre* and some other Lords in
 his Way, and exhorted them faithfully to serve
 the young King and the Queen-Mother. Why,
 say they, *it is what we do require of others.*
 Struck with Wonder at these Words, which
 he took in their worst Meaning, he immediately
 went back and shut himself up in the *Bastile*;
 a little after, he caused all the Bread that could
 be found at the Bakers of *Paris* to be taken up
 and carried into that *Castle*, as if he had been
 afraid he should be starved there, and was re-
 solved to take in Provisions to hold out a Siege.
 He wrote to the Duke of *Rohan* his Son-in-
 law, Colonel-General of the *Switzers*, desiring
 him to advance with 6,000 Men, to a certain
 Place not far from *Paris*. It may be said, that
 Grief and Surprise bereaved him, on a sudden,
 of his wonted Prudence and Fortitude. But
 at the same time, it is certain that any other
 Man would have been as much at a loss, had he
 been in his Place. He had but too much reason
 to fear lest he should be deprived of his Prefer-
 ments, and called to an Account for the immense
 Riches he had stored up for himself, during
 his Administration (m): and that so much the

rather

(m) According to his own Memoirs, it appears, that
 when the King died, this Duke enjoyed 97,200 Livres as
 a Salary for his Charges, 45,000 Livres in Church-Re-
 venues, and 60,000 Livres in Lands, which makes in all.

rather too, because he had engrossed all the King's Favours to himself, without imparting his good Fortune to any body. Whatever Side he turned on, he beheld none but Enemies. The Reformed charged him with Want of Zeal for Religion, and Neglect in the Performance of its Duties. The Bigotted amongst the Catholicks could not see, without Spite, a Hugonot advanced to so many fine and rich Preferments. He had offended all the Courtiers by his rough and rude Manners; the Queen hated him, because he had oftentimes taken the late King's part against her; and that her *Italian* Favourites had exasperated her against him. No wonder then if he found himself at a stand, when he recollected his former Behaviour, and considered his present Condition.

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His Fears were also increased by the secret Advices he received, *to think of himself*. As he kept Spies every where, he got Intelligence that, as soon as the King's Death had reach'd the Court, the Queen and her Favourites had let drop some threatening Words against his Person; and he was credibly informed, that at a secret Council held at the *Nuncio's*, they had much talk'd against him. Nevertheless, he soon altered his Mind, for the very next Day, upon some kind Words that were brought to him from the Queen, he went to the *Louvre*; the Queen, perfectly well dissembling her Resentment,

202,200 Livres, yearly Revenue; besides that, his Profits amounted, at the King's Death, to 1,230,000 Livres; and the King's Gratuities to him, at several times, from the Year 1601, to 1,010,000 Livres. An exorbitant Thing indeed for the Time! He owns himself, that in the Year 1595, he and his Wife together could not make of their Estate 6 000 Livres a Year, but after the King's Death he sold Part only of his Lands for 1,200,000 Livres, and his Charges for 1,300,000 Livres. See *Memoires de Sully*. Tom: 2. pag. 558, &c. &c.

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ment, received him very graciously; the King was a Child, he did as he was bid. Sully's Demeanour in this first Visit, was one of the basest that can be imagined. In order to ingratiate himself into the Queen's Affection, he falsely affirmed that he had endeavoured oftentimes to divert the late King from his great Enterprize; but for all his cringing, that could not alter the Resolution taken to remove him from the Super-Intendancy, and from the Government of the *Bastile*. It was even believed; at that time, that he was beholden, for the good Reception he then met with at Court, to the immense Treasure he kept in his Custody in the *Bastile*, lest he should be tempted to make use of it for maintaing himself, and maybe for arming the Reformed in his behalf, if he had been disobliged (n).

The Duke of
Bouillon's
Behaviour

As to the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, I must own that he was so alter'd on this Occasion, that he was hardly to be known. His Resentment against the Duke of *Sully* carried him so far, that minding only how he could be reveng'd, he forgot almost what he owed to the Honour of his own Character; nay, even to

(n) The Relation given by the Authors of *Sully's* Memoirs of the above-said Transactions, do not agree with *Bassompierre*, *Mézeray* and some others. The first don't mention the Rencounter of their Master with *Bassompierre* in the Street; nor his Order to take away all the Bread in the Baker's Shops, and to carry it into the *Bastile*; but *Bassompierre* relates these Facts in his Memoirs. The former ascribes his Conduct to a full Certainty of being treated, in the *Louvre*, as the King his Master had been in the Street; but the two others pretend that it was but a Panick, caused by the Conscioufness of the unkind Usage and little Regard he had for the Princes and the greatest Lords of the Court, &c. Mem. de *Bassompierre*, Tom. I. p. 246, 250. *Mézeray*, Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. p. 49, 50, 51. *Benoit*, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom. II. liv. i. Le Vassor Hist. de Louis. XIII. Tom. I. liv. i.

to common Honesty: and to gratify his Revenge, he did not scruple to betray the *Common Cause*, whereby the Reformed were very near being ruined, as we shall say presently. Tho' he was dreaded for the great Interest he had at home and abroad, nevertheless he waited not 'till he was courted, but he came of his own accord and offered his Service to their Majesties; which was his Duty to do, but he made the first Advances towards knitting a Friendship with the *Italian Favourites*, in such a manner that those who knew not his Design, thought very unbecoming his high Quality. He received several Gratuities from the Court (o).

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V.

The Lord *Du Pleffis Mornay* was very far from following such bad Examples. He was sollicitated by the Court as much as any other. That great Man was deeply affected when he understood that the greatest Lords, who, on this Occasion, ought to have exerted themselves to promote the publick Welfare, minded only their own private Interest, the Increase of their own Wealth and Dignities, just as if the Nation was become a Prey to their own Coveteousness. As to himself, tho' the Queen-Mother insisted with him, by a Person purposely sent unto him, *to ask whatever he would, and it should be granted: God forbid, says he, it shall never be said that I have made my Profit of the public Misfortune, or importuned the Queen in her Mourning, or vexed the King in his Minority. I leave it to the Queen, to judge whether I deserve any thing; if she is pleased, and if she can commodiously pay me what is due to me for so many Years Service, I shall receive it in the present Calamity, as a free Gift from her Majesty.* When he had received Notice of the Queen being declared Re-

Du Pleffis
Mornay's
Generosity.

gent,

(o) Sally; Tom. IV. Mezeray, Tom I.

Lewis 13. gent, he convened the Magistrates, Clergy and
 1610. the Officers of Saumur and its District; and in
 Pope Paul his Speech he told them, *That the more the*
 V. *wicked Subjects should think to find Weakness in*
the King's Minority, the more he himself would
find Strength and Authority to force them to Obe-
dience; let no body be deceived by the Remembrance
of my former Meekness; it was very seasonable,
under such an absolute King; but I know well
how, and I will certainly show my self severe,
when the Service of the King shall require it; and
let every one take notice of this, and not come to
a Tryal. As for the rest, he desired them to
forget those invidious Nick-names of HUGO-
NOT and PAPIST, that whosoever should prove
a true Frenchman, would be his true Country-
man, his own Brother. Then he tendered to
them the Oath of Allegiance to the King and
the Queen-Regent, which they took unani-
mously (p).

The King's
Declara-
tion con-
firming the
Edict of
Nantz.

But her Majesty knowing perfectly well how much she was concerned in keeping the whole reformed Body united together to her Interest, very readily granted the Declaration which their Deputies General required in their Behalf, whereby their Rights and Privileges, obtained by the Edict of Nantz, were confirmed unto them. This Declaration was issued out on the 29th of May, and verified in Parliament a few days after.

Some Ob-
servations
upon the
same.

Four chief Things made it very remarkable. The first, that *all the King's Subjects, both Catholics and Reformed, had endeavoured, thro' a laudable Emulation, to out-do one another in Demonstrations of Fidelity and Obedience.*

The second, *That the King's Predecessors had learn'd by Experience, that Force and Violence had*

had not only prov'd ineffectual Means, but very prejudicial to themselves, for bringing back into the Pale of the Catholick Church, those of their Subjects who had strayed from it; for which Cause, they had been obliged to make use of milder Ways, and to grant them the free Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion.

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Pope Paul
V.

The third, That by the *Edict of Nantz*, Quietness and Safety had been settled between the Subjects of both Religions, which had lasted uninterrupted since that time.

The fourth, That the said *Edict* being PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE, there was no need of any new Declaration to confirm it. This last Clause shews plainly, that they took the Words *perpetual* and *irrevocable*, in their natural and obvious Meaning, for denoting a Thing which must stand firm and unalterable for ever, and not one which can be altered and made void by any Man, or by any Set of Men.

At the same time the Council issued out a Proclamation forbidding any Person, of what Rank and Dignity soever, to rise in Arms, to seize upon any Place in the Kingdom. And a speedy Obedience was unanimously paid, throughout the Kingdom, to the said Ordinance.

It would have been very proper that all the Reformed of the Kingdom should have deputed, in a Body, to pay the usual Compliments to their Majesties upon this Occasion; and the Deputies-General at Court were not wanting in their Duty in this respect, for they wrote to the Provinces to assemble themselves in order to name proper Persons for the said Deputation. But it so happen'd, that the Province of *Xaintonge* being then assembled in a Provincial Synod, when they received the

The Reformed sent their Deputies to Court.

Lewis 13. News of the King's Death, they deputed a
 1610. part without waiting for the Concurrence of
 Pope Paul the other Provinces, who were obliged to do
 V. the same, and send their proper Deputies one
 after another (q).

They think of their own Safety. All the Assurances given by the Queen to the Reformed, hindered them not from thinking about the Means of procuring to themselves a better Security than bare Words. They had too much Reason to suspect her Sincerity in that respect, certainly knowing how she stood affected towards the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, and that following Maxims quite contrary to those of her royal Husband, she thought that her Authority could never be well settled without a strict Alliance with these two Courts, which the Reformed looked upon as their most mortal Enemies, and the Spring of all the Miseries under which the whole Kingdom had groaned for so many Years together. They knew that tho', for certain Considerations, the secret Council, composed of the Queen, the *Pope's Nuncio*, the *Spanish Envoy*, *Conchini* and few others, durst not as yet publickly own the Treaty that was on foot for a double Alliance between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*; nevertheless it was in a very great Forwardness. These Things could but beget some Uneasiness in their Minds, and put them upon thinking of proper Means for avoiding the Mischiefs which would result from such a strict Alliance.

They resolve to ask a political Assembly. For these and some other Considerations, most part of them thought a general, political Assembly absolutely necessary for consulting together about their Common Interest. But

(q) Mem. de Du Pleffis Mornay, Tom. III. p. 243, and 249.

then, as there was, as yet, no apparent Cause whereupon they could ground the Petition for a License to hold such an Assembly, the Time when they usually met together being not yet expired, the wisest amongst them thought that it was more proper to wait some time longer. Their Reasons were very pertinent. They say,

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1. That in the present Situation of Affairs there was as yet no settled Form in the Government, and consequently they knew not as yet whereupon to deliberate; whereas, if they waited some time longer, they might see plainer into Affairs, what turn they would take, *Day unto Day shewing Knowledge*, whereby they would be better informed of what they were to do or to suffer, to hope for or to fear, and consequently more able to deliberate and resolve.

Reasons a-
gainst it.

2. That if they did assemble themselves at a time when the Court thought to have given them a just Satisfaction by the Confirmation of the Edicts, Grants, &c. verified in the Parliaments, they would afford Ground of suspecting that they had a mind to stir, at which every one would be alarmed; their Enemies would take a Pretence to supersede all other Designs in order to ward off our own, and the wisest and best Men would blame us.

3. That then the Court would be obliged to keep the Army standing and assembled together, whereas they were upon the point of sending Part thereof into the Country of *Cleves*, another Part into *Savoy*, and of disbanding most part thereof. And every one knows that it is our Interest that it should be disbanded.

4. The Confederate Princes of *Germany*, in whose Preservation we are so much concerned, will be forsaken, on Pretence that for the just
Suspicious

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1610.
Pope Paul
V.

Suspensions we give of brewing some Change in the State, they cannot send to their Assistance.

5. That the several Factions that are forming at Court will re-unite themselves against us, partly for opposing their Common Enemy, as they say, partly in hopes every one to be employ'd; whereby we shall lose the Advantage which we certainly should reap, by our Prudence, from their Division, which is upon the Point to break out.

6. The *Jesuits* grow daily more odious. *Mariana's* Book has been burnt by the common Executioner's Sentence of the Parliament. All the Preachers of *Paris* are authorised by that Court to make them odious to the People; which they do very freely and with great Success. Whereas, as soon as they shall see us asking or convoking an Assembly, they will take that Step as a Signal of Trouble, and consequently, from thence, they will take Occasion to turn the publick Hatred against us (r).

They answered the Objections in a very plain Way; they shewed forth, that having, for two Years longer, the keeping of their Cautionary Towns, they had consequently Time enough to consider and deliberate; and had they a little Patience, very likely they would meet with a better Opportunity to obtain, or to hold a more considerable Assembly, and to better their Condition in several respects; and perhaps to persuade the Queen to offer them, of her own accord, the Continuation of their Cautionary Towns and other like Terms, without being asked for. As to the naming of new General Deputies, there was no haste for that; those who actually served at Court, in that Quality, having almost two Years longer to fill up

(r) *Idem* *Ibid.* p 250, 251.

up that Place, and being, avowedly, fitly qualified for that Office.

How far these Arguments prevailed with the Majority, and especially the Lords and other great Men amongst the Reformed, I cannot tell positively, but I find that at the Instances of the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Deputies-General petitioned their Majesties, about the latter end of *August*, for a Licence to hold a Political Assembly, which was granted only on the 15th of *October*, at *Rheims*, where their Majesties were gone for the King's Coronation; and by the Brief which they obtained they were to assemble on the 25th of *May* next, at *Chatelberaud*, but the Place was afterwards changed, as we shall say hereafter (s).

On the 17th of *October* the Ceremony of the King's Coronation was performed with the usual Ceremonies at *Rheims*, by the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*.

All this while the Duke of *Sully* had many Gudgeons to swallow in the Execution of his Offices, especially in the Super-Intendancy of the Exchequer. Being not able to bear any longer the Oppositions and Contradictions of the other Ministers, especially of Chancellor de *Sillery* and *Villeroy*, he earnestly solicited the Queen for a Licence of disposing of his Employments, but her Majesty feigned to be unwilling to grant his Request, and to desire the Continuance of his Services. *Mezeray* says, that the Queen did this at *Villeroy's* Instances, because that Minister was a Lover of good Order in the Affairs, and that every one were already used to the Duke of *Sully's* Repulses. However, as the Court was ready

V O L. IV. N n to

(s) *Mezeray Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. p. 109. Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Tom I. p. 27 and 31.*

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Licence for
holding a
Political
Assembly
granted.

The King's
Coronation

Sully's Re-
signation of
his Offices.

Lewis 13. to come back from *Rheims*, Bullion was sent to
 Pope Paul. the Duke to desire him, in their Majesties Name,
 V. to resume his Functions as usual, and that they
 would put as much Confidence in him as the
 late King had done. The Duke accepted, and
 continued for about three Weeks; after which
 Time the same Dispute about the *Switzers* to
 be put in Garrison at *Lyons*, and upon that
 Pretence to raise a Fund for the Maintenance
 of these Troops, which had occasioned his last
 Quarrel with *Villeroy*, was renewed, whereat
 the Duke was so far exasperated, that he up-
 braided the Chancellor with conniving with
Villeroy at the Ruin of the Kingdom. Several
 other big Words passed between him and
Villeroy himself, before the Queen and the
 whole Council, whereupon all the Ministers
 and Counsellors of State unanimously conspired
 his Ruin. I shall not relate here their In-
 trigues for compassing their Ends; they en-
 gaged the Prince of *Condé*, the Count of *Soissons*
 and *Conchini* (henceforth known by the Title
 of Marquis *D'Ancre*) in their Party; they con-
 sulted with the Duke of *Bouillon*, he told them
 that nothing could befall the Duke of *Sully*
 but what he well deserved, however that he
 desired not to appear in this Affair; not only
 because that was unnecessary, but he was un-
 willing that the Reformed should reproach him
 for having contributed to remove one of the
 Brethren from the Ministry.

Every thing being ready for the Execution of
 their Plot, the Prince and the Count spoke the
 first to the Queen about it, then the Ministers
 opened their Minds to her Majesty, and the
 Marquis *D'Ancre* gave him the last Blow. So
 that, on the 24th of *January*, the Queen sent
 a Letter to the Duke, wherein she says, that
 she

she was very sorry to hear his Resolution of resigning his Employments, especially the *Sur-Intendancy* and the Government of *Bastille*; that she had been in hopes that he would continue to serve the King her Son, as he had done the late King; that she had and still desired him to consider well his Design before he executed it, and to let her know his last Resolution, that she might take her own.

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V.

He answered, that his Resolution was, not to concern himself any more with the Finances or Exchequer. Thereupon the King, on the 26th of the same Month, sent him a Brief of Discharge of the Government of *Bastille*, in very honourable Terms, and the next Day another of 300,000 Livres, as a Recompence for his past Services.

So he was obliged to resign, and he retired as much loaded with the Envy and Jealousy of the Ministers and Courtiers for the great Authority wherewith he had exercised his Offices, and for his rough Temper, as with the immense Riches which he had acquired, during the time of his Administration.

To which we must add this Encomium which *Mezeray* gives him, *That the first Years of his Administration were excellent, and if any one says that he was less scrupulous in the last, he cannot affirm that he has ever got any thing to the prejudice of the State; if his last Years have been profitable unto him, they have been much more so to the State.*


Immediately after this Dismission, they endeavoured to improve his Disgrace, in order to succeed him; *Chateauvieux* had the Command of the *Bastille* under the Queen-Mother, who kept for herself the Government thereof. The Exchequer was put in Commission, President

Lewis 13. Jeannin was made Comptroller-General, Pre-
 1610. sident *Tbuanus* and *Chasteauneuf*, Directors.
 Pope Paul. They had a mind to ruin him utterly, for
 V. which purpose they endeavoured to dissolve
 the Marriage of the Marquis of *Rosny* with the
 Daughter of the Marshal of *Créquy*, Grand-
 daughter to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, to
 the end that this last should not set himself
 against them: and they proposed to the Duke
 of *Bouillon* the Government of *Poitou*, whereof
Sully was possessed. *Bouillon* seeming to listen to
 the Proposition, the Marquis *D'Ancre* brought
 him word, from the Queen, that he should
 have it. However her Majesty altered her
 Mind, and that too with much Reason, it being
 very unjust to deal so severely with a Man who
 had so well deserved from the King and the
 Kingdom, upon no other Account, but because
 having been so useful to the Publick he had not
 been forgetful of himself (*t*). We shall see
 presently what Course the Duke of *Sully* took,
 in order to have justice done to himself.

The Parliament having taken Cognizance of
 Bellar-
 mine's Book *Bellarmino's Book*, in Answer to *Barclay de*
condemned Potestate Papæ, &c. that is, of the Pope's Power
 by the Par- over Sovereigns, (*) wherein the Cardinal
 liament. asserted

(*t*) Mem. de *Sully*, Tom. IV. p. 36—52. *Mezeray*
 Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom I. p. 111, 112, 113, 114, and
 120—131. Mem. de la Regence de *Marie de Medicis*,
 Tom. I. p. 56, 57.

(*) *Barclay* had confuted *Bellarmino's* Assertion con-
 cerning the Pope's Authority, in the first Vol. of his Con-
 troversies, and *Bellarmino* published an Answer to *Barclay*;
 the King's Council had opposed the printing of that Car-
 dinal's Book at *Paris*, and the first Sheets thereof, which
 were already printed, had been suppressed by the Orders
 of the Attorney-General. Nay, it was even credibly said,
 that the late King, understanding that the said Book of
Bellarmino's was in the Press at *Rome*, was so much
 offended at it, that he wrote instantly to the Pope, desiring
 him

asserted several Propositions contrary to the In- Lewis 13.
 dependency of Kings, from any other Power, 160.
 besides God; they condemned it by Sentence, Pope Paul.
 of the 26th of *November*, forbidding, under V.
 Pain of High-Treason, to receive, keep, print, 
 or sell the said Book. The *Jesuits* were in-
 volved in this Storm, which hindered them,
 this Year, from opening their College of
Clermont at Paris, as they had a mind to do,
 notwithstanding the Oppositions of the Uni-
 versity (v).

The Pope's Nuncio made very heavy *The Nuncio*
 Complaints against that Decree at Court, just *complains*
 as if the Parliament were become Hereticks *against*
 for asserting the Rights and Prerogatives of *that Decree.*
 their Sovereign, against the unjust and tyran-
 nical Usurpations of a vile Priest. The Go-
 vernment was then so weak, or rather the
 Queen-Regent had already so far prostituted the
 Honour and Dignity of the Crown of her Son
 to the Pleasure of the Courts of *Madrid* and
Rome, that dreading the Resentment of this
 last, she ordered that the Execution of the
 Decree of the Parliament should be super-
 seded (u).

Nn 3

I

him to suppress that Book, or else he would go himself to
Rome to suppress it. *L'Etoile*, Mem. pour Servir a l'Hist.
 de *France*. Tom. II. p. 350.

(v) *Mezeray Hist. de Louis XIII.* Tom I. p. 81, 82.
 It is true that, in that respect, they were involved in the
 same Storm, as holding the same Doctrine with *Bellarmino*;
 but it must be observed, that at the same time they had a
 Law-Suit with the University, who opposed the opening of
 their College, which was to be decided the 18th, but had
 been put off to the 28th of *November*, when the Queen,
 of her own Authority, forbade the Court to take any fur-
 ther Cognizance of their Affairs. *L'Etoile* *ibid.*

(u) *Memoires de L'Etoile* *ibid.* *Mezeray* *ibid.* p. 82.
Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I.
 p. 36, 37.

Lewis 13.

1610.
Pope Paul
V.Jesuit Au-
bigny's
sudden
Death.Prepara-
tions for the
Political
Assembly of
the Refor-
med.

I found that at this very time Father *Aubigny*, who had been *Ravaillac's* Confessor, as mentioned before, died suddenly; and that it was publickly rumour'd that he had been dispatch'd out of the World by his good Brethren, in order to prevent his confronting with certain *Carmelites*. And it was added, that the Advice they received from *England* of the Deposition of *Baudouin* had hastened his Death (x).

The Political Assembly of the Reformed is the most remarkable Occurrence of this Year, upon which I shall dwell a little longer, because from thence have chiefly proceeded all the Misfortunes of our Churches under this Reign.

The Queen, as above said, had appointed the 25th of *May* for opening the said Political Assembly at *Chatelberaud*. The Duke of *Bouillon*, who had been one of the most eager in the Pursuit of this Assembly, having not been able to persuade the Prince of *Condé* to embrace the Reformed Religion and to declare himself Head and Protector of that Party, had a mind to purchase that Dignity for himself. With this View he sent *Bellujon*, Governour of *Villemur*, to the Lord *Du Plessis*, and shewing forth, at least outwardly, a great Zeal for the Welfare of the Churches, he desired him to draw up and send him a Memorandum of the Articles that ought to be propos'd in the provincial Assemblies that were to be convened, in order to name the Deputies to the General, and to draw up their Instructions. *Du Plessis* complied, and the Marshal Duke was so well pleased with those Articles, that he sent them to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, who was no less pleased with them than the Duke, and wrote to the Author that he approved of them all, without Exception or Reservation; and caused

them

(x) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. III. p. 267, 268.

them to be the Rule whereupon the Provinces of ^{Lewis 13.} *Dauphiné, Low Languedoc, Vivarez and Provence,* ^{1611.} drew the Instructions they gave to their Representatives, ^{Pope Paul V.} *mutatis mutandis.* *Du Plessis* seeing this Approbation, did not scruple to send the same Articles to the Duke of *Roban* in *Brittany*, and to some others of his Friends in the Provinces of *Poitou, La Rochelle, Xaintonge, Low Guienne, Normandy, Berry and Burgundy,* and in *Anjou*, where he resided; in this last he was named President of the Provincial Assembly, and was desired with some other Gentlemen well qualified, to be their Representative in the General Assembly. Note, what I have observed above, that at the time when the Duke of *Bouillon* sent to *Du Plessis*, he was dissatisfied with the Court, and was gone to *Sedan*, and the Duke of *Sully* was still in his Offices. Now when these Articles had been sent into the Provinces, the Marshal of *Bouillon* was reconciled, and the Duke of *Sully* disgraced.

This last was willing to make, of his private Interest, a general Concern of all the Reformed Party, just as if he had been deprived on account of his Religion, his Son-in-law, was of the same Opinion; and having considered together with their Friends what Course they were to take, in order to succeed; they agreed that there was no better way than to back the same Articles drawn up by *Du Plessis*, and sent throughout the Provinces by the Duke of *Bouillon*, and to make the best of them.

But now the Duke of *Bouillon* had altered his Mind, and being reconciled with the Court, he desired earnestly to do some Service or other whereby he might deserve its Favours, or at least, whereby he might show forth the great Interest he had, or pretended to have in the

Lewis 13. Reformed Party, therefore he was very sorry
 1610. for what he had done, and would have given
 Pope Paul any thing to recall these Articles; he sent
 V. to the Provinces, and endeavoured to persuade
 them that the Court was much altered in their
 behalf, ready to grant them all their just Demands. But the Reasons of this Change were so obvious to every one, that no body mistook them, but those only who were willing to be deceived. Vexed at it, he took another Course, and in order to exclude the Duke of *Sully* from the Presidentship of the Assembly, he sent several Messages to *Du Plessis*, nay, he desired the Duchess Dowager of *La Tremouille*, his Sister-in-law, to let him know, that for avoiding all manner of Jealousies between the greatest Lords of the Party, it was very proper to give them all the Exclusion from the Presidentship. That was very cunningly devised for putting a stop to the Sollicitations, either secret or open, of those who could pretend to that Honour, and so to secure the Votes to himself, when on a sudden he should appear and set up his Pretensions to it, as he did indeed, but without Success.

But this was not all; *Chatelberaud* was the Place appointed at first by the Court for the Assembly; but *Chatelberaud* was in the Duke of *Sully's* Government, and it was not unlikely that that Lord would dispose of every thing in a Place wherein he was Master; and for that same Reason the Duke of *Bouillon* did not care to be in a Place where he knew that his Enemy would of course be the strongest; therefore they consented, without difficulty, to the Change of the Place, and that *Saumur* should be appointed instead of *Chatelberaud*. It was even said, that that Alteration had been made at his own Sollicitation,

at least it is certain that there was no talk about it before his Reconciliation with the Court, and his coming back from *Sedan*.

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

Such were the Dispositions of these three Dukes, *Bouillon*, *Roban* and *Sully*, when, the Time of the Assembly being near at an end, the Deputies arrived at *Saumur*; the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize* the 22d of *May*, the Duke of *Sully* the 23d, and the Duke of *Bouillon* the 25th. This last was no sooner arrived but he let Monsieur *Du Plessis* know what were his real Intentions as to the Presidency, that that Honour could not be bestowed upon any other but himself without Injustice; that after so many Services done to the Party, it would be an Affront put upon him, was he put in competition with the Duke of *Sully*, and that certainly he would instantly set out was he not unanimously elected President of the Assembly. The Governour of *Saumur* was vexed at this sudden Change, he sent him one of his most trusty to represent unto him that it was very late now to undertake to alter the Opinions of the Deputies, which they had grounded upon his own strong Remonstrances on that score. Nevertheless, he sent, at the same time, for those Deputies whom he knew to have the greatest Interest in the Assembly, and intreated, nay, he besought them to use their best Endeavours, that the Duke might have the Satisfaction he desired; he set forth, in a moving Manner, the Inconveniencies which might ensue on the Denial. Whereupon they told him, that it was better to open the Assembly; and, after having called solemnly upon God, to submit the Votes and the Election unto his all-wise Direction: and he could never engage them to promise any thing further.

Lewis 13. The Assembly was opened the 26th. *Du*
 1610. *Plessis*, desiring earnestly to give the Duke the
 Pope Paul. Satisfaction he desired, declined to accept the
 V. Presidency, for he was elected in the Morning ;
 The Assem- out of sixteen Votes [for the Reformed had
 bly opens its divided the Kingdom into so many Provinces,
 Session. and each Province, in this Case, had but one
 Their Pro- Vote] six were for the Duke of *Bouillon* and ten
 ceedings. for *Du Plessis* ; he insisted that a new Election
 should be made in the Afternoon, which ac-
 cordingly was done, and *Du Plessis*, having
 still the same Number of Votes, was declared
 duly elected, and obliged to accept it, notwith-
 standing his Instances to the contrary. The
 Reverend Mr. *Chamier* was named his Assistant ;
 and *Des Bordes Mercerus*, Son to the renowned
Mercerus, celebrated for his great Skill in the
Hebrew Tongue, was named Secretary.

The Marshal Duke, thinking to be slighted
 by this Proceeding, plainly threatened to resent
 it, and to set out from *Saumur* the very next
 Day. Nevertheless, at *Du Plessis's* Intreaties,
 he relented a little, and did not set out. But
 though he seemed to be satisfied with all these
 Civilities, yet all his Behaviour in the Assembly
 shewed forth that he had not forgotten the
 Threat of revenging himself. He was re-
 conciled outwardly with the Duke of *Sully*, and
 when they had done with telling one another
 of their Faults, they gave one another mutual
 Assurances of Friendship.

Every one thought that, after that Recon-
 ciliation, the Duke of *Bouillon* had altered his
 Mind, and would sincerely join his Endeavours
 with the other Members of the Assembly
 for procuring the Welfare of the Reformed
 Churches, and indeed he did several Things
 which seemed to confirm that Opinion. In
 several

several Occasions his Counsels were prudent and vigorous, especially in the Affair of Baron *de Senevieres*, Governour of *Chatillon* upon *Indre*. That Gentleman had of late turned Reformed, whereupon the Catholick Inhabitants had risen in arms against him, and attempted to destroy all the Fences of the Castle, and all the Places wherein he might dwell commodiously. Notwithstanding all the Care which the Marshal Duke took to pacify them, *Senevieres* was like to be reduced to great Straits had not the Assembly taken his part.

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

Indeed they were too much concerned in that Affair to neglect it. *Chatillon* was a new Place which *Senevieres* put into their hands, according to the Edict. It was their Interest to protect those who embraced their Religion, lest those who should have a mind to do the same for the future, should be deterred from it thro' Fear of losing their Employments; and at that very time they knew that another Governour was willing to abjure the *Roman* Religion, but was afraid of being immediately turned out if he followed his Inclination. For these Considerations the Assembly took in hand *Senevieres's* Affair, and by the Duke of *Bouillon's* Advice they sent to Court to demand Satisfaction, and resolved not to treat of any thing with the King's Commissaries before they had obtained it.

But these mighty Resolutions came to nought, the Court eluded the Instances of the Assembly, and the Marshal of *Bouillon* having talked with the King's Commissaries, relented, and could not thenceforward be moved by any Intreaties to support the Cause which he had so vigorously undertaken. As to the other Governour, he was exhorted by the Assembly not to delay any longer

Lewis 13. longer to declare himself openly, and that they
1611. would support him with all their Might.

Pope Paul.
V.

The Affair of *Senevieres* was brought upon
the Carpet the very first Day of the Assembly.
The next Day they renewed the Oath of Union,
and they drew up a Form thereof, the Purport
of which amounted to these two Articles, Obe-
dience to the King; and Concord, Impartiality
and Disinterestedness amongst themselves, for
their common Preservation under the King's Pro-
tection and Obedience. All the Deputies took it,
the Duke of *Sully* himself, who had been so much
against it under the last Reign, was now one of the
first that entered into it, knowing very well that
the Common Cause was the Security of his own.
They took likewise another Oath, whereby
they promised not to make any Interest for
being named General Deputy, or for being
employed in any particular Deputation from
one or more Provinces at Court, even not so
much as for being named Candidate. But I
am ashamed to say that all these Oaths, which
were to be like Iron-Bars, were no stronger
than Straw. Discord, Partiality, Self-Interest,
Cabals and Bribery were full rife in this Assem-
bly, and endangered the whole Party to be
utterly undone. All these Monopolies are
fully represented by the Duke of *Roban* in
the first Book of his Memoirs, and being mostly
agreeable to the Relation given by *Du Plessis's*
Biographer, and by himself in his Letters and
Memoirs, I shall transcribe it here, when I shall
have set forth, in as few Words as possible, the
Instructions given by the Provinces to their Re-
presentatives in this Assembly.

Instructions
given to the
Represent-
atives.

These Instructions were drawn up, as above-
said, upon the Memorandum which *Du Plessis*
had made at the Duke of *Bouillon's* Instances,
and

and which had been so well relished by Marshal Lewis 13.
De Les Diguières, and are as follow. 1611.

They were to demand the Restitution of the
 Edict of *Nantz* in its full, and such as it had
 been agreed upon between the King's Com-
 missaries and the Deputies of the Reformed,
 before it had been signed by his Majesty at
Nantz; That the Brief for the Cautionary
 Towns should be likewise restored in its full
 Extent; that such of these Towns which had
 been lost by the Defection of their Governors
 from the Reformed to the *Roman* Religion, or
 by any other Means, should be restored; that
 the keeping of these Places should be continued
 unto them for ten Years longer; that the Sum
 promised at first for the Subsistence of the Gar-
 risons, and which had been reduced to the
 half, should be restored to its full; that the
 Payment of them should be made quarterly,
 without any Deficiency, and at the very
 Places; that some Methods should be found
 out for preventing the Cheats that might be
 committed in filling up the vacant Places of Go-
 vernours; that they should have leave to repair
 and fortify the Places which fell to Decay
 thro' Length of Time; that Complaints should
 be made of the Injustice done to the Reformed,
 who were excluded from all other Employment
 and Dignity on Pretence of their being provided
 with a Government of some of these Towns;
 That they should require that the Resignations
 of the Government of any of these Places should
 be accepted only with the Consent of the Churches,
 and the same be done as to the Counsellorship or
 Presidentship in any of the Chambers; that they
 should be licensed to compose, print, sell and
 publish all manner of Books concerning the
 Reformed Religion; that the Places granted to
 certain

Pope Paul
 V.

Lewis 13. certain Towns for their publick, religious Meet-
 ings, and which were too far distant from the
 1611. Town, should be exchanged with another
 Pope Paul V. that was nearer, to the end that they might be
 at hand to enjoy the Protection of the Magistrate against the Insults of the Rabble ; That the Article about the Burial-Place, which occasioned so many Barbarities, should be reformed ; that the Preachers and Confessors, who thought that those who had ever any Communication with the Reformed, serve, or assist them, were all damned, should be punish'd like Seditious, and Infringers of the Edicts ; that the Reformed might have two Offices of Masters of Request, the first time without Fee, and a Notary-Publick in every royal Seat, or at least in every Cautionary Town, but paying a moderate Fee ; that the Jesuits should not reside in any of the Cautionary Towns ; that, in the Provinces where there was no such Town, and where the Reformed were in great Numbers, they might have some one ; that they may hold a Political Assembly once every two Years ; that two General Deputies named by the said Assembly, without the Court's Concurrence, should attend the said Court at the King's Charge ; that the Provincial Deputies might address themselves to the General, without being obliged to apply themselves to the Governours or Lieutenants-General of the Provinces.

Such were, generally speaking, the Instructions given by their Principals to the Representatives of the Provinces, whereupon the Assembly drew up their General Petition. Now I shall proceed to the Account of the Duke of *Roban*.

The King's Commissaries were heard in the Assembly, who gave many fine Words ; they asserted,

asserted, that the Preservation of the Reformed Churches was necessary to that of the State, and assured them of their Majesties Good-Will, who would be favourable unto them in all their Demands and Petitions, cause their Edicts and Concessions to be maintained and executed in what they had not been as yet, explain to their Advantage what was still obscure; and finally they leave it to the Choice of the Assembly, either to put their general Petitions into their Hands, or to send them express by their own Deputies, affirming that whatever Method they took they would be speedily and favourably answered.

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1611.
Pope Paul
V.

Upon such fine Promises, the Assembly began to hope well for the Success of their Meeting, and they drew up their Petitions after the Instructions above-mentioned, without any Opposition from the Marshal of *Bouillon*, for he had been himself the Author of such Demands. *De Lusignan*, *D'Aubigné* and some others were named to confer upon some of the principal Articles thereof with the King's Commissaries; who, after some Debate, declared that they were not empowered to resolve any thing; and being come to the Assembly they advised them to address themselves to her Majesty, and that they would support them with all their Interest, to which the Assembly agreed. But when they came to name the Deputies, some were very busy in making great Interest to be named; whereupon the Assembly resolved not to draw up the Instructions and Powers of the said Deputies, till they knew upon whom the Choice would fall, to the end that they might give a greater or less Extension to their Powers, according to the Character of the Persons who should be elected, which were the Reverend
Mr.

Lewis 13.
1611.
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V.

Mr. Ferrier, Messieurs *La Case*, *Courtaumer*, *Mirande* and *Armet*. They were not empower'd to conclude any thing, but only to confer upon the Articles, and after having explained them, to send the Assembly Notice of whatever they had transacted, whereupon the Assembly would give their final Resolution. That Restriction did not please at all some of the Deputies, much less the Marshal of *Bouillon*, because he saw plainly his Designs defeated thereby.

While the general Petitions were drawing up, two things happened which deserve to be taken notice of. The first was the Opposition of the Marshal of *Bouillon* to the Duke of *Sully's* Pursuit; that the Assembly should take his Affair in hand, because he pretended to be deprived of his Charges on account of his Religion: Nay, he went so far that he solicited the Son-in-law [*the Duke of Rohan, Author of these Memoirs*] to forsake his Father-in-Law. He came one day when he was sick to visit him, and told him, amongst other Things, that it was impossible for the Duke of *Sully* to have borne such Offices as he had, especially the *Super-Intendancy* of the Exchequer, without some Misdemeanour or other, if not of his own, at least of those who acted under him; and had the King had a mind to appoint Commissaries to examine his Actions, neither the Assembly, nor the whole Body of the Reformed, could take it amiss, tho' some wrong should be done unto him, because he should suffer by the ordinary Course; and that he took the Duke of *Rohan* to be such an upright Man, a good Patriot, and Lover of Order, that he would not stir for all that. That Speech was ill received; he was answered, that the Duke of *Sully's* great

Services did not deserve that he should be ex-^{Lewis 13.}posed to be a Prey to those who had hurted ^{1611.}the State, and that his Administration, free ^{Pope Paul}from Corruption and Misdemeanour, could not ^{V.}be examined but by the Court of Peers, because of his Quality; and if he was otherwise served, all his Relations, and especially his Son-in-law with all his Friends, would support his Cause. So that after several Sittings the Assembly proceeding upon that Article, at the Request of the Provinces, exhorted the Duke of *Sully* not to treat for his Charges for any Sum of Money; and above all not to resign his Great Mastership of the Ordnance; and if he was molested on that account by undue, unlawful and extraordinary Means, they would shew forth that they took his Cause to be one wherein all the Reformed Churches were concerned, and they expressly charg'd their Deputies to insist upon it (x).

The

(x) There are two Things to be observed in this Affair concerning the Duke of *Sully*. (1.) In the Speech he made to the Assembly, he pretended that he was not as yet determined as to the Recompense he might pretend for his Offices, so that there was time yet to take advice; and he required it upon these four Things. 1. Whether he was to speak no more, either of his being restored to his Places, or of his Recompenses. *But I don't know how to make this agree with his Letters to her Majesty of the Months of March and April, whereby he sollicit the Payment of what had been promised unto him for his Charges, and in Consideration of his past Services. Nor with the two Briefs of the King, the first of the 27th of January for 300,000 Livres, once paid; the 2d of the 20th of May, for an Augmentation of 48,400 Livres Pension. Which he had accepted since the Payment of the first Sum, by the abovesaid Letters to the Queen.* See his *Memoirs*, Tom. IV. p 47—56. (2) supposing that he ought to petition again, whether he ought to ask only to be restored. *If our former Observation is good, this Duke had nothing now to petition for, on account of his Places.* (3) Whether, having no hopes of being restored, he ought to accept the Recompense

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The other Affair concerned *Berticheres*, one of the Representatives for *Low Languedoc*, a Gentleman of Quality and of good Parts, and who, in the late King's Reign, had been deprived, by extraordinary Means, of his Government of *Sommieres* and *Aiguemortes*, because his Majesty was ill satisfy'd with his Conduct, on account of his Intrigues with the Constable of *Montmorency* Governour of the said Province; as he had formerly endeavoured, in vain, to be restored, now he thought the Season proper to obtain his End, should the Assembly take his Cause in hand, because *Sommieres* and *Aiguemortes* were two of the Cautionary Towns, which, tho' they were at present in the Hands of two Gentlemen Reformed, he thought that having not as yet shewn forth their Zeal for the common Cause, they would be less acceptable to the

Churches
pense offered. 'But he had already accepted.' Lastly, whether in accepting of a Recompense he ought to receive it in Money, or in some new Dignity, such as a Marshal's Staff, or some Government. 'But he was no longer Master of the Choice, if his own Memoirs are to be credited at all.

(2) This Assembly proceeded, with regard to the Duke, upon a false Supposition, viz. that he had been deprived on account of his Religion. In truth, his Religion was not at all concerned in this; and had the Pope himself, if I may say so, been Super-Intendant of the Exchequer, and been of the same Temper as the Duke of *Sully* was, he would have been deprived as well as him. Besides that, it cannot be said, properly speaking, that he was deprived; as he had solicited his Dismission several Months before, he could not obtain it then, but, as he could not conquer his Temper, and was every day quarrelling in the Council with some of the Ministers, *Villeroy*, who had a great Value for him, saw himself obliged to shew forth by his Behaviour, that he or *Sully* must be dismissed. The truth is, that *Sully* had not as yet received the 300,000 Livres; but for all that, had he not engaged his Word to the King? had he not solicited for his Payment? and could he abuse, in such a gross manner, the Credulity of the Assembly as to make them serve as his Bailiffs to recover that Debt? and is not the Assembly to be blamed for having taken that Office upon them?

Churches than he who had exerted himself on that Occasion; and that, if he had accepted some Recompense, it had been for the Government of *Sommieres*, and not for *Aiguemortes*; and whereas his Attachment to the Reformed Party had been the Occasion of his Disgrace, he thought it very reasonable that they should support his Interest. He required that the Assembly should name proper Commissaries to examine his Instruments and Titles, and make their Report to them.

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At that time *Berticheres* professed to be a Friend to the Duke of *Sully*, who had mightily supported him near the late King, so that by his means his best Friends were named Commissaries, who made a favourable Report of his Affair, which obliged the Assembly, notwithstanding the Duke of *Bouillon's* Opposition, to take his Cause in hand, and to charge the Deputies with Orders to support him with all their Might at Court. Then he himself went to Court, and altered his Course to obtain his end, promising to embrace and support the Court's Interest in the Assembly, &c. &c. Which was indeed a notorious Treachery, unworthy a Gentleman of his Quality.

The Deputies of the Assembly being arrived at Court, were very graciously received and kindly entertained. By their first Dispatch they gave notice of their Reception, and that the Queen had ordered them to put their Petition into the hands of *Boiffise* and *Bullion* Counsellors of State; and that, having been heard several times in Counsel, they were told that their Petitions were favourably answered. But a few days after they sent quite contrary News, and that the Court would not deliver any Answer to the Articles of their Petition, before

Lewis 13. the Assembly, having named their General Deputies, should put an end to their Session. Nothing
 1611. could be more displeasing than that News, and
 Pope Paul V. indeed the Court broke, on this Occasion, thro' all the ordinary Rules. Therefore the Assembly unanimously resolved to insist on having their Petitions answered before they should break up. The Duke of *Bouillon* feigned to approve that Resolution, and promised to write to Court. Which he did indeed, but quite in another Strain than he had promised; and to deceive more easily the Assembly, he shewed a Copy widely different from the Letter he had sent. At last, the Deputies being not able to obtain any thing more, returned to *Saumur*, and made the Report of their Negotiation, acquainting them that *Bullion*, Counsellor of State, was coming with the Answers to their Petitions; but that their Majesties desired them to proceed to the Nomination of their general Deputies before his Arrival, which however was superseded for that time.

Bullion being arrived confirmed the Declaration of the Deputies, and withal he swore upon his D——on that their Petitions were most favourably answered; he threatned some of them with terrible Evils, and cajoled others with fine Hopes of Preferment; and for a greater Confirmation of his Word, he delivered to *Parabere* and some others Briefs of Augmentation of their Pensions, but the Dukes of *Roban* and *Scubize* were deprived of their own. On the other hand, the Marshal of *Bouillon* used all manner of Artifices for corrupting the Representatives in the Assembly by Promises of Pensions or Preferments. And seeing them firmly resolved to require again that their Petitions should be answered before they should proceed

to the Nomination; he play'd a very foul Trick, for tho' he juggled together with *Bullion*, nevertheless, they feigned to be of a different Opinion, this last affirming that it would be Time and Trouble lost if they sent again to Court; and the Marshal on the contrary flattering the Assembly with a good Success, he thought that by the length of time he should tire the Patience of some, and corrupt the others, and that in the mean while he ought to show himself zealous, that he might more easily impose upon the Simple. Nevertheless, seeing that this would not do, he, with the said *Bullion* and their Confidants, advised the Queen to write to the Assembly, commanding them to break up instantly, revoking the Permission of being assembled any longer, and declaring void whatever Deliberations and Resolutions they should take henceforward, and sent the Minute of the said Letter to her Majesty by *Bellugeon*, who was Agent of Mareschal *De Les Diguieres* in the Assembly, a Man every way qualified for such a foul Business; being not over-scrupulous, nay, sticking at nothing whenever his Self-Interest lay at stake. He, under a false Pretence of visiting his Wife's Brother in *Berry*, and of settling some Family-Business, obtained leave of the Assembly to absent for some Days; nay, in order to impose the better, he went out of *Saumur*, riding a fine Genet, but was no sooner out of sight but he took Post and went to *Paris*, where he delivered his Message and conferred with the State-Ministers. The Queen, by these Means being informed of the Dispositions of the Assembly, and that some of them were not so stiff as the rest, followed the Directions of the Duke; she wrote a threatening Letter to the said Assembly, declaring

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Lewis 13. them Rebels if they refused any longer to obey ;
 1611. and, what was never seen or heard of before,
 Pope Paul SHE AUTHORISED THE LESSER NUMBER
 V. AGAINST THE GREATER, and commanded
 the Duke of *Bouillon's* Adherents to proceed to
 the Nomination of the General Deputies, with-
 out waiting for the Concurrence of their Bre-
 thren, and to receive of *Bullion* the Answers to
 their Petitions ; then to break up without any
 further Delay. *Bullion* received the Letter, and
 imparted it to the Duke of *Bouillon*. That
 Lord came to the Castle, and shew'd it to
 the Lords *De La Force* and *Du Plessis*. They
 read it with the utmost Abhorrence, they
 made fruitless Remonstrances to the Duke, who
 told them that they might impart the Contents
 thereof to those whom they should think proper.
 Which having done, most part of the Repre-
 sentatives fretted at it, and were with great
 difficulty prevailed upon not to set out from
Saumur. *Bullion* being informed of their Dis-
 positions, desired a Conference with *Du Plessis* ;
 they agreed together upon certain Means
 whereby the Queen would be obey'd, and the
 Assembly receive some Satisfaction, without
 exhibiting that scandalous Letter. But as *Du*
Plessis was about to improve that Overture, on
 a sudden *Bullion*, at the Persuasion of the Duke
 of *Bouillon*, altered his Mind, and sent him
 word that he would discharge his Commission
 such as he had received it from the Queen.
 'Tis said the Duke had assembled his Adhe-
 rents that very Evening, and had exhorted
 them to rise up the next day all together and
 declare themselves for *Bullion's* Proposal, when
 he should have done reading the Queen's Letter.
 In that Perplexity all the Members that had the
 Welfare of the Churches at heart came to the
 Castle,

Castle, to the Number of 55, amongst whom were the Dukes of Sully, *Roban, Soubize*, the Lord of *La Force*, several other Persons of Quality and all the Ministers, to consult with *Du Plessis* what Course they ought to take. Most part insisted on parting from the Assembly without delay. But the wise *Du Plessis* persuaded them to the contrary. *The Author of this Mischief*, says, he, *is not unknown unto us, without him never any such thing would have been attempted; but since he has begun, let us not flatter ourselves that he will not go any further. He may glory himself to have made a Breach in our Union, to have done what the most fierce Persecutions, the most cruel Civil-Wars, even the most bloody Massacres have not been able to do. Let God be Judge between us and him, and touch him with a quick Remorse of his Crime. In the meanwhile, here is the Judgment of Solomon, let us prove ourselves to be the true Mother of the Child; let us show that we feel the Bowels of Christ renting themselves; nay, that they rent them themselves so much the more cruelly that some of us don't feel it. It don't belong to such People to teach us Obedience due to the King, we are well acquainted one with another. However, let us proceed to the Nomination of our Deputies, as the Queen desires it. Our Churches will forgive us for not having followed their Instructions when they shall know what Danger we have been near to fall in, thro' a wicked Counsel. The Schism is ready to break out; that is enough to justify our Proceeding.* By that prudent and religious Speech, *Du Plessis* appeased the most provoked, they unanimously agreed to follow his Opinion and to keep secret their Resolution.

Bullion came the next day to the Assembly, he presented the Letter of the Queen-Regent, and required that the King's Orders should be

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executed. So they will be, answered Du Plessis Since we are so unhappy as not to be hearkened to in our just Remonstrances; But we hope that their Majesties will consider our Submission and our just Petitions. Then, directing his Speech to the Commiffary, Give me leave, Sir, says he, to tell you here, that those who have sown this Division among us, don't mind much the King's Service. Our Union has settled the late King upon the Throne of his Ancestors. He was so far sensible of the Utility thereof, that that great Prince approved of that which was renewed and sworn in his Presence, and amidst his Court at Nantes, God grants the King a peaceable Minority, and the Queen a happy Regency. The more the Reformed shall be strictly united together, the more they shall be in a Condition to do better Service to the King. Three or four of those who had been bribed got up in order to execute their wicked Design of compleating the Division; but being not countenanced, they were obliged to sit down again. On the 5th of September they proceeded to the Nomination of the six Deputies, and notwithstanding the Cabals, the wholesomest Part of the Assembly prevailed; the Lords of Montbrun, de Rouvrai and De Berteville were named for the Nobility, and Messieurs De Maniald, Boisseuil and De la Milletiere for the Commons. The Lord de Rouvrai and Monsieur De la Milletiere were chosen by the Queen. The Marshal of Bouillon was vexed to the Quick for that none of the Six named by the Assembly were at his Devotion; he endeavoured to engage Monsieur Maniald and Boisseuil to decline their Nomination, and make room for one Mr. Armet a Burgundian, who was in his Interest. He offered them 2000 Pistoles or a Counsellorship in the Parliament of Bourdeaux; but he had the Mortification of being repuls'd.

When

When the Nomination was over, Bullion^{Lewis 13^o} delivered to the Assembly the Answers of the Court to their Petitions; at the reading of which they were all exasperated to that degree, that some of them cried out, that they ought to die rather than to suffer it; and indeed these Answers were very far from being satisfactory, as they had been made to expect. But now it was too late, the Nomination being once over, they were not allowed by their Warrant to continue their Sessions any longer. Therefore *Du Plessis* was of Opinion to break it up, which he did accordingly, exhorting the Members to leave their Animosities and Jealousies upon the Spot, and not to carry them along with them into the Provinces. *Every one, says he, has failed, and every one has well done; We must turn over a new Leaf, and what the Queen has refused to our Request and Remonstrances, let us try whether, she being so magnanimous as she is, we could not obtain it from her by our Silence and Patience.* The Cautionary Towns were continued unto them for five Years longer, with the Subsistence of their Garrisons: An Augmentation for the Service of the Churches of 45,000 Livres yearly, so that they were to receive every Year 180,000 Livres. The Court made unto them some other Concessions of smaller Importance (y).

So ended one of the most solemn Assemblies of the *French* Reformed that was ever held in the

Some Considerations about this Assembly.

(y) See upon the whole Relation of this Assembly. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, Tom. I. Liv. i. p. 5, 6, 7, &c. to the 21st. *Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, Liv. III. the 12 first Pages. *Lettres & Mem. du même*, Tom. III. p. 258—325. *Mezeray Hist de Louis 13.* Tom. I. p. 136 to 148. *Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, Tom. I. p. 69, &c. But these two last, out of Passion, or thro' Ignorance, have misrepresented that Transaction.

Lewis 13. the Kingdom, after above three Months sitting; ^{1611.} it was composed of the most distinguished amongst them, either by their Birth, or Capacity and Experience in Affairs. Certainly they would have laboured more usefully for the Welfare of their Churches, had they not themselves shewn the Court the Ways and Means to divide and ruin them by degrees, some of the greatest amongst them carrying their Ambition and Avarice so far, as to sacrifice every thing to the Gratification of their unruly Appetites.

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It was generally believed that the Duke of *Bouillon* had promis'd the Queen to manage that Assembly at her pleasure; and indeed his Deportments, from the Beginning to the End thereof, fully evinced that that Suspicion was but too well grounded. The Duke of *Sully*, always wavering in his Opinions and Resolutions, show'd that his Fortune was uncertain and fickle: as to the Duke of *Roban*, he constantly adhered to the greatest Number. All the excellent Regulations that were made in this Assembly relating to their mutual Union and Preservation, and which I shall transcribe at the End of this Book, together with their Petitions and the Answers given unto them, were very far from being a Compensation for the unspeakable Mischief which accrued unto them from their Division.

*Pamphlets
published
against
them.*

Several Pamphlets were published before, during, and after the Sessions of the said Assembly. Nothing was omitted to render it suspicious to the Catholicks as soon as the Reformed had obtained leave to hold it. It was spread abroad that they intended to make exorbitant Demands, and to take up Arms in order to obtain them. The Minutes sent into the

Provinces to serve as a Model for the Instructions to be given to their Representatives, and whereof the Court had Notice by its Pensioners, helped much to confirm that Rumour. The Demands of some Provincial Assemblies added a new Strength to that Report. The Assembly of *Milbau*, held in 1573, was remembered by those who had lived at that time. They observed, that of five Things which that Assembly had proposed, there remained but two not obtained as yet, namely two Cautionary Towns in each Province where the Reformed had none; and that the Tythes which they paid should be allowed for the Subsistence of their Ministers. They magnified the Consequences of the Union, which the Assembly was to swear, and whereby, as they say, the Reformed were to oblige themselves to support one another reciprocally in all the Governments and Offices which the late King had bestowed upon them; even in the Towns and other Places which they held, besides those contained in the Brief of the Cautionary Towns. But as it was not likely that the Court would tamely comply with these Demands, from thence they inferred that the Reformed would immediately rise in arms. What is the more strange is, that some of the Reformed countenanced these extravagant Rumours; amongst whom the Marshal of *Bouillon* was the most remarkable, for he was publicly upbraided by the Duke of *Roban* for having told to some Catholics, as he set out from *Saumur*, that at last Peace was made, but it was not without much Trouble and great Difficulty. Very likely he designed only to ingratiate himself more and more with the Queen, by making her sensible that he had done her very great Services, and that she stood much in need

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of him to keep the Reformed in the bounds of their Duty. Tho' there was not a Word of Truth in these Reports, nevertheless, it can't be imagin'd what wonderful Impression it made upon People's Minds.

The antient Enemies of the Reformed, who from that very time devised their Ruin, improved them the best they could, and in several Places alarmed the People and obliged the Catholicks to take such extraordinary Precautions, that at last they gave great Jealousies to the Reformed, who knew not from whence proceeded these Panicks. The Court itself made some Preparations against all Events, either that it believed the Truth of these Reports, or for some other Reasons.

During the Sessions of the Assembly an Answer to the Duke of *Sully's* Speech was published. It was properly a Satyr against him, which, on pretence of telling what the Assembly ought to have answered to his four Queries, turned him into ridicule in a very scornful Manner. The ingenious Author took notice, at first, that there was no Occasion to exhort the Duke to keep the Great Mastership of the Ordnance and his Government of *Poitou*, &c. because he was enough inclined to keep them. That they ought to recommend him to stand by his first Proposition, viz. to leave Things in the same State which they were in, without pursuing either his Restoration or a Recompense, and to encourage him upon the Point of Generosity, &c. &c. All the rest was of a piece. The whole was concluded by a sharp Censure upon the Assembly's Conduct, for that they busied themselves with Affairs of that kind, which were not of their Competence, [*and indeed they were not, considering that the Super-Intendancy and*

the

the Great Mastership are but Commissions which depend only upon the King's Pleasure, and which he may bestow or take away whenever he pleases:] and exhorted them to keep themselves within the Bounds of Humility, Modesty and Allegiance.

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Works of this nature were very much in vogue during the Session of the Assembly. Several Satires were published against the Reformed Religion and against those who had been in the Employments under the last Reign. The Catholicks were inclined to be reveng'd on the *Catholicon of Spain* [a satirical Book written by *D'Aubigné*] which had very agreeably disclosed the Ridicule of the Designs and Actions of the League. Pamphlets came out daily in imitation of it, Speeches, Pictures, Tapestry Work, &c. We may place in that Number a Letter published under the Name of a Reformed, and with the Printer's Name, which spoke very ill of the Assembly of *Saumur*. The Author divided the Reformed into three Orders, THE MALICIOUS, who breathed nothing but War, in order to gratify their Ambition or Avarice; THE JEALOUS, who being always mistrustful became easily the Sport of the Malicious, who met in them fit Instruments to serve their Ambition or Avarice; THE JUDICIOUS, who dreading nothing more than a Civil War, kept within the Bounds of Obedience in order to avoid it.

But, as the Reverend Mr. *Benoit* very judiciously observes, the Author would have made a more exact Distribution of the Reformed had he divided them into three; THE LORDS OF EMINENT QUALITY, who made use of others for their private Ends; THE PERSONS OF STRICT HONOUR AND INTEGRITY, who

Causes of our Misfortune, 1. Ambition and Avarice of the great Men.

Lewis 13. were sensible that no Good could be expected
 1611. from a Council governed by *Spain, Rome* and
 Pope Paul the *Jesuits*; and who, for that Reason endea-
 V. voured by all lawful Means to screen themselves
 from perfidious and implacable Enemies; THE
 TIMOROUS, who were either naturally weak
 and indifferent, or softened and made tractable
 by the Court's Artifices. The first and last oc-
 casioned all the Mischiefs which besel our
 Churches under this Reign.

The first, such as the Marshal Duke of
Bouillon, the Marshal Duke of *Les Diguieres*,
 [He was created Duke this Year by a Warrant of
 his Majesty] Nay, the Duke of *Roban* himself
 and some others of the same Stamp, made use
 of the Zeal of the Session to make themselves
 considerable at Court; they engaged their Vas-
 sals and Dependants to side with them either
 for or against the Court, as their private Views
 led them, for which purpose they did not scrup-
 le oftentimes to pretend the Publick Good,
 Liberty of Conscience, &c. when Self-Interest,
 Denial of Preferment, Slight at Court, and such
 like, lay at the bottom. We have seen the
 Duke of *Bouillon*, who for a round Sum of
 Money, a Promise of the Government of
Poitou, and, as he pretended afterwards, of a
 Place in the Privy-Council of the Regency,
 was like to create a Schism among his Brethren,
 in order to make his Court to the Queen. We
 shall see, in the Events of the Year 1612, the
 Duke of *Roban*, a great Man indeed, if we
 consider his bright Parts, but a hot-headed and
 a strong-headed Man, who, by his unac-
 countable Rashness, was upon the point of
 kindling a Civil-War in the Kingdom, had it
 not been prevented by the sober and prudent
 Advices of the truly great *Du Plessis*. As to

Les Diguieres, it is so plain that he made the best he could of his Party for the Advancement of his own Fortune, to which at last he sacrificed his Religion, that we need not to insist upon it any longer. No wonder if most part of them persevered to their last in the open Profession of the Reformed Religion; what could they have got by their Change? They could at the most have only a Place amongst the Male-Contents, and obey instead of commanding.

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As to the last, I mean the Timorous, which were particularly to be found in the Provinces bordering on the Court, and on this side the *Loire*, and in those Places where the Reformed were in small Numbers, either dazzled by the Promises or frightened by the Threats of the Court, they durst not openly declare themselves, and were fain to forsake their Brethren, nay, very often to fight against them. Let us add to this, that even amongst the Well-minded there were some too hot; who carried things to Extreame, which would have been amicably compos'd or patiently born, without any great Prejudice to the Liberties and Privileges of the Churches. That Temper and these Dispositions of our great Men were the first Cause of our Misfortunes.

We may find the second in the Character of ^{2.} *The Queen Regent and of the King her Son.* ^{*King and Queen-Mother's Character.*} She was of a turbulent, revengeful, ambitious Temper, which could not be restrained. One may say truly, that she had all the ill Qualifications of *Catherine of Medicis*, but none of her great and royal Inclinations. She was as profuse as her, and like her prepossessed in favour of Astrology, and the Counsels of the best Politicians could not prevail over the Observations of

Lewis 13. of one *Fabroni*, who drew Figures of the State of
 1611. the *Heavens* upon all things of Importance that
 Pope Paul related to that Princess; and she had as much
 V. Faith in his Predictions, as if they had been
 so many Oracles. This Credulity ruined all
 her Affairs, and she experienced the same
 Things which usually befall those who are go-
 verned by like Maxims; that is, she could
 never obtain the Advantages promised to her
 by the Stars, nor avoid the Misfortunes she
 was threatened with. If we compare the Lives
 of these two Queens we shall find the one much
 happier than the other. *Catherine*, who so
 many times exposed the State to the Brink of
 its utter Ruin, in order to gratify her unruly
 Ambition, maintained however her Credit and
 Authority almost to the last Moments of her
 Life; but *Mary* soon lost her Authority, and
 even her Liberty, and ended her Days in a mi-
 serable Exile. *Catherine* had Wit and Expe-
 rience enough to lay herself her Schemes, and
 a great Resolution and Courage to pursue the
 Execution of them, being never disheartened
 thro' any Miscarriage. *Mary* was too much
 governed by her Passions and her Favourites,
 who carried her even beyond the Bounds of
 common Prudence; *Conchini*, alias the Mar-
 shal *D'Ancre*, and *Galigai* his Wife, the
 Queen's Darlings, being wholly prostituted to
 the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, easily per-
 suaded that Princess to submit herself to the
 Directions of these two Courts, which she did
 so blindly, that she durst not name one First
 President in the Parliament of *Paris* without
 taking the Advice of the Court of *Rome*. And
 indeed the First President, *De Harlay*, willing
 to resign his Place to his Nephew *Thuanus*, the
 Queen would not consent without the Pope's
 Agreement,

Agreement, and whereas there was two other Candidates, namely *De Jambeville* and *De Verdun*, she desired His Holiness's Advice upon the Choice she ought to make. He answered in these Words, *Il primo Heretico, il secondo Cattino, il terzo non cognosco.* Whereupon *Du Verdun* was chosen, the two first having the Pope's Exclusion, tho' they were Men, especially *Tbuanus*, of a greater Capacity and Integrity. What Good then could the Reformed expect from a Princess who stood so favourably inclined in behalf of their most implacable Enemies? and who hated them secretly on account of their holding the *Pope* for the *Antichrist*; for she had been made to believe that by such a Tenet they called in question the Validity of King *Henry's* Divorce from his first Wife, and of his Marriage with her, and consequently of the Legitimacy of their Children. And that Notion, how false soever it was, had made such an Impression upon her Mind, that the strongest Assurances of their Loyalty and Attachment to the King, to herself, and the whole Royal Family, were not capable to blot it out.

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As to the King her Son, he was not naturally endowed with any of those Parts requisite to make a great Prince; he was of a narrow Understanding, very obstinate in his Childhood. I don't know upon what Foundation an Author has said of him, that he would have prov'd a great and good King had he only believed that he was capable to govern his Kingdom himself. His Mother took very little care to have him educated in a way suitable to his high Station; almost since the King's Death to the Catastrophe of the Marshal *D'Ancre*, he spent his Time in making Castles of Cards, catching

Lewis 13. Birds with two *Pigriſches* † in the Gardens
 1611. of *Tbuilleries*, and other Paſtimes not much
 Pope Paul worthy of a King of *France*; and as ſhe
 V. was very careful to keep him always very
 † a Kind low and under Subjection, cauſing him ſome-
 of Bird of times to be whip'd, tho' he was a crown'd
 Prey. King; no wonder if ſuch an Education had an
 influence upon him: he was always timorous,
 dreading his own Miniſters, daring not to op-
 poſe the Views of their Ambition and Avarice,
 nay, ſacrificing unto them the natural Affection
 which a Son owes to his Mother, and a Bro-
 ther to his Brother and Siſters, and the Duties
 of a King unto his Subjects, rather than to
 take a generous Reſolution for freeing himſelf
 from the Bondage whereunder he was ſhamefully
 detained.

It was under the Name of that King, whoſe
 Love and Affection was as much impotent as
 his Hatred and Indignation, when they were
 not approved by his Favourites; that *De Luines*,
 and after him *Richelieu*, deprived the Reformed
 not only of their Strong-holds, but alſo of their
 civil Liberties and Privileges, and brought them
 to a very low Condition. As the main Scope
 of theſe two Prime Miniſters was to ſettle an
 arbitrary Power in the Government, that they
 might gratify their own Avarice, Ambition,
 Revenge, and do, without Controll, whatever
 they would; they were perſuaded they could
 not compaſs their Ends as long as the Reformed
 ſhould be ſo powerful as they were in the State;
 whoſe Doctrine, as they falſly pretended, be-
 ing contrary to Monarchy, would be much
 more ſo to Arbitrary Power. Therefore they
 ſet up all their Engines to bring down that for-
 midable Party. The Weakneſs and Ignorance
 of the Sovereign in the Art of Governing, the
 boundleſs

boundless Ambition and Avarice of their Prime Ministers, have been the second Cause of our Misfortunes.

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I shall not subjoin here the powerful Instances of the Clergy and other Satellites of the *Pope*, especially the *Jesuits*. It is too well known that it is their Interest to oppose TRUTH with all their Might, and No-body will wonder at the Ways and Means which those SONS OF DARKNESS put in use to subvert it; Perfidiousness, Treasons, Perjury, Fire and Blood, &c. for every one knows that it is natural for them to copy the Works of THEIR FATHER.

So then quite contrary Causes to those which had contributed towards our Settlement in our own Country concurred to our Ruin, and chang'd those *Halcyonian Days*, whereof our Churches had enjoyed under a mighty King, who lov'd them and who never gloried in any thing so much as in the strict Performance of his Word, into gloomy Days, Fore-runners of that dreadful Hurricane, wherein our poor Vessel was miserably split to pieces. The Disinterestedness and strict Union of our Forefathers made their Force under the Protection of a great King so qualified. Their Self-Interest, Ambition, Avarice, &c. caused their Division, which Division made them despicable, and accelerated their Ruin, under the Ill-will of such a Prince as *Lewis XIII.* was, incapable to know the true Interest of his Kingdom, more incapable to pursue it, even when he had been made sensible of it. But without dwelling any longer upon that melancholy Subject, I shall proceed to other Matters.

Notwithstanding all the Civilities and Respects which *Du Plessis* paid to the Duke of *Bouillon*, the pretended Affronts he thought he had

Ill. Offices
of the Duke
of Bouillon
to Du
had Plessis.

Lewis 13 had received in the Assembly, by his not
 1611. having been elected President, and bore the
 Pope Paul. sway in every thing during the Sessions, stuck
 V. too much at his Heart to be so soon forgiven
 and forgotten. He carried his Revenge so far
 and so indecently, as to reflect a Blemish on his
 own Character, which all the Brightness of his
 Birth, and all the Grandeurs wherewith he
 was surrounded, cannot nor shall ever blot out.
 Calumny is a Vice of so black a Dye, as not to
 be fetch'd out by any Ingredient. He joined
 with *Bullion* in charging that upright Gentleman
 with having opposed their Majesties Intention,
 and having himself raised against the Court the
 Suspicions and Jealousies which the Assembly
 had all along entertained, from the Beginning
 to the End. By which means a gloomy Storm
 was raising against the Governour of *Saumur*,
 which must have proved fatal to him, had not
 his Humility and Prudence prevented the dire
 Effects thereof. He answered the Queen's
 threatening Letter with such a Calmness of Tem-
 per, and such a Strength of Reason, that she
 rested perfectly satisfied as to that Point.

But it went not so well with the Book he
 published this Year, viz. THE MYSTERY OF
 DuPlessis's INIQUITY, OR THE HISTORY OF POPEDOM,
 Book cen- &c. which he dedicated to the King (z). The
 fured. main Scope of the Author was to show, against
 the Cardinals *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*, by what
 Steps the *Pope's* Monarchy had been formed ;
 and the several Oppositions which from time to
 time it had met with, from the most sober and
 well-minded Part of Mankind. Tho' there

was

(z) I have been surpris'd to find in some Books, that
 this of *Du Plessis's* had been dedicated to King *James I.*
 True it is that he caus'd it to be presented to his *British*
 Majesty, but he dedicated it to *Lewis XIII.* He dedicated
 to King *James* his *Meditations*, the same Year.

was nothing very extraordinary in the Attempt, tho' the *Roman* Catholicks ought to have been enur'd to this Controversy, nevertheless, it is hardly to be conceived what Noise they made about this Book. But what exasperated them the more, was the Cut put at the Front thereof; it exhibited the Form of the Tower of *Babel*, a prodigious Fabrick which drew the Admiration of the Spectators, but it was supported only with some wooden Sticks, which a Man set on fire; two *Latin* Verses warning the Beholders that they ought not so much to admire the Fabrick, seeing it was to be utterly destroyed as soon as its weak Props should have been consumed with Fire. The two Lines run thus,

*Falleris æternam qui suspicis ebrius Arcem,
Subruta succensis mox corruet ima tigillis.*

Then there was a Print representing Pope *Paul V.* with Inscriptions so lofty, proud and impious, that had they designed to give hold to the *Reformed*, they could not do it better. They applied to that Pontiff the most flattering Encomiums that could be bestowed upon an earthly Prince; and the greatest Titles which the Holy Scripture ascribes to our *Lord Jesus Christ*; and underneath the Figure there was a Motto which gave him the Title of *VICE-GOD*; that was copied from a Picture drawn in *Italy* to adorn a Triumphant Arch raised in honour of that Pope. But that which was most remarkable, was, that the Name of *Paul V.* joined to that of *Vice-God* in *Latin*, in the Case which belong'd to the Inscriptions, filled up the famous Number of 666, which, according to *St. John* in the *Apocalypse*, is the Number of the *Antichrist*; joining the Value of the Numerical Letters of that Name, according to the Use of the *Latins*, made up that mystical Number.

Lewis 13. The *Reformed*, who were great Admirers of
 1611. these sort of Observations, were almost per-
 Pope Paul suaded to a Certainty of the approaching Fall
 V. of the *Roman See*, which manifested its *Anti-
 christianity* by such evident Characters. But
 the *Catholicks* were strangely mov'd at the
 said Book, the *Pope* made heavy Complaints
 about it, the *Sorbonne* pass'd a rash and impious
 Censure upon it, *as being heretical, most furious,
 most seditious, contrary to the divine, natural
 and canonical Laws, &c. &c.* But had the
 same Book been extant, and examin'd by
Gerson himself, sure I am that he could not
 have refrain'd his Indignation against the Cen-
 sure itself; and would have declared it *most
 heretical, most furious, most seditious, most An-
 tickristian, subverting all divine, natural and
 canonical Laws.* And indeed how shall they
 prove that *Popedom* is of *natural Right*? Is
 there any thing in Nature which could induce
 us to believe, that we must submit ourselves to
 the Judgment of a single Man in Matters re-
 lating to Conscience? How then does it come
 to pass that such a Notion, far from being dif-
 fused amongst all the individual Parts of Man-
 kind, is yet perfectly unknown to the best and
 greatest Part of the World? What Stupidity!
 As to the *divine Law*, true it is they can single
 out one or two Passages of the *New Testament*,
 but the *Roman Catholicks* themselves don't
 agree about the true Meaning thereof; and
 besides that, the most sensible amongst their
 own Authors never perceived in them the *Pri-
 macy* of the *Pope*, long before there were any
Protestants in the World. Lastly, if by
Canonical Laws they meant the *modern Decretals*,
 sure we must give up the Cause. But if the
Canonical Laws of *France* are as they ought to
 be,

be, and as they were before the 16th Century, the ancient Code of Canons, framed or received in the first general Councils, then the most learned and the most sincere Canonists and Divines of *Paris* own that there is nothing in them which may support the usurped *Primacy* and *Monarchy* of the *Pope*.

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Howbeit, this Book was very prejudicial to its Author, as to his temporal Concerns; for, if what *Villeroy* wrote to him is true, all Thoughts of advancing him, as it was intended, were laid aside; but long ago that generous and truly Christian Nobleman, after having maturely considered every thing, chose rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the Recompense of the Reward. So that he stood unmov'd at all these Frowns of the Court, and at the ridiculous Attempt of one *De Brai St. Germain*, who endeavoured to apply to him the same mysterious Number of 666, for which Purpose he turned his Name as many Ways as he could imagine (a).

Before I leave this Year I must take notice of an Event wherein the City of *Geneva* was very nearly concern'd. The Duke of *Savoy* having miss'd his Aim against that City, in the Year 1602, in such shameful Manner, as we have said in its proper Place, flattered himself with a better Success at another time; therefore, in 1609 he attempted to surprize this City on the *Lake's* side; for which purpose he caused some Lighters loaded with Wood, under which a good Number of Soldiers were concealed, to come to *Geneva*, keeping close to the Shore.

The Duke
of Savoy's
Designs
upon Ge-
neva.

P p 4

But

(a) *Vie de Du Pleffis*, Liv. II l.

Lewis 13 But this Attempt was sooner discovered than
 1611. the former, and *Du Terrail* and *La Bastide*, the
 Pope Paul Contrivers thereof, having been seized at
 V. *Yverdun*, were brought to *Geneva*. At first
 they denied the Fact, therefore *La Bastide* was
 put upon the Rack and confessed all, and was
 condemned to be hang'd, and executed; and
Du Terrail was beheaded (b).

At last, the Duke thinking to have met with
 a proper Opportunity for righting himself, a-
 bout his chimerical Pretensions upon that City,
 during the King's Minority, he resolved to at-
 tack it with open Force, this Year in the Spring.
 He caused his Troops to march from *Piedmont*
 into *Savoy*. Upon these Rumours, the City
 wrote to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, desiring
 his Protection and Assistance; that Lord, after
 several fruitless Intreaties with the Duke of
Savoy for obliging him to desist, sent to Court,
 insisting with the Queen and Council that, ac-
 cording to the Treaty of *Soleurre*, he would un-
 dertake effectually the Protection of *Geneva*;
 which at last was granted, and her Majesty
 gave Orders to *La Noue*, Son to the renowned
Iron arm, to repair to *Geneva* with 2000
 Foot; several young Lords and Gentlemen of
 the best Quality went likewise as Volunteers:
 but after several Negotiations the Duke con-
 sented to desist.

1612.
 Devices of
 the Court
 against the
 Reformed.

The Court questioned not but that the Re-
 formed would be very ill pleased with the Treat-
 ment their Representatives had met at *Saumur*,
 when they should have heard their Report;
 thought proper, by the Advice of the Marshal
 of *Bouillon*, to send Commissaries into the Pro-
 vinces to execute the Edicts and the Articles
 answered in the late Assembly; and by that
 means to hinder them from holding their Pro-
 vincial Assemblies, as they used to do, after

(b) Spon Hist. de Geneve, Tom. II.

the General *; and have occasion to declare them unlawful, in case they should proceed, and thwart the Resolutions which might be taken in them.

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V.

Accordingly the Court named the Commissaries of the Reformed Religion; but of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Choice, most part or all of them were at his devotion, and consequently so much the more suspected by the *Reformed Churches*. *Du Plessis* considering that such a Step would certainly give great Jealousies to the Provinces, and being afraid lest they should carry too far their Resentment, endeavoured to heal that Disease the best way he could. On one hand, he wrote to the principal Churches in every Province, and let them know how and by what Arguments they ought to apologize for their *Provincial Assemblies*; to wit, that they were grounded upon the Queen's last Letters to the General Assembly of *Saumur*, and upon the very Instructions given to the King's Commissaries, wherein such Assemblies were plainly presupposed; and indeed these Reasons were so pertinent, that the Court had nothing to say against them. On the other hand, he advised them to suffer the Commissaries to execute their Charge without Opposition. Whereby, if they were authorized to do them good, the Churches that were distressed would be relieved; if not, they would plainly see, by that, that they were sent upon some other Account, and consequently they would have a just Occasion to sue directly to their Majesties.

This last Advice was little hearkened to, for those of the *Low Guienne*, who were the first that held such Assemblies, suffered themselves

to

* These Provincial Assemblies were absolutely necessary to hear and receive the Account which their Representatives were to give them of what had been transacted in the General, and nothing could be worse than the Duke of *Bouillon's* Advice to the Queen to hinder them.

Lewis 13. to be carried beyond Bounds through the Heat
 1612. of their Temper; and refused to receive the
 Pope Commissaries. Their Example was followed
 Paul V. by those of *Xaintonge, Poitou, Anjou, Brittany,*
 &c. Not that but several of them approved *Du Plessis's* Counsel, but they were afraid to create a new Division amongst themselves, thro' that Diversity in their Conduct. And indeed, in the very Province of *Low Guienne*, who had the first declared themselves against the Reception of the Commissaries, several private Cities admitted them. Wherefore the other Provinces who had refused, were very uneasy about it. Now, ten of these Provincial Assemblies were unanimous in this Point, to send Deputies in the name of the whole Body to their Majesties, to complain of the hard Usage they had received in the last general Assembly, and most humbly to require a Redress of their Grievances specified in their Petitions.

*They sent
 Deputies to
 Court.*

They were received by the general Deputies, as if they had been sent by the whole Body, because they were sent by the greatest Number. But the Court solicited by *Bouillon's* Faction, inclined much to dismiss them without admitting them to an Audience, as being deputed by unlawful Assemblies. *Du Plessis* being informed thereof, and dreading the Consequences, were the Deputies dismissed into their respective Provinces without being heard, wrote to the general Deputies, and set forth the Reasons why they ought to be admitted to an Audience, and the great Inconveniencies wherewith a Denial might be attended; desiring them to impart the said Letter to the Ministers of State. Which they did accordingly, and it had such an effect upon them, that, notwithstanding all the Efforts of the contrary Faction, the Deputies were admitted to Audience. But

But that was all the Favour they could get : for tho' the Ministers, after having consulted *Du Plessis* by *Du Maurier*, whom they sent express for that purpose, to know what could be granted unto them as to the Grievances they complained of, were well disposed at first to follow his Advice : Nevertheless, thro' the Insinuations of the Duke of *Bouillon*, they altered their Mind ; for he remonstrated, that, to give them any Satisfaction in that way, would prove a Disparagement to himself and his Party, as if their Interest was so inconsiderable at Court as not to be able to obtain any Favour ; besides that it would be an Encouragement to Disobedience, were those private and unlawful Assemblies treated like the General. These illusory Remonstrances, had their desired Effect ; the Deputies were dismissed without an Answer to their Petitions ; nay, they received their Dismission in writing, without being admitted to an Audience of Leave ; which Writing, being framed after the Duke of *Bouillon's* Taste, was scandalous and defamatory. And whereas the Council was sensible of the Mischief wherewith such an extraordinary Proceeding may be attended, they thought to put a Plaster upon that Wound, but indeed it was a Plaster worse than the Wound it self. They issued out a Proclamation, abolishing what was past, whereby, on pretence of abolishing the sham Crime, they rendered them actually criminal. All the *Reformed Churches*, being conscious of their own Innocence and strict Fidelity, exclaimed against this Act of Oblivion, more than they had ever done against any Persecution. But more of this in the Sequel of the Events of this Year.

It is a common saying, that what is more excellent grows the worse, when it falls into Corruption

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Pope Paul
V.

And ill received and dismissed.

Some Reflections upon the Marshal of Bouillon's Conduct.

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1612.
Pope Paul
V.

ruption. This was the Duke of *Bouillon's* Case ; he carried his unjust Revenge against *Du Pleffis*, far beyond the common Rules of Honesty, and was not ashamed even to forge notorious Calumnies against that upright Man ; for he did not scruple to publish that he kept Correspondence with foreign Princes, and that only because he had dedicated a Book of Meditations to King *James I.* and had sent one of his Gentlemen to present it to His *British* Majesty who was a Friend and Ally of the Crown of *France*, as were likewise the Elector *Palatine*, Prince *Maurice* of *Orange*, and some other protestant Princes ; with whom, indeed, he kept Correspondence, not only with the Permission, but even at the Command of the late King. Nay, the said Duke went further, for he libelled that good Gentleman, and endeavoured to render him suspected amongst the *Reformed Churches*, giving them to understand by a Libel which he published, that *Du Pleffis* was the only Occasion of the Repulse they had met at Court, &c. Tho' *Du Pleffis* was vexed to his heart at such an undeserved and unjust Treatment ; nevertheless his truly noble and christian Soul would not suffer him to carry his Resentment as far as he could justly and easily have done, but after having fully cleared himself of all these false Aspersions, he made a generous Sacrifice of his private Revenge to the Publick Good, and tho' he had so much reason to be sensibly offended : He was one of the first who sat himself at work to procure a sincere Reconciliation between all the great Lords of the reformed Party, as we shall say presently (c).

What I have above observed, is only to show how

(c) Vie de *Du Pleffis* Liv. iii. p. 360. Mem. *Du Mémé* Tom. iii. p. 331, &c. 371.

how dangerous it is, to suffer one's self to be carried away through the Passion of Revenge; there is nothing too base for a Man who will indulge himself that way; his Passion clouds his Understanding to that degree, that things appear unto him under a quite different Shape than naturally they are; the frantick Violence of that Passion represents things unto him as just and praise-worthy, which he would himself deem the most unjust and unworthy, did he consider them soberly and calmly. The Duke of *Bouillon* was certainly a Lord endowed of all these Qualifications which adorn a truly *Great Man*, and enable him to be most useful and serviceable to the Party which he does espouse; and indeed none had better deserved esteem than him, either from the King or the Kingdom, before this time we are now speaking of. But, how small, how base, how despicable did he become for several years together, when he suffered himself to be enslaved by that tyrannical Passion; he kindled a fire which could never be smothered but under the Ruins of our Liberties and Privileges.

All the Reformed and Protestants within and without the Kingdom, dreading the Mischiefs which might insue from these Divisions, endeavoured to compose them and reconcile together the Heads of the Party. The Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, the Embassadors of *Great-Britain*, of the *Low Countries*, of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and others, wrote to *Du Plessis* upon that account, rather as to a Mediator, than to an offended Party, desiring his Advice upon it. He let them know, that for his own part, he was ready to do and to suffer any thing for obtaining the desired End, but that the Obstinacy of some and the Partiality of others started every day

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V.



*Endea-
vours to
procure a
Reconcili-
ation.*

Lewis 13. day new Difficulties in the way. However he
 1612. thought proper to refer the whole Matter to
 Pope Paul the *National Synod* which was to meet in May
 V. this Year at *Privaz*, in *Low Languedoc*; and
 accordingly the Deputies of the Provinces of
Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, were charged to
 require the *National Synod* to interpose its Au-
 thority to procure that Reconciliation. (d)

Rashness of But while they were making these Preparati-
of the Duke ons, *Du Plessis* was put to fresh troubles, through
of Rohan. the Duke of *Roban* and his Brother the Duke of
Soubize's Rashness. If we believe the Duke of
Roban, the Duke of *Bouillon* was so much ex-
 asperated against him on account of what had
 passed at *Saumur*, that he made an ill use of his
 Interest with the Queen to ruin him, and endea-
 voured to turn him out of his Government of
St. John of Angely, which the late King had be-
 stowed upon him. Being well informed of the
 ill Offices that were done to him at Court, the
 Duke of *Roban* went thither at the King's
 first Summons, in order to justify himself. All
 his Apologies were not sufficient to dispel intire-
 ly the Suspicions against him, or to raise any a-
 gainst the Duke of *Bouillon*, for he found by his
 own Experience, that, *a Prince prepossessed is not*
easily persuaded. Therefore as his stay at Court
 was useles for him, he took his leave abruptly
 of the Queen, and being arrived at *St. John*, he
 found that *Foucault*, Captain of the Garrison,
 had been before-hand with him; for having been
 sent in all haste by the Court, he had held a se-
 cret Assembly with the Mayor and others of the
 same Party, who were in the Court Interest, to
 advise about Means to deprive *Roban* of his
 Authority. But the said Captain being gone
 three or four Leagues out of Town upon some
 Business;

(d) Vie de M. *Du Plessis*. Liv. 3. p. 360, 361.

Business; when the Duke was arrived, he sent him word, forbidding him to come again into the Town, and at the same time, he dispatched *Tenis* to Court, to acquaint their Majesties with the Reasons of his Conduct.

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Now the time of the Election of a Mayor being come, a Messenger arrived from Court with Orders to continue the ancient Mayor a Year longer, because of the Divisions which were rise in the Town, with Promises however that this would not be drawn as a Precedent for the future, and that the Privileges of the Townsmen should be inviolably kept intire. Thereupon the Duke of *Roban* not considering enough the rashness of such an Attempt upon the Royal Authority, protested against that Order, saying that the King's Name had been abused, and that it concerned his Majesty's Service, and the publick Safety to proceed to the Election of a new Mayor, being in hopes to have it agreed at Court, where he was sending his Secretary.

Now the Marshal of *Bouillon* thinking rightly that the Duke of *Roban* would oppose to the last the Continuation of the ancient Mayor, as a thing very prejudicial to his Interest, engaged the Queen Regent to send more positive Orders upon that Subject, which arrived at *St. John* two days after the first. But the said Duke * *considering that his own Loss would be of course the Consequence of St. John*, thought that the least Danger for him was to secure well the Town; which having done, he did not scruple to oppose the Court's Orders, as prejudicial to the King's Service, and to proceed to the Election of a Mayor, with the usual Formalities, that is, three

* This has been always the chief Inducement for the Heads of a Party to begin Hostilities against the other,
LEAR, DEAREST SELF-INTEREST!

Lewis 13. three Burgeſſes were named, and their Names
 1612. sent to the King, in order to pick one out of
 Pope Paul V. them; and for the greater Security of the Town,
 the Keys of the Gates were put into the firſt
 Sheriff's hands.

This Proceeding of the Duke, made a great noiſe at Court, and provoked the Queen Regent to that degree, that ſhe ordered his two Deputies to be clapt into the *Baſtile*; and forbade the *Dutcheſſes* of *Roban*, Mother and Conſort, and his own ſiſter, to go out of *Paris*, and it was propoſed in the Council to ſend Troops againſt him, and beſiege the Town of *St. John*. On the other hand, the Duke knowing very well the Intereſt his Enemies had at Court, and that they would not fail to ſurpriſe him if they could, took care to ſend notice of his Affairs to the Reformed Churches throughout the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom, and gave them to underſtand * *that the Hatred conceived at him, proceeded from his Zeal for their Welfare; that his own Ruin, and the Loſs of St. John would be attended with their own; that if his Enemies did compaſs their ends ſo eaſy, they would not refrain a further Attempt.* And in the mean while he prepared himſelf to make a ſtout Reſiſtance (e).

The Blame of all this was caſt upon *Du Pleſſis*, as if it were at his perſuaſion that the Duke of *Roban* had acted in ſuch a manner, and the Marſhal of *Bouillon* ſupported with all his might theſe falſe and malicious Reports, in order more and

* This is the common Topic of all Ringleaders, YOUR SAFETY OR RUIN DEPENDS ON MY OWN: Which Language oftentimes proves but too efficacious upon the Minds of the poor People, who ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſuch outward Appearances of Concern for the Publick Welfare.

(e) Mem. du Duc de *Roban*, Liv. i. p. 23, 24, 25.

and more to exasperate the Queen against him. (f)

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However, without relaxing the warlike Preparations, the Court thought proper to try the way of Negotiation, for which purpose the Queen sent Mr. *De Themines* Seneschal of *Quercy* to the Duke, to endeavour to make him sensible of his Fault, and to compose that Difference in a way suitable to the King's Dignity.

Du Plessis, having had timely notice of this Message, joined his Intreaties to the Duchess Dowager of *Roban's*, to oblige him to prevent the Danger wherewith he was threatned, by a reasonable Treaty, yielding to the King what he oweth to his Sovereign, and preserving *St. John* safe. *Themines* was a Gentleman very fit for the Business he had taken upon him, he managed the Duke with such a Dexterity, that he persuaded him to yield to the good Advices and earnest Intreaties of his best Friends, and dearest Relations; so that notwithstanding the Uneasiness of the Youth that surrounded him, who breathed nothing else but War, it was at last agreed, that the Keys of the Town should be put again for eight days into the hands of the ancient Mayor; that they should make a new Election of three, whereof the King should pick one out to be Mayor; that before all, *Rochebeaucourt* and *Foucault* should come into the Town, and perform the Duties of their respective Charge, but that *Foucault* should go out of the Town instantly after. Thus the King's Authority was satisfied, and the Town secured to the Duke. But as he mistrusted *La Rochebeaucourt*, who was his Lieutenant, every day some new Accidents galled him, which always created new Troubles

Qq

to

(f) Vie de *Du Plessis*. Liv. iii. p. 361. 62. Mem. & Lettres du même Tom. iii. p. 351—379.

Lewis 13. to the good *Du Plessis* through the Injustice of
 1612. the Court, especially the Duke of *Bouillon's* Ma-
 Pope Paul lice. (g)
 V.

I have plainly enough intimated my Thoughts about that Affair in the two Notes of the foregoing Page, grounded upon *Du Plessis's* own Opinion, who tho' very little satisfied with the Court's Proceedings, either in general towards the whole Body of the Reformed, or in particular towards the Duke of *Roban*; nevertheless could not forbear blaming this Lord's Conduct as too forward and rash.

The Duke
 of Bouil-
 lon Am-
 bassador in
 England.

During these Transactions the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* was sent Embassador into *England*; he was charged to give King *James* Notice of the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*, and assure His *British* Majesty, that this double Alliance would cause no Alteration to that subsisting between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *France*. He had taken upon himself to engage that Prince to condemn the Proceedings of the Assembly of *Saumur*, and to prepossess him against the Duke of *Roban*. He was to complain in the Queen's Name of the Confederacy wherein that Prince was entered with the Protestant Princes of *Germany* against the Catholics, and to desire him to moderate the Rigour of the Laws against his Catholick Subjects.

Most part of the Articles are of so heinous a Nature, that, really, I can't imagine how a Reformed, how a Duke of *Bouillon*, who certainly was zealous for his Religion, could propose them to a Protestant Prince, to King *James* I. Very likely he undertook that Embassy upon some other private Consideration, or Family Interest, to have a better Opportunity for treating of the

(g) Mem. de *Roban*, Liv. 1. p. 25, 26. Vie de *Du Plessis*, Liv. iii. p. 362, 363.

the Marriage of the young Elector *Palatine*, his Nephew by his Lady, with the Princess of *England*, which was accomplished about the latter end of this year. Howbeit, it is to be observed that the Duke of *Rohan* questioning not in the least, but that the Marshal would play him some foul Trick, had bribed to his Interest a Gentleman of the Embassador's Retinue, by whom he got King *James* thoroughly informed of the truth of the Transactions at *Saumur*; so that when the Embassador spoke to his Majesty upon that Score, he answered him, *If the Queen your Mistress has a mind to infringe the Edicts granted to the Reformed of her Kingdom, I don't pretend that the Alliance done and ratified by me with France, should hinder me from assisting and protecting them. Whenever my Neighbours are aggrieved by a Cause wherein I am my self concerned, the Natural Right requires of me, that I should prevent the Evil which might therefrom befall me. Believe me, M. Marshal, added he, you must be reconciled with the Duke of Rohan. I will let him know, that I desire that you should live friendly together.* Oh! That he should have had always such a Heart and such a Mind! This happened at *London* in *April*; but not a word thereof in *Rapin's History* (b).

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Now the 20th National Synod met at *Privaz* on the 23d of *May*, according to Appointment. The Revd. Mr *Chamier*, Minister at *Montelimar*, was chosen Moderator; the Revd. Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, Minister at *Charenton*, Assessor; the Revd. Mr. *Stephen Monisanglard*, Minister at *Corbigny*, and Mr. *Stephen Maniald*, Elder of the Church of *Bourdeaux*, Secretaries. But before they proceeded to that Election, the Minister of *Privaz* was impower'd to tender an

Q q 2 Oath

(b) Mem. du Duc De Rohan, Liv. 1. p. 27.

Lewis 13. Oath to all the Deputies, whereby they declared, that neither directly nor indirectly they had not procured to be deputed to the said Synod by their Principals. After the Election was over, they took an Oath of Union, promising to have it ratified, in, and by, all the Provinces who had deputed them. After the reading and approving of the Confession of Faith and Church-Discipline, with some inconsiderable Alterations and Additions, the Revd. Mr. *Chamier* presented his *Panstratia Catholica* unto the Synod, and received the Thanks of the Assembly for the great Progress he had made in that Work, and was earnestly intreated to finish it, and to print the three first Volumes at once; and to help him to support the necessary Charges, the Sum of two Thousand Livres was ordered to be paid him out of hand. The Revd. Mr. *Perrin* presenting likewise his History of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, received the Thanks of the Assembly, and a Gratuity of three Hundred Livres. But in the next National Synod held at *Tonneins* in May, 1614, both these Books were ordered to be examined by proper Persons, which being done, they were published with Approbation. They caused the Clause inserted by the Synod of *St. Maixant* in the Article of Baptism, that Children might be baptized before Sermon, and at the ordinary public Prayers, *in case the Consistory, or at least some of the Elders should attest that the Children were in danger of death*, to be razed, because that Clause seemed to favour the Opinion of the Necessity of Baptism in order to Salvation. Amongst the Appeals from Sentence passed either in Consistories, or Colloquies, or Provincial, or National Synods, none gave more Trouble and Vexation to this Assembly, than that of the Church of *Nimes* from
this

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this very Synod to itself, but *being better advised, and considering*; because of a Decree passed for translating the Revd. *Jeremiah Ferrier* from the Church of *Nimes*, where he served as Minister and Professor, to another; and that on account of some Misdemeanours of his, and Suspicion of something worse: I shall account for the whole Affair, when I shall relate the Transactions of the next National Synod, wherein he was deposed and excommunicated. Then they took into their Consideration His Majesty's Letters of Pardon, published on the 24th of *April*, in behalf of those who had called or assisted at the Provincial Assemblies held in most parts of the Provinces after the General, stiling them unlawful, as being held without Royal Permission.

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To understand this, one must observe, that it had always been usual amongst the Reformed, after their general political Assemblies, to hold Provincial Ones, without waiting for the Court's Licence, there to give an account of what had been done in the General, how the Representatives had acquitted themselves of the Trust reposed in them by their Principals, what Obstructions they had met, what Concessions they had obtained, what Regulations had been made, &c. &c. That was very necessary to be done, and it could not be done in any other way. The late King had been so sensible of this, that he never took amiss these Provincial Assemblies, tho' they were all held without his Special Licence. That was supposed in the dismissory Letters, whereby the King put an end to the Sessions of the General; the Representatives were exhorted to break up, and to go and inform their respective Provinces of what they had transacted: These were the very Words of the

Queen Regent's dismissory Letters to the Assembly of *Saumur*, nay, the King's Officers had convened in several Provinces these Assemblies, as soon as the Representatives were arrived home from *Saumur*. What more? The very Instructions given to the Commissaries sent by the Court into the several Provinces, to cause, as they pretended, the Edicts and other Concessions to be executed, and supposed them as plain as the Light at Mid-day. So that this was but a wicked and malicious Device of the Marshal of *Bouillon*, to compleat, if he could, his Revenge, by rendering Criminals those whose Fidelity and strict Adherence to the welfare of the common Cause, made them less obsequious to his Will, and put an Obstacle to his ambitious Prospects. No wonder then, if the Reformed, who were conscious of having done nothing against the Edicts of the former Kings, exclaimed so much against the said Proclamation, and if they refused, few excepted, to take any advantage from, or to make any use of it.

When it was read in the Synod, it raised a general Indignation against the Authors and Abettors thereof, they unanimously protested against, and published their Protest, declaring, that they never requested, nor demanded, nor did by any Letters of theirs endeavour to obtain that Abolition or Pardon, that it was never done by them, nor were they so much as in Word or Thought guilty of those imaginary Crimes presupposed in them, and that they were ready all of them, jointly and singularly, to answer for their Actions, and to make them publick to the whole World, counting all manner of Torment far more easy to be born, than that they or their Posterity should be stigmatized with such a shameful Brand of Infamy, which might

might hereafter deprive them of that true ho-
 nour and glory which was ever ascribed to them,
 of being true *Frenchmen*, and to be reputed by
 Foreigners, the most loyal and most faithful
 Subjects of his Majesty, and the most affection-
 ate unto his Government.

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Moreover they did declare, that they would not in the least make any use of these Letters of Abolition and Pardon, and that they did disavow those Persons, if there be any such, as had accepted, and consented to them. And they declared those Persons, whoever they be, who had demanded, or shall demand them or approve them, to have acted or to act contrary to the sincerity of their Intentions, and to their approved Loyalty and Fidelity, &c.

Another weighty Affair, which they undertook was the Reconciliation between the great Lords of their Party, after having maturely considered the properest Means to obtain that most desired end. They drew up an Act, the Preamble thereof runs thus :

“ The present National Synod of the Re-
 “ formed Churches in this Kingdom, desiring
 “ to secure the Peace and Union of the said
 “ Churches, and burning with the Zeal of the
 “ House and Glory of God, and grieved to see
 “ Satan sowing the Seeds of Discord amongus,
 “ which redound to the infamy and the weak-
 “ ning of the said Churches, and may hereafter
 “ produce worse, and more dangerous Effects ;
 “ moved with Charity towards the Members
 “ of our Body, and being willing to make some
 “ Provision for a fraternal Concord, as being an
 “ indispensable Duty of all the Faithful, hath,
 “ and doth now resolve to exert it self, even to
 “ the utmost, for obtaining a blessed and holy
 “ Peace

Lewis 13. " Peace and Re-Union among ourselves under
1612. " their Majesties Authority "

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Then they proceed by declaring those whom they had chosen to be Mediators, namely the two general Deputies, the Revd. Messieurs *Du Moulin* and *Durant*, and *De L'Isle Grosset* Esq; Elder of the Church of *Orleans*. Then they exhort all Persons to endeavour to have the Memory of what was past buried in Oblivion, and in the name of all the Reformed Churches to become Peace-makers, that so the several Humours and different Opinions risen up in the Assembly of *Saumur* may be allayed and composed, &c. and this to be done according to the Methods and Advices prescribed by this Assembly, whereunto they may make such Additions as their Zeal and Prudence shall suggest; and they shall diligently and conjointly inform the Provinces of their Progress herein, together with the result and success of their Mediation. It was also resolved to exhort by Letters the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Les Diguieres*, that they would be pleased to join themselves together with the Synod in an humble Petition and Address to their Majesties, to obtain the Revocation of those Letters of Abolition above mentioned. Moreover, that they would be pleased to lay down, and sacrifice their own private Resentments and Interest to the Public Good, and be reconciled with the Dukes of *Roban*, *Sully*, *Soubize*, the Marquis of *La Force* and the Lord *Du Pleffis*, and others, from whom they were estranged. Like Letters were written to the Count of *Chatillon*, to *Roban*, *Sully*, *Soubize*, *La Force*, *Du Pleffis*, *Parabere*, &c. *mutatis mutandis*; as also to the Duchess of *La Trimouille*, to desire her Concurrence in promoting such a good Work, and proper Persons were charged to deliver the said Letters

Letters to those to whom they were directed. Lewis 13.

After having given the necessary Instructions to these several Commissaries, according to the Temper of those near whom they were to act as Mediators in the Synod's Name; settled the Accounts of the Sums of Money allowed for the Churches; expressly charged the general Deputies at Court, to insist upon the Redress of the Grievances complained of in the Bill presented by the Assembly of *Saumur*, and which remained till then unredrest; and made such other Regulations usual in such like Assemblies; they put an end to their Sessions the fourth of *July*, having sat for about six Weeks (j).

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The five Commissaries Mediators were no sooner arrived at *Paris*, but they began to discharge their Commission; for which end, having concerted and drawn up an Act of Re-union, they did all their Endeavours to persuade the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Les Diguieres*, who started every day some new Difficulty, but at last were prevailed upon to sign the said Act; the Count of *Chatillon* signed likewise: Then the Lord *De Rouvray*, and the Revd. Mr. *Durant* set out upon the same Errand for *St. John of Angely*, and took their way through *Saumur*, where *Du Plessis* very readily signed the said Act, and promised them, at their Instances, to join his good Offices to engage the Duke of *Roban* to sign likewise, if the said Duke required his Presence. Indeed the violent Means they put in use on both sides (the Court and the Duke of *Roban*) fomented and increased the Disease every day. *Roban*, in order to secure himself, expelled out of the Town those whom he suspected; and the Queen, in order to preserve

Success of
the Media-
tors Nego-
tiation.

(j) *Quick's Synodicon*, Tom. i. *Aymond Synodes Nationaux*, Tom. i.

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serve the Royal Dignity, used all the Rigours of Justice against those who fell into her hands, and was ready to take the Field to march against the Duke; for none of the Articles of the Treaty made with *Themines* had been executed, so that a War seemed unavoidable.

When the two Commissaries Mediators had opened their Commission, and presented to the Duke the Act of Re-union, he made no great difficulty, but desired only to confer with *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, and the present Situation of his Affairs. He sent a Messenger express to him, to desire him to come to *St. John*, whereunto having complied, the Duke signed the said Act. I can't imagine where the Revd. Mr. *Benoit* found what he says, that the Duke refused to sign that Instrument; contrary, not only to the Duke's own Memoirs, but likewise to what *Du Plessis* affirms positively in his Letter to the Pastors, Professors, and Elders of the Church of *Montauban*, dated at *St. John* the 10th of September, 1612. wherein he says that *Messrs. De Rohan and De Soubize had signed it, without any Delay or Reservation* *. But he found in that Town what he very little expected, viz. That at the Duke's Insinuations and Instances, the Provinces of *Xaintonge*, had (contrary to his Advices) required the five neighbouring Provinces, *Rockelle, Low Guienne, Poitou, Anjou and Britanny*, to send some of their Councils to *St. John*, to consult together about the Means of healing the present Disease. (True it is, that by their Treaty of Union, drawn the last year at *Saumur*, it had been enacted

* *Benoit* Hist. de l'Edit, de Nantes, Tom. ii. Liv. iii. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. i. p. 29. Lettres & Memoirs de *Du Plessis*. Tom. iii. p. 399.

enacted, That when any of the Provinces should be agrieved, and could not obtain a just and reasonable Satisfaction, that Province should require the Neighbouring to send their Deputies at a certain Place of its own appointment, to consult together about means of obtaining a Redress. But then, that was to be done only upon the greatest Emergencies: (which indeed was not the Case of the Duke of *Roban.*) Much surprized at this unexpected Turn, *Du Plessis* remonstrated to the Duke, the two Commissaries present, that he had involved himself in an Affair, whereof it was his Interest to be rid as soon as possible; that neither Conscience nor Prudence could allow him to determine for War, as long as there were some other Means left to be tried; that without an absolute necessity, War will neither be supported at home, nor approved abroad, and consequently it could be but detrimental to himself. Then he desired him to let him know what Terms he could require, that his Friends and Servants would endeavour to obtain them for him. He told them that he desired that the Queen should deprive *La Rochebaucourt* and *Foucaut* of their Places in *St. John*, and give him the company of the first, and liberty to name himself a Lieutenant-Governour of the Town; that his own, his Brother and their Friends Pensions, should be restored unto them with the Arrears; that those who had been put to trouble upon his Account, should be released. As to the first Article, *Du Plessis* told him, that it would be hard to the Queen, in a manner to degrade those whom she thought had well deserved of her; nevertheless that they ought to try all possible Means to persuade her Majesty to grant these Demands.

Therefore, having obtained of the Duke that
the

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Lewis 13. the Assembly of the Circle *, which was appointed for the 20th of *September*, should be put off to the 20th of *October*; he wrote to the

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* So they
called the
six confede-
rate Pro-
vinces.

Queen, to the Princes of the Blood, and to the principal Ministers of State, and told them with his usual Freedom, “that they were very much deceived by those who gave them to understand that the Affairs of *St. John* was a private one; for the security of a Place granted to the whole Reformed Body as a Cautionary Town, lies at stake; and that the Duke of *Rohan* was not considered amongst them as a private, but as a publick Person; that all the neighbouring Provinces were concerned in the preservation of the Place, as if it were their Ravelin, and that the further distant joined every day their Interest with it; that he was not ignorant that his Advices were rendered suspected at Court, but he questioned not, but at last they would be proved faithful and true.” These Letters had their Effects in due time, notwithstanding the Malice of some who burnt with the devilish desire to fish in troubled Water.

Du Plessis, taking notice that the Duke was surrounded with People, who would not fail to endeavour to prevail in the intended Assembly of the Circle, and to bring things to sad Extremities, persuaded the Deputies of *Rochelle*, *Mrs. De Beaupreau*, and *David*, even with the Duke’s Consent, to have the Consent of their Magistrates, that the said Assembly might be held in their City, which was granted. He had these things in view. 1st. To give a greater Weight to the Resolutions that might be taken in it by the consideration of the Place. 2^d. To refrain the quick and violent Temper of the Inconsiderate

derate by the Prudence and Soberness of the Lewis 13.
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grave *Rochelese*.

It was not long after *Du Plessis's* return to Pope Paul
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Saumur, that new Broils arose at *St. John's* through the rashness of the Duke of *Roban* and his Adherents; for a Serjeant having been sent by the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* to summon the *Sieur De Hautefontain*, at *St. John*, he was there most cruelly abused by *Hautefontain* himself, and was left almost for dead upon the place; which the Queen understanding, she was justly provoked at, and ordered the Horse to march directly in all haste into *Anjou*, and charged the Marshal of *Bois Dauphin*, Governour of the Province to provide them with good Quarters. But upon *Du Plessis's* Remonstrances and at his Interposition, these Troops were countermand-
ed.

These and several other Broils at Court kept all the Affairs at a stand, so that the general Deputies could not obtain a definitive Answer to the Pretensions of the Duke of *Roban*, and the general Articles, whereupon the Synod of *Privaz* had expressly charged them to demand a Redress, at the time appointed for the meeting of the Circle; therefore a further delay of the said Meeting was obtained, which was put off to the 20th of *November*, under promise that the Court would give them full Satisfaction before the expiration of that Term.

Accordingly, *Marbault* one of the King's Secretaries, was sent to *Du Plessis* to acquaint him, that their Majesties granted the Duke of *Roban* whatever he had proposed unto him *Du Plessis*, and unto the Lord of *Rouvray* at *St. John*, provided that on his part, for preserving the Royal Dignity and Authority, he should receive *Rochebaucourt*, and suffer him to stay in the
Town


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Town for eight or ten Days only, after which Term her Majesty would provide for him elsewhere. (She gave him the Government of *Chatelberaud*, which became vacant just at that time.) As to the Reformed in general, his Majesty promised to relieve them of the Obligation of subscribing themselves of the pretended Reformed Religion; that he would exempt the Ministers from all manner of Taxes and Subsidies, as the Roman Clergy were; that he would restore to the Synods National and Provincial, the same Liberty they had formerly enjoyed, and the free Exercise of their Discipline; that he would abrogate all Acts, Letters, Decrees, and Expeditions published against the Reformed since the Assembly of *Saumur*; that even he would allow them their Provincial Councils, provided they should use modesty of them, as they did under the late King; as for the rest of the Grievances of the other Provinces, especially of *Languedoc*, *Rouërgue*, and *Guienne*, they should be speedily redressed.

Of this, *Du Plessis* sent immediately notice to the Duke of *Roban*, and exhorted him to accept these Terms. But this Answer was not at all satisfactory, for he let him know that *Saugeon*, which he had sent into *Languedoc*, having been arrested in *Rouërgue*, if he came to any Harm, he would do any thing to be revenged, and that for the present he was incapable of listening to any Reason. To understand this, it must be observed, that tho' that Duke had promised to wait a Month longer for the definitive Answer of the Court, nevertheless suffering himself to be carried away out of the Bounds of his Allegiance by the pernicious Advices of his Flatterers, he had sent *Saugeon* into *Languedoc*, not only to oppose the Admission of *Berticheres* to the Government

vernment of *Aiguemortes*, of which he had been deprived by the late King, in the year 1597. tho' the Assembly of *Saumur* had taken his Case in hand, and made of it an Article of their Petitions whereupon their general Deputies had positive Orders to insist; tho' upon such a Recommendation, he had obtained the King's Warrant for the said Place, but he was become suspected to the Duke of *Roban*, and the Reformed of his Party, because being one of the Representatives in the said Assembly of *Saumur*, he had sided with the Duke of *Bouillon*. That was not, say I, the only occasion of *Saugeon's* Journey into *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, and *Gascony*, but he had Orders also from *Roban* to confer with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of these Provinces, and to know how far they may be depended upon, in case he was obliged to take up Arms; that is to say, to speak plainly, that he was endeavouring to cause an Insurrection in those Provinces. The Queen having got Intelligence of this, sent Orders to the Constable who was then in his Government of *Languedoc*, and to others in other Places, to stop the said Baron of *Saugeon* wherever he could be arrested; which Orders could not be executed but at his Return, as he came back from *Languedoc*, he was stopt in *Rouergue*, and brought Prisoner of State to *Villefranche*. The Duke of *Roban* had just then received that News, when he received *Du Plessis's* Letter, and was quite out of his Wits at it, as he says himself. *Du Plessis* having received his Answer, wrote again to the Lord *De Rouvray* upon the same Subject. At last the Queen was persuaded to put an end to that Business one way or another, therefore she sent again the said Deputy General, with the same Propositions, and an additional Promise, that

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Lewis 13. *Saugeon* would receive no harm ; the whole up-
 1612. on this Condition that there would be no meet-
 Pope Paul V. ing of the Assembly, neither at *St. John*, or at
 } *Rochelle*.

He took his way through *Saumur*, and engaged the Governour to come along with him ; they went to *St. John*, but could not prevail with the Duke of *Roban* either to give them any positive Word, or to come with them to *Rochelle*, tho' he pretended to desire Peace earnestly.

In this last City they were very honourably received by the Lord-Mayor and the Common-Council, and all the People, but not so well by the Assembly, where *Hautesfontaine* and the other Agents of the Duke, and other hot-brain'd Men like them, did their utmost Efforts to bring things to sad Extremities, and did every thing with such a hurry in their Conventicles, that it was plain enough that the Lords *Du Plessis* and *De Rouvray* were become odious unto them, only because they opposed their rash Counsels, whereby they drew the Churches into a certain Ruin. Nevertheless, partly by the Remonstrances of the Lord *De Rouvray*, and partly at the strong Instances of the Deputies of *Anjou*, (with whom those of *Rochelle* adjoined themselves) they got this Point ; That the Assembly should break up, without leaving any Act whereby it might appear that they had met together, but that the Deputies of the said Provinces might meet again together in the same Place the 25th of *December*, to see the abovesaid Articles, proposed by the Lord of *Rouvray* fully executed ; and to confer together about them; tho' without the usual Forms of Assemblies. Even this would not have been sufficient to oblige them to break up, had not the said Deputy

puty-General promised at their Instances, that he should endeavour to procure several other Articles, which it did not belong unto them, but to a General Assembly, to require.

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Two Things happened at the same time, which gave Suspicions to some, and fomented them in others. The Dutchess of *La Trimouille* coming to *Taillebourg*, a Strong-Hold upon the River *Charente*, three Leagues distant from *St. John d'Angely*, found Means to put out of the Castle one *La Sausaye*, who commanded therein, but was in the Interest of the Duke of *Roban*, and established in his stead one *De La Garenne*; which Change caused some Uneasiness to the *Rochelese*: But *Du Plessis* kept them up upon that score. The other Thing was, That four Ships which had been fitted out in *Normandy* for a long Voyage, were forced by contrary Winds to enter the Port of *Brouage*, where they lay in order to refit; but the Malecontents gave it out, that they were there in order to surprize *Rochelle*: Which Calumny, however, was very easily confuted. The Lords *Du Plessis* and *Rouvray* set out from *Rochelle*; the first for *Saumur*, where he went without going to *St. John*; and the other went Post to *Paris* with *Du Plessis's* Letters to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty, for the sake of her own Interest, to command, that the Things which she had been graciously pleased to grant should be punctually executed in due Time.

The Court was something provoked at the Rudeness of the Deputies of the Circle, which was entirely ascribed to the Duke of *Roban*; nevertheless, upon the Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*, and of the Deputies General, the Queen resolved to perform the Promises made in her Name to the said Assembly by the Lord *De*

Lewis 13. *Rouvray*: Only, being offended at the Proceed-
 1612. ing of these Provincial Councils, she forbid them
 Pope Paul expressly, and came to a Resolution to force the
 V. *saïd Duke and his Adherents to Obedience if*
 they persisted obstinate; and for that End to
 take the Field at the Head of an Army, assist-
 ed by the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Brissac*, and
 march directly to *Poitiers*, and from thence to
Saintes, or *Angoulême*; protecting those who
 should persist in their Allegiance, and seizing
 upon the Places who should offer any Resist-
 ance, and putting in them other Governours, to
 the liking of the Churches: Whereby indeed
 they would have been more and more divided
 among themselves, and by that Division would
 have been effectually ruined.

This threatenng Danger obliged the General-
 Deputies to write to those who were already
 come to *Rochelle*, in order to open an Assembly
 on the 25th of *December*, "That the Queen
 " performed what she had promised; that if
 " they did not accept her Offers, the War was
 " unavoidable; that they ought to consider
 " whether in Conscience or Prudence this last
 " was eligible; that the greatest part of the
 " Churches did not approve their Proceedings,
 " from which they could expect nothing but
 " Scandal and Ruin: Much less the neighbour-
 " ing States of the same Profession with them-
 " selves could approve of them; therefore they
 " intreated them, in the Name of God, to
 " think seriously what they had to do."

The Deputies of *Anjou* going to the said As-
 sembly fully resolved to behave themselves as in
 Duty bound, *Du Plessis* desired the Revd. Doc-
 tor *Bouchereau* to visit the Duke of *Roban* in his
 way. He wrote to him a very moving Let-
 ter, wherein he made use of all the strongest
 Argu-

Arguments that could be imagined to persuade him: Conscience, Religion, his own Reputation, the heaviest Judgment of God; all these Things were set before his Eyes, to oblige him to desist, but all in vain. He told *Bouchereau*, That he would consider these Reasons; and that there were others against it: But that, at all Events, he was resolved to follow the Opinions and Motions of those that were assembled at *Rochelle*, without letting them know his own Sentiments, because he would not lose his Credit. It is pretended, that he was much moved at the reading *Du Plessis's* Letter, and hearing the Revd. Mr. *Bouchereau's* Speech; nay, that he let some Tears drop from his Eyes.

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However, seeing that Inflexibility, *Du Plessis* wrote to the Lord Mayor of *Rochelle*, and to the President, who were lately come from Court. He wrote likewise to the Deputies of *Anjou*, desiring them to show his Letters to the most notable, and the most understanding and capable of Reason of the Assembly. These Letters, conjointly with the prudent Management of the said Deputies, effectually worked upon the Minds of the City's Council; who, notwithstanding the Rage of the Rabble, which had been excited by *Rohan's* Adherents, declared, That there was no further Occasion for holding that Assembly; *That they ought to avoid whatever should conduce directly or indirectly to Trouble, and accept with all Humility and Thankfulness the Things graciously granted by her Majesty, and send Deputies to thank her on that account: And that as to the Duke of Rohan, proper Persons ought to be sent unto him, to exhort him to submit himself to this Declaration.*

But the Duke's Adherents, vexed at this Turn of Affairs, so much contrary to their Expectation,

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pectation, sent him word, that he must come himself to *Rochelle*, they being not strong enough to oppose the Stream. He came, and did what he could, by the means of the Rabble, to force the Magistrates to retract their Declaration. The Sedition went so far, that they were very near to cut one another's Throats: But by the Prudence and Courage of the Lord Mayor, who prevailed with the principal Wards, the Evil was prevented, and *Roban* himself at last was forced to yield to the abovesaid Declaration. He sent an Agent to Court, to ask pardon for his past Follies, which was readily granted; and every thing which had been promised unto him were punctually performed, as well as the Articles wherein the Reformed in general were concerned; as he himself acknowledges it in his *Memoirs*. As to the Article concerning the Provincial Councils, for which the Queen Regent shew'd so great a Reluctancy, she consented at last to suffer them, though only by word of Mouth, provided they should keep themselves in that Moderation usual among them under the last Reign. So ended that sad Affair, which, by the Contrariety of Humours, was like to prove fatal to the Kingdom, and especially to the Reformed (*i*).

I cannot leave this Subject without making the

(*i*) *Memoires de la Regence de Medicis*, Tom. I. p. 90 — 99. *Mem. du Duc de Roban*, Tom. I. Liv. I. p. 27 — 32. But I have chosen to follow *Du Pleffis's* Life, and his *Memoirs*, considering that that Lord was so deeply concerned in all these Transactions. What he blames must necessarily be blame-worthy; for he was a particular Friend of the Duke of *Roban*: He had defended the same Interest in the Assembly of *Saumur*, and he was no less zealous than him for the Liberties and Welfare of the Churches; but his Zeal was moderated by a Christian Prudence. See his Life, Liv. III. p. 365 — 376. *Mem. de Du Pleffis*, Tom. III. p. 411 — 470, &c.

the following Reflexions, which I submit to the judicious Reader's Consideration.

The first is, That Power without Prudence, is as a Knife in the hands of a Mad-man. The Queen, not considering from what Cause the violent Counsels of the Marshal of *Bouillon* proceeded, in order to make a show of her Authority, attempted to inroach upon the Rights and Privileges, and to invade the Liberties and Properties, which the Inhabitants of *Rockelle*, *St. John*, and other Cities, had enjoyed from Time out of Mind; and which had been confirmed unto them by several Edicts and Declarations of the Kings, Predecessors of his Majesty, and that at a Time when the Court was divided into several Parties, and that a general Discontent against the Government was prevailing all over the Kingdom. She exposed, without any just Cause, the Royal Authority. Indeed that is a piece of Folly unpardonable in a Princess, who set up herself for a Wit and a great Politician; and those State-Ministers and Courtiers, who, for gratifying their own Avarice, Ambition or Revenge, put their Masters upon Attempts, the Issue whereof, considering the Circumstances, can be only shameful to them and their Crown, deserve the utmost Severity of the Law.

The Princes who blindly suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the private Passions of their Ministers, Courtiers and Favourites, without considering the Justice and Reasonableness of their Undertaking, justly deserve the Troubles and Vexations they are put into, and which are but the natural Result of their rash Attempts. When *Bouillon* persuaded the Queen to interfere in the Elections of *St. John* and *Rockelle*, he had a mind to be revenged of the Injury he falsely pretended to have received at *Saumur*. He did not

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Some Reflexions upon the whole Affair.

Lewis 13. care whether he wronged his Brethren in one of
 1612. the tenderest Points of their Liberties or not,
 Pope Paul provided he could gratify his Passion: He was
 V. not also out of hopes of making his best of these
 Broils, and of fishing in troubled Waters; but
 when he saw that, after having engaged, *mal-à-
 propos*, the King's Authority, the Affairs took
 another Turn than he had expected, then, for
 avoiding the Reproaches of the Court, he went
 to *Sedan*, and left the imprudent Queen in
 the Lurch, to extricate herself the best way she
 could out of the Maze wherein he had led her
 himself; for which purpose she was obliged to
 grant several Things, which she had refused to
 the Assembly of *Saumur*.

Secondly, But these Proceedings of the Court cannot any ways justify the Duke of *Roban's* Behaviour. A faithful Subject is at all times obliged to pay a great Regard to the Royal Authority, and more especially during the Prince's Minority. And it is to no purpose to say, that it is sometimes proper to prevent, to avoid the being prevented; such a Foresight, on such an Occasion, when the Respect and Obedience due to the Sovereign lay at stake, must be odious before God and Men. *The Churches*, saith *Du Plessis* upon that very Subject, *will not believe us; they are not used to judge upon such Guessings: They don't determine themselves upon Necessities grounded only on Foresights, but upon Necessities grounded on Feeling; upon the Constraints and Violences offered to their Conscience, and not upon the Imaginations and Fancies of a false Prudence (k).*

What a vast Difference is there between a Man whose Zeal for Truth and Righteousness is conducted by Knowledge, and animated by
 Cha-

(k) Lettres & Memoires de *Du Plessis*, Tom. III. p. 455.

Charity, which hath no Motives in view but the Glory of God, and the Happiness of the Society whereof he is a Member; and another whose Zeal is conducted only by a certain Heat of Temper, and animated by Pride, Ambition, Avarice, and such other inordinate Appetites. The first makes every thing he is master of subservient to the promoting of the great End he proposes to himself, the Glory of God, and the Happiness of Society; nay, he thinks to buy these Advantages at a cheap Rate, if it is only at the Loss of his own Fortune, and even of his own Life. The second makes every thing subservient to the Gratification of his own Desires, the Glory of God, Honour of Religion, Peace and Welfare of the Society; nothing is too dear for compassing his Ends. Of this we have a great Instance in the different Conduct of *Du Plessis*, and the Duke of *Roban*: They were both exposed to the Frowns of the Court, and had to suffer several Wrongs and Injustices from the Ministers and the Courtiers; though it is certain, that *Du Plessis* had a far greater Share to bear in them than the Duke. Nevertheless, what wide Difference in their Sentiments and Conduct! Let us hear *Du Plessis*, at the Beginning of these Broils, when, through the Duke of *Bouillon*, and other his Enemies, he was like to be involved under the Duke of *Roban*'s Disobedience, and threatned with a Royal Army, which might easily seize upon *Saumur* in its way to *St. John*. “ If I do fortify myself, *did he say to his Friends*, if I do call my Friends to assist me, I shall be attacked under pretence of Rebellion. On the other hand, if I do not take the necessary Precautions, I leave a cautionary Town, trusted to my Care, to the Mercy of our Enemies. However, let

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Lewis 13. " us run the risk to sink under their Force or
 1612. " Injustice, rather than to increase the Hatred
 Pope Paul " they are already animated with against our
 V. " Religion, by affording them a new Pretence
 " to charge us with Rebellion. What Crime
 " can I be upbraided with? I fear neither
 " the Perquisitions nor the Informations. Why
 " should they tax me with the present Broils?
 " I have no hand at all in the Duke of *Roban's*
 " Affair. To attack me on account of my Re-
 " ligion, that would be to have a mind to set
 " the whole Kingdom in a blaze (1)." So speak-
 eth that judicious Gentleman: His Zeal for the
 Honour of Religion did not allow him to ap-
 prove of any violent Method for obtaining the
 Redress of some Grievances, without the highest
 Provocation, and when all other Methods pro-
 ved ineffectual.

On the contrary, the Zeal of the Duke of
Roban being guided by Pride and Ambition, he
 followed the Impulses of his Passion; he acts
 the King at *St. John*, he tramples upon the Royal
 Authority of his Sovereign; not contented with
 refusing his Allegiance to his Majesty's Orders,
 he most cruelly abused the Bearer thereof, or
 at least he connives at the cruel Usage he re-
 ceives in his Government: He sounds the Trum-
 pet of Rebellion, and ventures the Safety and
 Welfare of six Provinces, if not of the whole
 Body, for preserving his own Authority and
 Grandure. We must not judge of Things by
 the Events, but as they are in themselves. This
 Behaviour of the Duke can by no means be
 justified; and had the Court and the Council
 been in more favourable Circumstances, his
 Rashness would certainly have received a con-
 dign Punishment, instead of procuring to him-
 self,

(1) *Vie de Du Pleffis*, Liv. III. p. 363.

self, and to the Churches, the advantageous Terms he obtained then through the Weakness of the Government.

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This Year don't furnish us with many Materials, relating to the Subject in hand, deserving to be taken notice of, besides some Revolutions at Court, occasioned by the Death of the Count of *Soissons*, second Son to the great Prince of *Condé*, murdered at the Battle of *Jarnac* in 1569. By his Death, which had happened at the Beginning of *November* last Year, several fine Dignities and Preferments became vacant, the Governments of *Dauphiné* and *Normandy*, with the Great Mastership of the King's Household; his Son succeeded to this last, and to the Government of *Dauphiné*: As to that of *Normandy*, it was the Subject of several Intrigues, which having no relation at all to our History, I shall omit them.

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Death of
the Count
of Soissons.

That Prince had formed very vast Designs in his Head, when he was surpris'd by Death. It is said, that he kept a very strict Correspondence with *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, (who died but a few Days before him) *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Reformed Party, at least those who adhered to the Duke of *Roban*; and that this last, seeing that he was dissatisfied with the present Government, sent him Offers of all his Interests and Services. It is further said, that he had so much insisted upon the Grant of the private Government of *Quillebeuf* in *Normandy*, only that he might be in better condition for receiving the Auxiliaries from *England* and *Holland* (m). How far he would have been able to compass his Ends, no body can say: The truth is, that his great Abilities and Experience, with his personal Character, made him

more

(m) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I.

Lewis 13. more formidable to the Ministers and Courtiers,
1613. than the Prince of *Condé* his Nephew.

Pope Paul
V.

The Reconciliation of the Duke of *Roban* with *Du Plessis*, &c. is another Occurrence of this Year: For though that Duke had signed; as abovesaid, the Act of Re-union tendered unto him by the Deputies of the Synod of *Privaz*, nevertheless his Heart agreed not with his Hand, because of the Circumstances he was then in; and whereas *Du Plessis* had openly opposed his Designs, when his private Admonitions and Intreaties could not do, that had begotten a Coldness between them both, which however was easily made up through the Cares of the Ducheſs Dowager of *Roban*, at a Conference in one of her Houſes in *Poitou*. As they talk'd together, the Duke owned to *Du Plessis*, that in order to keep up his Interest amongst thoſe who had aſſiſted him, and miſtruſting the Court, he had been carried out by his own Adherents far beyond what he intended. He agreed to correſpond together for the future, as they had done before theſe Broils. And upon *Du Plessis*'s Remonſtrances about the Neceſſity of a ſtrict Union between the whole Reformed Body, and eſpecially with the Marſhal of *Bouillon*, leſt the King's Majority, which was near at hand, ſhould find them in bad Diſpoſitions, which would be very prejudicial to the Churches, as well as to the State; the Duke promiſed that he would deal civilly with the Marſhal when at Court, till, by mutual Offices of Kindneſs, an entire Friendſhip could be reſtored between them (n).

Some Broils
at Saumur
compoſed.

One thing was like to create ſome Troubles at *Saumur*, had it not been prevented by *Du Plessis*'s provident Care. The Town's Officers and Sheriffs, intending inſenſibly to introduce
the

(n) Vie de *Du Plessis* Mornay, Liv. III. p. 377, 78, 79.

the *Jesuits* into that City, had sent for one to preach upon a Holy-day. The Governour sent for the Sheriffs, and told them, that they ought not to have attempted such a thing without his own Approbation; that they could not be ignorant of the bad Opinion which the most sober People entertained of the *Jesuits*, after so many sinister Proofs they had given of their Wickedness, &c. The Sheriffs at first would deny the Fact, but at last they owned it, but promised withal, that nothing should be done in that respect but what he pleased. *Du Plessis*, in order to a full Conviction, shewed them one of the Articles of the late Edict; whereby it was expressly said, That no *Jesuit* should erect College, or have Habitation, or confess, or preach in any of the Cautionary Towns. Nevertheless that Affair was not at an end: The Sheriffs having acquainted the Officers with what they had done and heard; the said Officers came the next day to the Castle, with the Seneschal at their head, they insisted warmly upon the same thing, but *Du Plessis* stood inflexible; and whereas they endeavoured to wrest the Sense of that Article above-mentioned, he told them, *That the King in his Council would himself explain his own Law.* And having dismissed them, he sent an Express to the General-Deputies at Court, and four days after he had the Pleasure to receive the Approbation of their Majesties for what he had done (o).

Lewis 13.
1613.
Pope Paul
V.

There happened this Year an Insurrection at *Nimes* on account of the Minister *Ferrier*, whereof I shall speak in the next Year, when I shall relate his Affair all in a Thread.

The Chamber of the Edict at *Paris* reversed the Sentence of the Judge of *Orleans*, who had adjudged

Justice done by the Chamber of the Edict at Paris.

(o) Idem Ibid.

Lewis 13. adjudged to the Hospitals of this last City, and
 1613. of *Remorantin*, a Legacy left by a Lady of
 Pope Paul Quality, for the Maintenance of the Minister
 V. and Poor of the Church of this last Place. It
 was still a good Time, and the Judges that
 composed the Chambers of the Edict were still
 Men conspicuous for their Equity and Modera-
 tion, who had no Inclination to countenance the
 superstitious Iniquity of the inferior Magistrates.
 But that Time lasted not long.

*An Edict
 in behalf
 of the Bi-
 shop of
 Montpel-
 lier.*

The King granted an Edict to the Bishop of
Montpellier, (his Name was *Fenouillet*, and he
 was beholden to the Duke of Sully for his Prefer-
 ment) whereof the Reformed Inhabitants of that
 City heavily complained. That Edict gave
 him, or confirmed unto him, the Right of mak-
 ing Regulations for the Government or Refor-
 mation of the University, of tendering the Oath
 to all those who were admitted into its Body,
 or who were provided of some Office in it; and
 generally of authorising and giving Sanction to
 all its Acts. The Reformed, who were the far
 greatest Number at *Montpellier*, pretended that
 that Right belonged to the Magistrates; that
 the Bishop attempted to usurp it from them.
 But the subjecting of them to the Authority of
 this Bishop was the more grievous to them, by
 reason that he was a daring, malicious Person;
 who spent all his Time in contriving to trouble
 others for his own advantage: And though he
 was indebted to a reformed Lord for his Digi-
 nity, it did not hinder him from doing a thou-
 sand Mischiefs to the others, nor from declaring
 himself, upon occasion, one of their most invete-
 rate Persecutors. However, this Edict was not
 verified but two Years after, because the Opposi-
 tions of the City made the Court judge that Af-
 fair

fair to be of greater Consequence than they had imagined at first.

Lewis 13.
1613.
Pope Paul
V.

This Year affords us several Occurrences well deserving our Attention; the Broils of the Court, the Consequences thereof, the National Synod of *Tonneins*, the King's Majority declared in Parliament, the Assembly of the States-General opened at *Paris*, are the principal Events which I shall summarily relate.

1614.

The Princes were then very much dissatisfied with the Ministry, and that with some reason. The extraordinary Favours which the Queen continually heaped upon the Marquis *D'Ancre*, an *Italian* of little Worth, of obscure Birth, and who could not so much as speak *French*, and his Wife *Galigai*, went so far that every body murmured at it; the Princes having no share in the Affairs, and these Foreigners alone governing at their own pleasure. The Prince of *Condé*, the Dukes of *Vendôme*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, Son to the famous Head of the *League*, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Piney Luxembourg*, with some others, made a League together against the Favourite. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was the hottest of them all, and the Manager of the said Union. He had entertained great Hopes of Preferment by his base Complaisance to the Court, and by shamefully betraying the Interest of the Reformed, and was deeply affected by the Disappointment he met with: for he was neglected by the Queen, whether it were that she observed that his Interest in the Reformed Party was far less than he bragg'd of, having been obliged to grant several things, at several times, which, at his Instigation, she had refused to the Assembly of *Saumur*; or that she dreaded the restless Spirit of that Lord, and did not care to entrust him with the Management

The Prince
of Condé,
with his
Adherents,
absent from
Court.

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Management of any Affair of too great Importance. Howbeit, *Bouillon* found no better Means to shew his Resentment, than by engaging the Prince of *Condé* and the other great Lords above-named to form a Party against the Court. They all separated, each going a different Way, and appointed their *Rendezvous* at *Fismes* in *Champaign*, a Place not far from *Sedan*, and very conveniently situated, either to receive foreign Succours, in case they could obtain any, or to fly out of the Kingdom, if they were reduced to that Extremity. The Duke of *Vendôme* having been arrested at *Paris* and confined in the *Louvre*, could not follow them; but he found means to make his escape a few days after, and went into *Britanny*. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was the last who set out from *Paris*, and went to join the Confederates; he was cunning enough to make the Court believe that he was going to engage the Prince to come to a Reconciliation, when, on the contrary, he was the Man that hindered him from listening to any Treaty 'till he could find his own private Advantage therein. I don't intend to enter any further into these Broils than what concerns the Reformed in general, and some of their chief Lords in particular.

The
Prince's
Manifesto.

The Prince was no sooner joined with the other Confederates but he wrote to the King, and to the Queen; his Letter to his Majesty was rather a Manifesto, wherein he accounted for the Reasons of his retreating from Court, and invited the Parliaments, the Governours of Provinces, &c. to join with him for obtaining the Redress of the Grievances he justly complained of, than a Letter from a Subject to his Sovereign; and it was published in Print, by his Order.

Nothing

Nothing new was contained in it besides what other Ring-leaders in a State-Party, who seek nothing else but to subvert every thing in a Government, that they may fish in troubled Waters, in order to gratify their Ambition, or their Avarice, are used to say. The Show of an extraordinary Zeal for the publick Good ; and in order to be deemed sincere and disinterested, an Offer to resign his Pensions and other Gratuities into the King's hands, as soon as the States-General shall be assembled and in a Condition to act freely. In a word, if the *METEMPSYCHOSIS* was a Truth to be believed, one would easily think, on reading this Manifesto, that the Soul of some of those honest *Grecians*, or *Romans*, of old times, nay the very Soul of *Henry of Condé*, who went for his Father, animated the Body of the Son. But if his Words shew'd forth the Hero, his Actions betrayed the selfish, base interested Man. His Complaints against the Government were but too well grounded : The vast Treasures of the Exchequer had been most prodigally squandered away ; the first Dignities and Employments bestowed upon the most unworthy People, most of them of the worst Character ; the State-Ministers bore the sway in every thing to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood ; very little Regard was paid to the Princes, to the Peers of the Realm, to the great Officers of the Crown ; the Parliaments met with Obstructions in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction ; the Nobility was ruined ; the Offices of Judicature were sold at an extravagant Price ; the People groaned under Oppression ; a Neglect of calling the States-General ; a strange Hurry in concluding the King's Marriage before his Majority ; the Non-Performance and even the Violation of the

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. Edicts granted to the Reformed. All these
 1614. Complaints, I say, were but too well grounded;
 Pope Paul V. but there wanted a Man of an opposite Cha-
 racter to the Prince's, a noble and generous
 Soul, ready at any time to sacrifice his own to
 the publick Interest, to obtain an efficacious Red-
 dress of these Grievances. Some of them were
 of an older Date than the Queen's Regency ;
 some others, such as the wasting of the Trea-
 sury, the bestowing of Places upon unworthy
 Subjects, &c. had been occasioned by the
 Prince's own Greediness ; so that it was not
 very difficult for the Queen to justify herself as
 to several of the Charges which *Condé* laid upon
 her Administration, as she did indeed, by her An-
 swer, which was likewise a kind of *Manifesto*.

The Prince wrote also upon the same To-
 picks to the Parliament of *Paris*, and some
 others, to the Governours of Provinces, and
 to several Princes, Officers of the Crown, and
 other Lords of the first Quality ; but to none or
 very little Purpose, for the Parliaments and
 most part of the Governours, &c. absolutely
 refused to open his Letters, and sent them to
 the Queen herself. *Le Vassor's* Reflections
 upon this Subject are quite misplaced. The
 King's Minority being so near at an end, and
 the States-General to be summoned, when and
 where it was to be supposed that the Admini-
 stration of the Government would be settled
 upon a better footing ; the Parliament did then
 its Duty not to concern itself with these Af-
 fairs without the Concurrence of the Queen,
 especially being so thoroughly acquainted as
 they were with the Prince's Character, and the
 true Motive of his Proceeding.

The Queen's Her Majesty had promised, in her *Manifesto*,
Answer. to convene, out of hand, the General States,
 and

and to delay the Ceremony of the King's Marriage 'till after the Sessions of the said States; these were two of the three Things whereupon *Condé* had insisted: the third was almost impracticable, to wit, that none but Persons of known Probity should be admitted to wait upon the King's Person; for how could that be done in such a degenerate Age?

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Though the Queen took, from the Beginning, the Way of Negotiation, to bring Matters to an Accommodation, nevertheless, it was thought proper in the King's Council, to make necessary Preparations to be ready at all Events; accordingly, Colonel *Galatis* was sent into *Switzerland* to raise six thousand Men; and whereas the Duke of *Roban* was, by the late King's Appointment, Colonel-General of the *Switzers* in the Crown's Pay, and that the Queen mistrusted him, she found Means to engage him to resign that Place of his own accord, and to accept in lieu thereof a round Sum of Money, which *Bassompierre* (who succeeded him by the Queen's Favour) took care to have him paid out of hand*.

Now the better to engage the Prince and the Lords of his Party to enter into that Quarrel, the Marshal of *Bouillon* had been so forward as

*The Prince
solicits the
Reformed.*

* The Reverend Mr. *Benoit* mistakes much the Case, when he says, that the Queen resolved to deprive the Duke of his Charge, and that the Duke resigned of his own accord, lest he should be forced to do it without reaping any Advantage. The Queen was too good a Politician to afford the Reformed any Pretence to declare themselves for the Prince. The truth is, that the Duke himself was very glad of having an Opportunity of disposing advantageously of a Charge, which, in certain Circumstances like this, obliged him to attend the Court. He wanted Money to put himself in a Condition of executing the Design he had to head the discontented Reformed, whenever the Occasion should offer itself.

Lewis 13. to promise them, that the *Reformed Churches*
 1614. would not fail to side with them; and in truth,
 Pope Paul. the obstructing of the double Marriage with
 V. *Spain*, and the redressing of the Grievances particular to the Reformed, very likely would have been a Motive strong enough to induce them to declare themselves for that Party, had they been less acquainted with the true Character of the Chief; so that it was not very difficult for *Du Plessis* to dissuade them from it. Nevertheless, the Prince was, or feigned to be, so well persuaded of the favourable Dispositions of the *Huguenots* towards him, that, in a Letter which he wrote to their General Deputies at *Paris*, he extolled to the Skies his Affection for them, which had prompted him to take care of their Concerns in his Manifesto.

But in
vain.

But the wise *Du Plessis* had been before-hand with him, and had fore-warned the Deputies how the Reformed ought to behave themselves on this Occasion. He said, very *à propos* upon that Subject, reflecting upon the false Measures the Prince had taken from the Beginning, *That a Man who halts as he comes out from his House, is not in a capacity to go very far; and one who begins a Law-Suit by a Petition, will readily accept of a Rule.* When he had seen the Prince's Manifesto, he was of the same Opinion with Mr. *Vander Myle*, Embassador of the *States* to the Court of *France*, that he could not imagine from whence proceeded that Charity of the Prince of *Condé* and his Adherents for the Reformed Churches: *The Duke of Bouillon* excepted, says the Embassador, *whose Zeal for our Religion is well known, I have always been told, that the Prince and the other Lords with him are not less zealous for the See of Rome than the Queen herself, some of them following, in that respect,*

respect, the Steps of their Ancestors. So that it will be always in the Pope's power to reconcile them together whenever he will; in which case, having too rashly shewed forth our Intentions, we shall afford them a Pretence of questioning our Fidelity, so many times approved by the late King. The Pope and his Followers will have occasion to render us odious to their Majesties. But on the contrary, if, during these Troubles, we do shew forth that we are unwilling to take advantage of them, we shall force even our Enemies to confess, as they have done heretofore, that the Reformed have helped to save the State. (p.)

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1614.
Pope Paul
V.

The Marquis of Villarnoux was come to visit his Father-in-law *Du Pleffis*, at the first Rumour of the Prince of *Condé's* Motion. He dispatched him back to *Paris* with Instructions for the *General Deputies*, tending to this Effect; that the Reformed Churches ought not to draw upon themselves the Reproach of having stirred on any other account besides the obtaining Liberty of Conscience; or else that it would be to betray the good Cause, did they mix with it some other Concerns purely civil; and that the Reformed, considered as such, ought not to concern themselves with the Reformation of the State. *Tho'*, adds he, *we should think ourselves obliged, considered as French-men, to join with them for obtaining such a Reformation, nevertheless, the time is not proper now. Very likely the Prince's Scheme will not take place. His Retreat from Court will be looked upon as a piece of his Inconstance, or as a Design of embroiling the State. The Queen will very easily break*

Sf 2 through

(p) *Lettres & Mem. de Du Pleffis*, Tom. III. ad Annum 1614. N. B. Le Vassor has mistaken the Letter of Vander Myle to Du Pleffis for a Letter of this last to the first.

Lewis 13. through all their Measures, promising to convene
 1614. the General States, and to delay the King's Mar-
 Pope Paul riage. What do they mean by throwing them-
 V. selves into a Corner of the Kingdom, as they
 have done? People whom the King may attack
 without making any diversion of his Forces, will
 be soon obliged to call upon his Clemency. The
 Event fully justified the Exactness of *Du*
Plessis's Reasoning; *Condé* himself would not
 have got off so advantageously, had not the
 Marshal *D'Ancre* been afraid lest he should be
 overpower'd by the Duke of *Guise*, should the
 Command of the Army be trusted unto him.

When the Marshal of *Bouillon* had joined
 the Prince in *Champaign*, he advised him to
 depute some Gentlemen of his Household to the
 Chiefs of the Reformed, to induce them to
 take up Arms. *Condé* and *Bouillon* had each
 of them their own private View. The first
 was in hopes to treat more advantageously with
 the *Regent*, if the *Reformed* shewed themselves
 ready to declare for him. The other thought
 thereby to make himself doubly necessary, both
 for bringing back the Prince and the discon-
 tented Lords, and for crossing the Duke of
Rohan's Designs amongst the Reformed. *Des*
Marais, Lieutenant of the Prince's Guards,
 being a Reformed, was thought the fittest Man
 for negotiating with the Duke of *Rohan*; there-
 fore he was sent to *St. John of Angely* with Or-
 ders to go first to *Saumur* to try *Du Plessis*, who
 was his old Acquaintance; they did not question
 but that, should *Rohan* and *Du Plessis* listen to the
 Prince's Propositions, their Reputation and In-
 terest would engage most part of the Reformed
 in *France* to side with them.

But *Du Plessis* was too wise for the Prince,
 he answered him in a way perfectly agreeable

to his wonted Prudence and Sagacity, and let him know, “ That the best Cities of the Kingdom dreaded so much a Civil War, that they would never declare for him: That he even undertook to reform some Abuses, in the Forbearance whereof the Cities were concerned: That those who made him believe that the *Reformed* would stir in his Behalf, did not know them, or had a mind to deceive his *Highness*; they did offer him People which were not at their disposal. *We do*, says he, *complain of some Grievances, that is true; nevertheless we shall keep our Peace as long as the Edicts shall be maintained. The foreign Powers allied with this Crown shall not approve the Prince’s Motion. FRANCE is the only Power able to oppose the Greatness of the SPANISH Monarchy. If the Kingdom falls into a Civil War, who shall be able to thwart the ambitious Projects of the House of AUSTRIA?* ”

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Such were the Sentiments of *Du Plessis*. But the Duke of *Rohan* was not of such strict Principles in Policy. The Prince’s Agent was better entertained at *St. John*, than he had been at *Saumur*. The Duke gave him a favourable Audience; but, mistrusting the Marshal of *Bouillon*, he was somewhat reserved, and would not enter into any Engagement without having sent previously a Gentleman to the Prince, in order to know better what were the real Sentiments of his *Highness*, and the Lords his Adherents.

When *Du Plessis* understood that the Duke was about treating with the Prince, he said, *Monseigneur De Rohan don’t consider that he will pacify all Troubles, by designing to take share in them. The Queen will more easily give satisf-*

Lewis 13. *faction to the Prince, and the Marshal of Bouillon*
 1614. *jealous of his own Authority against the Duke of*
 Pope Paul V. *Rohan, will procure immediately the Conclusion*
 of Peace.

The Prince
treats with
the Queen,
and con-
cludes.

One could not more exactly foretel what happened. The Duke's Envoy was extraordinary well received by the Prince; they gave out that his Master offered a thousand Horse and eight thousand Foot. The Treaty with the Court, which was already in great forwardness, was instantly concluded and signed at *St. Meneboud* in *Champaign*, on the 15th of *May*. The Queen promised to convene the States out of hand, to delay the double Marriage till the Conclusion of the said States, and to disband the Army. The Prince of *Condé* had the Castle of *Amboise* till the sitting of the General States; the Marshal of *Bouillon* received a round Sum of Money: Every other Lords was bought in the same proportion. The Duke of *Vendôme* was the only Loser in that bargain; for *Blavet*, and the other Places in *Britanny*, which he had fortified of late, were to be dismantled before he could be restored to his Government, and his other Charges. He made very heavy Complaints against the Prince of *Condé*, who had so much neglected his Concerns in his Treaty with the Court: He refused to stand by it till he saw the King and the Queen Regent taking the Field in order to force him to obey, which was done about the tenth of *July* (g).

Tho' all the Articles of the Treaty of *St. Meneboud* had been faithfully executed on both sides; nevertheless the restless Prince of *Condé*, grieved to see his Reputation sunk at Court thro' his last foolish Attempt, was tempted again

(g) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I. Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. III. Lettres & Mem. du M^{ême}, Tom. III.

gain to raise some new Broils before the holding of the States; but not having taken better measures than before, he was forced to submit (r).

Lewis 13
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

The 21st
National
Synod.

During the Broils above-mentioned, was held the 21st National Synod of the Reformed Churches in *France*, at *Tonneins* in *Lower Guienne*. The Reverend Dr. *John Gigord*, Minister of the Church of *Montpellier*, and Professor in Divinity in its Academy, was chosen Moderator; and the Reverend *John Gardest*, Minister of the Church of *Mauvesin*, Assessor; and the Reverend *Andrew Rivet*, Minister of *Tbouars*, Secretary. They began their Sessions on the 2d of *May*. Several things of moment passed in this Assembly, which I shall relate as briefly as possible.

First, They are much to be commended for yielding to the prudent Advice of the judicious and pious *Du Plessis*, not to meddle themselves with any *Affair* of a political nature. To understand this, it must be observed, that the Duke of *Roban* had attempted to have a general political Assembly of the Reformed, held at *Tonneins*, at the same time with the Synod; for which purpose he had directed the private Council of *Lower Guienne*, to summon the General Assembly for the 1st of *May* at the said place, in order to consider about their general Concerns, and even what Party they ought to take in the present juncture; which Letters were accordingly directed to the several Provinces of the Kingdom, by that of the *Lower Guienne*. They designed to corroborate the Resolutions, taken in this political Assembly, with those taken in the Ecclesiastical, questioning not but that they would agree together.

S f 4

But

(r) Eadem Ibid.

Lewis 13. But *Du Plessis*, who could not endure to see the
 1614. Reformed Churches represented by a National
 Pope Paul Synod, interfering in those matters merely po-
 V. litical, took the opportunity of the Provincial
 Synod of *Anjou*, then sitting at *Saumur*, to re-
 monstrate that the above-said Convocation was
 unlawful, without Authority, and contrary to
 their Constitution, and plunging the Churches
 into the greatest Difficulties. He argued the
 point with such strength of Reasons, that he
 made them all sensible of the Danger, and they
 resolved not to send any Deputies to the said
 Assembly, if it took place. Furthermore, they
 charged their Deputies to the National Synod
 with very strong Remonstrances, drawn up for
 the purpose by *Du Plessis* himself; besides
 which, he wrote upon the same Subject unto
 several Provinces: so that that Design was de-
 feated, and the Council of *Low Guienne* was
 called to account for their Conduct in the Sy-
 nod, and very nearly escaped the Censure. But
 for all that the Church of *Pujols* in *Agenois*
 was censured by the Synod for having refused
 to submit to the Resolutions of the Council of
Low Guienne. The reason was, because the
 said Resolutions having been carried by a great
 Majority of Votes in the said Council of that
 Province, whereof that Church made a part,
 they broke the Union by refusing to submit,
 and opened the way to greater Divisions.

Secondly, They received Letters from the
 King of *England*, which were brought and
 tendered by the Reverend Mr. *Hume*, formerly
 Minister of the Church of *Duras*. That Prince,
 always ready to take part in the Theological
 Disputes, while he neglected his most essential
 Duties, failed not to interfere in those between
Du Moulin and *Tilenus*, who charged one an-
 other

other with heretical Opinions concerning the Mystery of the hypostatical Union of *Christ's* human Nature with his divine Person. The Dispute had been carried on with so much Heat and Animosity for two or three Years, to the great Scandal of the Weak, and the Delight of the Enemies of the Reformed, that indeed it was high time to put an end to it. Therefore the Synod taking that Matter into their consideration, thought proper to refer it to the Decision of the Lord *Du Plessis*, and charged him with the Care to reconcile them; which he did effectually, having appointed them to meet at *Saumur*, on the 8th of *October*. And here I can't refrain from admiring the extensive good Character of that Lord, nor from gladly subscribing *Le Vassor's* Encomium of him. Let one read over and over the History of the World ancient and modern, I don't know whether another Gentleman like this could be met with, equally well read in the Sciences and experienced in the Business of the World; he defends his Religion, and discusses the most arduous Points of Divinity; he maintains the Reformed Churches by his Prudence; he negotiates the most intricate Affairs; he gives wholesome Advices to the Ministers of State, to Princes and Kings, who receive them with pleasure.

Thirdly, An Account was given unto them of the means that had been used to reconcile the Lords, and they received Letters from the Dukes of *Roan*, *Sully*, &c. and from *Du Plessis*, whereby they desired the Synod to acquaint the Provinces with their good Intentions, and their Zeal for the Service of the Churches. The Mayor of *Bergerac* having declared in the Name of that Church and Town, that it never

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. was their intention to depart from the Union
 1614. of the Churches, or to procure their own private
 Pope Paul Good to the prejudice of the Publick, as
 V. the Censure of the late National Synod of
Privaz insinuated it, and disavowing the
 Brief of 1500 Livres, which the King had
 granted them for the Maintenance of their Col-
 lege, to be taken out of the 15000 Crowns of
 Augmentation, which his Majesty had allowed
 to the Churches; the Synod granted them
 1200 *l.* This Husbandry was very necessary,
 because the Funds were wanting every where
 for the Payment of the Ministers; so that se-
 veral of them were reduced to great straits,
 whereby they were rendred uncapable of per-
 forming the Duties of their Office, and were
 more tempted to be seduced by the Court's
 Bribes, or grew despicable for their Poverty.
 The Sum of 15,000 Crowns granted by *Lewis*
XIII. was not sufficient for relieving all their
 Wants, because of the too many occasions the
 Synod had for that Money, to lay it out to o-
 ther Uses, which were still more urgent than
 this.

Fourthly, They took into their consideration
 several things, which, tho' they were not ab-
 solutely speaking of an ecclesiastical nature, had
 so near a relation with the Welfare of the
 Churches, that they could hardly avoid the
 taking cognizance of them, at least to a cer-
 tain degree. Such were the Exemption of
 Taxes for the Ministers, which the Court had
 promised in the Treaty with the Duke of *Roban*;
 but the Court of Aids did still oppose the re-
 gistring of it: The Nomination and Admis-
 sion of Governours for the cautionary Towns.
 Formerly the Candidate was obliged to take an
 Affidavit of the *Colloque*, in the District whereof
 the

the Government was seated ; but now the Court overlooked that Form, in order to draw unto herself all the Authority of naming. One of the six Reformed Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, namely *Berger*, being of late turned Catholick, his Change made a vacancy in the Number of Counsellors agreed by the Edict of *Nantz* ; but the Court refused to fill up that Vacancy, therefore the Synod ordered the Deputies General to insist upon it ; but, notwithstanding their Instances, they could never obtain a full satisfaction. The General Deputies had obtained leave to hold a political Assembly ; but the time and the place being not of their liking, they charged the said Deputies to insist to have them changed. We shall see in a more proper place what success they had.

Fifthly, We may gather from the Acts of this Synod, that there were Churches established by the Dispositions of the Edicts, of which the Settlement was not as yet made, because of the Oppositions of the Catholicks, whether it were upon the account of the Poverty of those that were to be Members of these Churches, or on account of the Negligence of those that were charged with the Care of pursuing the said Settlement ? However, some of this kind there was in *Auvergne*, and *Issoire* was one of them. They had for a long time pursued that Affair at Court, but without Success. The Synod, being informed of their deplorable Condition, ordered the General Deputies to support their Petitions, and to recommend them to the King's Council in the Synod's Name.

The Reformed of the *Venaisine County*, who, two Years before thought themselves numerous enough to form a Province by themselves, had

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.



Lewis 13. had suffered so great an Alteration in their condition since that time, having been most violently persecuted, that they deserved the Pity and Charity of their Brethren; nevertheless, the Circumstances of the Synod were so narrow, that for the present they could do nothing better for them, than recommend their Case to the General Deputies, and intercede with his Majesty that he would be their Mediator with the *Pope*, to obtain some rest and quietness for them.

1614.
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V.

The Reformed of *Gex*, were severely censured, because refusing to submit to the Regulation of the provincial Synod of *Burgundy*, of which that Bayliwick was a Dependency, they had applied themselves to the King's Council for a Redress of a pretended Wrong done to them by the said Synod, in that they had adjudged them for their College but 60 Livres. Their Proceeding was dangerous, both as to the Example, which authorised those who were not content to appeal from the Judgments given by the Synods to the King's Council, and as to the Consequence, which submitted the Distribution of the said Monies granted for the Ministry, and made by the Synods, to be revised by the Council; which was directly contrary to the Brief of 1598, which allowed the Synods to dispose of the said Monies, without giving any account of them. Therefore this Synod passed that Censure, and even threatened them to proceed with greater Severity, if they did not instantly submit to this Sentence. They submitted, and the next national Synod granted them one hundred Livres for the Maintenance of their said College. The Churches of *Bearn* were empowered by this present Synod to convene the next; but they did not make use of that Liberty, because

of

of the Condition which was annexed unto it, to wit, That they should submit to the Decisions of the Synods that should be held in the Kingdom of *France*; which Condition, had they accepted, might prejudice their own Privileges, which entitled them to have all their Cases examined and tried by their own natural Judges in their own Country. The City of *Metz* enjoyed a much like Privilege; for which cause the Church of that City hold no other Communion but of Doctrine with the Churches of *France*.

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1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Sixthly, The Oath of Union was renewed in that Assembly with the usual Forms of Obedience and Fealty to the King, THE KINGDOM OF GOD REMAINING WHOLE. The Deputies promised to have it ratified by their respective Provinces. They answer'd the Letters they had received from *H. B. M.* and sent him at his request a Scheme for reuniting into the same Confession of Faith all the Protestant Churches of *Europe*, of what Denomination soever, *Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinian*; which Scheme for its Simplicity, Perspicuity, Prudence and Charitableness cannot be sufficiently commended. They had received a Letter from the Church and Academy of *Geneva*, wherein the Authors took occasion from the Apostacy of *Jeremias Ferrier*, to exhort the Synod not to suffer any longer the Ministers to intermeddle with Civil Affairs, and consequently to assist in political Assemblies, or accept to be deputed to Court or elsewhere upon these Accounts, unless in cases of the most urgent Necessity; and then, say they, let them lament with the Spouse in the Canticles, that they have been made Keepers of other Vineyards, but their own Vineyard they have not kept.

They

Lewis 13.

1614.

Pope Paul

V.

They drew up a Memoir of the Grievances the Churches groaned under, and of the several Bills that were to be presented to the Provincial Assemblies for their Examination, and by them brought unto the National Political Assembly, and recommended to their Consideration by all the Provinces; and particularly to the special Care of the General Deputies, till the National Assembly should meet. They wrote likewise to the King and the Queen Regent, insisting upon some other place than *Grenoble* for their political Assembly, and upon the Redress of their manifold Grievances.

Some Account of
Ferrier.

Lastly, The Affair of the Reverend *Jeremiah Ferrier*, Minister at *Nimes*, and Professor in Divinity in their Academy, came under the Synod's consideration. He was the same, who, eleven or twelve Years before, had so rashly asserted in some publick Theses, that *Clement VIII.* the Pope then sitting was the Antichrist foretold by *St. Paul* and *St. John*; and who had engaged the Synods of *Gap*, *Rochelle*, and *St. Maixant*, to confirm his Doctrine by an Article, which they intended to insert into the Confession of Faith. He was learned, a fine Speaker, but so self-conceited, proud and ambitious, that there was no abiding with him for those who were able to cope with him. Unluckily for him, as well as for several others in his own time and after him, the Ministers were admitted to sit and vote in the political Assemblies; which afforded them a fair opportunity of displaying their Parts, and but too often of gratifying their Pride and Self-Interest. This Gentleman was named as a Representative to the Assembly of *Saumur*, where the Reverend *Daniel Chamier* was likewise deputed; but their Views and Intentions, as well as their Character,

Character, were quite different one from another; *Chamier* was an upright Man, a zealous Asserter of the Truth and of the Liberties of the Churches, and considered in this very Assembly as one of their most strenuous Defenders. His Reputation and Interest amongst them were such as to give some Jealousy to *Ferrier*, who considering that he could not bear sway in the Party whereto *Chamier* constantly adhered, thought to find better his Interests in the Court-Party. He was one of the Deputies named by the said Assembly to carry their Bills of Grievances to Court, where he began those Intrigues, which exposed him afterwards to shame, and obliged him to renounce a Religion and a Church, the Discipline whereof was so much contrary and averse to his wicked Principles. The Party he had taken at *Saumur*, had made him odious in his Province, and to one part of his Church at *Nimes*. He was sensible that he should be prosecuted in the next National Synod. The Disposition wherein he found the Provincial one of *Low Languedoc* gave him just room for suspecting that he would be exposed to some shameful Censure. But the means he used to prevent it, served only to render it unavoidable. He took several suspicious Journeys to Court, without the Consent of his own Church. The Ministers of *Paris*, who looked upon him as a dangerous Man, used their utmost endeavours to reclaim him. They thought to flatter his Ambition by offering him a vacant Place in their Church; and every body thought that having so many Reasons for quitting *Nimes*, he would be glad of having such a fair opportunity for leaving his Province with Honour. He was less dreaded at *Paris* than at *Nimes*. The Ministers

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Lewis 13. nisters of that Capital were Men whose Inte-
 1614. grity was equal to their vast Learning and Ca-
 Pope Paul capacity, who having a watchful Eye over his
 V. Actions and Deportment, would perhaps have
 prevented his utter Ruin. At first he accepted
 the Offers, and submitted himself to the Cen-
 sure passed against his Conduct with great
 marks of Repentance. He confessed all; he
 condemned himself; he wept. But after hav-
 ing promised, he broke his word in a very un-
 handsome manner, and without the least Pro-
 vocation; nay, without so much as taking
 his leave of the Ministers of that Church, who
 had been so kind and so tender to him, he set
 out for *Nimes*.

The National Synod of *Privaz* took all this
 into their consideration. The Reverend Mr.
Du Moulin, who had been an Eye-witness, gave
 a particular Account of his Misbehaviour. Se-
 veral other things were laid to his charge;
 such as Neglect of Duty as Professor in Divi-
 nity, the preaching of unsound Doctrine, the
 embezzling of the Monies entrusted with him
 for the Service of his Province, the forging of
 Letters, and causing others to be forged by o-
 ther People, whereby he had been involved
 into very shameful Affairs. All these Crimes
 were proved against him, and even he owned
 most part of them. Therefore the Synod cen-
 sured him severely, and enjoined him to write
 a submissive Letter to the Church of *Paris*;
 forbad him to assist in any Political Assembly
 for six Years to come, and ordered him to exer-
 cise his Ministry without the Province of *Lan-
 guedoc*.

But *Ferrier* was too haughty to obey; he was
 not disheartned, tho' he did not expect such a
 Treatment. He wrote to his Friends at *Nimes*,
 who

who were powerful enough to engage the City and Church to send Deputies to the Synod in his behalf. These Deputies were taken out of the Presidial See, the Town-house, and the Ministers of the Church: The Synod gave them Audience, but their Troubles were in vain. The Synod expressed how much displeas'd they were to see such a solemn Deputation in behalf of a Man who betrayed the common Cause, and the Ministers Deputies were severely rebuked for it: And lest the Magistrate of *Nimes*, who supported *Ferrier*, should attempt to restore him to the Church of that City, notwithstanding the Synod's Orders, it was enacted, That he was actually suspended from that very Minute, if he did not instantly submit to the Synod. Nevertheless, as they had no mind to exasperate him, as the Synod had presented *Dr. Chamier* to the Church and Academy of *Montauban*, they sent *Ferrier* to *Montelimar* in his room. That happened in 1612.

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But that Indulgence of the Synod did not mollify the Man's Heart; for not being satisfied with the Church of *Montelimar*, he resolv'd to try whether the Court would assist him in order to be restored, or give him some Recompense for what he had lost for their sake. He obtained a Counsellor's Place in the Presidial See of *Nimes*, and, having received his Patent, he resolv'd to officiate himself. When he arriv'd at *Nimes*, in order to be received in his new Office, the Consistory endeavour'd to oppose him; they, conjointly with the Magistrate, desired the Presidial to delay his Reception, till they had inform'd his Majesty with the Reasons of their Opposition: But *Ferrier* foreseeing these Things, had provided against them, and had brought from *Paris* such positive Orders, that

Lewis 13. the Prefidial could not delay his Reception ; so
 1614. that he was admitted notwithstanding these Op-
 Pope Paul positions : Whereupon, after several Consulta-
 V. tions with the Ministers and Elders of the neigh-
 } bouring Churches, the Consistory of *Nimes*
 thundered a dreadful Excommunication against
 him from the Pulpit, on the 14th Day of *July*
 1613, which was a *Sunday*. But *Ferrier*, in or-
 der to brave the Consistory with more Haughti-
 ness, went to the Palace, being preceded by the
 Provost and his Men. As he came back, he
 was attacked by little Boys, who threw Pieces of
 Gourds, and railed at him ; then some of the
 Rabble joined with them without Arms. *Ferrier*,
 finding himself so closely pursued, retired to a
 Magistrate's House which was in his way. Some
 time after somebody cried out of the Windows of
 the said House, that some of them would be hang-
 ed for it: That Threatning exasperated the People
 instead of frightening them. However, they
 had so much Consideration in their Fury, as not
 to confound others with *Ferrier* ; and, to show
 that they only aimed at him, they let pass du-
 ring the Fray some Counsellors, Catholicks, nay,
 some Priests and Monks, without offering them
 the least Injury by word or deed : Then they
 quitted the House wherein he was, and went to
 his own, which they attacked and forced open,
 after his Servants had defended it a long while
 with Stones ; then, without respecting either the
 Consuls, Judges, or Ministers that were come
 to appease the Tumult, they broke down the
 Doors, plundered and burnt all the Furniture
 and Goods, and omitted nothing that an incen-
 sed Multitude is capable of doing. Afterwards
 they went to his Country-house, destroyed it,
 felled the Trees, rooted the Vines, and com-
 mitted other like Disorders. Some of the Se-

ditions having been imprisoned to frighten the rest, they were rescued with main Force.

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1614.
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V.

In the mean time the Consuls placed Guards at the Gates, and in divers Parts of the City, on pretence of dreading a Surprize from abroad, but really to let *Ferrier* escape undiscovered; which could not be effected till the third Day, when he was let out of the City in the Night-time, and brought safe to *Beaucaire*, under a strong Guard of the Constable, Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governour of the Province. A Corps de Guard was placed in his House for the Security of his Wife, who was ready to lie-in; but eight or nine Days after, she also left the City by her Husband's Order; she fell in Labour by the way, and was delivered between *Nimes* and *Beaucaire*, which are but three Leagues distant from each other. This Sedition had no other Consequence, than the transferring of the Presidial See of *Nimes* to *Beaucaire*. And the City having satisfied the Court by a speedy Obedience, and other considerable Cities, together with *Du Plessis*, having joined their Intreaties to theirs in order to obtain the Revocation of that Decree, they obtained it easily.

The National Synod of *Tonneins* confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication passed against him at *Nimes* the Year before, and inserted him in the Roll of the deposed and apostate Ministers. He was a tall Man, wore black and curled Hair, of an Olive-greenish Complexion, with wide open Nostrils, great Lips, and about thirty-eight Years old. He lived a long while after that miserable Catastrophe; and the Court, where he was favoured by the *Jesuits*, honoured him at last with a Place of Counsellor of State. He persisted to the last in the *Roman Religion*.

Lewis 13.
1614.
P^o. e P^{au}i
V.

The Synod having sat for above a Month, ended their Sessions on the 3d of *June* in the Evening, afterhaving enacted, that if there was any Difficulty about the meeting of the next Synod in the Principality of *Bearn*, the Churches thereof shall, within the space of a Year, send notice to the Province of *Britany*, to which belongs the Right of calling the next Synod in the City of *Vitré*, and no where else; and this at the end of two Years, and about *May*: Provided, that it may be hastened or deferred, as the General Deputies and the neighbouring Provinces do think fit (*t*).

Suarez's
Book brand-
ed by the
Parlia-
ment of Pa-
ris.

During the Sessions of the Synod, the Parliament of *Paris* took Cognizance of a wicked Book; published by the Jesuit *SUAR E Z*; with this Title, *A Defence of the Catholick and Apostolick Faith against the Errors of the Sect of England*; where the devilish Doctrine of murdering Kings was plainly asserted. The Attorney-General judged that Book so dangerous, that he thought himself obliged to pursue the Condemnation thereof. Accordingly, on the 26th of *June*, all the Chambers being assembled, the Book was condemned *to be burnt by the common Executioner's Hands, as containing seditious Maxims, tending to the Subversion of the States, and to induce the Subjects of Kings and sovereign Princes, and others, to attempt upon their sacred Persons.* They ordered, that certain Decrees of the *Faculty of Paris*, which condemn the Doctrine of *Suarez*, should be read every Year

on

(*t*) Quick Synodicon, Vol. I. Aymond, Hist. de Syn. Nation. de France, Vol. I. Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I. pag. 88, 96, 117. Mezeray, Hist. de Marie de Medicis, &c. Tom. I. pag. 236. But his relation of that Affair is full of impudent Lyes. Lettres & Mem. Du Pleffis, Tom. 3. pag. 533, 536, 537, 544, 545, 546, 552.

on the 4th of *June*, not only in the Schools of *Sorbonne*, but even in those of the College of *Clermont*, and of the *Mendicant Fryars*, belonging to those GOOD HOLY FATHERS.

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Pope Paul.
V.

But the greatest Mortification of all was, that the Parliament decreed, that the Fathers *Armand Rector*, *Cotton* the late King's Confessor, *Fronton le Duc*, and *Sirmond*, both very conspicuous for Learning, should appear the next Day before them. When they made their Appearance, the first President told them, that the Book of *Suarez* their Fellow was contrary to the Declaration by them delivered, and to the Decree enacted by their General in 1610. Then they were enjoined to write to *Rome* for requiring the renewing and the publishing of the same Decree, and to bring forth a Deed thereof in six Months: Furthermore, to take care lest any private Member of their Society should teach no more in their Books *so damnable and pernicious Propositions*: Lastly, *to preach publickly a Doctrine quite contrary to Suarez*, or else the Parliament should proceed against the Offenders, as guilty of High Treason, and Disturbers of the publick Peace.

When the Pope, *Paul V.* by whose Orders the Book had been composed and published, heard of this Censure, he sent the Bishop of *Foligni* to the Marquis of *Trenel*, Embassador of *France* at *Rome*, to make Complaints of the Attempt of the Magistrates of *France*, who, by their Decree, struck at the Privileges and Rights of the *Holy See*. The Bishop expatiated himself with much Warmth upon that Subject, and expostulated with the Embassador in a manner which shewed only the proud Temper of his haughty Master. He desired the Marquis to inform the Queen Regent of the Pope's high Displeasure against the Parliament, and that he

The Pope
exasperated at it.

Lewis 13. required that her Majesty should abrogate their
1614. Decree.

Pope Paul
V.

Some time after, the *French* Embassiator being admitted to the Pope's Audience, he endeavoured to mollify him, and represented unto him the Impossibility of his Demand, considering the Circumstances of Times; and he undertook to justify the Proceedings of the Parliament. But the fiery old Man would hearken to no Reason, and carried his Arrogance so far, as to threaten the Parliament with an Excommunication. At last, after several Conferences between the Cardinals of *Joyeuse*, *La Rochefoucault*, *Du Perron*, and *Ubalдини* the Pope's Nuncio at *Paris*, *Lewis XIII.* declared in his Council, That his Intention was, that the Execution of the said Decree should cause no prejudice to the lawful Authority of the Pope, nor to those Privileges of the Holy See, which had been always acknowledged by his Predecessors. When *Ubalдини* heard the reading of the said Declaration, he found fault with what was supposed therein, *viz. That the King's temporal Power is absolutely sovereign and independent.* That was, according to that Minister, to reject *mal-à-propos* the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, which claims an Authority over the crowned Heads, at least in certain particular Cases. But very little notice was taken at Court of the tedious Arguments of the Nuncio.

His Master was no better satisfied with the said Declaration: He said plainly, that it did not take away in the least the Blur wherewith *Suarrez's* Propositions had been branded, which concerned the Authority given by *Jesus Christ* unto *St. Peter* and his Successors. *That Author*, saith he, *was in the right to assert that I have received the Power of excommunicating Sovereign Hereticks,*

Hereticks, and even deposing them, when they are obstinate in their wicked Opinions, and when they undertake to force their Subjects to follow them.

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V.

HAD NOT JESUS CHRIST GIVEN SUCH A POWER TO ST. PETER AND HIS SUCCESSORS, HE SHOULD HAVE FORGOTTEN TO PROVIDE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF HIS CHURCH. *God forbid that I should render myself guilty of such a base Prevarication, by forsaking the Defence of the Rights of St. Peter's Chair, whereunto God hath raised me.* None but base and wicked Prostitutes to the Court of Rome can read this without the utmost Indignation, and yet it is not the worst of what he said on this account; for at another time he had told the Marquis of Trenel, that he had forbidden to teach the Doctrine of murdering Kings; *and I don't know, says he, whether I HAVE NOT BEEN TOO COMPLAISANT IN THAT RESPECT: For several Writers of Reputation in the Church, and approved by it, assert that Doctrine to be true.* However, the Court of France basely yielded, and it was with much ado that the Queen Regent obtained, after many Intreaties, that the Execution of the Parliament's Decree should be only superseded, and not abrogated*.

During these Struggles it was that the King and his Mother took the field, not only for reducing the Duke of Vendome, but also for discrediting the false Rumour which had been industriously spread abroad in the Provinces, of the King's bad State of Health, as if he was in a dying Condition. A better Success could not be wished for than that which their Majesties had in their Journies: They were received every

*The Court's
Journey
into Bri-
tany.*

T t 4

where

* Memoir. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I. Mezeray, Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I.

Lewis 13. where with loud Acclamations of Joy; bu
 1614.
 Pope Paul
 V. none shewed forth so much Readiness than the
 Cautionary Towns, and above all, *Saumur*; whereof *Du Plessis* was Governour. Their Ma-
 jesties were no sooner entered the Castle, but he
 ordered the Garrison to march out; but the
 King would not. *It is not to fight against our
 Kings, saith the Governour, that we obtained
 cautionary Places; they have been graciously
 pleased to grant them unto us, as a Shelter against
 the Hatred of our sworn Enemies. When ever
 his Majesty is pleased to honour us with his Pre-
 sence, we need not any other Shelter than his
 Presence itself.*

He had had a few Days before several Confe-
 rences with the Queen about the present Situa-
 tion of Affairs; and whereas she had expressed
 some Uneasiness concerning that Situation, he
 endeavoured to dissuade her Majesty from en-
 tering into a civil War. “ Nothing, saith he,
 “ weakens more the Sovereign’s Authority : Se-
 “ veral times I have heard the late King saying,
 “ that he had been truly King, only after the
 “ civil Wars ended. Whatever may be said
 “ to your Majesty against the Reformed, be
 “ persuaded, MADAM, that you have no bet-
 “ ter or more faithful Subjects, than those who
 “ obey out of Principle of their own Conscience :
 “ At least we have this Advantage over our
 “ Adversaries, that we do acknowledge no o-
 “ ther superior Power between God and his
 “ Majesty. The fundamental Maxims of our
 “ Religion don’t allow us to keep the least Cor-
 “ respondence with Foreigners, who may at-
 “ tempt upon the State, or incroach the Royal
 “ Authority. Give me leave, Madam, to tell
 “ you further, That they put you to a needless
 “ Expence, for practising upon some private
 “ Men

“ Men of our Religion. We know these merce-^{Lewis 13.}
 “ nary Souls; your Majesty is deceived when ^{1614.}
 “ they make you believe that they are useful to ^{Pope Paul}
 “ your Service. I will show her an infallible ^{V.}
 “ Way to get, at a very little Expence, all the
 “ Reformed Party at your Devotion. It is to
 “ order that what has been promised unto us
 “ should be speedily executed, that our Grievances
 “ should be redressed; to explain a little more fa-
 “ vourably what is ambiguous in the Edicts;
 “ to grant us certain things which may secure
 “ the Peace of our Churches, without any Pre-
 “ judice to the Catholicks. The unfeigned and
 “ fervent Zeal which I have vowed to the
 “ Service of his Majesty, obliges me to speak
 “ against my own Concerns. Do but follow
 “ the Method I have just now touched, and
 “ you shall deprive us of our Charges and
 “ Pensions whenever you please. Our Churches,
 “ easy under the Protection of his Majesty, will
 “ never take part or concern themselves either
 “ for me, or for any Lord of the Realm (v).”

Such were the Sentiments of that truly Christian Hero; there is in them so much Candour, Probity and Loyalty, as well as good Sense, that the Reader will not take amiss my offering them to his Consideration.

From *Saumur* the Court went on their Journey to *Nantz*. The Duke of *Vendôme*, seeing their Majesties in earnest, had submitted. The States of *Britany* were held at *Nantz*; and the Queen having restored Peace in that Province, and wherever she passed, returned in Triumph to *Paris*. The Prince of *Conty*, youngest Son to Lewis of *Condé* murdered at *Jarnac*, was dead during that Journey; but his Loss was so inconsiderable, that no body lamented it, not even his own Consort.

On

Lewis 13. On the second of *October* His Majesty went
 1614. to his Parliament, all the Chambers being as-
 Pope Paul V. sembled, and sitting upon his Throne declared,
 } that having begun the 14th Year of his Age,
The King's he was no longer a Minor; but that how-
Majority. ever he willeth, that the Queen his Mother
 should hold the Reins of the Government as
 heretofore. The first Act of his Majority was
 a Declaration registered the same day, where-
 in, amongst other things, he confirmed and ra-
 tified the Edict of *Nantz* in all its Articles, all
 the Regulations made, all the Decrees given,
 and whatever had been granted since that time;
 either for explaining, or executing the said Edict,
 WHICH HE WOULD INVIOLABLY KEEP (u).

How could *Lewis XIV.* affirm in the Pre-
 amble of his revocatory Edicts that neither his
 Father, nor his Grandfather, never had Inten-
 tion to keep the said Edict, or to have it sub-
 sisting, when they had promised so many times
 to maintain it exactly, AS A PERPETUAL
 AND IRREVOCABLE LAW? Let us tell the
 truth, *Lewis XIV.* having no Notion of Truth
 and Fidelity, and being used to speak one
 thing and to mind another, thought that it was
 not possible for his Father and Grandfather to
 have had other Notions than himself. But more
 of this in its proper Place.

*The Gene-
 ral States
 assembled.*

The General States, after two or three fe-
 veral Prorogations, were assembled, and open-
 ed their Sessions the 27th of *October* in the
 Great Hall of *Bourbon* at *Paris*. The King
 spoke first; then the Lord Chancellor after his
 Majesty; he was very particular upon all the
 Transactions, and the Administration of the Go-
 vernment since the late King's Death within
 and

(u) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I.

and without the Kingdom, and the State and ^{Lewis 13.} Condition wherein Affairs were then. Af- ^{1614.} ter him the Foreman of each of the States ^{Pope Paul V.} harangued their Majesties in their turn; viz. the Archbishop of *Lyons* for the Clergy, the Baron of *Pont St. Pierre*, for the Nobility, and Mr. *Miron*, Provost of the Merchants of *Paris* for the Commons. They thank'd their Majesties for having convened them; they praised the Queen for her prudent and happy Administration, and assured the King of their Fealty and Allegiance. Then each State went into their proper Hall fitted up (on purpose for them) in *Austin Fryers*, wherein they assembled every day for considering and drawing up of their Bills. In these States we find the last Gasps of the dying Liberty in *France*, a Clergy prostituted to the *Pope* and the Court of *Rome*, a Nobility blindly and basely following the Directions of the Clergy; only the Commons strove to show forth some Life, but being not supported by either of the two others, their Endeavours proved ineffectual, and no Redress could be obtained for the many Grievances whereunder the Kingdom laboured. I don't design to enter into a particular Narration of the Transactions of this Assembly, any further than what directly or indirectly concerns the Reformed. And whereas their sittings were continued to the latter end of *March* next, I shall begin the Year 1615.

Amongst other Points which were debated with great Warmth, there were three or four which very well deserve the Attention of our Reader. The first is about the Reception of the Council of *Trent*. The Cardinals and the most distinguished Prelates of the Assembly being sold to the Court of *Rome*, were more careful

Lewis 13. ful to consult the Pope's Nuncio than the Ca-
 1615. nonns of the ancient Councils: So that *Paul V.*
 Pope Paul who had found *Mary of Medicis* so comply-
 V. ing and submissive to the Holy See during the
 time of her Regency, questioned not but that
 the time was now very proper for obtaining
 the Publication of it in *France*, provided that
 the General States should be disposed to require
 it. The Court of *Rome* and the Clergy had
 oftentimes tried under the preceeding Reigns
 to obtain that, but without success, as we have
 observed in its proper Place; they did not suc-
 ceed better on this occasion. For though the
 Clergy, by their Clamours, had quite enslaved
 the Nobility, and that these two Orders were
 in a strict Union together, they met with a no-
 ble Resistance in the Commons. The generous
Miron, Foreman of their Chamber, answered
Polier Bishop of *Beauvais*, who had been sent
 to them by the Clergy to desire their Concur-
 rence with them for obtaining the Reception
 of the said Council, " That for sixty Years
 " together the Council of *Trent* had remained
 " undecided in *France*, and that it was not
 " proper now to take any pains to have it
 " published. *How many Councils have we, which*
 " *have never been published in France? And*
 " yet, says he, *we do observe the wholesome Con-*
 " *stitutions made by them. The Gentlemen of*
 " *the Clergy may renounce the Plurality of Be-*
 " *nefices, and mend the other Abuses condemn-*
 " *ed by that Council, thereby they will edify*
 " *the Publick. Their sincere Submission to these*
 " *holy and most just Ordinances, will be a tacit*
 " *Acceptation thereof. The good Example which*
 " *they will afford us thereby, shall be no less*
 " *advantageous to the said Council, than a Pub-*
 " *lication in Form. As for the rest, the House*
 " *of Commons thanks the Clergy for the Zeal*
 " they

“ they are pleased to express for the increase of
 “ the Catholick Religion. We shall endeavour
 “ to answer and support their good Intention.”

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Miron could not answer more pertinently to a Set of Men, who have so much insisted upon the Publication of their Council, in order only the better to settle their Domineering in *France*, and to introduce the *Inquisition* therein. The Clergy tried once again to win the Commons to their Interests. The same Bishop with *Anthony de Caux*, Coadjutor of *Condom*, were deputed unto them, but they persisted in their first Resolution.

Secondly, But another Affair which made a great deal more noise, was an Article of the House of Commons concerning the Independency of Kings, whereunto they desired the Concurrence of the two other Houses. That Article runs thus: “ That in order to put a stop to
 “ that pernicious Doctrine which was spreading itself for some years ago against Kings
 “ and Sovereign Powers by God established,
 “ his Majesty should be most humbly intreated, to order it to be published in the Assembly of the General States, as an inviolable and fundamental Law of the Realm: that
 “ the King being acknowledged as Sovereign
 “ in *France*, and holding his Authority from
 “ God only, there is no Power upon Earth,
 “ either Spiritual or Temporal, who has a
 “ Right of depriving him of his own Kingdom, or to dispense his Subjects, or to absolve
 “ them for any Cause whatsoever of the Fealty
 “ and Allegiance they owe unto him. That all
 “ the *Frenchmen* without exception, shall hold
 “ this Law as holy, true, and agreeable to the
 “ Word of God, without any Distinction, E-
 “ quivocation, or Limitation soever. That it
 “ shall

Lewis 13. “ shall be sworn upon by all the Deputies to
 1615. “ the General States now assembled, and hence-
 Pope Paul “ forward by all Imperfonees, and Magistrates
 V. “ of the Realm, before they should be admit-
 “ ted into their Benefices or Charges. That
 “ all Tutors, Regents, Doctors and Preachers
 “ shall be bound to teach and defend it in their
 “ respective Office. That the contrary Opi-
 “ nion, as well as that which allows to depose
 “ and murder the Sovereigns, and to rebel a-
 “ gainst them for any Cause soever, shall be
 “ declared false, impious, detestable, and con-
 “ trary to the Establishment of the *French Mo-*
 “ *narchy*, which holds immediately of God
 “ only. That all Books teaching that bad Doc-
 “ trine, shall be considered as seditious and
 “ damnable. That all Foreigners who shall at-
 “ tempt to assert it, shall be deemed Enemies
 “ to the Crown. That all the King’s Subjects
 “ who shall adopt it, of what Rank, Condi-
 “ tion, and Quality soever, shall be punished
 “ as Rebels, Infringers of the fundamental
 “ Laws of the Realm, and Guilty of High-
 “ Treason. That if any Ecclesiastick or Fryar
 “ Foreigner should publish any Book con-
 “ taining Propositions, directly or indirectly,
 “ contrary to that received Law, the Eccle-
 “ siasticks or Fryars Regnicoles of the same
 “ Orders, shall be bound to refute the said
 “ Book without any Respect, and with all the
 “ Sincerity possible, or else they would be pu-
 “ nished as Abettors of the Enemies of the
 “ States.” Lastly, They required, that the said
 Law should be read once every Year in all the
 soveraign Courts, and in all inferior Tribu-
 nals of the Kingdom, that it might be known
 and strictly kept.

The Commons were not the only publick ^{Lewis 13.} Body which required the same thing, on this ^{1615.} Occasion. The Parliament of *Paris*, being in- ^{Pope Paul V.} formed of the shameful Prevarication of the Nobility and the Clergy, who basely sacrificed to the Pope, the Honour of their King and the fundamental Laws of the Realm, declared, at the pursuit of the Attorney General, *SERVIN*, “ That being very credibly informed, that several Persons took the liberty to call in question these Maxims, from time out of mind received in *France*, and originally sprung out with the Crown, that the King don’t acknowledge any other Superior, as to the Temporalities in his own Kingdom, besides God, and that no Power in the World hath Right of unbinding his Subjects from their Allegiance, or to suspend him, or deprive, or depose him of his Kingdom ; much less to attempt, or cause to be attempted, any thing, either by publick or private Authority upon the Sacred Persons of the Sovereigns : they ordered that all the Decrees and Ordinances heretofore published upon that Subject should be renewed, and published again in all the Tribunals of their Jurisdiction, in order to keep all the King’s Subjects of what Rank and Quality soever fully certified of the Maxims and Rules above-mentioned, concerning the security of his Majesty’s Life, and for the publick Peace and Tranquillity.”

When the above-mentioned Article was proposed in the House of Commons, it was almost unanimously received with great Applause by the Deputies of the twelve ancient Governments of France. They had several good Reasons for it, but had they had only this, that two
Kings

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Kings had been consecutively murdered by miserable Wretches seduced by the Doctrine of the Jesuits and other Writers, devoted to the Court of *Rome*; that would have been more than sufficient for justifying the Proceeding of that House.

The four Faculties of the University of *Paris*, who had petitioned for being admitted in the General States as a separate Body or Order, (which however they could not obtain, being too strongly opposed by the Clergy) were of the same Opinion with the Parliament; for though the Faculty of Divinity, (which was quite devoted to the Pope, since the injustice done to the good and honest Dr. *Richer*, who some Years before had asserted the same Doctrine of the Independency of the Kings, and that the Pope was himself subject to the Councils, and for which he had been deprived of the Syndicate of the Faculty, protested by a solemn Deed, that she had no hand in the Bill proposed; though the Faculties of Physick and of Law declared, that they did not approve the said Bill; though the Faculty of Arts were divided amongst themselves, nevertheless, the Rector of the University, attended by the best affected of this last Faculty, drew up a Memoir with this Title, *The General Bill of Remonstrances, which the University of Paris has drawn up to be tendered to the King our Sovereign Lord, in the General Assembly of the three Orders of his Kingdom, now sitting at Paris.* It was added, *that the said Bill had been examined and approved by the Rector, Deans, and Doctors of the Faculties, and by the Procurators of the Nation, in the solemn Assembly of the University held in the Mathurine's Fryars.* That Bill was the same in Substance as the Decree of the Parliament.

I have no Words nor Expressions sufficient to represent the mad Pranks of the Clergy upon this Occasion, they were near to declare the Commons down-right *Huguenots*; and I don't know whether to admire more, the ignorant and shameful Stupidity of the Nobility, who, though they derive all their Grandeur from the Crown, were nevertheless so base as to join with the Clergy in a Petition to the King against the Commons, or the foolish Compliance of the King, who, at the instances of the Nobility and Clergy, and of the Prince of *Condé* himself, (who was so far concerned in the Defence of the House of Commons and of the Parliament) and by the Advice of his Mother, brought that Affair before him, and superseded the Execution of his Parliament's Decree. Nay, at a third instance of the Clergy, he was so forgetful of his own Dignity, as to oblige the Commons to let that Article drop from their general Bill. The Cardinals of *La Rochefoucault*, *Sourdis*, and *Du Perron*, were the Ringleaders in this Affair; the Impudence, especially of the two last, went beyond all Expression.

They did much honour to the Reformed, when in order to render the Proposition of the Commons more odious to the People, *Du Perron* affirmed in his Speech, that such a Doctrine, was the Doctrine of the *Huguenots*, and that the said Article had been broached at *Saumur*. Which occasioned a Letter from *Du Plessis* to their Majesties, dated the 16th of *January*; wherein he says, " That he was acquainted with the Discourses of the Clergy concerning him, as if he was the Author of the Article proposed by the Commons, whereby they wronged a considerable number of Men of Honour, who were in the same Sentiments. That as for himself, he would not deny that it had been always his Opinion,

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Lewis 13. “ that betwixt God and the King, there was
 1615. “ no other Power who could order any thing to
 Pope Paul “ the Prejudice of the King’s Authority. That
 V. “ if that Doctrine was criminal, he would not
 “ be ashamed to be charged with it, and even
 “ to suffer for it, after the Example of so many
 “ good Men in all Ages. That he knew very
 “ well, that if such things were denied in *Spain*,
 “ it would cost the Honour, and even the
 “ Life of the Opposer. That one ought not
 “ to say, that the said Doctrine was new; that
 “ they had lost two Kings in twenty Years
 “ time through the Maxims contrary to that
 “ Article, and therefore they wanted to take
 “ better Cautions for preserving the third.”

Being likewise acquainted with the Intention
 of the Clergy to oblige the King to perform
 his Coronation-Oath against Hereticks, without
 admitting any exception, as to the Reformed,
 he dispatched one of his Household, to repre-
 sent to her Majesty, of what Consequence it
 was to perform what she had promised to give
 them satisfaction by the 1st of *April*, about the
 Time and Place of their General Assembly : In
 as much as many things had been proposed by
 the Clergy in the States to their Prejudice,
 whereto even the Nobility had consented ; which
 had put the Spirits of many in a great Ferment,
 and shaken the Strength of the Edicts ; so that
 it was to be feared, was that lawful Remedy
 deny’d unto them, or delayed, lest Necessity
 should force them to seek for another.

The same Gentleman was likewise charged to
 confer with the Lord Chancellor upon the same
 Subject ; and to tell him, that it was pretty
 well known, how careful they had been to have
 the Deputies to the States at their Devotion ;
 to blot out of their Instructions whatever was
 not

not agreeable to the Court, and to hinder them from insisting too much upon things which it did not approve. So then, since they had suffered that such Articles against the Reformed should be inserted in their Bills, the Reformed had very good reasons for suspecting that the Court was willing to set the Nobility and Clergy against them. “ Or else, if the Court was seriously willing to keep the Edicts of Pacification, as they pretended, they were much concerned in hindering these two Bodies from making any such Petitions, and even in engaging them to make quite contrary ones, &c.” The Chancellor was much puzzled at these Expostulations, and could not give, for the present, any satisfactory Answer.

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Thirdly, During the Sessions of the States, there broke out a Sedition at *Milbaud in Rouergue*, on *Christmas-Eve*, in which Town the Reformed being the strongest, the Catholics, and especially the Priests, were great Sufferers by it, for the first spared no manner of Violence or Indecency, against Things and Persons sacred, as well as others. There had already been such another Sedition in the same Place under the last Reign, which had remained unpunished, either for want of sufficient Proof, or for other Reasons. But the Clergy renewed their Complaints upon this new Accident, of which the Circumstances were aggravated, in order to have a better Reason to renew the first Complaints. They resolved to speak to the King about it, and invited the two other Houses to join their Deputies to theirs, which they promised to do. They went to the *Louvre* two days before the Dissolution of the States; the Archbishop of *Lyons* made a vehement Speech to the Queen Regent, the King

Lewis 13. being absent, upon that and some other Sub-
 1615. jects. Her Majesty answered, that she had al-
 Pope Paul ready nominated Commissaries to take cogni-
 V. zance of that Affair.

The Bishop of *Luçon*, known hereafter by the Name and Title of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, made likewise a Speech against the Reformed, when he tendered to their Majesties the Bill of the Clergy; he charged them with polluting holy Places by their prophane Burials; and of enjoying Ecclesiastical Estates: He complained also of the Excesses committed at *Milbaud*, and required that Justice should be strictly done, but for not alarming the Reformed, he declared, that he only meant such as were guilty, and that as for the rest, the Clergy thought no further on them, than for desiring their Conversion, and for promoting it by their *good Examples*, and *wholesome Instructions*, as well as by their *fervent Prayers*. The Remainder of his Speech only related to the Grandeur of the Clergy, which he represented as an Affair of as great Consequence, as if the Welfare of the State had depended upon it.

Notwithstanding those earnest Intreaties about the Affair of *Milbaud*, and though it is said, that the King answer'd, that he thought himself as much obliged to revenge the *Stabbing of his God*, as the Murder of his own Father; nevertheless the Clergy did not obtain the Satisfaction they did expect. The Reason of it was, that the Reformed likewise brought a Complaint to Court of a like Violence committed against them at *Belestad* in the County of *Foix*, where their Temple was pulled down, their Houses plundered, and their Persons beaten, wounded, and otherwise barbarously used. The King receiving the Complaints of both sides much about the

the

the same time, it would have been very hard to do Justice to the one, and to deny it to the other. Therefore for avoiding greater Inconveniencies, the Court thought proper to give both Parties general Promises, and to refer them to Judges that should take a particular Cognizance of the Matter of their Complaints.

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Fourthly, In the mean time the Bills of the three Houses being ready, they were presented to their Majesties the 23d of *February*. From the beginning of the Reformation in *France*, the Clergy had spared neither Endeavours nor Money in order to destroy it, or at least to stop its Progress. And no wonder indeed. The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy could not like a Religion, which aimed not only at their Depression, and the abolishing of Abuses, and of a Superstitious Worship, whereby the Church of *Rome* had immensely increased its Riches, but also which assert, that it ought to be divested of the large Revenues which the avaricious Monks and Priests have procured unto her by their Craft. In all the former Assemblies of the Clergy, it was usual to bring to the King, a Bill of Grievances against the Reformed. If they durst not openly require their Ruin, at least they made use of all the Motives which violent Passions could suggest to revengeful and covetous Men, in order to persuade the King, that he was bound in Honour, or Conscience at least, to contain in narrower Bonds the Exercise of a Religion, which they represented as formed in the Bosom of Rebellion, and as an Enemy to Sovereign Authority. The House of the Clergy in the general States, which I am speaking of, followed the same Method. Of above three hundred Articles, whereof their Bill was composed, sixty-

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five, at least, aimed directly or indirectly at the suppression of some Privileges or other justly granted to the *Reformed* by the Edict of *Nantz*, and other subsequent Declarations of the late King. But what is to be more wondered at, is, that the Nobility, who by reason of their Birth and high Rank, ought to be more concerned in the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, than a Parcel of slothful Priests, who on pretence of a single Life, mind only how to indulge their sensual Appetites, or how to carry their tyrannical Grandeur beyond all Divine and Human prescribed Bounds; the Nobility, I say, degenerating from the Courage and Prudence of their Ancestors, blindly received the Impressions, which the Clergy were pleased to make upon them. They agreed to insert in their own Bill twenty-four Articles, which the Clergy had already inserted in theirs. The most remarkable whereof are as follow: The Publication of the Council of *Trent*, without any regard to the Edicts of Pacification; an Obligation laid upon the King strictly to perform his Coronation Oaths, against all those whom the Church hath declared Hereticks, without any regard to the said Edicts; the Restauration of the *Roman Religion* in the *Bearn*, and elsewhere; the Restitution of the Church Lands, and other Revenues to the Roman Clergy of that Province, especially to the Bishops of *Lescar* and *Oleron*, (*who lived only upon a small Pension of the Court*,) without allowing them to be employed for the use of the *Reformed*, which was stiled a *PROPHANE USE*; the inseparable Union of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Principality of *Bearn* to the Crown of *France*, with a Declaration, that all the Demesnes which a Prince should be in possession of, at his coming

ing to the Crown, should henceforward be reunited for ever to the said Crown, (*which indeed was a very reasonable Regulation, for many good reasons obvious enough to the Reader,*) an absolute Prohibition to Sovereign Courts to take any Cognizance of things relating to Faith, the Pope's Authority, the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church, the Monastical Rules, and of all that they call *Spiritual Causes*, on pain of Nullity and Abrogation of their Sentence. (*They aimed at the Parliament of Paris, who had been so daring of late Years, and especially during the Sessions of the States, as to exert themselves, and to express by Sentence, their utmost Abhorrence against the Jesuit's Doctrine concerning the Independency of Kings, &c.*) The Reformation of the Universities, and Admission of the Jesuits into them; (*that of Paris had, till then, mightily opposed that Admission, and had been supported by the Parliament of that Capital;*) the Exemption of Imprisonment for Ecclesiasticks, and leave for Bishops to condemn to the Gallies; the Accomplishment of the Marriage-Treaty between the King and the Infanta of Spain; the calling into the King's Council four Prelates, four Lords or Gentlemen, and four Gown-men, who should serve quarterly by turn, one of each Order, and that the King should order that six of the ancientest Counsellors of State should constantly attend the Council, as Ordinaries. Lastly, they exhorted the young Monarch to remember always the great Obligations he had to the Queen his Mother, for the holy and pious Education she had given him.

The three or four first Articles caused a great Uproar in the House of Lords, for the Reformed that sat amongst them warmly debated

Lewis 13. against them, and being not able to prevail,
 1615. because they were the smallest number, they
 Pope Paul refused to sign the Bill of that House, and en-
 V. tered their Protest against it. The King being
 informed of these Debates, interposed between
 the Parties; he told the Catholicks, that having
 no mind to change the Religion, wherein,
 thro' God's Mercy, he had been brought up;
 that Article concerning Observation of his Co-
 ronation Oath, was needless. And in order to
 pacify the Reformed, strangely moved by that
 Dispute, he issued out a new Declaration on the
 12th of *March*, which confirmed all the pre-
 cedent Edicts. In this Declaration, he endea-
 vour'd to excuse the said Article, as proceed-
 ing from the Zeal of the Nobility towards the
 Preservation of the *Roman Religion*, without
 designing to give Offence to any body; add-
 ing, that the Catholick Nobility had declared
 it unto him, not only separately, one after an-
 other, but in a **Body** all together, and had as-
 sured him, that they were very desirous of the
 Observation of the Edicts of Pacification, and
 had intreated him to leave the reunion of his
 Subjects to one and the same Faith to the Pro-
 vidence of God, using no other means, but
 what the Church had approved of, being taught
 by sad Experience, that violent Methods had
 only served to increase the number of those
 who had strayed from the Church, instead of
 reclaiming them. Therefore, in order to re-
 move the Jealousies of the *Reformed, &c.* he
 confirmed a-new all the Edicts, Declarations,
 private Articles, Settlements, &c. &c. granted
 to the Reformed, both by himself and the late
 King, as an Explanation, and for the better
 Execution of the Edict of *Nantz*, ordering the
 same to be observed and inviolably kept.

Richelieu,

Richelieu, then Bishop of *Luçon*, was chosen, as abovesaid, Speaker for the Clergy, he touched in his Speech upon some of the abovementioned Articles contained in the Bills, both of the Houses of Lords and the Clergy, besides several of those Peculiars to this last Order, against the Reformed; but he insisted most warmly upon that concerning the Admission of the Prelates into the King's Council and Secular Employments; he asserted boldly, that when the Kings, Predecessors to his Majesty, had made use of the Prelates of his Kingdom in the Administration of the Government, the *Gallican Church* had been more flourishing than any other: that may be true in some respect, as to the Wealth and Power of that Church; but it is utterly false as to the State, the Condition whereof could hardly be worse than it had been for above one hundred and fifty Years under the Ministry of the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorrain*, and *Guises*? He added, *far from consulting the Prelates about the Affairs of the Kingdom, you think that the Honour we have to be consecrated to God's Service, incapacitates us to serve our King, who is the living Image of God.* That Maxim uttered with great Emphasis, provoked laughing. *St. Paul*, say the malicious Courtiers, forbids one who is enlisted in the Service of God, to be busy about worldly Affairs. What then, do the Bishop of *Luçon* and his Brethren think, that that Maxim of *St. Paul* was good only for the Apostolical Times?

Another Place of his Speech was likewise much reflected upon by the Courtiers, though unjustly. He required a thing which was in itself very agreeable to the Intentions of the Benefactors to the Church, viz. That the Livings and Benefices should no longer be bestowed upon

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Lewis 13. upon Laymen as a Recompence for their
 1615. Services. *Do the Ecclesiasticks, say they, make*
 Pope Paul *a better Use than we do of the Church Revenues?*
 V.

Are not those rich Foundations every bit as well employed for the Support of the Nobility, who have wasted their Estates in the Service of the Nation, as for the Support of the Luxury and Sloth of Monsieur the Commendatary Abbot? All that was misplaced indeed, every thing must be applied to the proper use design'd by the Donor. But had these Courtiers retorted the Argument against the Bishop, and said, If Churchmen conspicuous for their Integrity, Moderation, Sagacity, and long Experience, may be allowed to sit in the King's Council, and to give their Advices upon the Occurrences of the Government, even the most emergent Affairs, if they can be admitted into certain Civil Employments, which are not inconsistent with their main Character, and don't hinder them from performing with a diligent Care, the Duties of their Pastoral Office; at least, must they not incumber themselves with any Civil Employment, such as Treasurer, or Sur-Intendant of the Exchequer, and such like, which must of course take up all their time, and hinder them from minding the Duties of their first Calling; much less can they take upon them any Military Employment, quite repugnant to the Modesty and Holiness of their Profession, averse from Blood-shed. I don't know what *Ricche-lieu* could have answer'd? But it is certainly true, that a few Years after, the same Prelate was made Secretary of State; and in the Year 1627 Chief and Sur-Intendant of the Navigation and Trade of *France*; and afterwards, Lieutenant-General of the King's Forces. During this Reign, there was in *France*, two Archbishops,

shops, namely, Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had the Command of the *French Fleet*; and Cardinal *de la Valette*, Archbishop of *Toulouse*, who commanded an Army.

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Had the Clergy obtained then all that they demanded by their Bill and by their Speaker, the whole Kingdom would have been overturned, and the *Reformed Churches* utterly destroyed; but either that their Demands were thought too exorbitant, and unjust, or rather that the Court was not then in a Condition to gratify them with safety, most part of them, which were against the Reformed, were put off to a better opportunity. However, it is certain, that these Articles, which the Clergy had drawn up in their Bill, and presented then to the King, served hence-forward as the Basis of all the Injustices done to the Churches, and of all the Persecutions they had to suffer from their bloody Enemies. Not used to be deny'd of any thing when they have once put it in their Heads, they did never desist till they had compleated our Ruin.

As the Nobility acted so unanimously with the Clergy, that they demanded almost the same things as they; Baron *de Senecey* presented their Bill to the King, and spoke but very little wiser than *Pont St. Pierre* their Foreman, in that he would not have his Speech printed.

Miron, Speaker of the Commons, spoke the last, and though his Speech was not so polite as the Bishop of *Luçon's*, there was in it a great deal more Solidity and Perspicuity, grave without Affectation, dutiful without Baseness, free without Indecency, every Man of Taste admired the just *Medium* he had taken for representing in a lively manner, the miserable condition the Kingdom was in, and the manifold Disorders

Lewis 13. Disorders that had crept into the Administration
 1615. of the Government. The Reformed themselves
 Pope Paul had all reason in the World to be well plea-
 V. sed with him, for he insisted much upon the
 due Observation of the Edicts of Peace.

The King received their several Bills, and promised to examine and answer them, and to redress their Grievances, and gave them leave to stay by their Deputies at *Paris*, till they had received that Answer; so ended the last General States, which have been held in *France*. Great things were expected from them for the Benefit of the Kingdom, and indeed had the good Intentions of the House of Commons been supported by the two other Houses; very likely they would have proved very advantageous to the Subjects; but unluckily, the Prince of *Condé's* weariness and weakness, the Lords and Clergy's Prevarications defeated all these good Intentions, and frustrated the Hopes of every true *Frenchman*. (x)

The

(x) Mem. & Lettres de *Du Pleffis*, Tom. III. pag. 682, to 732. Vie du même, Liv. III. Mezeray Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I. Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. II. 1st Part. I cannot pass over in Silence an Accident which happened during the Sessions on the first of *February*. *Bonneval*, Deputy of the Nobility of the *High Limosine*, had caned *Chavaille*, Lieutenant of *Uzerche*, Deputy of the Commons of *Low Limosine*. The Commons brought their Complaints before the King, and required Justice for that violent Breach of Privilege. The Affair was referred to the Parliament. The Nobility were offended at the Commons, for their having taken such a Step without the Concurrence of the two other Houses, and endeavoured to engage the Clergy to join with them in a Petition to the King. But notwithstanding all their Efforts, the Parliament tried the Cause at the pursuit of the House of Commons, and *Bonneval* was sentenced to be beheaded. Which Sentence was posted at the End of *St. Michael's Bridge*: *Bonneval* having been prudent enough to conceal himself, so that he could not be apprehended.

The Prince of *Condé*, who had expected to raise his Authority, by the means of the States, on the contrary, lost the little he had left by his own Fickleness and Mismanagement; (y) and the Queen caught him in the same Snare he had set out for her. She remained in possession of the Government in spite of him; and she got the approbation of the Marriages she had concluded. The Marshal of *Bouillon* had been very useful to her on that Occasion, and had served her in hopes of Preferment. But when he found that no more Notice was taken of him than before, he resolved to be revenged, and renewed Intrigues which finally ruined

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New
Broils at
Court.

(y) During the Sittings of the States, that Prince was so imprudent, as to expose his own Dignity in the basest Manner. He had had two Gentlemen in his Household, namely, *Marcillac* and *Rochefort*, the last whereof was one of his most intimate Confidants. *Marcillac* quitted the Prince's Service, and entered into the Queen's. His Highness suspecting that he did him some ill Office near her Majesty, and that he had revealed unto her some of his important Secrets, commanded all his Household to assault *Marcillac*, when they should meet him in their way, and not to spare him: He was obeyed. *Rochefort* took that shameful Commission upon him, and being attended by five Horsemen, and five Footmen, he fell upon *Marcillac* with Swords and Sticks in *St. Honore's-street*. Their Majesties having Notice of that Violence, ordered their Attorney-General to inform against, and to prosecute *Rochefort* as a base Assassin. The Prince went the next Day to the Council, he expostulated with the Queen about that Order, he owned the Fact as done by his Orders. The Queen answer'd him as he deserved. The Prince went out full of Rage. His unreasonable Passion completed the loss of the small Interest he had left in the States. The three Houses sent to the *Louvre*, and expressed their utmost Abhorrence of the Fact. The Parliament continued his Prosecutions, and it would have sard very bad for *Rochefort*, had not the Prince buckled, he most humbly begg'd Pardon of their Majesties, which being granted, *Rochefort* obtained Letters of Abolition, and that Affair was suppressed. *Lettres & Mem. de Du Pleffis*, Tom. III.

Lewis 13. ruined the Queen's Affairs : but which, at the
 1615. same time, occasioned the decay of the *Reform-*
 Pope Paul *ed Religion*, and the Slavery of *France*. The
 V. Prince of *Condé* being much dissatisfied with
 the States, and yet more with the Queen, wil-
 ingly hearkened to the Propositions of other
 Discontents, and conceived great hopes of a bet-
 ter success of his new Follies.

For which purpose, it was requisite to set
 three Wheels a-going : The People, the Par-
 liament of *Paris*, and the Reformed. He was
 sure enough of the first, their Representatives in
 the House of Commons, having received so
 little Satisfaction upon their Bill of Grievances,
 it was plain enough, that their Principals would
 highly resent it, and be tempted to seek out
 other Remedies to redress the said Grievances.
 Though there were several Members in the Par-
 liament, which were as much dissatisfied as the
 Prince, but on more noble Principles, and
 thought themselves in Duty bound, to redress
 by their Authority, the Affairs ruined by the
 false Policy and Corruption of the Court. Ne-
 vertheless, that would have availed very little,
 and they would not have stirred in his Be-
 half, had it not been for the crafty Duke of
Bouillon's Insinuations and Persuasions. That
 Lord had observed, that the Parliament of *Pa-*
ris, did not entertain an Opinion of the Ho-
 nesty and Ability of the Prince, good enough
 for engaging them to declare in his Behalf,
 when, of his own accord, he should have made
 some overt-act against the Court. Therefore
 he thought that he might better succeed, if he
 could engage the Parliament to declare the first
 in such a manner, that would necessarily oblige
 that illustrious Body to make their Address to
 the Prince and the Lords of his Party, for the
 support

support of their Undertaking. For compassing this end, the Marshal spared no trouble; he display'd all his Wit and Dexterity with such a success, that these grave Senators found themselves ensnared unawares, even those who were resolved not to meddle with this new Faction, were engaged therein against their own Inclination. The Parliament being thus disposed to undertake the Reformation of the State, they issued out a Proclamation the 28th of *March*, whereby they invited the Princes, Dukes, Peers, and the Crown Officers having a Right of sitting and voting in Parliament, and who were then at *Paris*, to come to deliberate with the Lord Chancellor and all the Chambers assembled together, about the Propositions to be made for the King's Service, the Relief of his Subjects, and the Welfare of his Kingdom. The Court was extremely alarmed at this Proclamation. The Queen, in her Son's Name, sent a Prohibition to the Prince of *Condé* to attend the Parliament. The Parliament received a like Prohibition to proceed any further, and repeated Orders to take the said Proclamation out of the Register Book. Notwithstanding all these Instances, the Parliament, at the Marshal of *Bouillon's* Instigation, drew up their Remonstrances, which were presented to his Majesty by their Deputies in the Month of *May*.

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1615.
Pope Paul
V.

After having much magnify'd the great Services done to the Nation by the Parliament, and the Antiquity of its Settlement, equal, as they pretended, with the Monarchy it self, and that the most important Affairs of State had been managed by its Directions, or that the King had had Occasion to repent his having slighted their Counsels, they upbraided young *Lewis*, for having begun his Majority by absolute Com-
mands

Remon-
strances of
the Parlia-
ment.

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mands, they told him, that he ought not to accustom himself to Actions, which good Kings, like himself, but very seldom made use of. Then, they added, that they were most deeply concerned for the Attempt made in the late States, to render dubious and problematical the Sovereign Power of their Kings, and to subvert thereby the Fundamental Law of the Realm. That in order to stop the Progress of such pernicious Maxims, and not to suffer that his Sovereignty, which he did hold only, and immediately of God, should be submitted to any foreign Power under any Pretence whatsoever, it was proper to order that the ancient Laws, from time out of mind settled in the Kingdom, together with the Decrees from time to time issued out upon the same Account, should be renewed and executed, and those who do attempt to submit his Royal Authority to any foreign Power whatever it be, should be held as Enemies of the State. Then they proposed several Articles concerning the Government of the State, the King's Counsel, the Persons to be admitted in the Administration of the Finances, bitterly complaining of the scandalous Mismanagement of those who had had the Direction of them since the late King's Death. Then they exhorted his Majesty, to preserve the Dignity and Splendor of the Catholick Religion, as far as it was consistent with the Edicts of Pacification, and to prefer to the first Dignitys only such of the Church, as were Persons conspicuous for their Birth, Learning and Piety. They required, that the Military Charges should not be sold, as they were; that the Governments of Provinces, Strong-holds, &c. should not be bestowed upon Foreigners, and several other things concerning the Administration of Justice,

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 &c. Then they most humbly besought their Majesties to suffer that their Decree of *March* last should be executed, and that the Princes, Peers and great Officers of the Crown, might be assembled in Parliament, promising to disclose several things very important to the State, and which were then concealed to their Majesties. But they solemnly declared, that if their Remonstrances were ill received, through the bad Counsels and Artifices of those concerned therein, they will be obliged for the Discharge of their own Conscience, the Service of their Majesties, and the Preservation of the State, to name publickly the Authors of these Disorders, and to publish their manifold Misdemeanors, &c. (z).

These Remonstrances had the Effect which the Duke of *Bouillon* expected. The Court was exasperated against the Parliament; the Queen could not refrain her Indignation, she vented it by very sharp Expressions which she made use of, when she answered the first President *De Verdun*. And the very next day, 23d of *May*, the King's Council issued out a Decree, whereby that of the Parliament was reversed and annulled, as abusive, and exceeding the bounds of the Power ascribed unto them by the Laws of their Institution, being a Tribunal settled only for administering Justice to the Subjects, and not for taking Cognizance of the Affairs of the Government, &c. The Duke of *Bouillon*, and others, the Prince's Adherents, questioned not in the least, but that the Parliament, highly resenting the Affront put upon them by the Court, would immediately declare themselves for the Prince; which indeed hap-

VOL. IV. X x pened;

(z) Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Liv. I.

Lewis 13. pened ; but had not the Success so much wish-
 1615. ed for, as we shall say hereafter.

Pope Paul
 V.

*The Re-
 formed so-
 licited by
 the Prince.*

There remained the *Reformed*, the Assistance whereof the Prince wanted. *Bouillon* had still a great Interest amongst them, though not such as he had had before the Assembly of *Saumur*. However, he conferred with *De Rouvray*, *Desbordes Merciers*, the two Deputies General, *Mirande* and *Bertbeville*, adjoined to them by the Churches, and who were at Court for soliciting about a General Political Assembly. He made sure of them, by shewing unto them, what means he designed to make use of for redressing the Grievances of the Kingdom, and the Advantages which the Reformed were to reap therefrom ; and in order to persuade them the better, he made them very fine Promises, as to their own private Concerns. To one of them he made him hope for the Embassy to the States of the *United Provinces* ; to another for a Charge in the Chamber of the Edict ; to another for being named General Deputy of the Reformed Churches of *France*, &c. *Powerful and persuasive Means!* as the Duke of *Roban* observes (a).

*Of Les
 Diguieres.*

The Reformed had obtained leave last Year for holding a General Political Assembly at *Grenoble* on the 15th of *July*. But they did not agree on the Place, no more than the time, because it was too short. As to the Place, they thought to have very good Reason for mistrusting the Duke of *Les Diguieres's* Probitity. He acted like a King in *Dauphiné*, and his Ambition prompted him to do any thing in order to gratify it. It is not yet decided whether he was born a Gentleman or no ; but it is certain, that by his Virtue, Prudence and

Fertitude

(a) *Idem. ibid.*

Fortitude, he had been raised by degrees from a Gendarme to be a Marshal of *France*; and in a few Years we shall see him invested with the first Dignity of the Sword, being raised to the Dignity of *High Constable*. Neither can it be denied, that by his great Courage and Sagacity he had more than once restored the Affairs of the King and of the Reformed, during the Civil Wars under *Charles IX.* *Henry III.* and the ten first Years of *Henry IV.* So that he had no Honours or Preferments bestowed upon him, but what he justly deserved. But if he cannot be sufficiently commended for his Civil and Military Virtues and Atchievements, we cannot say the same as to his Morals.

We have already seen what his Avarice prompted him to do, in regard to a considerable Sum of Money, which the Province of *Languedoc* did send abroad, in order to be laid up in a Stock for the Benefit of their poor Students; he did stop it, and notwithstanding several Instances of the Synod's, and King *Henry IV's* repeated Orders, he could never be prevailed to restore the whole. But that was not the worst of his Character. After having engaged a certain Woman, namely *Mary Vignon*, to elope from her Husband *Ennemond Matel*, a Mercer of *Grenoble*, he kept her, and had two Daughters by her. For a few Years they took care to conceal their criminal Conversation from the Publick. But when the Marshal's Lady was dead, *Mary Vignon* had an Apartment in his own House, and went by the Name of *Madam de Moyranc*, one of his Lordships. Not content with being attended and treated just as if she had been the Marshal's Wife, she wanted that Title, and would have it at any rate. But her own Husband

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. was still living, that was an Obstacle to be first
 1615.
 Pope Paul removed, before she could obtain the Gratifi-
 V. cation of her Ambition. She resolved upon
 that Murder, the Marshal himself consented to
 it. Colonel *Alard*, his trusty Friend, and A-
 gent of the Duke of *Savoy*, offered his Services
 for the Execution of that execrable Plot; he
 was accepted, and *Matel* was assassinated. *A-*
lard was soon suspected of being the Author,
 or at least Abettor of that Crime, his Intrigues
 with *La Moyranc*, were too publick. He was
 arrested by the Parliament of *Grenoble's* Orders.
 The Marshal, who had been out of Town,
 while the Murder was perpetrated, came back
 in all haste, when he heard that *Alard* was ar-
 rested. He went himself to Goal, and released
 the Prisoner, on pretence, that being a Mini-
 ster of the Duke of *Savoy*, he could not be pro-
 secuted without Leave of his Highness. The
 first President of *Grenoble*, provoked at this Au-
 daciousness, which plainly discovered the Mar-
 shal's Guilt, made much noise about it, but all
 in vain. The Court, which stood more in need
 of the Marshal than of that Parliament, obliged
 the King to the shamefullest Act which a King
 had ever done in behalf of a Subject, whereby
 his Majesty owned whatever the Marshal had
 done, in order to *rescue Alard* out of the Ma-
 gistrate's hands.

Les Diguieres went further, he gave his Har-
 lot the Title of *Marchioness of Tréfort*, ano-
 ther of his Lordships, and about a Year afte-
 he married her publickly; *Hugues*, Archbishop
 of *Ambrun*, performed the Ceremony, because
 she was a Roman Catholick; and *Les Diguieres*,
 who feigned still to profess the Reformed Reli-
 gion, submitted himself to the Censure ordered
 by our Discipline against those who were mar-
 ried

ried after the Roman Ceremonial. It is needless to relate here the two incestuous Marriages in his Family, *viz.* that of the Marshal of *Crequi*, who having married the lawful Daughter of *Les Diguieres*, married, after her Death, her own Sister, which the Marshal had had by *La Vignon* : And that of the Count of *Sault*, Son to *Crequi*, and Grandson to *Les Diguieres*, with the second Natural Daughter of this last who consequently was his Aunt by his Mother's side (b).

Lewis 15.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Upon these accounts it was, that the Reformed insisted so warmly upon another Place, being afraid, lest the Marshal would sacrifice to his Fortune, the Liberty of the Assembly, and the Concerns of their Religion. Nay, it was very likely, that the Court had appointed *Grenoble* in such a nice Circumstance, after having made sure of *Les Diguieres*, and having received his word, that nothing should be done against the Queen Regent's Will. We have seen above, that the National Synod held at *Tonneins*, had much insisted at Court by their Deputies for obtaining another Place, and a longer time, that the Provinces might be better enabled to draw up the Instructions of their Representatives in the General Assembly. They required likewise, that certain Modifications, inserted in the Brief of the Crown, should be cut off. The Court willingly agreed to a further Prolongation of the time, but refused to make any Alteration in the said Brief; and as to the Place, the Council insisted on the same, on pretence, that the Circumstances of the Affairs in *Italy* obliged them to keep fair with the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, with

X x 3

whom

(b) Vie du Connetable de Les Diguieres. Liv. ix. c. 5.
Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. ii. Liv. vii.

Lewis 13. whom the Duke of Savoy kept a strict Correspondence.

1615.
Pope Paul
V.

The Court
insist as to
the Place.

Du Plessis spoke upon that Subject to her Majesty, when the Court was at *Tours* the Year before; his Arguments were so prevailing, that she offered to transfer the Assembly from *Grenoble* to *Saumur*, being sure that such a wise and faithful Governour would never suffer any Transaction contrary to the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Service of his Majesty. But *Du Plessis*, unwilling to afford any occasion of Jealousy to the other Chiefs of the *Reformed*, thought proper to decline that Honour, and the Court at that time did not determine any thing upon that Subject.

That Great Man tried whether he could engage *Les Diguieres* to follow his Example, and to decline of his own accord the Honour which the Court offered unto him. But the Marshal was deaf to all his Remonstrances, and even he pretended to be offended at them. So that several of the Provinces, unwilling to be at his discretion, and provoked at the little regard which the Court shewed for their Instances, threatened to send their Deputies to *Montauban*, there to resolve upon the Queen's denial of appointing another Place less suspicious and more commodious; and even to chuse one themselves.

The Court
yields, and
appoints
Gergeau.

Du Plessis, sensible of the fatal Consequences that would attend such a Step, which could not be looked upon but as an open Rebellion, renewed his Instances and Remonstrances at Court, whereto her Majesty yielding, she promised to give the *Reformed* full Satisfaction, both as to the Place and the Time of their Assembly, by the 1st of *April*. Accordingly she appointed *Gergeau* a small Town upon
the

the *Loire*. But the Reformed would not agree on a Place so little distant from *Paris*, and wherein consequently the Deputies could be so easily influenced by the Court, as it had happened at the same Place under the late King.

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1615.
Pope Paul.
V.

The Marquess of *Montbrun*, Son-in-law to *Les Diguieres*, giving them full Assurances, that the Marshal would support them with all his Interest, they on a sudden altered their minds, and required *Grenoble* for the Place of their Assembly, threatening to go there of their own accord, in case they were refused, provided that *Les Diguieres* would receive them.

The Reformed desire Grenoble, which is granted.

That new and unexpected Resolution created some Jealousies at Court. But the Marshal so positively promised to the Queen to manage the Assembly to her liking, that at last she granted their Request, and appointed the 15th of *July* 1615, for the opening of their Assembly, where they met accordingly (c).

During these Broils, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Lords of his Party, viz. the Dukes of *Bouillon*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, &c. endeavour'd to procure some delay for the King's Journey to *Bayonne*, where he was to go for accomplishing the intended Marriages. But all their Artifices proving ineffectual, they left the Court, flattering themselves with this frivolous expectation, that the Parliament would side with them. Wherein indeed they were much mistaken, for the Parliament, five days after, made its Appointment with the Court. *Condé* went first to *St. Maur* near *Paris*, and then to *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*; *Bouillon* to *Sedan*; *Mayenne* to *Soissons*; and *Longueville* to his own

Retreat of the Prince, &c. from Court.

(c) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Liv. iii. Memoires du même, Tom. iii. ad an. 1614 & 1615.

Lewis 13. Government of *Picardy* ; this happened on the
 1615. 15th of *July*.

Pope Paul
 V.

Fruitless
 Negotiations
 for his
 Return.

On the 27th the Prince wrote to the King, a Letter of Complaints about the Disorders of the State. Nevertheless, the Queen Regent made the necessary Preparations for the King's Journey ; but she was very sensible of the Danger there was to leave the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, and *Paris* itself, exposed to the Mercy of the Prince and the Lords of his Party : Therefore she took all imaginable care for engaging the Prince to attend the King upon his Journey. The Countess Dowager of *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Nevers's* Endeavours for that Purpose were fruitless. *Villeroy*, Secretary of State, after two Conferences with his Highness, prevailed at last with him to come to a Treaty, which ought to have been concluded at *Coucy*. But the Marshal *D'Ancre*, Chancellor *de Sillery*, and others of the same Party, dreading for their Fortunes the Consequences of that Conclusion, once again sacrificed the publick Good to their private Concerns, and persuaded their Majesties to send *De Pontchartain* with a Letter to the Prince, dated the 26th of *July*, whereby the King declared, that being resolved to set out for *Guienne* on the 1st of *August*, he desired to know precisely, whether he would attend him or no.

Villeroy and *Jeannin* were no less surpris'd at this unexpected turn of Affairs, than the Prince himself and the Lords of his Party, assembled at *Coucy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* improved this opportunity to break the Conferences, and the Prince following his Directions, turned all his Thoughts to a Civil War. They wrote in concert to their Majesties, but as
 that

that was only a Sham, for making the necessary Preparations for beginning the War, they published a Manifesto, whereby he tore to pieces all those who had any hand in the publick Administration of the Government. That Piece went under the Name of the Prince of *Condé*, and was dated the 9th of *August*: and in order to allure the Reformed, and engage them to side with them, the Author thereof failed not to insert amongst the Grievances he complained of, the many Infractions of the Edicts of Pacification, and the just Grounds they had for questioning the Sincerity of the Court, and for putting themselves in a State of Defence against the prevailing Artifices of their blood-thirsty Enemies.

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V.

But the Queen, fully bent on the Accomplishment of the double Marriage, took little Notice of the Prince's Manifesto, and giving way to the Counsels of Marshal *D'Ancre*, the Chancellor, and others of the same Faction, she set out with the King, &c. for *Bordeaux* on the 17th of *August*, after having issued out a Declaration, for preventing the Impression which the Libels of the Malecontents could make upon the Minds of the People. It contained a full Account of all the Advances made to the Prince in order to engage him, and the Lords of his Party, to attend his Majesty in his Journey, and of the Offers made unto him to order the State's Affairs, to the general Satisfaction of every one; an Insinuation of the true Reasons of the Prince and his Adherents absenting from Court, to wit, a just Denial of several things which they required for themselves, and which were not only exorbitant, but detrimental to the publick. Then followed an Order to the Govern-

The King
sets out for
his Journey.
And publish a Declaration
against the
Prince,
&c.

Lewis 13. nora and Deputy-Governors, and to all who
 1615. held any Office in the Provinces, to oppose in
 Pope Paul their respective Districts, all Levies of Soldiers,
 V. } all Attempts upon the Cities and Towns, all
 Troubles and Commotions, and not to re-
 ceive the Prince, or his Adherents in any Place.
 Lastly, the King positively affirmed, that he
 sincerely intended to maintain Peace and U-
 nion among his Subjects, Catholick and Re-
 formed, and to cause the Edicts of Pacifica-
 tion to be strictly kept.

Its Ineffica- That Declaration in general, and the last
cy on ac- Article in particular, would have proved a
count of the very effectual means for crossing and thwart-
petulant ing the Duke of Bouillon's Intrigues in the Af-
Spirit of ssembly of the Reformed at Grenoble, had not
the Clergy. that of the Clergy convened at the same time
 at *Paris*, given too great an Advantage
 to the Friends of the Prince, amongst the Re-
 formed, and created Jealousies and Distrusts,
 even among those who desired no better than
 to live peaceably in their Religion, under the
 Protection of the Edicts.

DuPlessis's The wise Du Plessis had taken great pains,
good Ad- to instil those Principles in the Minds of se-
vices. veral of the Representatives in the Assembly
 of *Grenoble*. He had drawn up a Memorial,
 sent to the General Deputies, wherein he en-
 deavoured to make them sensible of the great
 Necessity there was, that the said Assembly
 should endeavour to render their Condition
 sure and stable, rather than to better it, that
 being impossible, considering the present Cir-
 cumstances of the Kingdom, and that it was
 more expedient to settle a good Union and Con-
 cord among the Churches, than to keep them
 in a perpetual Agitation, in expectation of some
 small and uncertain Advantages *Besides the*
Redress

Redress of our Grievances, and the Execution of ^{Lewis 13.} what has been promised unto us, did he say, ^{1615.} we must further propose some few just and ^{Pope Paul V.} necessary Articles, grounded upon the Ediēt of NANTZ, and agreeable to the present Situation of the Kingdom, lest we should be told, that we have a mind to pick a Quarrel. The Court dreads our Assemblies, she allows them with Reluctancy, if we show forth our Moderation, we shall obtain them with less Difficulty. It matters much for us, that the King should not be prepossess'd in his Youth against us. To be sure he will hate us, if he is obliged to take up his first Arms against us, &c. Our Enemies do show continually unto him the Scars, let us endeavour to make him know those who have made the Wounds, which have been cured by the late King. Let us not flatter ourselves. All the Princes of EUROPE, even the Protestants themselves, desire that FRANCE should be at peace and flourishing. And indeed, what other Weight could they oppose to the Power of the House of AUSTRIA? He told those Representatives, who visited him before they set out for Grenoble, that they ought to be very careful not to mix THE CAUSE OF RELIGION with any other whatsoever, how just and reasonable it might appear. I don't pretend, says he, to blame the Prince, nor the Lords of his Party. It is their own Business, to render their Intentions, just and right in the sight of the Searcher of the Hearts. But unto our Assemblies, it don't belong to take Cognizance of the Affairs of State. At the furthest, we may concur with his Highness for the Reformation of what is contrary to our Ediēts; Such is the King's Coronation Oath; such again is the Reception of the Council of TRENT, &c (d).

All

(d) Vie de Du Pleffis, Liv. iii. Lettres & Mem. du n.ê.nc Tom. iii. ad an. 1615.

Lewis 13. All the Deputies yielded not to these Ar-
 1615. guments. The Sermons of some Jesuits, had
 Pope Paul V. frightened many People. These fierce Preachers
 had unseasonably unravell'd what the Court
 of Rome, and the Cabal of Bigots chiefly aimed
 at in the Double Marriage with Spain. *Strange
 Things*, said one of them before the Court,
*that there should be any Catholick that should
 condemn a Treaty, the chief Aim whereof, is the
 Extirpation of Heresy!*

Why inef-
 fectual.

But for all that, *Du Plessis* would have car-
 ried his Point, had not the Clergy, (as above-
 said) took at that very time an unprecedented
 and unwarrantable Step, the most contrary to
 the Tranquillity of the State, that had ever
 been seen for many Years together. They were
 assembled only for renewing their Contract with
 the Town-house of *Paris*, and for examining
 the Accounts of their Receiver-General. But
 the Prelates and the low Clergy took it in
 their head to swear that they received the
 Council of *Trent* *. The Coadjutor of *Rouën*
 was ordered to notify the same to his Ma-
 jesty, in a Remonstrance he made unto him
 in the Clergy's Name, and to insist for a Con-
 vocation of the Provincial Councils, that so the
 Decrees of *Trent* should be solemnly received.
 The Court was not at all pleas'd with these
 unfea-

* *Du Plessis* takes notice of an Assembly of the Clergy,
 to be held about the same time as the Political Assem-
 bly of the Reformed, but he don't say a word of what
 was transacted therein. I have extracted this out of *Le
 Vassor's History of Lewis XIII. Tom. ii. Book vii.* He
 quotes for his Voucher, *Mercure François, 1615.* I have
 not seen the Book. *Benoit Hist. of the Edict of Nantz,*
Tom. ii. Liv. iv. agrees with *Le Vassor*, as to the Fact
 in general, but as to the Circumstances, they are widely
 different; for *Benoit* says, that the Coadjutor returned
 the hearty Thanks of the Clergy to the King for the
 reception of the Council of *Trent*, promised by him. I
 can't tell which of them is in the right.

unseasonable Remonstrances, and the Chancellor was vexed at them. He spoke vehemently to the Cardinal of *La Rochefoucault*, one of the chief Promoters of them, and very big words passed between them both upon that account. However, the Friends which the Prince of *Condé* had in the Assembly, missed not this Opportunity of serving him. They magnified the Danger the Churches were in of falling a Sacrifice to their Enemies, from whence they inferred an indispensable Necessity to seek their own Preservation, in a strict Union with the Prince, who was firmly and sincerely resolved not to yield, till he had obtained a Reformation in the Government, and a full Security for the Reformed Churches.

The Assembly had opened their Sessions on the 15th of *July*; and the Duke of *Les Diguières* having declined the Presidentship unanimately offered unto him by the Members, the Baron of *Blet*, one of the Representatives for the Province of *Anjou*, was named in his stead; the Rev. Mr. *Durand*, Minister of *Charonton*, and one of the Representatives for the *Ile of France*, was Assessor, and Messieurs *Bois-seuil* and *Maniald*, Secretaries. The Prince sent a Deputy to the Assembly, namely *De La Haye*, with the Manifesto he had lately published. This Gentleman set forth before them, the great and manifold Advantages which they should reap for their Churches, from their Junction with his Master; and promised them, that he would conclude nothing without their Advices. The Prince's Adherents in the said Assembly, durst not then speak their mind too openly, being aw'd by the Duke of *Les Diguières*.

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Proceed-
ings of the
Assembly
of Gre-
noble.

Lewis 13. Nevertheless the Assembly thought proper
 1615. to improve the present Opportunity, question-
 Pope Paul ing not that the King would grant them some
 V. favourable Terms, in consideration of their
 } strict Adherence to his Service. Therefore they
They sent deputed three of their Members, who met his
same Depu- Majesty at *Tours*. The Duke of *Rohan*, tells
ties to the us in his Memoirs, that out of these three De-
King. puties, *Desbordes Mercier*, (who had been for-
 merly one of the Deputies General of the Church-
 es, and was in a strict Correspondence with the
 Marshal of *Bouillon*) adhered to the Prince, and
 was a Man of a very great Capacity and Ex-
 perience in the Affairs; that the two others,
 namely, *Champeaux* and *Mailleray*, were two
 of his own Dependants; and that he knew
 not that the first was so far engaged with the
 Prince, so that, far from mistrusting him, know-
 ing his Abilities, he wholly trusted in him (e).

They presented two Bills of the Assembly
 to the King, but they were put off to *Poitiers*
 for an Answer. Amongst the Articles contain-
 ed in the Bills, whereupon they were to in-
 sist, there was one perfectly ridiculous, viz.
 to break, or at least to put off to another time;
 the Marriages with *Spain*. And indeed, as
Du Pleffis rightly observes, was it a proper time
 for making such a Demand, when the King
 was already eighty Leagues gone on his in-
 tended Journey? Why did they not make a
 greater Diligence? Why did they stay so long
 musing upon the Road (f)?

The Court being arrived at *Poitiers*, an Ac-
 cident happened which was like to break the
 Con-

(e) Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. i. pag. 45, 46. but
 instead of *Tours*, others say *Amboise*, where the Deputies
 met the King.

(f) Vie de M. Du Pleffis Mornay, Liv. iii.

Continuation of the Journey. *Madam of France*, Lewis 13. 1615. Pope Paul V. betrothed to the Prince of *Spain*, fell sick of the Small-Pox; which obliged the Court to stay in that City for about two Months. It was believed, that the Prince of *Condé* would have improved this Opportunity, for putting himself in a Condition to wage a successful War. Nevertheless he could set on foot but a small Body of Troops, which, however, was so lucky as to get off clear from the Pursuits of Marshal *De Bois Dauphin*, who commanded the Royal Army. Some charged that General with losing, by his Irresolutions, the Opportunity of routing the Prince's Troops: but others thought, that he had Orders not to engage in a Battle, but only to amuse the Enemy, till the Exchange of the Princesses of *France* and *Spain*, should be accomplished; because the Court expected that then the Prince would be more tractable.

The Deputies of the Assembly were admitted to the King's Audience at *Poitiers*, and their Bills of Grievances were examined in the Council. One of them was general, and the other particular, containing some particular Complaints and Demands of consequence. The general contained twenty-five Articles, the Substance whereof amounts to this: That the King's Independency from any other Power upon Earth, should be for the future a fundamental Law of the Realm, agreeably to the Article of the Commons in the late Assembly of the States General: That a strict and diligent Inquisition should be made about the late King's Death: That the Abettors and Complices thereof should be brought to condign Punishment: That the King should refuse to admit the Council of *Trent*: That the King should declare, that his Reformed Subjects were

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excepted out of his Coronation Oath : That any Ecclesiasticks of the King's Council, and others, notoriously suspected by the Reformed, should be challenged, whenever any thing concerning the said Reformed should be debated in the said Council : That the Catholick Clergy of *Bearn* should not be admitted into the Council of that Country ; That the Sovereign Council of *Bearn* should desist from their Prosecutions against the Deputies of that Country, for their attending the Assembly at *Grenoble* : That the said Country might be allowed to convoke at its Turn the National Synod, as the Provinces in *France* were allowed to do : That the Promises made in the King's Name to the Assembly of *Rochelle*, by the Lord *De Rouvray*, one of the Deputies General, concerning this Title, **PRETENDED REFORMED RELIGION**, and the Tolerance of the Political Provincial Councils, should be performed : That the Place of *Berger* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, who had turned Catholick, should be declared vacant, and filled up by another of the Reformed Profession : That the term for their keeping the cautionary Towns should be prolonged for ten Years more ; That the King should continue the Protection of *Sedan*, in the same Form, and with the same Pensions, as heretofore ; That the King's Council should be reformed ; That a due Regard should be paid to the Demands of the Prince of *Condé* : That in the new State of the cautionary Towns, which was to be drawn up, those which had been dismantled of late in the Provinces to the *South* of the *Loire*, should be reinstated : And two others more, concerning the King's Money for the Salary of the Ministers, and the Election of the Deputies General, that were to attend the Court.

The particular Bill was answered favourably enough. And though there were several Articles in the general; whereof the Court could have desired that the Assembly had taken no notice, nevertheless they were also more favourably answer'd than it could be expected, which was chiefly owing to the present Circumstances of the Times. The good Intentions of the Reformed for the King's Independency and Safety, were kindly received. A more strict Information about the late King's Death was promised. The Challenge against the *Roman Clergymen* of the King's Council, in the Case abovementioned, was granted: As also the King's Declaration concerning his Coronation-Oath. But as to the Title of Pretended Reformed Religion, they refused to make any Alteration in it; but they allow'd a new Form of Certificates, which the Ministers could make use of upon Occasion, *viz. I A. B. Minister of the Church settled in such a Place, according to the Edict, do hereby certify, &c.* The Attornies were likewise allowed when they should have occasion of mentioning their Religion, to qualify it, *the Religion according to the Edict.* The Creation of a new Counsellorship instead of *Berger's* was promised. The Deputies of *Bearn* were allow'd to sit in the Ecclesiastical and Political Assemblies conven'd in the Kingdom by the King's Licence. But as to the other Articles, concerning that Principality, they were not favourably answer'd, no more than those concerning the King's Monies for the Salaries of the Ministers, the Nomination of Governours of the Cautionary Towns, and of the Deputies General.

These Answers were made on the 12th of *September*, but the Deputies notified to the Assembly *But not to the satisfaction of the Deputies.*

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Partly favourably answered.

Lewis 13. Assembly, that they were not satisfactory. Ne-
 1615. vertheless they were not yet dismissed; which
 Pope Paul created great Jealousies and Suspicions in the said
 V. Assembly. They insisted for leave to return
 to *Grenoble*, but every day some Pretence or
 other was given for detaining them longer; at
 last when they desired to have the said An-
 swers deliver'd into their Hands, they were
 told, that they might set out, and that *Frere*,
 Master of the Requests, would follow them
 speedily with the said Answers to the Assembly.
 And indeed they would have been oblig'd
 to set out without them, had it not been for
Du Plessis's reiterated Instances, setting forth the
 sad Inconveniences wherewith such a denial
 would be attended. The Queen yielded to his
 Arguments, and the said Answers were deliver-
 ed unto them.

They write
 to the Duke
 of Rohan.

We have already declared the Inclinations
 of these Deputies, when they set out from *Gre-
 noble*. Now we must know, that having been
 put off from *Tours*, or *Amboise*, to *Poitiers*,
 they took that Delay very ill, thinking that they
 and their Principals were slighted. With that
 Notion, *Desbordes Mercier*, who was already
 prepossessed for the Prince, wrote to the Duke
 of *Rohan*; his two Colleagues, whom he had
 won to the same Party, did the same. They
 magnified the little Account the Court made
 of the Reformed Complaints; they exhorted
 him to espouse the Prince's Interest, and as-
 sured him positively, that the Assembly would
 certainly take the same Party.

Who fool-
 isbly resol-
 ved to take
 up Arms.

Unluckily for the Duke of *Rohan*, and the
 Honour of our Churches, these Letters found
 him in a Fit of Ill-Humour against the Court,
 because the Queen had refused to give him
 the

the Reversion of the Government of *Poitou*, which she had promised him before, with the Consent of the Duke of *Sully*, who enjoyed it at that time. The Duke of *Soubize* his Brother added new Fuel to these Discontents: he was already engaged with the Prince, and he had no rest till he had won his Brother *Roban* to the same Interest. So that, overcoming the Reluctancy he had at first of entering into a Party which he knew to be wholly managed by the Marshal of *Bouillon*, whom he looked upon as his Enemy, he yielded to the Temptation, and took this Opportunity for making the Queen sensible, that he was not a Man to be slighted. I don't charge him beyond his own Confession, for he himself owns so much in his Memoirs, and so much he owned to the Queen when Peace was made (g). As he was coming from *St. Maixant* to *St. John's*, he met a Gentleman, sent to him by Count of *St. Pol*, who solicited him to join with him for thwarting the Marriages of *Spain*, and three other Gentlemen, sent (*as hyperbolically he says*) by all the Governors and the Nobility amongst the Reformed, (*this must be understood only of some few in GUIENNE, where the Sun shines very hot*;) who invited him to the same, and named him for their General; they told him positively, that *St. Pol* would put *Fronsac* into his hands as a Pledge of his Fidelity. Lured by such a fine Show, he went into *Guienne*, where he found, to his great Surprise, that *St. Pol*, and all the Catholicks with him, had made their Appointment with the Court. Nevertheless having desired a Provin-

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(g) Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Liv. p. 45, 46, & 57.

Lewis 13. cial Assembly at *Montauban*, where the Mar-
 1615. quefs of *La Force* and some other Lords and
 Pope Paul Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion met toge-
 V. ther, they refolved, that, while the King was
 detained at *Poitiers*, because of his Sister's Sick-
 nefs, they would fet on foot an Army of fix
 thousand Foot and five hundred Horfe; which,
 however could never be effected, for they could
 not get together any more than two thousand
 Men (*b*).

*Transac-
 tions of the
 Assembly
 at Gre-
 noble.*

But we must transport ourselves to *Grenoble*,
 and fee what they were doing in the Affem-
 bly. As foon as it was known, that the Court
 was fet out from *Paris* for the intended Jour-
 ney, *La Haye*, the Prince's Envoy, and the
 Emissaries of the Marshal of *Bouillon*, did all
 their Endeavours to increase the Suspensions
 and Jealousies of the Assembly, and succeeded
 fo far as to engage them to fend in all hafte
Du Buisson to Court with Letters to their Ma-
 jesties, for supporting the Demands made by
 the Prince in his Manifesto. They boldly ex-
 postulated with the King, that he had under-
 took his Journey for accomplishing the in-
 tended Marriages against the Consent of
 the Princes of the Blood, of the Crown-Of-
 ficers, and of the greateft and wholesomeft part
 of his good Subjects. They no less boldly re-
 quired his Majesty to supersede that Affair, and
 to work out a good Reformation in the Go-
 vernment.

Indeed fuch a Proceeding, far from being
 prudent and dutiful, was rather outrageous and
 criminal. The Prince and the Crown Officers
 had a right to complain of the Male-Ad-
 ministration of the Government. To them
 it

(*b*) *Idem: ibid.* p. 46.

it belonged to insist upon a Redress of the publick Grievances. The true Interest of the Reformed was, to improve the present Circumstances for obtaining at least some more advantageous Terms for their Religion, to wait till they had seen what Course the Malecontents would take, and whether they should become strong enough, as to oblige the Queen to desist from her Pretensions; to reform the Council; and to consent to what the wholesomest part of the States-General, and the Parliament of *Paris* had required. These were the Sentiments of the great *Du Pleffis*. That Christian Hero was vexed to his very Heart, when he heard of the imprudent and rash Proceedings and Transactions of the *Gratianopolitan* Assembly; he wrote a very moving Letter upon that Subject to the Marshal Duke of *Les Diguieres*, intreating him to make use of his Authority for preventing the Mischief where-with the Hastiness of some People might be attended, and for procuring a solid Peace to the Churches. To this, he added a Memoir, which he desired him to keep secret, that is, to conceal the Author's Name, and not to suffer it to be transcribed. The Perspicuity and Solidity of his Reasons are such, that nothing of that Kind can be parallel'd with it; and had he been a Prophet, he could not foretell more plainly what happened. It is as follows.

I SUPPOSE, that all those of this Company assembled in the Name of God, and for the Good of his Churches, have his Word for the Rule of their Deliberations, and bring with them an upright Conscience, free from all Passions, and private Interests.

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Lewis 13. That they also have before their Eyes, the
 1615. State and Intentions of the Provinces by which
 Pope Paul they are deputed, and consider in their Deli-
 V. berations the Advantages, or Disadvantages
 which may accrue from thence.

That they moreover consider, that they cannot determine any thing, concerning unforeseen Affairs, about which they have no Instructions from their Principals, and on which the good or bad Fortune of their said Provinces may nevertheless depend, without consulting them; otherwise they endanger themselves, as it has often happen'd, to the great prejudice of that Union which we should, and will preserve, not to be follow'd in every Thing; because they may say, that the Majority cannot be alledg'd, except for those Things of which Charge has been given to debate.

I suppose then, that the End of this Company is the Peace and Tranquillity of our Churches, according to their Universal Desire. But because it happens very often, that when we think to keep a Medium, we run insensibly into Extrêmes, and that he that would only keep a good Countenance, finds himself oblig'd by his Adversary's Answer to come to an Engagement; I dare to say, that we ought to take care what we do, and not to flatter ourselves so much with that common Opinion, that there is no obtaining any thing from Court but by Fear; that we consider not, that the Interest of those who govern it at present is to bring Things into a Combustion, and that they will with pleasure take hold of the first Opportunity of doing it; some in order to extricate themselves from the Labyrinth in which they are engag'd, and others to gain Au-
 thority

thority by Arms, and to have the supreme Direction thereof, to which they aspire.

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Therefore that we are to fear two Things ; one, either that in order to shun a War, we be oblig'd after having us'd a very lofty Tone, suddenly to lower it, with little Credit ; or that in order to strengthen our selves, we engage in a War both unforeseen, and ill provided for, the Disadvantages of which cannot but be very great.

We insist upon the deferring of the King's Journey ; there was some Likelihood of that, before the King left *Paris* ; but our Deputies met him at *Amboise*, and Mr. *De Buisson* at *Poitiers* ; from which one may judge what Possibility there is of obtaining that he should go back, and what Means of insisting on that Article, so much the more because not only the Prince is at the other end of the Kingdom, and does nothing which can make the King turn back, but he even seems to desist from that Instance, and to rest satisfied that some Regulation might be made as to the Government agreeable to the former Ordinances ; by which means, the Foreigners should not be admitted into the Council, nor enabled to hold Offices and Benefices in the Kingdom:

And indeed, as soon as the Queen will have accomplished the Marriages, and that the Prince will find himself unable to hinder them, there is no doubt, but that the said Lady will easily satisfy him as to the rest. And there was already some Talk at *Tours* of sending the *Sieur De Rignac* to Mr. *De Bouillon*. And Monsieur *De Nevers* who remains neuter, is quite ready for that Treaty. Besides, that as the Prince is resolv'd not to attack, Mr. *De Bois Dauphin* has Orders not to engage ; which

Lewis 13. shews that neither side is willing to bring Things
 1615. into a desperate Condition; and therefore there
 Pope Paul is some danger, lest all the Odium should
 V. fall on our Churches.

Mr. *De Venevelle* may according to his Fidelity have reported what Posture he found things in, very different from what is given out; and that Party is daily seen to decay; those whom the Prince valu'd, in these Parts or elsewhere, either accepting Posts against him, or binding themselves by Rewards; which I cannot conceal, without injuring my Conscience and the Welfare of our Churches, which might stick fast to Ruins, which would be pulled down upon them.

They might, instead of that, make their Profit of this Opportunity, by making use of it in due Season, as I said to our Deputies; which otherwise is in danger of decaying and becoming useless unto them, every one doing his own Business, and ours, which we should always prefer, remaining undone. I do not here particularly lay down what we ought to be contented with; I have formerly explained myself on that Head, and what Regard they please shall be had thereto: but I say, that we should be the first Judges of what we may obtain, according to the Condition of this State, and our own; rate ourselves by what we can, and not by what we would; and they by what they can, and not by what they ought; and make it up as soon as possible, that we may not remain the only Objects of Hatred. To speak which freely, our Years must encourage us, after so many Experiences, for moderating that Heat which becomes only the Youngest.

For if walking always in those steep Places we happen to fall in the Precipice of War, the following Inconveniencies are unavoidable.

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We shall have been willing to shew forth our Union, and it will decay more and more, every one not being capable of consenting to his own Ruin.

The Deputies of the Provinces to whom Peace has been especially recommended will be disapproved on their Return, and they will be asked by what Authority they have concluded Things, on which they even had not Orders to vote.

The King will be advised to make use either of Lenity or Severity; if of Lenity, by suffering all those to live under the Protection of his Edicts, who shall remain quiet, thereby he will draw away from those who will have taken up Arms, the best part of those who might have assisted them, and so he will easily overpower them, and with the Ruins of the first Places, they will fill up the Ditches of the others; if of Severity, by prohibiting the Exercise of our Religion, and ill using its Professors in the Provinces which have no Places of Retreat, we shall in one Day lose two or three hundred Churches, and among them, some of the most flourishing ones; which within these eighteen Years we have had so much Trouble to raise out of their Ruins, in danger of never being able to raise them again; besides the Massacres which will be committed in different Places, at the Instigation of the *Jesuits*, who will not let slip that Opportunity, and will find the People every where exasperated at those, whom they will think Authors of the War.

The

Lewis 13. The good Frenchmen who would pity us,
 1615. and even side with us, if we were persecuted
 Pope Paul without Cause, will abhor us as restless Per-
 V. sons, who seek Quarrels, and cannot remain
 quiet.

The foreign States and Princes will condemn us as seditious Persons who abuse the King's Minority, seeking to make our Advantage of all the Sores of the Kingdom, thereby weakening its Councils and Strength, the only Balance of Christendom, against the Greatness and Power which they dread ; who, on the contrary, would take our Defence in hand, if any Attempt were made to take our Edicts from us.

Even the Churches who shall be left in Peace and Liberty, for the good Use which they will make thereof, will blame those who endanger it, will curse their Arms, will defame their Cause, and from thence (whatever may ensue) will proceed endless Dissensions.

After all, what may be the Events of that War, I leave to the Judgment of those who have spent forty Years together therein, who will consider what Difference they have seen between a necessary War and one undertaken without Necessity ; between the Stoutness of a persecuted *Hugonot*, and that of one who may live at his Ease ; who will consider how often our Ancestors and we have sigh'd after such a Liberty as we now enjoy : and if there be any Violation of the Things granted by the Edict, (as indeed there is but too much) we may justly and earnestly require that they be made up, and thereby so much the more strengthen and better the Condition of our Churches, but not so as to exceed the Bounds of Conscience or Prudence ; of Conscience by bringing Matters

to the taking up of Arms, which cannot be attended with God's Blessing, unless they be taken up justly, which cannot be the Case unless they be necessary; of Prudence, in venturing plainly a certain Condition against Arms stronger and better provided than ours, on uncertain Hopes of some small Advantage.

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Here one may reply, that our Condition is not certain, since this Marriage, as the *Jesuits* say, is calculated for the Extirpation of Heresy. To which it may be answered, that a Prince who weds his Neighbour's Daughter does not embrace his Councils, lay aside his own Interests, and willingly sets his own State on fire to please him; of which Examples enough may be quoted.

But I say that it is contrary to Prudence, to leap into the Fire to avoid the Smoak; to hasten one's Ruin by striving to escape it.

That we have Leisure to see the Feast coming on, and to prepare ourselves for it.

That no Good ever comes of a Combate fought by reason of Inconveniencies, and not designedly, wherein a Carriage-Horse obliges them unawares to come to an Engagement. After all, if we remain stedfast in our Duty, if they will take our Religion from us, or any thing else on which our Liberty or Safety may depend, acquired by our's and our Fore-father's Blood, granted us by that great King, the Restorer of *France*, we shall begin that Career full of Justice and true Zeal, and shall find in our own Breasts our Fore-father's Courage and Virtue; shall be seconded in our just Defence by all good *Frenchmen*; assisted by all such Princes and States as are affectionate either to the true Religion, or to the good of this State: And in a word, favoured with God's Blessing

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Blessing which we have so often manifestly experienced in our just Wars, which he will crown with Success to the Glory of his Name, and the Spiritual and Temporal Advancement of our Churches. Follows an humble Assurance of ever remaining stedfast to the Union of the Churches. (j)

Continuation of the
Assembly.

Every Thing which *Du Plessis* foresaw, fell out as he had foretold. That Memoir was dated the 7th of *September*. Few Days before, that is the 25th of *August*, the said Assembly had sent two Deputies, one into *Guienne*, and the other into *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, with circular Letters directed to the Dukes of *La Trimouille*, *Roban*, *Sully*, the Count of *Chatillon*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*; wherein after an Account given of the Situation of their Affairs, especially as to the Prince, they required of them not to engage themselves with either of the two Parties, but to remain free and prepared for executing the Orders which the said Assembly should think proper to send unto them.

Rohan desires the
Protection
of the said
Assembly.

Roban, as above said, having been disappointed by the Count of *St. Pol*, began to dread the Consequences of his foolish Design. In that Perplexity he wrote to the Assembly, and endeavoured to persuade them of the great Advantages which he expected himself to reap from his Enterprize for the Welfare of the Churches; and seeing that he had no other View besides their Prosperity, he intreated the said Assembly not to forsake him, but to own his taking up Arms and approve it, and have it approved by all the Provinces.

His

(j) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iii. Memoires, Lettres du même ad ann. 1615.

His Party prevailed in the Assembly, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the sobrest Part amongst them, and the wise Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*; not that any of them pretended that the Duke of *Roban*, ought to be forsaken to the Mercy of his Enemies, but they judged rightly, that it was very hard and unjust to expose so many Thousands of Families to the Danger of being utterly undone for the sake of one who out of Spite and Revenge had rashly attempted to involve them in the Miseries of a civil War, even without taking Advice, much less waiting for the Consent of the Assembly, which represented the whole Body of the Churches. Therefore they thought that it would be more prudent to take the way of Negotiation, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Agreement, and to reconcile the Duke with the Court, who certainly would not make in the present Circumstances many nor great Difficulties. Thereby they would avoid the Scandal which a Rupture with the Court would certainly give. That Advice was too prudent and too solid for a petulant and a hasty Youth, it did not agree with the ambitious Schemes of others, who had built their Advancement and Fortune upon the present civil Commotions. These were the strongest in the Assembly, they carried their Point, the Votes of the Majority were for owning the Duke's Enterprize, for taking him under the Protection of the Churches.

But in order fully to evince the Innocency of our Churches, and of the Religion they did profess, it will be enough to observe, that their Consistories disowned these Proceedings of the Assembly, at least in every Place where the Consistories were free and respected; so that

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Which is
imprudently
granted.

The Churches disown this Proceeding of the Assembly.

Lewis 13. that *Roban* had the Mortification to see himself
 1615. forced to renounce this time, the ambitious
 Pope Paul Title of General of the Reformed Churches,
 V. bestowed upon him by the aforementioned provin-
 cial Assembly held at *Montauban*, through
 the stout Resistance of the Ministers and Con-
 sistories of the Churches of the present and former
 Consuls and all the Magistrates of that
 City, most part whereof professed the Reformed
 Religion. And it is very remarkable, that
 during these civil Commotions, not one Sword
 was drawn out of the Scabbard in the Provinces
 of *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and Part of *Guienne*.
 True it is, that when the Reformed of the *Ce-
 vennes*, heard of the danger the Duke of
Roban was in, they betook themselves to Arms
 in his Defence; but they were obliged to lay
 them down as soon as they had taken them up,
 thro' the prudent Care and Management of the
 Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, and some of the so-
 berest of the Assembly. Nevertheless, as the
 Princes Faction thought themselves to be kept
 under too great a Restraint by the Marshal of
Les Diguieres, who spied all their Steps, and
 opposed all their rash Counsels, they prevailed
 so far, as to engage the said Assembly to remove
 from *Grenoble* to *Nimes*, which they executed
 without the King's Licence on the 20th, or 21st
 of *September*. The Marshal had a mind to
 detain them by Force, and he had even ordered
 the Gates of the City to be shut up for three
 Hours together; but upon second Thoughts,
 he left them at liberty to do what they
 pleased, and he only forbid the Deputies of
Dauphiné to follow the others. (1)

The Assem-
 bly remo-
 ved them-
 selves to
Nimes.

They send
 some De-
 puties to
 the King.

That Step of the Assembly was a downright
 Violation

(1) Vie du Connetable de Les Diguieres, liv. viii. ch. 8.

Violation of the King's Authority, which would have been attended with very bad Consequences, had his Majesty been in a Condition to right himself. They were very sensible that thereby they had deprived themselves of their Rights, and could be no longer considered as a lawful Assembly, till they were authorized by the King. Therefore they sent two of their Members to Court, to justify, or at least to excuse their Proceedings, on account of their want of Liberty at *Grenoble*, and to beseech his Majesty to approve of the Place where they had removed, or to appoint them another where they should not be aw'd by the Presence and Authority of any Governour. They met the Court at *Angouleme* the 3d, or 4th of *October*, and were put off to *Bourdeaux*. (m)

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Her Royal Highness, *Madame of France*, being perfectly well recovered of her late Sickness, their Majesties were set out from *Poitiers* on the 28th of *September*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Espernon*, attended by a Body of Troops of about 3500 Men, Horse and Foot, besides a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry who waited upon the Roads for their Majesties, with their own Retinue and Vassals. They rested two or three days at *Angoulême*, from whence they departed on the 4th of *October*, and arrived safe at *Bourdeaux* on the 7th of the same Month; the Duke of *Roban* and his Adherents, being not strong enough to make any Opposition. On the 18th the Duke of *Guise* wedded *Madame of France* in the Prince of *Spain's* Name, while the Duke of *Lermes* did the same with the *Infanta of Spain*,
at

The two
Princesses
wedded by
Proxies.

(m) Vie de Du Pleffis, liv. iii. Mem. & Lettres du même. Tom. III. ad ann. 1615. Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I. ad annum 1615.

Lewis 13. at *Burgos* on the same Day, in the King of
 1615. *France's* Name.

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 V.

A Proclamation
 against the
 Prince and
 his Adhe-
 rents.

Before their Majesties set out from *Poitiers*, they had issued out, on the 10th of *September*; a Proclamation against the Prince and his Adherents, declaring them Rebels and Traitors, if, in a Month after the Date thereof, they did not return to their Allegiance. But that hindered not the Prince from carrying on his Preparations; and indeed, having assembled his Army, he was strong enough to attempt upon several Places in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, to take *Chateau-Thierry*, and *Epernay* on the 30th of *September*, and to cross several Rivers, and at last the *Loire* on the 28th of *October*, and to join *Roban* and *Soubize* with the rest of the Malecontents in *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, &c. notwithstanding the superior Forces of the Marshal *De Bois Dauphin*: So that by that Junction the Prince's Army was increased to eleven or twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, which caused unspeakable Damages in the Provinces aforesaid; and wherever they went for about six Months, living at Discretion every-where for want of Pay; ransoming the Towns, Boroughs, Villages and Cottages, Friends and Foes; plundering and ransacking those who could not redeem themselves at the extravagant Price they had been rated to, and after the short notice of two or three days given them, beating, torturing, wounding, murdering, and a thousand other ways abusing the Inhabitants without any regard either to Age, Quality or Sex. (n)

The De-
 puties of
Nimes ad-
 mitted to
 the King's
 Audience.

In the while the two Deputies of the Assem-
 bly of *Nimes*, at the instance of *Du Plessis*,
 were

(n) *Memoires & Lettres de Du Plessis*, Tom. III. ad
 annum, 1615.

were admitted to the King's Audience on the 12th of *October* at *Bourdeaux*. His Majesty, by the Advice of his Counsel, overlooking the Rashness of the Assembly, consented to their Removal, but ordered them to repair to *Montpelier*, there to continue their Sessions; and so they were dismissed by the 16th or 18th of the said Month. His Majesty sent Orders to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, to let the Deputies of *Dauphiné* repair to *Montpelier*; and as for the rest, he approved mightily of his Conduct.

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Pope Paul
V.

But the Assembly, instead of obeying the King's Orders, remained at *Nimes*, and aggravating more and more their Guilt, to the great Scandal, not only of the Churches of *France*, but also of the foreign ones, they concluded a Treaty of Adjunction with the Prince of *Condé* in his Camp of *Sanzai* in *Poitou*, on the 27th of *November*, whereby they acknowledged the said Prince for their Chief, under very great Restrictions, whereby they thought proper to secure their own Liberty; they promised him all the Assistance they could afford, and to endeavour, as much as they could, to engage the Churches of their respective Provinces to declare and take up Arms for him; both Parties agreed not to treat with the Court without the mutual Consent one of the other.

The Assembly disobeyed the Kings Orders, and treat with the Prince.

What is remarkable in this, is, that the said Assembly had asked and obtained a Pass from the King, for their Deputies, on pretence of going to the Prince's Camp, in order to engage him to hearken to some Agreement with his Majesty. And indeed their publick Instructions, which they shewed to *Du Plessis*, carried nothing but Peace in the Front; but their secret Articles, which they were to impart only to

Lewis 13. those concerned in their Plot, were quite of
 1615. another Stamp; which indeed was a Cheat that
 Pope Paul. cast a Blemish upon their Character, and af-
 V. } forded our Enemies a Pretence of blaspheming
 against our holy Religion. However, they
 got but very little by such a Proceeding, besides
 exposing themselves to the Scorn of their En-
 mies, and to the Curse of their Brethren, es-
 pecially in the Provinces on this side the *Loire*,
 who were the most exposed to the dreadful Ef-
 fects of the War. As to the rest, the Court
 being informed that the far greatest Part of
 the Churches disowned this Assembly, and de-
 sired no more than to live quietly under the
 benefit of the Edicts, issued out a Procla-
 mation about the middle of *November*, where-
 by his Majesty declared, that he took under his
 Protection all those of his reformed Subjects
 who should persevere in their Fealty. So that
 no considerable Town took part with this
 Assembly, besides those who were under the
 Government of *Roban*, *Sully*, and other Lords
 or Gentlemen of the same Faction (o.)

*The Count
 of Candale
 turns Re-
 formed.*

A thing happened about this time, which
 contributed much to the forwarding of this
 rash Resolution. The Count of *Candale*, Son
 to the Duke of *Espernon*, having some Jealou-
 sies against his Brother *De la Valette*, whom
 he thought to be better belov'd of his Father
 than himself, resolv'd to join with the Male-
 contents; and to shew himself more in earnest,
 he opened his Design to the Duke of *Roban*, of
 turning Reformed, and of seizing upon *Angoulême*
 in order to oppose the King's Passage. But the
 Duke his Father, Governour of *Angoumois*
 and *Xaintonge*, having timely Notice of it,
 defeated

(o) *Lettres & Memoires de Du Pleffis, ibid.* tho' his Bio-
 grapher seems to extenuate the Fact.

defeated his Design; but the violent Passion he was fallen in at the hearing of that unexpected News, reduced him almost to the Point of Death. His Son was outwardly reconciled with the King, and attended the Court at *Bourdeaux*. But here, he asked leave to absent himself, on pretence of visiting another of his Brethren, the Arch-Bishop of *Tboulouse*; instead of which, he went into the *Cevennes*, turned Reformed, was acknowledged General of that Province; and notwithstanding all the Oppositions of the Count of *Chatillon*, having joined with the Duke of *Roban's* Adherents, he carried the Point in the Assembly, and obliged it to declare for the Prince, and to come to a Treaty with his Highness, as abovesaid (p).

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

On the 9th of *November*, *Madame of France* and the *Infanta of Spain* arrived both on the Borders of the *Bidassoa*, which parts the two Kingdoms, and after some Compliments passed betwixt them and other Formalities usual on such Occasions, the Exchange was made. The *Infanta*, whom henceforward we shall call the *Reigning Queen*, proceeded on her Journey, and arrived at *Bourdeaux* on the 21st, and on the 25th after a High Mass said in the Cathedral, and other Ceremonies requisite on such Occasions, the King consummated his Mariage.

Exchange
of the two
Princesses.

On the very same day the Duke of *Nevers* arrived at Court, in order to make some Overtures of Peace, which Overtures, after many Conferences and Debates, were accepted, and a Truce was agreed on, which was to last from

A Truce
made be-
tween the
King and
the Prince.

Z z 2 the

(p) Vie du Duc D'Esperton, Tom 2. ad ann. 1615. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, liv. 1. pag. 48. Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. 1. ad ann. 1615. But his Conversion was only the Effect of Spite, so he did not persevere.

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.



the 21st of *January*, to the 1st of *March* ensuing. But alas, what Truce! whereby the poor People fared much worse than they could have done by the most cruel War, because they were not allowed to defend themselves. *Du Plessis* was not spared in these Desolations and Miseries, out of spite for his Steadiness in Loyalty. And indeed the Prince had left no stone unturn'd in order to draw him to his Party; he spared neither Promises nor Threats; but his Fealty was proof against all manner of Temptations, and in the five or six Memorials which he sent to the Assembly at *Grenoble* and then at *Nimes*, and all the Letters which he wrote during these Troubles either to their Majesties or their Ministers, or to his Friends, are so many authentick Arguments of the Uprightness of his Heart, and the Generosity of his Sentiments. No wonder then if he was so much reviled, and otherwise ill used by those who could not bear without confusion the sparkling Rays of his Virtue. Most part of the Prince's Army was quartered upon the whole District of his Government, *Saumur* excepted. The Soldiery for want of Pay, became unruly to the last degree, their Officers themselves shewing them the way; they plundered, ransacked, outraged the People with Impunity, even to the very Gates of *Saumur* (q).

The Court
arrive at
Tours.

In the meanwhile their Majesties were arrived at *Poitiers*, from whence they went to *Tours*, on account of an epidemical Distemper which raged in the former, and they staid for several Weeks in this last, till they saw what turn Affairs would take in the Conferences. The
Assembly

(q) Vie de DuPlessis Mornay Liv. iii. Lettres & Memoires du même, Tom. III ad ann. 1615, and 1616..

Assembly of *Nimes*, with the King's Leave, removed to *Rochelle* by the middle of *January*, to be nearer to *Loudun*, where the said Conferences were to be held; and so, of an unlawful Assembly, they became a lawful one.

Lewis 13.
1616.
Pope Paul
V.

The Conferences were opened the 22d or 23d of *February*. The Agents for his Majesty were the Marshal of *Brissac*, *De Villeroy*, *De Thou*, *De Vic*, and *Pontchartrain*. On the other side, the Prince, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Bouillon*, *Roban*, *Sully*, &c. besides the Deputies of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, managed themselves the Concerns of their own Party. The Countess of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and the *English* Embassador were, as one may say, Arbitrators; and the Conferences were held in the Prince's House. They agreed upon a Prolongation of the Truce. After many warm Debates, especially about the private Interest of every Individual OF THOSE MIGHTY AND LOYAL REFORMERS OF THE STATE, I mean THE PRINCE AND THE LORDS HIS ADHERENTS; it would be too tedious here to relate the several Intrigues carried on in that Conference. The variety of the Prince's Adherents Designs and Interests rendered that Negotiation longer and more intricate than it had been expected. It lasted near three Months, and the Truce was more than once renewed, to the great Oppression of the poor People. I shall relate only what concerns the Reformed.

Tho' by the Treaty of Adjunction to the Prince, his Royal Highness had solemnly engaged his Word not to come to any Treaty with the Court, much less to any Conclusion, without the previous consent of the Assembly; nevertheless, he concluded it not only without their Consent, but even without being con-

Lewis 13. sulted. The Pretence of that extraordinary
 1616. Proceeding was the dangerous Sickness which
 Pope Paul besel his Royal Highness about the middle of
 V. *April*, and lasted till the said Conclusion. But
 the true Reason was, that he, and most of the
 Princes and the Lords of his Party, having obtained their Ends, they cared very little how it would fare with the Assembly of the Reformed, who very imprudently had engaged themselves in that Snare. Therefore on the 3d of *May* the Treaty was signed by the King's Commissaries on one side; and by the Prince and the Lords his Adherents, each separately in a private Instrument, for avoiding Disputes about the Precedence, on the other.

Edict of Blois.

That Treaty was published under the Title of **EDICT OF BLOIS**. It contained 54 Articles, amongst which, those which concerned the publick Good became quite illusory thro' the Course which the Affairs took; and to speak only of those wherein the Reformed were namely concerned, the 14th Article confirmed the Edicts, and every thing which had any relation to them. The next created a new Counsellorship in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be bestowed upon a Reformed in the room of *Berger*, who had turned Catholick, upon condition that he should not be deprived. The 16th, restored the Exercise of the Reformed Religion in all the Places wherein it had been interrupted on account of the last Troubles. The 17th, allowed whatever the Prince and his Adherents, either Catholicks or Reformed, even the Members of the Assembly of *Nimes* then sitting at *La Rochelle*, had done during the said Troubles. The 24th, related only to the *Rochellese*. The 47th, ordered the Restitution of the Places seized upon by the Princes

Prince's Adherents : And whereas, *Tartas* which belonged to the Reformed, had been taken by the King's Forces during the Truce, his Majesty ordered the Restitution thereof to be made instantly, and before any other.

Lewis 13.
1616.
Pope Paul
V.

Besides those general Articles, there were some private ones no less momentous than the forementioned. The first maintained the *Gallican* Church in its Liberties and Privileges. The second disowned the Pursuit of the Clergy for obtaining the Publication of the Council of *Trent*. The fourth maintained Messrs *Villemereau* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and *Le Maitre*, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer in the Possession of their Charges, whereof they had been deprived by their respective Bodies on account of their turning Reformed. The 5th, confirmed the Exemption of Taxes formerly granted to the Ministers by a Declaration of the 15th of *December*, 1612 ; which had not been as yet verified. The 7th, abolished the Remembrance of the Sedition of *Milbaud* ; and for the security of the Catholics, they were put under the Safeguard of the Reformed. By the 8th the same thing was done as to that of *Belestat*, and the Reformed were put there under the Safeguard of the Catholics. By the 10th, the great Mastership of the Ordinances was restored to its full extent in behalf of the Duke of *Sully*. The other Articles contained particular Favours granted to some private Persons. There was also a Brief of the Crown of 30,000 Crowns Augmentation for the keeping of the cautionary Towns, and for the Salaries of the Ministers, besides what his Majesty had already given them, more than the King his Father. And we must not forget here the Grant of

Lewis 13. 1,500,000 Livres promised to the Prince and
1616. the Lords his Adherents (r).

Pope Paul
V.

Which is
verified by
the Parli-
ament.

That Edict was soon verified in the Court of Aides, and in the Parliament, with some Modifications. The things granted to the Reformed would have been sufficient to satisfy them, had they been executed and performed as they had been promised. The Assembly at *Rochelle* insisted much upon a further time to remain assembled, till the Court had sent Commissaries into all the Provinces to put the Edict of *Blois* in execution; they refused to subscribe the Treaty of *Loudun*, should that Liberty be deny'd them. At last *Du Plessis* found a Medium, and propos'd a limited time of six Weeks, which being expired, they should break up without any further delay. The Proposition was accepted on both sides. And the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, in order to ingratiate himself at Court, engaged himself under his own hand to fall upon the said Assembly if they did not break up at the time unto them prescribed; and at his Persuasion, his Nephew the Young Duke of *La Tremouille* made a like Promise (s).

So that for having slighted the prudent and Christian-like Advices of the judicious *Du Plessis*, that Assembly saw themselves exposed to whatever he had wisely forewarned them of. They got nothing else but Words without effect, except some few little trifling things, and they drew upon them a larger Measure of Hatred from their Enemies. They named six Persons for their Deputies General, out of whom

(r) Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom. II. liv. iv. pag. 202. to 206.

(s) Vie de Du Plessis. Liv. iv. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. i. pag. 54.

whom the Court picked Messrs *De Berteville* Lewis 13.
 and *Maniald*, and then they broke up, even 1616.
 before the time appointed. Pope Paul

While the Prince of *Condé* was unresolved v.
 whether he should go to Court, there to reap
 the Fruits of the Peace, the Queen, being
 unwilling that he should have the Honour of
 procuring any Advantage to the Reformed,
 caused a Declaration to be issued out, concern-
 ing the King's Coronation-Oath, as they had
 desired by one of the Articles of their Bills.
 It imported, that it had never been his Intention
 to include in his Coronation Oath, those of the
 Reformed Religion, who lived in the King-
 dom under the Benefit of the Edicts, secret
 Articles and Declarations given in their be-
 half: And that in order to their better Obser-
 vation for the future, he confirmed them a-new.
 It bore date of the 20th of *July*, and was ve-
 rify'd in Parliament within a few days after.

The publick Tranquility did not remain New
 long undisturbed. The Prince coming to Court, Broils
 after several affected Delays, and having taken at Court.
 possession of the great Authority which he
 had procured for himself by the Treaty of
Loudun, was very soon attended by a Croud
 of Courtiers that waited on him, so that the
 King's Court became almost deserted. But
 what created the greatest Jealousies in the
 Queen's and his Favourite *D'Ancre's* Minds,
 was the Information they had of the disrespect-
 ful Discourses which passed against them be-
 tween the Prince, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the
 Lords of the same Party in their private Meet-
 ings. The Prince, however, at the Queen's
 Request, had taken the Marshal *D'Ancre* into
 his Protection, and had promised to secure him
 against all Insults; but upon the complaints of
 those

Lewis 13: those who had sided with him in the last In-
 1616 surrection, and who were all Enemies to the
 Pope Paul said Marshal, he had been obliged to revoke
 V. his Protection, and to forsake him; whereupon
 D'Ancre removed from Court, and retired into
 his Government of *Normandy*.

The Prince The Queen Regent, highly provoked to see
is arrested. her Authority fallen to that degree, that it
 was not in her power to maintain the dearest
 of her Creatures, without the Assistance of the
 Prince, and to find her self at the Mercy of
 a reconciled Enemy, for whom the whole Court
 had almost abandon'd her, resolv'd to arrest the
 Prince, which was executed in the *Louvre* on
 the first of *September*; he was shut up at first in
 one of the Apartments for some Days, till he
 could be safely conveyed to the *Bastile*. The
 Marquis of *Themines* and *Montigni*, who had
 been the Executors of that Act of the Queen's
 Revenge, were made Marshals of *France* for
 their Trouble. The Dukes of *Bouillon*, *May-
 enne*, *Guise*, and others the Prince's Adherents,
 having timely notice of what had been done in
 the *Louvre*, and being certain that they should be
 served after the same way, and perhaps worse,
 instantly avoided the City and retired to *Soissons*.
 The Mob of *Paris* no sooner heard of the
 Prince's Imprisonment, but they flocked toge-
 ther to the Suburb of *St. Germain*, they broke
 open the Doors of D'Ancre's Palace, pillaged
 its rich Furniture to the value of 50,000
 Pounds Sterling, for three Days together, without
 any regard for the Governour of *Paris*, and
 other Magistrates, who endeavoured to quell the
 Rioters, but were very glad to go back to their
 own Houses, for fear of the worst. The Queen
 Mother herself was obliged to suffer them to
 continue,

continue, lest she should exasperate them by Lewis 13. 1616.
Opposition.

The Prince's Imprisonment occasioned great Jealousies in several Provinces. Questioning Pope Paul V.
not but that a civil War would soon break out, Commo- tions in the Provinces upon that account.
several Lords, such as the Dukes of *Montmo- rency* in *Languedoc*, *Les Diguieres* in *Dauphiné*, *D'Espernon* in *Xaintonge*, &c. formed a Confe- deracy between them for their common Defence against the exorbitant Power of the Favourite. The Duke of *Espernon* was the first Adviser of that Confederacy: And whereas he saw himself the more exposed, as being nearer the Court, he thought it the best way to put himself in a Posture of Defence. He was willing to raise Troops, but he wanted a just Cause, or even some Pretence for it, without which he would not venture to render himself guilty of High Treason.

While he was thinking upon that, a thing The Ro- chellese attacked by the Duke of Espernon.
happened which afforded unto him the Pre- tence he sought for. The *Rochellese*, solicitous about the Consequences of the Prince's Imprisonment, thought proper at all events to seize upon the Castle of *Roche fort* seated in the Country of *Aulnix*. Here we must observe, that the Duke of *Espernon*, by his Patent, was named Governour of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge* and the Country of *Aulnix*, and upon that ground it was that he pretended to have a right of Com- manding in *Aulnix*. But on the other hand the *Rochellese* shewed forth their Privileges, extant time out of mind, whereby it was plain that none besides the Lord Mayor of *Rochelle* could be Governour of the said City, and of the Country of *Aulnix*. So that it was an old Debate between the *Rochellese* and the Gover- nours of *Xaintonge*, which the Kings Predeces- sors

Lewis 13.
1616.
Pope Paul
V.

fors to his Majesty had never thought proper to determine. However, the Duke of *Espernon* was at *Bourdeaux* when he received the News of the taking of *Rochefort*, and was very glad of that Opportunity for executing his Design; he came to *Saintes*, from whence he sent the Vice Seneschal to *Rochefort* with Orders to restore it to its Owner. Those who kept it for the *Rochellese*, answered that they did not acknowledge the Duke, but only the Mayor of *Rochelle*. *Espernon* feigning to be highly offended at it, levied an Army of about 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse; and sent word to all his Friends, not only of his Government, but likewise in *Guienne*, to be ready to come to his Assistance, that the King's Service was concerned therein. He published a Manifesto full of Invectives against the *Rochellese* (but this was only a Device the better to cover his Game,) and marched against *Rochelle* with his Troops, who plundered the Country Houses and Cottages, and committed other like Outrages.

The City, not expecting such Acts of Hostility, was then unprovided for them, and could but make a very bad Defence; and the World beheld with Astonishment that formidable City, which had been attacked in vain by so many Kings, obliged to suffer the Incurfions of a private Person, not being able to secure the Seats and Estates of its Inhabitants in the Country, and at their very Gates from the Pillage of his Soldiers. They had recourse to the King: But the Court being otherwise employed at that time, could not send them any other Assistance besides an Order to the Duke of *Espernon* to desist from his Attempt, and to withdraw his Troops from the Country of *Aulnix*. *Boiffise* brought this Order to the Duke, but he refused

Who flights
the King's
Orders.

to comply with it, and continued his Outrages: Lewis 13. 1616.
 And all the Satisfaction the *Rochellese* had for Pope Paul V.
 this time was to be certified by *Boiffise* himself, —
 that their Majesties disowned the Proceedings
 of the Duke, and even that he had Orders to
 declare him a Rebel, which Order however
 he did not execute, and he was suspected of
 double Dealing. *Vignoles* being sent by the
 Court some time after to renew the same Or-
 ders to the Duke, found him better disposed.
 Tho' he did not disarm, nevertheless he with-
 drew all his Forces from the Territories of the
Rochellese. He yielded so easily at this time, be-
 cause, as he saith himself, he was sufficiently
 revenged by the Devastation he had com-
 mitted (t).

During these Troubles, the City of *Rochelle* The Ro- cheliese
 having required the Assistance and Counsel convene
 of the neighbouring Provinces, assembled the the Circle.
 Circle, * according to the Regulation made
 at *Saumur*: (that is,) some Deputies of the pro-
 vincial Council of five neighbouring Provinces,
 to deliberate about the means of repelling the
 Duke of *Espèrnon*. Those Deputies observing
 great marks of a good Understanding between
 the Duke of *Espèrnon* and the Baron of *Vig-
 noles*, and considering that little or no effect
 was ensued from the fine Promises made unto
 them by the Edict of *Blois*, suffered themselves
 to

(t) Vie du Duc D'Espèrnon, Tom. II. ad ann. 1616,
 1617. But that Biographer forgets that *Vignoles* was
 bribed by the Duke, and instead of evacuating *Surgeres*,
 he changed only the Garrison, and put in it the King's
 Troops instead of the Duke's.

* The Name of Circle was an Imitation of that used
 in Germany, for denoting several Provinces united together
 for their common Interest. Germany was at that time
 divided into ten such Districts, called Circles.

Lewis 13.
1616.
Pope Paul
V.



to be persuaded by the Dutchess of *Bouillon*, who travelled in those Parts, on pretence of visiting her Husband's Estates and Possessions, to do something extraordinary, in order the better to mollify the Court and to humble the Duke of *Espernon*. So that the said Circle resolved to convene a general Assembly at *Rochelle* for the 15th of *April*, if by the 10th of *February*, the Garrison put by *Vignoles* in the Castle of *Surgeres* near that City, had not evacuated that Place, as the said Baron had promised. They sent to Court to ask leave in order thereunto. But the King refused to admit them as Deputies of an Assembly, which was not convened by his special Licence; nevertheless he allowed them to confer with the two general Deputies of the Reformed that attended the Court, and promised by his Letter to *Du Plessis*, to give the *Rochellese* the Satisfaction they required, tho' he could not admit by any means of their Assembly, which he looked upon as contrary to his Authority (v).

The said private Deputies being come back without any satisfactory Answer to relieve their Grievances, they persisted in their Design to convene the general Assembly, however with this Restriction, that if on or before the 14th of *March* the *Rochellese* received Satisfaction as to the Affair of *Surgeres*, the said Assembly should not take place. But whereas several of the Deputies longed to see their own Home, the Assembly gave charge to the Deputies of *Poitou*,

(v) *Vie de Du Plessis*, Liv. iv. ad ann. 1617. *Lettres & Mem. du même*, Tom. III. upon the same Year. This was nothing else but a Cavil of the Court, for by the Treaty made with the Duke of *Roban* in 1612, it was expressly stipulated, that the Provinces should be at liberty to convene the Circle upon any Emergency.

Poitou, Xaintonge and Rochelle; to convene the aboveſaid Aſſembly, or not, juſt as they ſhould think proper.

Lewis 13
1617.
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V.

The Marſhal Duke of *Bouillon* was much concerned in that Affair. He was one of the Malecontents; as aboveſaid; leagued againſt the Marſhal *D'Ancre*, and had been declared Criminal of State by the King's Proclamation, and indeed he was none of the leaſt guilty; he was the very Soul of that Cabal; and he endeavoured to ſtrengthen his Party by the Aſſiſtance of foreign Princes of whom he borrowed Men and Money. Therefore he was altogether deſirous to make an Intereſt at home, and his Lady left no Stone unturned in order to ſecure for him a ſtrong Party in the Kingdom, to the end that in caſe his other Meaſures ſhould fail, he might at leaſt be able to make his peace, or to ſave his Perſon by the Credit of a General Aſſembly.

At laſt, at the repeated Inſtances of *Du Pleſſis*, the *Rochelleſe* obtained a full ſatiſfaction. Notwithſtanding which, the Deputies of *Poitou, Xaintonge and Rochelle*, which had been left in this laſt City, appointed the general Aſſembly of the Provinces to be held at *Rochelle* on the 15th of *April*. The Reaſon whereof were the ſad Condition the Kingdom was in, having ſo many Armies in the Eaſt and Weſt on foot: The Apprehenſions of the Churches left they ſhould become a Prey to their Enemies, who were in Arms while they were diſarmed and unprepared: The mighty Influence, or rather the Tyrannical Authority which Marſhal *D'Ancre* and his Wife, both devoted to the Courts of *Spain* and *Rome*, had uſurped and exerciſed in the King's Council thro' the Weakneſs of the Queen-Mother. Theſe were ſufficient Reaſons

The Rochelleſe
obtain Sa-
tisfaction.

But for all
that a ge-
neral Af-
ſembly is
appointed
by them.

for

Lewis 13. for convening a general Assembly, wherein they might provide against the threatenng Danger they were in, besides the Non-Performance of the Treaty of *Loudun*, the manifold Infractions of the Edict of *Nantz*, which the Court neglected or cared not to redress, notwithstanding the repeated Instances of the general Deputies (u).

The Court
dissembles
its Resentment.

The Court was extraordinarily moved at this News, several Councils were held, several Propositions made for averting the threatenng Blow. Some were for issuing out a Decree, forbidding the said Assembly, and declaring Rebels all those who should be present at it, and the Place it self wherein it should be held, commanding the Parliament to prosecute them without mercy. Others proposed some milder way, viz. to grant the said Assembly, but to put it off to a longer time. However, they would not come to any Resolution before they had consulted *Du Plessis*. His Opinion was that their Majesties ought to overlook what was irregular in the Form of the said Assembly, and to dissemble till they certainly knew what they aimed at, and in the mean while to endeavour that it might have a Success advantageous to the present Circumstances. For which purpose he thought very proper to make a choice of the Articles of an unquestionable Justice included in the Bill tendered to the Council by the Deputies General, to give them a speedy Satisfaction thereon, and to send without any further delay the promised Commissaries into the Provinces. And so the cause being removed, the Effects would cease of course, &c. (x)

That

(u) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. du même ad ann. 1617.

(x) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv. Mem. du même, Tom. III.

That Advice was very well received by their Majesties and the Ministers of State; and on the 6th of *April*, *Du Plessis* received an Express from Court, who brought him Letters from the King and the Queen Mother, certifying that they were fully resolved to follow it, and to give a speedy Satisfaction to the Reformed. The Lord of *La Melleraye*, Uncle to the Bishop of *Luçon*, Secretary of State, certified the same in a Visit which he paid him at *Saumur*. *Du Plessis* told them both that the Disease was grown to such a degree for want of a timely Remedy, that now it could not be cured with Words only and Promises, that it required more real and effectual Means without Delay. The Court had nothing else in View but to get time and leisure for accomplishing the Designs of Marshal *D'Ancre*, and other Ministers, who were then at the Helm of the Government, of crushing the Princes (y). And indeed they very narrowly escaped their utter Ruin.

As soon as the Prince of *Condé* had been arrested, the Queen Mother, her Favourite, and some others of her own, or Marshal *D'Ancre's* Creatures, resolved to form three Armies to be put under the command of the Duke of *Guise*, sincerely reconciled with the Regent; the Count of *Auvergne* newly released from the *Bastile*, wherein he had been confined for Life by the late King, and known henceforward under the Title of Duke of *Angoulême*; and Marshal *De Montigni*. These three Armies had acted every where with such Vigour, and good Success, that the Princes having been beaten out of *Champaign* and *Picardy*, and lost all the Places that held for them in these two Provinces, there remained but *Soissons*, which was besieged by the

Lewis 13.
16.7.
Pope Paul
V.

The Court
raises three
Armies a-
gainst the
Malecon-
tents.

cwis 13. Duke of *Angoulême*, and defended by the Duke
 1617. of *Mayenne*. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was at
 Pope Paul V. *Sedan*, endeavouring to procure for his Party
 some Relief from the Foreigners, but with
 very little Hopes of Success; the Siege was
 pushed on vigorously, *Soissons* was upon the
 point of surrendering, the whole Party was
 very near becoming a Prey to their victorious
 Enemies, when on a sudden their Deliverance
 came from whence they little expected it; the
 Death of Marshal *D'Ancre*.

*Marshal
 D'Ancre
 murdered.*

*His Cha-
 racter.*

That Favourite had carry'd his Pride and
 Haughtiness to such a degree, that he had
 drawn upon himself the utmost Hatred, not
 only of the Princes and the Lords of the Court,
 but of the whole City of *Paris*, where he had
 caused several Gibbets to be set up in the Cor-
 ners of the Streets, there to hang all those
 whom he suspected. He and his Wife so ab-
 solutely disposed of the Queen-Mother, especi-
 ally since the Prince's Imprisonment, that she
 durst not do any thing without their Advice.
 The King's Majesty was trod under their
 Feet. That Woman never spoke of him,
 and of the Queen his Mother, but with Words
 expressing the utmost Contempt, calling the
 first an IDIOT, and the other a SIMPLETON.
 That Marshal had carried his Impudence to-
 wards the King, to the most extravagant degree.
 His Majesty had been refused a small Sum
 of 1500, or 2000 Crowns ready Money,
 which he wanted for some trifling Uses; the
 same day the Marshal attended with a great
 number of Lords and Noblemen, waited on
 him, who was alone with two Footmen, and au-
 daciously said to him, *Sir, what makes you look so
 sad? If it is because you have been denied the Money
 you wanted? WHY DID YOU NOT MAKE YOUR*

ADDRESS

ADDRESS UNTO ME, AND I WOULD HAVE GIVEN IT, EVEN OUT OF MY OWN PURSE. This happened about the middle of *March*. Two days after, he gave a further Instance of his intolerable Arrogance; He had caused a Levy of about 7000 Men, Horse and Foot, to be made in the Bishoprick of *Liege* and in *France*; and he would have the World to believe that it was at his own Expence, and that through the Affection he bore to the King and the Kingdom, considering the sad Circumstances of the Times, he was willing to keep these Troops in Pay for three Months together, at his own Charge. These Forces having joined the Army in the *Isle of France*, he wrote to the King, magnifying the great and good Services which he did to the Crown, and bragging that *if his Majesty had many Servants like himself, who would follow his Example, he would be extraordinary potent.* He caused that Letter to be printed, that the Publick might read it (z).

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Pope Paul
V.

The King was much offended at it, and all these things lying heavy upon his royal Breast, he very readily listened to the Proposal which *Luynes*, whom he had created Great Falkener of *France*, made unto him, to deliver himself out of that shameful Bondage, by the Death of that Scoundrel, who being come into the Kingdom without a Farthing in his Pocket, had fattened himself with the Blood and Substance of his Majesty's Subjects, and now was carrying it as a King, and hectoring his Sovereign Lord. Several ways were devised to compass his Ruin. The more easy, but not the more honest, was pitched upon. *Vitry*, Captain of the Life-

A a a 2

Guards,

(z) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. II. ad ann. 1617.

Lewis 13. Guards, was expressly commanded by his Ma-
 1617. jesty to arrest the Marshal when he should
 Pope Paul. V. come into the *Louvre*, and even to kill him if
 he offered any Resistance. That Order was
 faithfully obeyed. On the 24th of *April* at
 ten in the morning, as the Marshal came to the
 Queen-Mother's Levee, he was stopt upon
 the Bridge of the *Louvre* by *Vitry*, who told
 him, *Sir, the King wants to speak with you.*
Who! I? Yes Sir, said the Captain, showing
 unto him the Tip of his Staff; then some of
 the Marshal's Attendants, seeing that some-
 thing was hatching against their Master, of-
 fered to draw out their Swords; whereupon
 three or four of *Vitry's* Attendants fired their
 Pistols at the Marshal's Head, and he fell
 down dead upon the spot. Immediately Co-
 lonel *D'Ornano* went to notify the same to
 his Majesty, who waited impatiently for the
 Success; and hearing that the Business was
 done, he leaped for Joy, crying out, *God be*
praised, my Enemy is dead. Now I'm King.
 The Marshal's Widow was arrested by the
 King's Orders, and the Queen-Mother was
 commanded in his Name not to stir out of
 her Bed-Chamber (a).

I shall not insist much longer upon the Particulars of this Revolution; I shall observe only, that it is a wonder how that Plot could be kept secret for so long a time, for it was near two Months hatching, several Persons were concerned in it, and these too were for the most part People of the lowest Rank and Condition; (for the King had almost no other Persons with whom he could converse) who of course are more inclined to betray a Secret, when they have a sure Prospect of raising

(a) *Idem Ibid.*

raising their Fortunes by that means. But the truth is, that the Marshal was become the Object of the publick Hatred, and that to such a degree, that his Corpse, which was buried the same day in the Church of *St. Germain de l'Auxerrois*, was the very next day dug out by a Mob of several hundreds of People, dragged ignominiously thro' the Streets of *Paris*, hung, cut to pieces, and burnt to Ashes.

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Such was the Downfall and the miserable End of *Concino Concini* Marquis of *Ancre* in *Picardy*, Governour of *Perrone*, *Roy*, and *Mondidier*, first Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, Lieutenant-General of *Normandy*, High Steward of the Queen Mother's Household, Marshal of *France*, &c. &c. &c. If *Bassompierre* is to be credited, as indeed he is to be in several respects, and especially in what concerns this Favourite, the said Marquis had had a Foresight of his Misfortune. About five or six Months before it happened, he had told *Bassompierre*, who visited him on account of his only Daughter's Death, that he was a Man able to bear with the present Affliction, but that his own, his Wife, their only Son, and his own House's utter Ruin and Destruction which he saw very near at hand was unavoidable and that it was that which made him so sad; that his Wife's Obstinacy did put him out of patience, she refused to follow him in his Retirement, which he designed to make in *Italy*; nay, she flew into a violent Passion whenever he undertook to persuade her, tho' in the most submissive manner, and on his bended Knees. He owned that amongst the many great Favours which God had bestowed on him, that of forewarning him to retire from Business was none of the least. He was a *Florentine* of a noble Extraction, but

Lewis 13 of so dissolute a Life, that he had been several
 1617. times a Prisoner in his own Country for his
 Pope Paul Crimes; he owned that when he came into
 V. *France* in 1601 he was not worth a Penny,
 and yet, by his own Confession to *Bassompierre*,
 it appears that when he died, he was worth
 seven Millions 500,000 Livres at least,
 besides the immense Riches of his Wife *Galigai*,
 which were greater than his own, and which
 they had got especially since the late King's
 Death (b). He had all the bodily Accomplish-
 ments which may adorn a Gentleman, he was
 complaisant, of a chearful Humour with
 his Inferiours, but as to his Morals, he had
 been and continued vicious; he had been made
 Marshal of *France* without having passed by
 any military Degrees. He hated the Reform-
 ed, and had resolved their Extirpation, as
 soon as he should have subdued the Princes.
 He left but a Son who was a Youth of 12
 or 14 Years, who was made a Partaker in his
 Parents Misfortune, being deprived of his
 Titles, Honours, and of his Estate. His
 Widow was brought from the *Louvre* to the
 Prison of the *Palace* in a miserable Condition;
 she was tryed and unjustly condemned upon
 false Charges to be beheaded, she suffered
 death with a great Constancy and Resignation
 to the Will of Almighty God. Let every one
 improve this Instance of the Frailty of all earthly
 Advantages.

*Queen-
 Mother is
 exiled.*

The Queen-Mother was confined in her own
 Apartment, and had Guards set upon her,
 without being allowed to be seen by any body
 else but her own Servants, for about ten days
 together,

(b) Journal de Bassompierre, Tom. II. pag. 436, &c.

together, when at her own Request she was transferred into the Castle of *Blois* (c).

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V.

The first days of that Revolution were employed in making those Changes and Alterations in the Ministry and the Government, which *Luynes* thought proper, and in receiving the Congratulations of the Princes and Lords of the Court, of the *Parliament*, the *Town-House*, &c. The new modelled Ministers were removed, some of them sent to the *Bastile*, others exiled. The old ones *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, Chancellor de *Sillery*, the Lord Keeper *Du Vair*, &c. were severally restored to their respective Office. Young *Lewis* was sitting in the Afternoon upon his Billiard-Table, as upon a Throne, receiving the Compliments of the Court and the City upon this occasion; the poor Prince was overjoy'd, he had never before seen himself courted with such eagerness, as he was then, especially he was exceedingly delighted in repeating these Words, *Now I am King*, tho' thro' the Course of his whole Reign, the poor Prince proved to be born not for governing, but for being governed; not for commanding, but for obeying. *Vitry*, for having been the Executioner, was presented with the Staff of Marshal of *France*, vacant by the death of Marshal *D'Ancre* whom he had murdered; the others who had helped him, were more or less rewarded in proportion of their Services. But none got more by this foul Play than *Luynes* himself, for besides the Forfeiture of the Deceased Estates, Lands, Household-Furniture, and vast Treasure, he obtained his Charges and Offices that stood convenient for him; he was raised to the Dignity of

Great
Changes
at Court.

A a a 4 Duke

(c) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. II. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Tom. I. Liv. i.

Lewis 13 Duke and Peer of *France*, as well as his two
 1617. Brothers, and divided between them the Spoils
 Pope Paul V. of the Kingdom, (as one may say).

However, the News of these Changes had
The Princess Sub- no sooner reached the Ears of the Dukes of
missions to *Mayenne, Nevers, Longueville, Bouillon* and
the King. other Princes and Lords, than all manner of
 Hostilities ceased, and they came of their own
 accord and submitted to the King, without
 Condition; but the Prince of *Condé* was the
 only one who fared no better by that Change,
 he continued Prisoner in the *Bastile*, and the
 only Favour which the Princess his Consort
 could obtain, was to shut up herself close Pri-
 soner with him in the same Place.

DuPlessis's *Du Plessis* having been certified of the Truth
the King. of that Event, dispatched his Son-in-Law
Letter of *De Villarnoul* to Court, with a Letter to his
Congratu- Majesty; who was so well pleased with it, that
lation. he caused it not only to be read over three or
 four times before him and the whole Court,
 but even to be published in Print. It runneth
 thus:

“ S I R,

“ Upon this Act of your Majority, which
 “ will convince the whole World that *France*
 “ has a King, I thought it to be my Duty,
 “ no less than if it was upon a new Accession
 “ to the Crown, to send to your Majesty Mr.
 “ *De Villarnoul* my Son-in-Law, for to re-
 “ ceive new Commands, questioning not but
 “ that this Revolution will be attended with
 “ some other in the Management of your Af-
 “ fairs. The first Good, SIR, which is ex-
 “ pected from it, is Peace, which your
 “ Majesty shall be in a Condition to grant
 “ to your People, and which shall be unto
 “ them

“ them the more acceptable, that it was the
 “ least expected; nay, that you did not give
 “ them leisure to petition for it. And from
 “ thence as from a Spring will flow upon
 “ him several other Blessings, because your
 “ Majesty may consult with his best Servants
 “ about the Diseases of his Kingdom, and the
 “ proper Remedies to be apply’d to cure them,
 “ thereby to acquire in his first Years the Name
 “ of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE; and in a little
 “ time after, to recover thro’ the Restora-
 “ tion of this Kingdom, that glorious Title,
 “ (which had cost so much Troubles and Vex-
 “ ations for so many Years to that great King,
 “ Father to your Majesty,) of Arbitrator of
 “ all Christendom, and assured Asylum of all
 “ oppressed Princes and States. Forgive an
 “ old Servant, SIR, if he dares to tell you,
 “ that your Majesty is now to take care, that
 “ all Gratuities and Favours which you have
 “ a mind to bestow, must flow immediately
 “ from your own Good-will, without being
 “ solicited to it by any body soever, so that
 “ the Receiver might be convinced that he
 “ is beholden for it only to your own gra-
 “ cious Dispositions, and that all your Sub-
 “ jects might be fully satisfied, that they are
 “ to expect nothing but from your self. And
 “ as to those of the Reformed Religion, upon
 “ the Affairs whereof your Majesty has com-
 “ manded me heretofore to deliver my Opi-
 “ nion; I most humbly and earnestly beseech
 “ you to order, that those things of an un-
 “ questionable Justice, which have been so
 “ many times promised unto them, should be
 “ effectuated, to the end that those who upon
 “ several Apprehensions, are now assembled,
 “ might return into their own Provinces, and
 “ carry

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Lewis 13. “ carry along with them some Tokens of the
 1617. “ gracious Dispositions of your Majesty to-
 Pope Paul “ wards them, to the end that henceforward
 V. “ they should be sollicitous only to pray God
 “ for your Prosperity, and be ready at all
 “ your Commands, &c. I am, &c.

DUPLESSIS (d).

His Majesty was pleased to answer that Letter, and to express the greatest Satisfaction he had received therefrom ; he told him that he would never forget the wholesome Advices and Counsels he gave him, but rather endeavour to follow them. As to the Reformed, he promised him to send without delay Commissaries into the Provinces, to put in execution whatever had been promised unto them (e).

*Political
 Assembly
 at Ro-
 chelle.
 They send
 their De-
 puties to
 Court.*

Now the Assembly of the Reformed was sitting at *Rochelle*, when that Revolution happened, whereof having got Notice by *DuPlessis's* Letter, they deputed six of their Members to Court, to congratulate his Majesty on that Occasion ; and at the same time they enjoined unto them by an Article of their Instructions, to solicit for the Prince of *Condé's* Liberty in the name of all the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom ; which Article was contrary to the true Interest both of the Prince, and of the Reformed ; of the Prince, because his Majesty would never suffer that he should be beholden for such a Favour to a Party who was then formidable enough, lest he should be tempted to head them in case of any Rupture ; I say too, to the true Interest of the Reformed themselves, because knowing by sad Experience

(d) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Liv. iv.

(e) Idem Ibid. Mem. du même, Tom III. ad ann.
 1617.

rience the Prince's Character, and how he stood inclined towards them, seeing that contrary to his Oath, he had concluded the Treaty of *Loudun* without their Participation, and without obtaining for them the End they had proposed to themselves when they joined with him in the last Insurrection, it was very imprudent in them, to interfere in such a thing, from which, tho' they had obtained what they demanded, they were sure that no Benefit could accrue unto them by it; and being denied, they saw themselves exposed to the Jealousies of the Court for having undertook to distinguish themselves from the rest of the Kingdom, in a thing wherein they were less concerned than the Catholics themselves; *Condé* being as superstitiously bigoted, and devoted to the *Pope* as any of the *Romanists*.

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But luckily for the Assembly, their Deputies had no occasion for this time to make use of their Instructions, the King having absolutely refused to admit them to any Audience, until the said Assembly, which he would not acknowledge, should be dissolved; which done, he promised graciously to receive, and favourably to answer their Bills and Petitions. Whereupon the said Deputies wrote to their Principals to dispose them to submit to the King's Will; which they did some Weeks after.

They are
not admit-
ted to an
Audience.

About this time, *viz.* the 18th of *May*, was held the 22d National Synod at *Vitré* in *Brittany*, *Andrew Rivet* Minister of *Touars* was chosen Moderator, *John Chauve*, Minister of *Sommieres*, Assessor, *John Jammet*, Minister of *St. Amand* in *Bourbonnois*, and *Elijab Bigot*, Advocate of the Parliament and Elder of the Church of *Paris*, Secretaries. After the reading of the Confession of Faith, of the Discipline and

The 22d
National
Synod.

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V.

and other Ceremonies usual in our Synods, proceeding to general Matters, they ordered a Deputation to the King, charged with a congratulatory Letter to his Majesty upon the late Revolution; which Deputation and Letter, as well as the Speech of the Reverend Mr. *D'Hesperien*, Foreman of the Deputation, were very kindly received, and favourably answered by his Majesty, who wrote very obliging Letters to the Synod, wherein he praised the Loyalty of the Reformed, and gave them strong Assurances of his Protection for the future, and to observe whatever was promised to them by the Edicts, provided that they should persevere in their Loyalty. That would have been enough to satisfy them, had fair Words been sufficient to redress the real Evils they complained of.

They wrote also to the Assembly at *Rochelle*, and exhorted them to obey the King's Orders and to break up, promising withal to adhere firmly to a strict Union of the Churches. That Letter prevailed over the Oppositions of the Princess Dowager of *Condé* and her Adherents, who endeavoured as much as they could to prolong the Sittings of the said Assembly, till the Prince should be set at liberty; so that they broke up on the 7th of *June*, but not without having previously declared their Intention of supporting their Brethren of *Bearn*, if they were in any wise molested in their Rights, Liberties and Privileges.

The next thing which the Synod took into their Consideration, was a Method for reconciling together all the Protestants and Reformed known under the several Denominations of *Anglicans, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, &c.* The same had been heretofore proposed

proposed in the last National Synod held at ^{Lewis 13.} *Tonneins*. King *James* had written several ^{1617.} Letters to *Du Plessis*, exhorting him to undertake so pious a Work, with a Promise to support him with his Authority, and had desired likewise the said Synod to chuse some of the most eminent Men amongst themselves, that they might be ready to come well prepared to a Conference, if there was any occasion for it, But his Majesty had relented since that time; therefore this present Synod did not think proper to proceed any farther till they had some new Summons from the same Place; however, they named the Reverend Doctors, *Rivet*, *Chauve*, *Chamier*, and *Du Moulin*, for to consider what Method would be the properest for obtaining the desired End, being charged withal, that in case they were required by the King of *England*, to sit upon that Business, they should repair to *Saumur*, there to take the Advices of *Du Plessis*, of the Pastors of that Church, and the Professors in Divinity of that Academy; which however was never executed, several other Affairs occurring, this was let drop.

Another thing which the Synod took into its Consideration, was the Disputes between the *Gomarists* and the *Arminians*, which were very rife, and carried with great Heats and Animosities thro' the Pride of the Divines of both Parties, but more especially of the first, and were very near to occasion the utter Ruin of the *Seven United Provinces*, as we shall say hereafter. But this Synod did not think proper to interfere any farther in that Matter, only *Du Plessis* was desired to impart his wholesome Advices to those of the said *Provinces* who did require them. That Lord thought
that

Lewis 13. that it was dangerous to decide any thing upon
 1617. the main Point, because that was of such a
 Pope Paul Consequence that a Schism might ensue, which
 V. was to be avoided by all means ; that it was
 more expedient to insist with the sovereign
 Magistrate for obtaining a National Synod : and
 whereas the Churches of the same Profession in
*England, France, Palatinate, Switzerland, Gene-
 va, &c.* were concerned therein, they ought to
 be exhorted to send some of their Divines, pru-
 dent and moderate, to be Umpires between the
 contending Parties. His Advice was partly
 followed, a National Synod was appointed
 for the next year, foreign Churches were in-
 vited to send some of their best Divines, to
 assist in it ; but after all, the Physick proved
 worse than the Disease.

Another thing which was thought worth
 the Synod's Attention, was the Divisions that
 grew very rife amongst the Churches of the
 Kingdom, but more especially in the *southern*
 Provinces. It would have been very desirable,
 that the Union of the Churches should have
 been restrained under certain general Points
 common to every one, such as the Defence and
 keeping of our Religion, under the Benefit of
 the Edicts, Concessions, Liberties, and Privi-
 leges granted us by the King. But the Mem-
 bers of the Synod having no positive Instructi-
 ons upon that matter from their Principals ;
 and besides that, dreading lest the Physick
 should prove too strong for the Constitution of
 the Patient, they did put it off for another
 time, and all the Representatives were ex-
 horted to take care lest no Church in their
 respective Provinces should inconsiderately en-
 gage in State Parties ; Ministers were for-
 bidden under severe Penalties, to intermeddle
 themselves

themselves with state or political Affairs in their Sermons.

The Synod received several Petitions of several Towns and Provinces, craving for Relief in their great Wants; amongst others the Town of *Sancerre*, which was a cautionary one, was most unjustly persecuted by the Count of *Marans*, Lord of the Manor, not the Inhabitants should refuse to pay their Rent and Duties unto him, but only because they would not suffer him to command in the Town, that being contrary to their own Privileges: So that the said Count had vexed, and continued to vex them in a thousand ways more unjust and cruel one than another. Now that Town being a great deal more large than rich, the Inhabitants were almost brought into beggary thro' the continual Resistance whereto they had been obliged against the Violences of the said Lord. Therefore the Synod, taking their sad Condition into their Consideration, provided for them such a Supply as their own Circumstances and Abilities could afford. They did the same for the Churches of *Issoire* and of the whole Province of *Auvergne*, who were cruelly persecuted, and unable to support the Ministry amongst them on account of their Poverty. As to the Churches of the County of *Foix*, the Synod thought not proper to relieve them otherwise than by recommending their Case to the General Deputies of the Reformed attending the Court, because the Matter in question was rather Civil than Ecclesiastical. *Provence* was likewise exposed to great Vexations. The Churches in that Province, tho' few in Number, were much divided amongst themselves, and the Catholicks knew very well how to improve these Divisions, which they

Lewis 1
1617.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13 they themselves had occasioned, and took care
 1617. to foment, to their best advantage. The Synod
 Pope Paul recommended all these Affairs to the Care and
 V. Prudence of the general Deputies, and they
 did not forget the Edict of Exemption of
 Taxes for the Ministers, granted five years
 before, but not as yet verified.

They made several wise and good Regulations which might have proved very beneficial to the Churches, had they been put thoroughly in execution, and they ended their Sessions on the 18th of June, having sat a full Month (e).

In the while, *Luynes*, who had the King's
 Conscience as well as his Kingdom at his dis-
 posal, removed the Jesuit *Cotton* from being
 Confessor to his Majesty, for his adhering too
 warmly to the Queen-Mother's Interest, and
 put in his stead the Jesuit *Arnoux*, thinking
 that he would absolutely be his Dependant,
 wherein indeed he was much mistaken,

However, that Man, known at Court by
 some Conferences, and Sermons, whereby he
 had got some Reputation, took it in his head
 to attack our Confession of Faith, and to assert
 in a Sermon preached before the King at *Fontainbleau*, that the Passages of Scriptures quoted in the Margin of the said Confession were falsely quoted. Such a Charge could not be left unanswered, especially in a Court where there were so many Officers and Lords professing our Religion, who waited upon the King. So that, on account of the Disputes occasioned by that Sermon, Jesuit *Arnoux* who had no mind to recant, drew up a Catalogue of the Falshoods he pretended to discover in the said Confession, and delivered it to a Reformed Gentleman, who desired

(e) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv. Lett. & Mem. du même, Tom. III. ad ann. 1617. Quick's Synodicon, Tom. I.

Cotton the
 King's
 Confessor
 removed,
 and Ar-
 noux
 put in his
 stead.

He
 preaches
 a seditious
 Sermon at
 Court.

desired to have it, that he might put it in the hands of the Reverend Mr. *Du Moulin*.

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The Ministers were not as yet reduced to suffer every thing without making a Defence. Moreover, they were stedfast and vigorous in their Answers, especially when they met a Jesuit in their way, they never fail'd to speak of the Merits of his Sect. Therefore *Du Moulin*, who had a sprightly Wit, a fruitful Imagination, a Heart full of Zeal, and who, as it has been owned by his very Adversaries, wrote with much Politeness as Force and Easiness, was not long before he answered the Jesuit, having first consulted the Reverend Messrs. *Montigni, Durant, Mestrezat*, his Colleagues in the Church of *Charenton*. That Answer bore this Title; DEFENSE DE LA CONFES- SION DE FOY DES EGLISES REFORME'ES DE FRANCE, CONTRE LES ACCUSATIONS DU SIEUR ARNOUX JESUITE, &c. which was dedicated to the King. They mentioned in the Dedicatory Epistle, the great Services the Reformed had done to the State; and they used the Jesuits in the same manner as every Person of Honour had used them till then. They did not forget the last General Estates held at *Paris*, and the Controversies moved therein concerning the Independency of Kings, and the bad Success thereof, thro' the Management of the Clergy and their Faction.

Du Mou-
lin's An-
swer.

Arnoux and his Brethren the Jesuits, nettled at this Letter, made a great noise about it; so, that as soon as the Book came out from the Press, they informed against it, against the Author, and against the Printer. The Lieu- tenant-Civil, having first taken Cognizance of it, that Affair was soon after removed before the Parliament, which occasioned a Debate in

He is pro-
secuted
for it.

Lewis 13. point of Jurisdiction between the great Cham-
 1617. ber, and the Chamber of the Edict; the first
 Pope Paul. pretended to retain the Cause, supposing it was
 V. of a civil Nature; and the other would have
 it try'd before them, as being an Affair of Religion. These Debates were determined by a Decree of the King's Council, dated July the 20th, which referred the Cause to the King: And within a Fort'night after it, another Decree was made, wherein the King forbad the dedicating of any Book to him, without his express Licence. Till this time there is nothing to say against the Reverend Mr. *Benoir's* Relation of this particular Fact; but I own that I question much the truth of the Sentence which follows; which suppressed the Book of the Ministers, forbad the reading of it, or to keep it under certain Penalties; and ordered the Provost of *Paris* to *prosecute* the Printer thereof. A severe Sentence indeed! Very contrary to what *Du Plessis* insinuates of the King's Mildness in this Affair. In one of his Letters to the Reverend Mr. *Rivet*, dated from *Saumur* the 30th of July, 1617. he tells him, that notwithstanding the ill Offices done to the Ministers abovenamed by their Enemies, in order to exasperate the King against them, nevertheless his Majesty had been very favourable to them, having brought their Affair before him. And in another to the Reverend Doctor *Turretini*, dated the 2d of August, speaking upon the same Affair: *The Ill-will of several against them (the four Ministers) has been manifested, but his Majesty's Goodness has provided against it (f)*. How so? sure it cannot be by such a Sentence as that above expressed.

About

(f) *Lettres et Mem. de Du Plessis*, Tom. III. ad ann. 1617.

About the same time that the late mentioned Synod held their Sessions at *Vitré*, the Clergy were assembled at *Paris*, and strenuously pursued the Design laid by them in the last General States, to the utter Extirpation of the Reformed Religion in *France*. *Dinet*, Bishop of *Mâcons* made a Speech to the King, on the 2d of *June*, at the head of the Deputies of that Body; and it is very easy to judge by the Style thereof, that the Catholics were no longer inclined to deal equitably with the Reformed. He nick-named them *Monsters*, stiled their Church a *Concubine*, and compared it to *Agar*. He boldly asserted that the Catholics were happier under the *Turks*, where the free Exercise of their Religion was allowed, than in those Places where the *Reformed* were Masters; and plainly declared that the Clergy dissembled with them, and only tolerated them for peace-sake. Amongst the several Complaints he made, he brought again upon the Carpet the Use that was made in *Bearn* of the Lands and Estates formerly belonging to the Church. He spoke about that in the most violent manner, as if it had been a horrid Sacrilege, to apply to the use of the Reformed Churches and Colleges, those Estates which had been so justly forfeited, and taken away 50 Years before from those who possessed them formerly, and who by their Plots and monstrous Treasons against their lawful Sovereign, had justly deserved the most severe Punishments. To move pity the more, he desired that Mass might be restored in above one hundred Parishes of that Principality, affirming with as much boldness, as if he had spoken the Truth, that out of 30 Persons in that Province there were 25 Catholics; whereas by the best Accounts

Lewis 13.
1617.
Pope Paul
V.
} Assembly
of the
Clergy.

Lewis 13. we have of the State of *Bearn* in the worst of
 16. 7. times for the Reformed, which was three or
 Pope Paul four Years before the repealing of the Edict
 V. of *Nantz*, it is plain that out of about 33,000
 Families that inhabited in that Province, there
 were no less than 7,000 professing the Re-
 formed Religion.

An Edict of the Council for restoring the Roman Religion, &c. in Bearn. The Bishop's Speech proved efficacious in this respect. The Court was resolved beforehand to satisfy him, and to sacrifice the *Bearnese* to the Passion of the Clergy. *Du Vair*, Lord Keeper of the Seal, countenanced the Catholicicks with all his Interest, if *Du Plessis's* Biographer is to be credited; so that an Edict was published on the 23d of *June*, restoring the *Roman Catholick Religion* in *Bearn*, and the *Roman Clergy* in their Churches and Estates.

Cospean's Speech. The Remonstrances made by *Cospean*, Bishop of *Aire*, at the end of their Sessions, tho' finer and more eloquent, was no less virulent against the Reformed; he touched at the end of his Speech, the Affair of the four Ministers of *Charenton*. *Impiety*, says he, *speaks louder than ever. The Ministers of Irreligion and Falshood, in a Letter which they had had the Impudence to direct to your Majesty, dare to charge us with their Crimes, and to impose upon the Spouse of Jesus Christ, the Disobedience and the Felonies of the Whore of Satan. We shall always force them to quit the Lists in what concerns the Cause of God, of Faith, and Religion; every one knows that they quitted it at Mantes*, and at Fontainbleau †.* The ridiculousness of all these Vapourings are obvious to every one, I need not to add any thing further. *As to what concerns, says the Bishop, the Fealty and Submission which we owe to the Kings our Sovereigns; we are*

* *The Slam Conference for King Henry's Conversion, held at Mante, 1594.*
 † *The Conference between Du Plessis, and Du Perron held at Fontainbleau, in 1600.*

are not to dread the Reproaches of any Prince, which is not prepossessed with Passion by a contrary Religion. Whereas our Adversaries will never blot out the Stain which the King of England, (James I.) has cast upon their Fealty, when he loudly exclaimed that they had sought to destroy him before he was born, and to deprive him of the Light of Life before he had seen the Sun's, by endeavouring to stifle him with his own Mother. I will not trouble my self to inquire whether the Fact here related is true or not; let us suppose it true, for God's sake, what is that to us, if two or three Dozen, or if you will, two or three hundred thousand Fanaticks or impious Men have attempted upon their Sovereign's Life; were they countenanced in it by the Doctrine or Discipline of the Reformed Churches? Were they not condemned and detested by all true Professors of the Reformation, either in this or foreign Countries? But with what assurance could that Prelate speak so before an Audience, Part whereof had been Eye-Witnesses of the furious Prangs of the League against the Kings *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* their lawful Sovereign; they had heard or read the great Encomiums bestowed upon the Murderer of *Henry III.* either in Sermons preached from the Pulpit, or in Books printed and published by Authority at *Paris.* The Remembrance of the Gun-Powder Treason, and the Endeavours of *Paul V.* for hindering the *Catholick* Subjects of the King of *England* from taking such an Oath of Allegiance as the Perfidiousness of their Brethren required, for the safety of his Crown and Life, was still too fresh; as well as the Decree of the *Inquisition* at *Rome* against the Sentence given by the Parliament of *Paris* against *Cbatel Guignard* and the *Jesuits*, as well as the Speech

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V.

Lewis 13. of Cardinal *Du Perron*, in the Assembly of the
 1617. late General States, against the Article of the
 Pope Paul House of Commons, for settling the Crown of
 V. *France's* Independency; all these Facts put to-
 gether, were they not sufficient for confound-
 ing and silencing *Cospean* upon that Subject,
 had he had any sense of Justice and Honour
 left in him? But let us go on with that Prelate's
 Speech. *How can my Voice be loud enough to
 be heard amidst the Shoutings and the Songs
 of Mirth of a Million of Catholicks, who praise
 God and bless the King for his Piety? That your
 Majesty should accomplish in the 16th Year of
 your Age what the Marvel of Kings, I mean your
 Father, has desired for above 16 Years, and was
 never able to perform, this deserves all EN-
 COMIUM, ADMIRATION, AMAZEMENT and
 SILENCE (g). A flat and pitiful Flattery in-
 deed, much unbecoming a Bishop! So much
 the more, that it includes a downright Fals-
 hood.*

The truth is, that *Henry IV.* by one of the
 16 Articles of his Reconciliation to the See of
Rome, was obliged to procure and promote the
 Restoration of the Roman Religion, and of
 the Church-Lands and Estates unto the
 Clergy in his Principality of *Bearn*. But he
 was sensible of the Impossibility of performing
 his Promises; for he had been taught by
 the Queen his own Mother, that the said Coun-
 try, as well as all others in *France, Spain,
 England, Germany, Italy*, was governed after
 the ancient Rights of all these People by
 their own Customs or common Laws; one of
 the chiefest was, that the Prince cannot by his
 own Authority, abrogate what has been de-
 creed

(g) *Mercure Francois* de 1617. quoted by *Le Vassor*,
Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. III. Liv. ix.

creed and established by the General States of the Country. That Custom, as the *Bearnese* say, is the fundamental and the stipulated Law between the Sovereign and his Subjects. Now the *Roman* Religion having been abrogated, and the Lands and Estates of the Clergy forfeited by the definitive Sentence of the States General, on account of the high Crimes and Treasons of the said Clergy against *Jane of Albret* their lawful Sovereign, as we have said in the first Part of our third Volume; *Henry IV.* a Prince just and equitable, would not attempt a thing contrary to the Laws of his Principality of *Bearn*, wherewith he was very well acquainted, and which he had heretofore religiously observed, and found means to evade the continual Instances of the Pope and the Clergy on that account.

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But to return to our mean Subject; the *Bearnese* formerly opposed the above said Decree of the Council. But notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France* attending the Court, nothing better could be obtained for them, but a Letter of the King's Council, whereby his Majesty commanded the *Bearnese* to send some Deputies to Court, to be Witnesses of the Compensation which his Majesty intended to make in their behalf for the Church-Revenues, the Replevy whereof had been granted to the Clergy. They appointed an Assembly at *Orthez*, whither they invited the neighbouring Provinces of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, and resolved there, rather to die than to consent to the Infringement of their ancient Laws and Privileges, and to the Abolition of

The Bear-
nese op-
pose the
Edict.

ewis 13. their Religion, as established by Law. But
 1617. more of this under the next Year (b).
 Pope Paul

V.

Nothing as yet, was so well and firmly
 settled, as to the Government, to make the
 Ministers of State free of all Fears of being
 exposed to the Censures and Odium of the
 Publick.

Assembly
 of the No-
 tables at
 Rouen.

Luines had endeavoured to lull the People
 with the Hopes of a speedy Reformation of
 the Government, but nothing was as yet done
 in that respect. Those who had better In-
 tentions proposed in the King's Council a new
 Convocation of the States General ; but such a
 Proposition could not be, nor will ever be re-
 lished by any Favourite or Prime Minister;
 and the Reason is too obvious to every one to
 be insisted upon. Others, who had a mind to
 court *Luines*, affirmed that an Assembly of the
 Notables would be sufficient in the present
 Juncture. But before they came to any Re-
 solution, they thought proper to consult
Du Pleffis. The wise and prudent Gentleman
 did not think proper that the King should con-
 vene so soon either the *General States*, or the
Notables, but rather that his Majesty should
 appoint six Persons of conspicuous Sagacity,
 Experience and Integrity, who should thro-
 roughly examine Article by Article the Bills of
 the late General States, and maturely consider
 what Remedy to apply to the Diseases which
 the Kingdom groaned under, and which were
 livelily set forth by the said States. Thereby
 the People would be more quiet, seeing his
 Majesty earnestly seeking the Ways and Means
 of curing their Diseases, and of relieving them,
 the Factions would be at an end ; the King's
 Authority would have time to be established.

Then

(b) Vie de Du Pleffis Mornay, Liv. iv.

Then his Majesty would be in a condition to convene either the General States or the Notables, for to have the Advice of one or the other, upon the Ways and Means found out by these six Persons for healing the present Diseases of the Kingdom (*j*).

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Pope Paul
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The King seemed at first to relish these prudent Advices of his faithful Servant. But the Favourite, who had a mind to go into *Normandy* to take Possession of the Lieutenantancy of that Province, carried his Point. The Council voted for an Assembly of the Notables, which was appointed at *Rouen* for the 25th of *November*. The King summoned the most conspicuous for their Capacity amongst the Clergy and the Nobility, and of his Sovereign Courts, besides the Princes, Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown that were to attend him. *Du Plessis* was not forgotten, the King would not admit any Excuse, and was not satisfied till he had promised to be at *Rouen* before him.

That Assembly was opened the ninth of *December*, and ended on the 26th. I leave to the civil and political History of *France* to relate their Transactions, the Propositions made, and the Advices given. I shall observe only that *Du Plessis*, always like to himself, forced even his greatest Adversaries, to admire and publickly to praise his Wisdom, Sagacity, and Integrity. Nay, Cardinal *Du Perron* himself shewed him a great Respect, and was never weary of speaking of him with the highest Encomiums in every Company; even to the King himself, exhorting his Majesty not to
suffer

(*j*) Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. III. ad ann. 1617. Vie du même, Liv. iv.

Lewis 13. suffer him to go back to *Saumur*, but to keep
 1617. him near himself, as a faithful and wise Coun-
 Pope Paul V. sellor, for the Remainder of his Days (*i*).

During the sitting of this Assembly, died
 Villeroy's at *Rouen*, *Nicholas De Neuville*, Marquiss of
 Death. *Villeroy*, the oldest Counsellor of State in
 Christendom, having been Secretary of State
 for 50 Years together, and served in that Ca-
 pacity under four Kings *Charles IX. Henry III.*
 and *IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* besides the *League*
 under the Duke of *Mayenne*; it is observed
 that he died not rich. *Augustus Thuanus*, the
 great Historian, was dead some time before (*l*).

1618. This Year 1618 affords nothing but
 Trouble both within and without the King-
 dom; either about civil or religious Matters.
 I shall briefly touch only those wherein the
 Reformed were concerned.

The Remonstrances of the General Depu-
 ties upon the Affairs of *Bearn*, those of *Lescun*,
 a Counsellor in the Sovereign Council of that
 Principality, nor the strong Oppositions of the
Bearneise, hindred not the King's Council from
 issuing out an Edict for uniting that Country,
 the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and all their Depen-
 dencies to the Crown of *France*, nor from con-
 firming by a new Edict that of the Restoration
 of the Churches, and the Church-Lands, &c.
 to the *Roman* Clergy.

By that Edict three things were ordered. 1st,
 The Restitution of the Church-Lands, and the
 Restoration of the Catholick Religion, through-
 out the Principality of *Bearn*. 2d. The Pre-
 servation of the Reformed in all their Privi-
 leges, and the Compensation for the Sums
 that were taken from them by the said Edict;
 which Compensation was to be made upon the
 ancient

(i) Eid. Ibid.

(l) Eid. Ibid.

ancient Demefne of *Bearn*; and in case that were not fufficient, upon the Demefne of the adjacent Countries; according to which it was faid, that the Sums fhould be ftated upon the Expences of the Houfhold, as ordinary Charges, which were to be acquitted before all others, the Affignments whereof fhould not be diverted to any other ufe. This Compenfation was but an Illufion, whereby they defigned to impofe upon the Publick, and render the faid Ediét more tolerable to fuch as only judge of things by appearances. Finally, the Demand of the Clergy, to be admitted into the States of the Country, was put off till the return of Commiffaries, which the King was to fend thither to put the faid Ediét in execution.

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1618.
Pope Paul
V.

That Ediét put the *Bearnefe*, naturally hot, into a violent Ferment, efppecially when Mr. *Reynard*, Counfellor of State, deputed by his Majesty, for executing the faid Ediét, was arrived in that Country. The Marquifs of *La Force*, Governour thereof, was in the greateft Anxieties, the King's Orders were pofitive and moft urgent, and the People's Oppofitions were no lefs ftout and refolute, being afraid left that Barrier of the former Ediéts being once forced by a fingle Decree of the Council, every day would bring forth fome new Infringement of their Privileges, to the utter Subverfion of their Liberties. The Duke of *Roban*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*, had feveral Conferences together upon that Affair; they made feveral Overtures, both at Court and in *Bearn*, to bring Matters to an Agreement; but every where they met with infuperable Difficulties. From whence it followeth, that the Churches of *Bearn*, in virtue of their

Junction

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V.

Junction with those of the Kingdom, held a political Assembly at *Orthez*, and required the neighbouring Provinces to send at the same place some of their Council, there to advise together about means of averting the threatening Blow. A little after, that Assembly seeing the Danger daily increasing, turned it self into a General Convocation of some Deputies of every Province appointed to meet at the same Place, on the 15th of *August*. In the mean while the Parliament of *Pau* issued out a Decree on the 28th of *June*, whereby they absolutely refused to admit the Replevy granted to the Clergy by the King's Council. So that all the Churches of the Kingdom taking part with those of *Bearn*, it happened that every one of them joined its particular Grievances with those of that Country, and brought them to the said General Convocation in order for a Redress, little considering the Danger whereto they all did expose themselves. All the true Lovers of the Peace, and of the Welfare of the Kingdom, did their best endeavours to bring Matters to an Agreement, amongst whom *Du Plessis* was the Chief; he spared no Pains to engage the Court either to supersede the Execution of its Decree, or to mitigate the Terms thereof. On the other hand, he exhorted the *Bearnese* to Moderation, to consider the Circumstances of the Times, to avoid above all things the carrying of matters to extremes; that if it was just that the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom should take their Part, and should endeavour to get their Grievances redress'd; it was no less just for them not to require that they should run headlong into certain ruin for their sake; therefore that they ought not to show themselves too eager

in the Preservation of a thing which they could not maintain and keep without incurring the King's highest Displeasure, and exposing themselves to certain Ruin; but rather accept all reasonable Terms, whereby they might secure to themselves and their Posterity a certain and settled Condition as to their civil and religious Rights and Privileges. But the Court was too stiff for *Du Plessis*, its Proceedings were too slow; whenever they offered any thing in behalf of the Reformed in general, and for the *Bearnese* in particular, these Offers came out of Season, they betrayed their Ill-will against them, rather than any good Inclination towards them, and only served to raise Suspicions in their Minds. On the other hand, the *Bearnese* proved too hot-headed for *Du Plessis's* moderate Remonstrances, they were too full of Jealousies, they obstinately refused to yield a Tittle of their Privileges, lest they should make a Precedent for breaking through all the rest, and chose to lose all rather than to preserve most part of them by the Cession of one or two. Whereas *Orthez*, where they had appointed the General Assembly, was too far remote from the other Provinces, they removed it to *Rochelle*, there to meet in *December* next (k).

On the 5th of *September* died the renowned Cardinal *Du Perron*, whereof I would have taken no notice, after what I have said of him in the seventh Book, was it not for a very singular Passage in the last Days of his Life; which is, that he charged his best Friends, especially those who had assisted him in his last Sickness, to let the Lord *Du Plessis* know that he

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V.



Cardinal
Du Perron's
Death.

(k) Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. IV. Vie du même, Liv. iv.

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1618.
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V.



he died his humble Servant, and that he was very sorry for not having entertained a friendly Correspondence with him; that he had the greatest value for his Integrity, and the Care he took to preserve a good Conscience. This was confirmed unto the said Lord by the Bishop of *Cominges*, by his Almoner; and ten Months after by his own Brother, the Archbishop of *Sens*, in presence of several Lords and Prelates, that then attended the Court at *Tours*. It is remarkable, that tho' he was a Man of such a high Station, who died at *Paris*, the Seat of Learning, and of the Learned, to whom he had been a *Mæcenas*, nobody took it in head to preach a Funeral Sermon on his account; nay, there was hardly an Epitaph, which made several Persons believe, that his latter End had not much edified the *Roman Church*. He was 63 Years old (1).

*Affairs of
the seven
United
Provinces.*

The seven United Provinces of the Low Countries, had been for several Years before in great agitation, on account of the Disputes between the Provinces of that Country about Predestination and Grace. A self-conceited Man always thinks himself able to dive into the Secrets of God, disregarding the Apostle's Precept, *not to be overwise*, &c. He sets up himself for a Searcher of the deepest Thoughts of that Infinite Being, and will force upon the World his own Opinions as the Rule and the Standard of Truth; whereas oftentimes they are no better than the Production of his own Fancy and Temper, or of the Prejudices of his Education. That Distemper is not new; but most part of the Disputes, Controversies, Heresies, Schisms, &c. wherewith the Church had been sorely afflicted from the beginning, have

(1) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv.

have had no better Original than that proud itching Desire of being wise beyond the Measure prescribed by the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures.

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V.

Such was the Dispute now in hand between the *Arminians* and the *Gomarists*, so called from the name of the Chiefs, that revived these Tenets in *Holland*. Every sober Man in all the Countries in *Europe*, acknowledged, 1st. That the Points controverted, were merely speculative. 2d. That they did not affect at all the Christian Religion, in its essential Articles. 3dly. That consequently they might be well tolerated without endangering either Christian Faith or Godliness. But far from listening to such prudent and Christian-like Advices, the *Gomarists*, alias *Contra-Remonstrants*, made a Schism, and refused to keep any Communion with the *Arminians*, alias *Remonstrants*. At first, these last held their Assemblies in the Churches, while the others held theirs in some private Houses, tho' the *Arminians* offered them to make use of their Churches; but afterwards the *Gomarists* having found means to engage Prince *Maurice of Nassau* in their Interest, got soon the upper hand, and deprived their Opponents of their Churches; and in the Places where they were Masters, they carried the Injustice so far, as not to suffer them to meet together for their Religious Worship, not only in publick, but even in private; plundering the Houses, beating, bruising and otherwise abusing those whom they met assembled, without the least opposition. I'm quite ashamed here to relate the manifold Violences, the intolerable Injustices, the basest Ways and Means which these Furies put in use, to oppress and destroy, as much as they could, the *Arminians*.

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V.

Arminians. Now, these Disputes which at first were merely religious between some Divines, were become by degrees, an Affair of State wherein the Prince, the Magistrate, and other heads of the Governments took Party. Prince *Maurice*, Stadt-holder of the United Provinces, was suspected of designing to encroach upon the Liberties of the said Provinces. *Barneveldt*, Attorney-General, and Lord Keeper of the Seals of the Province of *Holland*, a sincere and zealous Patriot, watched narrowly over all the Prince's Steps, and took all the Precautions which he thought requisite to prevent and oppose his supposed Designs; amongst which, some there were indeed carried too far, especially that of raising the Militia. There wanted not several malicious Persons, who magnified this Proceeding of *Barneveldt*, as an Attempt upon the Prince's Authority and Prerogative, and exasperated his Highness against him; amongst these was *Francis Aersens* formerly Ambassador of the States at the Court of *France*; he was impudent enough to publish a Libel against the Attorney-General, wherein he affirmed that he had been bribed by the Court of *Madrid* for procuring the Truce between *Spain* and the *States General*, which was near expiring, and for fomenting the Division in the Provinces, by his countenancing the *Arminians*, and his asserting the Rights of the Provinces who were not obliged to submit themselves to the Determination of the *States General* upon any account soever, much less to the Determination of any of the Provinces in the Union; each of them being sovereign in its own District, and absolutely independent one from another. From that time, that is, about the Month of *March*,

every

every thing was in a greater Confusion than ever, the *Gomarists* grew more fierce, as they grew more powerful; the Magistrates and other Officers that held for the *Arminians*, were deprived; a national Synod was appointed at *Dordrecht* for the 13th of *November*, notwithstanding the Opposition of three Provinces, who entred their Protest against such an open Infraction of their Privileges. *BARNEVELDT*, Attorney-General, and Keeper of the Seals of *Holland*; *DE HOGUERBEIS*, Pensionary of *Leyden*; and *GROTIUS*, Pensionary of *Rotterdam*; *LEYDEMBERG*, Secretary of the States of *Utrecht*, were arrested and made Prisoners of State, by the orders of Prince *Maurice*. - Such an Act of Arbitrary Power served to confirm the Suspicions against that Prince, and put a damp upon Mens Spirits (*m*). We shall resume this melancholly Subject under the next Year; we must now succinctly relate the Effects of the Proceedings of the Assembly of *Orthez*.

Lewis 13.
1618.
Pope Paul
V.

We have said that for the greater Convenience of the Deputies of the other Provinces which the *Bearnese* had invited to their Assembly, they had transferred it to *Rochelle*, where some Difficulties started by the Lord Mayor, and the Town-House, having been cleared, they were admitted, and they opened their Sessions in *January*. The news of that Change having reached the Court, the King and his Council were much offended and provoked at it. And indeed by the Intercession of the Dukes of *Roban* and *Les Diguieres*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*, his Majesty seemed somewhat mollified, and inclined to grant his Subjects of *Bearn* such tolerable Terms, which

1619.
*Continuation of the
Affairs of
Bearn.*

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(*m*) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. du même, ad ann. 1617, 18, 19. Mem. de du Maurier, p. 279, &c.

Lewis 13. would be a sufficient Compensation for what
 1619. they lost by the Restitution of the Church-
 Pope Paul V. Lands, &c. to the Catholicks; but now there
 wanted not violent Persons in the King's
 Council, who were for carrying things to Ex-
 tremes, for proscribing the City of *Rochelle*,
 and for prosecuting with the utmost Rigour,
 as Rebels, those who should assist in that As-
 sembly. Nay, the Parliament of *Paris* issued
 out an Edict against them; in virtue whereof
 some of the Members were put to trouble in
 the Provinces. But by the wise Management
 and prudent Advices of *Du Plessis*, these Pro-
 ceedings were superseded; and at last the Parlia-
 ment's Edict was repealed five or six Weeks
 after.

The Queen-Mother's Escape from Blois. While the Affairs of *Bearn* were in that
 State, the Queen-Mother, tired with her Cap-
 tivity at *Blois*, found means to make her Escape.
Luines, who had a mind to know her Secrets,
 put in use a thousand unworthy Tricks and made
 a fool of her and the Duke of *Roban*, on pre-
 tence of an Agreement with that Princess, in
 order to know those in whom she trusted the
 more; he employed the Jesuit *Arnoux* for to
 dive into her most secret Thoughts, under the
 Seal of Confession. After so base a piece of
 Treachery, the Jesuit bantered upon when he
 was upbraided for it, saying, *that he had already*
begg'd God's pardon. The Queen being ex-
 asperated at such provoking Treatment, and
 fearing the worst, resolv'd to make her Escape
 out of the Castle of *Blois*, which she executed
 in the Night between the 22d and 23d of *Fe-*
bruary, by the means of a Ladder; she walked
 till she was out of the City, where a Coach
 waited for her, and brought her to *Lockes*,
 where

where she was met by the Duke of *Espernon*, Lewis 13. 1619. Pope Paul V.
 with 300 Horſe, who attended her to *Angoulême*.

When the News of that Flight came to *Paris*, by a Letter which the Queen-Mother wrote to the King her Son, the whole Court was in an uproar; *Luïnes*, who had imprudently neglected the Advertisements he had received by *Deageant*, one of his Creatures, of what was hatching between her Majesty and the Duke of *Espernon*, ſent a Meſſage to the King, who was then at *St. Germain*. His Majesty came back inſtantly, and held ſeveral Councils, wherein it was reſolved to enter upon a Negotiation with the Queen-Mother, and to prepare for War. Thereupon the Queen on her ſide, and *Espernon* on his own, tampered with their Friends, and thoſe whom they took to be ſo, deſiring their Aſſiſtance; but they did not at firſt find them as ready as they had imagined; the Dukes of *Koban* and *De Les Diguieres* were not forgotten, but they very prudently declined to interfere in that Affair, in any other wiſe than by their good Offices with the King for bringing Matters to ſome reaſonable Agreement.

The Queen-Mother and the Duke, had conceived great hopes that the Reformed would readily improve this Opportunity for obtaining by force of Arms that juſt Redreſs of their Grievances, which was denied to their Patience; therefore they ſent *Chambret*, Son-in-Law to *De La Nouë*, to *Rochelle*, for treating with the Aſſembly, but they were much miſtaken in their Expectation. *Chambret* was deſired ſecretly to leave *Rochelle* without delay, for fear of the worſt. Beſides the Moderation of ſeveral of the Members of this Aſſembly,

Lewis 13 the Letters of *Du Plessis* unto them, concurred
 1619. together with their good Dispositions, to this
 Pope Paul wise Resolution of theirs. That truly worthy
 V. Lord had no sooner received the News of the
 Queen's Flight, but he dispatched an Express
 to *Rochelle* to inform the Assembly of that
 Event. He exhorted them to improve this
 Opportunity. *Send speedily to Court*, said he,
and give his Majesty the strongest Assurances,
that our Churches will remain loyal and faithful,
notwithstanding the manifold Subjects they have
of Complaint, and that we desire nothing else of
his Majesty but the free Exercise of our Religion,
and the Preservation of our Privileges.

His constant Maxim was, that the Reformed
 of *France* ought not to intermeddle them-
 selves with any State-Party, besides the King's.

He knew very well that the King's Hatred
 would certainly fall upon his Reformed Sub-
 jects, whenever the Princes and the great
 Lords should have concluded their Treaty
 with him. Which indeed proved but too true
 afterwards.

The Assembly of *Rochelle* followed the pru-
 dent Advices of *Du Plessis*. Their Deputies
 were made welcome, and received at Court,
 the Favourite being afraid lest they should join
 in common Interest with the Queen-Mother.

That Princess had left no stone unturned
 for winning the Governour of *Saumur* to her
 Interest, but he withstood all Temptations.
Madam, said he, *I most humbly beseech your*
Majesty, to avoid all violent Remedies, they
would prove worse than the Disease which you
pretend to cure. Consider that you are not only
the King's Mother, but the Kingdom's. Many
People do promise you Wonders. They will do
little, may be, nothing at all. *Du Plessis* knew
 fo

so well how to improve the present Opportunity, he so efficaciously treated with the Court, that the Decree issued out by the Parliament of *Paris* against the Assembly of *Rochelle* was revoked. The King declared that it had been convened with a good Intention and for a good Purpose, he granted them to hold another at *Loudun* in the Month of *September* following. The Deputies set out very well pleased from *Rochelle* for their respective Provinces. They were in hopes that the Affairs of *Bearn* would be amicably adjusted. But greater Difficulties than it was imagined were started in the way. The Assembly broke up the 22d of *April*, having prescribed unto those of *Bearn* the ways and means of an Agreement with the Court, written Letters unto all the Provinces, exhorting them strictly to adhere to the King's Party, declaring fallen from their Union those who should go astray; exhorted those of *Rochelle* to persist in the same; and deputed again to Court to give his Majesty the fullest Assurances of their Loyalty (*n*).

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As to the Affairs of the Queen-Mother, we have said that his flight threw the Court into a great Consternation, being afraid lest her Party should be greater or would increase daily; that therefore they prepared for War, in order to make a more advantageous Peace. The Command of the Army that was to act against her was given to the Duke of *Mayenne*, because the Favourite took him to be the most exasperated against her, and the most devoted to himself. The Negotiation for an Agreement and Peace was committed to the Count of

Negotiations with the Queen-Mother.

C c c 3 *Beihune,*

(*n*) Vie de Du Pleffis, liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. de Du Pleffis, Tom. IV. ad ann. 1619. Vie du Duc d'Espenon, Tom. II. ad ann. 1618-19. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.

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 Lewis 13. *Bethune*, Brother to the Duke of *Sully*, because
 1619. he was thought to be one of the most accept-
 Pope Paul able to that Princess. *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Luçon*,
 V. who had been sent in exile to *Avignon*, at the
 beginning of her Disgrace, was recalled, upon
 the Promise he made by his Brother-in-Law,
Pont-Courlay, that he would endeavour to en-
 gage the Queen-Mother to make Peace with
 the King upon his own Terms, and to create
 Jealousies between the chief Deliverers of that
 Princess, which last he faithfully executed.
 But none succeeded so well in bringing her to
 the Terms of the King her Son, as Father
De Berulle, afterwards Cardinal, and Fundator
 of the Oratory. After several Altercations, and
 goings and comings, Peace was at last con-
 cluded and signed on the 30th of *April* between
 the King and his Mother. By the Treaty, all
 her Servants were preserved in their Estates
 and Dignities, especially the Duke of *Espernon* ;
 she resigned the Government of *Normandy*, in
 lieu whereof she had that of *Anjou*, the Castle
 of *Angers*, the *Bridge of Cé*, and *Chinon* (o).

She con-
 cludes the
 Treaty
 with her
 Son.

Continua-
 tion of the
 Affairs of
 Holland.

During these Transactions in *France*, the
 National Synod of the Seven United Provinces
 had been assembled at *Dort* on the 13th of
November in the last Year, as it had been ap-
 pointed. It was, as one may say, the first
 General Council of all the Reformed Churches.
 There was in it a Lord-Bishop, and three
 Doctors in Divinity of *England*, some Mini-
 sters deputed by the Churches of the *Palatinate*,
Hessia, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, &c. The King
 of *France* refused his Reformed Subjects liberty
 of sending thither their Deputies ; and those
 of the Elector of *Brandenbourg* could not make
 the Journey. The Reader will easily forgive
 me,

(o) Mem. du Duc de Rohan, *ibid*.

me, I hope, my silence upon the Transactions of that Assembly, which, it seems, had taken in several respects, the Council of *Trent* for their Pattern. These Transactions are now too well known, and deserve rather to be buried in eternal Oblivion, than to be any more recorded, unless it is for confirming this Observation of *Gregory Nazianzen*, That he had never seen any good proceeding from a Council, that the Diseases of the Church are rather increased than cured thereby. This Synod, having examined with the greatest Partiality, the five Propositions of *Arminius*, and without allowing his Adherents the Liberty of asserting their Opinions, no more than the Council of *Trent* had allowed it to the Protestants, published about the latter end of *April* their Hypothesis about Predestination, the Death of Jesus Christ, the Corruption of Man, his Conversion unto God, and Perseverance of Saints. Upon every Article they condemned the Opinion contrary to the Synod's. *Episcopius* and other *Arminian* Ministers, summoned by the Synod, were deposed, and branded by the Sentence as Corrupters of the true Religion, and Disturbers of the Peace of the *Belgick* Churches. Such a gross Calumny of the *Belgick* Ministers assembled in that Synod, went not uncensured by all *Europe*, as indeed it deserved. But no more of this. The purest Societies being composed of Men, are obnoxious to the same Affections as the most impure. Tho' the Churches of *France* had been forbidden from sending their Deputies to *Dort*, nevertheless the Decisions of that Assembly, were solemnly admitted by two of their Synods held the 1st at *Alets* in the *Cevennes*, and the 2d at *Charenton*. Nothing at all obliged them to take

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Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13th that step, contrariwise they were obliged in
 1619. Honour and Conscience to remain Neuters, at
 Pope Paul. V. least, as to the Articles of *Grace* and *Predestina-*
 tion, seeing that they insisted so warmly upon
 a Reconciliation with the *Lutherans*, who
 were extremely offended at the *Dordracenian*
 Condemnation of their Tenets about these two
 Points. I may say the same of *James I.* who
 caused the said Opinions to be condemned by
 the Synod, at the same time that he was so
 eager after an Union between the Protestants and
 the Reformed, of what Denomination soever,
 and who set up himself for a Divine at the
 same time, when he ought to have acted like
 to himself, a King, and to take in hand the Pro-
 tection and Defence of the *Electoꝛ Palatine* his
 Son-in-Law.

*Trial and
 Condem-
 nation of
 the Pri-
 soners of
 State in
 Holland.*

During the Sessions of this Synod, they were
 very hard at work at the *Hague*, for trying the
 Prisoners of State; whereupon I shall observe
 only this, that had they lived under the Govern-
 ment of the Duke of *Alva*, those illustrious
 Confessors and Martyrs of the People's Liber-
 ties and Privileges could not have expected
 a more unjust and cruel Treatment than what
 they received of their own Countrymen. The
 fundamental Laws of the Republick were sub-
 verted, for bringing those great men upon
 their Trials, and a Pack of Foreigners, who
 had nothing to say in the Province of *Holland*,
 but bribed to serve a turn, were chose for passing
 Sentence upon them right or wrong; which was
 done at the beginning of *May*, after having
 suffered great Indignities during their Confine-
 ment, and notwithstanding the pressing and
 even moving Instances of the Court of *France*
 by *De Boissje* and *Du Maurier*, the Prisoners,
 charged with many supposed Crimes, were
 brought

brought to receive their Sentence. *Barnevelt* Lewis 13. was condemned to be beheaded, and they had 1619. Cruelty enough for executing that unjust Pope Paul V. Doom upon that venerable Magistrate to whom they were beholden for their Liberties and Privileges, very little less than even to *William I. Prince of Orange*: he fell a Victim to a certain State Party; he asserted to the last the People's Liberties, his Head was sever'd in the Morning the 13th of *May*, in the 72d Year of his Age. *Grotius* and *de Hoguerbeis* were condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment, and accordingly brought to the Castle of *Louvestein*, from whence *Grotius* found means to escape some Years after. As to *Leydenberg*, he was found drowned in his own Blood, having had his Throat cut in the Night before he was to be confronted with the other Prisoners; so TANTUM POTUIT RELIGIO SUADERE MAJORUM.

To return to *France*. The Prince of *Condé* Condé is was set at liberty about the 20th of *October*. set at liberty. He was beholden for that Favour to the Favourite, who designed to oppose him to the Queen-Mother, whenever she should return to Court. *Deageant*, Creature of the Favourite, being suspected to keep Correspondence with the Bishop of *Luçon*, lost the Favour, and was sent back into *Dauphiné* to execute his Office of President in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. However, for to conceal his Disgrace from the Eyes of the Publick, he was charged with a Commission to offer the Marshal Duke of *Les Diguieres*, in the King's Name, the Constable's Staff, if he would turn Catholick. The old ambitious Man listened readily to the Proposition; and to convince the Court that he was sincerely resolved to be obsequious in that respect, and

Lewis 13. and to renounce his own Religion, unto which
 1619. he was beholden for his wonderful Rise, he
 Pope Paul did not scruple to impart to *Deageant* whatever
 V. Propositions were made unto him by the Re-
 formed, and to take his Advice on the An-
 swers he was to return; nevertheless, he
 did not change outwardly his Religion, but
 acted the Part of a downright Hypocrite from
 this time till he was sure of the Constableship,
 which happened three or four Years after.

Assembly
 of Loudun.

While these and several other Intrigues were
 carried on at Court between *Luines* and the
 Queen-Mother, and the Prince of *Condé* while
 he was Prisoner, the Reformed opened their
 Sessions at *Loudun* in the Month of *September*;
 according to the King's own Appointment;
 the Vidame of *Chartres* was named President
 of the Assembly, the Reverend Doctor *Chauve*
 Minister of *Sommieres* in *Languedoc* was his
 Assistant, and Messrs. *De Chales* and *Malleray*,
 Secretaries. Now, whereas the State-Ministers
 had taken no care to give any Satisfaction to
 to the Reformed upon their Grievances, tho'
 they had been faithfully told of the Conse-
 quences of such a Neglect, and strongly solli-
 cited to do it; nay, tho' they themselves
 were sensible enough of the Justice of their
 Complaints, and had oftentimes promised to
 redress the said Grievances; the Provinces in
 their Instructions to their Representatives,
 were so bent against that shameful Infracti-
 on of the royal Word, as to strictly enjoin them
 not to depart from *Loudun*, without having
 seen the Performance of the Edicts, and the
 Redress of their Grievances. Therefore the 1st
 Resolution of the Assembly, was to send a
 solemn Deputation to the King, with a Bill
 containing seven Articles; to wit, the Recep-
 tion

tion of the Officers professing the Reformed Religion in the superiour Courts; the Removal of *Fontrailles*, Governour of *Leytoure*, who had turned Catholick, and was consequently uncapable of that Place according to the Edict of *Nantz*, because that place was one of the Cautionary Towns; the Exemption from Taxes for the Ministers; the sending of the Commissaries thro' the Provinces for causing the Edicts to be executed; the Change of Places granted for religious Worship, and which were too far distant from the abode of those who were to make use of them; a Continuation of the Cautionary Towns, and especially that an Account should be given of those that were held by Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, who had all along refused to give any account of them to the Churches; lastly, a Revocation, or at least a Suspension of the Decree given in behalf of the *Roman Catholick* Clergy in *Bearn*, till the *Bearnese* had been heard. The Deputies met the King at *Compiègne*, and followed him to *Chantilli*, where the Prince of *Condé* with his Consort had been brought, to make their Submissions to his Majesty. The King was advised not to receive their Petitions before they had drawn the general one, containing their whole Demands, and the Deputies were dismissed without being heard. Whereupon the Assembly resolved to obey the King's Will, and to send their general Bill of Grievances and Petitions; but at the same time, they resolved not to depart from *Loudun* till they had received real Satisfaction. This General Bill was sent to Court by new Deputies, who set out from *Loudun* the 13th of *December*. But they were told, that the Assembly ought to name their Deputies and to break up instantly,

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and

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and then their Bills and Petitions would be favourably answered, and what was promised faithfully executed. The Court affirmed, as boldly as if it had been true, that it had been always usual for these Assemblies to break up as soon as they had delivered their Bills and Petitions, and named their general Deputies, without waiting for an Answer to the said Bills and Petitions; that was utterly false, and subverted the main Design of these Assemblies, which was chiefly to consider the Grievances of the Churches, the ways of redressing them, and to represent the same to his Majesty by proper Deputies, and to insist till they had obtained a Redress. That had been the Custom before *Henry IV.* was set upon the Throne of *France*, and it had lasted till the Assembly of *Châtel-beraud*, when the Duke of *Sully*, betraying the Cause of the Churches, forced that Assembly to break up before they had obtained the Redress and Satisfaction which they expected. The same thing was done in the Assembly of *Saumur* at the beginning of this Reign, the Duke of *Bouillon* following the same Methods as the Duke of *Sully*. But there was this wide difference between this Reign and the preceding, *viz.* That the WORD of *Henry IV.* was a better security than a thousand Bonds in Judgment of all the *Lewis's* that have succeeded him. However, *Lewis XIII.* his Council finding their account in that way of Dealing with the political Assemblies of the Reformed, did not care to alter their Course; and on the other hand, these Assemblies, taught by Experience, did not care to trust any longer to the bare Promises of the Court. They would have been in the right, had they been strictly united together, had they renounced

all private Interest, had they been sure of any Support within or abroad ; but in the Condition they were in, such a Resolution would have been Madness.

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The Court sent two Deputies to the Assembly, who performing the Office of Sergeants, rather than of Commissaries, commanded them in the King's Name to elect their General Deputies, and then to break up. Notwithstanding that unkind Treatment, these Deputies were received with the utmost Respect by the Assembly. But they resolved to send another Deputation to the King, to remonstrate upon that Subject. They were admitted to the Audience about the 25th of *January* ; the King having heard their Speech, ordered them to obey and depart, without entering into the Merits of the Cause ; and as they were ready to reply, his Majesty bid the Usher to turn them out ; all the Favour they received was, that the Chancellor told them, that if the Assembly would send some proper Persons with Power to treat with the King's Council, they would find ways to some Agreement. This rude Usage of the Assembly's Deputies was like to bring Matters to a desperate Issue. Being arrived at *Loudun* on the 7th of *February*, and having made their Report to the Assembly, some were for breaking up abruptly, without naming the general Deputies. They resolved at last to consult the Agents of the great Lords that resided at *Loudun*, and to have *Du Plessis's* Advice upon this present Occurrence, to whom they sent a Memoir of what had been answered at several times to the several Deputies they had sent to Court, and of the Proposition of late made unto them by the Chancellor. *Du Plessis* thought

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thought proper to accept the said Proposition, and this the more, that *Bellujon*, Governor of *Villemur*, was arrived that very same day at *Saumur*, being sent by the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, (who was then at Paris, in order to be sworn Duke and Peer of France *,) to impart unto him a Scheme which he had drawn, conjointly with the Count of *Chatillon* on one part, and the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luines* on the other, for bringing Matters to an Agreement. The Scheme was such, 1st, That the Assembly should break up before the end of *February*. 2d, That immediately after their Separation, the King should answer their Bills and Petitions favourably. 3d, But that he should forthwith remove *Fontrailles* (†) from the Government of *Leytoures*. 4th, That he should grant the keeping of the Cautionary Towns for a Year longer besides the three that still remained to come. 5th, That he should oblige the Parliament of *Paris* to receive the two Counsellors so often mentioned. All this was to be performed within six Months, and in case it were not done, the Prince and the Duke of *Luines* promised to obtain of the King leave for them to hold another Assembly. As for *Bearn*, they promised that within a Month

* He had received that Title about nine Years before by a Writ of their Majesties, the present King and the Queen Regent; but the Parliament, for certain Reasons, had refused to register it till now.

† *Fontrailles* was born a Reformed, but for maintaining himself in his Post, which he had usurped; he had promised under his hand to the first President of *Thoulouze*, to turn Catholick whenever he should be required, not questioning but that he should receive a good Recompense for it; in that Expectation, he cashiered the Soldiers of the Garrison who were Reformed, and committed several other Outrages.

Month after the six aforementioned, the King would hear the Remonstrances they had to make about that Principality, and that he would provide towards the Satisfaction of the States of that Country, and of the Churches. Moreover, Hopes were given them, that in case there was directly or indirectly any Hindrance about the Compensation for the Church-Lands, &c. the King would consent to the Resuming of the Ecclesiastical Estates. The Assembly being informed of all this by *Du Plessis*, and expecting to obtain something more yet, followed his Advice, and sent another Deputation to Court, with a full Power to act in their Name. But while they were upon the Road, *Luines* obtain'd a Declaration from the King, bearing date the 26th of *February*, whereby supposing that there were some disaffected Persons in the Assembly, who endeavoured to inspire ill designs into the rest against the Peace and Quietness of the State, he granted a new Delay of three Weeks from the Date of the present, for naming their Deputies General after the usual way, and then to break up; which if they refused to do, he declared the said Assembly unlawful from that very Instant, and those that should remain at *Loudun*, after the said Term of three Weeks, guilty of high Treason, and deprived of all the Privileges of the Edicts, and commanded all the Magistrates, and others to whom it belonged, to prosecute them as Disturbers of the publick Peace. And following the Method kept for dissolving the Assembly of *Saumur*; he not only promised his Royal Protection to those who should submit at the time appointed, but he authorized the lesser number against the greatest to nominate the General Deputies, promising

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promising to receive them, tho' so irregularly chosen. The Prince of *Condé* himself carried that Declaration to the Parliament in order to get it verified, and not content with such a Step, so much contrary to the Honour of a Prince of the Blood, who not only stood beholden to those whom he persecuted, but who had engaged his Word to support their Interest in this Occasion, he seconded it with virulent Speeches against them, which might reasonably be looked upon as a Declaration of War.

This Proceeding was a Thunder-bolt for the Deputies, and very likely they would have gone back to *Loudun*, had they had notice thereof before their Arrival at *Paris*. The Enemies of the Reformed, or those who sought nothing else but an opportunity to fish in troubled Waters, left no stone unturned to mortify the Assembly, to put them out of patience, and to break the Negotiations on foot; so far they went, that the Attorney-General sent the abovesaid Declaration to the Assembly, and to all the superior Courts of the Kingdom by an Express. *Du Plessis* himself, so pacifick as he was, knew not what to say. It was plain enough that there was a Plot laid against the Reformed for their utter Destruction; the King was made to believe by the Emissaries of *Madrid* and *Rome*, that the Protestant Princes, and several Cities of *Germany*, had not leagued themselves together for supporting the Interest of *Frederick V.* Elector *Palatine*, crowned King of *Bohemia*, in *September 1619*, and of *Bethlen Gabor*, Prince of *Transylvania*, who was offered the Crown of *Hungary*, without a design of destroying the *Roman-Catholick* Religion; to which Design, he was told, that the Reformed were privy, and ready to support it with

with all their Might, by kindling a Civil War ^{Lewis 13.} in the Kingdom, in order to make a Diverſion of ^{1620.} the King's Forces, and hinder him from ^{Pope Paul V.} giving any Aſſiſtance to the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* But more of this preſently. The King bewitched with ſuch falſe Notions inſtilled into him by our mortal Enemies, *Spain* and *Rome*, thought, that in Conſcience he was obliged to prevent the Execution of that pretended Plot; and for this Reaſon it is, that he dealt ſo roughly with the Aſſembly of *Loudun*, wherein he was ſeconded by ſeveral of his Officers in the Parliament. For having ſeveral Money-Bills to be verify'd in that Court, in order to bring them to a Compliance, they promiſed the Extirpation of Heresy out of the Kingdom. The Jeſuits, and other like Preachers, inflamed the People by their ſeditious Sermons, and obtained a Licence to preach in the Cautionary Towns, contrary to the expreſs Words of the Ediſt of *Nantz*, ſo that every thing was like to tend to a general Confuſion: The Reformed ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Mercy of an implacable Enemy, without any Hopes of Redreſs or Relief from thoſe who held the Reins of the Government, and obliged to ſhift for themſelves. But when things were in that ſeeming deſperate Condition, a favourable Turn happened, whereby their Ruin was ſuſpended for a while. *Du Pleſſis* reſenting, as he ought, the Injury done to the whole Reformed Body, in the Perſons of their Representatives aſſembled at *Loudun*, wrote to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, and ſhewed unto him the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch a violent Proceeding of the Court; dangerous for himſelf, who ſhould loſe all his Credit amongſt

Lewis 13. the Reformed, and be obnoxious to the Suspi-
 1620. cions entertained by many that he betrayed
 Pope Paul their Cause, seeing that he having taken it in
 V. hand, he had suffered that they should be so
 unworthily dealt with; dangerous for the
 State, considering that the Reformed would
 not suffer any longer that their Patience should
 be so scandalously abused, and would seek in
 themselves the Remedies proper to redress
 their Grievances and to cure their Diseases.
 He wrote also to the Duke of *Montbazon*,
 Father-in-Law to the Duke of *Luines* the Fa-
 vourite, and told him plainly, that it was his
 Son-in-Law's Interest not to enter upon a Ci-
 vil War on any Pretence whatsoever, because
 his Enemies would not fail to improve that
 Opportunity for executing the Designs which,
 out of Jealousy, they had formed against
 him.

These Letters had the desired Effect: The
 Duke of *Les Diguieres* dispatched Mr. *De*
Gillier to *Loudun*, to assure the Assembly,
 that notwithstanding the King's Declaration
 above mentioned, their Deputies should be ad-
 mitted to audience; and that his Majesty's
 Intention in their behalf was not altered. Ne-
 vertheless these Hopes were frustrated for the
 present; the Deputies who had followed the
 King to *Amiens*, were not admitted to au-
 dience, at which the Assembly was exasperated.
 Fresh Letters were sent by *Du Plessis* to
Les Diguieres, whereupon this last, in or-
 der to settle his Credit again, which was
 much shaken, caused his Agent, in the
 Assembly, to swear and subscribe the U-
 nion; the Count of *Chatillon* did the same:
 Thereupon the preceding Propositions were
 resumed,

resumed, and *Du Pleffis*, being consulted, declared, That it would be best to accept them. After some Difficulties started in the way had been cleared, the Assembly at last yielded. A great Strefs was laid upon the King's Word given and warranted by the first Prince of the Blood and by the Duke of *Luines*.

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Thus the Assembly obeyed, being persuaded by *Les Diguieres*, *Chatillon*, and *Du Pleffis*, who had received Assurances by the two first, that as soon as they should break up, Satisfaction should be given them about the Affair of *Leitoures*, the keeping of the Cautionary Towns, and the Reception of the two Counsellors; that in the next place, the King would hear the Remonstrances of those of *Bearn*; and that in case all that was not performed within seven Months time, they should have Leave to assemble again, and the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Luines* would obtain it of the King for them. They insisted at first to have the said Assurances in Writing, but at the Persuasion of the above-said Lords, they desisted, and so fell into the Snare. They named six Persons to the King, who chose the Viscount of *Favas* for the Nobility, and *De Chalas*, lately first Consul of *Nimes*, for the Commons, to be their General Deputies at Court. In acknowledgment of their Obedience, the King granted them five years instead of four for the keeping of the Cautionary Towns, and 5000 Crowns ready Money for discharging the Expences of the Assembly, who having named the City and Province of *Rochelle* for summoning another, in case the things promised were not performed in due

Lewis 13. time, they set out for their respective Pro-
 1620. vinces on the 13 or 14th of *April.* (q)

Pope Paul
 V.

The King and the whole Court were exceed-
 ingly well-pleas'd with the Obedience of the
 Assembly; his Majesty expressed his Satisfac-
 tion in very obliging Words.

New
Broils at
Court.

The Court had a great deal of Reason to
 rejoice at the breaking up of the Assembly;
 great Intrigues were carrying on there against
 the Favourite. The Queen-Mother desired
 ardently to come to Court, and the Bishop of
Luçon, who was not come back to her to con-
 fine himself with her in the Castle of *Angers*,
 endeavour'd by all means to increase that De-
 sire. Had the King been Master of his own
 Inclinations, he would soon have consented to
 his Mother's Desire; but, as we have already
 observed, he was not born to govern, but
 to be governed. *Luines*, who was afraid lest
 that Princess should snatch the Supreme Au-
 thority out of his Hands, and who dreaded
 above all the superior Genius of *Richelieu*, op-
 posed to his utmost her Return. Nay, his
 Malice went so far, as to fill up his young
 Master's Mind with the dreadful Apprehen-
 sions of being poison'd by his Mother, who
 designed, as he said, to set his Brother the
 Duke of *Orleans* on the Throne, just as Queen
Catherine of Medicis had done with King
Charles IX. her Son.

The Queen-
Mother
forms a
strong Par-
ty.

These Dispositions of the Favourite, being
 thoroughly known to the Queen-Mother, she
 thought proper to oblige him by Force of
 Arms

(q) Mem. du Duc de Rohan. Liv. i. Vie Du Pieffis,
 Liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. du même, Tom. iv. ad ann.
 1619, 1620. Vie du Connetable de Les Diguieres, Liv. x.
 chap. 4.

Arms to do her Justice, and formed a Party Lewis 13. 1620. against him strong enough to crush him and Pope Paul V. his Brothers, had the good Advices of the Duke of *Esperton* been followed. The Countess Dowager of *Soissons*, the Count her Son, the Duke of *Vendôme*, the *Great Prior* his Brother, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, *de la Tremouille*, *Roban*, *Retz*, *Rouannez*, &c. withdrew from Court, and went most part of them to their respective Governments; the Duke of *Esperton* was already in his own; and they all declared themselves for the Queen-Mother against the Favourite. *Mayenne*, Governour of *Guienne*, set on foot an Army of 18,000 Men; *Esperton* another of 10,000: His Opinion was, that the Queen ought to join them with what Forces she had by her, which would have made an Army of above 30,000 Men, all fine Troops, with whom *Luines* would hardly have been able to cope, had it been rightly managed. But *Richelieu*, gained by the Duke of *Luines*, and blinded by Ambition, betrayed his Mistress, opposing with all his Might the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Esperton*, and *Roban's* Counsels, and engaging that Princess not to stir out of *Angers*.

While they were deliberating in the Queen's The King Council, the King was upon Execution. By takes the the Advice of the Prince of *Condé*, his Majesty field. marched in Person into *Normandy*; in a few days he subdued the whole Province, and He sub- the Duke of *Longueville* was obliged to flee dues Nor- to *Dieppe*, where he remained 'till Peace was mandy. made, without daring to stir.

That Expedition damp'd the Queen-Mother; she did not expect that the King her Son would so soon take such Methods in order to bring her to a Compliance. She re-

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pented then not having followed the Counfels of the Dukes of *Mayenne, Espernon, &c.* but her Surprife was much greater, when ſhe underſtood that the King, having ſettled his Affairs in *Normandy*, was marching with his Army into *Anjou*, and threatned to force her into *Angers*. Then ſhe began to think ſeriouſly of the Propoſitions brought unto her from the King, by the Duke of *Montbazon* and the Preſident *Jcannin*, and to deſiſt by degrees from her high Pretenſions, eſpecially not to inſiſt any more upon the Favourite's removal from Court.

He forces
his Mother
to accept of
his Terms.

Nevertheless, as the King's Council perceived, that her Maſteſty ſought only to get time, and carried the Negotiation to a greater length than they deſired, they adviſed the King to purſue his Conqueſt; and accordingly, on the 7th of *Auguſt*, they attacked and ſtormed the Bridge of *Cè*, without any conſiderable Loſs on their ſide, and made a great Slaughtering of the Garrifon, which conſiſted of three thouſand Men*. This new Loſs worked efficaciuſly, and engaged the Queen to conclude the Treaty which had been on foot for two Months together: It was ſigned on both ſides the 11th of *Auguſt*. The Queen's Mother was to return to Court; all the Princes and Lords who had followed her were to be received into the King's Mercy, provided that they ſhould make their perſonal Appearance at Court, wherever it ſhould be, with the requiſite

* Several Hiſtorians and Memoirs, even ſome of thoſe Times affirm, that this happened after the Conclusion of the Treaty, but that it was not ſigned. This is not ſo; for the King's Letter to *Du Pleſſis*, who was in the Neighbourhood, ſuppoſes plainly that the Treaty was not concluded as yet.

requisite Submissions, in a Month's time after the Date of the Presents, or else they should be treated as guilty of High-Treason, &c. And so the greatest Faction that had been seen in the Kingdom for 300 Years together, was intirely defeated in less than an Hour and a quarter, by the taking of the Bridge of Cé, and the routing of the Garrison (q).

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After that Treaty, the King went to *Brisac*, where the Queen his Mother came to pay him a Visit, on the 13th of the same Month. Then he followed his Army to *Poitiers*, from whence he set out for *Bordeaux* on the 9th of *September*: His Majesty's Council gave out, that it was to cause *Leytoure* to be restored to the Hands of an unsuspected Reformed; but the real Design of that Journey was to force the *Bearnese* to a Compliance. His Majesty wrote to *Du Pleffis* upon that Subject, requiring his Advice: That Lord answered to Mr. *De Seaux*, one of his Majesty's Secretarys, That this his Majesty's Undertaking could not but be very good, provided that every thing should be done in their proper Order; to wit, that the Promises made to the Assembly of *Loudun* should be executed first of all; that *Leytoure* should be restored; the two Counsellors admitted in the Parliament of *Paris*; the State of the Cautionary Towns delivered and provided for; the *Bearnese* admitted to give their Reasons for their Opposition to the King's Decree; then his Majesty might with justice force the said *Bearnese* to obedience, did they refuse willingly to submit.

Interview
of the King
and his
Mother.

He goes to
Bour-
deaux.

D d d 4

But

(q) Vie de Du Pleffis, Liv. iv. Mem. du même, Tom. iv. ad annum 1620. Months of *July* and *August*.

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He summons the
Bearnese
to submit.

But the King was no sooner arrived at *Bordeaux*, than the *Bearnese* were commanded to submit and obey. True it is indeed, that his Majesty had obliged *Fontrailles* to resign the Government of *Leytoure*, and had put it into the hands of Mr. *De Blainville*, professing the Reformed Religion; but that was only a small Part of what had been promised. The Parliament of *Paris* insisted upon their former Oppositions to the Reception of the two Counsellors; nay, they were not ashamed to say now, that the *Bearnese* ought first to obey, and then the rest should be performed, quite contrary to what had been stipulated at *Loudun*. Nevertheless, we must not dissemble; the King had several Reasons for being displeas'd with several Lords amongst the Reformed, as well as with the Obstinacy of the *Bearnese*; the Duke of *La Trimouille* had join'd his Interest with the Queen-Mother in the last Insurrection; and the Inhabitants of *St. John d'Angely* made heavy Complaints against the Duke of *Roban*, for that his Deputy-Governour, *Du Parc d'Archiac*, had made use of Violence to force them to rise in Arms against their Sovereign; and the Stubbornness of the *Bearnese* was carry'd even to a Sedition against the King's Authority, notwithstanding the frequent and judicious Admonitions of the Marshal of *Bouillon*, *Du Plessis*, and several others; Besides, that the Viscount of *Favas*, one of the General Deputies, out of Self-Interest, threaten'd the Court to convene the General Assembly at *Rochele*, if his Son was not preferred to the Government of *Leytoure*; which being not able to obtain, he actually wrote to the *Rochelese* to summon the said Assembly;

sembly ; and recommended unto them to re-^{Le wis 13.}
 pair their Fortifications. ^{1620.}

These things provoked the King : He ^{Pope Paul V.}
 yielded at the Instances of the Lord Keeper *Du* 
Vair, who had been the great Promoter of the ^{He march-}
 Decree about the Affairs of *Bearn* ; so that ^{es into}
 having waited for ten or twelve Days at *Ca-* ^{Bearn.}
dillac, six Leagues from *Bourdeaux*, for the
 Execution of the Promises made by the Mar-
 quis of *La Force*, that the said Decree would be
 submitted to by the Parliament of *Pau* : The
 Deputies of the Parliament arrived at last ;
 but instead of the Ratification of the King's
 Decree, they brought nothing else but a Disown-
 ing of what their Governour had promised in
 their Name, and a Refusal of verifying it, on
 pretence that the said Parliament had been
 threatened and put in fear by a vast Number
 of Country-People, who had besieged them
 in the Parliament-House, and committed se-
 veral Outrages. The King, having heard the
 Deputies, did not think proper to put off any
 longer his Journey into that Country. He
 set out at the Head of part of his Army ;
 and though he was met upon the Road by the
 said Parliament, who brought him the Verifica-
 tion of the said Decree, without any Amend-
 ment, he continued his March, and arrived at
Pau the 16th of *October* ; on the 17th he caused
 Mass to be said in the old Temple, and on the
 18th he went to *Navarrins*, the strongest Place
 of all the Country, where Mass was said by his
 Orders, fifty Years after it had been abolished
 there ; and on pretence that *De Salles*, Gover-
 nour of the Place, was very old, he deprived
 him, and put in his stead *Poyane*, a Roman Ca-
 tholick, with a strong Garrison : Then he re-
 turned to *Pau*, where he assembled the States

Lewis 13 of the Country, wherein he united the Sovereignty of *Bearn* and *Navarre* to the Crown of *France*, and thereby reduced the *Bearnese* to the same Condition as his other Subjects in *France*, as to Religion; that is to say, that they were to live, in that respect, according to the Rules of the Edict of *Nantz*. So that the *Roman* Catholick Religion, from being only tolerated in the Suburbs, became the National Religion, and the Reformed Religion became only tolerated, obliged to yield to the Catholicks all the Churches they had been possess'd of for fifty Years in the Cities, and to meet together in the Suburbs. The Consternation was general amongst the poor People: The Catholicks insulted their Misery in a thousand ways, more offending one than another. This, it is true, they had drawn upon themselves by their Obstinacy; by refusing the tolerable Terms they had been offered by the Court, notwithstanding the moving Intreaties of their best Friends, who endeavoured to persuade them to submit. But, as the Duke of *Roan* observes, they knew neither how to obey, nor how to defend themselves; and by their Conduct they involved all the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom in the same Miseries as themselves (*r*). The private Interest of the two Houses of *La Force* and *Benac*, and the perpetual Quarrels that had subsisted between them for many Years together, had occasioned all these Mischiefs: *Concordiâ, res parvæ crescunt; Discordiâ, magnæ labuntur.*

The

(*r*) Vie de Du Pleffis, Liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. du même Tom. iv. p. 439, &c. Mem. du Duc de Roan, Liv. ii. Vie du Duc d'Espènon, Tom. ii. ad ann. 1620.

The King having settled every thing in *Bearn* to his liking, set out for *Paris* the 20th of *October*, where he arrived about the 9th of *November*. Before I proceed any further I think proper to make some particular Observations upon these Affairs of *Bearn*, which occasioned the Desolations and Ruins of so many of our Churches for above nine years together; and at last the Loss of so many valuable Rights and Privileges granted us by the Edict of *Nantz*.

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V.

The King
returns to
Paris.

First, It is certain, that by an Edict of the States of *Bearn* in 1564, the Roman Religion was interdicted in that Principality, and the Ecclesiastical Estates and Church-Lands were forfeited for ever on account of the unnatural Treason of the Catholics, especially the Clergy of that Country, against their lawful Sovereign Queen *Jane of Navarre*.

Some gene-
reral Ob-
servations
upon the
Affairs of
Bearn.

Secondly, It is certain that the Reformed Religion was so deeply rooted in the Hearts of the *Bearnese*, that very little notice was taken by them of the repeated Orders the King of *Navarre*, their lawful Prince, sent them to turn Catholics, when he had been himself forced to do the like on *Bartholomew's Day* in 1572.

Thirdly, It is as certain that that great Prince, very well acquainted with his true Interests, and no less careful of the Privileges and Liberties of his Subjects than of his own Prerogatives, would never consent to make, of his own Authority, any Alteration in the Government, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, of his Principality of *Bearn*; tho' his Proctors at the Court of *Rome* had, of their own accord, promised so much, when he was reconciled to that See; and tho' the *Pope's* Legates and Nuncios had oftentimes insisted with him on the

the

Lewis 13. the Performance of that Engagement, wherein
 1620. his said Proctors were entered in his Name ;
 Pope Paul he always made them sensible of the Incon-
 V. veniencies wherewith such an Attempt would
 be attended, which render'd the Success impos-
 sible, as he thought, and according to his
 own Principles: so that he chose rather to
 grant a certain Sum of Money out of his
 own Purse to the two Bishops of that Coun-
 try, than to divert the Revenues of *Bearn* to
 any other Use than those whereto they had
 been design'd by Queen *Jane* his Mother.

Fourthly, It is certain, that that Province
 had made a dangerous Precedent for their
 Privileges and Liberties, when, at their Re-
 quest, they were admitted to the Union of the
 Reformed Churches of *France*, by the third Na-
 tional Synod of *Rockelle*, held in 1607, and
 then by the political General Assembly held at
Saumur in 1611, as making a Province by it
 self, who had a Right to send Deputies to the
 Assemblies, either ecclesiastical or political,
 which should be held for the future by the
 Reformed Churches*: And indeed their
 Enemies failed not to make use of that Argu-
 ment in the King's Council against them,
 when the Question was to unite that Principa-
 lity and *Navarre*, &c. to the Crown of *France*.
 It is true, that after having accepted the Com-
 mission given unto them by the National Sy-
 nod held at *Tonneins* in 1614, for summoning
 the next National, on condition that they
 should observe the Resolutions and Decrees of
 the National Synods, and bring their Appeals
 unto them, they declined that Office, because
 they were made sensible, though too late, of
 the

* Discours Polit. du Duc de Rohan, Disc. V.

the bad Consequences it would be attended with. Lewis 13. 1620.

Fifthly, But if the Union of *Bearn*, &c. to the Crown of *France* was not, absolutely speaking, contrary to the Laws of Justice and Equity, nor even to the known Laws of the Country, it is certain, that the fundamental Laws of the Country were violated by the Alterations made in the Government, either ecclesiastical or civil, without the Consent of the States General of *Bearn*; and that the *Bearnese* had a Right to oppose with all their Might such a Subversion of their Liberties and Privileges.

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Sixthly, But on the other hand, the *Bearnese* ought to have consider'd at first whether they were able to cope with the Forces of their Sovereign, without exposing not only themselves, but all their Friends who should join with them, to a certain Ruin. Had they weigh'd seriously the vast Power of a King of *France*, and compar'd it impartially with their own Weakness, they would not have flattered themselves as they did, and hazard their All rather than to yield a single Tittle. The Compensation which the King offer'd, was more than sufficient for what they yielded to satisfy them; nay, they were expressly promised, that in case of Non-performance, they were allow'd to re-enter into Possession of the Church-Lands, and other ecclesiastical Estates, but nothing could satisfy them; and they did as a Man, who being attack'd by thirty or forty Highway-men, would chuse to be beaten, abused, deprived of all, murdered rather than to deliver a small Piece of Gold which he is ask'd for: Would that Man be deem'd wise?

But

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But lest I should be deemed either ignorant of the Case, or too partial in the Judgment I pass, I think proper to translate here the unexceptionable Authority of the most venerable and worshipful *Du Plessis*. The Duke of *Roban*, as we have said above, tells us, that the *Bearnese* knew neither how to obey, nor how to defend themselves. *Du Plessis*, in his Letter to the Dutchess Dowager of *Roban*, dated at *Saumur* the 3d of *November* 1620, has these Words: *I bewail with you the Desolations of BEARN, and find no other Comfort but in the Grief I feel for that these Wretches will never listen to any Counsel.* A sad Comfort indeed! The same Words he wrote to *Mr. Anjorant*, Agent for the Republick of *Geneva* at the Court of *France*, in his Letter of the 6th of *November*, only instead of these Words, **TO ANY COUNSEL**, he says, to the Counsel of their faithfullest Friends; and in another to the Marquis of *La Moussaye* of the same Date, he says; *This Comfort I have, viz. that you and several others, Persons of Honour, are my Witnesses, that I have always apprehended, that by their obstinately bending themselves against all manner of Agreement, they would ruin their Affairs, and expose our own.* And in the Relation of a Conference passed at *Saumur*, the 9th of *November*, between him and the Count of *Schomberg*, he says, *I owned freely the Imprudence of the Bearnese, and offered to justify, by several Letters, how much Mr. De la Force was displeas'd for not being able to bring them to any tolerable Agreement, though they had been warmly sollicit'd to it by our Assemblies.* And to the *Rev. Dr. Rivet*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, dated the 10th of *November*, *Those People (Bearnese) never would admit*

admit of any Counsel, they have carried their Boldness to the utmost, and you see what the Consequence has been. Indeed that Wound is very painful to me, and much more so, because we could have avoided it. I can see no Balsam to cure it, &c. And to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, dated the 19th of November, You know better than any body else, what I thought of the Affairs of *Bearn*, and what my Advices have been, always inclining, as well as your self, to some reasonable Agreement, whereby their own Safety would have been provided for, as well as the King's Authority. And nevertheless, these poor wretched People have drawn upon themselves their own Misfortune, in danger of communicating it to others. I might easily increase my Quotations, but these methinks are more than sufficient; and am in hopes, that being screen'd under such a Voucher, no body will deem me partial, when I do positively affirm, that Passion, Self-Interest, &c. of some were more concerned in these Troubles, and in the Civil-Religious, or rather Irreligious Wars, wherein we were involved the very next Year, than Religion itself, Which Assertion I am very sorry to be so well able to make good, and wish to God that I may be found a Lyar, for the Honour of our Religion, or rather the Professors thereof. But let us return to our main Subject.

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During these Transactions in *Bearn*, and for some Days before, was held the 23d National Synod of the Reformed Churches of *France* and *Bearn* at *Alez* in the *Sevennes*: They began their Sessions on the first of *October*; the Rev. Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, Minister of *Charenton* was chosen Moderator; the Rev. Mr. *Laurence Brunier*, Minister of *Ujez*, Assessor;

The 23d
National
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seffor ; and the Rev. Mr. *Nicholas Vignier*, Minister of *Blois*, with *Thomas Papillon*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and Elder of the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Many Complaints were brought before this Assembly, of the Injustices done to the Reformed in several Parts of the Kingdom ; some Churches there were where the free Exercise of Religion was opposed : The Affairs of *Leytours*, *Sancerre*, and *Privas* were consider'd. But one of the most important Affairs of this Assembly, was that of the Ministers who had preached their own Opinions about Civil Matters, at *Loudun*, against the Resolutions of the Assembly : There were several such Men in the *Lower Languedoc*, who occasioned several Disturbances in the Political Assemblies of that Province, because the Deputies that compos'd them being nominated by the Churches, there were too many Ministers nominated for the said Deputation ; and even such as could not obtain to be chosen by their Church, endeavoured to obtain it of some great Lord, in order to be admitted in the said Assemblies. The Synod thinking proper to provide against such Irregularities, forbad the Ministers to accept of any such Deputation to Court or to Lords ; and ordered that for the future the Deputies to the General or Provincial Assemblies be chosen rather out of the Laity than out of the Clergy ; and whereas that Regulation exceeded the Bounds of Discipline, the Synod added, that the next General Political Assembly should be desired to approve it, and whatsoever else might free the Churches from political Affairs.

The Rev. Doctors *Du Moulin*, *Chauve*, *Chamier* and *Rivet*, who had been named by the last
National

National Synod, for Deputies of the Reformed Churches in *France* to the Synod of *Dort*, accounted for their Absence, and the unperformance of their Commission. The King forbade them to go thither, so that *Chemier* and *Chauve*, who were already arrived at *Geneva*, were obliged to come back. They were set out without having asked the King's Leave; the two others thought it more adviseable and prudent to ask it, but were refused. His Majesty did not think proper that his own Subjects should assist in an Assembly, wherein, (*as he was very well informed*) Matters would take a turn quite contrary to the strong Sollicitations he caused to be made to their High-Mightinesses by his Ambassadors. The present Synod, not being able to do more, not only accepted the Decisions framed at *Dort*, but took an Oath upon them and subscribed them, not only for the Sake of Union, but on account of Faith; not considering, that thereby they intirely subverted their Scheme for an Union between the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, and that they estranged the first from them more than ever. Nevertheiefs they added to this Act of their Adherence to the *Dordracenian* Doctrine, an Exhortation to the Ministers to whom the Care of precious Souls is committed, " That they should
 " walk together evenly and harmoniously in
 " one and the same way; that they should
 " abstain from all idle, unprofitable, and curious Questions; that they do not pry into
 " the Sacred Ark of God's hidden and unrevealed Counsels and Decrees, above
 " or beyond what is recorded in his written
 " Word, the Holy Scriptures of Truth, but
 " rather that they would humbly own and
 " acknowledge their Ignorance of those pro-

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found and unfathomable Myſteries, than intrude themſelves into things unlawful; and that they would ſo order their Diſcourſes and Sermons concerning Predeſtination, that it might promote Repentance and Amendment of Life, comfort wounded Conſciences, and excite the Practice of Godlineſs; that ſo all Occaſions of Diſputes and Controverſies may be avoided, &c.” Nothing more fine, juſt and reaſonable could be ſaid: But had theſe godly Rules ſtrictly been obſerved at *Dort*? Had theſe truly modeſt Sentiments prevailed in the Synod? Let the Reader of the Hiſtory of that Synod of *Dort* be judge for himſelf.

The Affair of *Bearn* cauſed great Agitations in this Synod; ſome were for taking their Cauſe in hand, for ſending a Deputation to the King in their behalf, and in caſe it proved ineffectual, for engaging in that Quarrel all the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom: But others, more moderate and more conſidering, oppoſed that Reſolution; from whence aroſe warm Debates in that Aſſembly. It is probable, that a Deputation to the King might have ſomewhat relented their Spirits, but there was no certainty of Succeſs; and on the other hand, it was no leſs probable, that in the preſent Circumſtances, his Majeſty would not admit of any Interceſſion, eſpecially from the Synod, who were not intitled to interfere in any Civil Matter.

Mr. Benoit
censured.

I have been much ſurpriſed to find in the Rev. Mr. *Benoit's* Hiſtory of the Ediſt of *Nantz*, Vol. II. Book VI. thoſe who oppoſed all violent Methods propoſed in this Synod, for redreſſing the Grievances of *Bearn*, branded with the odious Imputation of being bribed and corrupted by the Court. In truth, the Reverend Author

has

has little considered, either what the Gospel requires of its sincere Professors, or what was requisite for the Welfare of our Churches, in true Policy, in the Condition they were then in, or the favourable Circumstances of our Enemies. Christianity calls us to suffer the Loss of our Temporal Concerns when our Spiritual ones are safe; whereby I mean, Liberty of Conscience, Freedom of Worship, and such like; rather than to expose ourselves to the Danger of losing these, without any certainty of preserving the others. Now it is certain, that at that time, in general, we enjoyed every where (fifteen or eighteen Places excepted) the Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of Worship. It is true, that as to the Freedom of Worship, or the free publick Exercise of our Religion, it was attended in several Places with great Inconveniences, because the Places appointed for Divine Service, were far distant from the Places of our Abode: but that was mostly the fault of those who had drawn up the Edict of *Nantz*, who were not careful enough in that respect, and left several like things undecided, which ought to have been clear'd at first, as the Reverend Author, just now mentioned, rightly observes in the 1st Vol. of his History. As to the Situation of the Reformed in those Days, it is certain that Peace and Quietness were very requisite, in order to retrieve not only the Kingdom in general, but the Reformed Party in particular, from their former Losses, and to restore it to its former Splendor: They were but in small number, in comparison of what they had been under the three last Reigns of the House of *Orleans*, and the beginning of *Henry IV.* They had no Support within nor without whereupon they could depend, as

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Lewis 13. they had had in the former times, when they
 1620. had been supported by the Politician Party
 Pope Paul at home, which was very considerable, and
 V. abroad, by the formidable Armies of *Reizters*
 and *Landskenets* sent to their Assistance by
 the *Protestant* Princes of *Germany*. Their
 Cause was no longer the same, they had to
 fight in the former Wars for the Honour of
 their Wives and Daughters, for their Liberty,
 for their Lives, for their Consciences, in a
 word for whatever is the dearest amongst Men:
 But now they were to fight for more or less
 of Civil Rights and Privileges, and even for
 less than that. Could the Chiefs amongst our
 Reformed expect to be supported by the whole
 Body, when a great part of them were bet-
 ter informed of the true Motives that indu-
 ced them to take up Arms? Besides that,
 there was no such an Union and good Un-
 derstanding amongst themselves as was requi-
 site for expecting any good Success from an
 Insurrection. The great Lords had each of
 them his own private Concerns to manage,
Les Diguieres had the Constable's Staff in
 View, *Châtillon* and *La Force* each a Mar-
 shal's Staff, *Bouillon* was too prudent and wise
 to engage himself with a Party weakened
 by the Divisions that reigned amongst them-
 selves, and which, though united together,
 had never been able alone to withstand the
 Forces of the King of *France*. Besides that,
 he was warmly solliciting the Court to take
 part with the *Eleñtor Palatine*, his Nephew,
 and to support his Interest against the House
 of *Austria*; so that it was not his Interest to
 create any new Disturbances in the King-
 dom, which might hinder the King from car-
 rying his Arms abroad. *La Trimouille* was
 then

then too young to be depended upon, besides which, he did bear a secret Grudge to the Duke of *Roban*, because he would not yield unto him the Precedency in the States of *Britanny*, and he was so fickle in his Religion, that he turned Catholick some time after. In one word, there was in the whole Party, but one *Du Plessis*, who truly had at heart the Advancement of the Glory of God, and sought sincerely the Welfare of the Churches; but his long Experience made him sensible, that one Year of a Civil War was a thing a great deal worse than twenty Years of a Male-Administration; and his Godliness prompted him to postpone all Temporal Concerns to the Spiritual: so that being not well satisfy'd as to THESE, that they were so much obstructed, as it was commonly reported, (for he had every where good Correspondents, who informed him exactly of every thing) he could not bear with the thought of bringing Affairs to extremes, as long as they enjoy'd that precious Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of Exercise, which he valued above all things. There was not such a harmony even between the Commonalties themselves as was to have been, besides the different way of thinking in the Provinces this side the *Loire* from those beyond; the Commonalties in the *Southern* Provinces did not agree one with another, but followed, for the most part, the Directions of their Governor, who had, as already observed, their private Interest in view. Since the late Insurrection, all the Catholick Princes and Lords, who had sided with the Queen-Mother, had made their Submission to the King; and his Majesty, having been given to understand, that the League of most

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Lewis 13. part of the Protestant Princes of Germany for
 1620. the Support of the *Electoꝛ Palatine*, King of
 Pope Paul *Bobemia*, was especially formed for the De-
 V. struction of the *Roman Religion*, he did not
 think proper to meddle himself in the Trou-
 bles of *Germany*, any further than by send-
 ing his Ambassadors to *Vienna*, to negotiate
 an Agreement between the contending Parties,
 which however was of none effect; but there
 being no Diverſion of his Forces, which were
 ready to take the Field, I cannot apprehend
 how the Rev. Mr. *Benoit* has been ſo unpo-
 litical, as to charge with Bribery and Corrup-
 tion thoſe who oppoſed all violent Schemes
 in this Synod, which having ſat for two full
 Months, and diſpatched ſeveral things relating
 to Diſcipline, and ſettled their Accounts of the
 King's Monies, ended their Sefſions the 2d
 Day of *December*.

*Affairs of
 the Electoꝛ
 Palatine.*

We have given ſome hint of the *Electoꝛ
 Palatine*, *Frederick V.* having been elected
 King of *Bobemia* in *September*, 1619, in the
 room of *Ferdinand II.* Emperor, who had
 forfeited that Title. The *Bobemians* had been
 oftentimes deceived by the abuſive Treaties
 made between them and their Kings of the
 Houſe of *Austria*, as to their Civil as well
 as to their Religious Rights and Privileges.
 Eſpecially they were extremely provoked by
 the laſt Treaty concluded between the Em-
 peror *Matthias*, *Philip III.* King of *Spain*, and
 the Archdukes of the *Low-Countries* of *In-
 ſpruck* and *Gratz*, whereby they diſpoſed of
 the Crown of *Bobemia*, as if it had been He-
 reditary, and not Elective. The States of *Mo-
 ravia*, *Sileſia*, and *Lufatia* adjoined themſelves
 with thoſe of *Bobemia*, and the *Upper Au-
 ſtria* was ready to do the like. But they
 were much more provoked when they heard
 that

that the Gates of *Francfort* had been shut up to their Ambassadors, which they had sent to the Diet of the Electors, for to protest in their Name against *Ferdinand's* sitting in the said Diet as King-Elector of *Bohemia*. Therefore, seeing that *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding their Remonstrances, had not only been admitted to sit as Elector, but had been also elected to be Emperor, the States of the Kingdom were assembled, and in Presence of the Deputies of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusatia*, they took an Oath to shake off the Yoke of the House of *Austria*, and to elect another King instead of *Ferdinand*; and accordingly on the 5th of *September*, 1619, they declared *Frederick V.* Elector *Palatine*, duly elected King of *Bohemia*. He was preferred to the three other Candidates, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, on account of his Proximity and Power; but especially because he was not united with the House of *Austria*, as the Elector of *Saxony* was: besides that he was meek and generous, and they were in hopes that *James* the First would support his Son-in-Law, and that the States-General of the *United Provinces* would freely join their Forces with his for their common Defence, in consideration of Prince *Maurice*, Uncle to *Frederick*. They also much rely'd upon the League of most of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, whereof the Elector *Palatine* was Head. Finally, they flattered themselves that the Duke of *Bouillon*, Uncle to *Frederick*, would prevail with the Court of *France*, and obtain some Assistance for his Nephew, and that the Reformed Nobility of that Kingdom would gladly enter into the Service of a Prince of

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Lewis 13. their Religion. But they were much deceived
 1620. in their Expectation; King *James* infatuated
 Pope Paul with the Notions of an arbitrary Power in the
 V. Prince over his Subjects, was very far from
 supporting the Cause of the *Bohemians*, he wilfully suffered himself to be grossly imposed upon by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and chose to sacrifice the Honour and Interest of his Son-in-Law to these wild Notions of Government, and to his idle Temper, rather than to exert himself in a princely manner, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of his Parliament, and their generous Efforts to support *Frederick*. The Affairs of *France* were not in a posture that could permit the King to interfere in a foreign War, so that the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon's* Endeavours and Expectations were frustrated. The Elector of *Saxony* forsook the Protestant League, and joined the Emperor. Nevertheless the *Bohemians* would have been able to cope with *Ferdinand* and his Allies, had not two Overthrows almost ruined the Affairs of *Bethlem Gabor*, and restored *Ferdinand's*. The *Transylvanian* Prince was in a strict Correspondence with the States of *Bohemia*, and was marching to their Assistance, when he received the News of *Frederick's* Election. His Army being enter'd into *Hungary*, made very great Progress in that Kingdom. All the Malecontents declared themselves for *Gabor*; *Humana's*, the Emperor's General, retreated towards *Poland*; *Cassovia*, and several other Places in the upper *Hungary* surrendered without much Resistance, and the States of that Country, either too weak for resisting, or loathing the Administration of the proud and sottishly bigotted *Ferdinand*, submitted themselves

themselves to the *Transylvanian* upon certain Terms, for the Preservation of their Privileges. He advanced as far as *Presbourg*, and besieged it. *Forgatsi* Palatine of *Hungary* required a little time in order to consult with the Lords that were with him; they resolved to surrender, and to acknowledge *Gabor* as Prince of *Hungary*, *Forgatsi* keeping the Dignity of Palatine, and Liberty of Conscience was to be granted every where.

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The *Bohemian* Army commanded by the Count of *Tburn* was marching in all diligence towards *Austria*, in order to join the *Transylvanian*. *Tburn* would have carried *Vienna's* Bridges, had it not been for the stout-Resistance of the Count *Dampierre*. *Tburn* continued his March towards *Hungary*, and for hindering their junction with the *Transylvanians*, the Count of *Buquoi* attacked with 5000 Men well disciplined, *Gabor*, who had with him 15,000 Men, but for the most part raw Troops, who were beaten; nevertheless *Buquoi* having not a sufficient Number of Troops could not hinder the *Transylvanians* from joining the *Bohemians*. They marched to *Vienna*, where the Inhabitants were in a great Consternation. That City would have been besieged, but *Gabor* having received Advice of the Rout of *Stephen Ragotzi*, General of his Troops in the *Upper Hungary*, this second Overthrow obliged him to part with *Tburn*, and to return with all speed into *Hungary*, and the *Bohemians* went back into their own Country. And now the Affairs of the Emperor began to recover, he had lost *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and was very near losing *Austria*; but from this time, the Scale turned on his side. The States of *Hungary* durst not proceed

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proceed to the Proclamation of *Gabor*, as King *, and that Prince imprudently accepted of a Truce with the Emperor. As to the *Bobemians*, *Frederick* was crowned at *Prague* the 4th of *November*, and *Elizabeth* his Consort two or three Days after. But not having found that Assistance whereupon he had too easily relied, he lost by degrees all his Advantages, 'till at last he was totally ruined by the loss of the Battle fought before *Prague* the 9th of *November* 1620, a Year and five Days after his Coronation. His Majesty was obliged to save himself by flight: in less than ten Days he lost not only his Acquisitions, but also most part of his own Patrimony, all his Titles and Dignities, and was obliged to seek for a Refuge in the Court of the Elector of *Brandenbourg* (r). Such was the State of Affairs in *Germany*. The seven United Provinces were in no better Condition to afford any Assistance to the Reformed of *France*. Their Truce with *Spain* was near expiring, they wanted the *French* King's Assistance in case the War should begin again, as it was likely it would. The King of *England* shamefully suffering his Son-in-Law to be divested of his own Dominions, was not like to grant them any Relief. Therefore I can't but blame the violent Counsels that were taken and executed

* Nevertheless six Weeks after or thereabout the States of *Hungary* acknowledged him, and appointed a Day for his Coronation at *Plessing*; he was preparing every thing for that Solemnity, when he received the News of the Overthrow, *Frederick* had received before *Prague*. He carried along with him the Crown and all the Regalia. I find that he enjoyed the Royal Title and Dignity till *January* 1622, when he resigned them to *Ferdinand*, by the Treaty concluded at that time at *Nicholasbourg*.

(r) *Le Vassor* Hist. de Louis xiii. Liv. 14, 15, 18.

cuted at this time by our Ancestors, as contrary not only to their Duty to God, their Allegiance to the King, but even to their own true Interest; as I shall make it plainly appear in the Sequel.

Notwithstanding the King's Declarations prohibiting all political Assemblies without his special Licence, on pain of Death, the Deputies of the Provinces being arrived at *Rockelle*, and having celebrated a Fast, opened their Assembly on the 24th of *December*. Their first Care was to mollify his Majesty's Heart, for which purpose they drew up an humble Address to him, wherein they set forth in a respectful manner the Reasons which had moved the Reformed Churches to hold an Assembly, and the manifold Grievances they had heretofore suffered, through the Infraction of the Edicts. They put him in remembrance, that in order to oblige them to depart six Months before from *Loudun*, his Majesty had thought proper that the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Luines* should promise upon their Word of Honour to the Duke of *Les Diguieres* and the Count of *Châtillon*, that if they obeyed his Command to break up, his Majesty would be pleased to order some of the principal Articles of their Petitions to be executed in six Months Time at the furthest; and that the other Articles should be afterwards favourably answered. Furthermore, that the Deputies of *Bearn* should be heard in their just Defence a Month after the six expired. Lastly, that in Case of Non-performance of these Articles, they should be at liberty to assemble again; that the Prince of *Condé* had promised them upon his Word, that he would procure for them the King's Writ for that

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The Political Assembly at Rockelle.

They send an humble Address to the King.

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purpose; that the Duke of *Luïnes* had assured them, that his Word, which he engaged at the same time, was equal to his Bond, and might be depended on; that they had added in the King's Name, that it was for the first time that he engaged his Royal Word with his Reformed Subjects, and that they ought to look upon it as an inviolable Promise. That upon all these Securities they had obeyed without Delay. That his Majesty had himself ratified with his own Mouth to those who spoke to him in their Name, that he would cause whatever had been promised unto them by the Prince and the Duke of *Luïnes* to be faithfully executed. That before breaking up they had drawn up an Instrument of their Obedience, in consequence of the Promises made unto them, and had charged their Deputies to summon another Assembly, if the Premises were not performed within the six Months. That these Things had not been done in secret; his Majesty could not be ignorant of it, no more than the Lords of his Council. Then they set forth the Violation of all these Promises; the six Months were expired without having received any Satisfaction at all, as they said; and the seventh promised to those of *Bearn* for hearing them in their Defence was not expired, when his Majesty marched into that Country at the head of his Army for executing his Decree about the Replevy of the Church-lands, &c. They justify'd their Conduct, as having done nothing against the King's Authority when they had assembled at *Rochelle*, pretending to be grounded upon his royal Word given unto them at *Loudun* by the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Luïnes*. They added new Grievances to the former,

whereof

whereof they humbly craved a Redress; seditious Sermons and Libels published everywhere, to raise the People against them; CorpSES of the Deceased digged out of the Ground; burning of Churches*; Ministers exiled; Places granted near the Cities and Towns for the publick Worship, not yet delivered. The Jesuits were not spared, they inveigh'd very bitterly but not beyond their Deserts against them. And they concluded thus: "These Alarms, Sir, oblige us to beseech your Majesty, not to hearken to the Calumnies of our Enemies, to consider the Justice of our Cause, and to grant us Leave freely to lay at your Majesty's Feet our Complaints and Prayers. If we obtain some Token of your good Will to us, those of our Religion will be persuaded that you are resolved to protect us against our Enemies Attempts. By securing unto us our Liberty, Estates, and Life, your Majesty will enable us to employ them to your Service. We solemnly do declare before God and Men, in our own and in our Principals Name, that if we require the Liberty of serving God according to our own Conscience, it is with an Intention to remain steadily adhering to your Service, to endeavour to procure the State's Welfare, and the Prosperity of your Majesty's Reign. God Almighty grant us that we may be graciously dealt with by you, and that you may acknowledge that amongst all your Subjects you have none more faithful and submissive than we." Such was in short the Address of the Assembly at *Rockelle* to the

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* I don't know what Churches had been burnt at that time, unless that of *Tours*.

Lewis 13. the King, wherein one may see some Part of
 1621. that antient and generous Liberty which was
 Pope Paul not as yet totally extinguished in *France*, and
 V. which the Reformed preserved longer than any
 other; and no wonder, the Popish Religion
 depresses the Mind; but the Principles of Re-
 formation do quicken and raise it, they do
 enable it better to know and to speak the
 Truth. Nevertheless Liberty not governed
 by Prudence and with a due Regard to what
 we owe to our Superiours, is the most danger-
 ous thing in the World, and it is not such a
 Liberty which the Principles of the Reforma-
 tion inspire its Professors with.

The King will not receive it. However, the King absolutely refused to receive any thing that came from the Assembly at *Rockelle*; no, not even from the general Deputy *Favas*, who arrived the Beginning, the 2d or 3d Day of *January*, tho' graciously received by his Majesty: when he attempted to speak in the Assembly's Name, the King told him, that he would not receive any Letter or any thing else from the said Assembly; but if he had any thing to offer in the Name of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as one of their general Deputies, he would grant him Audience.

Some Considerations about the Causes of the Misfortunes befallen the Reformed. Before we proceed further in the dismal Relation of the Misfortunes which besel our Churches at the Time of which we are now writing, and to which this Assembly of *Rockelle* gave rise; I think it is proper here to set down the true Causes thereof. It is the Part of a vain Declaimer continually to cry out against our Enemies Injustice, to heap up a thousand barbarous Actions committed against our Forefathers, which compelled them to take up Arms in their own Defence, to dazzle

dazzle the Reader with hyperbolical or imperfect Narrations, or even with such as are entirely false; to give out as Causes, what were only Consequences; in a word, to justify in every thing that Party for which they had once declared; to blame and condemn in every thing the contrary Party. Such a Method deserves to be detested by every sober Man; it overthrows the fundamental Laws of History, the chief of which is, always to speak Truth, as far as we know it: it is only fit to darken the Mind, to produce in it unjust Prejudices, or to strengthen them, and to excite violent Passions in the Heart. So, without having regard to what has been written by some ignorant or unfaithful Historians, concerning the Causes of our civil religious Wars under the Reign of *Lewis XIII.*, we will take them out of contemporary Authors, and particularly out of the Letters and Memoirs of the illustrious and virtuous *Du Pleffis*, and out of the History of his Life; out of the Duke of *Roban's* Memoirs and Political Discourses, not neglecting the Informations and Assistances which we may receive of the Biographers of the Constable *De Les Diguieres*, and of the Duke of *Espernon*, out of the Memoirs of Mr. *De Pontis*, *Bassompierre*, and other Contemporaries.

There are two Sorts of Causes of our Forefathers Calamities to be distinguished, *viz.* the Primary and Secondary. I do not intend in this Place to set up for a Preacher; but I cannot, without blinding myself, but perceive in them the Finger of God provoked against our Forefathers, because of their scandalous Sins. The prime Nobility among us sacrificed all to their Ambition, to their Avarice, to their Luxury,

or

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Lewis 13. or to their private Resentments and Revenge.
 1621. The Gentry willingly imitated the Nobility;
 Pope Paul and the Burghers thought to make themselves
 V. more considerable by following the Gentry's
 Examples, as those did by imitating the Nobility. That noble Zeal with which their Fathers had made themselves conspicuous for Truth and Virtue, had made way for Indifference; the Discipline had no Force on any but on those who had any Place in the Church, and for poor Tradesmen and poor People; as for the others, they either laughed at its Censures, or if they submitted, they made a Joke of it, or else it was only for self-interested Views. In one word, Corruption had introduced itself even into the holy Places; there were seen but too many Ministers full of Pride, Vanity, Ambition, Avarice, who prostituted their Talents to satiate their Passions, who even sacrificed Truth to them. What shall I say? I am ashamed to relate here the Sentence pronounced by the late Synod of *Alex* against eight Ministers, who were deposed for Apostacy, six of whom were convicted of Adultery and other Crimes no less heinous. Can one after that be surpris'd, that God sent down on our Ancestors a Spirit of Confusion, which hurried them on to the Precipice which they might have escaped by following even but the Rules of human Prudence.

Secondary Causes.

The Secondary Causes which concurred to reduce our Ancestors to the miserable Condition in which they found themselves in less than nine Years, are as follow :

First, Our Enemies implacable Hatred, who had sworn our Destruction. *Madrid* and *Rome* strongly and effectually sollicitated the Favourite,

avourite, to endeavour with his Master to compass our Ruin. The Ambition with which *Luis* was agitated, made him fall into the Snares which those two Courts had laid for him. The House of *Austria* was reduced almost to the last Extremity in *Germany*, and would certainly have fallen quite, had *France*, sensible of its own true Interest, seconded the Efforts which *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and the Princes of the *Protestant League* made, to throw off the Yoke of its tyrannical Government. The Ministers of *Spain* and *Rome* knew it very well; it was in order to prevent this Misfortune, that in the Year 1619 they dazzled in such a manner *Lewis's* unworthy Favourite and Prime Minister with the Hopes of a rich and glorious Settlement for his Brother *Cadenet*, who by that means became Duke of *Luxembourg*, and of the first Dignity in the Kingdom after the King, for himself; that he engaged to do whatever they pleased, and strongly opposed the Advice of the ancient Counsellors of State, and hindered his Master from taking the Resolution which the Honour and Interest of his Crown required him to take. He failed not to alledge for a Pretext the different Factions in the Kingdom, and particularly the Discontents of the Reformed, who would not fail to improve the Opportunity, if the King should be engaged in a foreign War, to right themselves.

Thus sacrificed he the publick to his own private Interest, and he chose rather to see the *French* cruelly butchering each other, than to suffer them to go and acquire immortal Glory, by assisting the ancient Allies of *France*, for fear of losing the Constable's Staff, which he aimed at. That was the first Cause of the

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Misfortunes which befel the Reformed in *France*, viz. the Favourite's boundless Ambition, Let us join under the same Cause, Con-

dé's Avarice. That ungrateful Prince forgetting the Kindnesses which he as well as his Father and Grandfather had received from the Reformed, became one of their bitterest Enemies, and most violent Persecutors. Given up to fordid Avarice, he thought to find a Way of satisfying it by the Destruction of those who had saved his Life, and the Forfeiture of their Goods and Estates; therefore he zealously embraced *De Luines's* ambitious Views, not knowing, nevertheless, that the End which this one aimed at was the very same to which he himself aspired, and which he certainly deserved in all Respects infinitely better than the other. So thinking to gratify his own Passion by Methods no less unjust than contrary to the Welfare of the State, which his Birth oblig'd him continually to regard, he effectually laboured to satiate another Man's, and reaped therefrom very little Profit, and still less Honour.

Add to that the continual Clamours of the *Jesuits*, and of a Clergy enraged against us; the first absolutely governed the King's Mind, by the Means of Father *Arnoux*, Director of his Conscience, the greatest Knave that ever lived; who being the Favourite's Creature, directed his Penitent's Conscience, according to the Views of that ambitious Fellow. The others long since accustomed to prostitute in a servile manner the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, blindly followed the Orders of the Court of *Rome*, and spoke but by its Inspirations. 'Twas they who in the last general Estates had violently opposed the Article of
the

the third Estate concerning the Independency of Kings. 'Twas they, who on the same Occasion warmly sollicitated the King to execute the Oath which he had made at his Coronation, to extirpate the Hereticks. And 'twas they who, to encourage his Majesty to follow the Councils of his Favourite and his Cabal, offered him a large Sum for the Charges of the War against the Hereticks.

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Not only that, but as there was very little likelihood that the Reformed should become Aggressors as long as they should be suffered to live quietly under the Benefit of the Edicts, it was absolutely necessary to do something which, by putting them out of Patience, should give the Court a specious Pretence for putting in Execution those pernicious Designs. This was not very difficult, the *Roman Religion* teaching its Followers that it is a meritorious Deed to break one's Word with Hereticks, when the Service of the Church is concerned, they did not fail to put this holy Maxim in Practice. The Edict of *Nantz* was infringed in several of its Articles; they would and did make *Jesuits* preach in cautionary Towns; they did not pay the Garrisons of the said Towns, or they gave them but bad Assignments; they took away Reformed Children from their Parents, to educate them in the *Roman Religion*; they dug up their Dead; they ill-used their sick People in the Hospitals, to force them to turn Catholics; they deprived them of the Offices, to which their Birth, their Services, or their Merit gave them a Right, and even of those which they enjoyed already, and that, only on account of their Religion. The Parliaments did them no Justice on their Complaints. Those of

Lewis 13. *Tboulouſe* and *Bourdeaux*, fir'd with a furious
 1621. Zeal againſt them, made it their Duty to
 Pope Paul ſatisfy their Rage at the expence of Truth and
 V. Justice: The inferior Courts followed the
 Example of the Superiors. All theſe Injuſtices and Vexations in a much greater Number than I have here recounted them, occurr'd ſeldom or oftner, according to the Climate, the Bigotry, and the Power of their Enemies in the different Provinces wherein they dwelt. I ſhall not here relate the many mobbiſh Seditions, the many Violences and Enormities excited and committed againſt them in thoſe Places where they were the weakeſt. I am willing to believe that the Court knew nothing of it, and that it was not always able to remedy them, by reaſon of the Diviſions and Factions prevailing in it. But did it redreſs all the Grievances which it might have redreſs'd? No, they gave fair Words which they never endeavour'd to perform; they ſpun out for whole Years together, Things which did not require above half an Hour, had they been willing to give the Reformed ſome Satisfaction on their juſt Complaints, their Actions belyed their Words. All which could not but fill their Minds with Jealouſies and Miſtruſt, which was conſiderably increaſed by the ſeditious Sermons of the Preachers, Jeſuits, and others, who dar'd to threaten them with approaching Ruin. *Du Pleſſis* gives us an Inſtance thereof: A Capuchin preaching at *Saumur* at the time which we now ſpeak of, and explaining that Paſſage of the Goſpel, wherein it is ſaid that the Soldiers ſpat in our Saviour's Face; cry'd out, *Who think you, Friends, that thoſe were? They were thoſe who maintain the Hereticks, who give their Miniſters Wages, &c.* And then

then you are for Peace! let whosoever be of-
 fended thereat, I fear no body, we must have
 War, &c. Thus every Thing was made use
 of to tire the Reformed's Patience, to reduce
 them to despair, and thus by accusing them
 of Crimes, they were actually hurried on to
 the Commission of them. That was the first
 secondary Cause of our Calamities.

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The second proceeds from our selves; and
 first of all here appears the Affair of the
Bearnese, who by their stubborness and obsti-
 nacy, set on fire all the Reformed Churches
 of *France*. I confess that 'tis hard to lose all
 on a sudden Privileges which one has enjoy'd
 many Ages; but ought they not to have con-
 sidered the Circumstance of Times, and that
 their lawful Sovereign was no longer a petty
 Prince, but a King of *France*? Besides, had
 they not themselves given rise to the Altera-
 tions which happened among them, when, as
 one may say, weary with being a separate Body,
 they eagerly and against the Court's Will,
 and the Advice of their best Friends, sought
 to make a strict Union with the Reformed
 Churches of *France*, not only in Point of
 Doctrine, but also in that of Discipline, not
 only for the Spiritual, but also for the Tem-
 poral, sending Deputies not only to the Na-
 tional Synods, but also to the Political Assem-
 blies, and that as Members of the same Body;
 this also was practised by the Catholicks of that
 Country. So that it is not strange, that there
 being so much Conformity, and so strict an
 Union between *France* and *Bearn*, the King
 should think of re-uniting his ancient Domi-
 nions to the Crown of *France*. The same
 Thing had been practised heretofore, *Britanny*,
Dauphiné, *Guienne*, &c. had afforded Examples

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thereof. I confess that the Replevy of the Church-Goods, and the Re-establishment of the *Roman* Religion in their Country, and the Restoration of the *Roman* Catholicks to all the Rights and Privileges which they had enjoy'd before the Reformation, and which they had been lawfully deprived of upwards of fifty Years since, by a Decree of the States of the Country, because of the *Roman* Clergy's unnatural Perfidiousness, might of course afford them a just Cause of Discontent. They had Right to complain of the Violation of a fundamental Law of the Country, for to abolish an Act which had been past fifty Years before, only to hinder the Country from falling into the Hands of a foreign Prince, and to preserve the then present King's Grand-Mother and Father from the Snares which were laid against their Liberty and Life. They did so; and Ages to come will even admire the Strength of the Reasons which *Lescun* made use of, and the Noble Freedom with which he produced them before the Council of his Sovereign Lord. Neither were they altogether fruitless, for if the Court did not think proper to repeal the Decree of Replevy, nor that of Union, it however offered them such a Satisfaction, as not only the National Synods of *Tonneins* and *Aletz*, but also the Political Assembly held at *Rockelle* in 1619, judg'd to be reasonable and sufficient, and with which the *Bearnese* ought to have been contented; they wrote to them in those Terms, exhorting them to accept the Offers made them by the Court, representing to them that if it was Just that the Churches of *France* should not forsake them, it was not Just that they should throw themselves into the Fire for their sake,

without

without an absolute Necessity. But their Obstinacy was more powerful than all the Remonstrances: they hearkened only to their own Resentment, they thought themselves able to resist all manner of Attacks, they flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of an imaginary Succour, and were so credulous as to believe the Childish Reports which were spread of an Invasion made by the *English* towards *Calais*, with a powerful Army. In vain did the King summon them from *Bourdeaux* and *Cadillac*, to receive his Decree on the stipulated Conditions; they would by no means submit, they even forced the Sovereign Court of *Pau* to send Deputies to the King, to disown the Marquis *De la Force* their Governor, who had been to carry him Promises of their Submission, they confided in the Situation of their Country, and were so infatuated as to imagine that the badness of the Weather, the bad Roads, a large River which must be passed, would be insuperable Obstacles to that Monarch's Designs. He overcame them all, he arriv'd with part of his Army before the Gates of *Pau*, when they thought him as yet in *Guienne*; Consternation spread it self every where, all gave way. The *Bearnese*, as Monsieur *De Roban* observes, knew neither how to submit, nor how to defend themselves. The King made himself be obey'd; he executed his Decree. It is not said, that there was any Bloodshed on this Occasion. It is nevertheless certain that his Majesty exceeded the Bounds in several Respects, and particularly by changing the Governor of *Navarreins*, who was, and ought to be a Reformed, and settling in that Government, the Marquis *de Poyanes* who was a Roman Catholick, with a Garrison of the same Religion, and making him in almost every thing

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Independent of the Governor-General of the Country. But could it be expected that a Prince who was provoked at his Subjects Obstinacy, should contain himself within the Bounds of Moderation? could they even with Justice require, that he should perform that which he had formerly promised to the *Bearnese*, in case they should voluntarily submit to his Decree, and without giving him the Trouble to go and compel them? But, say they, he has anticipated the Time, the seven Months which he had granted them were not yet expired. But can one believe that they would have been more obsequious three or four Weeks later, suppose the King had returned from *Bourdeaux* to *Paris*, without marching against them as he did; when notwithstanding that they knew, that he was actually marching with his Troops, they nevertheless were still obstinate, as we have said above? and does not their Behaviour after the King's Departure from their Country, shew us what they would have done, had he never entered it.

A third secondary Cause of our Ancestors Misfortunes, was the Treachery of the Viscount *De Favas*, one of the Reformed Deputies-General at Court. This self-interested Man, was not ashamed to sacrifice the Peace and Happiness of the Churches to his own Ambition. He would, as we have already observed, obtain the Government of *Leitoure* for his Son; he was even so indiscret as to threaten the Court to call the Assembly at *Rochelle*, in Case of a Refusal. His Threats were little regarded, *Leitoure* was given to another, and to revenge himself he put his Menaces in Execution, notwithstanding all the Opposition of the Wisest and most Prudent of the

the

the Party. He deceived alike the Court ^{Lewis 13.} and the Assembly of *Rochelle*, according as ^{1621.} his Interest directed him, and as he stood ^{Pope Paul V.} more or less in need of the one, or of the other, to compass his own private Ends. He was intolerably Arrogant; I will single out but one Instance thereof: At the persuasion of the old State-Councillors, the Court had thought proper to desire the Dukes of *Roban* and *La Tremouille*, jointly with *Du Plessis Mor-nay*, to endeavour together to find out some Means of Agreement with the Assembly of *Rochelle*; the said Assembly had even consented that those Lords should undertake it. *Favas* conceived thereat an extreme Jealousy, as if they had encroached upon his Right; he had the Boldness not to deliver the Letters which those Lords were writing to the King, pretending they were worded in too submissive a Manner according to his liking, and those Lords were obliged to send him a Blank Paper signed, for him to fill it up as he saw fit.

A fourth secondary Cause, is the Assembly itself and its Proceedings. It is certain that its Convocation was contrary to the ordinary Forms. It could not be held without the King's Licence, and they had not so much as ask'd for it. It is true, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luines*, had engaged themselves with the Assembly of *Loudun*, that in Case *those Things which were promised them, were not performed in six Months time, they might meet again at Rochelle*; but there was this Clause, THAT THE PRINCE ENGAGED TO OBTAIN THE KING'S PERMISSION FOR THAT PURPOSE. Now had the Prince been summoned to make good his Promise before the Letters of Convocation were sent? Not in the least

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least. Without considering that the time which the King had spent in quelling the Troubles which the Queen his Mother, and the Male-contented Lords, had raised in the Kingdom, had not suffered him to make good what he had promised to the Assembly of *Loudun*, at the appointed Time; *Rochelle*, on the Letter of Advice which *Favas* had wrote to them from *Bourdeaux*, convok'd an Assembly, without sending Notice thereof to the Prince of *Condé*; they made this Convocation in the very Time that the King was executing what he had promised: He had already deprived *Fontrailles* of the Government of *Leitoure*, to invest therewith, *Blainville* who was a Reformed; and his Majesty being arrived at *Paris* in *November*, had at length obtained the so much disputed Reception of the two Reformed Councillors in the Parliament. It is then true that this Assembly was conven'd too precipitately, unseasonably, and without any lawful Authority. If we consider the Persons, of which it was compos'd, we shall not be surprized to see that it carried things to the greatest Extremities, several of the Deputies of the Provinces beyond the River *Loire*, were Persons who had much more Regard to their own private Interest, than to the common Welfare of the Churches, and who sought to make themselves be purchased by the Court at a greater Price, by making a great Bustle at *Rochelle*; accordingly, there were seen some of the hottest, such as *Chateauneuf* Governor of *Pons*, a cautionary Town, who sold it to the King for a round Sum of Money, I could add *Pardaillan*, *Favas*, and many more of the same Stamp, who prostituted their Honour and Conscience for a vile private Interest.

Not

Not only that, but there were even Traitors Lewis 13. 1621. Pope Paul V. in that Assembly, (and among those, were some who feigned to be the most zealous for the common Cause :) so that nothing was transacted therein, but what they immediately sent Notice of to Court. The Marquis *De la Force*, and the Count *De Cbatillon*, fail'd not also by their Agents to sollicite the Assembly, to take Measures agreeable to their own private Views; the former impatiently bore the diminishing of his Authority, and then the loss of his Post in *Bearn*, and the latter aim'd at the Dignity of Marshal of *France*. Such was the Character of those that governed the Assembly, who hindered it from hearkening to any wholesome Advice, and from forming Resolutions suitable to the present Circumstances of the Churches, or even agreeable to the Instructions which the Provinces had given their Deputies. What could be expected from a Body whose Head was so crack-brain'd, and whose Members were for the most part distemper'd? Nothing but what was dismal, as Experience made them but too sensible. I shall not speak of all the Faults which their Imprudence made them commit during the Negotiations, undertaken by the Dukes of *Roban*, *La Tremouille*, and *Du Plessis*, to endeavour to reconcile them with the Court. It is enough to say, that they exceeded so far, as to intend to form among the Churches, an Independent Republick; that for this Purpose, they had appointed a Committee, composed of nine Commissioners, who drew up several Regulations which they thought necessary to carry on the War. The first and most considerable of these Regulations, was the dividing of all the Reformed Churches of *France* into

Lewis 13. into Circles or Principal Districts, each of which
 1621. was to have its peculiar General. The Duke
 Pope Paul of *Bouillon*, the oldest Marshal of *France*,
 V. was by Preference to have the chief Command
 of the Reformed Armies, in whatever Province
 he should happen to be, besides his particular
 District consisting of *Normandy*, the *Isle of*
France, *Berry*, *Maine*, *Perche*, and *Touraine*.
 The Duke of *Soubize* was General of the
 second Circle, and was to command in *Brit-*
tany, in *Anjou*, and in *Poitou*. The third
 Circle consisting of *Angoumois*, of *Saintonge*,
 and the Neighbouring Isles was assign'd to the
 Duke of *La Tremouille*. *Lower Guienne* com-
 pos'd the fourth Circle, which was to obey
 the Marquis *De la Force*, the Father. The
 fifth contained only the Principality of *Bearn*,
 and was allotted to the Marquis's eldest Son.
Upper Guienne, and *Upper Languedoc*, form'd
 the sixth, of which the Duke of *Roban* was
 General. The Count *De Chatillon* was to
 have the *Cevennes*, *Givaudan*, and *Vivaretz*,
 which made the seventh Circle. They out of
 Decency, left to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*,
Burgundy, *Dauphiné*, and *Provence*, which
 compos'd the eighth Circle, because the greatest
 Part thereof was already in his Disposal; but
 as they mistrusted him, they named the Mar-
 quis *De Montbrun* (Son to that celebrated
 General beheaded at *Grenoble*, in the Begin-
 ning of *Henry the III's* Reign) to be his
 Lieutenant-General in *Provence*, and to have
 an Eye on his Behaviour, which was not long
 suspected. Last of all, the Country of *Aulnix*
 and City of *Rochelle* made a particular Cir-
 cle, and in Consideration of the antient Privi-
 leges of the *Rochelese*, their Mayor had al-
 ways the Government of the City, and of the
 Country

Country of *Aulnix*, without being subject to any other General.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Paul.
V.

The Assembly which was to subsist at *Rochelle*, reserved to it self a sort of Super-Intendance and Superiority. Three of its Deputies had a Right to assist and vote in the General's Council, as well as the principal Lords in the Army. It was the Assembly, that was to give the Commissions of those Places which were to be sealed with its Seal, upon which was engraven an Emblem of Religion, with this Motto, *For Christ and for the King*. Besides these Regulations there were others concerning the Authority of the Officers, Military Discipline, the good Order in the Troops, the Finances, and several other Things which they thought necessary and of Consequence. They gave Orders for seizing the King's Money, and the Ecclesiastical Revenues in those Places where the Reformed would find themselves the strongest.

Now we cannot reflect upon all these Doings, without being forced to own that God had certainly given up the Authors thereof, to a Spirit void of all Judgment, to do those Things which were not fit to be done. And indeed they were about those fine Regulations, at which the King was so much provoked, and which hastened their Ruin, at the very Time when the Mediators were actually seeking Means to bring Matters to a happy issue, and when they were on the Point of reaping the sweet Fruits of their Labours. Besides, how imprudent were they in the Choice of the Generals of their Circles? *Les Diguieres* serv'd against them from the Beginning; *Bouillon* declared himself Neuter; *La Tremouille* submitted without the least Resistance; *Chatillon*

sent

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1621.
Poe Paul
pV.

sent to assure the King of his Fidelity; the young Marquis *De la Force* promised every thing if they would give him a Pass to come out of the Castle of *Pau*, which *D'Espernon* was about to besiege; his Father made his particular Treaty before the Year's End; so that there remained none but the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, to support the whole Burthen. One would laugh, if the Thing was not of so serious a Nature, at seeing those Gentlemen Commissaries disposing of the Provinces as if they had been Masters thereof, naming for Generals, Lords who for the most part loudly condemned their Behaviour, and would willingly have taken part against them immediately, had not some Reasons of Decency restrained them.

Those are the chief Causes of the Calamities with which our Fore-Fathers saw themselves, as it were over-whelm'd at the time, of which we are now Writing. If I have made any Mistake, or if I have aggravated any Thing, 'tis after two Great Men who cannot be suspected, since they have had the chief Direction of the Affairs of their Party. The first is the Illustrious *Du Plessis Mornay*, whose whole Life was but a continual Labour to procure the Establishment, Security, and Happiness of our Churches, and who by his Honesty and Disinterestedness, by his Learning and long Experience, gain'd the Esteem and Veneration of the Foes, as well as of the Friends of our Religion, whose Memory will never be forgotten, and will for ever be blessed in the Church. One may not then be sorry to know what were his Thoughts concerning the troublesome Affairs of that Time. In his Letter to Monsieur *Bouchereau*, Minister of *Saumur*,

Saumur, who was then at the Synod of *Aleiz*,^{Lewis 13.}
 dated *October 23d*, 1620, he says, “ Upon ^{1621.}
 “ receiving the Letters of Monsieur *De Fa-* ^{Pope Paul}
 “ *vas*, and at the Intreaties of the *Bearnese*, ^{V.}
 “ the *Rochellese* appointed six Commissaries
 “ out of the Town-House, and six out of
 “ the Burghers, to deliberate on the Convo-
 “ cation of the Assembly, which was resolved
 “ upon the 14th, and appointed for the 25th
 “ of next Month. The Day after Monsieur
 “ *De la Chenaye* arrived there, from the King,
 “ with Threatnings temper’d with his Ma-
 “ jesty’s good Intentions to make good what
 “ had been promised. The said Commissaries
 “ having met again, thought that they could
 “ not repeal this Convocation; especially
 “ since part of the Letters had been sent to
 “ the Provinces.—*You know how far that*
 “ *may lead us—I should have thought that it*
 “ *would have been proper to have some Pa-*
 “ *tience; I fear that this Convocation will*
 “ *retard the Restitution of Leitoure, will make*
 “ *the Condition of Bearn worse, and will pro-*
 “ *voke the King against all our Churches.*” In
 another Letter to the Duchess Dowager of
Rohan, dated *November the 3d*, “ I have not
 “ thought for several Reasons, and in the
 “ present State of Affairs, that this Convo-
 “ cation (of *Rochelle*) was suitable. And this
 “ I have declared where I ought, and in pro-
 “ per Time. *For it was needless for Bearn,*
 “ *and dangerous for our other Churches.*”

BUT OUR MISFORTUNE IS, THAT WE ARE
 TAUGHT NEITHER BY OUR FAULTS NOR
 TROUBLES. He uses almost the same Ex-
 pressions, in a Letter to Monsieur *De la Mous-*
faye, dated the sixth Day of the same Month.
 In the Conference which he had with the
 Count

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Paul
V.

Count *De Schomberg*, November the 9th, *De Favas* is blamed, because that when the King had forbid him to convoke the said Assembly, instead of summoning the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luines*, to stand to their Word, concerning the Permission of holding an Assembly, he had referr'd the whole Affair to the Discretion of the *Rockellese*. In the same Strain he also wrote to the Dowager of *La Tremouille*, and to the Reverend Doctor *Rivet*, both dated November the 10th. There's enough on the Convocation itself; let us now hear what he says of their Proceedings.

In a Letter to Monsieur *De Languerac*, dated December 31, speaking of the extraordinary Ambassy which the States-General were about to send to his Majesty, he says, “ *It is a Council worthy a good Neighbour, to dissuade the King from the Violences, which some People would make him commit against us. As it would also be a Council becoming a good Brother, and a good Friend, to advise us not to insist upon every Thing, and to consider that all that is lawful is not proper.*” The Assembly had been opened ever since the 25th of the same Month. And on the same Day he writes to Doctor *Rivet*; “ *I have all along cry'd out, that this Convocation of Rochelle was usefess, unseasonable, hurtful, and dangerous, and that it would damage our general Affairs, without amending in the least any Particulars. They have nevertbeless been willing to enter that Labyrinth, out of which they know not how to extricate themselves.*” The Letter which Monsieur *De la Tabariere* wrote to his Father-in-Law Monsieur *Du Plessis*, March the 8th, would richly deserve its Place here, were it not so long.

He

He informs him of some Particulars on the Conference of *Niort*, which had not yet been sent him; the Resolution which the Assembly at *Rochelle* had taken to maintain it self notwithstanding the King's Orders, and the Advice of the Great Men of the Reformed Religion; the Methods made use of by some of the hottest of the said Assembly, in order to carry their Point against the most moderate, who spoke of submitting to the King's Orders, which Methods were to stir up the Mob at *Rochelle*, who in a tumultuous Manner and with Threats entered the Place where the Assembly was held, demanding the Continuation thereof; and lastly the Promises, which the Dukes of *Roban*, of *Soubize*, and out of Complaisance the Duke of *La Tremouille*, had rashly made to the Deputies of the Assembly, as well as of the City of *Rochelle*, not to abandon them, whatever Resolution they should take: in which they own'd, that they had done wrong, when Remonstrances were made to them on that Subject by the said Gentleman, and by Monsieur *De Parabere*. In another of *Du Plessis's* Letters, to the Duke of *Roban*, dated *April 6*, he says, " *Monsieur*
 " *Des Iles hath shewn me a Letter which was*
 " *wrote to you, in which, out of Revenge for*
 " *those Decrees of Bourdeaux, strange Resolu-*
 " *tions are taking at Rochelle, which would*
 " *force the King to come directly to us, though*
 " *he had no mind to do it*". (He meant those fine Regulations above-mention'd, and a Manifesto which they had publish'd.) I know not precisely what had happened at the said Assembly at the *Easter* Communion, nor of what Nature was the Excess which it had committed; but I find it severely censured in a Letter

Lewis 13.
 1621.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XV.

Lewis 13. from Du Plessis, to Monsieur De Loumeau,
 1621. Minister at Rochelle, written April 18. “As
 Pope Gre- “to your Symptom, says he, *What shall I say*
 gory XV. “to you? I am not so presumptuous as to form
 “any Judgment or Conjecture thereon; but I
 “am sorry at my very Soul, that in an Act
 “wherein we ought to shew most Humility, and
 “most Sense of our Misery, Vanity should have
 “so much Power over us, that in the Agony
 “of our Churches, on the Eve of so many
 “Misfortunes, and while we are making a
 “Shew of that great Zeal, we should have so
 “little Respect for God, and so little Shame
 “with regard to Men; that we should have
 “so little Remembrance also of that Fast, which
 “we have caused to be celebrated throughout
 “the whole Kingdom, which with all its Sequel
 “will hereafter be looked on as a mere Farce.
 “—I do not remember seeing a Political As-
 “sembly of our Churches receive the Sacrament
 “in a Body. But is it possible, that in the
 “Condition in which we now are, we should
 “have such Thoughts? And are not these so
 “many Fore-Runners of Christ’s Passion in his
 “Members? And are there not People among
 “us, who are bribed to put our Churches to
 “shame”? Very likely there had been some
 scandalous Dispute among them for Precedency,
 on their going to the Table to receive the
 Holy Sacrament. One may besides see the
 Memoir which that great Man gave his Son-
 in-Law, *De Villarnoulx*, April 22. to serve
 as an Advice to the Assembly on the present
 State of Affairs; I have inserted it at length
 in the Collection of Acts, Regulations, De-
 clarations, and Edicts, made and publish’d
 concerning our Affairs, within the first twenty
 Years of Lewis the XIIIth’s Reign. “Con-
 “sider

“ *sider thoroughly, Gentlemen,*” says he in his Lewis 13-
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.
Letter to the Deputies of *Anjou at Rochelle,*
May 8th, “ *and yet quickly, what Council*
“ *you are to take, and give, and lay before*
“ *you with a solid Prudence and Charity,*
“ *the Condition of other People, no less than*
“ *your own; of the Provinces which are ex-*
“ *posed and quite helpless, no less than of*
“ *those which think themselves safe; and let*
“ *it not be said of you as of another Jerusa-*
“ *lem, that you let yourselves be drawn a-*
“ *way by some Zealots. Suffer my Age to*
“ *speak in this Emergency.— I know, Gen-*
“ *tlemen, that your Sentiments are sincere,*
“ *&c. but yet there must be some in the As-*
“ *sembly who do amiss, since the most secret*
“ *things are immediately known at Court, in*
“ *all their Circumstances; and I could give*
“ *you such a proof thereof, as would astonish*
“ *you. And those to whom those Informations*
“ *are directed, protest that they receive them*
“ *from those who pretend to be the most stout*
“ *and resolute of the Assembly.”*

In his Memoir on the Alteration which had happened at Saumur, he says, That “ *the*
“ *Constable (the Duke de Luines,) expatiated*
“ *on the absurd and intolerable Proceedings*
“ *of the Assembly, such (and indeed he had*
“ *very thoroughly studied them,) as made the*
“ *Words die in my Mouth, so well was I*
“ *convinced of the Truth of most part there-*
“ *of. Above all, he dwelt much upon a Form*
“ *of a Commonwealth, establish'd in the As-*
“ *sembly on pretence of a just Defence, which*
“ *divided the Kingdom; gave Orders concern-*
“ *ing the Governments, appointed a Genera-*
“ *lissimo, gave him power to besiege Cities, to*
“ *give Battles, and made itself superior to*

Lewis 13. " every thing else, and made itself a Seal with
 1621. " a certain Motto, for to seal the Commis-
 Pope Gre- " sions thereof, &c. which could only tend to
 gory XV. " the Destruction of the Monarchy, after the
 " Example of Holland, &c." And in his
 Letter of May 20th to the Dutchess Do-
 wager of la Tremouille, speaking of the Mis-
 fortunes which were going to fall on our
 Churches, " These are, says he, the Fruits
 " of our Assembly, which will destroy Jerusa-
 " lem, as the pretended Zealots did formerly.
 " You are, Madam, to take care, that your
 " Son take counsel, neither from the Examples
 " of those violent Spirits, nor from the Appre-
 " hension of Futurity, nor from the just Grief
 " of Saumur; but from the present State of
 " Affairs, from what he can, and from what
 " he ought to do, &c. I know not (says he,
 in his Letter to Monsieur Anjorant, March
 31st,) " I know not, what those who are as-
 " sembled at Rochelle may be thinking of,
 " seeing the Fruits they reap from their Coun-
 " cils. Is it not time to get rid of our vain
 " Confidence, and to partake of the Pain of
 " so many poor Churches who suffer thereby?
 " And is it enough for us to say, God will
 " help us; when we take pleasure in tempting
 " him?— I fear, that there is some Fatality,
 " when I consider either the Corruption of this
 " State, or our Obstinacy against our own
 " Good, which appears in the Conduct of our
 " Churches. Which I say to you with Tears
 " of Blood, laying before my Eyes the Sighs
 " of so many Souls, whom, if these Times last,
 " we are going to draw into a Rebellion,
 " whether they will or no." And to Mon-
 sieur de Chalas, General Deputy from the
 Commons to the King, dated the same Day,
 he

he says, “ *As I see those who began the dance,* Lewis 13. 1621. Pope Gregory XV.
 “ *are the first to fall off, since the Bearnese*
 “ *recall their Deputies from the Assembly;*
 “ *what will Monsieur de Lescun say to*
 “ *that? Would it not have been better to sub-*
 “ *mit, than to pretend to sail against the*
 “ *Wind? But let them say what they will,*
 “ *the Bearnese are Frenchmen, wise when it*
 “ *is too late, and not even so.*” And to the

Reverend Monsieur *Bouchereau*, June 1.

“ *The Bearnese return to their Senses when*

“ *they have spoil'd all. Frenchmen, in spite*

“ *of their teeth in this respect, that SERO*

“ *SAPIUNT.*” There's enough to shew

what was that great Man's opinion on the

Affairs of those times, which occasioned the

Calamities of our Churches (*t*). It is now

just to hearken to the Duke *de Roban*, their

great Protector, concerning what he thought

of the Affairs of *Bearn*, and of the said As-

sembly. Two or three Passages extracted

from his Memoirs, and his political Dis-

courses, will be sufficient to give us a just Idea

thereof. In the Beginning of the second

Book of his Memoirs, he accuses *Favas*, for

having for his own private ruined the public

Interest, writing to the *Rockellese* to convoke

the Assembly, and to work at their Fortifica-

tions; and that because he had not been

able to obtain the Government of *Leitoure*

for his Son; and some Lines lower, he adds,

that the great Men of the Reformed Reli-

gion were of opinion, that it should be dis-

solved on certain Conditions, which they

were made to hope for from Court; “ *Judg-*

“ *ing, says he, that their Stubbornness would*

Ggg 3 “ do

(*t*) Letters and Memoirs of *Du Plessis*, Tom. IV. *ad Ann.* 1620, 1621. *Vide* his Life, Lib. IV.

Lewis 13. “do us much prejudice.” But the Letters
 1621. which Favas wrote from Court, and *la Force*
 Pope Gre- and *Chatillon*’s private Interests, the one be-
 gory XV. cause of the ill Usage he met with in his
 Offices, and the other through the Desire
 which possess’d him of having new ones,
 made the Assembly continue obstinate, which
 gave the King a pretence of carrying things
 to extremes. And in his eighth political
 Discourse on the Reasons for the Peace made
 before *Montpellier*, in 1622. “I need not,
 says he, “name him who caused it to be con-
 “vok’d UNSEASONABLY, who, when it was
 “assembled, made it insist upon continuing ;
 “and who, when it was continued, betrayed
 “it ; and who, after having made his pri-
 “vate Treaty with the Court, did not cease
 “to egg on the City of *Rochelle* against the
 “Assembly : for it is sufficiently known who
 “was the Deputy-General at that time,
 “(Favas deputed by the Nobility.)” He then
 blames *la Force* and *Chatillon*, for the same
 things he had blamed them for before. And
 in the 9th Discourse, where he makes his
 own Apology : *The Origin of our Miseries*,
 says he, was the general Assembly held at
Rochelle, summoned by Favas ; his Pretence
 was to remedy the Affairs of *Bearn*, which
 were irrecoverable ; but the true Motive was
 the Refusal of the Government of *Leitoure* for
 his Son, &c.

After these two illustrious Witnesses, what
 need have we of any further Testimony ?
 The one for his Uprightness and sound
 Judgment, the other for his Steadiness and
 Fortitude, having drawn upon them the Ad-
 miration of their Age, command the Trust
 and Respect from every one. If I have
 dwelt

dwelt so long upon this Subject, it is in order to abridge the remaining part of this tedious Work; and more especially the Relation I am presently to enter upon of our three Civil Wars, which I should not so well have been able to do, had I been obliged to stop almost every Minute to account for the Causes and Motives of such dreadful Calamities which beset our Churches, and which I have thought more proper to set down together in a full open View, than to relate them by piecemeal.

Now, for to resume the Thread of our History. The King having refused to receive the humble Address, or any thing else, that came from the Assembly of *Rochelle*; *Petition of Favas* presented a Petition of his own framing and in his own Name, wherein he besought his Majesty to revoke his Declaration published against the said Assembly, and to admit its Deputies to an Audience; he had inserted something therein tending to justify its Convocation, which had been abstracted out of their own Address. But when it was read in the King's Council, it was rudely rejected as injurious to his Majesty, and full of Falshoods; and he was told himself, that his Petition deserved to be burnt; that the Assembly ought to ask the King's pardon, and instantly to break up; and that it was the only means to obtain the Abolishment of its Disobedience. The *Jesuits*, by means of Father *Arnoux* the King's Confessor, failed not highly to resent the Reflections made against them in the Address of the Assembly, and to provoke the King more and more against it; wherein they were mightily supported by the Prince of *Condé*, and others

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Lewis 13. of the same stamp in the King's Council,
 1621. who desired no better than to have an op-
 Pope Gre- portunity of fishing in troubled Waters.
 gory XV. *Bentivoglio*, the Pope's Nuncio, helped it on
 as much as he could; he did King *James*
 the honour to say of him, that he knew
 that he was rather a *Roman Catholick* in his
 heart, than any thing else; from whence he
 inferred, that the Reformed had nothing to
 expect from him.

But the ancient Counsellors were of a dif-
 ferent opinion; they had more at heart the
 Welfare of the Kingdom, and could not
 think of entering upon a War that could
 be but detrimental to the King, let the Suc-
 cess be as favourable as could be desired.
 They earnestly desired that some of the most
 moderate amongst the Reformed would in-
 terfere for bringing Matters to some reason-
 able Agreement. Accordingly they design-
 ed the Duke of *Roban* and *Du Plessis* to be
 Mediators, and ordered Mr. *Marbault* to
 inform the last of the present State of Af-
 fairs, and of their earnest Desire to concur
 with him and the Duke as much as it lay
 in their power, to procure the publick
 Good.

*Roban
 and Du
 Plessis de-
 sired to be
 Mediators.*

*They ac-
 cept.*

For avoiding any Jealousy *Du Plessis*
 thought proper to join the Duke *de la Tre-
 mouille* in the same Commission with them, and
 to have the Approbation of the Assembly;
 whereto the Duke of *Roban* readily consented.

*And sit up-
 on Business.*

That being done, these three met together
 at *Loudun* on the 19th of *January*. *Du Plessis*
 represented unto them the Danger threatning
 our Churches: That indeed the Affair of
Bearn had given them but too much and
 too just occasion for Jealousy and Mistrust;
 however

however it could not be denied, that they had drawn that Calamity upon themselves by their too great and unseasonable Obstinacy; that otherwise his Majesty would never have proceeded so far, considering the Season and the Badness of the Roads. That he knew very well that our Enemies at Court designed our Ruin, and were ready to improve every Opportunity for compassing their Ends, either by Artifice or by Force; but that there were still many good *Frenchmen* near the King, to whom they ought to afford means for preserving the State, together with our Churches. That the Restitution of *Leitoure* was a strong Argument that there was as yet no settled Resolution in the King's Council to destroy us, and as little in his Majesty's Royal Breast to continue such means made use of to subdue the Obstinacy of the *Bearnese*; considering the Importance of that Place, they would never have restored it unto them, they might have kept it upon one pretence or another. But after all, supposing the worst, they ought to consider that the King was armed, and his Forces dispersed in their best Provinces; whereas they were themselves unprepared for a defensive, much less for an offensive War. That it was not enough to have a just Cause on one's side, if Power is wanting to support it. Therefore his opinion was, that they ought carefully to avoid all ways tending to extremes, and to seek in the King's Clemency, in the Interest of the Duke of *Luïnes*, and in the Prudence and Sagacity of the sober Men of his Majesty's Council, the means to extricate themselves out of that Labyrinth; and endeavour to bring the Assembly

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gregory XV.

Lewis 13. ssembly to make the requisite Submission to
 1621. his Majesty, representing unto them the
 Pope Gre- threatening Dangers, wherein their not com-
 gory XV. plying will certainly hurry all our Churches;
 for which purpose they ought not to be flattered, but be told the plain Truth, and oblige them by that means seriously to mind the publick Safety or Danger as well as their own.

The two Dukes applauded that Advice, and promised to conform themselves to it, and to persist in it. Furthermore they resolved to write each of them at the same time a Letter to the King, the Meaning and Scope thereof was to be the same, but the Expressions different; and *Du Plessis* was desired to draw the Minute of it, which he did. They are the same Letters mentioned above, wherewith *Favas* was so much offended, finding fault with the word CLEMENCY, instead of which he put MEEKNESS, as less mean and servile; he erased out this Expression, *That they waited for his Majesty's Commands, and to know his Will concerning their most humble Supplication*; as being too submissive. What Man, good God! Was not the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* much in the right to call him, when he heard of this his prank, an ARCH MADMAN? Adding, that had his Health permitted him to be carried into the Hall of the *Louvre*, he would jog on to creep unto his Majesty's Feet tho' quite crippled, and beg pardon for the Assembly. *What doth he mean*, says he, that Arch-Madman *Favas*? *Can we get out of the Briers, wherein he has engaged our Churches by his own Imprudence, any otherwise than by Submissions? It is but too true,*
that

that the Forms requisite for the Convocation of an Assembly, have not been observed in that at Rochelle. We shall see presently how the Court resented this wicked Proceeding of this Deputy.

Lewis 13.
1620.
Pope Gregory XV.

Du Plessis's wholesome Advices were not well relished in the Assembly, they gave way to *Favas's* pernicious ones; he had written unto them to let them know how rudely his Remonstrances had been received at Court, and exhorted them to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Thereupon they wrote to the Provinces, they ordered the Cautionary Towns to be instantly strengthened and repaired. They raised extraordinary Subsidies, and they made the Promotion above mentioned of Generals and other Officers to command their Forces. Besides that, they sent some of their Members into the Provinces, to inspect into the State of their Strong-holds, &c. and for exciting the People. *De Veilles*, Deputy of the Nobility for the Provinces of the *Upper Guienne* and *Upper Languedoc*, was sent to *Saumur* for to know *Du Plessis's* Intention, to inspect into the Condition of that important Place, because of its Bridge upon the *Loire*. *Du Plessis* required 3 or 4000 Men for the keeping and defending *Saumur*. Then he opened his Mind with the Deputy, and told him, “ That a wise Man never enters upon a War
“ to make his Condition worse, but rather
“ for bettering it; that he who begins it by
“ a Defensive, must of Course make his Condition worse. That our Fathers suffered
“ many Infractions before they rose in Arms,
“ whereby they got Justice always on their
“ side, and when they were forced to a just
“ Defence, they shewed their Prudence and
“ Magnani-

The Assembly follows
Favas's
bad Counsels.

Lewis 13. “ Magnanimity by seizing in one Day, and all
 1620. “ at once, upon several good Towns, at which
 Pope Gre- “ their Enemies were at first confounded; and
 gory XV. “ if they did lose some of them by one or
 “ two Years War, they got enough remain-
 “ ing unto them by a Peace which was con-
 “ cluded with a good Edict, whereby their
 “ Condition was bettered and secured. Our
 “ Assembly is now about taking quite con-
 “ trary Measures. For two or three Articles
 “ ill observed, they run the Hazard to lose
 “ an advantageous Edict; far from advancing
 “ they go backward, far from strengthening
 “ they weaken themselves. In a word, far
 “ from getting, they lose.”

Du Pleffis
Ad-vice
upon four
Articles
proposed by
the Assem-
bly.

Though *De Veilles* relished much these Coun-
 sels, he could not prevail with the Assembly;
 they were heated by *Favas*, and prepared
 themselves in earnest for War, they deputed
 some of their Members to the great Lords
 and the Chiefs of the Party, to let them know
 that they designed to send some of their
 Members into *Holland* and over to *England*, in
 order to give these two Powers an account of
 their Conduct, and desire their Assistance in
 Case of need. *De la Tour de Genet* Deputy
 of the *Lower Guienne*, was sent to the Dukes
 of *Roban*, and of *La Tremouille*, and brought
 to *Saumur* by the last, for consulting *Du Pleffis*
 upon four private Articles. 1. The Deputa-
 tion to the said two Powers. 2. The Regula-
 tion above-mentioned concerning Policy, Mili-
 tia, Justice, and Finances. 3. A New Oath
 to submit himself blindly to whatever the As-
 sembly should determine. 4. How they
 ought to treat with Princes of contrary Re-
 ligion, in case of an Union with them; be-
 cause they were under-hand solicited by the
 Count

Count of *Soissons*, the Dukes of *Longueville* Lewis 13. 1620.
and *Mayenne*.

As to the first, the Personal Character of *James I.* and the true Interest of the *seven* Pope Gregory XV.
United Provinces, were the Topicks which *Du Plessis* made use of, to dissuade the Deputation, as we have hinted before. As to the second, He told him that such Regulations were neither seasonable nor reasonable, and if once the Court had Notice of them, as certainly she would, considering the Composition of the Assembly, our Enemies would make use thereof for more exasperating the King against us. His Majesty will no longer hearken to the Remonstrances for Peace, and those who should be so daring as to speak about it, should be rebuked as People ill affected to his Majesty's Service. As to the third, whereby he was desired to send a Deputy to the Assembly, there to swear in his Name, That he would stand by whatever the said Assembly should determine; he said, That the first Oath of their Union was sufficient; that so many repeated Oaths served only to multiply Perjuries; that whenever the Assembly should come to any good Resolution, they would not fail to be followed; that that blind Obedience which they required, was not agreeable with the Principles of our Religion; that even we denied it to the Decisions of general Councils, &c. That after all, every sober Man was frightned, when he recollected the rash Proceedings of the Assembly of *Grenoble* removed to *Nimes* in 1615, which, had attempted to force People to side with the Prince of *Condé*, on pain of Desertion from the Union, and how they had been rewarded for it, &c. As to the fourth, He insisted upon his former Opinion.

Lewis 13. Opinion. The *Reformed*, says he to the De-
 1621. puty, must have been taught by Experience,
 Pope Gre- that their Union with Princes and Lords of a
 gory XV. contrary Religion to their own, has been al-
 ways detrimental unto them. All those PRE-
 TENDED REFORMERS of the State seek only
 for its Dissipation. Things are now upon a
 certain footing, that we should endanger our
 Liberty of Conscience, should the King's Au-
 thority come to be weaken'd. What a pity that
 such wise Remonstrances should be bestowed
 upon such hard-hearted Men! The Duke of
La Tremouille, sensible of the Strength of
 these Arguments, ordered his Agent in the
 Assembly to delay the taking of such arbitrary
 and tyrannical an Oath till further Orders.
 But as to the Assembly it self, they were so
 bewitched by *Favas's* Letters, that they pro-
 ceeded further, and being insensible to their
 own Interest, they were deaf to all manner of
 Arguments.

The Court As to the Court, being throughly informed
 offended at of *Favas's* insolent Speeches and Behaviour,
 Favas's the King resented it, and our Enemies impro-
 Arrogance, ved this Opportunity for hastening our Ruin.
 and what However, the Negotiations with the two
 followed. Dukes and *Du Plessis*, were carried on; but at
 the same time Orders were sent into *Normandy*
 to disarm the Reformed, which was executed
 without Resistance. The Offices for the Receipt
 of the King's Money were removed in several
 Provinces, especially on this side the *Loire*,
 from the Cautionary Towns into others; but
 it was restored at *Saumur*, two Days after it
 had been removed, on account of the known
 Probity and Fidelity of its Governour.

A thing happened at this time which served
 not a little to provoke the King, and to render

der the Assembly more obstinate ; I mean the Revolt of the *Bearnese*. His Majesty was hardly arrived at *Paris* from his Expedition into that Country, when, being solicited by their Great Men, and under-hand by the Marquis of *La Force*, their Governour, they rose in Arms, in order to subvert whatever his Majesty had settled, and to restore things to the same State they were in before. *La Force* had set again on foot the Militia of the Country, known by the Name of *Peasants*, so *Du Plessis* calls them, but *Benoit* names them the *Parfians*, very likely he has mistaken an *i* for an *r* ; the King had suppressed that Militia, which indeed, if *Benoit* is to be credited, was the main Strength of the Province. For he pretends that these *PARSIANS* were Cantons, in which all the young Men were enlisted under a Captain, at the Command whereof they were obliged to take up Arms. So that in two or three Days time, each Captain was able to form a Body of five or six Thousand Men : and that there was six such Cantons in the Province, which by that speedy Convocation, were able to oppose any Invasion. I believe it so, was that Militia composed of so great a number of young lusty Fellows from 16 to 25 Years of Age ; but if it was so, there must have been above 900,000 Souls inhabiting the Principality of *Bearn*, which is incredible, considering the small Compass of the Land and its Situation. However, *La Force* having set on foot those Peasants or *Parfians*, attempted, with what regular Troops he had, upon several Places. The Marquis of *Poyane*, Governour of *Navarreins*, encroached every day upon the Rights of the Marquis of *La Force*, at least it was so pretended by the said Mar-

quis,

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.
The Bear-
nese re-
volt.

Lewis 13. quis, because *Poyane* had taken Arms to turn
 1621. some Gentlemen, namely *Bensins*, out of a
 Pope Gre- Tower which they had surprized and fortified
 gory XV. in the Neighbourhood of *Navarreins*. He
 sent to Court to complain of these Incroachments, but the Court owned whatever *Poyane* had done, and sent Orders to the Marquis by *La Saludie*, to disarm. That was certainly the greatest Affront that could be offered to a Man of the Age and Quality of the Marquis of *La Force*; but he had drawn it upon himself, by too openly encouraging and countenancing the Motion of the *Bearnese*. However, he highly resented it; and the Marquis his Son spurring him to Revenge, he found no great difficulty in stirring up the People to an Insurrection, they bearing very impatiently the Alterations made in their Country.

Espernon
 sent for to
 suppress
 that Insur-
 rection.

The Court being exactly informed of every Step which they took in order to recover their Privileges and Liberty, charged the Duke of *Espernon* with a Commission to force them to Obedience. He accepted the Charge, though he wanted of every thing for executing such a Design, and succeeded beyond all Expectation. A vast number of Nobility and Gentry with their Vassals resorted to him, or joined him upon the Road; and he made such a Diligence, that the Marquis of *La Force*, who thought to have stayed him by two Envoys, he had sent to him with Promises of an intire Submission, was much surprized when he heard that he was at the Gates of *Orthez*, threatening to storm it and spare no body, if they did not surrender. The Marquis and the *Bearnese*, were in hopes of being speedily relieved by some of the Neighbouring Provinces, and that the Assembly at *Rockelle* would give the necessary

necessary Orders for that purpose. But they were deceived in their Expectation; and *Orthez*, though provided with a strong Garrison, and with every other thing requisite for a long Defence, surrendered without waiting for the Cannon. That Stroke was a decisive one. *Orthez* was the only Place able to stop the Progress of the Enemy. Had the Garrison and the Inhabitants improved their Advantages, *Espernon* would have been obliged not only to raise the Siege, but even to quit the Country, having but very few Foot, and in want of every thing else necessary for subsisting an Army for any considerable time. But now this Place being taken, the Consternation was Universal amongst the People, all over the Country. Every Town opened its Gates, every one submitted to the Victorious Army; in less than three Weeks he over-run the Country, and the Inhabitants, who at first had fled from their own Habitations through the dread of his Severity, came back a-pace when they heard of his Clemency. He restored Order amongst them, and made such equitable Regulations, that both Reformed and Catholicks were satisfy'd with them, and submitted unto them, and henceforward caused no Disturbance, but lived peaceably together while the neighbouring Provinces were all in flames. The Marquess of *La Force* fled from the Country, and was deprived of his Government; his eldest Son of the Reversion of his Charge, and the youngest, who was in great favour with the King, was banish'd from Court.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

I have thoroughly examined what the Duke of *Roban* and *Du Plessis* have written about the Revolutions of *Bearn* at this time, since the coming of the King into that Country,

Lewis 13. but I could not find a word, whereupon I could
 1621. ground the least Suspicion against the Mar-
 Pope Gre- quefs of *Poyane*, or the Duke of *Espernon*,
 gory XV. and consequently the Relation of the Reverend
 Historian of the Edict of *Nantz*, who speaks
 of the cruel Executions of *Poyanes*, as if it
 had been a general Massacre of the *Reformed*
 in the whole Extent of his Government, seems
 to me ill grounded; Hyperbole may be of
 use in some Cases, but not in a Relation of
 Facts, wherein nothing but the Simplicity of
 Truth must be found. It betrays too much
 of Passion and Partiality, which renders an
 Historian unworthy the reading. Pray, is it
 likely that the Duke of *Roban*, *Du Plessis*,
Bassompierre, *De Pontis*, &c. but more espe-
 cially the two first, would have omitted such
 an odious Circumstance, which was sufficient
 to justify the Insurrection of the *Bearnese*, nay,
 the very Proceedings of the Assembly at *Rochelle*?
Du Plessis speaks of this Insurrection
 in two or three Letters, but only to blame
 it as a piece of great Imprudence and Rash-
 ness. But not a word of those bloody Exe-
 cutions and cruel Massacres mentioned by *Be-
 noist*. Nevertheless we must not imagine, that
 such things passed without any effusion of
 Blood, it is not likely that those who were
 apprehended went all of them unpunished, nei-
 ther is it reasonable to expect it. The publick
 Welfare requires that some of the Ringleaders
 should be set as an Example to others, to de-
 ter them from such like Crimes. Besides that
 Civil Commotions and Wars, no doubt, but
 they are always attended with many Unjus-
 tices and Mischiefs proceeding from the Ani-
 mosities of Parties, which cannot easily be a-
 voided. So ended the Troubles of *Bearn*,
 which

which I have a little anticipated, not to be obliged to break the Thread of my Narration.

The Conferences were continued at Court for bringing Matters to an Agreement. The Assembly had at last desisted from its Pretensions of treating by their own Deputies, and had consented to treat by the Deputies General conjointly with the Dukes of *Roban*, *La Tremouille* and *Du Plessis*. But as they would not consent to break up, till they had been acknowledged as a lawful Assembly; and receiv'd some Satisfaction upon their Grievances; the King, being provoked at their Obstinacy, set out of *Paris* about the 8th of *April* in order to force them. Before he set out he issued out a Declaration, promising his Royal Protection to all those of what Rank and Condition soever, who should behave themselves peaceably under the Benefit of his Edicts.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gregory XV.
Conferences continued.
The King sets out from Paris, and issues out a Decree.

Before he left *Paris*, his Majesty had been pleased to raise the Duke of *Luines* to the Dignity of High-Constable of *France* *. The

Luines is made High Constable of France.

H h h 2

Court

* That Dignity had been offered, some Months before, to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, upon Condition that he should turn Catholick: the Duke had accepted the Terms, but had desired to keep the Transaction secret for a while. When he was ready to declare openly, the Duke of *Luines*, who had a burning Ambition to obtain that Dignity for himself, sent *De Bressieux* and *Bullion* to solicit *Les Diguieres* to a Compliance, offering to make him Marshal General of the King's Camps and Armies, with a Stipend of six thousand Crowns per Month, and that he should not be obliged to turn Catholick. Though *Les Diguieres* resented the Affront put upon him by the Favourite, nevertheless he yielded to the Importunities of *Bullion* and *Deageant*. But this was not all, for he was himself obliged to intreat the King to bestow that Dignity upon *Luines*, who being sensible of his own Unworthiness, durst not venture to ask it himself of his Majesty. *Les Diguieres* yielded to these Intreaties, out of Fear, rather than out of Generosity; He declined the Sword of the Constable, which the King

(who

Lewis 13. Court staid at *Fontainbleau* till the 19th of
 1621. *April*, and then proceeded, but by short Jour-
 Pope Gre- nies, upon the intended Expedition against the
 gory XV. Assembly. During all that time the Confe-
 rences went on with some Prospect of a hap-
 py Issue. The old Ministers of State, who
 were against a Civil War, had advised *Du Plessis*
 to endeavour to find out some Medium or
 other, though it was only Palliative, where-
 by his Majesty might be satisfy'd as to his
 Authority, and that as to the rest, the Grievances
 complain'd of by the Assembly would
 be instantly redress'd, and their just and rea-
 sonable Demands comply'd with.

A way de-
 vised by
 Du Plessis
 for com-
 pounding
 the Diffe-
 rences.

Whereupon the Governour of *Saumur*, after
 a mature Consideration, devised a Scheme
 which ought to satisfy both Parties, viz. That
 the Assembly should break up, to obey the
 King's Orders, and depart out of *Rochelle*; but
 whereas the Members thereof were proscribed,
 they should remain in some safe Place not far
 from *Rochelle*, till the Decree issued out against
 them should be reversed; and if the King fail-
 ed to give them a just and reasonable Satisfac-
 tion upon their Grievances in the prefixed
 time, then they should be allowed to assemble
 again without any previous Licence of the
 King.

What
 were the
 Grievan-
 ces com-
 plained of
 by the As-
 sembly.

These Grievances were contained in the fol-
 lowing eight Articles, which I shall summarily
 relate.

(who was not as yet in the Secret) offered unto him,
 and besought his Majesty to give it to *Luines*, which
 accordingly was done; and the Wonder of Wonders was
 seen that day: A Man who never had commanded a Re-
 giment, and even who was not able of himself to ma-
 nage a single Company, raised in a Moment to the first
 Dignity of the Sword and State. But *Les Dignieres* was
 very near paying very dear for his Complaisance; *Luines*
 was upon the Point of sending his Benefactor to the
Bastile, had it not been for *Deageant*.

relate. 1^o. That the Reformed should not be obliged to style themselves, OF THE PRE-TENDED REFORMED RELIGION *. 2^o. That the Grievances either Ecclesiastical or Political of the Principality of *Bearn* should be redress'd. 3^o. That the Marquess *De La Force* and his Sons should be maintain'd in that Country, in the same Offices and Pensions as heretofore, and under the late King, and the Arrears due unto him be paid out of hand; *Lescun* Counsellor of the Great Council of *Pau* be restored to his Charge, notwithstanding the Decree issued out against him. 4^o. That a State of the cautionary Places in *Dauphiné*, should be deliver'd into their hands, as it had been promised by the Treaty of *Loudun* †. 5^o. That the Modification of an Article of that Treaty concerning the Reception of the two Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris* should be made void. 6^o. That the two Petitions of the late Assembly at *Loudun* should be speedily and favourably answer'd. 7^o. That Provision should be made for the Salary of the Ministers, and for the Payment of the Garrisons of the cautionary Towns. Lastly, That the Troops quartered in *Guienne*, *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, &c, which created great Jealousies and Fears, should be instantly remov'd. These Articles had been agreed upon with some little Restriction between the Lords Mediators, and the Ministers of State; they were to have the King's Approbation, which was

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gregory XV.

H h h 3 to

* That had been granted to the Reformed by the Treaty with the Duke of *Roban* in 1612, and by that of *Loudun* in 1616, but never verifi'd in Parliament.

† That depended intirely upon the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, who, willing to gratify his own Avarice, refused to give any Account of the Places that were under his peculiar Care.

Lewis 13. to be granted immediately after the breaking
 1621. up of the Assembly; and that they might do
 Pope Gre- it safely, his Majesty should reverse the De-
 gory XV. claration, whereby they had been proscribed
 as guilty of High Treason.

Favas, Deputy-General, and the Agents of the Lords were set out for *Rochelle*, in order to bring the Assembly to a Compliance: The Deputy had hardly made his Report of the Situation of Affairs, on the 23d of *April*, when they received Letters of *De Chalas*, Deputy General for the Commons, who had staid at Court, advising them, that the very next day after *Favas* was gone, a Council had been held in his Majesty's Presence, wherein it had been resolved to have 40000 Foot and 8000 Horse, to be distributed in the Provinces as Occasion should require it. That the Marquess of *La Force* had been deprived of the Government of *Bearn*, the Marquess's Son of his Company in the Guards, and *Maupouillon* his youngest Son, had been exiled from Court. At this the Assembly took fire, and the late Sedition broke out at *Tours*, added a new fuel unto it.

Sedition at
 Tours.

One *Martin*, who kept a Tavern at *Tours*, having turned *Reformed*, some Ballads were publickly sung in the Streets upon that account, to expose him to the Mockery of the People. The Children of the Catholicks had got them by heart, and *Martin* dying, as he was removed to be buried in the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed, these Children followed the Corpse singing these Ballads: Some one of the Attendants, troubled by the Noise, gave a slap on the Face to one of these Children. Thereupon the *Catholicks* cry'd, that the Child had been killed: The Mob encreased, they

they fell upon the *Reformed*, they wounded and otherwise abused, those who came into their hands without distinction; this happened on the 18th of *April*. The next day the Seditious went to the Church-yard, they digg'd up the Corpse, and tore it to pieces. From thence they went to the Church and burnt it, and plundered the Sexton's House. That Fury lasted three days together. The Magistrates, who endeavour'd to oppose it, were themselves abused; however some of the Rioters were sent to Jail. The Court having received Information of that Violence, sent a Master of the Requests to *Tours*, to try the Prisoners without Appeal; he condemned some of them to Death, whereupon the Sedition was renewed, and the Mob more furious than before ran to the Jail, broke open the Gates, released the Condemned, plundered the Reformed Houses, the Commissary himself was in danger of his Life, and obliged to take shelter in a Baker's House, from whence he fled in disguise. The Seditious could not be appeased but by the Promises they extorted from the Magistrates, of the Abolition of their Crimes, and of the Discharge of the Prisoners. But the King understanding this last Sedition, came directly to *Tours*, on the 7th of *May*, with part of his Household, and ordered five or six of the most Seditious to be hang'd out of hand.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Now, as I have observed, the News of that Disaster having reached *Rochelle*, added fresh Fuel to their Discontents; they took for a great Breach of Trust in the King's Council, what they had taken for a Master-piece of Prudence in themselves, to prepare for War during the Negotiations of Peace: The *Bearnese*

Which
adds new
Fuel to
the Discon-
tent at
Rochelle.

Lewis 13. Infurrection was very just and innocent in
 1621. itself; it was a high Crime to have suppress
 Pope Gre- it; the Marquiss of *La Force* had behaved as
 gory XV. it becomes a Governor of a Province, when he
 countenanced and supported openly the said
 Infurrection; he ought to have been reward-
 ed for it by his Master, and it was in his
 Majesty an heinous Piece of Injustice to have
 deprived such a faithful Servant of his Govern-
 ment. *Du Plessis* himself was not spared, he
 was deemed no less than a Traitor to the
 Party, he had sold *Saumur* to the King; some
 were bold enough to assert, that they had seen
Villarnoux, his Son-in-Law, delivering the
 Keys thereof to his Majesty, and receiving for
 his Father-in-Law the promised Reward. No-
 thing can satisfy them but the securing the
 Place for themselves, and giving the Govern-
 ment thereof to the Duke of *Soubize*; for
 which purpose they caused 1800 Men to march
 to *Saumur*, and questioning much whether *Du*
Plessis would receive them, and submit him-
 self to *Soubize*; (because he did hold his Go-
 vernment from the King only, and did not
 acknowledge any Governor of the Province
 of *Anjou*, not even the Queen-Mother herself,
 who was then in Possession of that Govern-
 ment) in order to force him to a Compliance,
 they desired the Lord Mayor of *Rochelle* to
 put his Son-in-Law *De Villarnoux* under Ar-
 rest. Accordingly the Mayor desired him, up-
 on some Pretence or other, to keep him Com-
 pany for two days, whereto he freely con-
 sented, being certainly acquainted that he was
 watched over at the City's Gates, and would be
 stopt there, if he attempted to escape. But
 at last, the soberest part of the Assembly ex-
 claimed against that unjust Proceeding, and
 the

the Mayor would no longer be made use of as a Tool for such Violence, so that the Prisoner was at full liberty on the third day, and he secretly retired to *Saumur*.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

The Deputy-General *Favas* was the Author of all those Calumnies against *Du Plessis* and his Son-in-Law; he had forged and spread them, in order to incense the People against them; and what is the more surprising is, that the Duke of *Roban* was deeply concerned in that dirty Work. It was found out at this time, that he had outwardly dissembled his real Sentiments while he was employed in reconciling the Differences between the King and the Assembly, till he had obtain'd the Restoration of *Du Parc d'Archiac* in the Lieutenancy of *St. John d'Angely*, whereof the King had deprived him the last Year, on account of his Violences complain'd of by the Inhabitants. And that the said Duke did underhand encourage and foment the Discontents and the Obstinacy of the Assembly, contrary to what he had so many times promised, and by words of mouth and under his own hand. So far his Ambition carry'd him, as to sacrifice, on this Occasion, his own Honour, in order to be deemed the Head of the Party, and to get the upper-hand over his Equals, who were more moderate than he.

However the Court, which was instantly informed of every minute Particular of the Transactions, even of the Secret Committee of the Assembly, having received Intelligence of their Designs upon *Saumur*, was before-hand with them. His Majesty, having ordered his Forces to march with all haste, set out from *Blois* on the 4th or 5th of *May*, and arrived

The Court
marches to
seize Sau-
mur.

Lewis 13 at *Amboise* on the 7th, where he sojourn-
 1621. ed for two days, and continuing his Jour-
 Pope Gre- ney, he arrived the 11th at *Saumur*. On the
 gory XV. 9th, *Du Plessis* had sent his Son-in-Law *De*
Villarnoux to meet the King upon the Road,
 and to receive his Commands about his Re-
 ception into that City. The Constable told
 him, that he might do as usual without any
 Alteration, and that when the King should
 come to see the Castle, he should order the
 Garrison to draw out, as usual, &c. More-
 over, he promised several times, that nothing
 should be altered at *Saumur*, *no more than in*
the Ball of the Eye. The very same day ar-
 rived the Harbingers of the Court, to prepare
 the King's Lodgings, which they did in a
 House in the Town, wherein his Majesty had
 lodged before, and the King his Father too,
 and even they set up his Bed in it. But on
 the 11th, the first Harbinger came in the Morn-
 ing to the Castle, and told the Governor that
 he could not find a proper Lodging in the
 Town; to which *Du Plessis* answer'd, that the
 late King and his present Majesty had always
 lodged in the Town, and never in the Castle.
 And as he insisted again, he asked him whe-
 ther he had Orders to prepare the King's
 Quarters in the Castle; he said No, but how-
 ever he desired leave to visit it, and not sa-
 tisfied with visiting it, he marked the Quar-
 ters. Whereupon *Du Plessis* sent a Gentleman
 to meet the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, who was
 coming with the King, and enquire about the
 matter. But *Du Hallier*, Captain of the Guards,
 being arrived at the Castle with eight Life-
 Guards; he told *Du Plessis*, that he had Or-
 ders to take Possession of the King's Quarters,
 and desired him to deliver unto him the Keys
 of

of the Gates, of the Draw-Bridges, and of the Store-Houses. The Garrison was sent out of the Castle, to *Varreins*. Nay, not a single Room was left in it for *Du Plessis* and his Family: and Lady *De Villarnoux* his Daughter was obliged to follow the Garrison with her Children, without being allowed time enough for packing either their Household Furniture, or even their Wearing Apparel, or for securing any thing in the Castle; so that every thing being left at random, that occasioned the Plunder, little less than if the Castle had been taken by Storm. The King arrived about Four of the Clock, *Du Plessis* receiv'd him at his landing, for he came by the River. His Majesty seem'd very kind to him; and when he was come up to the Castle, he told him that he had not design'd to be there before the next day. What had been done was excus'd upon the Necessity of the Times, and the hurry wherein the Resolutions of the Assembly at *Rockelle* had put them. The Governor was obliged to leave the Castle, and to take his Lodging in the Town.

On the 14th of *May*, he had a Conference with the Constable, the Duke of *Chaulne* his Brother, *Bullion* and *Deageant*. The Day before he had been offer'd in the King's Name, a hundred thousand Crowns, with the Payment of all his Arrears, and a Staff of Marshal of *France*, if he would resign his Government; but he generously refus'd these Offers. So that, being unmoveable upon that Point, the Constable did not think proper to insist any more. But he endeavour'd to persuade him, that the King could not intirely trust to the Reformed, how faithful soever some of them had been to his Majesty's Service at all

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre.
gory XV.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

all times. That as to himself, his Fidelity indeed could not be questioned. But since that very Fidelity made him very obnoxious to the Jealousies and Hatred of those who professed the same Religion as himself, it was to be expected that they would endeavour to deprive him of his Station, and seize upon his Government, that he would be obliged to yield to a superior Force, with which he was not able to cope, whereby he would be the occasion of an irreparable Prejudice to the King's Affairs. *Du Plessis* undertook the Defence of the Provinces, and told the Constable, that he had read the Instructions of several Provinces given to their Representatives in the Assembly at *Rochelle*, and was very sure that most part of these Deputies had far exceeded their Instructions; that his Majesty having expressly forbid to hold any Provincial Assembly, it had been, and was still impossible, for the Provinces to take any Measure as to the Proceedings of their Representatives; that it would be unjust to ascribe to the whole Body the Faults of some few impudent Men, which Proceedings either they knew not, or they disowned. As to what concerned the keeping of *Saumur*, he told him, that he did not expect to confer with him upon that Point; that he had nothing else to say about it, but what he himself had let him know by his Son *De Villarnoux*, and which had been confirmed unto him by the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, to wit, *that no Alteration should be made at Saumur*. That the King was Master to do what he pleaseth, but that he could never consent to any such Alterations; and if, notwithstanding his Remonstrances, his Majesty was resolved upon it, he would most humbly

bly beseech him to grant him leave to retire, and to die in Peace in his own House.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

As he spake these Words with some Motion, the Constable taking notice thereof, endeavoured to appease him, and told him, that as yet nothing was resolv'd upon that Point; that his Majesty would do nothing but agreeably to his own Satisfaction; and that he was charged to desire him to set down in writing his Opinion, about the Difficulties above-mentioned, and what could be done for the Security of the Place.

Accordingly he delivered a Memoir to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*; * whereupon two Councils were held on the 15th, and they were much perplexed about it. But though he proposed some reasonable Ways for securing the Place to the King's Service, all his Remonstrances produced no other Effect than that of naming a Reformed Lord to fill the Functions of Governour in his stead, and he was himself to keep the Title thereof. It was resolved to leave in the Suburbs two Companies of *Switzers*; Count *De Sault*, Grandson to *Les Diguieres*, was named Commandant of the Place; besides the *Switzers*, there were two Companies of the King's Guards quarter'd in the Castle. The King positively promised *Du Plessis*, that he would restore him to his Place in three Months time, or sooner: The Constable

* I will insert here the Preamble of that Memoir,
 " The Lord *Du Plessis* don't bargain with the King
 " his Master, he is wont to pay all Obedience to him;
 " but he only calls into his Majesty's Mind the word
 " which his Majesty has been pleas'd to give him, that
 " nothing should be altered in the Place. —————
 " Though the free Obedience he has paid to his Ma-
 " jesty's Will, be a Dependance of his Allegiance unto
 " him, &c.

Lewis 13 stable affirmed the same with many Oaths,
 1621. and desired him to draw up himself the In-
 Pope Gre- strument, whereby whatever had been pro-
 mised unto him should be ratify'd. The In-
 gory XV. strument was signed on the 17th by the Con-
 stable, and the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, but
 the King setting out that very Morning, be-
 fore it was ready, signed it at *Tbouars* on the
 27th, and sent it from *Niort* to *Du Plessis*,
 who was then at his House of *La Forest* up-
 on *Saivre*, for it had been agreed that he
 should be at liberty to retire thither, till he
 was fully restored to his Government, and ac-
 cordingly he was set out from *Saumur* on the
 18th in the Afternoon.

Some Re-
 flections on
 the dealing
 of the Court
 with Du
 Plessis.

This Usage of the Court with *Du Plessis*, looks
 not only exceedingly rude, but also monstrously
 unjust and ungrateful. Nevertheless, had the
 King been as good as his Word with his faith-
 ful Servant, as soon as his Affairs allowed him
 to perform his Promises, there was nothing
 in it but what either could be justified by the
 Rules of good Policy, or at least excused by
 the Law of Necessity, which the Circumstances
 of the Times imposed. The Court was full
 of Suspicions and Jealousies against the whole
 Body of the Reformed, which were heighten-
 ed to the last degree, by the unwarrantable
 Proceedings of the Assembly at *Rockelle*. The
 Ministers had received a certain Information
 of the Designs of that Assembly upon *Saumur*,
 which would have been surely executed, had
 they not been prevented by the King's dili-
 gent March. *Saumur* was too important a
 Place to be neglected; had *Soubize* succeed-
 ed in the Attempt, and the King been oblig-
 ed to besiege it in form, that would have de-
 tain'd him, may be, for the whole Campaign.

Du

Du Plessis was in no Condition to withstand Lewis 13.
Soubize, for want of a sufficient Number of 1621.
 Forces, he had not 200 Men in the whole, Pope Gre-
 and 4000 were not too much for defending gory XV.
 the Place, because of its large extent; and had
 he had a sufficient Number for his Defence,
 the Court questioned much, whether he would
 employ them against his Brethren, or not.
 Therefore the King's Council thought it more
 expedient not to put him upon the Trial,
 and make all haste possible for preventing the
 Succours commanded by *Soubize* from entering
Saumur; and no wonder, if in such great Hur-
 ry, the usual Formalities were omitted, and
 several things committed contrary to good
 Order and Decency. Thus far can we excuse
 and even justify the Court's Proceedings, as to
 this particular Occasion.

But on the other hand, I do question much,
 whether there is any sober Man, that could
 reflect without the highest Indignation, upon
 the Usage that great Man receiv'd from Court,
 from this time down to his Death. Not on-
 ly, he was not restored, as most solemnly it
 had been promised unto him, but neither his
 Household Furniture and Goods, nor his Li-
 brary, nor the Ammunition which he had
 bought at his own Expence, and left in the
 Castle, nor the Debts he had contracted for
 fortifying or repairing the Place, and for the
 Payment of the Garrison, none of these things
 were restored unto him. The King's Service
 permitted not that he should be restored to
 his Government; I will allow that. But did
 the King's Service require, that such an useful
 and faithful Servant, who for 53 Years to-
 gether had been indefatigably and almost always
 successfully employ'd in procuring or promot-
 ing

Lewis 13. ing the Safety and Glory of the Crown, and
 1621. the Welfare of the Kingdom, should be so
 Pope Gre- basely, so wretchedly robbed, plundered, and
 gory XV. deprived of his own, not of the Profits he
 had made in the Crown's Service, for he got
 nothing thereby, but of what he could save
 upon his own Revenues, nay, of what he
 had bought at the Expence of part of his own
 Estate? Oh wretched Condition of a King-
 dom, when the Prince is so weak, or wick-
 ed, as to suffer himself to be imposed up-
 on, or wholly over-ruled by a haughty am-
 bitious or covetous Favourite or Prime Mi-
 nister, against the Notions, nay, the Motions
 of his own Conscience! LEWIS was sensible
 enough that *Du Plessis* was, by his great and
 manifold Services, intitled to the greatest Re-
 wards which a Subject like him could expect
 from a grateful Prince; but LEWIS had not
 Heart enough to venture upon his own No-
 tions, he basely, as much as blindly, follow-
 ed his Prime Minister's Directions; to which
 he oftentimes sacrificed the Advancement, the
 Honour, the Liberty, and even the Life of his
 own faithfullest Servants, as well as the Wel-
 fare and Quietness of his own nearest Relations.
 He had no Shame to offer an hundred thousand
 Livres to *Du Plessis* for all his Pretensions,
 and to put the Bargain in his hands to ac-
 cept, or to have nothing, when he knew, that
 by a just Computation, they amounted to a-
 bove six times more, besides what he so just-
 ly deserved, as a Reward for his past Services.
 At last he accepted that Sum, two or three
 Months before his Death in 1623, only to
 be enabled to discharge the Debts he had con-
 tracted for the Service of the Crown.

Some modern Historiographers have been so daring as to blame that truly great and good Man, as if he had left every thing undone for preserving his Place. But I dare to say, that it is easier to follow the Motions of the ZEALOTISM, than to consider attentively the Situation a Man is in, his Circumstances, and to read over and over with a sober Judgment, what he himself has written upon that Subject. *Du Plessis*, from the beginning of the Assembly at *Rockelle*, wrote unto them many times, and sent several Memoirs about the Condition his Place was in, desiring their Concurrence to put it in a state of Defence against any Surprize; they sent twice a Deputy of their own to *Saumur* to examine it, and to confer with the Governor, he visited the Place, he owned that he alone (*Du Plessis*) had done more, for the Preservation and the good Repair of his Place, than they all together for theirs; but that he wanted 3 or 4000 Men in order to keep it. He told him, that the Assembly was about borrowing twenty thousand Crowns at *Rockelle*; that six thousand whereof were designed for a Supply for him, and six thousand Pounds of Gunpowder. *Du Plessis* told him, that he would be much oblig'd to the Assembly, if they would assign him only six thousand Crowns upon some Merchant at *Saumur*, who kept Correspondence with some other at *Rockelle*, and who should pay him ready Money what Sums he should be oblig'd to lay out, which, however, he would not touch till he had exhausted his own. The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, had written to the Assembly, that he did not think that five thousand Men were more than sufficient for keeping *Saumur*, and exhorted

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pepe Gregory XV.
DuPlessis's
Apology.

Lewis 13. them to send such like Assistance to *Du Plessis*.
 1621. He himself declared openly in one of his Letters
 Pope Gre- to the Assembly, that indeed he had been
 gory XV. able almost to build *Saumur*, and keep it in
 such Repair as it was, but that he was unable
 to defend it all alone. Lastly, he said to the
 same Deputy on the 18th of *April*, when he
 came for the second time, *I see that your As-*
sembly has no regard at all for our poor Churches,
and that you have deliver'd them to be a Prey
to the Enemy, but God will take care of us,
and provide for us. What regard had they for
 their Promises, or for the Remonstrances of
 this brave and truly Christian Nobleman? None
 at all. They sent him no Assistance either of
 Money or of Troops; nay, they diverted to
 other Uses what he might and ought to have
 expected from *Beauvais*, *Dunois*, *Blaisois*,
Vendomois, &c. True it is, that those brave
 Carvers of the Fortune of others, at the last
 Extremity, will send to *Saumur* a Succour
 of 1800 Men; but to be under the Command
 of one who indeed had Courage enough, but
 wanted that Experience which can't be ac-
 quired but by Age, the Duke of *Soubize*;
 and hereby they did not scruple to affront
 our Nobleman, an old and experienced
 Officer, who had been, if I may say so, the
 PALLADIUM of our Churches for so many
 Years, and had spent his All to serve them.
 I can't tell what would have happen'd, was
 such a Succour arrived in time; but every
 one may be Judge of the Ungratefulness
 of that Assembly.

Now must not one be a perfect Ignorant of
 our History, or such a partial Man, as to be
 a sworn Enemy to Truth, who blame our
 Christian Hero for having yielded to the Ne-
 cessity

cessity of Times? What could he have done with less than two hundred Men, in a Place that required above four thousand for holding a Siege?

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

But the last Difficulty seems the more pregnant, What *Du Plessis* would have done had he had a sufficient Number of Troops and every other thing necessary to hold a Siege? Would he have broken through his own Principles, and opposed the King? I answer, that it is ridiculous to argue upon things that never have been. No doubt but he would have acted in a way suitable, both to his Allegiance to the King, and to his sincere Love and Affection and unwearied Care for the Churches; this is fully demonstrated by his repeated Letters, Instances, and Remonstrances to the Assembly, and to several Members thereof, wherein he desired and intreated them earnestly to provide his Place with what was necessary against any Surprize: Therefore I shall not insist any longer upon that Subject.

Now we are to enter upon a bloody War, which for about two Years ruined the Country, and made a havock of its Inhabitants, especially in the *Western and Southern Provinces.* After what I have said all along concerning this Assembly at *Rockelle*, I need not to insist now for proving that this War was unjust on the Reformed side; and all the Sophistry of *Le Vassor* and *Benoit*, can serve only to prove, that it is lawful for a Subject to rise in Arms against his Sovereign, because he takes a Cabbage and a handful of Spinage out of his Garden without his leave; and to set his House on fire, without considering that it contains many Families, that

*The first
Civil War
of Religion
under
Lewis 13.*

Lewis 13. have nothing to do with his Fancies, and ne-
 1621. vertheless must perish for his Frolicks: And
 Pope Gre- indeed, after a thorough Examination of the
 gory XV. true Causes of this War, we can find nothing
 better than some small temporal Concerns,
 some Government of a Town to gratify the
 Ambition of one, some Charge or Office for
 another, the Exemption of some little Taxes,
 the Alteration of a Name, a Cabbage, a hand-
 ful of Spinage. Certain it is, that they want-
 ed the only Case wherein it may be lawful
 for Subjects to repel Force by Force, an open
 Persecution to force them to forsake their Re-
 ligion. Nay, they did not so much as fol-
 low the Rules of common Prudence, which
 obliged them to consider, whether they could
 with a hundred Men fight two thousand, one
 against twenty; they knew that they could
 expect no Assistance from the Provinces on
 this side the *Loire*, very little from those
 where *Les Diguieres*, *Cbatillon*, and *Par-*
daillan commanded; and they had no Pro-
 spect from abroad, at least, they could not
 entertain any well-grounded hopes of receiv-
 ing any Assistance from that Quarter. *Ger-*
many was in a flame; the United-Provinces
 wanted the Protection of the *French King*
 against the House of *Austria*, and King *James*
 had no mind at all to awake out of his Drow-
 ziness. So then, the Undertaking of this As-
 sembly was not only unjust, but even very
 rash and imprudent. But what need have we
 of any further Witnesses, when the very Per-
 sons that have been deeply engaged in the
 Affairs of those times, the Marshal Duke of
Bouillon, the Lord *Du Pleffis*, the Rev. Dr.
Du Moulin, and so many others have spoken
 of this War, as of an unjust and rash Attempt?

Nay,

Nay, when the very Chiefs of it have blamed it, when they have recollected in cool Blood what they had transacted and done in the heat of Passion? And is it not what any sober Reader will conclude from the Political Discourses of the Duke of *Roban*? (x)

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

The King being then set out from *Saumur* on the 17th of *May*, as abovesaid, he met with no Difficulty in *Poitou*; all the cautionary Towns opened their Gates to his Majesty, the Duke of *La Tremouille*, the Lord *Parabere*, and other Governors, submitted without hesitation; the Prince of *Condé* secured *Sancerre*; the Duke of *Vendôme*, *Vitré*; the Count of *St. Pol*, *Gergeau*; nay, *De Chateaufneuf*, Governor of *Pons*, that very violent Man, who fomented the Obstinacy of the Assembly, was one of the first who surrendered his Place upon a Reward of some thousand Crowns. On the 27th of *May*, the Siege of *St. John d'Angely* was resolved upon. And on the same day, the King being at *Niort*, issued out a new Decree; wherein after having declared all the Places and Men that sided with the Assembly, guilty of High Treason, and especially the Cities of *Rochelle* and *St. John*, he forbade all the Reformed to adhere to that Party, or to acknowledge either that or any other Assemblies, Circles, &c. &c. corresponding with the Assembly of *Rochelle*, and convened without the King's Special Licence. Moreover, he obliged all the Reformed, of

I i i 3 what

(x) It would have been tedious to quote at the bottom of the Pages, the same Authors out of which I have abstracted all the Facts related in the three or four last Sheets; they are taken out of *Du Plessis's* Life, Book IV. ad ann. 1621, and out of *Du Plessis* Letters and Memoirs, Vol. V. ad ann. 1621, till *June*, out of *Les Diguieres's* Life, Book XI. and XII.

Lewis 13. what Quality and Condition soever, to go to the
 1621. Rolls of the Bayliwick or Seneschalship of
 Pope Gre- their District, there to declare upon their Oath
 gory XV. that they will serve the King against those who
 adhered to the Assembly, that they renounced
 all manner of Correspondence with it, dis-
 owned whatever Resolution was taken in it,
 or in any other of the same Party. And every
 one was to deliver a Deed thereof under his
 own hand at the said Office. Which was
 executed at first with a great deal of Severity,
 but afterwards was somewhat mitigated by the
 Parliament of *Paris* upon *Du Plessis's* Remon-
 strances.

Siege and
 Surrender
 of St. John
 d'Angely.

The Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, being dis-
 contented with the Court, resolved to take in
 hand the CAUSE of the Assembly, and to hold
 out the Siege of *St. John*. The first left his
 Brother in the Place, which he provided with
 Men and Ammunition; and went into *Gui-
 enne* for to raise Troops, and to make several
 other requisite Preparations. The King hav-
 ing summoned, by an Herald, the Duke of
Soubize, to surrender the Place, he besieg'd it;
 and by the Practices of a Traitor that was in
 it, the Duke was obliged to capitulate a
 Month after. The King promised under his
 hands nothing else but Life, Goods, and Li-
 berty of Conscience, to the Inhabitants. Upon
 which Pretence it was, that his Majesty being
 at *Cognac*, issued out a Declaration, which was
 verified by the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, where-
 by he commanded to demolish the Fortifica-
 tions and the City Walls, and to fill up the
 Ditches; he abolished the Mayoralty and
 Sheriffship, and deprived the Town of all its
 other Titles, Rights and Privileges.

And

And so did the Court, and those who abused the King's Name, begin to keep no account of their Word; so did they treat not only the Places that held against the King, but even those which surrender'd at the first Summons; the milder Treatment which they received, was to be dismantled. Nay, notwithstanding the King's Declaration of the last April, whereby he received under his Royal Protection, Cities, Towns, Commonalties, &c. Persons of what Quality soever, who should live quietly and peaceably under the Benefit of his Edicts, with whatever belonged unto them, Castles, Houses, Goods, &c. Nevertheless, it was observ'd, that those who trusted to that Royal Word, fared no better than those who were declared Rebels; nay, many fared worse; several Towns and Commonalties were obliged to redeem themselves from Plunder, three, and even four and five times. The Lord of *La Tabariere*, Son-in-Law to *Du Plessis*, tho' one of the most faithful to the King's Service, was, as one may say, besieg'd in his own Castle, and almost ruined by having for several Months part of the Army quartered upon his Estate, and living there at discretion; several others had the same Fate, either because the Court connived at it, or that the Hatred of Religion prevailed over all the Laws, even of Nature; but it is certain, that never was a War attended with so much Injustice, Barbarity, and all manner of Licentiousness than this was.

The King, going on with his Conquests, arrived in *Guienne*, and found there the like easiness to reduce the Places that held for the Reformed, as he had found in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*. *Clairac* was at that time the only

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gregory XV.
Breach of Faith.

Lewis 13. Place in *Guienne*, that durst offer any re-
 1621. sistance; it was besieged, but at last obliged to
 Pope Gre- surrender at discretion: The King granted
 gory XV. the Inhabitants Life, and free Exercise of their
 Religion. Six Persons were excepted from
 that free Pardon, three whereof were hang'd;
 amongst whom was a Minister. The bloody
 Clergy were the Authors of these bloody
 Counsels and other barbarous Executions.
 Most part of the Capitulations made in this
 War, were sealed up with the Blood of some
 of the most unfortunate, who fell a Sacrifice
 to the Fury of these merciless Creatures. The
 greatest part of the Garrison miserably perished
 by the rapacious Hands of the Soldiery, or
 were drowned in crossing the River, thro' the
 Barbarity of them who were charged to see
 them in a safe Place.

*He re-
 ceives a
 congratulatory
 Brief
 of the Pope.*

While the King was before *Clairac*, he re-
 ceived a Brief from the Pope, congratulating
 him upon his Conquest. It was Cardinal *Lu-*
dovisto, who had succeeded *Paul V.* deceased
 in *January* last, and had taken the Name of
Gregory XV. He exhorted his Majesty not to
 lay down his Arms till he had subdued *Ro-*
chelle, and deprived the Hereticks of all their
 Cautionary Towns, and whatever could serve
 to their Security. (*Philip III.* of *Spain* died
 too at *Madrid*, on the 31st of *March*; and
 was succeeded by his Son *Philip IV.*)

The *Reformed* were unfortunate every where.
 The Duke of *Mayenne* took several of their
 Places in the District of his own Government,
 the Duke of *Espenon* laid waste the Country
 about *Rochelle*, and the Duke of *Montmorancy*
 had some Advantages in *Languedoc*, where he
 annoyed *Nimes* as much as he could. The
 Duke of *Roban*, who expected that *Moutauban*
 would

would be besieg'd, was in the Neighbourhood of *Castres* and *Albi*, to provide for its Defence, and stood with a great deal more of Courage than Success. The Assembly at *Rochelle* made fruitless Endeavours to receive some Assistance from within and without the Kingdom. All the Foreigners denied them. The Intrigues carried on in *Normandy* for the same purpose, became abortive, by the Death of the Undertaker. *Montbrun* could do nothing in *Dauphiné*, because the Duke of *Les Diguieres* his Grandfather-in-Law, was sent thither to appease the Motions of that Province. And the Count of *La Suze* was very near paying with his own Head the Enterprize he had concerted upon *Grenoble*, thro' the Treachery of his Guide. The King had met almost with no Resistance, *St. John of Angely* and *Clairac* excepted. About fifty Towns, several of which were as able to resist as *St. John*, had opened their Gates without waiting for the Cannon, from the Middle of *May* to the End of *July*. And *FAVAS*, the very *FAVAS*, the first Author and the hottest Promoter of these Miseries, sent orders to his Son to surrender *Casteljaloux* and *Castetz*, two of the Cautionary Towns, tho' twelve or fifteen Leagues distant from the Roads where the Royal Army march'd.

At last the King being Master of all the Places, *St. Antonin* excepted, round about *Montauban*, pitch'd his Camp before that Place the 21st of *August*, according to the Duke of *Roban*; but the 17th, according to *De Pontis*, which is confirm'd by *Bassompierre*, both present at that Siege. The King's Army was of about 24,000 Men, commanded by the Constable: The Dukes of *Chaulnes*, *Luxembourg*, *Mayenne*,

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gregory XV.

Lewis 13. *Mayenne, Chevreuse, and Les Diguieres*, were
 1621. Lieutenant-Generals; the Count of *Schomberg*,
 Pope Gre- Super-Intendant of the Exchequer, was Great
 gory XV. Master of the Ordnance. The King divided
 his Troops into three Bodies; his own com-
 manded by the Constable, and his two Bro-
 thers; the second commanded by the Duke
 of *Mayenne*; the third by the Dukes of *Che-
 vreuse*, and *Les Diguieres*. Besides that, the
 Duke of *Angoulême* kept the Field with a fly-
 ing Camp of no less than 1500 Horse, and
 4000 Foot. Nothing was wanting in the
 King's Army, but more Prudence and less
 Pride in the Constable, for to take and follow
 good advice. The Marquis of *La Force* with
 his two Sons, and the Count of *Orval*, Son to
 the Duke of *Sully*, got into the City, which
 was abundantly provided with every Necess-
 sary for holding a long Siege; but especially
 with an undaunted Courage in the Inhabitants.
 The King had intelligence from the City; but
 part of them became useless, because the Trai-
 tors were served as they deserved, and the o-
 ther were discovered. The Duke of *Roban*
 found means to throw a Supply of Men into
 the Place. On both sides they performed Won-
 ders in that Siege. But the bad Season com-
 ing on a-pace, the Sicknes making havock in
 the Royal Army, and the Besieged being not
 disheartned by any Effort of the Besiegers, the
 King after three Months Siege was obliged to
 raise it; having lost good part of his Army
 either by Sicknes, or by the Arms of the
 Besieged, amongst whom were many brave
 Officers, and other Persons of great Distinc-
 tion, especially the Duke of *Mayenne*, killed
 upon the spot with a Musquet Ball. Amongst
 the most considerable that were killed on the
 Besieged's

Besieged's side, was the Reverend Doctor *Lewis* 13.
Chamier, Minister and Professor in Divinity 1621.
 in the Church and Academy of *Montauban*, *Pope Gre-*
 who had his Head carried off by a Cannon *gory XV.*
 Ball.

Before, and during this Siege, the Negotia- *Negotia-*
 tions for Peace had been still on foot; there- *tions for*
 fore there had been great hopes of a happy *Peace.*
 Conclusion thereof, while the King was still in
Xaintonge; but the Assembly of *Rochelle*
 would not pass this Article, that they should
 break up at the first Command of the King.
 During the Siege, several Conferences had
 been held between the Constable and the
 Duke of *Rohan*, tho' the Court insisted upon
 a particular Treaty, and the Duke upon a ge-
 neral one, for all the Churches without excep-
 tion; however they were like to come to an
 Agreement, when the Jesuit *Arnoux* endea-
 voured to create some Jealousies in the King's
 Mind against the Constable, for which he was
 paid as he deserved a few Weeks after.

The bad Success of the Siege of *Montauban* *The Con-*
 proved pernicious to the Constable, he was *stable's*
 lost in the King's Favour, his Majesty could *Death.*
 bear no longer with his haughty Deportment.
 One day as he was passing by, he told *Bas-*
sompierre, LO! THE KING, LUINES. Ne-
 vertheless he had still Interest enough with the
 King to oblige that Prince to expel his Con-
 fessor *Arnoux*, and to take another in his stead.
 He was made sensible of the Decay of Favour,
 especially at *Tboulouse*, where the Court went
 after the Siege of *Montauban*, and repented a
 little too late for not having followed the pru-
 dent Advices of his best Friends not to enter
 upon a Civil War, which would afford to his
 Enemies too many Opportunities of doing him
 veral

Lewis 13. several ill Offices, and perhaps of overthrow-
 1621. ing all his Grandeur and Fortune. And in-
 Pope Gre- deed, considering the King's Genius, it is very
 gory XV. likely, that he would not have kept long his
 ground with his Majesty, had he lived a small
 time longer; but Death prevented a more
 open Disgrace, and avenged so many People
 of all Ranks, of all the Wrongs and Injuries
 they had received at his hands.

*His Cha-
 racter.*

He died at *Monburt*, after the taking of
 that Place, about the Middle of *December*, four
 Years and about six Months after the Fall of
 Marshal *D'Ancre*, to whom he had succeeded
 in every thing, his Birth, Education, and
 Good-manners excepted. For *D'Ancre* was
 of a noble Extraction, and had a liberal E-
 ducation; he was affable, courteous, ready to
 serve, when asked after a certain way. *Luines*
 was not so much as a Gentleman, without
 any further Education than what concerned
 the Faulconry; by which means he ingratiated
 himself into the King's Favour. His Ambi-
 tion and Avarice carried him so far, that the
 Lord-Keeper *De Vair*, being dead in *August*
 at *Tonneins*, he immediately obliged the King
 to promote him to that second Dignity of the
 long Gown in *France*; and was so ridiculous,
 as to wear hanging at his Neck the Keys of
 the little Chest, wherein the Seals are kept,
 together with the Cross of the Order of the
 Holy Ghost. All the learned and judicious
 amongst the Long-Gown Men saw with the
 highest Indignation the Promotion of that il-
 literate Man, to such a Dignity; they looked
 upon it as an Affront put upon their Profes-
 sion. In a word, he abused so much the
 King's Favour, that he became the Object of
 the publick Hatred; Perfidiousness, Unfaith-
 fulness,

fulness, Treasons, nothing was ever too black for that Man that might serve for compassing his Ends.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

The Misunderstanding between the Duke of *Roban* and the Count of *Chatillon*, caused very strange Motions in *Languedoc*. The first, as above said, had been named by the Assembly at *Rochelle*, General of the Upper *Languedoc*, and Upper *Guienne*; and the second commanded in the same Capacity in Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Givaudan*, and *Vivaretz*. But *Chatillon*, as well as many other Lords of the same Persuasion, did not approve the violent Resolutions of the said Assembly; and consequently was very cautious not to engage himself too far in a War ill undertaken, and worse concerted: therefore some ZEALOTS were always crying out against him, as if he had Intelligence with Court, and betrayed the CAUSE. The Duke of *Roban* countenanced and supported these Zealots; his ambitious Zeal prompted him to break thro' the Rules; as he designed to relieve *Montauban*, he ordered Levies to be made in the Provinces under the Command of *Chatillon*, without asking his leave, whereat this Lord was much offended. Nevertheless, *Roban* ceased not; but as he wanted more Troops for *Montauban*, knowing that *Chatillon* would not suffer him to raise them in his Government, as the first time, he thought proper to oppose to that Governour an Assembly of the Churches of the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Vivaretz*, and *Dauphiné*, held at that time at *Nimes*, causing them to order, *That the Troops of those Provinces should continue to serve under the Duke of Rohan, and that any other General could not recall them.*

Misunder-
standing
between
Rohan and
Chatillon.

This

Lewis 13.

1621.

Pope Gre-
gory XV.

This Act of the Assembly put *Chatillon* quite out of patience; he positively affirmed, that he really designed to march to the Relief of *Montauban*, but was dissuaded from it by the Duke of *Roban*, who was unwilling that another should partake with him the Glory of that Action. *Roban* was so generally esteemed, and had acquired such a great Reputation not only in *France*, but in the foreign Countries, by relieving *Montauban* so seasonably in sight of the King, and obliging that Prince to raise the Siege notwithstanding his much superiour Forces, that almost the whole *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and the neighbouring Provinces, declared themselves for him. But the misfortune was, that he was so much puffed up with his Success, and the Credit he had acquired thereby, that he did not care to keep fair with *Chatillon*. This Lord seeing plainly that *Roban* aimed chiefly at the supreme Authority over all the Provinces and their Governors, put it in his head to recall the Troops of his Government, that served under the Duke, pretending that he wanted them for the Defence of the Lower *Languedoc*; but he was opposed by the Assembly of *Nimes*, which was wholly governed by *Roban*. Then *Chatillon* required leave to raise new Levies, to make use of them in case of Need; whereto the Assembly consented, but under this mortifying Restriction, *That they should march to serve under the Duke of Rohan, whenever he should require it.* *Roban* failed not to send for these new Levies. They refused to obey, and the Officers plainly declared that they did not acknowledge any other General besides *Chatillon*.

This

This widened the Breach between *Chatillon* and the Assembly; and whereas that Body was composed of hot-headed Men, who listened to every violent Counsel; they, of their own private Authority, deprived that Lord of all his Employments and Charges, without any regard either to his Rank and Merits, or to the Memory of his Grandfather, who had so well deserved of the *Reformed Churches*: Nay, they were not ashamed to carry their Impudence so far, as to cast the blackest Blemishes upon his Reputation, charging him in a publick Act with being a Traitor to their Cause. *Roban* connived at all these Doings, and was not sorry to see his Antagonist mortified by these Calumnies, and obliged to quit *Montpellier*, where he resided, for avoiding the Fury of the Mob raised against him by those mighty Champions of the Assembly of *Nimes*. Those of *Montpellier* detained his own Son and his Mother-in-Law, as a Pledge for his future Behaviour. The *Nemausian* Assembly had no sooner begun to set up themselves for so many petty Sovereigns, that they would no longer suffer any Superiour. But the People soon grew weary of the Domination of these petty Tyrants, more minding their own private, than the publick Welfare. They became so odious and intolerable, that the Duke of *Roban* was made General of Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, &c. as he was already of the Upper *Guienne*, and Upper *Languedoc*. Such was the Origin of that great Authority, which that Duke acquired amongst the Reformed. For having repaired to *Montpellier* at the Beginning of the next Year, when the Count of *Chatillon* and the Marquis of *La Force* had made their private Agree-

ment

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Lewis 13. ment with the Court, he was declared *Gene-*
 1621. *ralissimo* of all the Reformed Forces, a Place
 Pope Gre- which he aimed at long before.
 gory XV.

Another Event of this Year, during the
 Sedition at Siege of *Montauban*, was very like to prove
 Paris. most fatal to the Reformed at *Paris* and *Sau-*
mur. The Death of the Duke of *Mayenne*,
 killed before *Montauban*, was no sooner known
 in the Provinces, but the Seditious began to
 stir up against the Reformed in several Places ;
 but more especially at *Paris* and *Saumur*. At
 the first City the People ran almost mad ; for
 notwithstanding all the Care and Diligence of
 the Magistrates, they could not hinder them
 from burning to the ground the Church of
Charenton, wounding and otherwise abusing
 the Reformed that fell into their hands. They
 were spurred by a profligate Hypocrite, who
 took the Name of *Dominick a Jesu Maria*, a
 bare-footed *Carmelite* ; who by his Impostures
 and bloody Counsels against the Protestants
 of *Germany*, had acquired a great Reputation
 of Sanctity in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Germany*. He
 was a *Spaniard* by his Birth, Inclinations, and
 Education. After some Journeys to *Rome*,
 and to *Vienna* ; his Fame was raised to such a
 degree, that the greatest Princes were as fond
 of his Counsels, as if they had proceeded from
 God himself. He was the Promoter of the
Bohemian War, because he was the Author
 and Adviser of all the Injustices and Persecu-
 tions carried on against the Protestants of that
 Kingdom by the House of *Austria*. One of
 that Villain's Artifices to exasperate the Pa-
 pists against the Protestants, was as follows :
 He carried along with him a miraculous Image
 of THE LADY OF VICTORY, (as he pretended ;)
 it was a Picture of about one Foot and an half

in Length, and a Foot in Breadth, representing the Nativity of our LORD, That Picture had been found in a heap of broken Wood. The blessed Virgin had her Eyes put out, and that wretched Monk published, without any other Evidence but his own Word, that the *Hereticks* were the Authors of that Prophanation. He never shewed that Image without uttering a thousand Curses against those who had so much abused it. After his Excursions in *Germany*, especially in *Bohemia*, and the manifold barbarous Executions of the poor Protestants which he caused to be made in that Country, he came into *France*, pretending to be sent to the King by the Duke of *Bavaria*; but with the same cruel Views of destroying the Reformed by Fire and Sword.

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

He was received at *Paris* as a Man immediately sent by God himself, and whose Actions were so many Miracles. The People crowded after him, and even People of Quality worshipped him. He lodged in a Convent of his Order; and to render himself more venerable, he affected to keep himself close to his Cell, and appeared in publick but from time to time, when he thought seasonable to act the Farce. Then the wicked Hypocrite received the Homages that were paid him, next to Adoration; they kissed his Feet; they thought themselves sanctified, by touching the Hem of his Garment; they carried away Pieces of it, which they kept as Relicks. What an Influence the Speeches of such a Man had over a People so superstitiously prepossessed, 'tis very easy to apprehend. He preached nothing else unto them but Sedition and Violence. But the Chancellor, the Duke of *Montbazon* Governour of *Paris*, together with

Lewis 13.
1621.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

the *Sorbonne* itself, abhorring these Hypocri-
fies, and notwithstanding the People's Passion
for him, obliged the Monk to depart *Paris*,
and to pursue his Journey to deliver his Mes-
sage to the King. Every Place wherein that
Serpent entred upon the Road he left in it
the marks of its Venom more or less, as the
People's Minds were inclined to Sedition. In-
somuch that at *Saumur*, where the Catholicks
had been so kindly used by *Du Plessis* for
thirty-two Years together, they resolved to
massacre their Fellow-Citizens of the Reform-
ed Profession, which they would certainly have
executed, had they not been prevented by
the Diligence of *D' Aiguebonne*, who then com-
manded in the City, during the Absence of the
Count of *Sault*, and who secured the Gates
of the City, and quartered Soldiers upon every
House-keeper, so that the dire Effects of that
desperate Design were prevented in that City.
But at *Paris*, all the Care and Diligence of
the Magistrates, of the most worthy Govern-
or, of the Chancellor, and other old Coun-
sellors of State, was to no purpose. They
had exhorted the Reformed to continue their
publick Exercise, judging that a discontinu-
ance thereof would be a great Disparagement
to the King's Authority: But though the
Duke of *Montbazon* was himself in Person
upon the Road that leads from *Paris* to *Cha-
renton*, for securing the Reformed that went
to, and came back from this last Place, that
hindered not the furious Mob from falling
upon those who were the most backward,
and abusing them as above. *Benoit* reckons
four or five of the Reformed that were kil-
led in the Fray, during the three days in which
that Sedition lasted; and *Du Plessis's* Biograp-
pher

pher says, that on both sides, some of them were killed. At last, that Sedition was suppressed by the Parliament's Care, which issued out a Declaration, whereby they took under their special Protection all the Reformed in the whole Extent of their Jurisdiction. Some of the chief Rioters being apprehended, were put to death (x).

Lewis 13.

1621.

Pope Gregory XV.

After the Death of the Constable *Luines*, the Affairs were managed by the Cardinal of *Retz*, the Count of *Schomberg* and *De Vic*, who by their means was created Keeper of the Seals. They did their utmost for keeping their ground; but the Queen-Mother, and the Prince of *Condé*, suffered them not to enjoy long that Station. *Mary of Medicis*, now freed of her Enemy, entertained great hopes of resuming her former Authority. *Condé* endeavoured to prevent her. He set out with all diligence to meet the King upon the Road; he met him between *Bourdeaux* and *Poitiers*. His first care was to persuade his Majesty to continue the War against the Reformed. That greedy Man was sensible enough, that he would be much better enabled to satiate his Avarice during the War than in time of Peace. The Forfeiture of the Estates of those who were in Arms against their Sovereign offered him a plentiful Harvest; he was so base as to solicit in the King's Council, the Forfeiture of the Duke of *Roban's* Estate: his Woods were cut down, &c. and he (*Condé*) having obtained the Commission for executing the King's Decree against the Duke, discharged it with all the Passion that could be expected from the worst Foe, and possessed himself of all that escaped from Fire and Sword.

1622.

Condé and

the new

Ministers

insist upon

the Conti-

nuation of

the War.

K k k 2

He

(x) Vie de Du Pleffis, Liv. IV.

Lewis 13. He was extremely well served in this respect
 1622. by the new Ministry: For not only they in-
 Pope Gre- sisted upon the Continuation of the War, though
 gory XV. the Marshals of *France*, and other General
 Officers were against it, but in order to have
 more Forfeitures, they did all that layeth
 in their power to tire the Patience of the poor
 Reformed, that remained faithful to their
 Allegiance, and to force them out of their
 Loyalty; and notwithstanding the King's re-
 peated Declarations in their Behalf, no Dis-
 tinction was put between the one and the
 other, but they were equally plundered and
 abused. Breach of Faith, Treason, &c. all was
 approved of by these three new Ministers, to
 whom *Condé* adhered then, that could serve
 for compassing their Ends; and *Bassompierre*
 singles out some Instances of their Roguery
 in this respect, which suffice to blacken their
 Memory for ever (y). They did what they
 could to retard the King's Arrival at *Paris*,
 being sensible that their Counsels would cer-
 tainly be opposed by the Queen-Mother and
 the old Counsellors of State. However his
 Majesty came to the *Louvre* about the 22d
 of *January*. A very few days after, the Chan-
 cellor and President *Jeannin* prevailed so far
 with the King as to persuade him not to be
 averse from Peace, should the Reformed repent
 of their former Error, and should they make
 the requisite Submissions in such Cases. So he
 resolved to employ the Duke of *Les Diguieres*,
Crequi, his Son-in-Law, lately created Mar-
 shal of *France*, and the Duke of *Bouillon*,
 who remained neuter as abovesaid, for treat-
 ing with the Duke of *Rohan*; but his Ma-
 jesty thought proper to keep the Negotiation
 very

(y) Journal de Bassompierre, Tom. II.

very secret, lest his new Counsellors should form too great Oppositions against his Intentions. That Negotiation had no Effect for the present, though it was carried very far. *Puisieux*, Secretary of State, a Slave of the Court of *Rome*, and bribed by that of *Madrid*; *Puisieux*, I say, *Condé*, the Cardinal of *Retz*, *Schomberg*, and *De Vic* prevailed in the King's Council, and obliged that Prince to sacrifice the true Interest of his own Crown to the cruel Ambition of the House of *Austria*, and to eat up his own Subjects, and lay waste his own Kingdom, in order to please an unworthy Priest. The Duke of *Les Diguieres* had had several Conferences with the Duke of *Roban* at *Laval*, a small Town near the *Bridge of the Holy Ghost*; they had agreed together as to four of the most essential Articles, the rest was left to the Determination of the King's Council. The Deputies of several Reformed Lords, together with those of *Roban* and *Les Diguieres* were already upon the Road in their way to *Paris*, when on a sudden, the King set out from that Capital, by the Advice of *Condé*, *Schomberg*, and others of the same Cabal, who were affraid lest his Majesty should be prevailed upon by the Counsels of *Jeannin* and others, to grant Peace to the Reformed, if he waited till the Arrival of the Deputies. His Departure was more like a flight than any thing else, for he went out by a back Door of the *Louvre* in the Evening of the 21st of *March* after Vespers, though he had declared a few days before that he would spend *Easter Holy-days* at *Paris*.

During the Winter, some Actions had passed between the two Parties in the *Southern* and *South Western* Provinces. *Bourniquet* and *Negrepelisse*

Lewis 13.
1622.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Lewis 13. *Negreplisse* had been taken by the Royalists, who put a Garrison in this last of 400 Men, who were all to one murdered by the Inhabitants, for which piece of Perfidiousness, they paid very dear a few Months after. The Marquess of *La Force* was worsted by the Duke of *Elbeuf*, in *February*; *Lunas*, *Montrevel*, *Fougeres* and *Le Poussin* were lost on the Reformed side: They retook *Clerac*, and some other Places, lost in the last Campaign. But they received a terrible Blow in the Island of *Riez* in *Lower Poitou*, where the Duke of *Soubize*, who had seven thousand Foot and seven hundred Horse, was entirely routed; fifteen hundred were kill'd upon the spot, fifteen hundred taken Prisoners and sent to the Gallies, and most part of the rest knock'd down by the Peasants, four hundred and thirty hardly escaped: The King was present at this Action. *Soubize* very little expected such a Visit, and gave no occasion to admire his Prudence, when he engaged himself with his Army in a Country, full of Marshes, and where he could so easily be shut in, and was so much discomposed at the sight of the Royal Army.

The King's great Success. After that Victory the King continued his March towards *Guienne*; he succeeded almost in all his Enterprizes, *Tonneins* was taken in the beginning of *May*, by the Duke of *Elbeuf*, and burnt to Ashes after forty days Siege. *Royans* was forced to surrender itself at Discretion to the Marshal of *Vitry*. The Marquess of *La Force* made his peace with the King, was made Marshal of *France*, and received a Gratuity of two hundred thousand Crowns for the surrender of *St. Foy*. His Example was

was followed by the Lords of *Sully, Orval,* Lewis 13. 1622.
Theobon and *Lusignan.*

On the 8th of *June* the Royal Army came before *Negreplisse*, which was taken by Storm two days after, and by the King's Orders all the Men were put to the Sword, the Town burnt to Ashes, two hundred Soldiers that had retreated into the Castle, forced to surrender at Discretion, were all hanged without Mercy, all the Women and Virgins, very few excepted, exposed to the Brutishness of the Soldiery*. Such was the JUSTICE of *Lewis* the JUST; it consisted chiefly in Acts of Cruelty and Barbarity. True it is, that Town deserved a Punishment for the Perfidiousness above-mentioned; the Ringleaders deserved Death, and to the utmost: Had the King ordered the Men to be decimated, that would have been a great Severity indeed, but such a one as the necessity required; but to treat the Town in such a manner, there is nothing in that Action but what shews a great Brutishness and Ferocity, which Ferocity is wholly to be ascribed to the bloody Councils of the cruel *Condé*, a base Soul if ever there were any; who never failed to solicit the King to some barbarous Action or other, whenever he found an Opportunity. Next to that unfortunate Place, *St. Antonin* was besieged, and forced after twelve days Siege to surrender at Discretion. Then *Lunel, Sommieres*, and several other Places were either forced or bought; the Count of *Chatillon* received the Staff of Marshal of *France* at *Aiguemortes*, which the said Count delivered to his Majesty on the 22d of *August*.

Pope Gregory XV.

Negreplisse destroyed by Fire and Sword.

K k k 4

During

* Mem. de Pontis, Tom. I.

Lewis 13. During these Expeditions, the Duke of *Les*
 1622. *Diguieres*, who aimed at the Constable's Sword,
 Pope Gre- and who knew that he could not attain to
 gory XV. that high Dignity, without turning Catho-
 }
 The Duke lick, to which, for several Years before, he
 of Les Di- was fully resolved, took at last that dange-
 guieres rous Leap at *Grenoble* the 24th of *July*; and
 turns Ca- the very same day he received the King's
 tholick, and Letters Patent, which created him High-Con-
 is made stable of *France*, and on the 26th he was in-
 Constable stalled Knight of the *Holy Ghost*. He was
 of France. eighty Years old when he cast such a great
 Blemish upon his Fame, and confirmed by that
 odious Act, what *Solomon* says, that *the Adul-*
terers will hunt for the precious Life of a Man,
Prov. vi. 26. Her Mouth is a deep Pit: he
that is abhorred of the Lord shall fall therein,
Prov. xxii. 14. For had it not been for *MA-*
R Y VIGNON, heretofore mentioned, first his
 W——e, though she was married to an Apo-
 thecary, and now his Wife, whose Ambition
 and Avarice was insatiable, and who govern'd
 him absolutely, very likely he would never
 have printed such a Stain upon his Reputation.
 A few days after, the new Constable set out for
Languedoc; He met the King at *La Verune*
 near *Montpelier*. He took the usual Oath for
 his Charge. Then the Siege of *Montpelier*
 was resolved upon.

Some gene-
 ral Consi-
 derations
 upon the
 Condition
 the Re-
 formed
 were in.

Now the Affairs of the Reformed were at
 a very low Ebb, and it was high time for
 them to think of mending their Condition by
 a Peace upon some tolerable Terms. They
 had suffered great Losses this Year in *Languedoc*,
Guienne, *Saintonge*, and *Poitou*, and could
 not entertain the least hopes of any Succour
 from abroad. *James I.* was equally afraid
 of disobliging the Pope, as well as the King
 of *Spain*, as long as he entertained any hope
 of

of marrying the Prince of *Wales* with the Infanta, Sister to *Philip IV.* And though the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, provoked at the Treatment his Lordships, Houses, &c. in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, had received even by the King's Orders, (for *Negreplisse* belong'd unto him) though he had accepted the Neutrality, was treating with the Administrator of *Halberstadt* and the Count of *Mansfield*, for engaging them to assist the Reformed, by making a Diversion in *Champaign*, with the powerful Army of *Reïsters* and *Landskenenets*, which they had under their Command; that Negotiation came to nothing through the wise and prudent Management of the Duke of *Nevers*, Governor of *Champaign*. *Rochelle* could send no Relief, being itself blocked up, by Land by the Count of *Soissons*, who built a Fort, namely *St. Louis*, at a little distance from that City, and which commanded the Channel; and by Sea, by a Fleet commanded by the Duke of *Guise*, so that they had much ado to defend their Walls. Nevertheless, the great Activity, Prudence and Courage of the Duke of *Roban*, and some brave experienced Officers that commanded under him, would have supply'd several of these Losses, had a strict Union been kept between the Reformed. But the Misunderstandings were carry'd to such a degree, not only between Persons of the first Rank, but even between the Commonalties themselves, that they were in danger of being consumed one by another; a perfect Anarchy reigned among them, especially at *Montpelier*, there was a Party of certain Fanaticks which carry'd every thing to extremes, and whose violent Deportment caused several great Mischiefs; among others, they murdered

Lewis 13.
1622.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Lewis 13. dered, about the beginning of this Year, Pre-
 1622. sident *Du Cros*, though a Reformed, who had
 Pope Gre- been sent thither by the Duke of *Les Di-*
 gory XV. *guieres*, to confer with the Duke of *Roban*
 about the Articles of Peace; they entered his
 Chamber and told him, *Thou Traitor, are you*
come here to bribe the Duke of Rohan in the
name of that fine LES DIGUIERES, who
wishes no better than to see us quite undone? and
 thereupon they fell upon him and stabbed him.
 These Miscreants deemed Traitors to the
 CAUSE, all moderate Persons who endeavour-
 ed to bring Matters to some Agreement. The
 Duke of *Roban*, the Magistrate, and the Con-
 suls of *Montpelier*, resented that Barbarity as
 they ought, and caused all the Guilty that
 could be apprehended, to be severely punished
 as they deserved (y).

Such being the Condition of the Reform-
 ed, which is so lively described by their noble
 Chief in his Memoirs, it is very plain that,
 without a Miracle, they could not avoid their
 utter Ruin, and consequently that Peace was
 for them absolutely necessary. The Treaty had
 been set on foot from the beginning of the
 War, oftentimes renewed, and as many times
 broken off, because the Court would have it
 to be a separate Peace, sometimes for the Duke
 of *Roban* only and some of his Friends, at
 other times certain Cities, such as *Rochelle*,
Montauban, &c. were to be excepted from
 the Treaty, and left to the King's Discretion.
 And when his Majesty came before *Mont-*
pelier, about the latter end of *August*, *Bul-*
ion, who had been sent into the City to pro-
 pose unto them to open their Gates to the
 King, and that he would receive them under
 his

(y) Vie du Connet de Les Diguieres, Liv. XI. ch. 2.

his Royal Protection, being come back with Lewis 13.
 an absolute Refusal of the Inhabitants, ground- 1622.
 ed upon the Fears which the Brave Condé Pope Gre-
 had suggested unto them, that if they suf- gory XV.
 fered themselves to be imposed upon by the
 Promises made unto them, the King would
 no sooner be in their City, but he would put
 every thing to Sword and Fire (z). There-
 upon the King assembled his Council, and not-
 withstanding *Bullion's* and several others En-
 deavours to engage his Majesty not to insist
 upon his Admittance into the City, *Condé* car-
 ried his Point, it was resolved to force them
 to a Compliance, and the Siege was begun.

It was one of the longest, and of the most *Siege of*
 murdering; the Besieged, commanded by the *Montpe-*
 Duke of *Roban*, and *Calonge* his Lieutenant, *lier.*
 made a brave and stout Defence; the Besiegers,
 besides a great Number of their Troops, lost
 several Noblemen and brave Officers, amongst
 the first was the Duke of *Fronsac*, Son to the
 Count of *St. Pol*. The Conferences for Peace
 were secretly carry'd on by the King's Or-
 ders at *St. Privat*, between the Constable,
 the Marshal of *Crequi*, and some others for
 his Majesty, and the Duke of *Roban*, for the
 Reformed. The King's Commissaries insist-
 ing upon his Majesty's Entry into the City,
 the Duke of *Roban* yielded, and went to
Montpelier, being conducted by the Marshal
 of *Crequi*, in order to persuade the Inhabi-
 tants to do the same, and to impart unto them
 the Articles of the Treaty, among which there
 was one to which they would never consent,
viz. That the King should keep Garrison in
Montpelier. The Town-House consented, that
 it should remain in the City as long as the
 King,

(z) Journal de Bassompierre, Tom. II.

Lewis 13. King, but that it should evacuate it when his
 1622. Majesty should set out, and even they durst
 Pope Gre- not propose any thing like it to the People,
 gory XV. but only that the King's customary Guards
 should come in along with him. Finally, it
 was agreed, that his Majesty at his setting
 out of the City, should leave it at liberty.
 But, if *Bassompierre* is to be credited in this
 Point, there was a kind of Connivance in this
 respect, between the Council and the Duke
 of *Rohan*; for this Lord said to the King,
that though his Majesty should not perform that
Article, notwithstanding its being set down in
writing in the Treaty, the Reformed would not
renew the War for that (a). The said Duke
 published

(a) *Journal de Bassompierre*, Tom. II. pag. 283.
 Edit. de *Cologne* 1665. It may be said, that though
 this Lord is acknowledg'd to have been one of the
 greatest Men, incapable to utter a Calumny on any other
 Occasion, nevertheless, being a Roman Catholick, his
 Religion has prompted him to blast the Reputation of
 the Duke of *Rohan*. But what shall we say to the
 Charge put upon the Duke by *Du Pleffis* himself, in his
 Letter of the 4th of *January* 1623, to his Son *De Vil-*
larnoul; wherein, speaking of a Clause inserted in an
 Article of the General Brief, in these Words, As to the
 Places which have been reduced by his Majesty's Arms,
 or delivered into his hands, *nay, even those which have*
remained faithful to their Allegiance; they cannot, nor shall
be considered as cautionary Towns, (which Clause had been
 purposely inserted for depriving *Du Pleffis* of being re-
 stored to his Government :) He makes these two Ob-
 servations, 1°. That it betrays the revengeful Spirit of
 those who negociated the Treaty in the Churches Names,
 (*Rohan was at their Head*) who thereby do deprive
 the said Places of their Title of Cautionary, though,
 without adhering to their Frolicks, they have remained
 faithful to their Allegiance. 2°. That Clause is very
 hurtful to the King's Service, it is an Encouragement
 for the Subjects to rebel against their Sovereign, since
 Disobedience and Rebellion reaps greater Advantages
 than Fealty and Obedience, Lett. & Mem. de *Du Pleffis*
Mornay, Tom. IV. p. 842. Vie du même, Liv. iv.

published the Apology of his Conduct, as to this Treaty, which is contained in his VIIIth Discourse, to which I refer the Reader.

After several goings and comings, the Treaty was signed at *Montpelier*, on Tuesday 18th of *October*; the Duke of *Roban* came into the Camp the same day to pay his Obedience to his Majesty, and the next day the Deputies of the Circle of *Lower Languedoc, Cevennes, and Givaudan*, and the Consuls of *Montpelier* were presented to his Majesty on their bended Knees, and were graciously received. Peace was proclaim'd in the Camp and in the City with the usual Ceremonies. His Majesty made his publick Entry on the 20th. The Marshals of *Crequi* and *Bassompierre* had taken Possession of the City the day before, and had quartered in it the *French and Swiss* Regiments of Guards, and the next Morning the Garrison had quitted it. The King stayed here eight days, during which time part of the Army was disbanded. There was a general Procession in the City on *Sunday* the 23d, wherein the Host was carried. The 23d the two Regiments of *Picardy* and *Normandy* were put in Garrison in the City under the Command of the Count of *Valencé*, contrary to the Treaty. The 27th the King set out for *Provence*.

The Treaty had been carry'd on without the Knowledge of *Condé*, but when it drew near its Conclusion, the King thought proper to give him notice thereof. Though he had guessed before that something like was hatching, nevertheless he could not hear the Confirmation

p. 694. Much more I could say, extracted out of this last Book to the same purport, which I chuse to omit for Brevity sake.

Lewis 13.
1622.
Pope Gregory XV.

Treaty of
Peace concluded.

Lewis 13. firmation of it through the King's own Month
 1622. without gnashing with his Teeth; his Answer
 Pope Gre- betray'd what he endeavour'd to conceal, and
 gory XV. Spite prompted him to ask leave to go to
 } *Italy* to perform a Vow to our *Lady of Lo-*
retto. The King, desiring no better than to
 be rid of him, after some Compliments, grant-
 ing him his Request, and he set out from the
 Camp for *Italy*, before the Proclamation of
 the Peace.

The Treaty was published in the form of an Edict. The King before all, supposed the Justice of his Arms against his Reformed Subjects; whose Rebellion he ascribed to the Artifices of those who expected to make use of their Simplicity, and of the Confusions of the State, for fishing in troubled Waters, (and that was but too true, as we have said above;) then he call'd God to witness, that his chief aim had always been to procure the Peace and Welfare of all his Subjects. Then he declared, that at the most humble Request of the Reformed, tender'd unto him by their Deputies, he granted them Peace with the free Pardon of their Faults. This Edict was confirmative of all the precedent ones issued out by his Father and himself, and of all the Secret Articles granted and REGISTERED. *N. B.* The meaning of this Word was not then taken notice of, but it occasion'd many Debates afterwards, for what was not found register'd, was generally deny'd. The Reformed and the *Roman* Religion were to be settled again in the Places where the Exercise of either had been interrupted; full Remission for those of what Quality soever, who had taken Arms; all Sentences passed against them, reversed; their Restoration unto their Titles, Dignities, Charges,

Charges, Offices, Estates and Goods granted; as to the Military Officers the King was at liberty to give a Recompence in Money in lieu of the Restoration; Prisoners of War, Captives in the Gallies on account of the late Insurrection, freely released; the keeping of the cautionary Towns that remained in the hands of the Reformed, such namely as were contained in the Register of the late King, signed at *Rennes* in the Month of *May* 1598, was continued for three Years longer; but as to the others which had been reduced, and even those who had persisted in their Allegiance, they were not to be comprised under the Name of cautionary Towns*; (this pointed directly against *Du Plessis*, as already observed in the last Annotations:). All the new Fortifications, made in the Towns held by the Reformed were to be demolished, but the old ones were to stand *in Statu quo*; but by the Secret Articles it was enacted, that *La Rochelle* and *Montauban* should preserve their own *in Statu quo* new and old; and that those of *Nimes*, *Uzes*, *Castres* and *Milbaud* should be demolished but by halves. The Reformed were expressly forbidden to hold any political Assembly of what Denomination soever without the King's special Licence; but they might hold Ecclesiastical ones, Synods National, Provincial, Colloquies, provided no Matter, but purely of an Ecclesiastical Nature, Doctrine and Discipline, should be treated of in these Assemblies. An Amnesty of whatever had been done from the First of *January* 1621, to the Date of the present Edict with the

Lewis 13.
1622.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

* The Reformed lost in this War above 80 cautionary Towns, taken, or surrendered to the King by their Governors.

Lewis 13
1622.
Pope Gre-
gory XV

the same Extent; the like Restrictions specify'd in the Articles 76, 77, 86, of the Edict of *Nantz* were granted; every one who should accept this Edict in a Fortnight's time after the Date thereof, should enjoy the Benefit thereof. The Observation of this Edict was enjoined in the same Form prescribed by the 82d Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, and the King promised to send Commissaries into the Provinces to see it executed.

By a private Brief the King promised, that there should be neither Garrison, nor Citadel in *Montpelier*; that the City should be in the Custody of its Consuls, and that nothing should be altered in it, save only that the new Fortifications should be razed. That Brief was delivered to the Duke of *Roban*, who put it into the hands of the Consuls.

As to the Duke *Roban*, he did not forget himself; he did not care to have the Government of *Angely*, and of some other Places, which had been dismantled, restored unto him; but he accepted, in lieu thereof, the Government of *Nimes* and *Uzez*, though without Garrison; and as a Compensation for the Government of *Poitou*, and of some other things lost for him, the King granted him two hundred thousand Livres ready Money, besides the Continuance of his Pension, and another Sum of six hundred thousand Livres, which his Majesty promised to pay at some other time, and in the meanwhile the Duke was to enjoy the Dutchy of *Valois* mortgaged unto him, till he had been paid off the said Sum, the Revenue whereof was to amount to ten thousand Crowns a Year. The Pension of his Brother *De Soubize* was to be continued, and the Brave *De Calonges*, who had defended

Montpelier, was to have one of six thousand ^{Lewis 13.}
Livres. ^{1622.}

The Reformed Cities engaged in the War, ^{Pope Gre-}
accepted the Edict, even *La Rochelle* itself ^{gory XV.}
paid her Submissions to the Count of *Soissons*, ^{All the Re-}
without consulting the Assembly that remain- ^{formed ac-}
ed still on foot, for some Weeks longer; never- ^{cept the E-}
theless, either that the *Rochelese*, and the Duke ^{Peace.}
of *Guise*, who commanded the Royal Fleet
that block'd up the City, were both igno-
rant of the Conclusion of the Treaty, or that
they had a mind to try one another, and to
improve afterwards their Advantages: How
the Matter stood, that I cannot positively tell;
but it is certain, that some days after the pro-
claiming of the Peace in the City of *Mont-*
pelier, there was a Sea-fight between the two
Fleets, wherein they both suffered great Losses.
Nevertheless, as they could not be any longer
ignorant of the Peace, they agreed to su-
perseede all manner of Hostilities.

So ended a War so rashly concerted, un-
dertook and ill-managed, whereby the Au-
thors and Abettors betrayed their own Weak-
ness, and got nothing better than the Scorn
of their Enemies, whereas formerly they had
been the Object of their Dread. *Roban* with
those of the Deputies that were with him,
follow'd the King to *Lyons*, and by his Ma-
jesty's Orders named six Persons to be De-
puties General attending the Court, out of
which the King pick'd two, *Mont-martin* for
the Nobility, and *Maniald* for the Commons:
and these were the last chosen by a Political
Assembly, the King devolving that Right un-
to the National Synod.

His Majesty arrived at *Paris* about the ^{1623.}
beginning of *January*, wherein he made a joy- ^{Bill of}
ful ^{Grievan-}
^{ces present-}
^{ted to the}
King.

Lewis 13.
1623.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

ful Entry, on account of his good Success, whereby he had ruined and destroyed part of his Kingdom. The two General Deputies presented an humble Address unto him, requiring a Redress of several Grievances which they complained of, and which actually were so many Infractions of the late Edict; such, for instance, were the putting a Garrison and a Governor in the City of *Montpelier*, quite the reverse of what had been expressly stipulated, the altering the Constitution of its Government; for by forcible ways, *Valencé* had found means to have half the number of the Consuls to be Roman Catholicks, whereas formerly they used to be all Reformed. The keeping of *Fort Louis* near *Rochelle*, though it had been stipulated that it should be razed; the keeping of the Reformed Captives upon the Gallies on account of their Religion. That the King should contribute something towards the rebuilding of the Church at *Charenton*, built during the late War, and would order that of *Tours* to be rebuilt at his own Charge, as he had promised; and to cause that of *Bourg* in *Bressia* to be restored to the Reformed Inhabitants, (*it had been demolished by the Romanists, and they refused even the Ruins thereof to the Reformed;*) that the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be restored at *Villemur*, *Fontenay*, *Luçon*, *Talmont*, *Surgeres*, *Bagnols*, *St. Gilles*, *Figeac*, *Puimirol*, *Vic* in *Armagnac*, and *Quillebœuf* in *Normandy*; that the Edict of Compensation should be executed in *Bearn*, and the Reformed Religion restored at *Navarreins*; that the Church of *Remorentin* burnt down during the War, and that of *Gergeau* pulled down since the Peace should be rebuilt; that the Towns of *St. Foy* and *Bergerac*

Bergerac should be released from several Hard-^{Lewis 13.}ships and Vexations imposed upon them; that ^{1623.}the Troops left in *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, and ^{Pope Gre-}other Places, should be disbanded; and a few ^{gory XV.}other Articles of less moment.

These Articles were answer'd the 4th of *Illusorily*
March, and properly speaking, nothing was *answered*
 granted, except the release of the Captives
 upon the Gallies, and an Exemption from con-
 tributing towards the Building of Churches
 for the Catholics. As to all the rest, they
 got nothing but fair Promises never to be per-
 formed, or they were referred to the Deci-
 sion of the Commissaries that were to be sent
 into the Provinces, and who had their Instruc-
 tions not to do Justice. So that it was plain
 enough, that in the last Treaty, the King and
 his Council designed only to deceive the Re-
 formed, and to ruin them with more ease,
 and at less expence than by a War. It is
 what Chancellor *de Sillery* desired his Brother,
 then Ambassador at *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope
 with: " All the Treaties, says he, that have
 " been made with those of the Pretended Re-
 " ligion from the beginning of the Troubles,
 " none excepted, have been always advan-
 " tageous to them, all that had been taken
 " from them during the War, was restored
 " with Usury by the Treaty. But in this the
 " King keeps all that has been taken by
 " his Arms, or by Composition; and all the
 " new Fortifications of the Places remaining
 " unto them are to be razed.—— It is
 " to be hoped, that we shall get more with
 " Peace than otherwise." And in another Let-
 " ter of the 14th of *November*, to the same;
 " His Holiness must be well assured, that the
 " *Huguenots* have always got the better by
 " the

Lewis 13. " by the War, but have been always dimi-
 1623. " nished in time of Peace, and it is to be
 Pope Gre- " expected that the same will happen now
 gory XV. " through the Piety of his Majesty (b) ".

The meaning of this is, that they designed to oblige the Reformed, and especially the Nobility and Gentry amongst them to forsake their Religion, by the same means which King Henry the Third had so successfully put in use before the Wars of the *League*, to wit, by refusing all kind of Favour, all sort of Preferment and Advancement to those who were stedfast in their Religion. All the old Counsellors were of the same Opinion with the Chancellor, and it had been one of the Topicks which President *Jeannin* had made use of for diverting the King from entering upon a Civil War; but the new Ministers relished not a Method which deprived them of the Plunder of their Fellow-Subjects, which they swallowed up in their Imagination, wherein they were mightily supported by the Prince of *Condé*.

Several Decrees of the Council were issued out for depriving the Reformed of their Rights, and for abridging their Liberty. Such was that of the 6th of *July*, whereby they were excluded from the Dignities whereto they were formerly intitled in the University of *Poitiers*; another of the 19th of *August*, which forbad them to sing Psalms in the Streets, or in their Shops; several Sentences were given this Year in the Parliament and in the King's Council, which unjustly abridged the Authority

(b) *Memoirs pour l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu*, par *Aubery*, Tom. I, p. 514, and 15. p. 521, and 22. Ed. of *Cologne*, 1667.

Authority of Parents over their own Children in Matters relating to Religion.

But what happened at *Montpelier* was very near to kindle again the War. The Duke of *Roban* was come back from Court, in order to execute the Treaty of Peace. He was no sooner arrived but *Valencé* put it in his head to arrest him, on pretence that he was come to renew the Troubles, and that he did not follow the Intentions of the Court. The News of that Detention filled up the Minds of the whole Party with Astonishment and Indignation; *Soubize* openly threatned to renew the War. The Court itself was in a great perplexity about the Ways and Means to be rid out of that Labyrinth; some were so base as to endeavour to persuade the King to improve this Opportunity for destroying his Enemy, either by an Assassinate, or by having him try'd by the Parliament of *Toulouse*, which would not fail to find him guilty of High Treason. But at last Moderation prevailed, and Orders were instantly sent to *Valencé* to release the Duke, who was at the same time commanded to quit *Montpelier*, and to retire into the *Upper Languedoc*. We could not believe it, did not *Bassompierre* testify it, that the Duke was beholden for his Liberty and Life to a Diversion Match. The young Queen had prepar'd a Ballet; the Dutchess of *Roban* was to be one of the Actresses. Every thing was ready when the News of the Duke's Captivity arrived. The Dutchess, resenting as she ought that unlucky Accident, declared to her Majesty, that she was not able to perform her Part, and desired to be excused. Her Majesty unwilling to lose her Diversion, insisted and prevailed.

Lewis 13.
1623.
Pope Gregory XV.

The Duke of Rohan arrested.

And released.

Lewis 13. prevailed with her Royal Husband for the
1623. Duke's Release.

Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Citadel
built at
Montpe-
lier.

Another Breach of the last Treaty was, that notwithstanding the Special Brief granted to those of *Montpelier*, that no Citadel should be built in their City, *Valencé* found means to oblige them to have one; for on pretence of looking for means of easing the Inhabitants of the Garrison that was quartered in their Houses, and was very troublesome, he convened an Assembly, wherein but very few of the Reformed Inhabitants assisted, and the Roman Catholicks, most part whereof had been bribed by him, feigned to be persuaded that the best way was to have a Citadel where the Garrison could lodge, that passed by a Plurality of Votes, and notwithstanding the Protest entred by the Reformed, they petitioned the King for leave to build one, which accordingly was granted.

A King's
Commissa-
ry in the
Synod, &c.

Another Piece of Injustice, was the Declaration given at *Fontainbleau* the 17th of *April*, to restrain the Liberties of the Ecclesiastical Assemblies held by the Reformed. It was enacted, that for the future there should be a royal Officer of the Reformed Religion, appointed either by the King himself, or the Governors, or Lieutenants for the King in the Provinces, to see that nothing should be treated of in those Assemblies, but Affairs permitted by the Edicts, and to make a faithful Report of whatever should be transacted. Moreover, it forbid to convene, or to hold these Assemblies before the Nomination of the said Commissioner, and commanded his Admittance without Reluctancy.

That Innovation was grounded upon two Pretences: The one, that they meddled with
Politick

Politick Affairs in their Synods; the second, that they admitted other Persons besides their Ministers and Elders; and that they took Resolutions contrary to the Intentions and Opinions of the greatest Number, and of the most considerable amongst the Reformed. However, the Reformed made no Opposition to a Declaration of this Importance, at least they carried it not very far; seeing that few Months after, they held Synods in all the Provinces, and summoned a National Synod at *Charenton*, to meet the first of *September*. They thought they might, by Submissions and Petitions, deliver themselves from this Restraint, more injurious on account of the Motives which induced the King to impose it upon them, than inconvenient, because they were obliged to lay open to the Court's View the Secret of their Policy. Indeed at first it very much perplex'd them. For there were several Provinces where the Governors started a thousand Difficulties about the Nomination of a Commissary for assisting in their Provincial Synods; and they took that occasion to vex them, as most proper to exercise their malignant and no less ignorant Zeal against them. So that most part of the Deputies to the Synod of *Charenton* arrived there, but after the appointed day, and excused their delay, as having been occasioned by the Difficulties which the Governors had made, having protracted as much as they could, the summoning of the Synods in their respective Provinces.

The first Commissary who sat in that Capacity, in a National Synod, was *Augustus Galand Esq;* he truly loved his Religion, but at the same time he loved the King, and, may be, his Principles as to the Obedience due by Subjects to their

Lewis 13.
1623.
Pope Gregory XV.

Lewis 13 Sovereign were a little too extensive. He be-
 1623. lieved that Sincerity was altogether on the
 Pope Gre- Court side. He was made Counsellor of State,
 gory XV and served the Court with great Affection and
 Constancy.

The 24th
 National
 Synod, held
 at Charen-
 ton.

The Synod of *Charenton* opened its Ses-
 sions the first day of *September*. As soon
 as the King's Commission to the said *Galand*
 had been read in the Assembly, a Debate a-
 rose about that Novelty, whereby their Li-
 berty was so much abridged ; it was resolved to
 petition the King upon that score, and in the
 mean while, for shewing forth their ready Obe-
 dience to his Majesty, they admitted the Com-
 missary, and received him with great Marks
 of Respect. The Lord *De Mont-martin*, De-
 puty-General for the Nobility, acquainted the
 Assembly with the Endeavours he and his
 Colleague ——— *Maniald* Esq; Deputy for
 the Commons, had made for diverting his
 Majesty from his Resolution concerning the
 abovesaid Commissary, but that all their Ap-
 plication and Diligence had proved fruitless ;
 and so was the Petition of the Synod, and
 all their Protest against it. Their Deputies,
 however, were kindly received by the King,
 and enjoined to assure the Synod of his Ma-
 jesty's Good-will, if they continued in their
 Obedience. But he charged them to notify
 these two things to the Synod in his own
 Name ; 1^o. That he was willing to tolerate
 such Foreigners that were already admitted in-
 to the Holy Ministry and settled in some of
 their Churches, but that he forbid them to
 admit any more for the future. 2^o. That
 he took it very ill, that they had resolved
 to assert the Doctrine decided in the Synod
 of *Dort*, which he styled a new Doctrine,
 which

which he would not protect. The Deputies answer'd, that the said Doctrine was the same with their Confession of Faith. Whereupon it was reply'd, That the King left the Judgment of their Doctrine to themselves, nor would he concern himself with it; but that he would not allow the making any Person to swear upon the Faith of another, or that any of his Subjects should be deprived of the liberty of believing as he would. *Strange Contradiction between Words and Deeds! Every one must be left at liberty of believing as he will. Very good. But then, why did they persecute at that very time, those who could not believe the Doctrines of the Roman Church? Is it not plain, that the Council had nothing else in View but to sow Division amongst the Reformed Churches?* However, the Synod resolv'd to obey the King's Will as to these two Points, reserving unto themselves the liberty of addressing to the King, whenever they should have occasion to send for any Foreign Minister. And as for the Doctrine of the Synod of *Dort*, the Synod considering that that City is a Dependance and Member of a Foreign Commonwealth, order'd that the Reference had in the said Oath unto that City should be taken away, and shall not be for the future tendered in the Churches and Universities of the Kingdom; and that the Oath should be hereafter taken under the Name of the Doctrine received by the Reformed Churches in *France*, and subscribed to by the National Synod of *Alets*.

The King's Commissary receiv'd a Letter from his Majesty the 25th of *September*, which contained three several Propositions to be made to the Synod; 1°. That the King would not suffer

Lewis 13.
1623.
Pope Gre-
gory XV.

Lewis 13. suffer the Rev. Drs. *Cameron* and *Primrose*
 1623. to exercise their Ministerial Functions in any
 Pope Gre- Part of his Dominions, not because they were
 gory XV. Foreigners, but for Reasons concerning his
 Majesty's Service. 2°. That whenever the
 King should grant a Political Assembly, it was
 his Pleasure, that no Minister should be de-
 puted to these Assemblies, because that they
 would be hindred thereby from their Mini-
 sterial Functions, and he could have wished
 that they had prevented his Commands on
 that Subject. But if they did not obey, he
 should give further Orders about it. Never-
 theless the Ministers of the Place, where such
 Assemblies would be held, were not exclud-
 ed from them. 3°. That this Declaration of
 his Will should be inserted among the Acts of
 the present Synod.

The second and third Proposition passed without Contradiction ; but as to the first, they sent a new Députation to intreat his Majesty, that he would relent something of his Severity against the Reverend Persons just now named, to whom they joined the Reverend Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, who lived then at *Sedan*, daring not to come to *Paris*. They were answered, that for divers good Reasons, which they would approve of, were they acquainted with them, his Majesty could not grant their Request in full, and that since he had declared his Will unto them, it was his Pleasure, that they should not reply. However, considering their most humble Petition, his Majesty was pleased to grant the three Ministers liberty of residing within his Kingdom, but on Condition, that they should not exercise any part of their Ministerial Functions ;
 and

and that in good time, Matters might be settled more to their satisfaction.

Primrose and *Cameron*, two of the worthiest Divines that ever came into the Kingdom, were both *Scotchmen*; the first was Professor in Divinity, and Minister in the Church and Academy of *Bourdeaux*; the second was in the same Capacity at *Saumur*. They had both offended the Jesuits, especially the first, who had confuted Jesuit *Arnoux*, the King's Confessor, who had boldly asserted, in a Sermon preach'd before the King at *Amboise*, that the *Roman Religion*, but more especially the Jesuits, never did teach that it was lawful for a Subject to murder his Prince when excommunicated by the Pope. As to *Du Moulin*, he had been betrayed either by King *James* or by *Buckingham*, or by both. When he saw that very likely there would be a Civil War in *France*, he wrote to *James I.* who had a great value for him, on account of his great Parts; he flattered him with Epithets, quite contrary to the Man's Genius, as if he had been truly the Defender of the Reformed Churches; he told him, that the Eyes of the Reformed, not only of *France*, but of all *Europe*, were upon him, and expected to see him taking the Defence of the good CAUSE. *Du Moulin* was mistaken in his Notions, King *James* was not such a Man as he took him to be. The Original of his Letter was sent to the Court of *France*, and an Order to arrest him was immediately issued out, but very luckily he escaped out of *Paris*, and retired to *Sedan*, where he was Minister and Professor in Divinity, and lived till the Year 1650, when he died in the 90th Year of his Age. It appears, that there was this Year six hundred twenty eight Ministers

Lewis 13.
1623.
Pope Gregory XV.

Lewis 13. Ministers actually serving the Churches in
 1623. France; and sixty nine Churches not pro-
 Pope Ur- vided with any Minister. The Synod ended
 ban VIII. their Sessions on the first of *October*. The
 Rev. Mr. *Durant*, Minister of *Charenton*, had
 been their Moderator; the Rev. Mr. *Bayles*,
 Minister of *Lyons*, Assessor; the Rev. Mr.
Le Faucheur, Minister at *Nimes*, and *Peter*
De Launay, Esq; Secretaries (c).

Some Oc-
 currences
 of this
 Year.

As to the Occurrences of this Year, we shall
 observe, 1°. That the Bishoprick of *Paris* was
 made an Archbishoprick in *October* 1622, ha-
 ving for Suffragans *Chartres*, *Meaux*, and *Or-*
leans; the first Archbishop was the Cardinal of
Retz, Bishop of *Paris*, Nephew to the Cardinal
 of *Retz*, deceased a few Weeks before the Peace.

2°. That Cardinal *de Richelieu* was made
 of the King's Privy Council: He had receiv-
 ed the Cap at *Lyons*, a little after the Siege
 of *Montpelier*. I shall say nothing of that
 Prelate, the great Subverter of the Constitu-
 tion of the Government in *France*, and of
 the Liberties of the *French*; he is so well
 known in *Europe* by the twenty Years of his
 arbitrary and tyrannical Government, that I
 need not to insist upon his Character.

3°. Pope *Gregory XV.* died in the Month
 of *July* 1623, and was succeeded the 6th of
August, by Cardinal *Barberini*, who took the
 Name of *Urban VIII.*

President *Jeannin* died likewise this Year,
 one of the most expert Negotiators, and of
 the greatest Politicians of his time. Though
 he had been at first engaged in the League,
 he made himself very conspicuous by the mo-
 derate Counsels he gave to the Duke of *May-*
enne.

(c) Quick's Synodicon, Tom. II. Aymond Syn. Na-
 tionaux, Tom. II.

enne. He was afterwards very useful to *Henry* Lewis 13. 1623. Pope Urban VIII. IV. and acquired an extraordinary Reputation of Skill, Sagacity and Prudence by the Truce which he managed between *Spain* and the *Seven United Provinces*. He was one of the principal Ministers of the late King, and he acquitted himself most honourably of all the Employments and Commissions wherewith he was charged by *Lewis XIII.* Finally, *France* lamented the Loss of such a Minister, the great Prudence, Skill, Dexterity, Magnanimity whereof she valued and admired.

Henry of La Tour, Marshal of *France*, Duke of *Bouillon*, Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, died a little after President *Jeannin*. The Viscount of *Turenne*, his Father, killed at the Battle of *St. Quintin*, had married *Anne* Daughter to the Duke of *Montmorency*, Constable of *France*. *Henry*, his Son, was at first known in the World under the Name and Title of Viscount of *Turenne*. He was thought to be deeply concerned in the Plot discover'd the last Year of *Charles Ninth's* Reign, for which *Francis*, Duke of *Montmorency*, his Uncle, and the Marshal of *Cossé*, were sent to the *Bastile*. Having adhered henceforward to *Henry IV.* he did him very signal Services, for which he was finely recompens'd, not only with the Marshal's Staff, but also by his Marriage with the Heiress of the House of *La Mark*, Sovereign of *Sedan*: She being deceased without Children, *Henry IV.* supported the Duke in the Possession of the Estates of the House of *La Mark*, to the Prejudice of the Count of *Maulevrier*, who was the next Heir. Then the Duke married a Daughter of *William I.* Prince of *Orange*, whereby he became allied with several of the greatest Princes of *Europe*.

He

Lewis 3. He was one of the greatest Captains of his
 1623. own times, though sometimes unlucky. As
 Pope Urban VIII. much expert in the Court's Intrigues, as in
 the Military Art. *Bouillon* had been for some
 time dreaded by the late King, and much more
 by the Queen Regent, she was fain at several
 times to court him, in order to dissipate
 the Parties, which he had himself formed.
 He was stedfast in the Reformed Religion,
 which he had embraced in his Youth. Though
 on some Occasions he wanted Zeal and Up-
 rightness; for, as we have observed in
 its proper Places, he sacrificed the Welfare
 of the Reformed Churches to the Views of
 his too great Ambition. He left after him
 two Sons and several Daughters. He had the
 Grief to hear before his death, that *Frede-
 rick* King of *Bohemia*, his Nephew, had been
 deprived of the Electoral Dignity, which was
 bestowed upon *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*.

But the greatest Loss sustained this Year
 by the Reformed Churches, was that of the
 great *Du Plessis Mornay*, who departed this
 Life on the 11th of *November*, in the 74th Year
 of his Age. As he had lived, so he died,
 and went to receive at the hands of our So-
 vereign Judge and Merciful Redeemer, the
 Reward of his Piety, Fidelity, and of all those
 Christian Graces wherewith he had been a-
 dorned, and in the Exercise whereof he had
 constantly delighted himself. And now, as
 I have lost with that great Man my Polar Star,
 which has guided me till now in the Com-
 position of this History; the Reader will be
 pleased to excuse me, if the remaining part
 of this Book contains nothing but general
 Matters, which alone are grounded upon good
 Authority; because the Memoirs and Rela-
 tions

tions of private Persons, who have written since that time, are not impartial enough to serve as a just Ground for our Belief.

Lewis 13.
1623.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

About the same time a Rumour, true or false, I can't tell, was spread in the publick, That People were going from one Province to another, to sow Jealousies and Suspicions against the Court, even it was said, that they were charged with Letters from the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, tending to procure an Insurrection, and free themselves from the intolerable Yoke whereunder they groaned. However, that Rumour occasioned a Declaration of the King, issued out the 11th of *November*, wherein his Majesty was made to say, that he would not believe that either of these two Noblemen were any-wise concerned in those Intrigues, or that the Reformed in general had any Thoughts of forsaking their Allegiance. However, to assure them the better of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he confirmed the Edicts and his last Declarations; he ordered that the Commissaries should continue in the Provinces till they were fully executed; and forbad all Persons of what Rank and Quality soever, to write, suggest, persuade, or give ear to any thing contrary to his good Intentions, or the publick Tranquillity; to go or send into the Provinces, or to Assemblies held to the same effect, and to do any thing that tended to renew the War, upon pain of being punished as Disturbers of the publick Peace. The razing of *Fort Louÿs* near *Rochelle*, the releasing *Montpelier* of its Garrison, the redressing of so many Grievances, justly complain'd of, the performing of the Promises so solemnly made upon that Subject, would have gone much further towards the

I

proving

The King's
new De-
claration:

Lewi 13. proving the King's Sincerity, than all those
 1623. Declarations, which were plainly contradicted
 Poſe Ur- by ſo many open Acts of Infidelity, Injuſtice,
 ban VIII. and Violence.

1624. The Commiſſaries ſent into the Provinces
 The Com- for putting the Ediſt in execution, impaired
 miſſaries the Condition of the Churches inſtead of mend-
 unjuſt Pro- ing it. The Courſe which they took ſerved
 ceedings. only to evince that the Court made but a May-
 game of them. I ſhall ſingle out only one
 or two Inſtances. The King had promiſed
 the Reformed of *Tours* after the Sedition in
 1621, to preſerve their Privileges, and to
 ſupply them with a Sum of ſix thouſand Livres
 for rebuilding their Church in the ſame Place
 where it ſtood before it had been burnt and
 pulled down by the Seditious. But contrary
 to this Promiſe, the Commiſſaries forced them
 to ſell the Place, and to lay out the Money
 in the Purchaſe of another very incommodi-
 ous for them. The ſame thing almoſt hap-
 pened at *Gergeau*. But at *Remorentin*, the In-
 juſtice was ſtill more heinous, for their Church
 having been burnt down by the Papiſts, theſe
 laſt would never ſuffer that the Reformed
 ſhould build another; and the Commiſſaries
 inſtead of puniſhing theſe obſtinate Seditious,
 ſet out from that Place, leaving every thing
 in the ſame Condition they had found them.
 And yet, one of the two Commiſſioners that
 were ſent together into each Government,
 was a Reformed, but of that Temper, that
 they poſtponed the general to their pri-
 vate Concerns, and improved every Op-
 portunity to advance their Fortune. Such
 was the Character, not of all indeed, but of
 moſt part of theſe Gentlemen. So *Chalas*,
 formerly one of the General Deputies, and
 now

now one of the Commissaries for *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, behaved himself; he yielded almost in every thing to *Amelot* his Partner, who ruined the Churches, and deprived them of their ancient Rights and Privileges, under the appearance of Honesty. And what was more intolerable in *Chalas* was, that out of Complaisance for his Colleague, he approved of the Petition of the Clergy of *Xaintonge*, the whole Strain whereof was full of Malice, making a single and private Fact, once committed during the War, to be the ground of a general Complaint; as if it had been an Affair wherein all Places were concerned, and the Misdemeanor of every day. So that the Reformed oftentimes were branded thro' the softness and neglect of their own Commissaries, who sought to please the strongest Party, for the Advancement of their Fortune. By these means the Catholicks reaped, even in the time of Peace, the same Advantages they could have expected from a successful War; and while they eluded by a thousand Artifices, equally base as they were odious, the Promises made before *Montpelier*, the Catholicks were every where put in possession of whatever had been promised unto them by the Reformed. *Rochelle*, notwithstanding the Subsistence of *Fort Louïs* which annoy'd them to the last degree, and which ought to have been razed, had any Sense of Probity, Faith, Honour and Religion been left in the King and his Council, *Rochelle*, I say, consented that the Catholicks should begin again their Exercises; and accordingly Mass was said in that City in the beginning of 1624. But the Catholicks willing to stretch out their Liberties further than it was allowed, and walk in Pro-

Lewis 13.
1624.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13. cession through the Streets, they met two Files
 1624. of Soldiers, who forced them to go back
 Pope Ur- into the Place from whence they were set
 ban VIII. out. The Intention of the Citizens was good
 and wise, they designed to prevent the Mis-
 chief which such a Novelty would certainly
 have been attended with; but the verbal Pro-
 cess which they drew up in order to justify
 their Intentions, and which they sent to Court,
 served only to exasperate the Court against
 them, and to confirm the King in the Resolu-
 tion he had taken to humble that City.

*Forerun-
 ners of a
 new War.*

It was impossible that so many Acts of In-
 justice and Perfidiousness should be commit-
 ted without causing great Alterations in the
 Minds of Men; and every one saw plainly
 that Peace could not be of a very long dura-
 tion. Nevertheless the Court was not as yet
 disposed for War, because the Government
 was not as yet well settled. The old Card-
 nals were jealous of *Richelieu*. *Puiseux*, and
 the Chancellor, his Father-in-Law, began to
 totter in the Prince's Favour; and those who
 desired Preferments at Court, wanted a little
 more time for settling their Affairs. But the
 Council of Conscience, the whole Clergy, and
 the *Spanish* Faction, that still held up its head,
 were all for War, by the same Principles which
 had made them resolve it above three Years
 before; the Council of Conscience, and the
 whole Clergy, out of hatred against the Re-
 formed, and the *Spanish* Faction out of Self-
 Interest, to the end that the King being en-
 gaged in a Civil War, should not be in a Con-
 dition to obstruct the ambitious Designs of the
 House of *Austria*.

*Revolu-
 tions at
 Court.*

But the Revolutions which happened in the
 Ministry, quite altered the Maxims of the Go-
 vernment,

vernment, and hastned the Resolutions our Enemies had taken against us. *La Viewville*, who was beholden for his Advancement to Chancellor *De Sillery*, ruin'd his Benefactor, and brought *Puisseux* into Disgrace. These two Ministers, bribed by the Court of *Spain*, made the King's Power subservient to the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*. But *La Viewville* followed Maxims quite opposite; by his Counsels the Court resumed its former Schemes, and took a liking to its ancient Alliances. That Minister was soon served as he had served *Sillery* and *Puisseux*. Gratitude is none of the Courtier's Virtues. *Richelieu*, who was in great part beholden to *La Viewville* for his Admittance into the King's secret Council, incapable to bear any Superior or Equal in the Management of Affairs, found Pretences enough for sending his Benefactor to the *Bastile*. Nevertheless he followed his Maxims; and all his Designs aimed at the Depression and Ruin of the House of *Austria*. And as he was unwilling to be deemed at first less zealous for his Religion than others, he thought that he was bound in honour to hasten the Destruction of the Reformed, already much weaken'd by the Success of the last War. And the wonder was, that *Spain* being informed of the Cardinal's Intentions, took it in its head, to the Misfortune of the Reformed, to raise that Party by its Intrigues. Foreseeing that the Change of the Ministry would be attended with great Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe*, whereby she might be a great loser, if she did not cut out some Work within the Kingdom for the *French*; she resolved not to let slip the Opportunity

Lewis 13.

1624.

Pope Urban VIII.

Lewis 13 which the Discontents among the Reformed
 1624. gave her to renew the Civil War.

Pope Ur-
 ban VIII.

The Peace of *Montpelier* was so openly violated, that there was hardly one Article left unbroken, so that all the Churches had some reason or other to complain. But the Condition of the *Rochelese*, who, notwithstanding their repeated Intreaties, had not been able as yet to obtain the demolishing of *Fort-Louis*, and saw themselves blocked up by Troops quartered in several adjacent Places, from whence they could easily annoy them: That Condition, I say, filled other Reformed Cities with dread. They beheld with a deep Sorrow the approaching Fall of that potent City; and could not question, but the Design was laid to destroy them one after another. So that all those, who believed that the subduing of their Cities would prove the Ruin of their Religion, expected that through some great Providence, their Affairs might be retrieved, but not otherwise: And so nobody durst to set a helping hand to the Work. *Arnauld*, Governor of *Fort-Louis* being dead, he was succeeded by *Thoiras*, who gave the Court much greater Hopes of the Ruin of *Rochelle*, than his Predecessor had done. His Advice was received at Court, and notwithstanding the Preparations carried on to wage War against *Spain*, Orders, as it was pretended, were sent to *Blavet*, to fit out a Fleet for blocking up *Rochelle* by Sea. Thereupon the *Rochelese* addressed themselves to the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, desiring their Advice and Assistance in the present Emergency. These two Lords were somewhat perplexed at this, on account of the Divisions, and other great Defects which they had experienced heretofore

tofore in the Party; and likewise, because they were afraid to offend the *English* and the *Dutch*, who had just then concluded a League with the King against *Spain*.

Lewis 13.
1624.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Nevertheless they yielded to the Intreaties of the *Rochelese*. *Soubize* came to his Brother, who was then at *Castres*, and they agreed together that the first should fit out some Ships at *Rochelle*, on pretence of a long Voyage, and should endeavour to intercept the Fleet at *Blavet*; that if he succeeded in the Attempt, the Duke of *Roban* should engage the Provinces where he had Interest to rise in Arms; but if he missed, he should disown his Brother. Their own Estates, and the ready Money they had was the Fund which afforded them necessary Supplies for such an Enterprize. When every thing was ready, *Soubize* was betrayed by *Noailles*, one of his chief Officers, who unravelled the Secret. But *Soubize's* Diligence was such, that having failed from the Isle of *Rbé*, by the beginning of 1625, with only three hundred Soldiers and one hundred Seamen, fully resolved to die or conquer; on a sudden he turned to *Blavet*, enter'd the Port, and seized upon all the Ships and Men of War that were in it, and even the Admiral. Then he landed, intending to attack the Fort; but he met there with a greater Resistance than he expected; for it was defended with twelve or fifteen Pieces of Ordnance, and the Garrison had been reinforced upon the Advices given by the Traitor *Noailles*; and the Duke of *Vendôme*, Governor of *Brittany*, having instantly marched to the Relief of the Place with a powerful Reinforcement, *Soubize* saw himself obliged to be upon the Defensive. For three Weeks toge-

1625.
Second Re-
ligious Ci-
vil War
under
Lewis 13.

Lewis 13. ther he was wind-bound in the Port of *Blavet*, exposed to the Fire of the whole Artillery of the Castle; and in order to deprive him of all hopes of Escape, *Vendôme* caused the Entrance of the Port, which was narrow enough, to be shut up with an Iron Chain and a Cable as big as a Man's Thigh. Every one thought *Soubize* absolutely undone. The Duke of *La Tremouille*, the Marshals of *La Force* and *Chatillon*, the Deputies General of the Reformed Churches attending the Court, the Consistory of *Charenton*, the Cities of *Rochelle*, *Nimes*, *Uzez*, and several other Reformed Commonalties exclaimed against *Soubize's* Enterprize, and disowned him. The whole Party feigned to forsake him, and to deliver him up to the King's Resentment; who for his part declared him guilty of High Treason. But a fair Wind altered suddenly the Face of Affairs, and the People's Language. And he, who was secretly detested as a Pirate, was proclaim'd as a great Man, his Prudence, Courage and Undauntedness were exalted to the Skies. *Soubize* improving the Opportunity, cut the Chain and the Cable, and sailed from the Port of *Blavet*, carrying along with him the King's Ships and those of the Duke of *Nevers* which he found in the Port. Being return'd to the Island of *Rbé*, he took that of *Oleron*, remain'd Master of the Sea, and defeated in that manner the pretended Scheme of the Blockade of *Rochelle*.

Some Re-
flexions on
his second
taking up
of Arms.

We shall give the Duke of *Soubize* his due. His Prudence, Diligence, Courage, and Intrepidity in the Execution of his Scheme, cannot be sufficiently commended. But it was a pity, that it was not employ'd upon a better

Occasion.

Occasion. True it is, that the Reformed were injured a thousand ways; their Grievances were not redrest; their humble Petitions were scornfully rejected; the Treaty of *Montpelier* was shamefully broken almost in all its Articles. But was the time proper for the two Dukes to attempt to right the Churches by Force of Arms? No, indeed. The Court of *France*, at last awakened out of that fatal Slumber wherein she had laid for about fifteen Years together, and which had been procur'd by the Opium of *Madrid* and *Rome*, was really in earnest, to exert her Strength against the House of *Austria*. An Alliance had been of late concluded between *France*, *England*, *Savoy*, and the Republick of *Venice*, for supporting and restoring the *Palatine* House to its Hereditary Dominions and Titles; for the Recovery of the *Valteline*; for restoring the Liberty of *Italy*; and re-establishing the Balance of Power in *Europe*. And a separate Treaty had been concluded of late with the States-General, whereby their High-Mightinesses were engaged to lend so many Ships well manned to the King whenever required, to fight against whomsoever should attack him without any exception. Great Preparations were making by Land for executing that Scheme: The Constable had already joined the Duke of *Savoy* with the Army under his Command, and he waited only for a Reinforcement for entering the *Milanese*; when on a sudden the Duke of *Soubize's* Attempt stops the King, alters his Scheme, and draws upon the whole Party the Reproaches and Odium of all the Powers Allies of *France*, not excepting the Protestants and the Reformed, who exclaimed as

Lewis 13.
1625.
Pope Urban VIII.

Lewis 13. loud as any other against such a Piece of high
 1625. Imprudence, and even saw themselves oblig-
 Pope Ur- ed to help the King for bringing to Reason
 ban VIII. his Reformed Subjects. Had they waited six
 Weeks or two Months longer, they would
 certainly have obtain'd most part of their just
 Demands; such as the Demolishment of *Fort-*
Louis near *Rochelle*, of the Citadel at *Mont-*
pelier, &c. &c. And it is what *Bassompierre*
 observes very judiciously, “ The *Huguenots*,
 “ says he, bore impatiently that a Fort built
 “ by the Count of *Soissons* at about a Mile
 “ from *Rochelle* subsisted, notwithstanding
 “ that it had been expressly stipulated (by
 “ the *Treaty of Montpelier*) that it should
 “ be demolished. Nevertheless, they knew
 “ that the King’s Designs were advantage-
 “ ous to their Religion,” (and so they were,
 and such indeed as *Du Plessis* had always de-
 sired and advised) “ and that the King would
 “ order it to be demolished in a little time;
 “ as he would have done, had they requir-
 “ ed it of him, when he would have been
 “ fully engaged in the intended War: But
 “ they longing to see that Fort pulled down,
 “ could not wait till the proper time, and
 “ after having in vain frequently insisted
 “ with the King upon that Subject, they
 “ resolved to make some noble Reprisals, in
 “ order, that by surrendering what they had
 “ taken, they might get *Fort-Louis* surren-
 “ dered unto them (c).

2°. If we consider further of that Enterprize, we shall find it was a rash one to the last degree: And indeed, what could they expect from it? They had not Preparations ready by Land; no Union amongst them-
 selves;

(c) Journal de Bassompierre, Tom. II. p. 323.

selves; most part of the Provinces dreaded Lewis 13.
 the renewing of the War. The Duke of Roban found it very difficult to engage them
 in his Plot, though he omitted nothing for ^{1625.} Pope Ur-
 that purpose, even things much unbecoming _{ban VIII.}
 not only a Man of his Rank, but even a sin-
 cere honest Man; for he affected to walk,
 when he entred any Place, having the Bible
 carry'd before him, and would speak to no-
 body, before he had been sometimes for two
 Hours together on his bended Knees before
 the Pulpit in the Church. And his Lady
 the Duchefs of *Roban* carry'd it still fur-
 ther; she was in Mourning, and she oftentimes
 was pleased to travel in the Night with Flam-
 beaux, so that her Coach and Retinue being
 drest and covered with black, that mourn-
 ful Sight frightned the Peasants. They had
 no Prospect of Assistance from abroad; con-
 trarywise, the *English* and the *Dutch* joined
 with the King. True it is, that the first were
 more generous than the others, and we shall
 for ever admire and praise Captain *Pennington's*
 Constancy, who could never be prevailed
 on, neither by Threats nor Promises, to fight
 against People of his own Persuasion, whom
 he knew to be unjustly persecuted. True it
 is, that he delivered the Ships under his Com-
 mand to the *French* King; but it was after
 the repeated Orders of the King, who was
 deceived by *Buckingham*, a Man exceed-
 ingly more hurtful to his Country than the
 Plague, which raged this Year in *London*:
 And it is remarkable, that the far greatest
 part of the *English* Sailors follow'd the Ex-
 ample of their Captain, refusing to fight a-
 gainst their Brethren in *Cbrist*, so that these
 Ships were manned with *French*, &c.

Lewis 13.
1625.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

So then these two Lords could expect nothing but from *Spain*. And what a Reproach! to have sacrificed as much as it was in their power, the Welfare, not only of their own Brethren, not only of their own Country, but of all *Europe*, which groaned under the intolerable Yoke of the House of *Austria*; to have, I say, sacrificed these things to their own Ambition, by obstructing, as much as they could, the Intentions of their own King? Must we wonder, if *Richelieu* persuaded his Master to pursue to the last his Reformed Subjects, and not to desist till he had put it out of their power, ever more to cause any Disturbance, and obstruct his Designs against the natural Enemies of his Crown? Let then some others admire the Courage and Fortitude of the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, and extol their great Feats; for my part, considering them as the Authors of the Miseries to which our Churches were exposed under *Lewis XIII.* I can but compare them to *Hannibal*, to whom, in many respects, they both were like, especially the first (*d*).

Overtures es
for Peace.

Immediately after the Expedition of *Blavet*, the Overtures of a Treaty were made. It is said, that the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Constable intreated *Lewis* to grant something to the Reformed considering the present Juncture. They sent likewise to the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, to desire them to desist from their Enterprize, and to accept of the
Advance-

(*d*) It may be said, that *Rochelle* was threatned with a Blokade; but let us suppose it true, that the Design was really laid to block up that City, I never heard before that Threats were a sufficient ground, for such a small part of Subjects to begin Hostilities against their Sovereign; which can never be lawful, but when they are openly attack'd, if it is at any time.

Advancement which the King would offer them in his Land and Sea-Armies. It is said, that his Majesty offered to the Duke of *Roban* a Regiment of twelve hundred Men kept on foot, besides his Company of Gens-d'Armes, and thirty Life-Guards; to the Duke of *Soubize*, a Squadron of ten Men of War, in the Fleet designed against *Genoa*, upon Condition, that he should restore five Ships of the Duke of *Nevers* taken at *Blavet*. As to *Rochelle*, the King promised to raze *Fort-Louis*, as soon as they had razed themselves the new Fortifications made in *Rbé* and *Oleron*, &c. It is certain, that the City of *Rochelle*, and the Duke of *Soubize* sent a Deputation to the King, to which the Duke of *Roban* was obliged to join his own Deputies. They presented their Bill containing twenty one Articles, which were favourably enough answer'd in the Month of *July*. But the Spirits of People were grown too difficult to be pleas'd; amongst others, the *Rochelese* required, as a Preliminary, that *Fort-Louis* should be razed. They were puff'd up with the Success *Soubize* had had against the King's Fleet, commanded by *Houtstein*, Admiral of *Holland*, in the absence of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Admiral of *France*; he had burnt the Rear-Admiral of *Zelande*, and sunk or taken four others, and kill'd above 1500 Men of the Enemies.

But the two Noble Brothers, dreading some cross Accident which might render their Condition worse, and willing to improve the Circumstance of the Times, endeavoured to persuade them to accept what was offered. The Duke of *Roban*, who for obtaining in whole what was refused in part, had been oblig'd to summon an Assembly at *Anduze*, where-

Lewis 13.

1625.

Pope Urban VIII.

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in

Lewis 13. in War had been resolved by his Intrigues,
 1625. summoned another at *Milbaud*, in order to
 Pope Ur- have Peace accepted; wherein indeed he would
 ban VIII. not have succeeded, had not *Soubize* been in-
 tirely routed, through the Perfidiousness and
 Treachery of the Rear-Admiral of *Rockelle*.
 On the 11th of *September*, the Royal Fleet
 made a Descent in the Isle of *Rbé*, seized it,
 with that of *Oleron*, where they took five hun-
 dred Prisoners, who surrendered at Discretion.
 The *Rochelese* lost nine Ships, the largest where-
 of, namely the *Virgin*, had but five Men left
 to defend her, she was surrounded by four
 of the Royalists, and as Captain *Durant*, who
 commanded her, saw no other way of escap-
 ing, he set fire to the Powder, and by that
 means she was blown up, and the four Roy-
 alists with her; seven hundred and fifty Men
 perished by that Accident, amongst whom
 was the Count of *Vauvert*, Son to the Duke
 of *Ventadour*. Besides these Losses upon Sea,
 and in the Islands, the Reformed were not
 more fortunate upon Land. The Duke of
Espernon, the Marshal of *Themines*, and others
 the King's Generals, caused unspeakable Da-
 mages in *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, and *Xaintonge*.
 So that the Assembly of *Milbaud*, seeing that
 their Affairs were at such a low Ebb, that they
 could not probably be retrieved without a Peace,
 were very glad to accept of the Terms of-
 fered unto them in *July* last. Therefore on
 the 1st of *November*, they drew up an Act
 of Acceptation of the Answers made to their
 Bills in the said Month of *July*. They sent
 their Deputies to Court, to present their most
 humble Submissions to the King. They ha-
 rangued his Majesty on the 21st, and spoke
 very submissively in behalf of *Rockelle*. The
 King

King told them, that he granted them a general Peace, for all those who had risen in Arms; but he added, *as to Rochelle it is another thing.*

Lewis 13.
1625.
Pope Urban VIII.

That Exception of *Rochelle*, put a stop to the Conclusion of the Treaty, because the Deputies were not impowered to treat without that City: which Union was very ill resented at Court. The *Rochelense* were no less stunned by the Rout of *Soubize*, than the rest of the Reformed; and falling on a sudden from a presumptuous Steadiness into the lowest Degree of Humility, they craved, in the most submissive manner, that Peace which they had refused a few Months before with so much Haughtiness. Their Deputies prostrated themselves at his Majesty's Feet, crying for Mercy. But the inflexible Monarch answer'd them as a Master who will punish before he will forgive, and referred them to his Chancellor to be further informed of his Pleasure. The Terms which the Chancellor imposed upon them were so hard, that they could not be accepted; the Council and the Government of the City was to be put on the same footing as in 1610; they were to admit an Intendant of Justice; their Fortifications were to be razed; the King was to be admitted with all due respect, whenever he should think proper to come into the City; they were not to keep any Man of War of their own, or borrowed from others; and their Merchant Ships should take Permits of the Admiral of *France*; they were to restore Goods and Estates to the Ecclesiastics; and likewise to restore certain Carriages and Merchandizes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Orleans*, which had been seized by

Lewis 13. by the *Rochelese*. Upon these Terms, they might
 1625. have been comprised in the Treaty of Peace.
 Pope Ur- All the Intreaties of the General Deputies
 ban VIII. were fruitless. The King would not relent;

and it was only at the *English* Ambassador's Instances, that they obtained some Alleviation, as I am going to say. *James* the First died, and was buried this Year. *Charles* the First, his Successor, concluded and consummated, to his own and his Kingdoms' unspeakable Misfortune, the Marriage, whereof his Father had treated with *Henrietta* of *France*, youngest Sister of *Lewis*.

1626.
 Peace
 made by
 the Media-
 tion of the
 King of
 England.

The King of *Great Britain*, very eager after the Restoration of the Elector *Palatine*, his Brother-in Law, which *James* had begun to pursue a few Months before his Death, at the Intreaties of his Parliament, bearing with great Uneasiness any Obstruction that could hinder *Lewis* from exerting his Power against the House of *Austria*, sent Orders to his Ambassadors in *France*, the Earl of *Holland* and Sir *Carleton*, to spare nothing in order to put an end to the Civil War: Consequently they work'd so effectually on the Court and on the Reformed side, that they obtained the desired Success. They gave the Reformed to understand, that the King their Master would be Guarantee of whatever was promised unto them. Especially they promised to the *Rochelese*, that the King their Master would insist so effectually upon the razing of *Fort-Louis*, and to have mitigated the hard Terms imposed upon them, that he might answer for the Success.

Upon these Intreaties and Promises the *Rochelese* yielded at last, and the other Cities, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, and *Ufsez*, which persisted

persisted only on account of *Rochelle*, yielded likewise. Peace was then concluded on the 6th of *February*. The Alterations made in the Terms imposed upon the *Rochelese*, were not very considerable; instead of an Intendant of Justice, spoken of in the second Article, it was said, that they should admit some Commissaries, Executors of the Treaty, who might remain in the City as long as they should think fit; the fourth Article, which spoke of the King's Reception, was omitted, as well as the seventh, about the Concerns of some Merchants of *Orleans*. But in their stead, the Restoration of the Roman Religion in the full liberty of its Exercise, and superstitious Ceremonies was inserted; and the Declaration, that *Fort-Louis* should not be razed, but that it should be taken care of in such a manner, that its Garrison, no more than those of *Rbé* and *Oleron*, should not annoy their Trade. Instead of the demolishing their Fortifications, the Court was satisfied with the razing of the *Fort Tadon*; and it was said, that they should follow the Laws of Trade, their Privileges saved, instead of obliging them to take Permits of the Admiral of *France*.

A Copy of these Articles was drawn up, under which was a Promise to allow the Reformed to enjoy the Fruits of the Answers made unto their Bill in *July* last at *Fontainbleau*, (for which I refer the Reader to the Collection of Acts, &c. at the End of this Book) provided that on their side they should restore things in the same State as then they were. But lest the *Rochelese* should take advantage of this Promise, they were expressly excluded from it; and it was declared, that the King granted them no other Favour, besides what was inserted

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Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

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serted in the preceding Deed concerning them. The Deputies of the Reformed had written their Names in this place: But under, there was a third Deed signed both in their own Name, and in the Name of the Deputies of the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, of the *Languedoc*, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, *Ufez*, and *Cevennes*; whereby they solemnly declared, that they had besought the King, with all the Respects and Submissions possible, to forgive them what was past, and to grant them Peace, promising a perfect Fidelity for the future, &c. Which the King had been graciously pleased to accept, and thereupon had given his Royal Word for a Peace; out of which however *Rochelle* had been excepted. That they had received that Favour, as a signal Instance of his Majesty's Clemency, and promised inviolably to stand by their Promises of Fidelity and Obedience, and to restore the Places taken since last *July*.

At the same time, in order to secure to themselves the Protection of the King of *England*, whom they imagined to be Guarantee of the said Treaty, they required a Deed from his Embassadors, which was delivered unto them the 11th of *February*, whereby they declar'd, that the razing of *Fort-Louis*, when Affairs should permit it, had been promised unto them, provided that the *Rochelese* should submit; and that had it not been for such a Promise, neither the *Rochelese* would have accepted the Peace, nor the Reformed would have yielded what they had done at the Instances of the King of *England*. Upon these Considerations they were to expect the powerful Intercession of his *Britannick* Majesty their Master, that they might obtain a full Satisfacton.

That

That Deed was not well drawn; it did not mention the Guaranty of the King of *England*, but only a Promise powerfully to intercede with the King of *France* for a full Execution of the Articles granted to his Reformed Subjects, and that, because out of respect for him; they had yielded to the Terms offered unto them : That is all. Nevertheless, we shall see the next Year King *Charles*, saying in full Council, *That he was Guarantee of this Peace, and consequently obliged in Conscience to see all the Articles thereof duly performed.*

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The Cities of *Rochelle* and *Montauban* having ratified the Treaty, the first on the second of *March*, and the other on the sixth, an Edict was published in the same Month, containing twelve Articles. The Introduction spoke of nothing but Clemency and Pardon on the King's part, and Submissions and Supplications reiterated by the Reformed, and particularly by those who remained in Obedience, which the King said was the better sort, and the far greatest part, to the Remonstrances of whom he had had a special regard when he had accepted the Submissions of the rest. The first Article confirmed the REGISTERED Edicts and secret Articles; and declared, that they had been well and duly observed in the Reign of the late King, and after his Death, till the beginning of the last Commotions. That was a downright Falshood, inserted only to serve a Turn, and to render the Reformed the more odious. The second restored the Roman Religion, in all the Places where the Exercise thereof had been interrupted during the Troubles, as likewise all Goods, Estates, Rights belong-

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Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

ing to the Ecclesiasticks, even all their Move-ables that could be found in being. The third granted the same Favour to the Reformed for the Exercife of their Religion, and for the Church-Yards which they were possessed of in 1620. The fourth contained an Amnesty of all Acts of Hostility; even of those that might have been committed from *October* 1622, till the publication of the present. The fifth concerned the raising of Monies, and gave a discharge of it after the same manner as it was done by the Articles of the Edict of *Nantz* concerning the same Matter. The sixth restored the Seats of Judicature, the Receipts, the Officers of the Exchequer to the Places from whence they had been removed by reason of the Troubles. The Privileges of the Cities held by the Reformed were likewise confirmed. The usual Methods in the electing of Consuls, were to be observed: And the Appeals of Persons aggrieved were to be judged by the Chambers of the Edict. The seventh reversed all Sentences passed against the Reformed on account of the late Insurrection. The eighth ordered a speedy Release of all the Prisoners and Slaves in the Gallies condemned upon the same account. The ninth confirmed the Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, which declared the Reformed capable of all Offices whatever, restored those who had been depriv'd, revok'd the Patents of their Offices granted to others, and restor'd them to all their Estates, Titles, &c. cancelling all contrary Acts, except the contradictory Decrees given in the Council, or in the Chambers of the Edict. The tenth ordered that this Declaration should be observed according to the eighty-second Article of the

Edict

Edict of Nantz. The eleventh forbid for the future, all sorts of political Assemblies of what Denomination soever, unless they had a special Licence to hold them, and all manner of Associations and Correspondences. But the Ecclesiastical Assemblies were allowed about meer Affairs of Church-Discipline, and conformable to the Declaration of *April 1623*, which enjoined the Synods to admit a Commissioner deputed by the King. All new Fortifications and raising of Money without a special Licence were forbid. The last ordered the Execution of the Articles relating to *Rochelle*, and the Restitution of the Cities and Castles taken by the Reformed during the War.

All *Europe*, but especially the Confederates, *viz.* the *English, Venetians, Dutch, and Switzers*, expected that Peace being thus concluded in *France*, Cardinal *de Richelieu* would turn its Arms against the House of *Austria*. But that was, for this time, very far from his Eminency's Thoughts. He had been diverted from them by the Insurrection of *Soubize*, and had fully determined to bring down the Reformed Party, and to deprive them of all their Strong-Holds, and especially of *Rochelle*, that they might be no longer in a Condition of obstructing him in the Execution of his Schemes. Besides that, he was surely acquainted with Plots that were laid against him at Court, in order to remove him from the Government. No wonder then, that for compassing his Ends, at these beginnings of his Ministry, he declined to engage any further in a foreign War. It was upon that very account, that the Constable of *Les Diguieres* had made of late but an inglorious Campaign in *Italy*, where, quite contrary to the Expectation of the

Lewis 13. *Venetians*; he had attacked the *Genoese*, instead
 1626. of entering into the *Milanese*, and forcing the
 Pope Ur- *Spaniards* to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*,
 ban VII, which had been transacted and concluded some
 Years before by the good Management of *Bassompierre*, whereby the Restitution of the *Valteline* to their Sovereign Lords the *Grisons*, was expressly stipulated. And it was upon the same account that he had made Peace with the Reformed, till he could see himself superior to his Enemies, at the head whereof no less a Person than the Duke of *Anjou*, the King's only Brother, was to be put, through the Intrigues of the Queen-Mother, who began sadly to repent her too great Eagerness for the Cardinal's Promotion.

Peace con-
 cluded
 with
 Spain.

Therefore while that cunning Prime Minister was flattering the *English* Ambassadors with the Notion, that it was only in their Master's Consideration, and for being the better enabled to execute the Plan formed between the two Crowns and their Allies against the House of *Austria*, that his Majesty condescended to grant Peace to his Reformed Subjects: While he caused the same to be asserted by *Bassompierre*, to the Protestant Cantons assembled in Diet at *Soleurre*, he at the very same time caused *Du Fargis*, the *French* Ambassador at the Court of *Spain*, to conclude a Treaty with that Court, very prejudicial to the *Grisons*, and dishonourable to the King his Master, which Treaty was concluded and signed unknown to his Majesty. And in order to avoid all Suspicions of his having any hand in it, the Cardinal tamper'd so well with Father *Berulle*, and the Countess *Du Fargis*, by some of his own Creatures, which he used to employ for these secret Offices,
 that

that they having raised great Scruples in the Conscience of the Queen Mother, their Mistress, about the Lawfulness of the War against the *Catholick King*, and in behalf of Hereticks, they persuaded her to send positive Orders to *Du Fargis* to conclude at any rate the Treaty, promising to take upon herself whatever Consequences such an extraordinary Step might be attended with. And so she became unknowingly the Tool which the Cardinal wanted for attaining his End; for after much Noise in the King's Council against *Du Fargis*, *Richelieu* managed his Majesty with such a Dexterity, that the Treaty was accepted and signed by the King, with some small Amendments. This Treaty, was call'd the Treaty of *Monçon* in *Arragon*, though it was concluded at *Barcelona*; but the Legate *Barberini* being arrived in this last City, where the King was then, the Count Duke of *Olivarez*, Prime Minister, and the others concerned in that Affair, were much perplexed at this coming of the Legate, lest he should obstruct the Conclusion of the said Treaty: In order to avoid which, they thought that the better way was to antedate it, as if it had been done at *Monçon*, while the Court was in that Place.

Now in order to have a right Notion of this famous Treaty of *Monçon*, concerning the Affairs of the *Valteline*, it is proper to observe, That that small Country, watered by the River *Adda*, which renders its Soil extremely fertile, stood very convenient for the *Spaniards*, as being a Pass through which they might very commodiously bring their Troops from *Germany* into *Italy*, and from *Italy* into *Germany*. It is bordered on the *East* by the

Lewis 13. *Tirolese*, on the *West* by the *Milanese*, where-
 of it was a Dependency before the *Grisons*
 1626. seized upon it, at the Instigation of Pope Ju-
 Pope Ur- lius the Second, who attempted to expel the
 ban VIII. *Spaniards* out of *Italy*. *Maximilian Sforza*,
 Duke of *Milan*, yielded the said Country to
 the *Grisons*, as an Acknowledgment for the
 Assistance they had given him for restoring
 him into his Dutchy of *Milan*; which Grant
 was confirmed by King *Francis* the First,
 when he conquered the *Milanese*, after the
 famous Battle of *Marignano* in the Year 1515.
 Since that time there had been always a strict
 Alliance between the Crown of *France* and
 the *Grisons*; their Republick was engaged not
 to grant a Passage through the *Valteline* but
 to the *French* Troops only, denying it to any
 other Sovereign. *Henry* the Fourth renewed
 that Alliance, which was to subsist not only
 for his Life and his Son's, but even for eight
 Years after the Decease of this last. Never-
 theless, in the time of the Debates between
 the *Venetians* and Pope *Paul* the Fifth, the
Grisons granted to the first the same Passage
 for ten Years together. Whereupon the King
 of *Spain* put it into his head to obtain the
 same Privilege. The *Papists* of the Coun-
 try, bribed by *Spanish* Pistoles, declared
 for them; so that there was a great Division
 amongst the *Grisons*, part of them, and espe-
 cially the Protestants, holding for the *Vene-*
tians, and the others for the House of *Austria*.

During the Minority of *Lewis XIII.* *France*
 endeavoured to obstruct the renewing of the
 Alliance between the *Venetians* and the *Gri-*
sons, after the ten Years expired; but the
 War being kindled between the first and *Fer-*
dinand Archduke of *Gratz*, the *Venetians* left

no Stone unturned, in order to obtain the renewing of the same Privilege as before, which occasioned great Heats and Animosities amongst the *Grifons*; and whereas the Council of *France* was quite SPANIOLIZ'D, the Resident of *France* at *Turin* had Orders to repair to *Coire*, in order to oppose any Alliance which might prove prejudicial to that subsisting between *France* and the *Grifons*. But that Minister made such a Demonstration of too great a Partiality for *Spain*, on pretence of supporting the *Roman Catholick Religion*, that he drew upon himself the ill-will of the *Grifons*; and the *Venetians* on the other hand prevail'd so far, as to make use of severity against those who thwarted their Design, some of whom were banished, and others were corporally punished as Seditious. The *Grifons* Catholicks being exasperated at that, they resolv'd to be revenged; they address'd themselves to the Governour of *Milan*, and desired the Protection of the King of *Spain* for the *Valteline*. Thereupon the Duke of *Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, would not let slip so fair an Opportunity of making himself Master of the *Valteline*; he form'd an Intrigue with some of the *Grifons* exiled, and some Male-contents of the *Valteline*, on pretence of delivering them from their Oppression, and of hindering the Protestant Ministers which the *Grifons* had settled in that Country, from extirpating the Catholick Religion. On the 19th of *July* 1620, one *PIANTA*, with the Chevalier *ROBUSTEL*, having gathered together some Troops in the *Tirolese* and the *Milanese*, entered the *Valteline*, and being supported by the Malecontents of the Catholick Religion, they made a general Massacre of the Reformed,

Lewis 13.
1626.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13. and others who sided with the *Grisons*. And
 1626. whereas the *Grisons*, notwithstanding all the
 Pope Ur- Precautions of the Rebels, found means to
 ban VIII. send some Troops of their own, and of the
Seven United Provinces, for to quell the Re-
 bellion; *Feria* took from thence occasion to
 declare openly, and to send speedily *Spanish*
 Troops commanded by experienced Officers,
 on pretence to maintain the Catholick Re-
 ligion, in a Country wherein the *Protestants*
 did their utmost to oppress it, and made him-
 self Master of all the Strong-Holds, and of
 the whole Country. The *Grisons* in that Dis-
 tress addressed the King of *France*, who be-
 ing at that time incumbered with a Civil War,
 could not effectually assist them, but he sent
Bassompierre to the Court of *Madrid*, where
 by his great Dexterity he concluded the Trea-
 ty already mentioned, whereby the King of
Spain solemnly promised to restore the *Val-*
teline to its true Lords, the *Grisons*. That
 Treaty however was of none Effect. It would
 be too tedious here to relate all the mean
 and base Tricks made use of by the *Spaniards*
 to keep the *Valteline* for themselves, till
 the Year 1623, when by a new Device of their
 own, they proposed to put the said Forts
 in trust into the hands of the Pope; where-
 to the Council of *France*, then devoted to
 the Court of *Madrid*, consented with this Pro-
 viso, that it should be only for three Months.
 Instead of three Months, eighteen were al-
 ready gone, without any Conclusion of that
 Affair; when the Ministry being alter'd in
France, and the *Spanish* Faction quite down,
 the Marquis *De Cœuvres* was sent Ambassa-
 dor to the *Switz* Cantons, and to the *Gri-*
sons, for to exhort them to exert themselves
 for

for the Recovery of the *Valteline*; and having prevailed with them, he invaded the Country in *November* 1624, and in less than six Months, he conquered the whole Country, the Forts of *Riva* and another excepted. The Infurrection of *Soubize* obstructed the further Progress of the King's Arms.

Lewis 13.
1626.
Pope Urban VIII.

The *Pope* made very heavy Complaints against that Expedition of *Cœuvres*, he pretended that he had violated the Respect due to his Standards, whereby he had incurred all the Thunders of the *Vatican*; he pretended further to make use of his old Topick, that he had a Right to deprive the Heretick Sovereigns of their Dominions; and consequently, that the *Grisons* being Hereticks, he might dispose of the *Valteline* at his pleasure, and such other like rusty Stuff of his own. The Court of *France* had very little regard to these Arguments. *Bassompierre* so strongly evinced in a full Diet the Falshood and Heinousness of these Topicks, that notwithstanding the *Pope's* Nuncio's Endeavours, the Catholick Cantons unanimously resolved to support the Interest of the *Grisons* against *Rome* and *Madrid*. They were soon followed by the Protestant Cantons, when they heard that the King had granted Peace to his Reformed Subjects. All *Europe* was in expectation of some favourable Revolution in behalf of the Princes and States that groaned under the tyrannical Yoke of the House of *Austria*; but they were all in a fume, when the shameful Treaty of *Monçon* was published, whereby all their Hopes vanished away.

The Articles concerning the *Grisons*, were as follows: That the Affairs of the *Grisons* and of the *Valteline*, should be restor'd in the

Treaty of
Monçon.

the

Lewis 13. the same State as they were in the Year 1617.
 1626. *So the Grisons were restored to the Possession*
 Pope Ur- *of their Estates.* That no other Religion be-
 ban VIII. *fides the Catholick shall be publickly profes-*
 { *sed in the Valteline, Chiavenna, and County*
of Bormio. That the *Valtelinians* shall chuse
 their Governors and Magistrates, either a-
 mong themselves, or amongst the *Grisons*, pro-
 vided they be Catholicks. That these Elec-
 tions shall be confirmed by the *Grisons*; but
 they shall not refuse the Ratification there-
 of. *What a prodigious cropping of their Rights*
of Sovereignty! That the Forts seized up-
 on from the *Pope*, should be restored unto
 him, in order to be instantly levelled to the
 ground (c). How this Treaty was received in
Switzerland, and the Debates that arose upon
 it amongst the *Grisons*, that don't belong to
 this History. What I have said upon that
 Subject, was only to give a new Instance of
 the Character of that Antichristian Religion,
 which, on pretence of saving their Souls, deprives
 the Sovereigns of their temporal Dominions.

The 25th
National
Synod.

Now to resume the Thread of our History :
 The Reformed Churches held their 25th Nati-
 onal Synod at *Castres* in *Languedoc*, which be-
 gan their Sessions on the 16th of *September*,
 and sat till the 5th of *November*. The Reve-
 rend Mr. *Chauve*, Minister of *Sommieres*, was
 chosen Moderator; the Reverend Mr. *Bouterouë*,
 Minister of *Grenoble*, Assessor; *Francis Petit*,
 Elder in the Church of *Nimes*, and the Rev.
 Mr. *David Blondel*, Minister at *Houden*, Se-
 cretaries. *Augustus Galland* Esq; assisted in
 it as the King's Commissary, and the Lord
 of *Mont-Martin*, one of the General Depu-
 ties, took his Seat in that Assembly. Gal-
 land

(c) Battista Nani Hist. Parte 1ma. Libro. ivº. &c. xº.

land was expressly enjoined to be careful to see the Edicts observed, and chiefly that of 1623, and to hinder the keeping of any Conventicles at *Castres* without his leave. His Instructions contained six principal Articles. The first renew'd the Promises of the King's Good-will, while faithful Obedience should be paid him. The second, exhorted the Reformed to live in Concord with the Catholicks, and to judge equitably of them, promising to see that the Catholicks should do the same. The third, exhorted them to renounce all Associations, Leagues, and Correspondences, either abroad or at home, but only with the King; and *Galland* was to declare, that his Majesty never had a mind to revoke the Edicts, which he evinced by these Arguments; because he had confirmed them when he entered upon his Majority; because he had renewed his Alliances with Foreign Protestant Princes and States; because he had augmented the Gratuities granted by his Father to the Ministers; because he made use of the Reformed Lords in sundry great Affairs; and lastly, because in their repeated Insurrections, he had been always ready to show them Mercy, as soon as they were ready to submit. The fourth, was of a very singular nature. Its aim was to oblige the Ministers to turn Informers one against another, and to brand themselves with Infamy; For the Commissary was to exhort them to inform against those Ministers who had held Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the Amnesty published for what was past during the late War: Then he was to receive a Declaration of the Synod, agreeable to that delivered by the

Lewis 13.
1626.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

the

Lewis 13. the Provincial Synod of *Realmont* (f) for the
 1626. *Upper Guienne*, and to assure them, that the
 Pope Ur- aim
 ban VIII



(f) For the better understanding of this, we must explain what the Synod of *Realmont* was, and what had been transacted there in regard to the foreign Correspondences. The Duke of *Roban* being sollicitated by the *Spaniards*, had made a Treaty with them, and had sent *Campredon* into *Spain*, for more positive Assurance of the Assistance that was offered, and the Treaty had been concluded by the said *Campredon*, with considerable Promises. Now, as the said Envoy was coming back from *Spain*, Peace was made both with the Reformed and *Spain*. He was arrested, carried into the Prisons of *Toulouse*, and the Treaty being found upon him, he was tried for his Life. The first President *Mafuyer* had already received the last Edict, in order to have it registered by his Parliament; *Campredon* was intitled to the Benefit of the Amnesty granted for all past Transgressions; but *Campredon* was a Reformed, and *Mafuyer* a virulent Papist, who knew neither Justice nor Modesty in Matters concerning Religion. In order to gratify his bloody Dispositions, he concealed the Edict, till *Campredon* was executed. That Action was certainly of the most heinous nature, seeing that it was blamed and condemned even by the Court of *Rome* itself*.

* *Mcm.*

pour l'Hist. But the *Catholicks* were much pleased with this fancy,
 du *Card. de* that *Roban* having treated with *Spain*, as the Duke of
Richelieu. *Guise* had done in the Reign of *Henry III.* the Reformed
Tom. I. ad were silenced, and could no longer cast in their teeth
ann. 1626. their ancient League with the same Crown. Though the Case was quite different, for *Roban's* League with *Spain*, was a Crime peculiar to *Roban*, *Soubize*, and of a few of their Attendants, the Reformed Churches had no hand at all in it: But the ancient League was the Crime, not only of *Guise*, but of the greatest part of the *Catholicks*, of all the Parliaments, two only excepted, of the largest Provinces, of the best Cities, and above all, of the whole Clergy, ten or twelve excepted. Nevertheless, the *Catholicks* would fain have involved the Ministers in the same Reproach; and the Pretence they took was such, that those who did not consider further, might easily be imposed upon. They chose purposely the Commissary who was to be present at the Synod of *Realmont*; this Man either bribed, or so silly as not to see the Snare that was laid for the Ministers, took upon him to propose, that an Inquisition might be made,

after

aim of this Inquisition was not to punish the Guilty, but lest the Innocent should be involved in the Crimes of others. The first ordered the Commissary not to suffer the Synod to meddle with any thing that was not of meer Discipline: And the last forbid the Ministers to go out of the Kingdom, to settle themselves elsewhere without the King's Licence; and the Synods to send any Minister to foreign Princes and States, either for ever, or for a time, without a royal Licence; pretending that the mixture of Manners and Customs of foreign Countries, might alter the Duties of Obedience in his Subjects.

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1626.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

This Instruction of *Galland* was ill resented by the Synod: And *Chauve*, who was Moderator, told him very roundly, that a Man, zealous for his Religion, ought not to have charged himself with such Instructions, which tended to over-reach and dishonour his Brethren. Then he answered Article by Article, with as much Firmness as Prudence. As to the first, his Answer was full of Submission and Promises of Obedience. To the second he

after those who might have been any way concerned in *Campredon's* Negotiation; and the better to disguise the Cheat, they cover'd it with the general Name of a Correspondence with Foreigners. The Synod itself was not aware of the Snare. They look'd upon it as a means of shewing forth their high Detestation of such like Crimes, and accordingly, they drew up an Act, whereby the desired Inquisition should be made, but not one Informer could be found. But the National Synod took the Matter quite otherwise than the Provincial had done, and justly supposed, that such a Justification imply'd always a Suspicion of a Propension to the Crime: Therefore they exclaimed against *Galland's* Proposal, they censured the Synod of *Realmont*; but for all that, the Chamber of the Edict, which had been transferred from *Castres* to *Beziers*, in order to obtain its Restoration, betray'd the Cause in this particular.

Lewis 13. he promised that Moderation and Equity
 1626. which the King required. But whereas the
 Pope Ur- Catholicks were the Aggressors, and carry'd
 ban VIII. their hatred beyond all bounds, he enjoyn'd
 the Commissary to beseech the King to pity
 the Fate of his poor Reformed Subjects, abused
 in their Persons; disturbed in the Exercise of
 their Religion; deprived of their Churches;
 dispossessed of their Church-yards, and several
 CorpSES of their nearest Relations having
 been digg'd up out of their Graves. As to the
 third Article, he affirmed that no body knew
 of any Correspondences held with Foreigners
 to the prejudice of the Kingdom's Welfare;
 and omitted not to slide into his Speech some
 Jerks against the Doctrine and Attempts of
 the Jesuits. As to the fourth, which mention'd
 the Act passed in the Provincial Synod of
Realmont, and the Transactions therein, *Chauve*
 complained loudly of the Captiousness of the
 Commissary in that Synod, just as if he had a
 mind to insinuate, that some Ministers were
 charged with having held Correspondence with
 the *Spaniards*; but he praised God, for that
 after the strictest Inquiry, none had been
 found guilty, no not even impeached. As to
 the fifth, which forbids meddling with Politick
 Affairs, he saith, that the preceeding National
 Synod had taken order about it. And as to
 the last Article, he reply'd, that the present
 Synod would take proper Care in that
 particular.

These Answers were unanimously approv'd
 by the Synod, and *Chauve* had the Thanks
 of the Assembly for them. Then *Galland*
 tendered to the Assembly the King's War-
 rant, which imported a Licence to name six
 Persons, out of which the King should chuse

two for General Deputies attending the Court. Lewis 13.
1626.
Maniald, Deputy for the Commons was dead, Pope Ur-
ban VIII.
 and *Hardy* had been subrogated in his stead by his Majesty's Authority, without consulting the Party concerned therein. This unprecedented Step visibly aim'd at the suppression of the Privileges granted to the Reformed by the Edict of *Nantz*, whereby the Court let them see, that if they did not comply with their Will, the King knew how to bring them to Compliance. The Synod was very sensible of that, nevertheless they endeavour'd to ward off the blow; they sent a Deputation to Court, with a Remonstrance containing eight Articles; 1°. That his Majesty would be pleas'd to cause the Modifications put by the Parliaments to the late Edict, to be totally reversed; 2°. That his Majesty would be pleas'd to do them Justice upon manifold Vexations, which they complain'd of; 3°. That their Churches pulled down even since the Peace, should be restored, and Commissaries sent into the Provinces to see the said Edict executed; 4°. That the Rev. Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, should be allow'd to return into his Church, (*Charenton*;) 5°. That a Political Assembly should be granted; 6°. That the Aid granted for the Ministers should be continued: The two last were in behalf of *Du Candal Esq*; their Receiver-General, they required that the Deficiencies should be made good unto him.

The Deputies were very kindly received at Court; but after a Month's stay, they brought nothing but fair Words and Promises, only the first and the two last Articles were favourably answered, besides that, the King granted them ten thousand Livres for defray-

ing:

Lewis 13
1626.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.



ing the Charges of the Synod, and twelve hundred Livres to the Deputies for the Charges of their Journey. As to a Political Assembly, he absolutely denied it; but he granted them a more ample Warrant than the first for naming the General Deputies, out of which however he challenged all Persons depending on any of the great Lords. All the Reluctancy of the Synod, and their Protest proved ineffectual; they were at last forced to yield, or else the Reformed would have been deprived from this very time, of their Right of naming their General Deputies. So that they named six Persons, three for the Nobility, and three for the Commons, out of which the King chose the Marquis of *Clermont* for the first, and *Basin*, an Attorney, for the Commons.

Then the Synod resolved to petition the King for the full Liberty of the Ecclesiastical Assemblies, which were kept under great Restraint by the Presence of his Commissary, though he was then professing the same Religion with them, but he was a Man depending upon the Court. They exercised the Discipline against several Delinquents and scandalous Ministers, and especially against one *Parris*, whom they deposed and excommunicated, for having published a Book intitled, *The bloody Skirt of Henry IV.* wherein he defamed the reigning King, and made very scandalous Reflections against the Reformed Churches of *France*. They made several wise and good Regulations, endeavouring a Reformation of Manners, but to very little purpose, through the Corruption of the Times; and so ended the Synod, after having charged the Province of *Normandy* with the care of summoning the next.

The

The Constable *De Les Diguieres* died this Year, by the middle of *September* in the 84th Year of his Age, being born at *St. Bonnet* in *Champ-Saur*, in the Province of *Dauphiné*, the first Day of *April* 1543. His Father was *John De Bonne*, of *Les Diguieres*, and his Mother, *Frances* of *Castellane*; he was christened by the Name of *Francis*. The day of his Birth, the Borough of *St. Bonnet* was accidentally burnt to Ashes, and the same thing happened on the day of his Death. If his Biographer is to be credited, *Les Diguieres* was descended of one of the most ancient Noble Families in *Dauphiné*, but others don't agree with him; howbeit, it is certain, that by his Virtue and Military Atchievements he attained from the lowest Degree to the highest Dignity of the Sword. The Dignity of Constable was extinct in *France* with him: And by an Edict of *January* following, both that and the great Admiralship, were suppressed.

Lewis 13.
1626.
Pope Urban VIII.
The Constable's Death.

We have already observed, that the last Edict of *Fontainebleau* had never been done with any design to keep it, but rather with an Intention to wheedle the Reformed, whose Ruin, at least for their Privileges and temporal Welfare, was already decreed. It was one of the principal Reasons for which the Cardinal superseded the Execution of his Scheme to humble the House of *Austria*. Nevertheless, the Reformed would have borne patiently the Yoke, and, may be, never thought of shaking it off, had it not been for the Duke of *Roban*, who tamely suffered himself to become the Tool of the Duke of *Buckingham*. This is so true, that properly speaking, we may call this third War, the Duke of *Buckingham's* War. And indeed, that Favourite's

1627.
Preparations for the third War.

Lewis 13. Lasciviousness, Desire of Revenge, Greediness
 1627. after Power, was the only Occasion of the
 Pope Ur- beginning of this War, and the Duke of Ro-
 ban VIII. ban's boundless Ambition, if we will spare
 the Word of QUIXOTISM, accelerated
 the Ruin of what was left remaining to the
 Reformed, of the Privileges, Rights and Li-
 berties granted them by the Edict of Nantz,
 &c. Let us explain this more fully.

Buckingham had been sent into *France* to bring over *Henrietta*, his Master's Consort. He fell in love at the Court of *France* with *Anne of Austria*, *Lewis XII's* Wife; nay, he was so impudent as to declare his Passion to that Princess. *Richelieu* was informed of it, and *Richelieu* was himself prepossess'd with the same Passion for the Queen; alarmed at *Buckingham's* Declaration, his Jealousy was kindled, and he had such an Influence upon the King his Master, that afterwards his Rival could never be admitted to speak to the Queen in private. Enraged at this, *Buckingham*, at his return, missed no Opportunities to create into his Master a Dislike, not only of the *French* Nation, but even of his Consort, in order that a breach ensuing between the two Courts, he might procure to himself the Embassy of *France*, on pretence of adjusting the Matter, but in reality for gratifying his own Fancy. And Matters were carry'd to that degree between the two Courts, that a Rupture was likely to be the Consequence of their Misunderstanding. Such was the Situation of Affairs, when *Bassompierre* arrived in *England* to compound the Differences arisen between King *Charles* and *Henrietta* his Consort, wherein he succeeded better than he could reasonably have expected, thro' the

the Assistance of *Buckingham*, who did not scruple to betray the honour of his Master for gratifying his own Lust. The two Courts began to be at variance on account of some Ships seized on both sides. *Buckingham* was named Ambassador. But his Mortification can't be express'd, when being at *Canterbury* ready to cross the Channel, *Richelieu* let him know by *Bassompierre*, who was himself at *Dover*, waiting for a fair Wind, that his Presence would not be acceptable at the Court of *France*. At this the vain Man flew into a Passion, and keeping no bounds, he swore, *That since the Court of France would not see him in a Capacity of an Ambassador, she would be forced to see him in a Capacity of a General.* That *Braggado* suited very ill a Man like *Buckingham*, who had no Capacity at all for one of his Station, unless it was about Dressing and Manners of *Petit Maitre*, but who in respect to Politicks and the Military Art, was a meer Blunderbus. He was as good as his Word, that is to say, he engaged his Master to declare War against *France*, on pretence that the Edict of *Fontainbleau* granted to the Reformed, not only was not performed, but was even violated in the most essential Parts. So it happens, that the Evils which befall Kingdoms, proceed from the Selfishness of Favourites, who trample upon Justice, subvert all good Order, alter all good Maxims, play with their Princes and States in order to keep their ground, to raise their Fortune higher, or to revenge themselves. He was declared Admiral of that formidable Fleet which made a Descent in the Isle of *Rbé*, and was forced to reimbarc with more haste than they had landed, after having lost

Lewis 13.
1627.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13
1627.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

good part of the Land Forces, through the Neglect and Ignorance of their Admiral and General, who understood better how to curl his Hair, and to perfume himself, than how to command a Fleet.

But *Rapin* ascribes this Rupture with *France* to another Cause besides the above-mentioned; and he tells us, that *Buckingham* and his Accomplices, being sensible, that an Agreement between the King their Master and his Subjects would prove their Ruin, seeing little likelihood of recovering the *Palatinate* by Force of Arms, and fearing the King would at length be tired of a fruitless War with *Spain*, induced him to carry his Arms into *France*, in order still to keep him under a Necessity of raising Money by extraordinary Methods, and thereby perpetuating his Misunderstanding with his Subjects, on which the continuance of their Credit intirely depended (g). That is one of *Rapin's* Conjectures, which indeed seems not ill ground.d, considering *Buckingham's* Character.

However, King *Charles*, deceived by his Favourite, resolved upon a War with *France*, and declared the Grounds of it to his Council, not forgetting his imaginary Guarantee of the Edict of *Fontainbleau*. At the same time he dispatched a Gentleman to the Duke of *Roban*, to let him know his Resolution of assisting the Reformed with all his Forces, till they had obtained the Performance of every Article of the said Treaty, provided that on their Side, they would take up Arms conjointly with him, and promise, as he would do himself, not to hearken to any Treaty

one

(g) *Rapin's* History of *England*, Tom. II. ad annum 1627.

one without the other, but conjointly. That he would maintain his Land and Naval Forces at his own Expences until the end of the War; he declared, that if they would not listen to his Offers, his Majesty would look upon himself as freed from his Word before God and Men. Lastly, he required that the Duke should send as soon as possible a Gentleman, to let the King know the Resolution of the Provinces as well as his own. That is *Roban's* Relation of the Message sent to him by the King of *Great-Britain*, when he little expected it, as he takes care to insinuate it before, and it is upon the said Message that he grounds his Apology (b).

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Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

But let it be said, with respect to the Memory of that great Captain, I much question the Sincerity of the said Relation, though supported by the concurring Testimony of the Authors of the Duke of *Sully's* Memoirs. And first of all, I am much surprized at his speaking of this as of an unexpected Event, *Being in that Resolution*, says he, (that is, as he expresses it just before, judging that we had no Remedy within ourselves for the Disease, I was praying to God for the Deliverance of *Rochelle*) lo! comes to me a Gentleman from the King of Great Britain, who remonstrated unto me, that being Guarantee of our Peace, he pitied our Sufferings and would seek for proper Remedy, &c. That is Word for Word what *Roban* says. Now his Brother *De Soubize* had been in *England* for several Months, and was still eagerly soliciting *Buckingham* to grant the *Rochellese*, and

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the

(b) Discours IX. du Duc de Rohan, ou Apol. du Duc de Rohan sur les derniers Troubles. Mem. de Sully, Tom. IV. p. 303.

Lewis 13 the whole Reformed Party a powerful Assist-
 1627. ance. And can we suppose, that the Duke
 Pope Ur- of *Roban* was ignorant of his Brother's Deal-
 ban VIII ings and Transactions? Can we suppose, that
 he knew not before this time what Success
 he had had in his Negotiation? Indeed such
 a Supposition would be a very extravagant one.
 But if he was acquainted with every thing,
 then why doth he feign to be surprized at
 the coming of the King's Messenger? To
 what purpose is this Expostulation of his?
Now, says he, I ask my Censors what had I
to do thereupon; if I had refused these Offers
(of King Charles) and that after the loss of
Rochelle, the King of Great Britain had it pub-
lished, that it had been my Fault if it had not
been delivered, in what Repute should I have
been? Should I not have been execrable unto
all those of my Profession? It is very easy to
 answer, Why did he put himself under that sad
 Dilemma? Why did he so eagerly sue for
 such a Message to him even since the time,
 when hardly Peace was published? Had he
 waited till *Rochelle* was really blocked up, and
 then implored the help of the King of *Eng-*
land, and put him in remembrance of his
 Engagements, he would have done better,
 though not for the best. But to concert Mea-
 sures with a Foreign Power, so long before
 any danger should appear against his own King
 and Country, for introducing him into the
 Kingdom, in his own Country, without any
 previous Declaration of War, I beg leave to
 say plainly, that it is High-Treason in the
 first place, and far from being the Protector
 of the Reformed Churches, he has been their
 Destructor. But one will say, What did
 he get by that? Has he not been a Loser,

and a great one too? 'Tis true, but he did not expect it so, when he began the fatal Game which he had play'd in his own Country for so many Years, to the great Scandal of every sober Man, and the great Detriment of our poor Churches: Besides that, it is well known, that every Man of his Lordship's Temper, have ventured their All in Expectation of something better, or at least in Expectation of getting Fame and Repute in the World.

But Secondly, Can we suppose that the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize* were not thoroughly acquainted with the Character of *Buckingham* and of the King his Master? The first had no Religion at all, and King *Charles* hated the *Presbyterians*. If they were not acquainted with that, they were very poor Politicians, trusting in Men whom they knew not. But *Soubize* was in *England*, and certainly he knew *Buckingham* perfectly well, since he had been conversing with him almost every day for about twelve Months. If they were acquainted with the Character of both the King and his Favourite, they certainly knew the true Motives of their entering upon this War; and if it is so, with what Conscience could they engage their poor Brethren in *France* to break through their Allegiance and rise in Arms? It is but too true, that the two noble Brothers bustled as much as they could, by their Emissaries, in this, *viz.* King *Charles's* Resolution of assisting the Reformed; nay, it is certain, that they carried things so far under that Pretence, that *Rohan* fomented, as much as he could, the Discontents of the Reformed, especially about the Consulships at *Nimes* and *Alez*, which he hindered from coming to an Agreement, and supported these Commonal-

Lewis 13. *ties in the Resolution of suffering every thing,*
 1627. *rather than to yield the least of their Pri-*
 Pope Ur- *vileges, and put the others in a Condition to*
 ban VIII. *support them (b).*

Now to return, conformably to the Articles stipulated with *Soubize*, and the Promises made by *Roban*, that as soon as the *English* should have made a Descent in *France*, he would rise in Arms, and oblige the Provinces of the *Lower Languedoc*, part of the *Upper*, the *Cevennes*, the *Rouergue*, &c. to declare for him, King *Charles* fitted out a Fleet of a hundred Sail, with ten thousand Land Forces, which put to Sea at the beginning of *July*, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was attended by a great Number of Lords, and other Persons of Distinction, amongst whom were the Duke of *Soubize* and the Marquis of *St. Blancard*. His *Britannick Majesty* had proposed to send three Fleets with ten thousand Men in each; the first was to make a Descent upon the Isle of *Rhé*; the second was to come into the River of *Bordeaux*, and land in *Guienne*; while the third should invade *Normandy*. Besides that, my Lord *Montagu* had been sent to the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, in order to engage those Princes to make a Diversion; which they had promised to do, as soon as the *English Forces* should have landed in *France*. Had that Plan been executed, very likely it would have been attended with the desired Success. But *Buckingham's* Head was not strong enough for such an Enterprize. He came into the Road of *Rebelle* the 20th of *July*. But the Mayor refused to admit him, and caused the City-Gates and the Harbour to be shut up. At this

this unexpected turn, *Soubize* and *Belcher* Secretary to the Admiral, took a Boat, and landed at one of the City Gates, where the *Duchefs* Dowager of *Roban* received them, and brought them into the City. Then *Soubize* desired that the City Council should be assembled in the Town-house, wherein being admitted, with Secretary *Belcher*, this last delivered his Master's Credentials, and exhorted them to improve the present favourable Opportunity, for delivering themselves from the impending Danger they were in. But neither his Speech, nor the certainty they had of their approaching Ruin, could prevail over the *Rochellese*, and engage them to accept the Assistance offered unto them. They sent a Deputation to the Duke of *Buckingham*, for to return their most humble and hearty Thanks to his *Britannick* Majesty, for the great Concern he was pleased to express for their Preservation; but desired to be excused from accepting of his Offers, till they had consulted the general Body of the Reformed Churches, whereof they were but particular Members. Thereupon the Admiral resolved to make a Descent upon the Isle of *Rhé*, contrary to what he had agreed with *Soubize*, before he left the Fleet to come to *Rochelle*, viz. that they should begin by a Descent upon the Isle of *Oleron*, because it was kept only by twelve hundred Men, and there was no Fort in it that could resist above eight days, and also because that Island had abundance of Wine, and other like Provisions. 2°. Not to undertake any thing till *Soubize* should be come back. But the Scheme was altered when *Soubize* was gone, and either because the Admiral was afraid, lest *Thoiras*, who commanded

Lewis 13. in *Rbé*, and had already three thousand Foot
 1627. and two hundred Horse together, should in-
 Pope Ur- crease his Forces, or that he would not par-
 ban VIII. take the Glory of this Action with *Soubize*,
 he put to sail before he was come back, made
 his Descent, overthrew whatever he met to
 oppose him, and would certainly have car-
 ried the Castle, had he pursued his Victory ;
 but he staid five days, and gave time to *Thoiras*
 to put the Castle in a state of Defence.

That Success encouraged the *Rockellese*, they
 sent some trusty Persons to the Duke of *Ro-*
ban, and to the Reformed Cities of *Guienne*
 and *Languedoc*, to give them notice of the
 present State of Affairs, and ask their Advice
 thereupon. The Duke improved this Op-
 portunity, he exhorted the *Rockellese* to re-
 ceive the Assistance, which God, as he pre-
 tended, sent them ; and desired them to give
 him more positive Assurances of their Inten-
 tion to join with the *English*, that he might
 more easily persuade the Reformed Cities of
Guienne and *Languedoc*, to do the like.

On the other hand, the Court was in a
 great Consternation, when the News of that
 Descent reach'd it. The King was dange-
 rously sick, and it was thought proper to con-
 ceal it from him till he should be out of dan-
 ger. When he began to recover, *Lewis* ap-
 plied himself to find means to expel the *Eng-*
lish out of *Rbé* : He sent proper Persons to
 the *Rockellese*, for to assure them of a speedy
 Redress of their Grievances, provided that
 they would not join with the *English* : The
 Duke of *Roban* was presented with a round
 Sum of Money in his Majesty's Name, but
 he refused it ; and several Letters were written
 by the King's Command, to the Reformed
 Cities

Cities of *Guienne, Languedoc, &c.* in order to engage them, to give publick Declarations of their strict Adherence to his Majesty's Service, and that they would not join those who should accept the Offers made by the King of *England.*

Lewis 13.
1627.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

These Measures of the Court obstructed for a while the Intentions of the Duke of *Roban.* The *Rochellese* flattered with the hopes of a speedy and advantageous Agreement with the Court, did not answer him so precisely as he expected. He was perplex'd at it. A General Assembly of the Reformed, was the surest way of getting the unanimous Consent of all the Commonalties, for accepting the Offers of the King of *England.* But that way was unpracticable at that time, when there was no previous Declaration of War: It was not likely that any Commonalty would expose itself to the King's Indignation, by sending their Deputies to an Assembly unduly and unlawfully summoned. Therefore, the Duke thought more adviseable, to desire the Cities of *Lower Languedoc* and *Cevennes,* where he had a greater Interest, to send him at *Nimes* some proper Persons, with whom he might confer about Matters of great moment, without letting them know what it was. He was in hopes, that these two Provinces would draw in the others in time. He succeeded as he desired; one thing only troubled him a little while, he questioned the Zeal of the City of *Uzez* for his Service, because the Powers of its Deputies were not full enough; therefore he repaired to that City, with the Deputies that were with him, and formed there an Assembly, wherein after having declared in a set Speech, the manifold Infractions

Lewis 13.
1627.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

tions of the Edicts, the manifold Grievances where-under they groaned without any hopes of Redress, if they did not repel the Violence by force of Arms. It was resolved to accept the Offers of the King of *England*: *Roban* was declared General of all the Forces of the Reformed of the Kingdom; he was charged to summon a General Assembly, which was to subsist during the War; and to make all other requisite Preparations for waging War with Success.

Accordingly, he made great Levies of Men, most part at his own Expence; he drew the Plan of several Enterprizes upon several strong Places, which were to be executed all at one and the same time; but which all miscarried. Finally, he omitted nothing of what could be expected from a brave and experienced General. On the other hand, *Augustus Galland*, whom we have seen the King's Commissary in the two last National Synods, spared no trouble for obstructing the Duke of *Roban* in *Guienne* and the *Upper Languedoc*, where he was come, since the Descent of the *English*, with a Commission from his Majesty. He engaged the Cities of *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Pamiez*, and several others, solemnly to declare, that they would remain faithful to his Majesty, and have no Union or Correspondence with those who should accept the Offers of the King of *England*; but on condition, that the Edicts should be strictly observed, and that the Reformed should enjoy all the Privileges granted unto them. Which Clause had been industriously affixed by the Duke of *Roban*'s Emissaries, as sufficient for grounding the Defection of these Cities, whenever the Occasion should offer it self; and *Galland* durst not oppose the Clause.

The

The *Rochelle* had not as yet declared themselves, nay, they had even offered to fight the *English*, and to help the King to expel them out of *Rbé*. But either, that the Cardinal was stiffly bent to the Destruction of that City, or that he had received Intelligence of their above-mentioned Deputation to the Duke of *Roban*, and to the Reformed Cities of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*; or that they were suspected to wait only till they had gathered their Harvest and Vintage, and then they would side with the *English*; howbeit, the Duke of *Angoulême*, who commanded the King's Army in *Poitou*, blocked up the City as near as he could: Thereupon the *Rochelle* declared themselves openly for the *English*, and published a Manifesto, wherein they set forth the Reasons that had obliged them to take that Step. The Duke of *Roban*, being informed of this, published likewise a Manifesto, containing the Infractions of the two last Edicts; the Reasons he had to be moved at these Infractions, and to make his Address to the King of *Great Britain*, whom he stiles Guarantee of the last Treaty; he affirms, that he desires nothing else but the Observation of the Edicts; and offers to banish himself out of the Kingdom, whenever the said Edicts shall be executed, to avoid the creating of any Jealousy and Suspicion (*j*).

On the other hand, the King issued out a new Decree, wherein he promised a strict Observation of the Edicts, and his royal Protection to those who should persevere in their Loyalty, a free Pardon to those who had swerved from it, if in a certain limited time, they

(*j*) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. IV. p. 311. *Mem. du Duc de Rohan*, Liv. IV. p. 206, &c.

Lewis 13.
1627.
Pope Urban VIII.

Lewis 13. they did return to their Allegiance; and threa-
 1627. ten'd to punish with the utmost rigour the ob-
 Pope Ur- stinate Rebels and their Adherents. The Duke
 ban VIII. of *Scubize* was proclaimed Traitor, by a Decree
 of the Parliament of *Paris*. But that of *Thou-*
louse went much further, the beginning of
 the next Year against the Duke of *Roban*,
 for though he had no Jurisdiction or Autho-
 rity over the Peers of the Realm, they doom'd
 him to be drawn and quartered at four Horses
 Tails; they declared him ignoble, promised
 fifty thousand Crowns Reward to whomso-
 ever should murder him, and to make him
 Noble. Whereby three or four Wretches being
 encouraged to attempt upon the Duke's Life,
 were apprehended, and suffered death.

Rochelle
 besieged.

The King being hardly recovered from his
 late fit of Sickness, set out for his Army near
Rochelle, where he arrived about the 12th
 of *October*. I don't intend to enter into the
 particulars of that famous Siege, too well known
 to be here repeated, nor to speak of the three
 inglorious Expeditions of the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham, and his Successor, the Earl of *Den-*
bigb. Had they concerted Measures with Car-
 ninal *De Richelieu*, for promoting and hasten-
 ing the Ruin of that poor City, they could
 not have better compassed their Ends, for
 having hurried her into an open Declaration
 of War against their Sovereign, they basely
 betrayed her into his hands, obstinately re-
 fusing to afford them the least Assistance, no
 not so much as some Provisions of Corn,
 though they had plenty of it on board. But
 let us wave that melancholy Subject.

1628.
 Surrender-
 ed by Capi-
 tulation.

On the 23d of *October* 1628, the *Rochel-*
lese desired to come to a Parley, which was
 granted. On the 28th the Articles of the
 Capitu-

Capitulation were signed. On the 29th the Lewis 13.
 Deputies of *Rochelle* paid their Submissions 1628.
 to the King. On the 30th, his Troops took Pope Ur-
 possession of the City; and on the 1st of *Nov-* ban VIII.
ember, the King made his publick Entry,
 and staid in that City till the 19th of the
 same Month. Such was the dreadful Cata-
 strophe of that opulent and powerful City,
 after near thirteen Months Siege, and about
 fifteen Months Blockade. Above twelve thou-
 sand People perished in it through Famine,
 which was such, that the Duchess of *Roban*,
 and the Dowager her Mother-in-Law, who
 were in the City, were forced, it is said, to
 feed upon the Leather of their Coaches. Had
 the *English* Admiral been so kind as to lend
 them some Provisions, for subsisting only eight
 days longer, the King would have been oblig-
 ed to raise the Siege, on account of the Se-
 verity of the Weather, of the Distempers
 which began to rage in the Army, and of
 the Storms which ruined the Dike, which the
 Cardinal had made for shutting up the En-
 trance of the Harbour, and of the important
 Affairs which required his Presence elsewhere.
 But such was the Will of Almighty God,
 the Sins of our Ancestors called for his Ven-
 geance. One must look with Astonishment
 upon this dreadful Calamity. About fifty-
 five Years before, *Rochelle* had withstood a
 long Siege against a royal Army, not inferiour
 to this in any respect. God had sent them
 Deliverers from the *North*; *Charles IX.* was
 obliged to raise the Siege, and to leave them
 in the full Enjoyment of their Liberties and
 Privileges. Now that that City was in a far
 better Condition, as to her Fortifications and
 Riches, she became a Prey to the Victorious,
 she

Lewis 13. she loses all her Privileges, Rights, Immunities, Titles, &c. nothing of their former Grandeur was left unto them, but the sad Remembrance of not having made a right use of it. What Inference shall we draw from it? Not that of the Duke of *Roban*: But we shall say with the Wise and Virtuous *Du Pleffis*, who foreseeing what sad Consequence the Obstinacy of the Assembly in that City would draw upon them, he told them, *True it is, that the Rochellese made themselves very conspicuous for their Virtue and Fortitude in the Siege of 1574, and that their City has been extremely well fortified since that time. But it was a necessary Defence, and not a wilful War on their part, they fought not for Form's sake only, but for the most essential Points. And those who are still living, may remember the great Distresses whereto she was reduced: And we have not every day Polanders to deliver us (k).*

Articles of the Capitulation.

The two Duchesses of *Roban*, having refused to be admitted in the Capitulation, were kept close Prisoners till the War was near at end. As to the Inhabitants, they were treated favourably enough; but, as I have said, the City lost all its Privileges. There was a Declaration published in *November*, containing twenty-four Articles. The six first concerned the Restoration of the Catholick Religion in its full Pride and Arrogance. [The Reformed had stipulated, that they should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion in the City; and they expected that they should not be deprived of the Place where they usually resorted for publick Worship: But that Place

having

(k) Lettres & Mem. de Du Pleffis, Tom. V. ad ann. 1621.

having been given to the Catholicks, another ^{Lewis 13.} was appointed for them without the Walls, ^{1628.} where they might build a Church if they had ^{Pope Ur-} a mind. They complained of that Infraction, ^{ban VIII.} but they were told, that the King having ordered the Walls to be pulled down and the Fortifications levelled, by that means their Church, which otherwise would have been without, should then be within the City.] By the seventh, a Cross was to be erected in the Place of the Castle, upon the Pedestal whereof the History of the Reduction of the City should be engraved, and the Anniversary celebrated by a general Procession every first Day of *November*. By the eighth, a Monastery was to be founded at the Point of *Coreilles*, which should preserve the History of the *Dike*, upon two Plates affixed at the Church Gate. The four next contained the Amnesty of whatever was past, and a Confirmation of the Edicts, for the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion. The nine next deprived the City of all its Franchises and Privileges, and put it upon a Form of Government quite new. The twenty-second Article forbids the Foreigners, though naturaliz'd, to live in the City, without a special Licence under the Great Seal. By the twenty-third, the Reformed, who were not Inhabitants before the Descent of the *English*, were forbid the same. These two Articles occasioned afterwards manifold Vexations. By the last Article, the Inhabitants could not keep Arms, Powder, Ammunition, nor trade abroad without a Licence.

I must not omit here to say something of the Mayor GUITTON, who was considered like a Hero, by all those who respect Virtue

Lewis 13.
628
Pop. Ur-
ban VIII

wherever it is found, and even the Catho-
lick Authors speak of him with Encomium.
The most considerable Officers of the Royal
Army, were curious to see him after the Re-
duction of the City. Some have said, that
the Continuation of the Mayoralty had been
promised him; but that when he went to pay
his Respects to the Cardinal, he was told, that
he was no longer a Mayor, and that his Emi-
nency would not admit him but as a private
Man. Whereat being provok'd, as it is said,
he answered, that if he had expected to be
dealt with after such a manner, he would
have found means to hold out some days
longer (!).

Affairs of
the Duke
of Rohan.

The Duke of *Rohan* met with greater Diffi-
culties in *Languedoc*, than he had expected,
through the Intrigues of *Galland* and of the
Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governor of the Pro-
vince. He could never prevail with the Marquis
of *Malauze* to follow his Example; on the
contrary, he opposed all his Designs. Neverthe-
less, the said Marquis feigned to have a mind
to be reconciled with *Rohan*, and promised
to declare for him, as soon as the Cities of
Castres and *Montauban* should do the same, and
when a General Assembly of the Reformed
should be on foot: But when what he waited
for came to pass, he declined to perform his
Promise. Notwithstanding these Oppositions,
Rohan got together a small Army of four
thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, with
which he made several Exploits in *Rouërgue*,
where he took *Milbaud* and some other Places;

he

(!) Mem. du Duc. de Rohan, Liv. IV. Journal de
Bassompierre, Vol. II. Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII.
Liv. XXIV. XXV. Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes,
Tom. II. Liv. IX.

he got the better of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, who engaged him with inferior Forces; then he took *Pamiez* and some other Towns in the County of *Foix*; from whence he was obliged to come back into the *Lower Languedoc*, in order to oppose the Prince of *Condé*. He kept the Field with various Success, sometimes prosperous, at other times unfortunate; he had three Armies to withstand, and was never dismay'd by the manifold and great Difficulties he had to encounter almost every day. Had his great Courage and great Capacity been employ'd upon a more proper Subject, he would certainly have deserved the greatest Encomiums from Posterity. From the beginning, he had been disappointed by the *English* of the promised Assistance. The Admiral let him know by my Lord *Montaigne*, that having altered his Scheme, he could not send any Troops into *Guienne*, so that he freed him from his Engagement, and he might shift for himself the best he could. Most part of the Reformed Lords were very far from approving his Insurrection, several of them opposed it with all their might. He was thwarted by several Commonalties. But notwithstanding all these Obstructions, he stood still his ground at the surrender of *Rochelle*. But when the News of its Reduction came into *Languedoc*, it cannot be expressed what a damp it put upon every one's Spirits. Every one strove to be the first to make their Submission to the King, and to have his Share in the free Pardon, and other Advantages, which his Majesty promised to all those who would return to their Allegiance. Nevertheless the Duke found means to allay these Fears, and to supersede the Resolutions of several.

Lewis 13.
1628.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13. The King's intended Expedition into *Italy*,
 1629. for settling the Duke of *Nevers* in the Suc-
 Pope Ur- cession of *Vincent* Duke of *Mantua*, gave him
 ban VIII. hopes of being able to retrieve the Affairs of
 The King's his Party, and by a new Treaty lately con-
 Expedition cluded with *Spain*, he expected to be in a
 into Italy. Condition to perform Wonders. What was
 not his Amazement when he saw himself dis-
 appointed in his Expectations? The King
 went into *Italy*, he saw, he conquered. He
 set out from *Rockelle* on the 19th of *No-*
vember. He arrived in his Capital about the
 second or third of *December*. He made but
 a short stay in that City, for his Army be-
 ing in full march, he set out on the fourth
 of *January* 1629; he forced his Passage through
 the *Alps*, which was disputed by the Duke
 of *Savoy*, in the middle of *February*; he sup-
 ply'd *Cazal*; he settled the Duke of *Man-*
tua in the Possession of his Dominions; he
 concluded a Treaty with *Spain*, another with
 the Duke of *Savoy*, and another with the King
 of *England*, wherein the poor Reformed were
 forsaken, though his *Britannick* Majesty had
 solemnly promised not to treat without them.

His Return Then *Lewis* returned to *France* with his
 into the victorious Army in the beginning of *May*:
 Cevennes. And then it was, that the Consternation be-
 came general amongst the Reformed Party.
 Every one thought of making a private Treaty
 with the Court, for avoiding their utter Ruin.
 The Duke of *Roban* was worsted on two or
 three several Occasions. The royal Army
 besieged *Privas*: The Inhabitants quitted the
 City the 14th day of the Siege; they retired
 into the neighbouring Mountains, where most
 part were killed. The Garrison of the Fort
 capitulated, but far from keeping the Articles,
 they

they were all put to the Sword, hang'd, or sent to the Gallies. That cruel and barbarous Breach of Faith struck every one with Terror. *Aletz* capitulated after eight days Siege; the King entred the City the next day, the 16th of *June*. The Articles of the Capitulation were strictly kept. Several other Cities, dreading the Fate of *Privas*, and encouraged by that of *Aletz*, were willing to accept of a private Treaty, which the King offered them. But the Duke having remonstrated to the Assembly, the necessity of remaining united together, in order to obtain better Terms by a General-Pacification, than they could do by a private Agreement, most of them yielded to his Remonstrances: And whereas he saw plainly, that the greatest number of the Commonalties were perfectly tired with the dreadful Calamities, which this War was attended with, and that they could not subsist any longer without a Peace, which they would buy at any rate, he thought in earnest to come to a Treaty. For which End, he summoned an Assembly of all the Commonalties of the *Cevennes* at *Anduze*, in order to break another which was held without his leave, and he succeeded therein. Then he sent for *Candiac*, Counsellor in the Parted Chamber of *Languedoc*, who had already made several Journeys to Court in order to procure a Treaty; he ordered him to repair thither for the last time, and to tell the Cardinal from him, that he was a good *Frenchman*; that he desired the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Peace of the Reformed Churches. But that many brave Men and himself, should lose their Lives, and their All, rather than not to obtain a general Peace conformable to the Edicts.

Lewis 13.
1629.
Pope Urban VIII.

Lewis 13. That it was a dangerous thing to deprive
 1629. Men of Courage and Honour, and who are
 Pope Ur- armed, of all Hopes. That he would never
 ban VII. listen to any private Treaty ; but that if four
 days only were granted unto him, with an
 Assurance that nothing should be attempted
 during that time, and the requisite Securities for
 removing the General Assembly from *Nimes*
 to *Anduze*, he was sure to bring a general
 Treaty to a happy Issue. His Petition was
 granted after some difficulty.

Conferen-
 ces at An-
 duze.

The Assembly of *Nimes* being arrived at
Anduze, the Conferences were opened. The
 only Article whereupon the Deputies insisted
 the most was, that of the Fortifications of
 their Towns, which they would by no means
 consent to have levelled. That put a stop
 to the Conferences. The Provincial Assembly
 of the *Cevennes* desired to have the Opinion
 of the Town-House of *Anduze*, who were
 more concerned than others in the matter.
 They referred themselves to the said Provincial
 Assembly ; and these imparted their Opinion
 to the General Assembly of all the Cities u-
 nited with the Duke of *Roban* ; to which
 they adjoined twelve Deputies of *Nimes* and
Uzès, so that the whole Assembly was com-
 posed of about fifty Members. They un-
 animously resolved to send a Deputation to the
 King to sue for a Peace, and to insist upon
 the Article of the Fortifications. Their In-
 stances were needless, the Deputies made their
 Report. *Anduze* and the *Cevennes* were again
 consulted. Their Answer amounted to this,
 that seeing themselves totally ruined without
 Peace, they chose to consent to the demo-
 lishing of their Fortifications, rather than to
 be any longer exposed to the Calamities of

the

the War. After a thorough Examination of the Matter, it was resolved to yield, and the Deputies were sent back with full Powers to conclude the Treaty. The Duke of *Roban* desired the Assembly to remember his private Concerns, when the publick ones should be adjusted: Which was accordingly done, and Peace was concluded at *Alets* the 27th of *June*. The Articles whereof may be seen in the Collection of Edicts.

Lewis 13.
1629.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

The Duke obtained three hundred thousand Livres for himself, out of which he was obliged to pay two hundred and forty thousand Livres of Debts contracted during this War. He retired to *Venice*, where his Duchess was gone before him, but he was not admitted to the King's Presence.

So ended the third and last Civil War, on Account, or rather on Pretence of Religion. The Affairs of *Bearn* occasioned the first. The Non-Performance of the Treaty of *Montpelier* caused the second. And the Hopes of saving *Rochelle*, was the occasion of the last, says Monsieur *De Roban*. I am surprized at one of his Reflections. In our former Wars of Religion, says he, Zeal, Secrecy, and Fidelity, was to be found, (in the Reformed.) Our People trusted in the Chiefs of the Party. Upon one of their Letters, they began a War, they attempted to seize upon the best Cities in the Kingdom, &c. But now we have more Trouble to fight against the Infidelity of the Reformed, their Indifferency for Religion, and their Baseness, than against the Ill-Will of our Enemies (*m*).

Some gene-
ral Reflec-
tions upon
these three
Civil
Wars.

Du Pleffis had discovered the Reasons of that difference, when in the Years 1620 and

P p p 4 1621,

(*m*) Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. IV.

Lewis 13. 1621, he foretold them, by the Rules of
 1629. his Prudence, and great Sagacity in Affairs,
 Pope Ur- that they ought not to expect to find in the
 ban VIII. People such a Zeal, such a Courage, if they
 entered unnecessarily upon a War, as they had
 showed forth in the Civil Wars under *Francis*
II. Charles IX. Henry III. and during the
 time of the *League*, because the Case was quite
 altered. In those days their Lives, their Wives
 and Children, their Religion, their Con-
 science, whatever is dear to a sober Man lay at
 stake. But now, the question was only a-
 bout some temporal Concerns, some little Tri-
 fles in comparison of those great Motives which
 had induced those of the last Century to
 repel Violence by Force; and which animated
 them with a Courage and Fortitude, a Zeal
 and Fidelity, a Trust in their chief Leaders,
 answerable to the Greatness of the Cause, which
 they undertook to defend. The like could
 not be expected now, they did not groan under
 any Persecution. They enjoyed the free Ex-
 ercise of their Religion, under the Benefit of
 the Edicts. Their Lives, Goods, &c. were
 secured unto them, if they would but live
 quietly with their Neighbours; how could it
 be expected, that they should expose their
 Goods, their Rest and Quietness, the Welfare
 of their own Wives and Families, their own
 Lives, their own Conscience, for gratifying
 the Fancies of some private restless Men, who
 wanted to make themselves dreaded at Court,
 because they could not be loved? It will
 look very strange to my Reader, that I speak
 at that rate of the Duke of *Roban*, as to
 charge him as the Instrument of our Mis-
 fortunes, whereas he pretends to have been
 the Defender of the Faith. But I don't think

it any Disparagement of the true Merit of the Duke of *Roban*, not to ascribe unto him what is not his due. I am as great an Admirer of his Political and Military Virtues and Achievements, as any body else; but as to his Christian Graces, I beg leave to be excused, if in that respect I differ from others. His Ambition was boundless, and the Oppositions which he met with, far from checking it, served as a new Fuel to inflame it. He could not bear with his Equals, hardly was he able to suffer a Superior. His Behaviour towards the greatest Lords of his Party, during the two first Civil Wars, plainly evinces what I say here. He could not be at rest, till by his Intrigues, he had exposed the Count of *Chatillon*, Governor of the *Lower Languedoc* and of the *Cevennes*, to the greatest Affront that could be put on a Man of that Quality, and had forced him out of *Montpelier*, and had had the said Government allotted to himself. It is not to be expected, that a Man of such a restless and aspiring Genius should long remain himself quiet, nor suffer others to enjoy the Benefits of Peace. Therefore he was seen at the Beginning of the Queen-Mother's Regency, after the Assembly of *Saumur*, carrying things so high at *St. John of Angely*, about the Election of a Mayor, that he rose in Arms against his Sovereign. In 1615, he joined in the same Rebellion with the Prince of *Condé*: For what? Was it for obtaining a Redress of the Grievances of our Churches? Indeed, I will not wrong him so far, as to say that he was not at all sensible of these things: But whereas no Man knows better the secret Thoughts of a Man, and the Motives of his Actions, than the Spirit of a Man which

Lewis 13.
1629.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13. which is within himself, we must believe
 1629. upon the Confession of the Duke of *Roban*
 Pope Ur- himself, that if the Grievances of our
 ban VIII. Churches were the Pretence, the Opinion he
 had of being not respected enough at Court,
 was the true Motive of his Insurrection; he
 owned so much to the Queen Regent. See
 his own Memoirs, Vol. I. Book I. pag 57.
 wherein he shews himself such as he was.
 Let us follow him in all the three other Re-
 bellions of 1621, 1625, and 1627; who was
 the Author or Abetter of them? If we read
 his Memoirs with Attention, we shall find
 that the Duke of *Roban* was the Man. He
 headed the Reformed in the three last Wars,
 tampering, by his Emissaries, with the Pro-
 vinces and their Assemblies, in order to be
 declared their Chief. The first War, by his
 own Confession, was kindled through the Am-
 bition of *Favas*, *La Force*, and *Chatillon*, and
 the Obstinacy of the Assembly at *Rochelle*.
 Consequently the Reformed, who sided with
 the said Assembly, were in the wrong. Con-
 sequently the Duke of *Roban*, who was so well
 acquainted with the Character of those Lords
 and Gentlemen of the Assembly, and the Mo-
 tives of their Obstinacy, ought not to have
 indulged them so far, as to accept of their
 Offer, and become their General; and I dare
 say that he would not, had his Heart been so
 pure and free from all selfish Views, as he
 pretends. But when we read in *Du Pleffis's*
 Biographer, Book IV. of the said Duke's
 double Dealing; that while he feigned to be
 very eager in procuring a Reconciliation be-
 tween the Court and the Assembly of *Ro-
 chelle*, by bringing them to a just and rea-
 sonable Compliance and Submission, he was

no less eager in solliciting them under-hand, by his Emiffaries, to persist in their Obstinacy, and not to break, as they were commanded; it is very easy to guess at the true Motive of his Actions.

Lewis 13.
1629.
Pope Urban VIII.

The second War was begun upon a meer Suspicion of a pretended Design laid against *Rochelle*. Now I leave it to a sober and considering Reader to judge, whether a meer Suspicion can be a just ground for beginning a War? Whether it is lawful for a Subject to attack his Sovereign upon a meer Suspicion, that his Sovereign designs to attack him; especially when such a Suspicion has no better ground than the whimsical Fancy of a Man, or a burning Desire to gratify his Ambition by whatever Means just or unjust, lawful or unlawful? And indeed was it likely, that while the King was making the necessary Preparations for his Expedition in *Italy*, where he intended to be in Person, he should have entertained any Thoughts of setting his own Kingdom all in a flame? If such a Whimfy was palatable to a Duke of *Roban*, or of *Soubize*, it will never be so to any thinking Man. No wonder, if from this time, the Cardinal advised the King his Master to supersede all other Enterprizes, till he had thoroughly subdued that Faction, and put it out of the power of the two Brothers to obstruct his Designs.

The third Civil War brake out, as we have said above. The Pretence was the Inexecution of the Treaty of *Fontainbleau*, whereof King *Charles* fancy'd himself to be Guarantec; but the real Motive was, the Duke of *Buckingham's* Selfishness: which however he would never have ventured so indulge at that rate,

Lewis 13.
1529.
Pape Ur-
ban VIII.

rate, had he not been spurred to it by the strong Solicitations of *Soubize*. So that the two Brothers came again upon the Stage, under the same Shape as heretofore. Were they obliged to it through the Importunities of the Reformed? Had they been addressed to by the Provinces and Commonalties? Not at all; at least, I find not a single Instance of any Province or Commonalty, that had desired their Assistance and Mediation, before any of the three Civil Wars was broken out, except *Rebelle* before the second War. But I find several Complaints about their Restlessness. It was then of their own accord, that they treated with Foreign Powers, that were at that time natural Enemies of the Crown of *France*, *viz.* *England* and *Spain*, but more especially the last. It was a Work peculiar to themselves, wherein the Churches had no hand at all, and for which they expressed their utmost Detestation in their last National Synod at *Cajres*. Things being so, I wonder at the Duke of *Retan* complaining in his Memoirs, of the vast Difference he found between the Reformed of his own time, and the Reformed under the three last Kings of the House of *Valois*, and during the League. These last were ready at a minute's Warning, they cheerfully took up Arms upon a single Note of their Chief; whereas he had many Obstructions to encounter, so many Difficulties to struggle with, before he could prevail with some of the Provinces, and engage them to take up Arms for their Defence, &c. The Difference of the CAUSE, made that Difference he complains of. Whatever is naturally dearest to every honest and sober Man lay at stake; when our Fore-fathers took up Arms

in the former Wars, it was not for Places ^{Lewis 13.} and Preferments, but for preserving their Lives ^{1629.} and a good Conscience. But this, as *Du Pleffis* ^{Pope Ur-} remonstrated unto them upon several Occa- ^{ban VIII.} sions, was not the Case, in the Civil Wars under *Lewis XIII.* nothing but some temporal Concerns were to be found in the bottom. No wonder if the Duke met so much Stiffness and Reluctancy; People do not care to endanger their All for a Trifle, and to engage in a War against their Sovereign for a Cabbage. None of the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, could be prevailed on to side with the Duke; and most of those who through fear, or hopes, were forced to side with him, did it with such Reluctancy, that it was plain enough, that their Hearts and Consciences disowned what their Hands were forced to do.

And now we are gone through these eight or nine Years of boisterous Winds, which tanned the beautiful Face of our Churches. For the future, we shall see them recovering apace, and making full amends for the Faults they were fallen in, through the Deceitfulness of the ambitious aspiring Men amongst them. Happy would they have been, had they had to deal with a Prince, in whose Bosom, Gratitude, Honour, Honesty, Fidelity, could have found Admittance! But they had to deal with a proud, unjust, perfidious one, with LEWIS XIV. who, though beholden for his very Crown to their faithful Services, treated them worse than if they had sided with the Prince of *Condé*, in order to deprive him thereof.

The Reformed having had little to do in the Affairs of the Government from this time

Lewis 13. down to the repealing of the Edict, besides
 1629. their suffering Persecution for Justice sake,
 Pope Ur- I have but very little to relate about them,
 ban VIII. besides the Titles of the Edicts, Declarations,
 &c. &c. issued out against them from time
 to time, to deprive them by little and little
 of the Benefits granted them this Year, by
 the Edict published at *Nimes*. I shall insert
 them, after I have given here a Collection of
 the Regulations made amongst themselves, of
 some of the most considerable Transactions,
 Edicts, Declarations, &c. made and publish-
 ed, during the twenty first Years of *Lewis*
XIII's Reign, and end this Volume with an
 Appendix of our Sufferings under the last
 Persecution.



A COLLECTION of Memoirs, Regulations, Acts, Deeds, Declarations, Edicts, &c. done and published by the Reformed themselves, or against, or in behalf of them, in the first twenty Years of Lewis XIIIth's Reign. Serving to illustrate the History of that time.

MEMOIR drawn by DU PLESSIS before the meeting of the political Assembly at Saumur in the Year 1611, in order to render the said Assembly more useful to the Welfare of the Reformed Churches.

THE Provinces shall be exhorted, by reason of the Importance of Affairs and the Conjuncture of Time, to depute thither the best qualified and most able Persons.

Also, besides the Deputies, to require the Lords and other Persons of the greatest Authority, to be present, and that, by Letters on purpose, from the private Assemblies, directed to them.

And it will be prudent in them, when they shall be assembled, to judge, if, at this time, wherein we should all closely unite, it will not be proper to relax from the last Regulation, and how far, for to retain Fidelity, and to avoid Confusion.

In the Letters of Attorney, which shall be given to the Deputies, two things seem requisite, besides their Instructions.

The one, that they may adhere to whatever will be thought useful and serviceable to the said Churches, proposed by others, that they may profit by each other's Prudence.

The

The other, that they may, and be oblig'd to tarry, either all or part of them, as it will be thought proper, until the said Assembly be satisfied.

It seems proper, that the Demands of the Provinces should be moderate; that is, founded as much as possible, expressly, and consequently, on the Edicts and Concessions, save, to extend or diminish them, as the Times will admit of it, that the Enemies may not say, that we take Advantage of the publick Misfortune, and try to pick a Quarrel: That our weaker Provinces also may not take occasion to persuade themselves, that because the others are safe, they little care for their Ruin.

But the Weaker ought to acknowledge, that the Strength of the others will be their Surety and Safety, that their Apprehensions may not deprive the more Powerful of the Means and Courage of doing them any good.

Therefore coming nearer to the Demands which may be made, remaining within the abovesaid Bounds, they seem to be as follows.

That the Edict of *Nantz* be restored to us in its full Force, as it had been made with us, and afterwards underwent Restrictions, and was cut off in several things without us.

That the Grant of Cautionary Towns be restor'd to us in like manner.

That the Places which we have been made to lose, to the prejudice of the said Grant, by the Governors changing their Religion, or by other Means, be deliver'd up to us.

That all the Cautionary Towns be continued in our Possession, at least for ten Years.

That the whole Sum of Money which had been granted us for the keeping of the Gar-
risons

risons of the said Towns, and half of which hath been since cut off, be restored to us. Lewis 13.

That it be paid Quarterly, without any Deficiency, and on the Spot, and that the Receivers may not be turn'd out of the Receipts on any pretence whatever, until the said Quarter be paid.

That a Regulation be made and obtain'd for providing the vacant Governments by reason of the Abuses, which have been and may be committed therein, to the prejudice of our Security.

That it be also permitted to entertain and fortify the said Places, which by length of Time fall to decay, and without that, will be useles to them.

Afterwards, they may complain, that under pretence of the said Towns which are held by the Reformed, the said Reformed have hitherto been excluded from all other Offices and Dignities, contrary to the exprefs Article of the Ediſt, as if they could, nor ought not to deserve any thing more by their Services; which may be particularly describ'd.

That the Resignation and Demises of the Government of the said Towns be no longer admitted of, without the Consent of the Churches, whose Security is therein concern'd.

The like for the Presidents and Counsellors of the Chambers.

That Liberty be entirely restored to them, for the composing, printing, vending, and distributing of all Books concerning their Doctrine.

It must not be thought strange when any new Demands shall be made, since that ever since the publick Misfortune, nothing else has been seen on all sides; seeing also the new

Bearn, and of the Jesuits; and the more, because that in the Death of an absolute King, able to repel all violent Designs form'd against us, we have lost our principal safety; which however depended chiefly on his Concessions.

CONCERNING RELIGION.

That if there be any City, from which the Exercise of Religion be too far distant, his Majesty be desired to bring it nearer, to the end, that they being nearer the Magistrates, they may be less expos'd to the Insolence of the Mob.

That the Article of the Burying-Places, which gives rise to so much Barbarity and Cruelty, be reform'd.

That the Sum appropriated to the Churches be augmented, considering its smallness, and the great Number of Churches.

That the Preachers and Confessors who teach, that those will be damn'd that communicate, serve, or assist the Reformed, be punish'd as seditious People, Disturbers of the publick Society, and Infringers of the Edicts, by which their Majesties have declar'd their Intention, of re-uniting the Affections of their Subjects.

CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

That two Masters of the Requests may be given them, to report the Affairs concerning them to the Privy Council; the first time without a Fine.

A Reformed Notary in every Royal Tribunal, at least in the Cautionary Towns, paying a moderate Fine.

That the Jesuits may not reside in the Places given us for our Sureties.

Item, Seeing the Confusion of the Times, we must not doubt, but that among the Provinces, where there are no Cautionary Towns, and in which there are nevertheless a great Number of Reformed, there may be some that will demand Cautionary Towns; and there may, perhaps, be some means found to accommodate some of them : but it will be prudent in the General Assembly, to see, according to the time, how far it will be proper to support their Demand. Moreover, for the Direction of the Affairs of our Churches, it seems necessary to require.

A General Assembly every two Years, for the Renewal and Instruction of our General Deputies; and it will give so much the less Alarm, as it will be less extraordinary.

Item, That our Deputies be ordinarily at Court at his Majesty's Expence, being two in Number, named by the said Assembly : Which it is necessary to explain, because it is commonly grudg'd us as a Favour, and that there is nothing about it in the Edict.

And that the Provincial Deputies address themselves to the said General Deputies, without being obliged to have recourse to the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of the Provinces.

These Advices being thus resolved upon among them, were by the Means and Authority of the Marechal *De Les Diguieres*, carried into the Provinces of *Dauphiné*, and *Vivaretz*, *Provence*, *Lower Languedoc*, and other neighbouring Provinces; and at the Marechal *De Bouillon's* Care, into those of

The Provinces conformed themselves pretty near to these Instructions, both because they came from Persons, of whose Fidelity, Affections, and Abilities, they were assured; and especially, because they thought them reasonable, and just, containing nothing contrary to the Fear of God, and the King's Service; on the contrary, containing many Things which being exactly followed, might tend to the Advancement of *Jesus Christ's* Reign, and to the Welfare of this Realm.

GENERAL REGULATIONS *drawn up in the*
General Assembly of the Reformed Churches
of France, held at Saumur by the King's
Permission, Anno 1611.

IN each Province there shall be established a Council, to deliberate on the Affairs of the Churches of the Province. Which Council shall be established, continued, and changed every two Years, either wholly or in part, as the Provincial Assembly shall think proper: Which Assembly shall chuse, from among the Gentry, Clergy, and third Estate, those Persons whose Piety, Honesty, Capacity, and Experience, shall be most acknowledged in the Province; the Number of those endued with each of the abovesaid Qualifications, who ought to be employ'd therein, to be left to the discretion of the Provinces.

THE Council shall name the Place and the Persons to whom the Advices, either of the General Deputies, or of the Province, shall be directed.

WHEN

WHEN it will be necessary to convene the Provincial Assembly, the Council shall give notice to all the Churches, either one by the means of the Colloquies, according to the Order observed in each of the Provinces, to meet on such a day, in such a Place; and to send their Deputies thither, either by Churches, or Colloquies.

Lewis 13

FOR which end, the Elders of every Consistory shall be careful to give notice to the chief Members of their Churches, to meet on such a *Sunday* at Sermon-Time; after which, the Pastor shall give the Heads of Families Notice to stay, to consult on the Affairs of the Church, which may concern them.

BY the Advice of which Heads of Families, Persons shall be deputed from each Church to meet at the Assembly of the Colloquy, or in that of the Province, according to the Order observ'd, as abovesaid, which Persons are to be in such a Number, as shall be thought proper, by the Majority, provided that there be some of the Gentry, Clergy, and third Estate, as far as it will be possible.

IN the said Provincial Assemblies they shall vote by single Persons, unless some Church should require the voting by Churches, or in those Places where the Assembly is composed of the Deputies of Colloquies, if any Colloquy should desire the voting by Colloquies.

NO one shall be capable of being admitted into the said Provincial Assemblies, except that he be called thither, and be named in the Letters.

THE King's Officers and other Magistrates, must be present in the said Provincial Assemblies, when they shall be called thither by

Lewis 13. the Order above prescribed, and shall seat themselves with the Nobility, or third Estate, not being admitted to compose an Order by themselves.

THE Presidents who are to preside in the said Provincial Assemblies, shall be chosen from among the Nobility, by the Majority.

THE Provincial Assembly shall send to the General Assembly, but five Deputies at the most, and three for the least; which shall be chosen from the most able who shall be found in the said Assembly, from among the Gentry, the Pastors, and the third Estate, as much as possible.

THE Councils composed as aforesaid in each Province, shall have the following Functions and Inspections:

TO WIT, To distribute the Advices which they have received, either from the General Deputies at Court, or from the neighbouring Provinces, or from elsewhere, according to their Exigency; to all the Churches and Towns in the Province, or to such a Governor, Captain, or other, as it will be necessary.

ALSO if the Advice received, concern more than that Province, either all in general or some other neighbouring one in particular, they are to give them notice by Express, and without any delay.

AND lest this Communication of Advice should prove fruitless for want of Diligence, the neighbouring Provinces shall respectively take care, for the Distribution of them from one to another, that they be directed from whatever Place they come from, by the shortest way, and shall pass from Hand to Hand without any delay; to which end, shall be put in the hands of some one belonging to the

Council

Council of each Province, a certain Stock of Money, as a hundred and fifty Livres, to defray the Expences of the said Dispatches, and repay those who shall have advanced it, and the Deputies of the contiguous Provinces shall confer together to resolve themselves upon this Order before they depart.

Lewis 13.

IF the Advice received by the Council of the Province be such, that it may alone provide concerning it, it must be done instantly, and without delay; else they will do prudently and wisely to call such Persons to strengthen themselves by their Advice, as the matter in question shall shew to be convenient.

NAMELY, in case of some notable Infracti-
 on of the Edict, Sedition, Tumult, Attempt upon any Place, or such other of Consequence, Satisfaction for which should either be neglected, or should require to be more vigorously sued for, the said Council may, if they chuse it, desire such of the neighbouring Provinces as they shall think proper, to assist them with Council, as far as three for the least: Who at their first Request shall be oblig'd to cause one or more of their Council to meet in such a Place, as the abused Province shall appoint, to consult together, of all good and lawful means, to obtain Redress for the said Infracti-
 ons committed in the Province, requiring their Attendance, and to make it their own Cause, all the same as the offended Province: Which not being redressed, the said Provinces being joined by the Deputies of their Councils, will do prudently to consult if it be necessary to give the other Provinces notice thereof, and appoint them a Place, whether they should send their Deputies, to concur unanimously in that Prosecution.

THE foregoing Article according to the General Union of the Churches of this Kingdom, which obliges them to a mutual Sense of each others Wounds, for the Welfare of their Majesties Service, and this Kingdom's Peace, that a Province that has been grievously offended, may not, of itself, have recourse to violent Remedies, as Reprisals, or some other sort of Revenge, by which it might bring itself and all the other Churches consequently to Extremes : But may be partly kept by their Prudence within lawful means, partly strengthened by their support, to obtain Justice and Redress for the Fact committed.

THIS same Order shall also be observed, in case any one professing the Reformed Religion, should undertake any thing rashly, and without being called thereto, to the prejudice of the publick Tranquillity.

THE said Persons of the Provincial Councils shall for the King's Service, and the Preservation of the Churches, take care that the Towns given into the Custody of the Reformed, shall be kept in good Order, and that the Governors and Captains to whom they are committed, shall do their Duty therein.

AND to that End, the said Governors and Captains are admonished to consent, that now and then the said Councils should depute able Persons from among themselves, or of the Province, to visit the said Towns and Garrisons, for to give an Account thereof to the Province. In which Visit they are to take care, that all their Soldiers, by reason of the Fidelity chiefly required therein, be well known to be of the Reformed Religion, and that they be not taken from among the natural Inhabitants of the Towns, or their Suburbs, seeing that it is
 requisite

requisite to strengthen them with Men : which ^{Lewis 13.} the aboveſaid Governors and Captains are alſo required to obſerve.

AND becauſe great Abuſes have been here-
 tofore committed, in the number of Soldiers,
 which could and ought to be entertained in
 the ſaid Towns, which in the uncertainty of
 this time, if they ſhould continue, might put
 us to irreparable Inconveniencies, the ſaid Go-
 vernors and Captains are required for the Wel-
 fare of his Maſteſty's Service, Diſcharge of their
 Honour and Conſcience, and to avoid the
 Blame which they might otherwiſe incur, to
 conform themſelves to what follows :

NAMELY, that they ſhall take the third
 part, as well of the Sum ordained on the pub-
 lick Eſtabliſhment, as payable in ready Money,
 clear and free from all manner of Charges, and
 as for the two other Thirds, that they conſent
 to give their Receipts, in the hands of any
 one who ſhall be named by the Council of
 the Province, who ſhall receive it by his hands,
 and ſhall therewith pay the Soldiers at the
 Bank, and make ſatiſfaction for the other
 Charges of the Garrifon and of the Town.

MEANING, that out of thoſe two Thirds
 he be holden to pay the Lieutenant-Governor,
 if there be any, the Captains and Soldiers,
 according to the Salary allotted them by the
 Governors and Captains, the Serjeant Major,
 the Drummer, the Gunners, and other neceſ-
 ſary Officers ; alſo to furniſh the Guard-Room
 with Wood and Candles, in thoſe Places where
 the Townſmen do not furniſh them, Mat-
 treſſes, Beds, Sheets, Waſhing, and other U-
 tenſils for the Soldiers, Renewal of Arms, Re-
 pairs of Centry-Boxes, Bridges, Swipes, Barriers,
 Palifadoes, even for the new mounting the
 3 Artillery,

History of the Reformation, and of the
 Lewis 13. Artillery, when the Council of the Province
 will judge that it may and ought to be done,
 without too great a Prejudice to the ordinary
 Garrison.

AND therefore it must be the said Council's
 Care, or of those whom it shall appoint for that
 purpose, to make an Account by Valuation,
 as near as possible to the Truth, of what the
 said Charges may yearly amount to, to reserve
 the Fund thereof, and not to oblige the Gover-
 nors and Captains to keep more Men than they
 can. And he, who shall be entrusted with the
 said two Thirds, shall give an Account of all
 the said Management, to the said Council in the
 Governor's Presence: And the said extraor-
 dinary Charges cannot exceed the third or
 fourth Part of the said two Thirds for the
 space of each Year.

IF any Fund is given by their Majesties
 for the Repairs of Fortifications of the said
 Towns, the said Governors shall order what
 use it must be put to, as those who have
 most Concern in its being laid out *à propos*,
 and to that Use that they think most ne-
 cessary. Nevertheless, the said Counsellors
 shall have the Inspection thereof, that the
 Dividends, Proclamations, Adjudging, or
 Leases of lessening thereof, be made duly and
 without Monopoly, and that the Work be
 done according to their Desire. As also if a
 Fund was made for the said Repairs it shall
 be managed by the hands of him whom the
 Council shall appoint; who shall, in the Gover-
 nor's Presence, give an Account thereof, to the
 said Council.

WHERE there shall be publick Magazines,
 they shall take care that the Corn, Wine and
 other Victuals, without Prejudice to the King's
 Officers

Officers appointed for that purpose, be re-^{Lewis 13.}newed in due Time and Season, that they may not decay; also that the Powder, Matches, and other Ammunition subject to decay be dried, beat again, and refreshed, with the greatest Caution possible; and in a word, the Governors are exhorted to take in good part the care which the said Members of the Council will take of all that will concern the Preservation of the said Towns, and to give all Aid and Assistance to those who shall be sent thither by them.

THE said Members of the Council shall strive, by reason of the strict Union which ought to subsist between all those of the Reformed Religion, to extinguish by all amicable Means, as much as it lies in their power, either by themselves, or by the Interposition of some other, all Suits, Quarrels, Animosities, and Jealousies, which might be or arise amongst them, of what Quality soever they be.

IF any of the Governors or Captains of any of the Cautionary Towns chance to die, they shall endeavour to have the Regulation made, or to be made by their Majesties concerning that Case, strictly executed in all its Circumstances.

ALL the Provinces and their Councils shall keep a strict Correspondence with those that border upon them; and in order to keep it the better, they shall be careful to send their respective Deputies to their reciprocal Provincial Assemblies.

AND as to the general Correspondence, the Provinces shall receive the Ways and Means to keep it of the General Assembly while it subsists, and of the General Deputies attending the Court, after their Separation.

AND

Lewis 13.

AND in order to maintain the Union so necessary between the Churches, they shall meet together by their Deputies, once a Year, at an appointed Place; taking care that a Member of the Council of every Province should be there present: for which purpose, the Assembly before breaking up shall name the Council, who is to appoint the Day and the Place for the first Year, which shall take care that the Place where the said Assembly is to meet should be commodious, and that the said Assembly should be held without Noise, and shall aim at the procuring the best Advantage of the whole Body, as much as the Circumstances of the Times can allow it. These Conferences for a few days, shall entertain the Union of the Churches, and renew the Sense of their common Concerns, and inform them of their mutual Condition. Done at *Saumur* the 29th of *August* 1611.

Articles agreed and granted by the Queen-Mother, and the King's Council, to the Duke of Rohan in January 1613.

JANUARY 2, 1613. THAT the King's Attorneys should be commanded to receive the Certificates of Ministers without these Words, *Of the pretended Reformed Religion.*

THAT the Ecclesiasticks should enjoy the same Liberty as under the late King.

THAT the Provincial Councils, for the Direction of Political Affairs, should be tolerated as they were under the late King.

THAT the Ministers shall be exempted, as other Ecclesiasticks in *France*, from all Taxes and Subsidies.

THAT

THAT the Edicts shall be published anew, ^{Lewis 13.} with a Declaration confirming the Briefs, Grants and Concessions of the late King, Forgiveness of all past Offences, and Orders that all manner of Proceedings against the Reformed shall remain null and void.

THAT the *Rochelle* should not be called to any Account for what had been done at *Coudré*, and that the Men of War that cruize upon their Coasts should be recall'd.

THAT those of the *Lower Languedoc* should be heard upon the Affair of *Aigue-mortes*; and in the mean while, the said Town should be put in Trust in the hands of the Count of *Chatillon*.

THAT the razing of *Vesseires* should be superseded, and the Remonstrances of the Province of *Languedoc* upon that Subject be considered.

THAT nothing shall be altered at *Mas-d'Aginois* in *Lower Guienne*, and *La Vessiere* shall be restored as Governor of the Place.

THAT the Viscount of *Panjas* shall be ordered to suffer, under him, Captain *Pré* in *Mazeres*.

THAT the Troops that are in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and the Neighbourhood, shall be ordered to depart from these Provinces.

THAT *La Roche-Beaucourt*, and *Foucault*, shall depart from *St. John d'Angely*.

THAT the Company of the first shall be given to the Duke of *Roban*, and that of the second to him who shall be named with the Duke of *Roban's* Consent to be the King's Lieutenant in the said Town of *St. John*.

THAT the Place of Serjeant-Major of the said Town becoming vacant, either by Death or otherwise, shall be filled up according to the Duke of *Roban's* Desire.

THAT

Lewis 13.

THAT the Pensions of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, shall be paid unto them with all the Arrears.

THAT none of the said Duke's Friends, or Adherents, shall be called to an Account, or otherwise molested; and that their Pensions, if they had any, shall be paid unto them, upon the same footing as before the Assembly at *Saumur*; and that the Baron of *Saugcon* shall no longer be molested, but on the contrary, he shall be set at Liberty. The said Duke says, that these Articles were pretty well performed*.

October 1,
1614.

That Day, a Declaration of the King's Majority was issued out, and at the same time, a Confirmation of the Edict of *Nantz* in all its parts, and of all other Articles granted to the Reformed, together with the Regulations made, Decrees given concerning the Interpretation or Execution of the same. All secret Correspondences, Leagues and Associations, either within or without the Kingdom, or Deputations without the King's Licence, to foreign Princes, Friends or Foes, were strictly forbidden, as well as the receiving of any Pensions, or other Gratuities from foreign Princes. This Declaration was registered in Parliament the 2d of *October*.

April 30.
1615.

The House of the Nobility and the Clergy assembled in the States General, held at *Paris* in the Month of *October* 1614, having required the King to perform strictly what he had solemnly promised in his Coronation-Oath, concerning the Extirpation of Hereticks. The Reformed were justly alarmed at that; and the Court dreading the Consequences thereof, the King was advised by his Council, to issue

out

* Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. I. p. 31.

out a Declaration upon that Subject, which accordingly he did on the 12th of *March* 1615; wherein, after having blamed the preposterous Zeal of his Clergy, he declares, That all the Edicts, Declarations, and private Articles granted in behalf of the Reformed, either by the late King, or by himself, together with the Regulations, &c. concerning the Interpretation and Execution of the Edict of *Nantz*, or in consequence thereof, shall be strictly observed, and the Offenders punished, as Disturbers of the publick Peace. That Declaration was register'd in Parliament the 30th of *April*.

Lewis 13.

The Prince of *Condé* having rebelled against his Sovereign, because his fordid Avarice found not its Account in the present Government; he soon engaged the Duke of *Roban*, whose Ambition was ready to starve for want of proper Fuel, in the same Rebellion with him; and this left no Stone unturned, till he had drawn several of the Reformed Churches in the *Southern* Provinces in the same Precipice. Therefore, the King, by the Advice of his Council, issued out a Declaration register'd in Parliament the 7th of *December* 1615; wherein, after having set forth the incongruous and false impudent Insinuations, whereby *Condé* and *Roban* endeavoured to deceive his Subjects of either Religion, and had already deceived but too many, he declares his royal Intention to be, that the Edict of *Nantz*; Declarations, Regulations, Decrees, &c. issued out in behalf of the Reformed, either by his royal Father, or by himself, should be strictly kept; and promises that every Contravention, if any there is, shall be faithfully redressed; he promises a free Pardon to whom-

soever

Decem. 7.
1615.

Lewis 13. soever shall return to his Allegiance a Month after the Publication of the Presents: and receives under his royal Protection those who shall remain, and persist in their Loyalty.

August 4.
1616. By the Treaty of Peace, made and concluded between his Majesty and the Prince of *Condé*, on the 6th of *May* 1616, and the secret Articles thereunto annexed, the Confirmation of the Edict of *Nantz*, and other Grants as above was expressly mentioned, and besides, the Creation of a new Office of Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, instead of *Peter Berger*, who had turned Catholick: the Confirmation of *Villemereau* in his Office of Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and of *Le Maitre*, Master in the Chamber of Accounts, though they had turned Reformed; the disowning of what the Clergy had done concerning the Publication of the Council of *Trent*; the putting the Castle of *Leytoure* under the Care of an Officer of the Reformed Profession; were amongst other things expressly stipulated. And in order to ratify the same, the King issued out his Declaration registered in Parliament the 4th of *August* 1616.

May 25.
1618. Some Reformed of the Provinces bordering upon the *Bearn*, having convened, without Licence, a Political Assembly at *Casteljaloux* in *Guienne*, from whence it was transferred to *Ortbez* in the Principality of *Bearn*, and from thence to *Rochelle*, for to consider the properest Ways and Means of delivering the said Country from the threatening danger it was in: The King issued out his Declaration registered in Parliament the 28th of *May* 1618, whereby he declared the said Assemblies attainted of Rebellion, and as such ordered

ordered the Members thereof to be profecuted with all the rigour of the Law. Lewis 13.

But by another Declaration register'd in Parliament the 5th of July 1619, his Majesty was pleased to reverse the former, on account of the Fidelity and strict Adherence to the King's Service, which the said Assembly then at *Rochelle* shewed forth, when they were solicited by the Queen-Mother, who had just then made her Escape from *Blois*. The King graciously received their Deputies, and forgave whatever was past. July 5.
1619.

I shall but just mention the Declaration of February the 27th of February 1620, against the Assembly lawfully held at *Loudon*, because I have already spoken of it in its proper Place. February 27, 1620.

Following the Order of Times, I must insert here the Memoir delivered by *Du Plessis* to his Son-in-Law *De Villarnoul*, to be by him tendered to the Assembly of *Rochelle*, dated the 22d of April 1621. DuPlessis's
Memoir.

THE AFFAIRS are now come to such a pass, that we must not flatter ourselves, either with the hope that the King will not march against us, or with the notion of his being diverted from it by some other Business. For the Resolution is taken, the Preparations made, and the Day appointed for his setting out. Nothing can divert him, but the speedy Satisfaction the Assembly shall give him, which consists in the Obedience which they must pay to his Command to break up, on which account his Majesty promises to do strict Justice.

That Separation looks very hard, on account of things past; which have filled our Minds with Jealousies and Suspicions, lest the

Lewis 13.

things promised should not be performed. But the Assembly must consider, whether the Expedients hitherto proposed, the Securities given to Monsieur *De Favas*, and the Assurances so expressly received by those, who have had the honour to interfere in that Business, are not sufficient for allaying these Suspicions. Besides, the Execution of the greatest part of things either required or promised is so easy, that it may come to pass with the time requisite for securing their Retreat, after their Act of Separation.

But above all, they must ballance the Perils very certain, whereto they expose themselves by remaining assembled against the King's Will, with the pretended Dangers wherewith they imagine their Separation will be attended. They must consider what Condition we are in at present under the Benefit of the Edicts, and that wherein we shall be, when we shall be deprived of the same; in what Calamity we do cast all the Churches beyond the *Loire*, and what Burthen we do put upon those on this side that River. And where is the Man, how strong soever, who did ever expose himself to a Siege, when he could avoid it by fair means?

They must also consider, that it is very likely that all those of our Profession SHALL NOT THINK IT VERY JUST AND REASONABLE that they should ruin their own Houses and Families, and hazard their own and their Posterity's Welfare, and even that Liberty of Conscience which they enjoy, for supporting the said Assembly, THE USEFULNESS WHEREOF THEY DO MUCH QUESTION, whereas they feel and see its Inconveniencies; from whence will arise, at least a Division amongst ourselves, and from thence an unavoidable

avoidable Ruin. A Division, indeed, which cannot be small, seeing that the greatest and the most considerable amongst us incline to a Separation upon the Terms abovementioned. Besides, there is the King's Declaration ready to be published, whereby the Fearful will think themselves secure, though they should be told, that thereby they will not fare better than others. *For the present Danger is always more persuasive than a future one.*

Lewis 13.

It is needless for the Deputies to say, that they fear the Censure of their Principals, who have bound them by certain Articles of their Instructions; for in the present state of things, were they themselves obliged to explain them, they would give them quite another meaning. BUT RATHER, the said Deputies OUGHT TO MIND, THE ACCOUNT WHICH CERTAINLY THEY SHALL BE CALL'D TO BEFORE GOD for so many Souls, which by their Obstinacy they expose to the Temptation of rebelling against God. Let them mind the Reproaches of so many Churches and Families, who shall impute unto them the Miseries and Calamities whereto they will certainly expose them without need.

Let them mind the Judgment of the Princes and States our Neighbours, professing the same Religion with us, who look upon the Continuation of the Assembly as a meer Obstinacy, and declare openly, that they would not support it by any means; nay, they judge it hurtful and detrimental to all Christendom, because the Court take it for an Excuse and a Pretence, which is not quite ill grounded, for not opposing the common Enemy so powerfully, as it would be requisite.

True it is, that the *Rochellese* bravely held out a Siege in 1573, and they can say, that since that time their City is much better fortified; but then they held out a Siege through necessity, and not wilfully and arbitrarily; they fought not for form's sake only, but for the very essence of things. And those who lived at that time, may remember the great straits they were reduced to; and we have not every day *Polanders* to deliver us. The Skilful in the Military Art know, that any City can be taken, how strong soever it be: How brisk soever the Defence might be, it serves only to spin out the time, till it might be relieved; but let us speak upon our Conscience, from whence do we expect that relief, if it is once besieged? Indeed it is a great Virtue in Citizens to chuse to be buried under the Defence of their City's Liberties. But as great an Imprudence and Rashness it is, to draw, without necessity, upon themselves and their Families such a dreadful Calamity, and all the Miseries wherewith it is attended.

Some there are, who ground their hopes upon the Discontents of some Princes and Lords who have forsaken the Court: But we must not expect that any other, besides those of the same Profession with us, would, or could suffer with us, or for us. On pretence of curing our Diseases, they shall mind their own; and our Ill-wishers know very well how to extricate themselves at our own Expence.

For these Causes, and several others heretofore mentioned, my Opinion is, that we must necessarily break up our Assembly, and do it without Reluctancy; taking, however, the best Securities possible for the things promised unto us: thereby we shall engage God Almighty

Almighty to be with us; we shall soften our King's Heart, to do us good; we shall satisfy all Christendom as to our good Intentions, and all those who are of the same Opinion will think themselves obliged to side with us, and to take our part; and at all Events, being all united together in the same mind, we shall feel with the same Heart the Evils which might follow; otherwise we are in danger to find ourselves divided. Done at *Saumur*, as above.

Such were the wise Remonstrances of the judicious *Du Pleffis*. But these strong Arguments were as so many Pearls, which were cast before Swine; he had to deal with Men much like the deaf Adder, that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the Voice of the Charmers, charming never so wisely.

The King being informed of the unaccountable Proceedings of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, who made great Preparations for War, &c. issued out his Declaration, which was register'd in Parliament the 27th of *April* 1621. Wherein, after having set forth what he had done for hindering the said Assembly, and the disrespectful Carriage of the same towards him; he declares his Resolution to visit his Provinces, in order to remedy the Diseases they were affected with; he confirms anew the Edicts, Declarations, &c. granted to the Reformed, either by his Father or by himself, and promises that they shall be strictly observed in behalf of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that shall remain faithful to their Allegiance, promising to keep them with their Goods, Chattels &c. under his royal Protection.

Lewis 13.
 June 7,
 1621.

The Assembly persisting in their Obstinacy, and the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize* having openly declared themselves, the King issued out another Declaration, registered in Parliament the 7th of *June*, whereby *Rochelle*, and its Inhabitants, and other Persons, together with *St. John d'Angely*, were declared Rebels: And enjoining all the Reformed, to promise upon their Oaths, not to adhere in any wise to the said Assembly, or to any other held, or to be held, without the King's special Licence.

August 5.
 1622.

Whereas the King was informed, that certain Persons went from one Province into another, charged with Letters, tending to raise Jealousies and Suspicions in the Minds of those of the Reformed Religion, that persever'd in their Fealty, and engage them to join the Rebels: His Majesty issued out his Declaration, registered in Parliament the 5th of *August* 1622, whereby he forbids his said Subjects to quit and forsake their Houses and Habitations, either in Towns, or in the Country, or to go and join those who were in Arms, and the Foreigners that were expected (it was the Army commanded by the Count of *Mansfelt*) in the Kingdom, or to lend them any Assistance whatever, under severe Penalties. The like Promises of royal Protection, as in the former, were made to those who should persevere in their Loyalty.

May 22.
 1623.


His Majesty taking notice, that other Persons, besides the Ministers and Elders deputed to the Synods, assisted in those Assemblies, and treated other Matters of a different Nature than what they were allowed to treat, the King issued out his Declaration, registered in Parliament the 22d of *May* 1623, inhibiting to admit any such Persons in the Synods,

Synods, either National or Provincial, or to treat of any thing else, but what concerns their Doctrine and Discipline; and in order that his royal Intention should be duly executed, his Will is, that a Commissary professing the Reformed Religion, named by himself for the National Synods, and by his Lieutenants or Governors of Provinces for the Provincial, should assist in his Name in those Assemblies.

A Proclamation was issued out and registered in Parliament the 18th of *February* 1625, against the Duke of *Soubize*, and his Adherents, promising them Pardon and Forgiveness of their Offences, if in a Month's time, after the Publication of the Presents, they should return to their Allegiance; and threatening them to be punished according to Law, if they persisted in their Rebellion: The like Promises of Protection and Execution of the Edicts, for those who persisted in their Loyalty, were made in this as in the former Declarations.

ARTICLES contained in the Bill of Grievances, presented to the King by the Deputies of the Reformed in the Month of October 1625, and which served as the Basis of the Edict granted them in March 1626, and registered in Parliament the 6th of April ensuing.

The first named forty-three Places, wherein they required that the Reformed Religion should be restored, as it was in 1620. The second required the Restitution of the Churchyards, which had been taken from the Reformed in several Places, eight whereof were specified. *Both Articles granted.* By the third they desired that the Ministers should be al-

Lewis 13.  lowed Liberty of dwelling wherever they should please, a Liberty which had been granted them by the General and Private Articles of the Edict of *Nantz*. *Granted*. By the fourth, they required to be exempted from contributing towards the Reparation of Churches, and other things that favoured of a Compliance with the Roman Worship. *Granted*, unless there was some Agreement made between the Reformed and Catholicks. The fifth contained a Complaint that frequently the Bodies of the Reformed were digged up again, under pretence that they were buried in Catholick Chapels or Church-yards. *Indirectly answered, and referred to the 18th and 23d Articles of the Edict of Nantz, and to the Decree of the Council of the 25th of August, 1620.* The same Article contained Complaints of the demolishing of some Churches, of the banishing of several Persons only on account of their Religion; which two Articles were favourably answered. The sixth mentioned the demolishing of *Fort-Louis*; and the next, the levelling of the Citadel of *Montpellier*. *The former was promised in general Terms; and as to the last, they were pleased to suppose, that the Inhabitans had demanded it freely and unanimously.* By the eighth, they insisted upon the due Observance of the Warrant of 1598, concerning the Cautionary-Towns. *Granted*. The ninth was concerning the Bounty-Money, which was very ill paid; and the tenth required, that the Sums promised to the *Bearnese*, in lieu of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, should be paid without Diminution. *Both granted*. The eleventh complained of a Decree given by the Parliament of *Rennes*, where y the Reformed were deprived of their

Right to be admitted to all sorts of Offices and Employments. *Redressed.* The twelfth was made in behalf of the parted Chambers, and of the Officers which composed them, for the Preservation of the Jurisdiction of the said Chambers, and the Dignity of their Officers. *Granted.* By the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, they demanded, that the Reformed should be restored to their Goods and Estates, whereof they had been in any wise deprived. An Amnesty for all Acts of Hostility. That the Declaration published before *Montpellier* should be registered in the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris.* *All three granted.* The sixteenth required a Discharge for the Taxes due during the Troubles, by those who rose up in Arms in 1621, and that the Receivers should be obliged to restore what they had received of the same. *Granted as to what remained due, but not as to the Restitution.* By the seventeenth, and the three following, they required a Remission for what had been done notwithstanding the Safe-Conduct of the Duke of *Roban*, which he had revoked. *Granted.* The Preservation of the Privileges of the Reformed Cities and Commonalties, especially as to the Election of their Consuls and Councils. *Granted as to the Towns still in the hands of the Reformed.* That each Party should be reciprocally discharged from the Debts contracted without the Consent one of the other. *Granted as to Debts not paid as yet.* That the Debts of the Reformed should be equally assessed. *The King will advise.* The twenty-first, that they may hold Political Assemblies. *The King will grant it, when asked for at the time of the Election of the new General Deputies.*

The

Lewis 13.

August 12.
1627.

The Duke of *Soubize* being landed at *Rochelle*, in order to sollicite that City to admit the *English* Fleet; a Proclamation was issued out against him, and his Adherents, which was registered in Parliament the 12th of *August* 1627, whereby they were declared Rebels, Traitors, and Perfidious, &c. and as such having forfeited their Lands, Estates, Manors, Titles, Offices, &c. &c. and where their Persons could be apprehended, to be brought to Justice, and prosecuted to the rigour of the Law; unless, in eight days time after the Publication of these Presents, in proper Places, they should return to their Allegiance with the requisite Submissions, and make a Declaration thereof before proper Officers. What was observable in this Proclamation is, that Fathers and Tutors were made answerable in their proper Person for their Sons and Pupils. For the Court had taken notice during the former Wars, that they were used to send their Sons or Pupils to the Reformed Army, while they themselves staid at home, in order to preserve their Estates; for avoiding which, it was declared, that unless the Fathers and Tutors should serve in the King's Armies, or give such other full Evidence of their having no hand at all in the Defection of their Sons or Pupils, they should be punished themselves as Rebels.

August 27.
1629. *The King's Edict given at Nimes, July 1629, and registered in the Parliament of Thoulouse the 27th of August in the same Year.*

THAT Edict contained a long Preamble, wherein, in an insulting manner, were described

the several means made use of for bringing the Reformed back to their Allegiance. The taking of *Rochelle*; the sacking of *Privas*; the voluntary Submission of *Aletz*, were represented in a Rhetorical Strain, little usual in the Edicts. They named 25 Cities well fortify'd, which, however, had not been so daring as to wait for the King's Cannon; and which, with the Duke of *Roban*, and the Nobility of several Provinces had implored his Clemency by their Deputies; offering to level their Fortifications, in order that their Fidelity should be no longer suspected. Then the King, through the only Compassion for the Miseries of his Subjects, and in order perfectly to win the Affections, even of those, who, by their repeated Relapses, were become the Objects of his Justice, declared in twenty-two Articles, what was to be observed for the future. That Edict was said to be PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE: And according to the usual Style, the Restoration of the Roman Religion was enacted by the first Article, as you may see in the Edict itself here inserted.

I. That the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman* Religion, shall be restored and resettled in all the Cities and Places of those Countries, from whence it had been expelled; and all the Ecclesiastick Churches, Goods, and Houses, within the said Provinces, shall be restored to those to whom they belonged, without any Prosecution for the Revenues received or taken. In which Churches, and in all the said Places, the Exercise of the said Religion shall be freely and peaceably performed, without Lett or Molestation. Nevertheless we order, that in all the Monasteries within the said Cities
returned

Lewis 13. returned to our Obedience, there shall not be put in or settle any other Monks, than such as live exactly in the observance of their Order, according to the Letters which they shall receive from us.

II. And desiring nothing more than a perpetual Union between our Subjects, as we are desirous, and as it is our Intention, to maintain those who profess the Pretended Reformed Religion, in the free and peaceable Exercise of it, we cannot but desire also their Conversion, for which we continually offer up our Prayers to God. For which Reason, we exhort all our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to lay aside all Passion, that they may be capable of receiving the Light of Heaven, and be fitted to return to the Bosom of the Church, in which for these eleven hundred Years together, the Kings our Predecessors have lived without Change or Interruption: Not being able in any thing whatever to give them a greater Testimony of our Paternal Affection, than to admonish them to observe the same way to Salvation, which we observe and follow ourselves.

III. We order, that all the Parishes of the said Country be provided with good, sufficient and capable Curates, by those to whom the Patronage belongs; and that things be so ordered, that they have all a sufficient Revenue to maintain them with Reputation in the Discharge of their Functions, as is set down in our Ordinances of *January* last; or other means more commodious, as shall be adjudg'd proper by the Commissioners, by Us deputed to that end.

IV. We have forgiven, pardoned and buried in Oblivion, and do forgive, pardon and bury

bury in Oblivion, in behalf of the said Duke ^{Lewis 13.} of *Roban*, and of all the Inhabitants of the said Cities and Places, as also to those of the Flat Countries, who adhered to them, all things past from *July 21. 1627.* to the Day of the Publication of these Presents, made in every Seneschalship, of the Articles of Grace, which we granted them the 27th of *June* last. We have discharged them, and do discharge them of all Acts of Hostility, rising in Arms, hiring of Soldiers, Enterprizes as well by Sea as Land, General and Particular Assemblies, more especially the Assembly of *Nimes*, seizure of Ecclesiastical Rents, Royal or Private Money, Coining of Money of what Alloy or Stamp soever, Printed Libels, Popular Tumults and Commotions, Riots, Violences, Enterprizes upon the two Towns of *St. Amant*, and Castles of the Lord, the Castles of *St. Stephen*, *Val Francesque*, and *Florac*: Also the Murders and other Accidents, happening at the taking of *St. Germier*, and *Castres*, in *January* last: Also the Inhabitants of *Usez*, for the Murder of the *Sieur du Flos*: And the Consuls of the said Place, for the Decrees put forth against them by the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, and Chamber of the Edict at *Beziers*: Also the *Sieurs Daubais*, *James Genoier*, *Paul Saucier*, and *Andrew Pellissier*. For the Nomination and Designation made of their Persons, to be Consuls of *Nimes*, in 1627. and their executing the Office during that Year: Together with all the Consuls and Political Counsellors, and the Prothonotary of the Consular House, for the Prosecution against them by reason of the said Consulship of *Nimes*, as well in our Council, as in the said Court of Parliament, Chamber
of

of the Edict, and Court of Aids at *Montpellier*: Also the Inhabitants of *Anduze*, for the Murder of the *Sieur de Mantaille*, and the Condemnations of the said Consuls, and particular Inhabitants of the said City during these Troubles. The Inhabitants of *Millaud*, for what was done against the *Sieur de Roquefavas*, and discharge them of the Restitution of four thousand Livres taken from the *Jacobins*: The *Sieur de Gasque*, for encouraging the Inhabitants of *Alets* in their Breach of Safe-Conducts, Impositions and raising of Money, Establishment of Courts of Justice, Officers and Counsellors through the Provinces, and executing of Sentences past in those Courts, in Matters Civil and Criminal, and Regulations of Municipal Constitutions, and their executing their Offices in the said Cities when they were in Rebellion; together with the Advocates, that practised in their Employments, before the said Judges, Officers, and Counsellors set up in the said Cities: Also those who had no permission from Us, to reside and practise in the said Cities during the said Time. All Voyages to, and Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties, Contracts, held and made with the *English* by the said Cities and Inhabitants; and by the said Duke of *Rohan*, and *Sieur de Soubize*, as well with the said *English*, as with the King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Savoy*, and Letters written to the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*: Also the *Sieurs Clausel* and *Du Crofs*, who were employed thither: Sales of moveable Goods, whether Ecclesiastical or others, cutting down of high Trees, Demefne Woods or others: Taking of Booties, Ransoms, or any other sort of Money by them taken by reason of the

the

the said Troubles, melting of Artillery, seizing of Ammunition, Dismantling and Demolishing of Cities, Castles and Towns: Also the taking of *Mervez*, *Aymargues*, and others, Burnings of Churches and Houses by Order and Authority of the said Duke of *Roban*; and from all Criminal Prosecutions by reason of the same; without prejudicing the Civil Interests of the said Religious Ecclesiasticks, for which they shall apply themselves for Justice to the Chamber of the Edict. We discharge them also from all Leases and Farms, of all Ecclesiastical Benefices and Estates, of which the said Ecclesiasticks were deprived by the Chieftains, who had the General Command. Our Pleasure in like manner is, that they enjoy the full Contents of the preceding Amnesties, and of all that has been acted and negotiated since the abovementioned Time, notwithstanding all Proceedings at Law, Decrees and Sentences issued out against them in the mean time; even the Decrees themselves of the Parliament of *Tboulouse* and *Bourdeaux*, and Chamber of *Beziers* and others, against the said Duke of *Roban*, to whom we will, that all his Honours and Dignities which he enjoy'd before shall be preserved, prohibiting all Prosecutions in the Cases aforesaid. In respect of which, we impose perpetual silence upon all our Attorneys General and their Substitutes; excepting always those execrable Cases reserved and excepted by the Edict of *Nantz*, and others subsequent, of the Civil Interest, by reason of the Fact committed at *Vezenobre* and *Tournac*, and of the Moveables which shall be found in specie taken from those who were under Obedience to the King.

~ V. And in pursuance of our Intentions, to maintain all our Subjects professing the Pretended Reformed Religion in the free Exercise of the said Religion, and in the Enjoyment of the Edicts to them granted; Our farther Pleasure is, that they enjoy the Benefits of the said Edict of *Nantz* and other Edicts, Articles and Declarations registered in our Parliaments, and that in pursuance of the same they have the free Exercise of the said Religion in all Places where it has been allowed them.

VI. That all Churches and Church-yards, that have been taken from them or demolished, shall be restored them, with liberty to repair them, if there be any necessity, and that they deem it convenient.

VII. We order, that all the Fortifications of the said Cities, shall be razed and demolished, only the enclosure of the Walls, within the space of three Months, by the sedulity of the Inhabitants: In whom we more especially confiding, forbear to secure the said Cities either with Garrisons or Citadels. The said Fortifications shall be demolished by the Management and Orders of the Commissioners by Us deputed, and according to the Orders and Instructions which we shall give them: And in the mean while, for the greater Security, the Hostages sent by the said Cities shall remain in such Places as we shall appoint, till the said Fortifications shall be fully demolished.

VIII. Our farther Will and Pleasure is, that all the aforesaid shall be restored and resettled in all their Estates and Goods, Moveable and Immoveable, Accompts and Actions, notwithstanding all Condemnations, Grants, Confiscations and Reprisals made or decreed,

excepting the Fruits and Revenues of their ^{Lewis 13.} Goods, the Moveables which shall not be found in Specie, Woods cut down, and Debts which have been received till this present time, actually and without fraud, after judicial Prosecutions and Constraints. Nevertheless our Pleasure is, that the preceding Declarations given upon the Fact of the said Reprisals, till the present Commotions, peremptory Decrees, and Proceedings and Agreements made upon them, shall take place, and be executed, notwithstanding all Decrees to the contrary. Our Will also is, that the Heirs of the deceased *Sieur de Mormoirac* shall be restored to their Estates.

IX. We permit them to re-enter their Houses, and to rebuild them if there be occasion; and as being our good and faithful Subjects, we permit them to reside and inhabit in such Cities and Places of our Kingdom, as they shall see convenient, except in the Islands of *Rbé* and *Oleron*, *Rochelle* and *Privas*. We also permit the Inhabitants of *Pamiers*, who were not in the said City at the time when it was taken, to return and enjoy all their Goods, after they have submitted themselves, and taken the Oath of Fidelity before such Persons whom we shall appoint.

X. Our Officers residing in the said City, who have not paid the Annual Duty, shall be admitted to pay it within two Months, as well for what is past as for the present Year. And as for such as are deceased, having paid the said Annual Right, the Offices which they held shall be preserved to their Widows and Heirs. And as for those whose Offices we have supply'd by reason of the Troubles, they shall be continued in their

said Offices, notwithstanding the Patents given to others, and their being settled therein. Our Pleasure also is, that the Officers of particular Lords, who were admitted upon dear Purchases, and put out by reason of the said Troubles, shall be restor'd to their Employments.

XI. All the above-mentioned shall be discharged, and we hereby discharge them of all Contributions, Quartering of Soldiers, as well in the preceding, as present Troubles. Also the said Commonalties and particular Members thereof are discharged from all Obligations to indemnify and save harmless all Reparations of Damages, which may be pretended against them, by reason of Imprisonments, Executions, and Expulsions out of the said Cities, by order of the Duke of *Roban*, or the Councils of the said Cities, or any others by him set up as well during the present as preceding Troubles. And as for Taxes and other Monies laid upon the Country, in case the Sums fall short, for want of Payment by the above-mentioned, the Receivers of the said Countries shall not prosecute the above-mentioned; reserving nevertheless a Power to prosecute the Syndic of the Country, to the end the Abatement may be laid upon the Generality of the Province.

XII. In like manner we discharge the Consuls and private Persons, who obliged themselves during the Troubles of the Years 1621, 1622, and 1626, and in the present Commotions for the Affairs of their City, to pay the said Obligations, notwithstanding all Clauses inserted in the Agreements: Saving to the Creditors, the Power of prosecuting the Consuls of the pretended Reformed Religion, who

shall be in Office, to the end that those of the Reformed Religion might be assessed for the said Sums. Lewis 13.

XIII. They shall also be discharged from prosecuting the Catholick Inhabitants and others, for the Remainders from them due for the Rates of the preceding Years, notwithstanding the Discharges they had obtained by our Letters Patent, as by the Decrees of the Court of Aids at *Montpellier*: As also from all that remains to be paid of Taxes and Impositions assessed upon any of them, the Catholicks being exempted by the Orders of the Governours of the Provinces, or others our Commanders in chief, during the preceding and present Troubles.

XIV. The Inhabitants of *Castres* also shall be discharged from Restitution of whatever they took by Force of Arms in opposition to our Service.

XV. The Charges which shall be laid upon the said Cities, shall be equally born by all the Inhabitants of the same, according to the custom at all times usual. Only that the Debts contracted by the Catholick Inhabitants, shall be born by themselves alone; and those contracted by those of the pretended Reformed Religion by themselves.

XVI. Sentences passed by those who have been commissioned for the Administration of Justice in the said Cities, whether in Civil or Criminal Matters, shall take place, excepting Appeals to the said Chambers, in cases which have not been adjudged by the Provosts, or at a Council of War.

XVII. The Order anciently observed in the said Cities, as well touching the Consularship as the Municipal Government, and the

Lewis 13. Meeting of the said Consuls and City-Council shall be kept and observed, as before the Troubles.

XVIII. The Assemblies of State in the Country of *Foix*, shall be held after the accustomed manner, and all the Cities shall be summoned that were usually present.

XIX. The Consuls, Receivers, Collectors and Commissaries, that managed the Publick Money during the preceding and present Troubles, shall be acquitted and discharged, they bringing into the Chambers the Accompts which they have given of it; nor shall the Chambers pretend to any Fees, nor to require a Review of the said Accompts. And as for the Inhabitants of *Nimes*, who pretend themselves not obliged to carry in their Accompts into the said Chambers, our Will is, that the ancient Custom shall be observed.

XX. The Seats of Judicature, Audits of Receipts, and other Offices, remov'd by reason of the present Troubles, shall be restor'd and settled in the Places where they were before: Also the Election newly created to be settled at *Montauban*, but removed to the Town of *Moissac* by reason of the Troubles, shall return to *Montauban*, after the Fortifications are demolished.

XXI. Also the Chamber of the Edict, now sitting at *Beziers*, shall be restor'd to the City of *Castres* after the Fortifications are demolished; and shall remain in the said City, according to the Edict of *Nants*, notwithstanding our Ordinance of *January* last, and the Decree of the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, upon the 102d Article thereof: Which Chamber his Majesty will have maintain'd in all things allow'd by the Edicts and Regulations.

XXII.

XXII. All these Graces and Concessions, it ^{Lewis 13.} is our Will and Pleasure, that the above-mentioned enjoy, that were in Arms upon the twenty-seventh of *June* last. And as for the Cities and Persons that submitted to our Obedience before that Day, they shall particularly enjoy the Things contained in the Letters Patent, which have been granted them for that purpose.

So we command our faithful and beloved Counsellors in the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, &c. And for the more firm and stable Duration of these Presents, &c. Given at *Nimes*, in *July* 1629, and the twentieth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below, by the King,

Phelipeaux.

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, at the Request of the King's Attorney-General at *Thoulouse*, in Parliament, *August* 27, 1629.

Sign'd *De Malenfant.*

THAT Edict in the main was not disadvantageous to the Reformed; they having no Duke of *Roban* or *Soubize* to sollicit them out of their Allegiance, the Duke of *la Tremouille* had turned Catholick about two Years before, and the rest of the great Lords of their Religion minding only the Advancement of their Fortune, were sollicitous about means to in-

*Situation
of the Re-
formed.*

Lewis 13. gratiate themselves into the Prime Minister's
 1630. Affections. Deprived of their cautionary
 Pope Ur- Towns, they had no Fuel whereupon the Am-
 ban VIII. bition or Avarice of their Leading-Men could
 be fed. Therefore it was likely, that hence-
 forward giving to their Prince so many Proofs
 of their own Natural Inclination, enforced by
 the Laws and Precepts of their Religion, they
 would have enjoyed his Protection, and re-
 ceived the Fruits of their Submission and of
 his Promises, But what can be expected from
 one who thinks himself bound in Conscience
 not to keep Faith with those he is pleased
 to style Hereticks? If even, when they were
 dreaded in the Kingdom, the Reformed had
 so many Wrongs and Grievances to bear with;
 what could they expect, when after a Trial
 of their Strength and Power, they were be-
 come contemptible to their Enemies?

Nevertheless, it was not till the Major-
 ity of *Lewis XIVth*, that they were openly
 and avowedly tormented and persecuted by
 the Popish Clergy and their Cabal. *Richelieu*
 managed them, out of Policy; his Alliances
 with several Protestant Princes did not allow
 him to persecute the Reformed in the King-
 dom. *Mazarini* followed the same Maxims.
 But when *Lewis XIV.* had attained his Ma-
 jority, his Confessors took care to inculcate in-
 to his head, that he ought to redeem his
 Sins, not by Alms, as *Isaiab* saith to the good
 King *Hezekiab*, but by extirpating Heresy;
 whereto he readily listened, being more easy
 for him to renounce the Laws of Nature,
 than to shake off the Yoke of his Lusts: but
 more of this hereafter.

I don't design to insist upon private In-
 justices; I shall even omit them, and mention
 only

only those wherein the whole Body of the Reformed were concerned. Such was the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, given the 3d of *August* 1629, which abridged the Privilege granted to the Reformed by the Edict of *Nantz*, to chuse one of their own Religion to be Assistant, for the Instruction and Trial of the Criminal Processes enter'd against any of them, reducing it only to the Causes whereof the Provost-Marshal is to take Cognizance; whereas, by the Edict, that Privilege extended to all Criminal Causes, and before all Judges of what Denomination soever.

Lewis 13.
1630.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

But what was more mischievous to the Reformed, was the renewing of the Missionaries, which are a Set of Men for the most part of a violent, seditious, and pedantic Spirit, who gloried in exciting Tumults, and drawing bad Usage upon themselves, that they might have an Opportunity to trouble the most considerable Members of a Church. The most dangerous of these brangling Pettifoggers were certain Lay-Men of the Scum of the People, the most eminent whereof were *Pedlars*, *Shoe-makers*, *Cutlers*, and such like Riff-raff, who rambled from Town to Town, from one Church to another, impudently challenging the Ministers, preaching Controversies in publick Places, upon Stages like Mountebanks; to teaze the meaner sort of People, with pitiful and ridiculous Cavils; and that for getting the small Reward promised by the Clergy for each of those poor silly *Widgeons*, which they could convert.

Several
Injustices
and Vexations.

About the same time they began to quarrel with the Reformed in several Places about the Right of Exercises, and to do them injustice, by depriving them of what the Edict

Lewis 13. of Nantz had granted them. The Bishop of
 1630. *Valence*, a violent Spirit, exerted himself by a
 Pope Ur- Persecution, which from this particular Dio-
 ban VIII. cese spread itself afterwards all over the King-
 dom, and occasioned above 35 Years Vexa-
 tion to the Churches; it was on account of
Annexes served by the same Minister of some
 principal Church. He pretended, that they
 were so many Usurpations, as if they had
 not been authorized by the Edict. As these
Annexes were very convenient for the Re-
 formed, who by that means provided for their
 Churches and their Ministers at a little Ex-
 pence, it was enough to excite the Catholick
 Zeal to deprive them of that Advantage. The
 Bishop of *Vaison* in *Provence*, joined with that
 of *Valence*, in the same Persecution, and they
 obtained two favourable Decrees of the Council,
 one of the 3d, the other of the 11th of *October*.

*Confusions
 at Court.*

It may be, that the Persecution would have
 been carried further against the Reformed,
 had not the Court been intangled in the greatest
 Confusions. Though the Faults of one Party
 are by no means an Apology for the like
 Faults in the other Party; nevertheless, it
 seems, that, if not for the Reformed, at least
 for their Religion's Vindication, which had
 been charged to be the sole Cause of the
 Troubles of the Kingdoms, Providence per-
 mitted that, after the Ruin of the temporal
 Concerns of the Reformed, the Catholicks should
 have their Turn, should enter into Treaties,
 Leagues and Conspiracies, renew the Civil
 Wars, and keep the Kingdom in continual
 Combustions, till the Death of *Lewis XIII.*
 The Original of which Troubles was the Queen-
 Mother's Discontent, who could not brook
 the high Credit to which the Cardinal had
 attain'd

attain'd by the Success of his Enterprize. The Duke of Orleans took his Mother's Part, they both retired out of the Kingdom; the Duke on the 13th of *March*, he went into *Lorraine*; the Queen-Mother on the 18th of *July*, and she went to *Flanders*, from *Compeigne*, where she was kept Prisoner at large.

Lewis 13.
1631.
Pope Urban VIII.

But what troubled much the Reformed, was the Projects of Re-union, that were set a foot again this Year. Two sorts of People were eager after the pursuit of that Scheme. Some who were sincere and upright, who were really perswaded that a tolerable Composition might be drawn from the Church of *Rome*, at least in reference to the grossest and most palpables Abuses; and that after they should have agreed upon Expedients to secure the Conscience, they might unite in an outward Communion, and thereby put an end to the Schism, look'd upon by both Parties, as a great Mischief; and then they might on both sides labour with better Success in the Cure of the Diseases which afflicted the Church, because they would be no longer suspected. But they did not consider, that the Errors of the *Church of Rome*, consisting not in Points meerly Speculative, but in certain Uses, Practices, and such like things, whereupon she grounds all her Grandeur, and from whence she derives all her Riches; they may be said to be incurable. Errors purely Speculative, which arise from the false Notions of a prepossessed Mind, may sometimes yield to Evidence; but Errors of Interest are Proofs against all Demonstrations, because they derive their Original from the Corruption of the Heart.

Projects of
Re-union.

Other People of a quite different Character, either seduced by Promises, or prompted by their

Lewis 13. their Ambition, or else conceited of their own
 1631. Parts, and aspiring to the glory of having
 Pope Ur- put an end to these fatal Divisions, which for
 ban VIII. above a hundred Years, at that time, had occasioned such Convulsions all over *Europe*, readily embraced these Overtures, and never gave themselves the Trouble of taking Securities and Measures in behalf of Truth.

The Cardinal would have been very glad to see that Re-union effected in a way, which would have much redounded to the Glory of the *Roman Church*, but which would have covered the whole Protestant Body with Shame and Infamy, and especially the Reformed in *France*, which were to be the principal Actors in that Farce. But though I don't question the Vanity of the Man, and his Inclination for every thing that appeared great and singular in itself; nevertheless I do much question his ever having attempted any thing like such a Re-union during the whole Course of his Ministry; and though the thing has been attempted more than once under the next Reign, it is not likely that this Cardinal had done the same, seeing that not a Word of it is to be found in his Memoirs. True it is, that *Grotius* had been very far in these Projects of Re-union, giving up the Cause in several things, to the *Roman Church*, and excusing it upon the rest; and few Years before his death, he applied himself more than ever to that Work, and published *Consultations, Remarks, Vows and Discussions*, which by proposing Peace, served only to kindle new Disputes. It is true also, that *La Milletiere*, a vain conceited Man, who sought only to advance his Fortune, published about this time a Draught of an Accommodation, wherein he allowed

allowed the *Romish* Church to be in the right almost in every thing; and as to those which he could not justify, he made use of soft and qualify'd Expressions, by way of Explanation, and made them pass for Questions that were not to hinder the Re-union of the Reformed. But the Rev. Mr. *John Daille*, who began about that time to make himself known in the World by his Writings, confuted him with such a Perspicuity, and such a Strength of Argument, that he was confounded, but not silenced. He was excommunicated by the Synod of *Alençon* in 1637, he turned Catholick, and became a Missionary. And at length the Rev. Mr. *Charles Drelincourt*, the true Scourge of People like *La Milletiere*, totally routed him in a Conference, the Acts whereof were published. So all these Schemes for a Re-union between the Reformed and the Catholicks came to nothing for this time, though under the next Reign, these Writings were very useful to the Converters, especially the Bishop of *Condom*.

The 26th National Synod was held from the 1st of *September* to the 10th of *October* inclusively, at *Charenton*. The Rev. Mr. *Peter Mestrezat*, one of the Pastors of the Church of *Charenton*, was chosen Moderator. *Augustus Gallant* Esq; took his Seat in it, as Commissioner for the King. His Speech was civil enough, but at the same time, he made them sensible of the Change of their Condition, by the several Propositions he made to them, which were so many Laws which the King imposed upon them. 1^o. He required, in his Majesty's Name, that for the future they should forbear entering any Protest, or making any Remonstrance against his Will and

Lewis 13.
1631.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13. and Pleasure, to have a Commissioner who should
 1631. fit in his Name in all their Synodical Af-
 Pope Ur- semblies, either National or Provincial; such
 ban VIII. a Practice having been observed even in the
 Primitive Church. 2°. That none but Na-
 tive *Frenchmen* should be admitted to the
 Holy Ministry, to serve in any Church of the
 Realm. Nevertheless he promised, that, up-
 on proper Application, the Foreigners who had
 been admitted, might be allowed to continue.
 3°. All Ministers were forbidden to depart
 the Kingdom without his Majesty's special
 Licence; and whereas the Rev. Mr. *Salbert*,
 Minister of *Rockelle*, in contempt of the King's
 Orders, had absented himself, his Majesty en-
 joined him to reside in the Place of his Ex-
 ile, and expressly forbid him all Exercise of
 his Ministerial Functions, either publick or pri-
 vate. 4°. Whereas the two former National
 Synods of *Charenton* and *Castres* had expressly
 forbidden the Ministers to intermeddle with
 any State-Affairs, and that the Rev. Dr. *Be-
 raud*, Minister and Professor in Divinity in the
 Church and Academy of *Montauban*, named
 one of the Deputies to the Synod for the
 Churches of *Upper-Languedoc*, did not only
 intermeddle with State, but also with Military-
 Affairs, and was so daring as to publish in
 a Book, which he read to his Disciples, that
 Ministers are bound to bear Arms, and to
 shed Blood upon Occasion, his Majesty order-
 ed the Suppression of the said Book, and that
 both the Book and the Author thereof should
 be censured by the present Synod, that he
 should not sit in it, and that he should be
 removed from *Montauban*, and from *Languedoc*,
 and be translated into some other Pro-
 vince. Two other Ministers were sentenced

to the same Penalty, much upon the like account, for having spoken or writ against the Government, during the last Troubles; viz. the Rev. Mr. *Bouterouë*, Minister of *Grenoble* in *Dauphiné*, and the Rev. Mr. *Basnage*, Minister of *Carentan* in *Normandy*, both Deputies for their respective Province to this Synod.

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Pope Urban VIII.

The Synod comply'd with the first Article, and promised to yield a dutiful Obedience to the King's Will and Declaration, in regard to the Commissioners that were to sit in his Majesty's Name, in all their Ecclesiastical Assemblies. As to the second, they improved the Liberty which the Commissioner granted them, in the King's Name, to petition his Majesty in behalf of the Foreigners which had been admitted to the Ministry since the Year 1623. As to the third and fourth, they begged Liberty most humbly to intreat his Majesty to grant his most gracious Pardon to the Offenders, and to restore them to their Churches; and whereas the Rev. Mr. *Bastide*, Minister of *St. Affrick* in *Higber Languedoc*, was still detained a Prisoner on account of his Deportments in the last Civil War; they most humbly petitioned his Majesty to suffer, that he might be tryed before his proper Judges; and they declared his Church vacant, and that he should be no longer Minister in the said Province.

Then the Synod sent a Deputation to his Majesty, with their Bill of Grievances, craving for a Redress. They complained of the Injustice of the Bishop of *Valence* and his Adherents; whereby twenty-nine Churches were deprived of Pastors in *Vivarets*; nineteen in the *Cevennes*; twenty-four in the Isles of *Rbé*, and *Oleron*, besides those that fell to decay in *Xaintonge*,

Lewis 13. *tonge, Burgundy, Brittany, Berry, Normandy,*
 1631. *Poitou, and Lower Guienne.* They intreated
 Pope Ur- his Majesty to cause all Prosecutions com-
 ban VIII. menced against several Ministers in the Pro-
 vinces, especially in *Languedoc*, not for utter-
 ing any undutiful or unloyal Word, but for
 preaching the pure Word of God, conform-
 able to their Confession of Faith and the Dis-
 cipline of their Churches, to cease, and that
 the Attorney-General should be silenced.
 To order that the sitting of their Provincial
 Synods and Colloquies, (which were some-
 times put off for three or four Years toge-
 ther, through the Ill-Will of the Governors
 of Provinces or their Lieutenants,) should be
 held according to the ancient Order. That
 the Foreigners who had been admitted to
 the Holy Ministry since the Year 1623, might
 continue in the Kingdom, and enjoy the Be-
 nefit of the Edicts as the Natives; and that
 he would be pleased to take off the Restric-
 tion, whereby he restrained for the future,
 the favour of serving a Church in *France*, only
 to the Natives. That he would be pleased
 to reverse the Sentence given against the Rev.
 Messieurs *Berauld, Bouterouë* and *Basnage*.
 That he would be pleased to order, that the
 Reformed may be indiscriminately admitted
 unto Dignities, Charges and Employments in
 the Universities, as heretofore, and unto the
 Masterships of Mechanical Arts and Trades,
 whereof their Enemies endeavoured to de-
 prive them. That he would be pleased
 forthwith to issue out his Warrant for the
 release of so many Captives detained upon
 his Gallies on no other account but the late
 Troubles. That he would be pleased to order
 that the Moneys granted by his Royal Father
 and

and himself for the Maintainance of the Ministry, the Arrears whereof amounted then to no less than six hundred twenty-one thousand eight hundred and twelve Livres, should be paid out of hand. That he would be pleased to order, that the Stipends of Ministers in the Principality of *Bearn*, (which ought to be at four hundred and eighty Livres for each, according to his Majesty's Declaration, and the Edict of *Montpelier*, and which had been reduced to less than the half of that Sum, without any other Declaration revoking the former,) should be restored upon the ancient footing.

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1631.
Pope Urban VIII.

The Rev. Dr. *Amyrault* Pastor and Professor at *Saumur*, and ——— *De Villars* Esq; the two Deputies of the Synod, being admitted to Audience, were most kindly received by his Majesty, who was pleased to express his utmost Satisfaction for the Compliance of the Synod. He granted them sixteen thousand Livres for discharging the Expences of the Synod; furthermore, he granted his Pardon to the three delinquent Ministers, who, accordingly, took their Seats in the Synod, after having been censured by the Commissioner: As to the rest, he promised them a speedy Redress of their Grievances, as soon as the Synod should break up; and ordered them to proceed without delay, to the Nomination of the General Deputies that were to attend the Court. The Synod readily comply'd, and the Marquess of *Clermont* for the Nobility, with Mr. *Galland*, Son to the King's Commissioner, were presented to his Majesty, and approved of by him*.

Another

* This was the first time that the King recommended the two Persons that were to be named General Deputies, (it was a *Congé d'Elire*.)

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1631.

Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Another Affair occasioned great Debates in that Assembly, *viz.* the Union of *Bearn* with the other Provinces, not only as to the Doctrine, but as to the Discipline; which *Galland* opposed with all his might, pretending that it could not be done without the King's special Licence. It was easy for the Deputies of *Bearn* to reply; amongst other Arguments, they offered one very cogent, to wit, that their Country having been united to the Crown of *France*, to be Members of the same Nation, they had a right to require that their Ecclesiastical Causes should be tried in the Synod of the Nation. Their Reasons, seconded by the Inclination of the Synod, prevailed so far, that the *Bearnese* carried their Point, and the Union was made under certain Conditions.

Then the Synod proceeded to the reading of the Confession of Faith, and of the Discipline. *Galland* insisted upon the Reforming of several Articles thereof, some concerned the Proclamation of those who had turned Papists, which usually was made in publick, (which was referred to the next National Synod) others were about the Registering of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials, which he required to be brought yearly to the respective Courts of Justice whereunto the Churches did belong. *Granted.* Several concerned Marriages; the Examination of Books; the Censure of scandalous Books; the Use of the King's Moneys; the Precedency in Churches; private Prayers for Lords who had Right of Chapel in their Houses. He required that Prayers should be put up for all the Reformed Lords in general, without mentioning particularly the Lord of the Place. He required also

also that, for the future, the National Synods should always be held at *Charenton*, and no where else. He insisted, that for the future, no other Person but the Elders of a Church should be called and take Seat in the Assemblies of the Vestry of the said Church. These three last Articles were not granted.

Lewis 13.
1631.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Though this Synod was mostly composed of Men still affrighted by the taking of *Rochelle*, and the Reduction of all their Cautionary Towns, nevertheless the Court was very uneasy, as long as they continued their Sessions. The Catholicks frighted at the great Progress which *Gustavus Adolphus* made in *Germany*, fancied him already in *France*, restoring by main Force the Reformed to their pristine Splendour. Upon that account it was, that the King as earnestly prest the Separation of it, as if it had been the Political Assembly of *Loudun*, or that of *Rochelle*. Nevertheless, before they broke up, the Synod enacted three things, which gave the Missionaries and Politicians fair Pretences to make loud Outcries. The first was a Regulation against all manner of Projects of Reunion with the Papists, conformably to an Act pass'd in the National Synod of *Montpelier* in 1598, where all such like Projects were condemned with great Severity. 2°.

They appointed a solemn Fast to be kept by all the Reformed Churches throughout the Kingdom. The Papists took it as an Argument, that the Reformed entertained Hopes of being restored by *Gustavus's* Arms, and that they endeavoured to engage God to side with them, by these extraordinary Devotions. 3°.

A Declaration that the *Lutherans*, who had a mind to it, might be admitted to the

Lewis 13. Holy Communion with them; that the Reformed might contract Marriages with them, and take them for Godfathers, provided the Children should be instructed only in those things, wherein the *Reformed* and *Lutherans* both agree. The Missionaries believed all Obstacles of Re-union with the *Roman Church* to be removed by this Declaration: For that they could not conceive why the Reformed should have more Reluctancy against the *Transubstantiation* of the one, than against the *Impanation* and *Ubiquity* of the others. But others believed that there was more of Policy than of Divinity in this Declaration of the Synod, and that the Reformed had especially in View to ingratiate themselves with the King of *Sweden* *.

1631. Pope Urban VIII.

1632. Loyalty of the Reformed.

This Year the Reformed gave such special Instances of their Fidelity, and strict Adherence to the King, that it is no wonder if they were less vexed and molested. Publick Liberty being oppress'd by the tyrannical Government of the Cardinal of *Richelieu*; the Duke of *Orleans* being return'd into *France*, was soon join'd by a numerous Body of Malecontents, and in a little time he saw the States of *Languedoc* at his Devotion, by the Interposition of the Duke of *Montmorency*, Governor of that Province. Six Bishops, viz. *Albi*, the great Ringleader, who had engaged *Montmorency* in this Rebellion, *Uzez*, *Nimes*, *Aletz*, *St. Pons* and *Lodeve*, joined their Interest and Credit to support the Duke of *Orleans* and the Queen his Mother. But the Reformed served the King on this Occasion with an undaunted Courage;

* Quick's Synodicon Tom. II. Aymon. Hist. des Syn. Nat. Tom. II. Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom. II. Liv. x. vi.

Courage ; they were Proof against all manner of Temptations.

This Attempt was fatal to the Duke of *Montmorency*. He was taken Prisoner in a Skirmish near *Castlenaudary*, brought to *Toulouse*, tried, condemned to lose his Head upon a Scaffold, executed on the 13th of *October* in the 37th Year of his Age. *Lewis*, bewitched by the Devilish Policy of his Prime Minister, could never be prevailed to show Mercy ; but his Hard-heartedness procured to this most Illustrious Nobleman, the glory to appear upon the dreadful Stage, like a true Christian Hero ; it is not possible to read, without being moved, his Discourses and Conferences with his Confessor, during the four last Days of his Life, and his dying Words upon the Scaffold.

*Lewis 13.
1632.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.
The Duke
of Mont-
morency
beheaded.*

The Bishops of *Albi* and *Nimes* were degraded, and such would have been the Fate of the Bishop of *Uzez*, had he not died during his Trial. The others were no less guilty, nevertheless they escaped, through the Favour of certain Persons. However, that Trial of the Bishops for High-Treason, made so much noise in the Kingdom, that the Reformed could not forbear triumphing, and reproaching the Clergy, with their principal Members falling into Rebellion, which till then had been accounted as the proper Character of Heresy. But in order to give them a Check, the Rev. Mr. *Des Marets*, Minister of *Aletz*, was unjustly condemned to be hang'd and executed ; his Crime consisted in this, that he had not been able to hinder the Inhabitants of the Town from following the Example of their Bishop, and that he had fate still, without so much as meddling on either

*Bishops de
graded.*

Lewis 13. side: *Couran*, his Colleague, was banished.
 1632. The Rev. Mr. *Scoffier*, Minister of *Lunel*, was
 Pope Ur- set down in the List of those that were to
 ban VIII. be sacrificed, though perfectly innocent; but
 he did a special Service to the Government,
 at that very time, whereby he so fully evinced
 his Loyalty, that he was not prosecuted.

1633. The Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, kill'd at
 Death of *Lutzen*, the 16th of *November* past, deliver'd
 the King the See of *Rome* from the Dread of his Victo-
 of Sweden. rious Arms. But the Generals that succeeded
 him in the Conduct of his Armies, having
 preserved the Advantages he had got, the
 House of *Austria* received no Benefit by that
 Accident, and the Court of *France* thought
 convenient for her, to renew her Alliance
 with *Christina*, Daughter and Successor of *Gus-
 tavus*. Moreover, the Cardinal had so much
 Business both at home and abroad, and so
 much ado to guard himself from Conspira-
 cies against his Life, that he had not time
 to think of the Reformed. Now they made
 no Figure, nevertheless the Kingdom was full
 of Factions and Cabals; so that these Commo-
 tions, which could not be imputed to Heresy,
 sufficiently justified the Reformed Religion,
 which they would have made answerable for
 the last Civil Wars, and plainly fixed the
 Charge, either upon the Ambition of private
 Persons, or upon the Malice and Infidelity of
 the Government; or upon both together.

Restora-
 tion of Pri-
 vas.

A thing happened this Year, which afford-
 ed some Comfort to the Reformed. The
 Receiver of the Taxes in *Vivaretz*, presented
 a Petition to the Council for being discharg-
 ed, because he could not raise the Moneys
 to which that Province was assessed. The
 chief ground of his Petition was the Ruin of
Privas,

Privas, the Inhabitants whereof durst not venture, either to rebuild their Houses or to till their Lands, on account of the rigorous Edict issued out against them in 1629, which forbid them to do it. The Council refer'd the Receiver to *Miron*, Intendant of *Languedoc*, for his Advice: Which was, to moderate the Severity of the Edict, to permit the Inhabitants to return to their Town, to rebuild their Houses, &c. and withal, that the Offices and Charges of the City should be indiscriminately bestowed upon the Reformed as upon the Catholicks. The Council, moved by the Reasons wherewith *Miron* supported his Opinion, issued out a Decree accordingly. But the Reformed of *Privas* forgot to demand the Repeal of the Decree of 1629 in due form, and so their Children paid very dear for the Neglect or Over-Confidence of their Fathers*.

Lewis 13.
1633.
Pope Urban VIII.

The Ministers of *Charenton* were put in trouble on account of the Rev. Mr. *Aubertin's* Book, THE EUCHARIST OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, with the Approbation of his three Colleagues, the Rev. Messieurs *Mestrezat*, *Drelincourt* and *Daillé*. They styled themselves *Pastors of the Reformed Churches*, and *Ministers of the Gospel*. The Author in his Dedication to his Flock, called them, *The Faithful of the Reformed Church of Paris*. *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* were styled in several Places, *Enemies to the Church*. Now the Clergy's Agents betook themselves to a short way to confute this Book, which made a great Noise. For instead of answering it, they indicted the Author and his Approvers; letting alone the Matters of Fact and Arguments,

T t t 3 they

Lewis 13. they attack'd only the Titles of the Book,
 1633. of the Preface, and the Words of the Ap-
 Pope Ur- probation. The 14th of July, the Privy Coun-
 ban VIII. cil issued out a Warrant to seize *Aubertin*,
 and if he could not be apprehended, he was
 summoned to make his personal Appearance
 in three short Days; and the Approvers were
 summoned to make their personal Appearance.
 But after so much Bustle, the Prosecution
 came to nothing, or very little; it produced
 no other than verbal Prohibitions*.

*Other
 Vexations.*

The Right of Exercises continued to be at-
 tacked in several Places, and in that regard,
 the Reformed had several Injustices to bear
 with; and whereas by a Decree of the Coun-
 cil, the Consulships had been misparted in
Languedoc, between the Reformed and the
 Papists; these last took advantage of this,
 for obtaining, by another Decree, the mis-
 partition of the Colleges belonging to the Re-
 formed, in the Places wherein formerly they
 had been Masters.

1634. This Year a Doctor of *Sorbonne*, Prebend
 of *Lyons*, published a Book at *Paris*, wherein
 he asserted, that the King of *France* had some
 Rights or other over *Europe*; that he did
 well to make Alliance with the Protestant
 Princes, for to recover his Demesnes usurp-
 ed by the House of *Austria*: This was open-
 ly to declare the Designs of the Cardinal.
 The *Spaniards* were willing to make the best
 of this Opportunity, for to revive the de-
 jected Spirits of the zealous Catholicks in
 their favour. A certain Author, who took
 the *Latin* Name of *Alexander Patricius Ar-*
Answered. macanus, wrote in their behalf against the
 Doctor of *Sorbonne*, and set forth at large,
 that

* *Idem* *ibid.*

that the Alliance of the King of *France* with the Protestants, was contrary to the Interests of the Catholick Religion. He bitterly inveighed against his Majesty, because he chiefly employed the Heads of the Reformed for the Command of his Armies, (and indeed at that time, the Dukes of *Roban* and *Bouillon*, the Marshals of *La Force* and *Chatillon*, had the Command of them, and the Duke of *Sully* received the Marshal's Staff, this Year in the Month of *September*.) By such and other like Topicks, *Patricius* endeavoured to render the present Government odious to the Catholicks, retorting against the King the very same Arguments, which the *Sorbonnists* had employed for justifying his Arms, and his Alliances. Now, in order to ward off these Objections, it was thought proper to vex the Reformed by some Acts of Injustice: But, in truth, they served to very little purpose; for still the Cardinal bore the Reproach of doing more mischief to the Catholicks abroad, than to the Reformed at home; and that while he took from these some Churches and Churchyards, he was the Occasion that the other lost whole Cities and Provinces.

The 5th of *February*, a Decree was issued out by the King's Council, which adjudged to the Dean of the Catholick Counsellors in the Chamber of *Guienne*, though he might be younger than the Reformed, the Precedency above them, both in the Court of Audience, in the Council, and in the Town-House, in the Absence of the President; but the same Decree preserved to every one his Right in all other Cases. Nevertheless, it was a great Breach in the Privileges of the Officers of that Chamber. The 16th of *March*,

Lewis 13.
1634.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

*Injustices
done to the
Reformed.*

Lewis 13. the Parliament of *Paris* issued out another
 1634. Decree against Foreign Ministers, which on
 Pope Ur- pretence that they held Correspondence with
 ban VIII the Enemies of the Kingdom, or preach'd Doc-
 trines contrary to the Laws of the Land, forbid them for the future to be Ministers in
France; ordered those that were admitted, to resign, and threatned the native Reformed with heavy Penalties, if they went to hear them. The 20th of *June*, another was issued out, forbidding all Ministers to preach in the Villages out of the Places allowed them for their Exercises. The 29th of *October*, another Decree was issued out, forbidding the Reformed Counsellors of the Chamber of *Castres*, to wear red Robes and Caps lined with Ermine, as they used to do, as well as the Catholicks, in publick and in private.

*The great
 Affixes.*

But the most heavy Persecution of the Reformed this Year and the next, was that of the extraordinary Sessions (called in *French* *Les Grands Jours*) which met at *Poitiers* on purpose to vex them; and whose Jurisdiction extended into *Angoumois, Aunis, Anjou, Le Maine, Touraine, Limosine* and *Perigord*. This Grand Session was an Assembly, consisting of Commissioners chosen out of one or several Parliaments, which were sent into the Provinces where any publick Disorder had been committed, which could not be suppress'd by the ordinary Judges. So that they were like those Ambulatory Parliaments of old, which went from Place to Place to administer Justice, when Necessity required it. These Grand Sessions were a Terror to Persons in Power, who abused their Authority for to oppress the People; so that when they came near any Province, all Offenders, against whom no body durst complain

complain before, began to be in a terrible
 Fright. But, at this time, no body, or very
 few besides the Reformed, received any harm
 by this Court.

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 1634.
 Pope Ur-
 ban VIII.

They opened their Sessions the 4th of *September*, and began to hear Causes on the 11th, and on Pretence of punishing Offences that were not pardoned by the Edicts, and after which no Inquisition had been made because of the Troubles, they put all the Churches of these Provinces in fear of losing their Exercises. The inferior Judges having received Orders to bring forth Information of all the Violences, Rebellions, Usurpations of Cures and Pories, to decree, seize and make all other requisite Pursuits, even to the definitive Sentence exclusively, they began to issue out more decisive Decrees. There was one of the 16th of *September*, containing nine principal Articles. The first, forbid the Reformed, for the future, to bury their Dead in Catholick Church-yards, under the Penalty of a thousand Livres, and to have the Corps dug up again. The second, ordered that the *Romish* Service should be settled again in Churches which had been possessed by the Reformed. The third, forbid tolling to Church with Bells belonging to the Catholicks. The fourth, deprived them of the Schools in Places where they had not Licence to erect them by register'd Letters Patent. The fifth, obliged the Reformed Lords to chuse one of their Fiefs to settle their Residence in, and consequently the Right of Exercises, which was to be superseded during their Absence. The sixth ordered, that the Exercises should cease in the Places, the Lords thereof should have turned Catholicks, and that it could never
 be

Lewis 13. be done in the Fiefs of the Catholicks with-
 1634. out their exprefs Consent. By the seventh,
 Pope Ur- all Churches built in the Catholick Church-
 ban VIII. yards, or so near to the Catholick Churches,
 that their Service should be interrupted there-
 by, even those which had been built without
 exprefs Licence since the Edict of *Nantz*,
 were to be demolished. The eighth, forbids
 to preach in the Houses and other Places
 belonging to the *Romish* Clergy, even in the
 Halls or publick Places. The ninth, forbids
 the Reformed to style themselves *the Church*,
 whenever they should speak of themselves ;
 and to call their Doctrine by any other Name
 than that of *Pretended Reformed Religion*, un-
 der the Penalty of five hundred Livres. This
 Article had a particular Reference to Marriage-
 Contracts, wherein the contracting Parties
 were used to style themselves, *Members of the
 Church of such a Place.*

That most unjust Decree served as the Ba-
 sis of all others that were issued out by the
 same Court. Nothing was to be seen but
 Church-yards taken away, Exercises forbid,
 Churches pulled down. The 20th of *Sep-
 tember*, they set forth a Decree, which oblig'd
 the Reformed to get out of the way at the
 Tinkling of the Bell, when the *Romish God*
 was carry'd through the Streets ; or if they
 could not, to put themselves into a respect-
 ful Posture ; and whereas Women had no Hats
 to pull off, they were obliged to kneel down.
 Even the Men, though this Regulation has
 been renewed almost every Year since, could
 not come off, either for getting out of the way,
 or for pulling off their Hats, when they had
 the Misfortune to fall into the Rabble's hands.

I must not pass over untouched, one of the ^{Lewis 13.} most heinous Pieces of Injustice that has ever ^{1634.} been heard of. The Archbishop of ^{Pope Ur-} *Tours*, ^{ban VIII.} Abbot of *St. Maixant*, made a Speech before these Assizes, tending to have the Church of this last Place demolished. *Omer Talon*, Son to *James Talon*, Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Paris*, pleaded for the Archbishop. He was impudent enough for to say openly, that the Reformed were only tolerated, as one suffers a thing which he could wish that it should not be. From that dangerous Principle he farther inferred, that what had any relation to the Religion of the Reformed could not be of those things, for which the Law ought to be favourably understood; that on the contrary, these were Occasions when the Law must be taken in the most rigorous Sense; he pretended to explain the Edict of *Nantz*, by the Edicts of the *League*, which had been revoked by that last; nevertheless upon such Grounds it was that so many Churches were condemned by these Sessions. *Talon* pretending that no Church could be built but in Places of Bailiwick, and such others whose Possession was grounded upon the Edict of 1577, because the 16th Article of the Edict of *Nantz* allowed the having of them, *according to the 2d Article of the Conference at Nerac*. From whence he inferred, that the Favour being not extended in express Words, to the new Possessions established in virtue of the Edict of *Nantz*, the Reformed had no right to have Places purposely built for Preaching, and that they could do it only in the Minister's House, or in some other hired on purpose.

By several other Decrees of the same Sessions, the Reformed were forbid to keep any
small

Lewis 13. small Schools, to work in their open Shops
 upon Holidays, or to speak irreverently of the
 the Mysteries of the *Romish* Religion, &c. (s).

1634.
 Pope Ur-
 ban VIII.

These Injustices were supported by the
 1635. Privy-Council, which for its part sets forth a
 Declaration the 18th of *January*, that adjudged
 the Precedency to the Counsellors of the Par-
 liament of *Toulouse*, that served in the Cham-
 ber of *Castres* in the Absence of the Presi-
 dents, before the Reformed Counsellors tho'
 never so much their Seniors; so that that
 Chamber was reduced to the same Condition
 with that of *Guienne*. About the latter End
 of this Month also, the Catholicks of *Loudun*
 would needs make the Reformed of that City
 pay the Charges they had been at, in exorcising
 the *Ursulines*; for as yet they had not done
 with that Farce, which I must relate a little
 more explicitly.

Ursulines For two Years past, or thereabout, the *Ur-
 of Loudun. sulines* of *Loudun*, either that actually they fell
 into hysterick Fits, or that they feigned to be
 possessed, for to serve a Turn; however it be,
 they were made to believe that they were tor-
 tured by all the *Devils* of *Hell*. Now a satyri-
 cal Libel against the Cardinal having been
 published seven or eight Years before, intituled,
*Letter of the She-Shoemaker of the Queen-Mother
 to Mr. De Baradas*; *Richelieu* was so much in-
 censed at it, that he could not be at rest till
 he had found out the Author. *Urbanus Gran-
 dier*, Curate of *St. Peter*, and Canon of *St.
 Cross* at *Loudun*, was charged to be the Man;
 whereupon, he supported with all his Might
 the Cabal of certain Clergy-men and Monks,
 who, thro' Malice against *Grandier*, because his
 Opi-

Opinions inclined more to the *Reformed* than the *Catholicks*, had accused him of having bewitched the Nuns; so that the Cardinal ordered some Commissaries to try *Grandier*, amongst which was one *Laubardemont*, Counsellor of State, and Creature of *Richelieu*, who was the Foreman in the Commission, and who following the Resentment of the wicked Prime-Minister, condemned the poor Curate to be burnt alive, as convicted of Magical Art. Such a devilish Piece of Injustice was enough to convince all *Europe*, that the Cardinal was a desperate vindictive Man, and that there are Clergymen and Monks to be found, ready to abuse Religion, in order to carry on their hellish Designs. That had appeared the last Year. The Cheat would have been too gross and coarse had the Possession ended with the Execution of *Grandier*, therefore it was thought proper to continue it for some time longer.

Now the Reformed, who were in great Number in that City, having erected a College for their Youth, the *Papists* addressed themselves to the base *Laubardemont* for obtaining that Building; in order to which, they set forth that the *Ursulines* Convent was too small for containing them all, and for to exorcise them commodiously enough; that all the Churches of the City were occupied, except a Chapel which the Guardian of the *Grey-Friers* offered to lend; that the Reformed having built their College without the King's Licence, they ought to be deprived thereof, and required that the said Place should be given to the *Catholicks* for transferring thither the Nuns, or part of them, in order to cure them.

Their

Lewis 13.
1635.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

Lewis 13. Their Request was granted by Provision, till
 1635. the King should order it otherwise (t).

1635.
 Pope Ur-
 ban VIII.

The Duke
 of Bouil-
 lon's Apo-
 stacy.

But another Event of a much greater Im-
 portance happened this Year, I mean the Duke
 of *Bouillon's* turning Papist. I leave it to *Lang-
 lade*, his Panegyrist, to extol to the Skies that
 extravagant Step of his Hero, and to lye, as
 much as he pleases, when he says that the
 Duke did nothing on this Occasion, but after
 a mature Deliberation and two Years Exami-
 nation of both Religions. It is a Matter of
 Fact, that he would never have taken such a
 Step, had not his Lust prevailed in him over
 every thing else. The Charms of the fair
 Countess of *Berghen* were the only Orators
 which persuaded him. She was a *Roman Ca-
 tholick*, and somewhat a Bigot. Tho' she had
 no Dowry, nevertheless she would not hearken
 to the Propositions of Marriage the Duke
 made, till he had promised to turn *Papist*. His
 Love was so passionate, that not only he re-
 fused a more honourable and advantageous
 Establishment with his First-Cousin, Daughter to
Frederick of Nassau Prince of *Orange*; but he did
 not scruple to promise what the Countess re-
 quired of him, and which he performed this
 Year, according to some, or in the last Year ac-
 cording to others; who, it may be, have thought
 that he turned Papist at the same time that
 he married the Countess, which is not true.
 However he paid very dear afterwards for his
 foolish Passion.

1636.
 Assembly
 of the
 Clergy.

This Year a great Storm was excited against
 the Reformed by the Clergy. They held an
 Assembly at *Paris*, which had begun their
 Sessions in *December* last. The first Deputies
 only spoke to the King about the *Regale*,
 which

(t) Le Vassor, Tom. VIII. Liv. 36. Benoit. Ibid.

which the Parliament of *Paris* were willing to extend to all the Bishopricks of the Kingdom; but *De Nets*, Bishop of *Orleans*, would not confine himself within these Bounds, when he spoke to the King on the 17th of *February*. His Speech was the most violent that ever had been heard before, and had he been a *Cotta*, or an *Arsacius*, or some other *Pagan Priest*, he could not have carried himself with more Indecency and Fury, than he did on this Occasion. Speaking of the Reformed, he did not vouchsafe them any better Epithets, than those of *Saucy*, *Mad*, and *Frantick*. He charged them with three Things extremely odious. 1st, With openly violating the Edicts, because the last Synod held at *Charenton* in 1631, had declared that the *Lutherans* might be admitted to the Holy Communion with us; that they might contract Marriage with us; and be God-fathers and God-mothers. He pretended that that Declaration was contrary to the Edicts; that it was introducing a new Religion in the Kingdom; as if by that Act of fraternal Communion, the Synod had ever pretended to make the *Lutherans* Partakers of the same Liberty of teaching their Opinions, and publicly exercising their Religion, as the Reformed had obtained by the Edicts: Which was quite contrary to the very Words of the Declaration; for it was expressly said, that the *Lutherans*, chosen by the Reformed to be God-fathers or God-mothers for their Children, should promise not to teach their God-sons, or God-daughters, but such Doctrines as were common and received both by the *Lutherans* and *Reformed*. The Revd. Mr. *Daillé*, Minister of *Charenton*, had published in 1633, the *Apology of the Reunion*; he grounded it chiefly upon the Dif-

Lewis 13. 1635. *Urbani VIII.*
 Pope Urban VIII. }
 ference of Errors, rightly asserting that some are tolerable and others not; amongst the first he ranked the Opinion of the *Greeks* about the Procession of the *Holy Ghost*, which he did not think to be of that consequence as to authorise a Schism. He also settled certain general Rules for to discern the Errors that break the Communion of the Church, from those that do not. He published the next Year another Treatise, with this Title, *Faith grounded upon Scriptures*, wherein destroying the Authority of Tradition in mere Matters of Faith, he fully evinced the Doctrine of the Reformed, and illustrated the Rules which he had set down in his *Apology, for the discerning of Errors*. The Bishop attack'd these two Books. He could not endure that *Daillé* should think the Anathema pronounc'd against the *Greeks* too severe, tho' it was only for an inconsiderable Deviation from the Doctrine of the *Latins*. He accused him of teaching that all Heresies can admit of a Dispute, eight only excepted, which were the most important. The Charge was true, and every good Man and true Christian ought to wish that there had been less than eight Reasons of Separation amongst the Christians. However, that first Charge produced no more than some childish Cavils, wherewith the Missionaries betray'd their Ignorance.

The 2d was much more grave and malicious. It was grounded upon an Alteration made in the last Verse of the xxth *Psalms*. It runneth thus in *Marot's* Version,

Seigneur plaise toy nous deffendre,
 ET MAINTENIR LE ROY,
Veuilles nos Prieres entendre,
 Quand nous criens à toy.

Now

Now when that Version was to be made use of in the publick Service, the Reformed thought proper, for very good Reasons, to make several Alterations in it, to the end that it might better answer to the Original *Hebrew*; and this Verse was one which they altered, rendering it after the *Hebrew*,

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Popt Jr.
ban VIII.

Seigneur. plaise toy nous defendre ;
ET FAIRE QUE LE ROY,
Puisse nos requêtes entendre.
Encontre tout Effroy.

The Bishop found two Crimes in that Correction; 1st, That the Meaning had been corrupted; 2. That the Reformed had put themselves in the King's place, by assuming to themselves a Prayer which the Holy Ghost had dictated in his behalf. This was branded as a Piece of Insolence, and an Attempt to deprive the King, as much as in them lay, of the Honour, Fear, and Tribute that was due to him. So that the Bishop would infer from that, that had it been as much in the power of the Reformed to deprive the King of all the Prerogatives of his Crown, as it was to alter the above said Verse, they would never have scrupled to do it. But the furious Man betrayed on this Occasion both his Ignorance in the *Hebrew*; and his exceeding Malignity, and Malice; for that Alteration was made above 77 Years before, and a Wonder it is, that none amongst the Popish Clergy, under the bloody Reigns of *Francis II. Charles the IXth,* and *Henry III.* should have taken no Notice of it before this Time. This Article, of an Affair of State which *de Nets* had a mind to make of it, became a Point of Criticism, debated between the Revd. Mr. *Daillé*, and *de Muis* Regius Professor of the Oriental Tongues at

Lewis 13. *Paris*, who out of Complaisance took the part
1636. of *Orleans*.

Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

His 3d Charge was against the Ministers who spoke irreverently, as he said, of the Church of *Rome*, and its Mysteries. He called the Revd. Mr. *Drelincourt* an impious Man, and a Blasphemer; because he was the Scourge of the Controversists and Missionaries, and was the most expert for pointing out the Ridiculousness of their Superstitions, and with a noble Freedom called Things by their proper Name: his Letters to Prince *Ernest* of *Hessia*, who turned Catholick, evince what I say, as well as several others of his Works. That great Man was particularly pointed out by *Orleans*, because he instructed the People in a more familiar Manner, better adapted to their Capacity, and afforded them easier and shorter Answers to the Missionaries than any other. This Charge, however, had bad Consequences. The King issued forth an Edict registered in Parliament the 9th of *March*, which condemned the Blasphemers of God, of the Virgin and Saints, to Fines for the four first Times; the 5th to be put to the Pillory; the 6th to have the upper Lip cut off; the 7th, the under Lip; the 8th to have the Tongue cut off. *De Nets* concluded his Speech by requiring that *Daille's* Books should be burned, and the Author with his Approvers (his three Colleagues) severely punished; in which respect he missed his Aim.

It cannot be imagined what Number of Vexations the Reformed had to suffer by the Concessions which *Lewis* made to the Clergy, against the poor Reformed. Nay, upon many Articles, the King granted our bitterest Enemies whatever they required in their Bill, how
contrary

contrary soever it was against his Father's and his own Edicts, solemn Promises, and Declarations. So all Churches, condemned by the last grand Assizes, were to be demolished; and Ministers were forbid to preach out of the Place of their Abode, consequently the Annexes were without any publick Exercise of Religion; they were forbid to preach upon the Lands of the Clergy, or within five Leagues Distance from the Parliament Cities; or in Episcopal Cities, &c. and several others no less unjust; whereby it plainly appeared that the Reformed had not only no Favour, but even no Justice to expect from their implacable Enemies.

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1636.
Pope Urban VIII.

Most part of the Decrees above-mentioned were revived this Year; but several had very grievous and vexatious Articles added to them. The Parliament of *Rouen*, by a Decree of the 18th of *March*, forbid to keep any publick School at *St. Lo*, and allowed Masters only to teach in the Houses to read and to write, without Catechising, or making publick Prayers or Lectures contrary to the Tenets of the *Romish* Church. The 18th of *April*, the Privy-Council issued forth a Decree, forbidding all manner of Religious publick Exercise in the Absence of the Ministers, or in any other Place but that which was allowed by the Edicts. The Consistories were forbidden to hinder Parents, Tutors, and Masters from sending their Children, Pupils, or Servants to Papist School-Masters approved of by the Ordinary. The Reformed at *Paris* had erected an Alms-House in the Suburb of *St. Marceau*, for the Reception of their own Sick. But upon Complaints thereof brought

1637.
Vexations.

Lewis 13. before the Privy-Council, a Decree was issued
 1637. forth the 30th of June, ordering the Sick in
 Pope Ur- that House to be transferred to the *Hôtel Dieu*,
 ban VIII. or to the *Charity*, and the Beds and other
 Household-Goods to be deposited there 'till the
 King should dispose of them; and that the
 Steward of the House, with his Family,
 should quit it, under Penalty of Imprisonment
 and other corporal Punishment.

*The 27th
 National
 Synod.*

A thousand other little Injustices were perpetrated, too tedious to relate. Amidst these Vexations, the Churches expected to receive some Comfort from their National Synod, which met this Year at *Alençon* in *Normandy*, by the King's Appointment. They opened their Session the 27th of May; the Reverend Mr. *Benjamin Basnage*, Minister of *St. Mere* in *Normandy*, was chosen Moderator; the Reverend Mr. *Daniel Couppé*, Minister of *Loudun*, Assessor; and *Peter De Launay* Esq; Elder in the Church of *Charenton*, together with * Secretaries. Then — *St. Mars* Esq; Counsellor of State (a Man still more at the Court's Devotion than *Augustus Galland* Esq; had been, as it is plain by the intolerable Propositions he made to this Synod) presented his Credentials for sitting in the Synod as the King's Commissioner. After the reading thereof, he made an ingenious Speech, before he presented the Articles, with which he was charged by his Instructions. He extolled to the Skies the King's Power, which the Hand of God, that had assisted him all along, had rendered formidable both abroad and at home. He spake of the Misfortunes that

*St. Mars's
 Speech.*

* Mr. *Blondel* is named in my Author; but as that Name is not inserted in the List of the Deputies to the present Synod, I chuse to leave it in blank.

that had befallen them, while they were possessed of the Cautionary Towns; and of the **QUIETNESS** they enjoyed since they depended solely upon the King's Favour. He compared their present Condition, grounded upon the King's Word, and upheld against the Passions of People agitated by too various Commotions, to the Earth that hangs poised in the Air by the Word of God. He heightened the Confidence that the King had in them, as appeared by that Mark of his Favour, graciously allowing them to meet together in a time of War: From all which he inferred, that it behoved them to rule their Thoughts, Words and Actions by Obedience.

Then he came to his Instructions, and declared, I. That the King forbid them to hold any Intelligence either at home or abroad. II. That the King did not allow, that one Province should hold Communication with another, as it had happened between the Provincial Synods of the *Lower Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, on account of the Rev. Mess. *Cregut* and *Arnaud*. III. That it was the King's Pleasure, *N.B.* that the Ministers should preach Obedience, and THAT WHENEVER ANY ORDER SHOULD BE ISSUED OUT, WHICH MIGHT SEEM REPUGNANT TO LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, for want of knowing the true Motives, he forbid them to tax his Conduct with any Design against their Religion, the Liberty whereof he was resolved to maintain; consequently he ordered them to forbear the Words, *Scourges of God, Persecution, Martyrdoms*, or the like. IV. That he forbid them to use the Words *Antichrist*, or *Idolaters*, or such like, when they spoke of the

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Pope Urban VIII.

His Instructions.

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Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

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Pope, or the *Catholicks*; and to forbear all sharp and offensive Words against the *Ministers* who had turned *Catholicks*, under the Penalty of *Interdiction*, or a greater Punishment, if the Case required it. V. That he forbid the selling any *Books of Religion*, printed without or within the *Kingdom*, if they were not first examined and approved by two *Ministers* appointed for that Purpose, under the Penalty of *Forfeiture*. VI. That the *King* willeth, that the *Synod* should order to obey the *Civil Judges* in the *Causes of Marriage* of a *Person*, whose first *Marriage* had been annulled by their *Sentence*; and to revoke what the *Provincial Synod*, held at *Anduze*, had done to the contrary. VII. That the *Ministers* should obey the *Declarations* concerning the *Annexes*, under the Penalty of forfeiting the *Favours* granted by the *Edicts*. VIII. And whereas also you are allowed, says the *Commissioner*, by the 44th Article of particular Matters in the *Edict of Nantz*, to convene the chief *Members* of any *Church* before a *Judge Royal*, and by his *Authority* to make an equal *Assessment*, and to levy *Moneys* necessary for defraying all *Synodical Charges*, and the *Maintenance* of the *Ministers* in the Exercise of their *Function*, his Majesty forbids the said *Ministers* to take the *Moneys* out of the *Poor's Box*, or of *Legacies* bequeathed to pious *Uses*, for the *Payment* of their *Salaries*; or the fifth *Penny* out of that *Fund* for the *Maintenance* of your *Universities*; and this for very good and considerable *Reasons*; because it is not in any wise reasonable, that the *Moneys* given and designed for the *Poor*, should be diverted and employed to any other *Use*. N. B. *This was only a Device to reduce*

the

the poor Ministers to a starving Condition; the
Inexorable LEWIS and his Cardinal not paying,
for above six Years together, the Sums granted
for that Purpose by his Father or by himself,
and never paying the Arrears due. IX. And

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 bani VIII.

further, since it cannot be imagined, that any Person could be guilty of such extreme Baseness and Ingratitude, as to refuse a Contribution to the Support and Maintenance of his own Pastor; however, lest there should be such an one, and to prevent it for the future, his Majesty explaining the 44th Article before-mentioned, doth permit every *New-Year's-Day*, or any of the twelve Days in the beginning of the Year, to convene the principal Members of every Church in the Nature of a Vestry, to consult about their Minister's Salaries, Charges of Journies unto Colloquies, and for the Maintenance of the Professors and Regents in your Universities, and the repairing of your Churches, and to make a List of all Persons able to contribute towards the said Charges; which being brought before a Judge Royal, shall be authorized by him; and then every one so assessed by him shall be compelled to pay in his Quota; and in case of Refusal, it shall be levied by Distress and Fine, notwithstanding his Opposition or Appeal, as is done in the gathering in of his Majesty's Revenues: And therefore his Majesty forbiddeth all Ministers to go a gathering for their Maintenance from door to door.

(This was but another Device to know the more substantial Members of every Church, to point them out, and to pinch them more severely upon occasion.)

X. And his Majesty being informed that the Synod of *Nimes* hath granted unto the Rev. Mr. *Petit*, Minister of that

Lewis 13. Place, and Professor in Divinity, the Sum of
 1637. 700 Livres; he doth now decree that the
 Pope Ur- said Sum shall be paid out of the Moneys de-
 ban VIII. signed for the Maintenance of the Universities
 by the last National Synod, and to be taken
 out of the Dividend belonging to those three
 Colloquies which compose the said Synod;
 and his Majesty commandeth and injoineth
 you to observe and keep those aforesaid Ca-
 nons, as well for the Payment of the Minister,
 as for the raising of Moneys. XI. Whereas
 the Synod of *Nimes* decided, that Baptism
 administered by one who had neither Call, nor
 Commission, was null; and enjoined Pastors
 not in the least to scruple the baptizing such
 Children who had had Water poured upon
 them by Women, or any Lay-men, without
 Call or Commission to baptize; 'tis his Ma-
 jesty's Pleasure that this Article be amended,
 for such Reasons as I shall recite unto you in
 the very Words of my Instructions.

Because from hence comes the Opinion of
 Re-baptizing; for from the Doubt they make
 about a Call, they think themselves obliged to
 re-baptize all those who were baptized by such
 Persons, whose Call they don't approve of,
 and of whose Call they make themselves the
 sole Judges and Arbitrators, although the
 Catholick Church, not approving their Call,
 yea, not in the least hesitating to declare
 they have none, doth yet notwithstanding ap-
 prove of their Baptism; because it is a Sacra-
 ment whose Virtue and Efficacy is *ex Opere*
Operato, and not *ex Opere Operantis*: So that
 the Synod did that which did not belong to
 them, when they invalidated this Sacrament
 when administer'd by Persons without Call;
 since the Catholick Church, in which they
 cannot

cannot say there hath been a Want or Failure of any Call, hath decided this Point, and in case of Necessity hath judged probably of the Infant's Disposition; therefore all Persons are called, and the Word and Water intervening, the Church will not have this Act to be any more repeated. *Benoit* has prodigiously mangled these four last Articles in the second Volume of his History of the Edict of *Nantz*, Book XI. upon what Account, or for what Purpose, I cannot tell.

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Pope Urban VIII.

The Synod expressed their Resentment of these Injustices by the Mouth of the Moderator, but with that Prudence and Management that was agreeable to their present Condition; they justified the Synod of *Nimes*, and those of *Dauphiné* and *Cevennes*, from the false Charges put upon them, and excused their Communication one with another as absolutely necessary. They promised that the Provincial Synods should never make any Regulations, nor order Fasting Days, for the general Body of the Churches; that they would submit to the Government, and forbear all sharp Expressions and Reflections; but they besought the King to repress the outrageous Language of the Catholics. Moreover, they promised not to publish any Book without Approbation, and that they should follow the Ordinances of the Civil Magistrates, as to the dissolving of Marriages. He insisted much upon the Article of the Annexes, and plainly evinced, that the Decrees issued forth either by the great Sessions, or by the Privy-Council against them, was quite contrary to the very Words and Meaning of the Edict of *Nantz*. He denied that the Ministers were paid out of the Poor's Box, or by Gatherings from House to House, and approv'd

*Answer'd
by the Moderator.*

Lewis 13. approv'd of what had been done for the Rev.
 1637. Dr. *Petit*, as done according to the ancient
 Pope Ur- Use. Lastly, he approved the Determination
 ban VIII. of the Synod of *Nimes* concerning the Baptism
 administered by Women or Laymen, and de-
 clared that they could not in any wise depart
 from that Article of their Confession of Faith
 and Discipline. Therefore they besought his
 Majesty that, since he was pleased to allow
 them the free Exercise of their Religion, he
 would likewise be pleased not to insist any more
 upon that Article.

Then they sent the Rev. Mr. *John Gigord*,
 Minister of *Montpelier*; *Daniel Ferrand*, Mi-
 nister of *Bourdeaux*; and *John Richer*, Lord of
Cerizi Esq; Elder of the Church of *Gaulé* in
Normandy, Deputies to the King, with very
 adulatory Letters to his Majesty, and much
 more so to the Cardinal. But when the Synod
 offered to read the Memoirs they had received
 from their Principals, concerning the manifold
 Infringements of the Edict; the Commissio-
 ner opposed it, saying that it was his Majesty's
 Will and Pleasure, that in his Presence no
 other Matter, besides Doctrine and Discipline,
 should be debated; and that the Title of the
 said Bill of Grievances should be thus: *The*
Bill of the Pretended Reformed Religion. But
 he was desired to consider, that they had no
 mind to treat of political Affairs, or of any
 State-Matters, but only to make a plain Re-
 port of their Grievances, none of which need-
 ed to fall under Deliberation, all and every
 one of them being undeniably true, grounded
 upon his Majesty's Edicts: Besides, his Ma-
 jesty never took it amiss that they should ad-
 dress him for a Redress of their Grievances,
 and had never required that they, speaking of
 themselves,

themselves, and for themselves, should, contrary to their Conscience, stile and qualify themselves of the Pretended Reformed Religion.

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Pope Urban VIII.

Having prevailed over the Commissioner, they read the Bill which was to be tendered to his Majesty by their Deputies : It contained nineteen Articles, several of which had been granted to the last National Synod in 1631, but had remain'd unperform'd. Such were, 1°. The Release of the Slaves from the Gallies on account of the last Troubles, in 1629. 2°. The Payment of the King's Moneys for the Maintenance of the Churches (there were above seven Years Arrears due.) 3°. and 4°. The Restitution of above eighty Churches, seventy-eight whereof were particularly designed by their Names. The fifth concerned the Church-yards, which had not been restored to them since the Year 1625, tho' that had been promised them, by the Answers at that time given to their Bills. The others were new : The first complain'd, that tho' by a Decree of the Council of the 13th of *May*, a Stop had been put to the Cavils of the Catholicks of *Alençon*, where the Synod was, concerning the Right of Exercise in the City, and that of burying in the Suburbs of *St. Blaise*, where the Reformed had a Church-yard ; yet, notwithstanding the said Decree, and during the Sessions of the Synod, the Reformed had been a-new summoned before the Council upon the same account. The next was about the Affairs of the Country of *Gex*, where *Machaut* had subverted, by his Ordinances, all the ancient Usages of the Country ; and even the Regulations made in 1612 by the Commissaries, with the Consent of the Bishop and the Catholick Inhabitants,

Lewis 13. bitants, and confirmed by a Decree of the
 1637. Council of the 13th of *Decem̄ber*, in the same
 Pope Ur- Year. The third and fourth complain'd of
 ban VIII. certain Decrees of the Parliaments of *Rennes*,
Rouën, *Bourdeaux*, and of the Council itself,
 for obliging the Reformed to put Hangings
 before their Houses on the great Procession-
 Days, and to contribute towards things which
 the second Article of the Particulars of the
 Edict of *Nantz* had dispensed with; such as
 Fraternities, the repairing or building of Pres-
 byteries, &c. The fifth complained that Chil-
 dren were taken away from their Parents
 without their Consent. The sixth and seventh
 spoke of the Colleges, on which account the
 Reformed were prosecuted where-ever they
 undertook to settle any; especially they com-
 plained, for that the Commissaries named for
 parting the Colleges of Royal Foundations in
Languedoc, having been divided in their Opi-
 nion, the Catholick had forbid to teach the
 Reformed Divinity in that Part of the Col-
 lege which was to be their own; and the
 Council had confirmed that Decision of the
 Catholick Commissary, though in a like case
 the same Council had been favourable to the
 Academy of *Montauban*. The eighth con-
 cern'd the Ministers who were not allow'd, in
 several Places, to reside amongst their Flocks,
 and were forced to pay Taxes, &c. The
 ninth, of the Encroachments of the Parlia-
 ments, and even of the Intendants upon the
 Jurisdiction of the half-parted Chambers, and
 of the unjust Proceedings of the Parliament of
Pau against the Reformed of *Bearn*. The
 tenth, of the unjust Exclusion of the Reform-
 ed from the Dignities and Offices in the
 Universities, and even from Masterships in
 Mechanick Trades, &c. &c. The

The Deputies being arrived at Court, and admitted to Audience, the Rev. Mr. Ferrand made a flourishing Speech to the King, wherein he carried the King's Independency as high as he could; he styled his Majesty *the Sun of this Heaven, the Soul of this vast Body, the Heart of this Gallick Monarchy*; and wished for him, *an innumerable People going and coming at the first Beck and Motion of his Majesty.* That was very fine indeed; but was it becoming to a true *Frenchman*, nay, to a sincere Protestant Minister? But that which he made to the Cardinal was still more adulatory; and I am sure that his Forefathers would have blush'd and fretted at his saying to the Cardinal, that he was that *Intelligence which mov'd that admirable Monarchy WITH THE GREATEST REGULARITY; That Assistant Spirit of this great Body, which heretofore was like one of the floating Islands, but now your most admired Conduct hath bound it so fast with the Chains of Royal Authority, that in the greatest and most dreadful Tempest it abideth firm and immoveable.* He had told him a little before, *That the Siedfastness of God and the King's Word shin'd visibly in the Face of his Eminency,* HE BEING THEIR LIVELY POURTRAITURE. I don't know whether the Reformed Churches owned him when he pray'd, that *God Almighty would take from our Days and add to his (the King's) and unto yours also,* MY LORD. But for all this Bombast, they got nothing but fair Words, only the King order'd 16,000 Livres for discharging the Expences of the Synod, to which and to the Commissioner he wrote, and deferred to answer their Bill, till they had broke up.

In

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ban VIII.

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Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

In the mean while, the Commissioner had been very pressing to oblige the Synod to name two Persons for their Deputies-General, that were to attend the Court, and declared unto them, that in case they did not agree with him, the Marquis of *Clermont* should be continued, and another chosen, without their Concurrence, to be join'd with him. Thereupon, the Synod held a Conference, by some Deputies of every Province, with the Commissioner, and they agreed to continue the Marquis of *Clermont*, and to adjoin to him — *Marbault* Esq; for the Commons. The Synod wrote to the King about that Nomination; he accepted of it: But the truth is, that Mr. *Marbault*, either on account of his great Age, or for some other Reason, had very little to do, and that the said Marquis engrossed all the Affairs of the Churches; and from this very Time, the King took upon him to name but one general Deputy to attend the Court, in which Nomination the Churches had no hand at all.

The Synod, not satisfied that their Bills of Grievances were not answer'd, and fearing for the worse, if they parted without having made some Provision for obtaining a Redress, proposed to name some private Deputies to attend the Court, and to pursue the said Redress. The Commissioner opposed the said Deputation with all his Might, but in vain, and they named the Rev. Mr. *Gigord* and *De l'Angle* to sollicite for the Performance of what his Majesty had promised them.

La Milletiere's Writings were condemned in this Synod, and they let him know, that if in six Months time he did not give undeniable Proof of a thorough Repentance, he should

should be excommunicated. But the best thing which the Synod did, was the suppressing the Disputes, which for some Years past were come to a great heat amongst the Divines, about *Universal Grace*; which indeed would have completed the Ruin of our Churches, had not a Stop been put to them, by obliging the two Parties to a mutual Forbearance. There were at this time 647 Ministers in *France*, and 626 Churches, besides a great Number destitute of Ministers, and the Annexes.

Lewis 13.
1637.
Pope Urban VIII.

This Year, the Reformed had the sorrow to see their King putting his Kingdom under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin; where by they were threatned with a general Persecution.

1638.
France under the Virgin's Protection.

The Duke of *Roban* died of the Wounds he receiv'd at the Battle of *Rbinsfeld*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter* at *Geneva*. The Persecutions against the Sick to oblige them to turn Catholics were continued. The Relapses began also to be prosecuted in *Languedoc*. The Duke of *Bouillon* issued forth an Edict the 30th of *August*, in behalf of the Reformed of his Principality of *Sedan*, which was as favourable as could be wish'd,

Rohan's Death.

On the 5th of *September*, God sent into the World, for the Punishment of our Sins, *Lewis XIVth*, the Scourge of his own Kingdom, and the Plague of *Europe*. That Birth occasioned the Erection of several Masterships, and even the granting Letters of Nobility; and to render the Joy more universal, the Reformed were admitted to be Partakers of these Favours as well as the Catholics, without any Difficulty at all.

Lewis 14.
born.

But these Favours could in no way make amends for the many Vexations the Reformed had

1639.
Several Vexations of the Reformed.

Lewis 14. had to suffer, in many Parts of the Kingdom.
 1639. The Cardinal was at variance with the Court
 Pope Ur- of *Rome*. That went so far, that they talk'd
 ban VIII in *France* of creating a *Patriarch*, and by that
 means, to break off all Correspondence with
 the Holy See; but lest these Heats should
 prove a Scandal to the Catholicks, some Acts
 of Injustice or other must be done to the Re-
 formed. Those of *Villiers-le-bel* were forbid to
 sing Psalms, to say their Prayers, or to work
 upon Holidays. The Ministers in *Dau-*
phiné were forbid by the Parliament of *Grenoble*
 to preach without the Place of their Residence,
 or to obstruct the sending of Children and
 Pupils to Catholick Schools and Regents, un-
 der a Fine of two thousand Livres, and Im-
 prisonment, or other corporal Punishment for
 the Ministers; they were ordered to hang
 Tapestries before their Houses, on *Corpus*
Christi Day, and the *Assumption* of the *Virgin*;
 which they were obliged to do in several other
 Places, tho' the King had expressly promised
 to the last Synod to dispense with them.

The same Vexations continued this Year;
 the publick religious Exercises were suppress'd
 at *Oleron*, *St. Mary*, *Luo*, and *Sancede*, by
 the private Authority of the Bishop of *Oleron*,
 countenanced by the Parliament of *Pau*; and
 this Court forbid to preach in Places where
 there were not ten Reformed Families. The
 like Injustice was decreed also by the Parlia-
 ments of *Paris* and *Bordeaux*, against several
 Places in their Jurisdiction. The Schools and
 School-Masters were likewise attacked and
 suppress'd in several Places; the Attorney-
 General having brought a Complaint before
 the Chamber of *Castres*, against the Reformed,
 that they did neither kneel nor bow be-
 fore

fore the Sacrament, when they met it in the Streets; that they did not allow their Servants to go to Mass; that they would not have them comforted by a Priest, &c. in their Sickness; that they obliged them to work upon Holy-Days; requiring a Regulation to be made upon these Articles. His Request was granted, as to the three last Articles, and the Reformed were forbidden to give any trouble to their Servants upon these accounts. But as to the first, there was a Provision in the Chamber; the Catholicks would fain oblige the Reformed to kneel when they could not get out of the way; and the Reformed pretended that they were exempted from it. That Affair was brought before the Privy-Council, and a Decree issued forth the 23d of *October*, confirming the Opinion of the Catholicks, and upon the Refusal of the Reformed, condemned them to forfeit 500 Livres for the first Fault; 1500 for the second; and 2000, with Banishment out of the Province, for the third. That Decree was an exorbitant Infringement of the Edict of *Nantz*, which exempted the Reformed from every thing contrary to their Conscience. The Precedency was adjudg'd, by a Decree of the Council of the 30th of *November*, to the Catholick Officers over the Reformed, in the Chambers of Accompts, Aids, and Exchequer at *Montpelier*, in the same manner as it had been in the Chambers of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*. So that in all the Sovereign Courts the Reformed were divested of their Privileges.

But this Year they had to suffer one of the most crying Injustices that could be offered: The Decree of the 23d of *October* last, concerning the Host, having been presented to

Lewis 13.
1640.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

1641.

Lewis 13.
1641.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

the Chamber of *Castres* to be register'd, *Yzarn* the Register, supported by the Reformed Counsellors, refused to enroll it; and *Boyer* and *Baulés*, Consuls of the same Religion, refus'd the Publication of it. The Reason of their Refusal was obvious enough: The Reformed could not pay that outward Mark of Veneration to the Sacrament, which they don't think to be adorable, without wounding their Conscience. Therefore the Court being inform'd of this Refusal, a new Decree was issued forth the 2d of *January*, to explain the former, whereby it was order'd, that both Men and Women should get out of the way upon the Tinkling of the Bell; and if they could not, that they should put themselves in a Posture of Respect; the Men, by pulling off their Hats only. But lest the Reformed should take this for a Token of Kindness to them, another Decree was issued forth the same Day, that the Register and the two Consuls should be proceeded against, for not having register'd and publish'd the former Decree, and injoining the Chamber to name Commissioners to inform against them. What Iniquity! Were they not fully acquitted by the Amendments which the Council thought fit to make in their former Decree? Why then must they suffer? It was not for the Decree itself, since the Council alter'd it; but because they presum'd to reflect upon the Orders issued out from Court, and because the Tyrannical Maxim, *Sic Volo, sic Jubeo, & pro ratione Voluntas mea*, was already prevailing in *France*. To sum up that whole Affair in a few Words: These poor Gentlemen had to deal with the most bigotted, the most furious, the most unjust Judges in the World, the *Popish* Pre-

Ident and Counsellors of that Chamber, who were all taken out of the Parliament of Thoulouse; they were denied even what is granted to Criminals in ordinary Cases; they were sent to Jail, condemned to pay a Fine and all the Charges, to beg pardon on their Knees, and be suspended from their Offices for six Months. This was a Precedent which the Parliament of Thoulouse knew very well how to improve afterwards.

Lewis 14.
1641.
Pope Urban VIII.

I shall but just mention here the dreadful *Massacre of Ireland*, perpetrated by the Papists, whereby above a hundred and fifty thousand Protestants miserably perished in two Months time, by several kinds of Tortures and Deaths, which Rome only can invent, and a Papist execute. The Tragedy began on the 1st or 2d of *November 1641.*

Massacre of Ireland.

Mary of Medicis, Queen Dowager of France, died at *Cologne* the 3d of *July 1642.* She had done what she could to be reconciled with *Richelieu*, only she refused to sacrifice *Father Chanteloube*, the Abbot of *St. Germain*, and the Viscount *Fabroni*. She had been wandering for ten Years together in *Flanders*, in *England*, in *Holland*, and then in *Germany*. She died incumber'd with Debts, and left nothing to recompense her own Servants.

1642.
Death of Mary of Medicis.

On the 13th of *March* had been concluded the *Treaty of Madrid*, signed by *Fontrailles*, in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*, of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and of *Cinq-Mars*, first Gentleman of the Horse; *Spain* promised them 12000 Foot, 5000 Horse, and large Sums of Money. *Richelieu* receiv'd a Copy thereof, by a Spy he had in the King of *Spain's* Council. The Consequence of this was, that *Cinq-Mars* and *De Thou*, Son to the great

Treaty of Madrid.

Lewis 13.
1642.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.



Historian, were behaded at *Lyons*, the first as one of the Actors and Principals in the Treaty; the other for not having revealed what *Cinq-Mars*, (HIS OWN PARTICULAR FRIEND) had told him about that Conspiracy; tho' it was clearly proved, not only that he had no hand at all in it, but even that he had done his best endeavour to divert his Friend from it. *Bouillon* would have had the same Fate, had not the Dutcheſs his Wife threatned to deliver *Sedan* to the *Spaniards*, was her Husband judged with Rigour. However, he was very glad to redeem his Life by yielding *Sedan* to the Crown of *France*. As to the Duke of *Orleans*, he made a full Confession of all; he asked Pardon, and consented to have no Guards nor Appanage, if he was suffer'd only to live in the Kingdom. *N. B.* This Conspiracy was not against the King, but against the Cardinal, whose Tyranny was become intolerable.

Riche-
lieu's
Death.

This was the last Act of the cruel and detestable Policy of *Richelieu*. He died the 4th of *December*, aged 58 Years. *Lewis* never loved him, but he rather dreaded him; he maintained him, because he thought that he could not do without him. 'Tis to that Man, that the two late *French* Kings and the present are beholden, for their arbitrary Government and despotick Power.

1643.
Lewis
XIIIth's
Death.

Lewis XIIIth did not survive him long, his Constitution was very weak, and his Health had been very much impaired through the continual Fatigues his Favourites or Prime Minister had put him to for the twenty last Years of his Reign. His Body was quite worn out, and having languished for some

Weeks

Weeks in his Bed, he died the 14th of *May* ^{Lewis 13.}
 at *St. Germain en Laye* in the 42d Year of ^{1643.}
 his Age, and just beginning the 33d of his ^{Pope Ur-}
 Reign. The many Executions he caused to ^{ban VIII.}
 be made even of the greatest Men of his
 Kingdom, oftentimes upon very slight occa-
 sions, and only to gratify the Jealousies of
 his *Richelieu*: The Barbarities perpetrated by
 his Orders at *Negreplisse* and *Privas*; the ma-
 nifold Infractions of his Treaties, and Viola-
 tions of his most solemn Promises to his Reform-
 ed Subjects, plainly declare what sort of Man
 he was: To which I may add the cruel Treat-
 ment he used to his own Mother, to his own
 Consort, to his own Brother, all which he
 sacrificed to the ungrateful *Richelieu*. The
 best that I can find in him, is his exactness
 in putting in execution the Laws against
 Duels: The Counts of *Boutteville* and *la*
Chapelle paid, with their Heads upon a Scaf-
 fold in the *Greve*, the Violation thereof; not-
 withstanding the most pressing Intreaties
 and Sollicitations of the greatest of the King-
 dom for having their Lives spared. He
 named before his Death *Anne* of *Austria*, his
 Consort, to be Regent; the Duke of *Or-*
leans his Brother, to be Lieutenant-General;
 the Prince of *Condé* and Cardinal *Mazarini*,
 to be Chiefs of the Council. The Autho-
 rity of the Queen Regent and of the Duke
 of *Orleans* were extremely limited by that
 Disposition; every thing in the Council
 was to be done by the Plurality of Votes.
 But it was soon reversed after his Death.

LEWIS XIV. was but four Years and ^{Lewis 14.}
 eight Months old, when he came to the ^{succeeds his}
 Crown. Four Days after his Father's Death, ^{Father.}
 the Parliament of *Paris* declared his Mother

Lewis 14.

1643.

Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

}

Regent of the Kingdom, without any Condition or Reserve; and four Hours after, she named Cardinal *Mazarini* Prime Minister. Tho' it is true, that she could hardly do without *Mazarini*, who was, as one may say, the only Man thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs abroad, having been employed by *Richelieu* in Matters of the greatest Importance for many Years together, and even had been recommended by him to the King, as the ablest and properest Person for succeeding him in the Ministry; and tho' upon that account she was to be excused, and even praised for having sacrificed her private Resentments to the Publick Good; nevertheless it is not an easy thing to make her Apology, for having forsaken her ancient Friends, who had forsaken every thing for her sake; nay, for having sacrificed several who had been loaded with Misfortunes on her account, and because they sided with her during the late Ministry. So that her too little regard for those who had been her best Friends during her Misfortunes, chiefly occasioned all those Troubles and Vexations which she endured the whole time of her Regency, especially till the Majority of *Lewis XIVth*, and afforded at the same time the Reformed an opportunity of giving undeniable Proofs of their unmoveable Fidelity to their King, as long as they were actuated by the sole Principles of their Religion. So that when several Parliaments, great part of the Clergy, many Princes of the Blood, and others great Lords were in actual Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign, these POOR WRETCHED HERETICKS, whose Tenets breathe nothing more than the Destruction of Princes and the Subversion of Monarchy, were the main Sup-

port of the King, of his Crown, and of his Lewis 14.
 Kingdom, against the Efforts of those GOOD 1643.
 CATHOLICKS, who endeavoured the Subver- Pope Ur-
 sion of the one and the other. But more of ban VIII.
 this in its proper place.

This new King, at his Accession to the A Decree
 Crown, issued forth a Declaration the 8th for the E-
 of July, confirming the Edict of Nantz. dict of
 Tho', says he, that Edict and all other De- Nantz.
 clarations and Regulations are PERPETUALS,
 we do confirm them a-new, as far as need
 is, or may be, by these Presents, &c. So
 that it is plain that the Court was still then
 persuaded, that the Edicts which were per-
 petual, preserved all their Force, even after
 the Decease of him who had given them;
 and that there was no occasion for his Suc-
 cessor to confirm them, in order to give them
 a new Strength. Much more then were
 they to be deemed INVIOLEABLE, when the
 Successor had adopted them as his own,
 confirming them by his own Declaration.

Nevertheless, the Reformed received no 1644.
 Benefit by it; they were vexed in several The Re-
 Places, and could receive no other Redress of formed con-
 their Grievances, but in Words and in Paper, tinued to be
 True it is, that the Troubles and Confusions vexed.
 wherewith this Minority was attended, left
 the Court neither time nor means for re-
 dressing these Grievances, tho' it had been
 as well disposed in behalf of the Reformed,
 as they could have wished. So that not
 only the Parliaments, but even the inferiour
 Courts in the Provinces paid very little re-
 gard to the Orders that came from Court,
 and did what they pleased. So in *Bearn*,
 the Reformed, who were the greatest Number
 in the Parliament of *Pau*, having lost by de-
 grees that Advantage, petitioned for a mi-

Lewis 14. parted Chamber; or at least that their Causes
 1644. should be referred to the Chambers either of
 Pope Ur- *Languedoc* or *Guienne*; or that they may
 ban VIII. challenge four Judges, either Presidents or
 Counsellors without giving cause. But all
 that they could obtain was a Decree com-
 manding the said Parliament to do them
 Justice, so that they should have no farther
 occasion for Complaint.

*The Duke
 of Bouil-
 lon's
 Flight.*

The Duke of *Bouillon*, whose Cession of
Sedan, Raucourt, St. Mauges, &c. had been
 forced, had a mind to improve the Oppor-
 tunity of a boisterous Minority, for breaking
 his Word and re-entering into Possession of his
 former Estate. He would have succeeded
 better, had he taken another Course, and
 flatter'd Cardinal *Mazarini*; but he chose to
 follow his Dutcheſs's Advice, and instead
 of repairing to *Lorges* near *Blois*, to settle
 with the King's Ministers what Compensa-
 tion he was to have in Lands of his Majesty's
 Demefn for his Sovereignty of *Sedan, &c.*
 he retired clandestinely with her into *Swit-
 zerland*.

*The King
 takes pos-
 session of
 Sedan, &c.*

No ſooner the News of his Flight had reach-
 ed the Court, but the Council ſent *Fabert* to
Sedan, and other Places of that Sovereignty,
 to receive the Oath of Allegiance of all the
 Subjects, and take poſſeſſion in the King's
 Name; which being executed without the
 leaſt Difficulty, and the Reformed having re-
 markably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their
 Zeal for the King; he not only confirmed
 them in all their Rights and Privileges,
 which they had in common with the reſt of
 the Inhabitants, but even in thoſe that were
 peculiar to themſelves as to their Religion,
 and iſſued forth his Ediſt and Declaration
 for

for that purpose, bearing Date *June* 1644, and was registered in the Court of *Aids* the 30th of *August*.

Lewis 14.
1644.
Pope In-
nocent X.

In the same Month of *August* died Pope *Urbanus VIII*th, after a Pontificate of 28 Years, 11 Months, and 22 Days. He was succeeded by Cardinal *Pamfilio*, elected the 10th of *September*, who took the Name of *Innocent X*.

Pope Inno-
cent suc-
ceeds Ur-
ban VIII.

From the Year 37, there had not been any National Synod, which indeed was very detrimental to the Churches; the King's Council being well assured of the Fidelity of the Reformed, granted them one for this Year, to be held at *Charenton*. It was the third held at that Place. Accordingly they met there, by their Deputies, on the 26th Day of *December*. The Reverend Mr. *Drelincourt* opened the Sessions with a Prayer to God, and then proceeded to the Election of the Officers of the Synod. The Votes were delivered in Writing for the first time, and the Reverend Mr. *Garrisoles* Minister at *Montauban* was chosen Moderator, the Reverend Mr. *Basnage* Minister of *St. Mere Eglise* Assistant, and the Reverend Mr. *Blon-del* formerly Minister of *Houdan*, together with *Theodorus le Coq* Esq; Elder in the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Then *De Cumont* Esq; Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, having delivered his Credentials, whereby he was appointed to assist in the Synod as the King's Commissioner; he made a Speech, which was no better than a Mingle-mangle of base Adulations to the King; of Exhortations to Passive Obedience; of ridiculous Complaints, against what had never been complained of before; of unjust Orders

which

The 28th
National
Synod.

Lewis 14.
1644.
Pope In-
nocent X.

which could not be complied with, without renouncing their Religion; of Severities more capable of exasperating than of encouraging his Hearers. According to that Man, Slavery was to be the Lot of the Reformed; nay, they ought to think themselves very happy, if they were suffered to live, even in that Condition. Nevertheless, that Man was a Reformed, but of those Reformed who knew how to make their Religion and the Welfare of their Brethren subservient to their own Fortune and Interest.

These unreasonable Complaints, these unjust Orders, that rough Language, were enough to convince the Synod that they were not to depend upon the Promises of the King's Good-will to them made by the Commissioner; they might foresee that they were to suffer one time or other all manner of Oppression.

Nevertheless the Moderator answer'd in the Synod's Name, with a great deal of Humility and Submission. He acquiesced to whatever could be yielded with a safe Conscience, and promised Obedience to most part of the Articles; but as to that concerning the raising of Monies for the Ministers Salary, he desired that his Majesty should be besought to give leave to the Churches to follow their ancient Usages. Then he said, that the Attempts and Violences of their Enemies, contrary to the Edicts, which could not be mentioned but by Names disagreeable to his Majesty, ought to be carefully and efficaciously prevented; and then the King would have no occasion to complain, and to forbid them to make use of these Words, *Persecution, Martyrdom, &c.* That their Con-
fession

fession of Faith having been tendered to Lewis 14.
Francis II. almost such as it was now, and ^{1644.}
 the Exercise of the Reformed Religion al- ^{Pope In-}
 lowed in consequence of the Edict of Ja- ^{nocent X.}
January 1561, and afterwards, of the Edict of
Nantz, the Words thereof could not be al-
 tered. That it was not the whole Body of
 Doctrine of the Church of *Rome,* which was
 styled in our Confession of Faith, *the Abuses*
and Fallacy of Satan, but only those Articles
 which had been added to the Gospel Doc-
 trine; and that it was but just to excuse
 Words dictated by Sincerity itself, and by
 the Motion of a Conscience quite ignorant
 of the Art of dissembling and equivocating.
 That they had nothing to do with the Printer
 of *Geneva,* who was not under their Jurisdic-
 tion; and that his Calendar expressed nothing
 but what was the true Sense and Meaning of
 all the Protestants and Reformed, concern-
 ing the Council of *Trent,* which he styled
Detestable: And thereupon he quoted the
 Protests of *Charles V.* against the same Coun-
 cil, by *Mendoza* his Ambassador thither; of
Henry II. by *Amiot*; of *Charles IX.* by *Du*
Ferrier, who had styled that Council, A
 SCORPION PRICKING THE GALLICAN
 CHURCH. Then he accounted for what had
 been done in several Provinces where the
 Reformed had thought proper to improve
 the Benefit of the King's Declaration at his
 Accession to the Crown, notwithstanding the
 unjust and violent Oppositions of their Go-
 vernors or their Lieutenants. He charged
 the Lady of the Manor at *Anduze,* with an
 extreme Malice and Violence, who being sup-
 ported by the Catholicks of the Place and
 the Neighbourhood, had endeavoured to
 suppress

Lewis 14.
 1644.
 Pope In-
 nocent X.

suppress by main force one of the ancientest Reformed Churches of the Kingdom, had expelled the Minister thereof; and lest he should find means to be restored, had procured his Imprisonment, and committed several other like Acts, whereby she had provoked the Reformed to repel Force by Force. He shewed forth, that in the whole Province of *Languedoc*, they preached only in the Places which had enjoyed that Benefit for above 80 Years before; that the Ministers were very moderate in their Sermons; but the Missionaries were apt to wrest the most innocent Words in the worst of Senses, tho' they themselves kept no bounds in their Sermons. That they were bound by their Discipline (the free Exercise whereof was allowed unto them) to censure Parents when they sent their Children to be educated by Papist Regents or School-Masters, and especially by *Jesuits*; that such a thing was to much the more tolerable in the Ministers, as the *University of Paris* itself condemned their Doctrine, as contrary to good Policy, true Divinity, and good Morals. Finally, they besought his Majesty to let them enjoy the same Liberty as his other Subjects, as to their Students, and that they might go to the Foreign Universities to learn Divinity.

The Bell of the Church of *Usez*, had made as much noise in the Commissioners Stomach, as in the wicked and malignant Ears of the Papists of that Town. He complained that the Reformed had set up that Bell in their Church, contrary to the Edicts and the Terms of the Capitulation made in 1629; and required that the Synod should order it down without delay. But he was ashamed when

when he was told that the Bell had ever been in that Steeple; that, at the time of the Capitulation, it had been indeed pulled down, and put in a Corner of the Church, in order to repair the Steeple which was falling to Ruin; but these Reparations being made, the Bell had been set up again.

Lewis 14.
1644.
Pope In-
nocent X.

After these Speeches, which on both Sides were more for Form sake than for Utility, the Synod wrote to the King, and amongst other things, *they congratulated him upon his Birth*; which the Reformed had earnestly besought God to grant in all their religious Assemblies. They wrote likewise to the Queen Regent, to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Prince of Condé.

The King answered the 4th of *January*; he assured them of his perfect Good-will, and promised to keep the Edicts; that he *would take a singular Delight in securing unto them the free Enjoyment thereof, as they had done under the late King.* Which last Clause was very equivocal. The Commissioner allowed them Liberty to read several Letters of the Church and Academy of *Geneva*, of the Reverend Mess. *Diodati* and *Andrew Rivet*, after he had opened and perused them first. But having sent the Originals to the King, he let them know, that his Majesty did not think proper they should answer them; tho' they related only to Matters of Doctrine and Discipline. Then the Commissioner proposed to them for Form-sake the Baron of *Arzilliers*, whom the King had already named to be their Deputy-General, and which they accepted, being not able to do otherwise. Nevertheless, they required that the ancient Order should be restored, and that in the mean while
the

Lewis 14.

1645.

Pope Innocent X.

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the King would be pleased to name a Deputy for the Commons; but neither of these Demands was granted. The King continued to name the Deputies of his own accord, and would have none for the Commons. Then the Commissioner notify'd to the Synod, That his Majesty did not allow them to deliberate upon political Matters, but only to name a select Committee, to draw up their Bill of Grievances; which being accordingly done, the said Bill was drawn, containing some old Grievances which had not been redressed, and some new ones were added, particularly concerning the Suppression of several Places where they had right of Exercise; and the Refusal of admitting the Reformed to Charges, and Offices which they were entitled to, even to the Masterhips of the very Mechanicks. But they obtained very little, besides Words and 16000 Livres for discharging the Expences of the Synod.

Codurc, Minister and Professor at *Nimes*, was deposed for a Dissertation of his, wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the two Religions; he was wavering in his Doctrine, and shewed a great Inclination for the *Roman* Religion. The Synod censured also those, who bowed or only saluted the Host whenever they met it in the Streets, and branded that Act as a shameful Hypocrisy. They broke up the 26th of *January*.

The Reformed continue to be vexed.

The Parliaments and the inferiour Courts continued their Vexations about the Annexes; the Church-Yards, and several Places where the Reformed used to resort for Divine Service, were interdicted. Several Trades and Professions afforded also an opportunity of putting their Patience to a new Trial. The

Milliners

Milliners of Paris took it in their heads to draw certain Statutes for their Trade, and got them confirmed by Letters Patent, registered in Parliament the 29th of April. The first Article of these Statutes excluded the Maids and Women of the Reformed Religion from being admitted into that Master-ship. The University of Poitiers enjoyed the Revenue of some Messenger-Houses, or Post-Offices. Now Filleau LL.D. in that University, and the hottest Persecutor, obtained that none but Catholicks could be admitted into any of these Offices.

Lewis 14.
1645.
Pope In-
nocent X.

It was not for want of Zeal in the Clergy that the Reformed were not more vexed this Year. They held an Assembly at Paris, and the Archbishop of Narbonne charged them, in his Speech to the Queen Regent the 27th of July, that they were tired with the lawful and natural Subjection under which LEWIS THE JUST had reduced them, and were endeavouring to resume their last Power.

Assembly of
the Clergy.

He complained that they had restored by Force their Exercises in several Places, and said, that if the Annexes were, this day, granted unto them, they would, to-morrow, require the Restitution of their Cautionary Towns: I shall but just mention a very odd Story of the House of Roban. Margaret of Roban, only Daughter and Heiress of the late Duke, after having refused several Matches, and especially the young Prince of Talmont Son to the Duke of La Trimouille, had a fancy to be her own Carver; and breaking her secret Engagements with the young Marquis of Ruvigni, Father to the late Lord Gallway, she contracted a new one with the young Marquis of Chabot who was a Roman Catholic.

Tancrede's
Story.

Lewis 14. *lick.* The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Roban* her
 1645. Mother, being informed of this, was in a
 Pope Innocent X. deep Affliction ; and ſeeing that all her Ar-
 guments, and thoſe of the Miniſters for hindering her Daughter from marrying a Catholick, far from prevailing over her, had no other Effect than to haſten the Conclusion of the ſaid Marriage ; ſhe thought proper to publiſh the Secret, which ſhe had kept concealed till then for very good Reaſons, even from the late Duke her own Huſband, *viz.* that ſhe had had a Son by the Duke during his laſt Miſfortunes, which ſhe had taken care to be privately educated at a Gentleman's Houſe in *Normandy* ; from whence *Margaret of Roban*, with the help of *Ruvigni*, who was in the Secret, found means to convey him to *Leyden*, unknown to the Dowager. But when the Marquis ſaw, that all his Exhortations and Threatnings could not reclaim *Margaret* from her Inclinations to *Chabot*, he revealed to the Dowager the Place where *Tancrede*, which was the Name of the Child, had been conveyed, and where he was ſtill. Thereupon the Dutcheſs ſent in all haſte to *Leyden*, to bring over her pretended Son into *France* ; which was executed with great care and caution. *Chabot* on his part ſent ſome Meſſengers upon the ſame Errand, but they arrived an Hour too late. The Dowager ſet up all her Engines to have *Tancrede* acknowledged for the Son of the late Duke of *Roban*. The Cauſe was brought before the Parliament ; nobody could imagine how the late Duke could have been ſo far ignorant that he had a Son, as not to mention a ſingle Word of him in his laſt Will, wherein he mentioned only his Daughter and

Heirefs *Margaret*. *Tancrede* could not be Lewis 14.
posthumous; he was above nine Years old 1645.
 when he was brought to *Paris*, and the Duke Pope In-
 died only in *April* 1638: The Duke had nocent X.
 not been with her for more than a Year
 when he died. If she had had good Reasons
 to conceal his Birth from the Publick; what
 reason could she have to conceal the same
 from her Husband? That afforded her E-
 nemies a pretence for casting a blemish up-
 on her Virtue. The Parliament was much
 puzzled upon that Affair. *Tancrede* had the
 Shape and all the Features, nay the very same
 Inclinations of the late Duke; but *Chabot*
 answered, that he might be his natural Son,
 which the Dutches's his Widow had a mind
 to set up for punishing her Daughter. On
 the other hand, the Dutches's Evidences did
 fall very short of what was requir'd; but
 Death came to decide the Quarrel. The
 Cause was depending till the Beginning of
 the Civil War between the King and the
 Parliament. The Dutches engaged her
Tancrede in the Parliament's Party; he was
 wounded in a Sally, taken Prisoner, brought
 to *Vincennes*, where he died of his Wounds.
 Some Years after, the Mother and Daughter
 were reconciled together. The young
 Dutches persisted to her Death in the Pro-
 fession of the Reformed Religion; she died
 a little before the repealing of the Edict of
Nantz in 1685. The Marquis of *Chabot*
 had taken the Name of *Roban*, by his Mar-
 riage-Contract; so his Children took the
 same Name, tho' their Descent from that
 most ancient and most noble House was
 only by this *Margaret*.

Lewis 14.

1646.

Pope In-
nocent X.Vexations
continue a-
gainst the
Reformed.

The like Vexations were continued against the Reformed, several of their Churches and little Schools were suppress'd. But on the other hand, the Court was somewhat favourable unto them; for the Ministers were exempted from paying Taxes (as it was their Right to be) and a Decree was issued forth the 20th of *June*, exempting the Reformed from hanging Tapestry before their Houses on Procession-Days. But these Decrees were of none or very little service to the Reformed in the Provinces, especially in those wherein they were in small Numbers. The Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, wherein the furious *De Sault* was Attorney-General, the Parliaments of *Tboulouse* and *Dijon*, the Presidialships, nay, every petty Judge in a Borough, took upon them to vex and persecute them in different manners, without any regard to the Edicts, Declarations or Decrees, issued forth by the Council of State.

Condé's
Death.

The Prince of *Condé* died this Year in *December*; he was born 6 Months after the Decease of *Henry of Condé*, Husband of his Mother, who was poisoned at *St. John of Angely*, in *March* 1588, as we have related in its proper place.

Espernon
and Sully's
Death.

The Duke of *Espernon* died in *January* 1642, being 88 Years old; he was the ancientest Peer of *France*, the ancientest Officer of the Crown, the ancientest General and Governor of *Provence*, the ancientest Knight of the Order, the ancientest Counsellor of State; and perhaps the oldest Nobleman of his time. The Duke of *Sully* died a little before, aged 80 or 81, seven Years after he had received the Marshal's Staff.

The same Vexations continued this Year as before, either through the Weakness of the Court, which obliged it to connive at these Injustices, or for some other Reason.

Lewis 14.
1647.
Pope In-
nocent X.

However as Affairs began to be much imbroiled in the Kingdom, the Court standing in need of all her Friends, thought proper to treat the Reformed more favourably; but they could feel the Effects of these good Dispositions only in the Places where the Court-Party prevailed, for in others, the Parliaments, the Magistrates, the Governors, and others, paid no regard at all to the King's Orders; nay, the Fidelity of the Reformed was imputed to them as a Crime in the rebellious Provinces.

Treatment
of the Re-
formed.
1648.

The Treaty of Peace was concluded at *Munster* in the Month of *February*, between *Spain* and the *Seven United Provinces*. *Spain* yielded for ever all manner of Right and Pretensions over the said Provinces. *France* acceded to that Treaty with the Empire in *October* following. The Princes and the Electors of the Empire were maintained in all their Rights and Prerogatives. *Alsatia* and the Sovereign Lordship over the Cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* were yielded to *France*, which continued the War with *Spain*.

Peace of
Munster.

This last dreading, lest all the Forces of her Antagonists being united together, and falling upon her, she should be crushed, endeavoured to create Jealousies against her in all the Courts of *Europe*. But the Civil Wars that began this Year, gave some respite to *Spain*. Cardinal *Mazarini* had already maintained himself in the Government for four Years together; and in order to put a stop to the Factions, he did drive off the most

Civil
War.

Lewis 14. petulant with Trifles, and introduced at
 1648. Court a luxurious and effeminate way of
 Pope Innocent X. Living; he diverted the Courtiers with O-
 peras, and the People with Buffooneries of
 the *Italian Play*. But as he attempted to
 create new Charges of *Masters of Request*,
 which were to serve alternatively for six
 Months, to load the People with new Taxes,
 to increase in the Provinces the Authority
 of Intendants, to send some of them to Places
 where they were become intolerable; and
 above all, to enrich his own Family at the
 Expences of the State: All the Orders of
 the Kingdom rose against him. They were
 tired to see a Foreigner in the first Autho-
 rity, and he was loaded with the publick
 Odium.

The President *Blanc-Mesnil*, and Coun-
 sellor *Broussel*, having been arrested by Or-
 ders of the Court, the People of *Paris* took
 up Arms, and carried the Barricado's almost
 to the Gates of the Royal Palace. The Tu-
 mult lasted for two Days, and could not be
 appeas'd but by the Release of the Priso-
 ners. The King's Declaration, whereby he
 reduced the Taxes to ten Millions less than
 they were before, and lessened two Millions
 of the Entries of *Paris*, and such other like
 Abatements from his former Ordinances,
 were not sufficient to restore Peace and Tran-
 quillity.

1649. The King, the Queen-Regent, the Royal
 Family, and the whole Court, were obliged
 to go out of *Paris* at 4 o'Clock in the Morn-
 ing in the Month of *January*, and they
 went to *St. Germain en Laye*. The 8th of
 the same Month the Parliament of *Paris* de-
 clared the Cardinal an Enemy to the State,

a Disturber of the publick Peace, and order- Lewis 14.
 ed Levies of Soldiers, and the King's Troops 1648.
 to remove twenty Leagues further from Pope In-
 the City. The 20th of the same Month the nocent X.
 Prince of *Conti*, the Dukes of *Beaufort*,
Longueville, *Bouillon*, *la Rochefoucault*, and
Noirmoutier, got into *Paris*; the Prince was
 made Generalissimo, the Dukes of *Elbæuf*,
Bouillon, and Marshal *de la Mothe*, his Lieu-
 tenants; *Paris* was blocked up. The Prince
 of *Condé* seized all the Avenues, except *Brie-*
Comte-Robert, and *Charenton*. The 8th of
February, *Charenton* was forced by the King's
 Troops, at the fight of ten thousand *Pari-*
sians in Arms: The Duke of *Cbatillon*, a
 Royalist, was deadly wounded in the Action.

The 9th of *February*, N.S. England af- Charles I.
 forded to the World the most dreadful In- his Death.
 stance of the Rage and Fury of a People,
 when not restrained by any Laws human or
 divine, in the Death of King *Charles I.* exe-
 cuted at *Whitehall*. *Henrietta* his Consort,
 and his own Favourites, together with Car-
 dinal *Richlieu* and *Mazarini* had set an Edge
 to the Ax, which sever'd his Head.

The Court of *France*, standing in need The Court
 of the Reformed, did them as much Justice flatters the
 as she could upon several accounts; and the Reformed.
 23d of *December* issued forth a general De-
 cree, ordering that the Edicts and Declara-
 tions in their behalf should be fully executed,
 that they should not be disturb'd neither in
 the Exercise of their Religion, or in the Pos-
 session of their Churches, or in the other
 Concessions of the Edicts: His Majesty wil-
 ling, that they should enjoy them in the same
 manner as they had done under the late King,
 without any Innovation to their Prejudice,

Lewis 14. and forbidding to continue any Prosecution
1650. against them upon such accounts.

Pope In-
nocent X.

That Decree having not its desired Effect
in certain Places, where the Catholicks pre-
tended that the King did forbid only to be-
gin new Prosecutions, but that he designed
not that those already begun should cease ;
at the Instances of Baron *d'Arzilliers* De-
puty-General, the Court on the 20th of *A-*
pril issued forth a second Decree confirmatory
to the first, and the King reserved to himself
the Cognizance of all Affairs of that kind,
and interdicted it to all other Courts of what
Denomination soever.

The Princes
Prisoners.

The Troubles of *Paris* had been appeased
by an Agreement made between the Court
and the Parliament on the 11th of *March*,
the last Year. But the Beginning of this, the
Queen-Regent dissatisfied with the Conduct
of the Princes and their Adherents, caused
the Princes of *Condé* and *Conti*, with the
Duke of *Longueville* their Brother-in-Law, to
be sent Prisoners to *Vincennes* on the 18th of
January. That violent Proceeding served only
to exasperate People's Spirits more and more.
The Complaints against the Cardinal became
general, so that at last he was forced to yield
to his Enemies, and to quit the Kingdom ;
but this happened only the Beginning of next
Year.

During these Troubles, the Affairs of Re-
ligion were, one may say, superseded ; and
the Hatred of the *French* against the Cardinal
stifled that of the Catholicks against the Re-
formed. That Prelate employed these with-
out any Scruple ; and when he found a Ca-
pacity in them, he forgot that they were
Reformed. In the Month of *February* —

Herward

Herward Esq; tho' a sincere Reformed, was made by him Super-Intendant of the Exchequer. The Clergy cried aloud against it. Their Agents-General opposed it with all their Might. Jealousy, Envy, Injustice, Inhumanity, and whatever Men bred up at the Feet not of *Gamaliel*, but of the POPE, can imagine, were the chief Arguments they made use of in this Occurrence; but all in vain, the Cardinal stood his ground, and supported *d'Herward*, who was continued, and being of quite a different Character than the Duke of *Sully*, he was not only the main Support of the Churches, but he gain'd as many Friends, as the other had begot Foes, during the whole time of his Administration.

Lewis 14.
1650.
Pope Innocent X.
Herward
a Reformed
made Super-Intendant.

Nevertheless, for to allay in some measure the Mortification of the Clergy, something must be done for that purpose; therefore *Chateaufneuf*, Keeper of the Seals, sent Orders to the King's Council at *Poitiers*, the 20th of *May*, not to suffer any Reformed to be admitted in any Office of Attorney, or Notary, or Serjeant. At *Chatelberaut* they were deprived of the Right of being admitted Provosts of the Merchants in their turn, and even of that of Voting, tho' they made up the third Part of the Inhabitants. There was a Sedition at *Nimes* against the Bishop of the Place, who kept concealed in his Palace a Child belonging to Reformed Parents, in order to have him brought up in the *Roman* Religion.

Unjust Regulations at Poitiers.

Every thing seem'd disposed to some great Revolution in the Kingdom. The Queen-Regent had been obliged to grant the Release of the Princes Prisoners; and the Cardinal

1651.
Renewing of the Civil War.

Lewis 14.

1651.

Pope In-
nocent X.The Car-
dinal
quits the
Kingdom.Complai-
sance of the
Court for
Cromwel.

dinal being obliged to leave the Kingdom, went before to *Havre de-Grace*, where the Princes had been transferred from *Vincennes*, in order to set them at liberty; and from thence he proceeded to *Liege*. But he had left at Court some proper Persons, amongst which the Marquis of *Ruvigni* and — — *Beringhen* Esq; both Reformed, managed his Affairs with such Success, that he was recalled ten Months after with greater Authority. The Princes came to *Paris*, not designing to live in Peace. *Condé* began a Treaty with *England* and *Spain*.

Every one knows what Condition *England* was in, at the time we are speaking of. After the fatal Death of King *Charles*, *Cromwel* took upon himself the sovereign Authority, under the Title of Protector; and having overcome all Opposition, he govern'd with a greater Authority than ever any lawful King had done. Dreaded at home, he kept all the neighbouring Powers in awe, and was not sorry to see them embroiled in Civil Divisions; but none shewed more the Damp and Dread which his Name had cast upon their Spirits, than the *French* Court. In order to avoid the giving him any offence, they refused an Asylum to *Charles* the Second, and his Brother *James*, the two first Cousins of *Lewis*; nay, had *Cromwel* desired it absolutely, they would have carried their complaisance so far, as to expel the Dowager of *England*, tho' she was Aunt to their King. That deserved indeed some return from the Usurper; and accordingly, in order to shew his Gratitude, he denied all manner of Assistance to the Prince of *Condé*. Tho' *Spain* was more complaisant, yet the Prince required such advantageous

Terms,

Terms, that the Treaty was protracted to a great length. On the other hand, the Diversity of Interests caused a great Disunion amongst the Malecontents, the one Party aiming at things which the others opposed with all their Might. The Nobility murmured against their Government, and held frequently private Conferences. They cried aloud to have an Assembly of the General States, to redress the publick Grievances; but the Parliament opposed that Remedy for their own private Interest, lest the States should abridge their Authority; and because they were unwilling that People should be beholden for their Release to any other Assembly besides their own. Nevertheless, on the 18th of *January*, they issued forth a Decree for informing against the Depredations made by *Mazarini* in the Exchequer. Some time after the King issued forth a Declaration, whereby all Foreigners, and even the *French* Cardinals, were excluded from the Council, as being Dependants of the Pope. Another Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* was issued forth against the Cardinal, about the latter End of *December*, whereby it was commanded to pursue him, and fall upon him wherever he could be apprehended, and 150,000 Livres Recompense were promised to whomsoever, who would produce him dead or alive.

Amidst the Troubles wherein the Kingdom was involv'd, *Lewis XIV.* came to his Majority, and was declar'd such the 7th of *September*. I don't design to enter into any of the Particulars of this Civil War, which obliged *Mazarini* twice to leave the Kingdom, and the Court to go out of *Paris*;
from

Lewis 14.
1651.
Pope In-
nocent X.

Majority
of Lewis

Lewis 14. from whence *Lewis* transferred the Parlia-
 1652. ment to *Pont-oise*, but was obey'd only by
 Pope In- part thereof. It was not till the 21st of Oc-
 nocent X. tober 1652, that the *Parisians*, tired with
 the War, intreated *Lewis* to return into that
 Capital, wherewith he comply'd.

*Fidelity of
 the Re-
 formed.*

I shall only observe, that had it not been
 for the Reformed's Fidelity, that was proof
 against all Temptations, one may say, that
 the Crown which was tottering over the
 Head of *Henry* the Fourth's Grandson, would
 quite have fallen to the ground. And in-
 deed had they joined with the Prince of
Condé, as they were strongly solicited, the
SLINGERS would certainly have hit at
 their aim; but far from list'ning to the most
 advantageous Terms propos'd unto them,
Rochelle obliged its Governor the Count of
Dognon, who sided with the Prince, to fly
 from the City, and forsake the Castle. *St.
 John of Angely*, tho' without Walls, defended
 itself against the Rebels Troops, and not only
 that, but they sent part of their Militia to
 join the Royal Army, who served with as
 much Bravery and Success as any regular
 Troops, and that at their own Expence too.
Montauban made a Levy of 500 Men at their
 own Expence, and provided them with Arms
 and all sort of Ammunition; they served in
 the Royal Army, besieging *Bordeaux*. A
 little after, that City having obtained leave
 to fortify itself, the Inhabitants worked Night
 and Day to erect 17 Bastions. The Students
 in Divinity of that Academy distinguished
 themselves by their Zeal, moving themselves
 the Earth, carrying it on their backs; they
 erected one of the Bastions, to which they
 gave their Name. The Example of that
 City

City had such an influence over *Tboulouse*, Lewis 14. 1652. Pope Innocent X. that after having for some time wavered, they took the same Party. Twelve hundred Men of *Montauban* sent to the Marquis of *St. Luc*, Lieutenant for the King in *Guienne*, forced the Town of *Moissac* to surrender, and took the Garison Prisoners. Five hundred Men of the same City took a Passage upon the *Garonne*, and thereby afforded means to the Royal Army to disengage two Regiments besieg'd by the Prince's Troops in *Miradoux*. *Realmont* tho' dismantled, *Clairac*, the Provinces of *Vivarais* and *Cevennes*, gave especial Proofs of their Fidelity.

A Synod was held this Year at *Aymet*, for the Province of *Lower Guienne*; wherein the Ministers and Elders unanimously agreed to persevere in Obedience, and to exhort their Churches to do the like. Most part of the Nobility, and the Reformed of the half-parted Chambers followed the same Example; and if some Persons, such as the Marquis of *La Force*, and some others of that Rank sided at first with the Prince, they were the first in the Province that returned to their Allegiance, when the Violence of the Storm was over. In a word, the Fidelity of the Reformed was such, and the Court was so sensible of the Importance of the Service they had done, that it made no difficulty to give them a publick Testimony of its Gratitude, by a Declaration given at *St. Germain* the 20th of *May* 1652, sealed with the broad Seal, wherein amongst the Reasons which obliged *Lewis* to ratify and confirm the Edict of *Nantz*, other Edicts, Declarations, &c. in behalf of the Reformed, and to order the

Lewis 14. strict Observation thereof under severe Penalties, you will find this, *Because they had given undeniable Proofs of their Affection and Loyalty, especially in the present Occurrences, whereof We remain fully satisfied.* But this was not the only Token of the Court's Satisfaction and Gratitude towards the Reformed. They were restor'd at *Pamiers*, from whence they had been exil'd since the Year 1625 or 1626. The second Consulship of *Aletz* and of *Montpelier* was order'd to be filled constantly by a Reformed, whereas it had been alternate since 1629. The Ministers were allowed to preach in the Annexes, notwithstanding all contrary Decrees and Orders, which were all reversed. In one word, the Reformed fared more than tolerably well for two Years or thereabouts.

1653. The Submission of *Paris* did not put an end to the Civil War, it was a Year or thereabouts before the Prince of *Condé's* Party was quite subdued; and that Prince, who took part with the *Spaniards* against his own Country, was proclaimed a Traitor by the Parliament of *Paris* the 28th of *April* 1654, Lewis present, and was deprived of all his Charges and Governments. About a Month before the Clergy had received the Bull of *Innocent X.* against the five famous Propositions of *Jansenius* Bishop of *Ipres*, and that Dispute has lasted to this very day; the said Bull having been from the Beginning, and being still opposed by a considerable Party, who chuse to suffer rather than to yield. Generally speaking, tho' the *Jansenists* argue almost upon the same Principles as our *Reformers* have done, when they have a mind to assert their CAUSE; nevertheless they

they are too full of a certain spiritual Pride, for ever expecting either an Union of them with the Reformed, or any good Reformation of their own.

Lewis 14.
1654.
Pope Innocent X.

In the Month of *June*, *Lewis XIV.* was anointed at *Rheims*, by the Bishop of *Soissons*. He promised upon his Oath not to grant his Pardon for Duels. *Christiana* Queen of *Sweden* resigned her Crown to her Cousin *Charles*, and she turned Catholick some time after.

Lewis's
Coronation.

The Marquis *d'Arzilliers* Deputy-General of the Reformed being dead, *Lewis* by the latter End of last Year had named of his own accord the Marquis of *Ruvigni*, Father of the late Lord *Gallway*, to be his Successor.

Ruvigni
Deputy-General.

The Reformed, as we have said, were more than tolerably well treated, generally speaking, for about two Years after the Declaration of *May 1652* above-mentioned. But this Year the Alliance of *France* with *Cromwel* against the House of *Austria*, hindering that perfidious Court from putting in execution the Designs already laid against their too generous Deliverers; they enjoyed still some respite during the *Protector's* Life, which, nevertheless hinder'd not the Papists from shewing forth their inveterate Hatred against the Reformed in the Places where they could do it safely. The most wicked Parliaments of *Tboulouse* and *Aix* exerted themselves this Year in the most unjust, tyrannical, and cruel manner, not only against private Persons without any regard to Rank and Quality, but even against whole Commonalties, which they were so bold as to interdict, and deprived them of those Rights which they had so well deserved.

Pope

Lewis 14. Pope *Innocent X.* died in *February*, after a
 1655. Pontificate of ten Years, four Months and
 Pope A. twenty-two Days. He was succeeded by
 lexan. VII. Cardinal *Chigi*, elected the 7th of *April*, who
 took the Name of *Alexander VII.*

Innocent dies, and is succeeded by Alexander VII. This Year the *Waldenses* did suffer a most cruel and barbarous Persecution from the Duke of *Savoy*, their Sovereign, who caused his Troops to make such an inhuman Execution upon these poor People, that Words are wanting to express the great Variety of Tortures, altogether beastly and hellish, whereto they were exposed, without any Distinction of Age, Sex, or Quality. The Reverend Mr. *Leger* and *Samuel Morland Esq;* published a Relation thereof in their *History of the Waldenses*. The Court of *France* interposed its good Offices in behalf of these poor People; and whereas the Duke of *Savoy* had made use in that barbarous Execution of the *French* Troops that were sent to the Assistance of the Duke of *Modena* against the *Spaniards*, *Lewis* resented or feigned to resent it very high. But the Dread of *Cromwel's* Name was more efficacious with him, than any other Consideration. And to do justice to whom it belongs, it is certain that had the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* seconded the *Protector's* good Intentions, as indeed they ought to have done, the Duke of *Savoy* would have been forced against his own will to redress the Grievances of his poor Subjects. But I can't tell by what Fatality the Ambassadors of the said Cantons were imposed upon by the *French* Ambassador *Servient*, and hurried on the shameful and treacherous Treaty of *Pignerol*, without waiting for the coming of the *Eng-*

lish and *Dutch* Ambassadors, that were upon the Road. At which the Protector being provoked, he desisted. It appears by Mr. *Morland's* Account, that the Gatherings made this Year in *Great Britain* and *Wales*, by *Cromwel's* Orders, for the Relief of the poor *Waldenses*, amounted to no less than 38097 l. 17 s. 3 d. a vast Sum indeed, considering the times. I shall end this Article with a very remarkable Passage of *Lewis XIVth's* Letter to the *Protector*, which I could not omit without injuring the *French* Reformed: "As to what remains, you have well judged in this Affair, not to believe that I had given any Order to my Troops to do such an Execution; and the truth is, there was not any likelihood such a Suspicion could possess the Spirit of any Person well informed, that I should contribute to the Punishment of any Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, Professors of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and yet in the mean time give so many Marks of my good Will to those of mine own Subjects of the same Profession, HAVING ALSO CAUSE TO APPLAUD THEIR FIDELITY AND ZEAL FOR MY SERVICE, THEY ON THEIR PARTS OMIT NO OCCASION TO GIVE ME PROOF THEREOF, EVEN BEYOND ALL THAT CAN BE IMAGINED, AND CONTRIBUTE IN ALL THINGS TO THE WELFARE AND ADVANTAGE OF MY AFFAIRS*." The Author of that Letter magnifies nothing in what he says concerning the Zeal and Affection, which his Reformed Subjects had for his

Lewis, 14.
1655.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Lewis's
Testimony
in behalf
of his Re-
formed
Subjects.

* *Morland's* History of the Evangel. Churches, &c. p. 567.

Lewis 14. his Person and Service. But how could he
 1656. be so base and ungrateful as to repay
 Pope A- their faithful Services with such unjust, cruel,
 lexan. VII. and barbarous Usage, as he did afterwards?

As to the Affairs of our Churches in
France, they not only suffered several pri-
 vate Injustices and Vexations, but even a
 general one, at the Instigation and Pursuit
 of the bloody Clergy.

*Assembly
 of the
 Clergy in
 France.*

There was this Year an Assembly of the
Gallican Church held at *Paris*. Amongst
 several other important Matters that came
 under their Consideration, the Examen of the
 Moral of the new Casuists (so the *Jesuits*
 were called) was one of the most considera-
 ble. Some Doctors, pretty well known by
 the Name of *Jansenists*, had exposed the Re-
 missness of the said Moral in such a full
 light, that every sober Man considered it as
 a downright Impiety. On the contrary,
 these rigid Doctors were much applauded by
 the Quality, especially of the Female Sex; so
 that they began to be much in vogue, and to
 prevail in the Confessionaries, and in the As-
 semblies of the Ladies. The *Jesuits* fretted at
 it, and as they had carried the Remissness in
 point of Morality much further than any
 other, they were more obnoxious to the
 publick Scorn and Hatred. Nobody was im-
 posed on (besides the wilful) by the specious
 Arguments they brought forth in their own
 Defence, and their Adversaries put them to
 a Nonplus by the Strength and Solidity of
 their Answers. It was a Duty incumbent
 upon that Ecclesiastical Assembly, to decide
 that Quarrel after a way that might be con-
 ducive to the Edification of the Publick, and
 to restore the Christian Moral to its pristine
 Purity.

Purity. But that great and potent Body, ^{Lewis 14.}
 used for many Ages before to prevaricate, ^{1656.}
 and several of its Members being too deeply ^{Pope A-}
 concerned in the Morals of the *Jesuits*, they ^{lexan. VII.}
 but faintly examined the Matter; and after
 many Sessions, they left the Matter unde-
 cided, and shamefully suffered themselves to
 be deluded by the *Jesuits*. Those sharp Po-
 liticians, in order to give work to this As-
 sembly for diverting them from thinking of
 any Reformation in their Mora's, found means
 to engage them to endeavour the Destruction
 of two sorts of Hereticks, the *Reformed* and
 the *Jansenists*. These last were indeed un-
 justly suspected of a Correspondence with
 the first, because they agreed together upon
 several Points of Doctrine, especially concern-
 ing the Pope's Supremacy.

The *Jesuitical* Party prevailed then in
 this Assembly, and the Archbishop of *Sens*,
 then Prolocutor tho' not a Friend to the
Jesuits, was not ashamed to display his Elo-
 quence before *Lewis XIV*, in a way so un-
 becoming his Character and his high Station,
 that no body can look upon him but as an
 impudent Prostitute, who trod under his
 feet Truth and Honesty. I shall single out only
 three or four Passages out of a great Num-
 ber of others which deserve no less the pub-
 lick Censure. He represented the *Roman*
Church as groaning under such an Oppression,
 that she would take it as a comfort, *was the*
Edict of Nantz strictly observed, after the
lawful Explanations given by the late King.
 He charged the Reformed with having by
 their new Attempts overturned all the wise
 Cautions taken by that great Prince against
 the Petulancy of their Spirit, and ascribed

Lewis 14.

1656.

Pope A-
lexan. VII.

these pretended Attempts to the Declaration of 1652, behind which they did screen themselves, and which all at once subverted all the Letters and Decrees either of the Council or of the superior Courts which had been the most favourable to the Church. He asserted, with an unparallel'd Impudence, that the said Declaration had been surreptitiously extorted from the Council, unknown to the King, and during the Absence of his Prime Minister. *But the very Date thereof was enough to confute that cursed Calumny.* Then he bitterly inveighed against the Reformed, who, using the Liberty granted them by the Decree of 1652, had restored their Churches in Places unjustly condemned by the Violence of their Enemies. He styled these Churches *Synagogues of Satan, built upon the Patrimony of the Son of God.* He positively affirmed, that from the Year 1626 the Charge of General Deputy of the Churches at Court had been suppressed, *which was a notorious Falshood*; and found fault with them for their daring to tender their Bills of Grievances and Petitions to the King, as if thereby they would have aimed at the setting up again of their political Assemblies. In a word, the Violence and Impudence of that Mountebank was such, that it can hardly be paralleled with any thing of that kind in History. His Speech was nothing better than a Contexture of base Language, downright Lyes, false Colours, odious Amplifyings, ridiculous Complaints, &c. He was fully, but modestly answered by the Reverend Mr. *Charles Drelincourt*, who did not think proper to set down his own Name. That Answer was intitled, *A Letter of an Inhabitant of Paris*

Paris to a Friend in the Country. But, notwithstanding the great Moderation of the Author, and the Politeness of his Style, his Arguments were too cogent, and hit too well home, to be answer'd any otherwise than by the Faggot: The Letter was publickly burnt at *Paris* by the Executioner's Hands. But the worst Effect of the Speech was, that, tho' the Cardinal durst not comply in every thing with the Clergy's Will, because he was to manage *Cromwell*; nevertheless something must be done, in order to please them. Therefore on the 18th of *July* a Declaration was issued forth from the Council, which, as one may say, revok'd that of 1652, saying that it retrenched the most favourable Articles thereof. This is the first occasion, if I don't mistake, wherein *Lewis XIV.* was taught by his Ministers to lye grossly, without any respect for the Publick; a Lesson which he knew perfectly well how to improve, an Art wherein he was such a great Proficient, that even he surpassed his Masters. He was made to say in this Declaration, that he had given that of the 21st of *May* 1652, only on account of the Dread the Reformed were in, lest during the Troubles something should be alter'd to their prejudice. But in the said Declaration of 1652, he says positively that it was upon another account. *And inasmuch*, says he, *that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion have given us undeniable Proofs of their Affection and Fidelity, especially in the present Circumstances whereof we remain fully satisfied, &c.*

Lewis 14.
1656.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Several
Declara-
tions of the
Council.

So it happen'd, that a violent Declamation wherein an Archbishop trod under his feet Equity, Probity, Honour, and Modesty, de-

Lewis 14. deprived the Reformed of the just Recompence
 1656. due for the most faithful, the most seasonable
 Pope A- Services that ever Subjects rendered to
 lexan. VII. their Prince. The Decree of the Council
 of the 28th of *August* against the Reformed
 of *Montpelier*, which deprived them of the
 Right of the Consulate, was likewise an Ef-
 fect of the same Speech; as well as another
 Declaration issued forth the 16th of *December*,
 concerning Patronages and other Rights, and
 the publick Exercise in Episcopal Cities, and
 in the Lordships belonging to Church-Men,
 &c. whereby the Reformed were deprived
 of their Rights in those respects either natu-
 ral or acquir'd.

The Clergy, allured by the good Success
 of their Iniquity, did not stop there; they
 pushed on further their Malice against the
 poor innocent Objects of their Hatred, and
 obtained several Decrees against them from
 the Beginning of this Year. The most fla-
 grant was that of the 11th of *January*, for-
 bidding the Ministers to style themselves
 PASTORS, but only *Ministers of the PRE-*
TENDED REFORMED CHURCH. Further-
 more, they were forbidden to speak irreve-
 rently of the Mysteries of the Church of
Rome, and to call the Papists by any other
 Name than that of *Catholicks*. 3°. They
 were expressly commanded to hang before
 their Houses, on *Corpus Christi* Day, and up-
 on other like occasions, and some other Ar-
 ticles of less moment. Nevertheless these De-
 crees having not been verify'd in Parliament,
 had not the force of Law, till some Years
 afterwards. For *Lewis* himself writing to
 the National Synod held at *Loudun*, in 1659,
 calls the Ministers PASTORS. In this Year

we found not only Annexes, but even ^{Lewis 14.} several Churches unjustly interdicted, as well ^{1657.} as several Acts of a crying Injustice against ^{Pope A-} several private Persons who suffered in their ^{lexan. VII.} Goods, Estates, Liberties, Privileges, and even in their Bodies, on several frivolous Pretences; but really on account of their Religion. But on the 26th of *July* the Council issued forth a Decree, which was of general concern for the Reformed; for they were forbidden henceforward to hold any Colloquy. This was the second Ecclesiastical Court, whereto Matters that could not be finally decided by the Consistories, were brought; and from whence there was Appeal to the Provincial Synod: See what we have said upon that Subject, in our Preface of the 3d Vol. the 2d Part.

It is very easy to judge, by what has been ^{1658.} said, that the Court designed no good to the Reformed; and the Cardinal himself, who was so much beholden unto them for his own Settlement, was resolved to work their ruin. But two Things stay'd him; the first was, that *Cromwell* was still alive; and he knew, that the best means of cultivating his Friendship, was to keep the Edicts. The second was, that he designed to marry *Lewis*, and to bring about a general Peace; for which purpose it was requisite not to offend the Allies abroad, nor to molest too much the Reformed at home, lest if any new Broils should happen, the *Spaniards* might improve the Opportunity, and become more proud and stiff. Upon that account it was, that the Cardinal carried his Complaisance so far for *Cromwell*, as to help him to reduce *Dunkirk* under his Power, providing however for

Lewis 14. the Safety of the Catholick Inhabitants; and
 1658. of their Religion; which Caution was quite
 Pope A- neglected by the Ministers of *Charles II.* when
 lexan. VII. that Prince sold that Place to the *French* some
 Years afterwards. But the Death of the
 Protector delivered the Prime Minister of
Lewis XIV. from very great Perplexities,
 and untied the Hands of our Enemies, who,
 being no longer restrained by any political
 View, were let loose into all manner of In-
 justices and Cruelties. He died this Year in
September, and was succeeded in the Protec-
 torship by his Son *Richard*, who resigned it
 about eighteen Months after.

1659. Fourteen Years were already gone, without
 holding any National Synod, which was very
 detrimental to the Churches; but after many
 Intreaties, they, at last, obtained a Licence
 to hold one at *Loudun*, in the next Month
 of *November*. Before I come to the Trans-
 actions of that Assembly, I must take no-
 tice of a Book reprinted this Year. The
 Title was, *Conference of the Edicts of Pacifi-
 cation, &c.* The Author was *Belloi*, Attor-
 ney-General in the Parliament of *Thoulouse*;
 he published it for the first time in 1600. I
 have not seen the Book, and what I say is
 abstracted out of the History of the Edict
 of *Nantz*. Mr. *Benoit* tells us, that the Au-
 thor adher'd constantly to the Service of
Henry IV. even while that Parliament sided
 with the League; and that he had been
 raised to that Dignity as a Recompence for
 his faithful Services, and for his Sufferings.
 As to the Book itself, he says, that in ge-
 neral the Author's Aim is to persuade the
 Utility and Necessity of observing the Edict
 of *Nantz*. That in several Places he inserts
 the

*Belloi's
 Book.*

the strongest Exhortations to Peace and Obedience; and that it seems, that Union and Concord might have been everlasting in the Kingdom, notwithstanding the Differences of Religion, had all the Catholicks and chiefly the Officers of Justice been animated with that Spirit of Moderation and Equity which he designs and endeavours to inculcate unto them all along his Work. He explains the Words *PERPETUAL* and *IRREVOCABLE*, after a manner which plainly evinces, that it was not lawful to revoke an Edict published under that double Character. And indeed the zealous Catholicks made much noise about these Words, taking them in the obvious Sense which they offer. They pretended, that such an Edict ought never to have been granted to People declared *Hereticks by the Church*. That a provisional Law of Toleration, which should have been in force only as long as the King should be pleased, would have been sufficient; but *Belloi* took a middle way, whereby he construed these two Words, in a meaning whereof every one might have been satisfied. *The Exercise of that Religion*, says he, *shall last and be tolerated in this Kingdom until the Cause should cease, and till those who profess it should be better informed, or convinced in their own Conscience,* BY THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST, of Error and Heresy; and that the King, by these two Words, means only to give a publick Assurance that he does not design nor understand ever to alter or diminish the Will and firm Resolution he is in to keep his People in Rest and Quietness, on account of Religion, as long as the Cause shall last. From whence we may justly infer, that

Lewis 14.
1659.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Lewis 14. the two *Lewis's* XIII. and XIV. who, at several times in the most solemn manner, have ratify'd that Edict of their Father and Grandfather, have adopted the same Intentions, and have bound themselves to wait till those, in whose behalf *Henry IV.* had granted the said Edict, should be *better informed*, or *convicted in their own Conscience of Error and Heresy*: Not by the Authority of one I WILL HAVE IT SO, or by a thousand unjust Vexations, or by military Executions, or by the Gallies, and exquisite Tortures and shameful Death, but BY THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST; ought they not, I say, to wait till such a time, before they should think of revoking that Edict?

Mr. *Benoit* observes further, that though there are several other things in *Belloi's* Work, which may be taken in a very good sense, and be useful for the Intelligence of the Edict; nevertheless one may find in it the Seeds of the most unjust Cavils, whereby the plainest Concessions may be eluded; and he quotes for an Instance, the Capacity acknowledged in the Reformed by the 27th Article of the Edict, of being admitted to any Civil or Military Dignity, Charge, or Office, &c. of what Denomination soever, which *Belloi* understands in the same manner as Cardinal *D'Offat* had done; that is, *that to declare one capable of a Charge, it is not to promise to bestow it upon him.* Besides, he pretends that the Edict of *Nantz* must be explained by the former Edicts, and not these by that; which is quite the reverse, seeing that by an Article very-express of the Edict of *Nantz*, all the former Edicts were revoked, unless as to those things wherein they

are

are agreeable with this last; otherwise the Reformed should have obtained nothing, and their Condition would have been the same after the Edict of *Nantz* as it was before. However, we stand much obliged to *Belloi* for his Kindness in giving such an excellent Testimony to the Loyalty of our Forefathers. (N. B. That he was a *Roman Catholick*.) Indeed, says he, 'tis impossible amongst us to deny, or deprive those of that new Opinion of this Praise, that they have been more faithful to our Kings in these last Commotions, which have shaken the State by a detestable Conspiracy, than most part of the others who were all staggering, and looked always from what side the Wind would blow; therefore the others were nick-named *TANT S'EN FAUT**, as being very far and free from Suspicion of any League or Conspiracy against the State †.

About the middle of July was held the Provincial Synod of *Guienne* at *Montpazier*, a small Town in the Diocese of *Sarlat*. I do but just mention it, because our Enemies took it in their heads to defame the Honour and Fidelity of the Reformed a few Years before the repealing of the Edict of *Nantz*, charging them with having plotted in that Synod to league themselves with the *English*, to invade the Kingdom of *France*. The manifold Incongruities and Inconsistencies of that

* The Word may be rendered in *English*, by *FAR FROM IT*. It must be observ'd, that when the Reformed were requir'd to cry *Long Life to Guise, Prosperity to the League!* they us'd to answer *TANT S'EN FAUT*, but rather, *Long Life to the King*. So that little by little, that Expression denoted a Man strictly adhering to the King.

† *Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom 3. Liv. 5.*

Lewis 14. that stinking Tale, have been so fully display'd by the Reverend Messieurs *Claude* and *Jurieu*, that I need not to dwell any longer upon that Calumny than is necessary to observe, that for near twenty Years together after the Synod of *Mompazier*, nobody had any notice thereof, and that the Persons named in that pretended Plot were none of those that were present in this Synod.

The 29th and last National Synod.

Now the National Synod met according to Appointment at *Loudun*, and opened their Sessions on the 11th of *November*. The Reverend Mr. *John Daillé*, Minister of *Charenton*, was chosen Moderator; the Reverend Mr. *John Maximilian de l'Angle*, Minister at *Rouën*, Assessor; the Reverend Mr. *James des Loges* Minister at *Loudun*, and *Peter Loride des Galinieres* Esq; Elder of the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Then ——— *de la Madelaine* Esq; Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, having presented his Credentials, took his Seat as the King's Commissioner. His Speech was almost modelled upon the former's, made by his Predecessors in like cases, full of Adulations and Flatteries unknown to our Forefathers, styling Acts of *Royal Bounty, Kindness and Justice*, what deserved no better Title than that of *Unmercifulness, Cruelty, and crying Injustice*. But whereas this has been the last time that our Churches have been assembled in a National Synod, I must be a little more particular. The Commissioner then magnify'd to the Skies the Kindnesses of the King and of the Cardinal towards them. He exhorted them to Union and Concord, and to depend for their Subsistence only upon the King's Sovereign Authority. He tacitly upbraided them

them for having heretofore too much rely'd upon their own Strength, which now was broken; but he gave them hopes that the King would make them Partakers of the Benefits of Peace lately concluded; nay, he positively promised them, in his Majesty's own Name, that he would maintain them in the Fruition of the Edicts. Then he accounted for the Nomination of the Marquis of *Ruvigni* to be their General-Deputy attending the Court, instead of the late Marquis of *Arzilliers*, and would have them to look on it as a great favour, that the King would suffer the Marquis of *Ruvigni* to take his Seat, and to vote in the present Synod. That done, he delivered what he was commanded to say, *viz.* That they must not ask for a Political Assembly, in order to name general Deputies. That they must not attempt to treat of any Civil Matters, nor to hold any private Assembly at any time, but in his own Presence; nor to name any Deputies to compose Provincial Councils; that the Provincial Synods ought not to prescribe any general Fasting; that they must oblige the Ministers to be modest and sober in their Sermons, and to forbear the Words *Antichrist* and *Idolaters*, whenever they spoke of the *Pope*, and of the *Catholicks*. Upon which account he blamed the Words *Abuse and Fallacy of Satan*, inserted in the 24th Article of the Confession of Faith. Then he forbid to admit in the Synod, any Foreign Ministers; nor to speak of the Restoration of those who had been deprived by the Decrees of the Council, or of the Parliaments; nor to call any Foreign Minister to be Ministers of the Kingdom, or to admit into the holy

Lewis 14.
1659.
Pope A-
lexan. VII:

Lewis 14. holy Ministry any of those who had follow'd
 1659. their Studies at *Geneva*, or in *Switzerland*, or
 Pope A- in *England*, or in *Holland*; because they
 lexan. VII. are tinctured, says he, in those Academies
 with Republican Notions. And for a greater
 Security that they might obey this Article,
 he required that in the Testimonies given to
 the Students in Divinity, they should insert
 the Place where they were born; that they
 should purposely insert an Article in the Acts
 of the Synod, to exclude all those who should
 have made their Studies in suspected Places.
 He forbid them to read any Letters, before
 he had perused them; and not to receive
 any from Foreigners. He required that the
 Ministers should be obliged to take for their
 Text the Commandments of God, and the
 Obedience due to the King; and to preach
 that it is unlawful for the Subjects to take up
 Arms against him upon any account soever;
 and desired that, for the least, a Sermon
 should be preached upon that Subject during
 the Sessions of the Synod. He forbid like-
 wise, to make use of the Words, *Scourge of*
God, *Persecution*, and such other like; and
 to publish any Book without Approbation
 of one or two Ministers of the Kingdom;
 nor to speak in this Assembly of the Infrac-
 tions of the Edicts.

To these Prohibitions he joined Com-
 plaints of several imaginary Trespasses, where-
 of he pretended the Reformed were guilty.
 But whereas no new Charge could be brought
 against them, he renew'd the very same
 which had been brought in the last Synod of
Charenton in the Year 1644 and 1645, to
 which I refer the Reader. Then he exhort-
 ed them not to protract their Sessions to too
 great

great a Length of time, and declared unto them, that his Majesty would be no more solicited for obtaining another National Synod for the future ; but that he would grant it of his own accord, whenever he should think it meet. That was to say, that they had nothing good to expect from Court, and that their utter Ruin was resolved and decreed, tho' it was to come upon them by degrees.

Lewis^{14.}
1659.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

When the Commissioner had done speaking, the Marquis of *Ruvigni*, for form-sake, delivered the Commission of Deputy-General upon the Table. Then the Moderator made to the Commissioner the usual Compliments, and desired him to use his best Endeavours for dispelling the Jealousies and Suspicions which his Majesty had conceived against the National Synods. He shewed forth, that these Assemblies had nothing more in view than to confirm the Doctrine of Obedience due to the Sovereigns, and insisted upon the Principles of the Reformed on that Subject. Then he required leave to deliberate upon the Propositions he had made in the King's Name.

Which done, they accepted of the Nomination made by the King for their Deputy-General, and the Moderator thanked his Majesty for so good a choice ; and for that he had left them at liberty to accept or refuse. But the Synod had a mind to settle the Deputation upon the ancient footing, and to have a Deputy for the Commons, as well as one for the Nobility ; and accordingly they named three Persons, that the King might chuse one ; Messieurs *des Galinieres*, *de Jaus-saud*, and *des Forges le Coq*, were the Persons ;

Lewis 14. sons; but no regard was had to that Nomi-
 1659. nation: And the Marquis of *Ruvigni* re-
 Pope A- remained sole Deputy, which Commission he
 lexan. VII. filled up till the Revocation of the Edict.

As to the other Points, the Moderator promised not to treat of any other Matter but Ecclesiastical; nor to hold any Assembly but in the Commissioner's presence; not to appoint any Provincial Council; that the Ministers should keep themselves in the Bounds of Moderation, and should forbear all harsh Words or Expressions. But he desired that his Majesty should cause the same Moderation to be observed by the *Roman* Clergy. He excused the Words and Expressions of the Liturgy and of the Confession of Faith, as necessary to explain the Reasons our Reformers had had for breaking with the Church of *Rome*. And as for the Province, whose right it is to call the National Synod, proclaiming a general Fast; and for the Ministers severely reprovving those Parents professing our Religion, who sent their Children to be educated by the *Jesuits*, or other Catholick Teachers; that being done according to the Regulations of our Discipline, which we were allowed by the Edicts to execute, they were in hopes that his Majesty would be pleased to let them enjoy that Liberty. As for the Admission of Foreigners in the Ministry to serve in the Kingdom, he said that since his late Majesty's Prohibition, they had admitted none; but that they were in hopes that the King would not include under the Name of Foreigners those who were born and had been brought up in the Kingdom, tho' of Parents that were Foreigners; and he insisted for Liberty to

send their Students to travel to Foreign Universities, that were either under the Protection of, or in Alliance with the Crown of France. As to the Charge brought against them, that they infring'd the Edicts more than the Catholics; Mr. *Daillé*, in a lively and moving manner, plainly justified their Innocence, and fully retorted the Charge upon our Enemies, which he evinced by so many and various Instances, that it was impossible to gainsay. In a word, his whole Speech was so well temper'd with Strength of Arguments, with Modesty, with Respect to the Sovereign, and at the same time with a noble Assurance, that I have seen nothing that could be paralleled with it in that kind.

After those Preliminaries, the Synod wrote to the King, to the Queen-Mother, and to the Cardinal-Minister, and deputed the Reverend Mr. *Eustache* Minister at *Montpellier*, and *James d'Arlande* Lord of *Mirabel* with the Letters. They were kindly received and answered. The King saith in his Letter, that he was very well pleased with the Conduct of the Reformed: He exhorted them to persevere in their Fealty; promised them all favourable Treatment, and that he would be always delighted in their Preservation under the Benefit of his Edicts, as *he had done*, says he, *till then*. The Supercription was, *To our dear and well-beloved the PASTORS and Elders deputed unto the Assembly of the National Synod of our Subjects professing the Pretended Reformed Religion at Loudun*. He gave them still the Title of Pastors, notwithstanding the Decree of the Council in 1657. As the Cardinal's Answer is but short, I shall insert it here, such as it is.

“ SIRs,

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Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Lewis 14.

1659.

Pope A-
lexan. VII.

The Car-
dinal's
Letter to
the Synod.

“ SIRs, Your Deputies delivered unto me
 “ the Letter, which you have taken the
 “ trouble to write me. I owe you Thanks
 “ for your Civilities ; and the more, because
 “ His Majesty being persuaded as he is of
 “ your inviolable Fidelity, and of your Zeal
 “ for his Service ; 'tis but needless and su-
 “ perfluous to mention any good Offices for
 “ you with His Majesty. I desire you to be-
 “ lieve that I have a very great value for you,
 “ as you do deserve it, being such good
 “ Servants and Subjects to the King. I have
 “ nothing more to say, but to refer myself
 “ to what shall be said of me by your own
 “ Deputies, and by the Letters of Monsieur
 “ *de la Vrilliere*. I remain SIRs, your most
 “ affectionate to do you Service, *The Car-*
 “ *dinal MAZARINI.*”

The King granted them, as usual, the Sum of 16000 Livres for bearing the Expences of the Synod. The Commissioner gave them leave to read the Letters directed to them by the Churches and Academies of *Zurich, Berne, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Geneva*, after he had first perused them ; but he did not allow them to return any Answer. He allowed them likewise to read the Informations sent from *Holland*, for and against the Reverend Mr. *Morus*, whose Calling to serve the Church of *Cbarenton* was then opposed by part of the said Church, because his Reputation seemed to be something ambiguous ; however, having been cleared, he was admitted one of the Pastors of the said Church. He allowed them likewise to endeavour the composing of the Differences arisen at *Castres*, between *d'Escorbiac* and *Brugeres*,

Brugeres, Counsellors in the Chamber of that ^{Lewis 14.} City, and at *Montauban*, where the Church ^{1660.} was divided in two Parties, on account of ^{Pope A-} the same Affair of these two Counsellors, ^{lexan.VII.} who had agreed to refer their Cause to the Decision of the Church of this last City.

The Synod had a mind to renew the Affair of the Annexes; but the Commissioner did not allow them. However they enacted to make of that Affair one of the chief Articles of their Bill of Grievances, and they in-joined the Ministers, who were in the case, not to desist from preaching in those Places, notwithstanding all manner of Opposition, or else they would be dealt with as Deserters from their Ministry. They resolved likewise to proclaim a Fasting-day, which they appointed for the 25th of *March* 1660. The Catholics cried very loud against it, as if the general Peace, and the King's Marriage, had been for the Reformed a Subject of Humiliation and Sorrow. They named *Loride des Galinieres Esq;* to take care of the Affairs of the Reformed Churches at *Paris*, which could not be commodiously managed by the Deputy-General, and appointed for him a Stipend of 3000 Livres; but that Nomination did not take place. Then they drew up their Bill of Grievances, wherewith the Reverend *Alexander Dize* Minister of *Grenoble*, and *Francis de Toulonge* Lord of *Foissac*, and Elder in the Church of *Usez*, were charged. They made several other good and wise Regulations; and having shewed forth in the general Matters as much respect for the Sovereign's Will, as could be expected from Men of Honour, and as much Steadiness as Prudence could allow in such

Lewis 14. nice Conjunctions, they put an end to
 1660. their long Sessions the 10th of *January* 1660.
 Pope A- The Province of *Lower Languedoc* was to
 lezan VII. summon the next National Synod, and the
 City of *Nimes* was the Place appointed to
 meet in, about three Years after ; but our E-
 nemies would not suffer us any longer to en-
 joy our Privileges *.

*Bill of
 Grievan-
 ces.*

Tho' the Bill of Grievances tendered to
 the King by this Synod, is not inserted in
Quick's Synodicon, nevertheless, as it is to
 be supposed that it contained the same Ar-
 ticles as that presented by all the Provincial
 Synods in 1658, and the Memoir drawn up
 in *April* 1659, I shall abstract them out of
 these two Pieces, such as I find them in *Be-
 noi's History*, Tom. 3. Book 5.

The Provincial Synods, in their general
 Bill of Grievances, had reduced all the prin-
 cipal and most important Concessions of the
 Edict to these five Heads. I. The Liberty
 of residing in whatever Place of the King-
 dom they should chuse, without being in any
 wise molested on account of their Religion,
 or obliged to do any thing against their own
 Conscience. II. They were allowed the
 free publick Exercise of their Religion, in cer-
 tain Places purposely appointed for them ;
 where they might do their private Business in
 their Houses, without any Disturbance at all.
 III. That the Parents had an absolute Right
 to dispose of the Education of their Children,
 as they should think proper. IV. That the
 Reformed should be admitted to any Charge,
 Office and Employment, as well as the Ca-
 tholicks. V. And lastly, that the Reformed
 should have their Causes, either criminal or
 civil,

* *Quick's Synodicon*, Tom. 2.

civil; tried before the Chambers of the E-^{Lewis 14.}
dict, or half-parted Chambers created in their ^{1660.}
Behalf. Now, after having observed that ^{Pope A-}
these Concessions could not be of any Preju- ^{lexan. VII.}
dice either to the Catholicks in general; or
the Clergy in particular; but that the least
Contravention of them was destructive to the
Reformed, they went on to prove that the
Edict was in manifold respects infringed in
all these five Points, which they did evince
by twenty or thirty Instances upon each
Article; so that their Veracity could not be
questioned, the Grievance complained of be-
ing plainly made out by such a Number of E-
vidences. They sent their Deputies to Court,
who, after four long Months Delays and
Cavils, obtained at last, with great ado, an
Audience. The Marquis *de la Forêt*, a Gen-
tleman of *Poitou*, was their Foreman; his
Speech was wise, modest, respectful, tho' he
represented with great Energy the Attempts
daily made against the Edicts; which were
authorized by the Declarations and Decrees
which the Council so easily granted the Clergy.
The Decree of the 18th of *July 1656* made
the chief Subject of his Complaints. He ob-
served by the way, that the Clergy's Remon-
strances that had occasioned the Grant there-
of, were but meer Calumnies; and affirmed,
that amongst the King's Subjects, none were
more submissive, obedient and faithful, than
the Reformed. Speaking of the Obedience
due to the King, he said, That they did not
believe that any temporal Power had a right
to dispense the Subjects from their Allegi-
ance; and that as to themselves, after hav-
ing paid their Duty unto God, they chearfully
came to render to *Cæsar* what belonged to

Lewis 14. *Cæsar*. He required that whatever had been
 1660. enacted, contrary to the Edict of *Nantz*,
 Pope A- should be repealed, and that it should be
 lexan. VII. fully restored in all its Parts. When he had
 done speaking, he put the Petition or Bill of
 Grievances into the King's Hands; and that
 Prince told him, *I will examine your Petition,*
and do you Justice. After the King's Au-
 dience, the Deputies desired that of the Car-
 dinal; he denied it at first, but at last he
 consented to receive the Deputies without
 any Ceremony; so that they named only two
 of them to speak to him in their Name.
 The Reverend Mr. *De Langle* Minister of
Rouën, deceased Canon of *West-Munster*, and
De Thiac Esq; Deputy of *Xaintonge*, were
 conducted to his Eminency at *Vincennes* by
 the General Deputy. They met him alone,
 and Mr. *De Langle* made a very fine Speech,
 tho' engaging and adulatory, it was very
 pressing and moving upon the same Subject,
 whereof the Marquis of *La Forêt* had treated
 before the King; but the Reverend Speaker
 expatiated himself a little more upon it, and
 in a few words he rehearsed all the Inju-
 stices done to the Reformed all over the King-
 dom: The Insolence of the People against
 them, being persuaded that they were de-
 prived of the King's Protection; their Ex-
 clusion from all honourable Employments,
 even from Masterships of the lowest Trades;
 the frequent taking away of their Children
 to be brought up in the *Roman* Religion,
 even in their most tender Years; the Oppo-
 sitions they met with in several Places, where
 they had a mind to settle themselves; the
 Prosecutions the Ministers had to undergo,
 on account of the Annex; the unjust De-
 crees

crees daily issued forth from the Council and from the Parliaments. The Cardinal's Answer was very kind and obliging, but *after the Italian way*; and all that the Deputies could obtain, were WORDS. *Lewis* had been taught to have no regard for the Reformed, nor for the Promises he made to them, how deeply soever his own Honour should be engaged in it. It is said, that some time after, a certain Person representing unto him the Examples of *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* he told him, *The King my Grandfather loved, but feared not you; the King my Father feared, but not loved you; and for my part, I neither fear nor love you.* That is very like *Lewis XIV.* Now it must be supposed, that these Deputies having not succeeded in their Commission, the National Synod inserted in their Bill of Grievances the very same Articles which were in this general Petition of the Provincial Synods: But the Deputies of the National Synod were not more successful than those of the Provincials; they were both baffled by the Artifices of that treacherous Court.

Their restless Adversaries, the Popish Clergy, used all Endeavours to envenom the important Services they had done to the Crown; they suggested to *Lewis* and his Ministers, that if upon occasion they had been able to save the State from Ruin, they might likewise upon another utterly overthrow it. Therefore it was but prudent to suppress that Party, and what good they had done must be no longer regarded, but as an Indication of the Mischief which some time or other they were capable of effecting. This devilish Policy, which hinders

Lewis 14.
1660.
Pope A-
lexan. XII.

Abominable Suggestions of the Roman Clergy.

Lewis 14. Subjects from serving their Prince, to avoid the
 1660. bringing upon themselves or their Posterity
 Pope A. Punishments instead of Recompences, took
 Alexan. VII. immediately with the ungrateful Court.

They began to execute the unjust and cruel Design, long ago set on foot, of rooting out the Reformed; and that they might clearly understand, that it was their Zeal and Loyalty for their King that now occasioned their Ruin, they immediately fell foul on the Cities of *Montauban, Rochelle, &c.* where the Reformed had the most signalized themselves for the Court's Interest: so that for the future we shall see nothing else but a continual Scene of the most heinous Injustices, and of the most barbarous Cruelties.

1661. Was I to relate the Injustices and cruel
 Of Caillon Treatments done to private Persons, I should
 de la have taken notice of the Prosecution and
 Touche. Martyrdom of *Caillon de la Touche* Esq;
 That unfortunate Gentleman was calumni-
 ously charged with having stolen the Chalice
 of a Church; his prosperous Circumstances,
 his known Probity and Honour, his Con-
 stancy in the most cruel Torture which he
 was put to, were not capable to deliver him
 from the Fury of the bloody Parliament of
Rennes, where he was tried; he was con-
 demn'd to be broken upon the Wheel, and
 his Corpse to be burnt. The Sentence was
 executed. But that was not all: Some time
 after that Execution, some Thieves were ap-
 prehended and put in Jail; in the Torture,
 they own'd, without being ask'd, the Fact
 for which *La Touche* had suffered; and not-
 withstanding all the means made use of to
 oblige them to recant, or at least to be silent,
 they persisted in their Confession to the last
 Moment.

Moment. The Widow of the Deceased, notwithstanding such a glaring Evidence of her Husband's Innocency, could never obtain of the Parliament a Reversion of the Sentence, nor a Restoration of his good Name by any publick Instrument. But I will insist only upon Matters of a general Concern.

The *Sorbonne* having declar'd, in a full Assembly of its Doctors, that she ABHORRED the Versions of the Holy Scripture, and notified the same to the Assembly of the Clergy, which was solliciting that strange Declaration; Pope *Alexander* published a Bull the 8th of *January*, wherein he styled the Translators of the Scripture SONS OF PERDITION.

By a Decree of the Council, issued forth the 25th of the same Month, the Reformed were forbidden to call their Religion ORTHODOX, but only Pretended Reformed Religion. On the same Day another Decree was issued forth; forbidding the Ministers to speak loud when they exhorted the Criminals in Jail, and pray'd with them at the Place either of their Confinement or of their Execution. And on the 18th of *February*, another was issued forth on the same Subject, forbidding the Jailors and the Minister to suffer any body to be present at their Exhortations. But these Things were but Trifles in comparison of the cruel Treatment the Cities of *Montauban* and *Rochelle* receiv'd, and which engrossed the publick Attention for this whole Year. The occasion of their Misfortunes was as follows:

There was a College at *Montauban*, which, for a long while having been occupied by the Reformed alone, had been at last, like that of *Nimes* divided; and the Jesuits had

Lewis 14. obtained what had been taken from the
 1661. former, who, however were kept in Posses-
 Pope A- sion of the best part thereof; so that the
 lexan. VII. Jesuits Students were obliged to keep close
 in their Forms, as soon as they came, and
 durst hardly appear in any other Place of the
 College. Such a Constraint was intolerable
 to the good Fathers. For a long time they
 had endeavoured to free themselves from it,
 but till then they could not find any favour-
 able Opportunity, and had been forced to
 rest satisfied with their being tolerated only.
 Now they took it in their heads to shake off
 the Yoke; for which purpose, as they were
 wont to represent from time to time by their
 Scholars some Theatrical Piece in the largest
 of their Forms; they, in 1660, erected their
 Stage in the College-Yard, on pretence that
 the Intendant and other Persons of Quality
 would do them the honour to be present at
 that Representation. They had asked, and
 obtained the Consent of the Rector of the
 Academy, for what they did; but, whether
 thro' Malice or Inadvertency, they built
 their Stage in such a manner, as to stop one
 of the Gates of the College, so that the Re-
 formed Scholars were obliged to take a long
 Circuit to come in. Whereupon the impru-
 dent Youths pick'd a Quarrel, and a Fray
 ensued; they pulled down the Stage, they
 beat the Carpenters and some of the *Jesuits*
 Scholars. The Magistrate came, apprehend-
 ed some of the most mutinous, and sent them
 to Jail; but, far from repressing the others
 by that Act of Severity, they took occasion
 from it to do worse. The Students enjoy'd
 this Privilege, that they could be tried only
 by the Academical Council, and could be

imprisoned only by its Authority, and they had their own private Jail. Now looking upon the Magistrate's Proceeding as an infringement of their Privileges, they went tumultuously and broke open the Jail, and set their Comrades at liberty. The Consuls came in their Regalia, and some of the Professors in their Gowns; but neither the Authority of the one, nor the Remonstrances of the other, could appease them.

Lewis 14.
1661.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Now the Jesuits missed not this opportunity. They sent Information of the Fact to Court, not drawn according to the Rules of Truth and Justice, but according to the Jesuitical Methods; for they made of that private Case, wherein none but young Students were concerned, a publick one, wherein they involv'd not only their Professors and Regents, but the whole Church of *Montauban*, as if they had been the Abettors thereof, or had had any hand in it. They pretended that the Honour and Safety of the Catholick Religion requir'd, that such Indignities and Affronts put upon its Teachers should not go unpunished. Thereupon *Hotman*, Intendant of Justice at *Montauban*, received Orders from Court to dispossess the Reformed of their College, and to give it whole to the Jesuits. *Hotman* notified his Orders to the Consuls. These conven'd the most notable Citizens in a Chamber adjoining to the new Temple, and expos'd the Advice which the Intendant had given them. The People understanding the Matter, instantly took fire, and some hundreds of them came tumultuously to the Church-Door. They suspected their Magistrates, at least they charged them with Neglect of Duty, for not having timely informed

informed

Lewis 14. informed the Court of the Right they had to
 1661. the Academy. They could not bear the Pro-
 Pope A- position of giving over that Right, they re-
 lexan. VII. quired time to inform the King of the Justice
 of their Cause; at least they desired to see the
 King's Order, and humbly besought the
 Intendant to shew it to them, promising to
 submit as soon as they should be duly ac-
 quainted with his Majesty's Will.

Their Request was but reasonable, and had
Hotman been well intentioned, he might
 have indulged that People so far without
 derogating to his Character. But their Ene-
 mies wanted to provoke them to some un-
 due thing, that they might have a pretence
 for crushing them. The wisest among the
 Reformed Inhabitants were afraid lest, little
 by little, that Murmur should degenerate into
 an open Sedition, whereby they should fall
 into the Snares of their Enemies. Therefore,
 in order to prevent it, they found no better
 means than to open the Church-Doors, a
 Minister came up in the Pulpit, and some
 Psalms being sung, Prayers were said, and
 some other Acts of Devotion having been
 performed, they had the desired Success; as
 they had had at other times and in other
 Places on like occasions, the People were pa-
 cify'd, and having charged some few amongst
 them with the Care of their Concerns, the
 rest went home without any noise. The
 Conclusion of this Assembly of the most
 notable Citizens was, that they unanimously
 resolved to send the Keys of the College to
 the Intendant, who put the Jesuits in posses-
 sion thereof, without the least Opposition.

But

But the wicked Man did not stop there; he sent Informations to Court of whatever was past, which he magnified in every respect; and in order not to be contradicted by those whom he was pleased to charge, he gave them no notice of what he wrote upon their account. They were informed thereof from *Paris*, and at the same time they were told from the same Place, that something very extraordinary was hatching against them. And indeed the Marquis of *St. Luc*, Lieutenant in *Guienne*, had orders to march to *Montauban*, and to destroy it. Accordingly he came with about 5000 Men, Horse and Foot, took possession of the Gates and of the publick Places, and quartered his Troops upon the Reformed. The Magistrate agreed with the Officers for a certain Sum, so that they kept their Men within certain Bounds; but the Stock of the City was exhausted in more than four Months time that these quarterings lasted. And to the end that the Inhabitants should not doubt but that their Religion was the chief Cause of these military Executions; those who turned Catholicks, were delivered of their Guests.

That was not all: *Hotman* received Orders to inform against those who had been in the late Riot, and to judge them conjointly with the Presidial, without Appeal. Consequently he caused several Persons to be arrested, two of whom were condemned to Death and executed; others were sentenced to be whipt, others to be present at the Execution; others to Banishment, and their Goods and Estates forfeited. During these Transactions, the City deputed to Court for making their Remonstrances to the King. The Deputies

were

Lewis 14.
1661.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Lewis 14.
1661.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

were kindly received outwardly, and sent back full of Hopes; but, like *Uriah*, in the Old Testament, they were the Carriers of the Orders to raze their Fortifications, to fill up their Ditches, to level their Walls, to deprive the Reformed of the Consulship. And so the Fidelity of that poor People received the Reward due to Rebellion.

Against
Rochelle.

About the same time *Rochelle*, without the least Provocation, had a sad Experience of that devilish Maxim held by their Enemies, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; for notwithstanding the Declaration made after the Reduction of that City in 1628, a Decree was issued forth by the Council of State the 11th of *November*, confirming the Ordinance of *Colbert de Terron*, Intendant of Justice and Police in *Brouage*, *Aulnix* and *Rochelle*, published the 14th of *October*, for expelling out of that City the Reformed that were not Inhabitants, married, Burgessees, or Merchants trading for their own Account, before the Invasion of the *English* in 1628; such as Servants, Factors, Journey-men, Students, Clerks, and Commissioners, all these were ordered to quit the City: Those also who had left the City since its Reduction, for to carry Arms against the King. *Item*, Those, who were come in with the *English*, and had assisted them in their Invasion. *Item*, Those, who after the Declaration of the Privy Council in 1629, had together with their Families forsaken the City, to go and settle themselves elsewhere. *Item*, Those who having been christned and brought up in the Catholick Religion, had turned Reformed. *Item*, The Relapsers.

lapers. *Item,* The Ministers that were not born at *Rochelle*, &c. &c.

Lewis 14.

1661.

Pope A-lexan. VII.

That Decree was register'd at the Seat of *Rochelle*; and *Bomier*, one of the King's Attorneys, was the Man that pushed on that Affair with all his Might and Interest. He was one of the hottest Persecutors; he had been brought up amongst the *Jesuits*, and being naturally base and wicked, he was delighted with their Methods. After the Registering, the Ordinance and the Decree were proclaimed by sound of Trumpets, commanding all those that were designed, of what Rank and Quality soever, to quit the City in a Fortnight, on the Penalty of 500 Livres; to which they would be constrained by selling of their Moveables. When the Proclamation was made, those who were lately come to settle at *Rochelle*, submitted. They were tempted by very fair Promises, if they would turn *Catholicks*; but they were Proof against these Temptations, and chose to suffer, rather than to do any thing against their Conscience. (Note, that this happened in the midst of the Winter, and that at that time the Rains continued very heavy for three Weeks together.) But those who were Natives of *Rochelle*, tho' they were sensible that they could be included in one or other of the Cases specify'd in the Declaration, had a mind to wait till they should be prosecuted, in hopes to find some Mitigation. But, on the contrary, their Persecutors treated them with the utmost Severity. All those who were summoned, were condemned; nay, they could not obtain a Delay, even of a single Day, not even of a few Hours. But the Serjeants came instantly after Sen-

Lewis 14. tence had been given ; they seized upon what-
 1661. ever was the best in the House, to the Value of
 Pope A- the Fine, and for the Charges of the Law, and
 lexan. VII. exposed the rest to sale in the open Street.
 They insulted, by Words, the poor People ;
 and, joining Cruelty to Injustice, they pulled
 out of their Houses decrepid old Men and
 Women unable to stand, Women in Labour
 or newly brought to Bed, Persons sick in
 Bed, without any Mercy ; some of them
 died in the Arms of the Carriers, and others
 with the Fatigue and Grief. This Persecu-
 tion lasted two Months, and near 300 Fa-
 milies were in that manner and upon these
 accounts expelled the City.

1662. I shall here pass over numberless unjust
Against Decrees and Declarations upon several Affairs
Milhaud. relating to our Churches, because I chuse to
 sum up the whole under some few proper
 general Heads in the Conclusion of this Book.
 But I cannot omit the cruel Treatment the
 Reformed of *Milbaud* met this Year. They
 had no less distinguished themselves for the
 King's Service in the late Insurrections of the
 Princes, than *Rockelle* and *Montauban*, and
 they fared no better than these two Cities.

1663. *Milbaud* is the chief City of *Rouërgue*.
 The Reformation was very early received in
 it, and the Reformed made the far greatest
 Number of the Inhabitants. The *Capucines*
 Missionaries settled in it, having sent for the
 Decree of the 13th of *November* 1662, which
 regulated the Hour for Burials, and the Number
 of Assistants, put it in their heads to have it
 executed. Such a Commission did not at all
 belong unto them, and it is plain enough,
 that on this occasion their chief aim was to
 raise a Sedition in the City. It happened so,
 that

that on the 10th of *February* there was a Bu-^{Lewis 14-}rial, which the Reformed made at their ^{1663.}Hour, and with the same Attendance as u-^{Pope A-}sual; for the said Decree having not been ^{lexan. VII.}notified unto them by the proper Persons, could not be of any force as to them. The *Capucines* took this opportunity for opposing them, they assaulted the Funeral, and endeavoured to stop their March with such a Violence, that some of the Company, not able to bear any longer, fell upon them, and abused them. Those GOOD ANGELICAL FATHERS failed not to magnify the Harm they had received. They charged the Reformed with having trod them under their Feet, bruised them with Sticks, plucked off their Beards; and that they designed to set their Convents in flames, had they not been hinder'd by a prodigious Fall of Snow. The Informations were modelled upon these Complaints without any farther Examination; the Minister of the Place, one of the worthiest of his time, was falsely charged. The Intendant *Pellot* received Orders to revenge the *Capucines*. He did it with the utmost Severity, nay Cruelty, seeing that there had not been any Bloodshed. Two were hang'd, two condemn'd to make *A-mende Honorable*, and to Banishment; two others were banish'd for five Years; the Minister for ever; some Women were sentenced to be whipped; 29 or 30 others, who had absented, were hanged or burnt in Effigy. That was not all; all the Reformed of *Mil-baud* were declared Accomplices of the Rebellion against the King's Orders, and fined 14000 Livres, besides the Charges. They were deprived for ever of the Consulship,

Pope A-
 lexan. VII.

College of
 Castres
 given to
 the Jesuits

Amongst other flagrant Injustices done to the Reformed this Year, these were some of the most considerable: The College of *Castres*, as well as that of *Nimes*, had formerly belong'd to the Reformed exclusively to all others, but they had been obliged to yield part of each to the Catholicks. Now the first Regent of *Castres* being deceased, the Catholick Consuls of that City, spurred to it by the Archdeacon of *Castres*, deprived the second Regent and several other Officers of the College who were Reformed. Their pretence was, that by the Decrees the Reformed could keep only small Schools to teach Children to read, write, and cast Accounts: which Pretence was absolutely false; for if that had been the case, to be sure the Reformed Academy at *Montauban*, far from being transferred to *Puilaurent*, as it had been two Years before by the Court's Appointment, would have been intirely suppressed. However, the Reformed sued the Consuls before the *half-parted Chamber*, where the Catholicks referred the two Parties to the King. The Reformed Counsellors consented to it, but they would have it so, that nothing should be innovated in the Matter to the prejudice of the King's Will heretofore notified and registered in that Chamber. A little after the Catholicks of *Castres*, and the States of the Diocese, resolved to settle the *Jesuits* in that College, and authorized the Bishop to treat with them. This obliged the Reformed to address themselves to the Commissioners for executing the Edict of *Nantz*: To be short, their Instances were not regarded,

garded, the Justice of their Cause was slighted; the Council who was in possession, to tread under their feet Justice, Truth, Honesty, and whatever is sacred amongst Men, whenever a Case before them had any relation to the Rights of the Reformed, issued forth a Decree the 17th of *September*; whereby they were ordered to produce in three Months time the Instruments whereby they were entitled to any Share in the said College; and in the meanwhile they settled the *Jesuits* in it, they ascribed unto them the head Masterhip of the College, the two Regent Places designed for the Catholicks; and the Licence of filling by Provision the two other Places belonging to the Reformed, till the King should have ordered otherwise, which he never did.

Lewis 14.
1664.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

The *Jesuits* had but indirectly interven'd in this Affair of *Castres*; but it was not the same at *Nimes*. They were Party against the Reformed. The College had been divided between them and the Catholicks in *January* 1634, by some Commissioners of the half-parted Chamber. There had been a new Transaction between them in *April* 1652, confirmed by the King's Council; the Deed of that Confirmation had been registred in the Rolls of the Chamber of *Castres*, and of the Court of Accounts at *Montpellier*; so that all the most solemn Forms required in such cases had been observed. Thereupon the Reformed thought that they could make such an use of their Portion as they might think proper, having over it an undeniable Right grounded upon the most glaring Evidences. Therefore they made some new Buildings for enlarging their College. The *Jesuits* suffered them to go on till the Building was almost finished.

And at
Nimes.

Lewis 14.

1664.

Pope A-

lexan. VII.

nished. Then they tender'd a Petition to the Commissioners, shewing forth that the *Reformed* had usurped those Places whereupon they had built, (*tho' it was plain that part thereof belonged to themselves, and the other to the City, with which they had agreed;*) they pretended, that the King having granted them the College, they ought to be superior in it; and that no Alteration could be made in it without their Consent. The Commissioners were divided, and the Affair was brought before the King's Council; where, after their wonted custom, the Reformed were condemned. But as they were sensible that their Sentence was unjust, they endeavoured to cover it with a Veil; which served only to cover themselves with a greater Shame. LEWIS ordered that the *Syndick* of the College of *Jesuits* should be put in possession of all the Places, which before the Transaction of 1652 had made part of the College, together with all the new Buildings erected since that time upon the same Ground. What was built upon the City Ground, was restored to the Commonalty. By that means the *Jesuits* were put in possession of the little Temple, the demolishing whereof was ordered by a Decree of the same Day; and they took for themselves Buildings erected at the expence of the Reformed. Then GOOD LEWIS confirmed the Partition made in 1634; but at the same time he shamefully destroyed it by his Restrictions: for he ordered that the *Syndick* of the *Jesuits* should have the sole Direction and Administration of the Revenue. 2°. That the Reformed should not teach Logick, but only the *Jesuits*. 3°. That the said *Jesuits* should absolutely have the supreme Direction of the College,

no Reformed Regent could be admitted without being approved and received by their Rector; and they could not be deprived, but by his own Consent; they and their Disciples were obliged to be submissive to his Orders; he had a full Authority to deprive them without giving Cause, &c. Let the Reader judge, whether there was any Equity in that Decree containing such odious Conditions, whereto the Reformed could not yield without wounding their Honour or their Conscience. Nevertheless they could obtain no Redress.

But the Affair of *Privas* is of such a shocking nature, that one can't read it without Astonishment and Horror. The Reformed had been restored to that Town by *Lewis XIII.* and in consideration of the great Services they had done him in the Wars against his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*; they had obtained leave to rebuild their Houses, and till their Lands, and to trade. Nay, by a Decree of the King's Council, they had been admitted to the Magistracy and all other publick Offices of the Town. But they were so much neglectful, that they did not require the Repeal of the Declaration issued forth against them in 1629, during the last Civil War of the Duke of *Roban*, whereby their Goods and Estates were forfeited, they were forbidden to settle themselves again in that Town, and it was declared that if at any time they did contravene, Possession should not be deemed a Reason whereupon they could ground any Right. Now the wicked Clergy thought proper to improve the Simplicity of these poor People. They were allured to it by the cruel Success they had had against the Reformed of *Rochelle*, whose Case was near the same. There was at *Privas*

Lewis 14.
1664.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Cruelties
at Privas.

Lewis 14. two hundred and sixty Families, two hundred
 1664. whereof were Reformed : So then their Ene-
 Pope A- mics (true *Cannibals*) sued them before the
 lexan. VII. Council, in consequence of the said Article of
 that Declaration. They were mightily sup-
 ported by the Prince of *Conti* Governor of
Languedoc, and after very tedious Pursuits
 they obtained a Decree the 22d of *February*
 this Year, whereby HONEST LEWIS ordered
 that the Declaration of 1629 should be execut-
 ed in its full extent, forbid the Reformed of
 what Quality soever to inhabit that Town
 upon a thousand Livres Penalty, enjoined the
 Inhabitants of that Persuasion to quit it in-
 stantly, on the Penalties enacted by the said
 Declaration ; allowed the Catholicks, the new
 Converts, or those who should turn hereafter
 Catholicks, to dwell in it, restoring them to
 their Goods and Estates, notwithstanding the
 incurred Forfeiture, &c. &c. That Decree
 was executed with all the Rigour and Cruelty
 that could be expected from *Cannibals*.
 The Reformed were forced out of their Houses
 and Settlements, all their Goods and Move-
 ables were plunder'd ; they were tortur'd by
 the Soldiery sent by the Prince of *Conti* and
 the Count *du Roure* to execute the Decree,
 in order to rob them of their Money, or to
 force them to declare where they had it con-
 cealed. Their Minister, namely *A-Coras*, or
Accaurat, a good old Man of above 80 Years,
 had his share of Sufferings too, and was sum-
 moned before the Council to clear himself of
 the calumnious Charges laid against him.
 The most humble Petitions, the most moving
 Intreaties, in behalf of these poor People, were
 needless. But such was the GREATNESS of
 LEWIS THE GREAT, he was proof
 against

against all Sense, not only of Pity, but even of Justice and Equity.

I shall take notice in another Place of a famous Writing published the Beginning of this Year by the *Jesuit Mefnier*, against the Rights and Privileges of the Reformed. The most notable Injustices of this Year were as follows: The Reformed Commissioner, who was joined with a Catholick in all the Provinces, was forbidden, by a Decree of the Council of the 26th of *January*, to contradict his Colleague in any thing; so that he was obliged to see the most crying Frauds and Injustices done under his Name, without daring to oppose them: By another Decree of the 24th of *April*, the Council referred to the Commissioners the Cognizance of all Affairs concerning Religion, and the Exercise thereof, Church-Yards, Temples, the Observation of the Edict, &c. from whom however the Parties might appeal to the Council. The Commissioners Catholicks set up themselves to report their own Causes in the Council, which was very unjust, and of immense Prejudice to the Reformed; for they drew up the Cause after their own Passion, without taking any notice of the Oppositions made by the Reformed; they used to set in a full light the Reasons of the Catholicks, but they hardly related those of the Reformed, and they became in a little time Judges and Party in their own Causes. It was by these means that so many Churches were suppressed in *Britany*. *D'Argouges* Commissioner in that Province, a violent and furious Persecutor, having tried those Churches, and drawn up the verbal Process, set up himself for Judge in the Council; the rest of the Counsellors owning that

Lewis 14.
1665.

Pope A-
lexan.VII.

Several
unjust De-
crees.

Lewis 14 that was not just, nevertheless he was suffere

1665. to go on.

Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Nobody would take the part of these afflicted Churches, besides the Dutcheſs of *Rohan*; but ſhe was out of favour at Court. The Dutcheſs of *Soubize* her Daughter had withſtood the Purſuits of the GALLANT LEWIS, who, being not uſed to meet with Reſiſtance, was extremely provok'd at the young Dutcheſs's Virtue; ſo that *D'Argouges* finding his Maſter in a Fit of this ill Humour, obtained without much ado the Confirmation of his Sentences; and tho' the Chancellor had engaged the Council to ſpare the Church of *Blain*, at leaſt during the Life of the Dutcheſs, who reſided in that Place, nevertheless he ordered her to level that Church to the ground, which was executed.

1666.

So many Vexations, Injuſtices and Cruel-
Lewis 14. ties done to the Reformed without the leaſt
his Answer Provocation, and only in order to gratify an
to the Elec- impudent Clergy, obliged ſome Princes in
tor of Alliance with *France* to interfere for them.
Branden- Amongſt others, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*
bourg. wrote in their Behalf to the King. And
whereas at that time the Court was hatching
the Plot, which they put in execution about
ſix Years after, for uſurping the Sovereignty
of the *Seven United Provinces*, it was their
Interſt to behave themſelves in a manner, ſo
as not to give occaſion to the Proteſtant Princes
to dive into that deeply laid Deſign for the
Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, and
conſequently to keep ſtill ſome Meaſures with
the Reformed Subjects. Upon that account it
was, that *Lewis* being not able to juſtify, or
even to excuſe ſuch odious Injuſtices, as thoſe
committed under his Name, and by his Au-
thority,

thority, against his Reformed Subjects, thought that it was better to deny that any such thing was done in his Kingdom. Accordingly, in his Answer to the Elector's Letter, he told him, *That some ill-designing People had published some seditious Libels in Foreign Countries, as if his Reformed Subjects were deprived of the Benefit of the Edicts, Declarations, &c. granted them by his Predecessors and by himself, which would be, says he, against my Intention; for I do take care that they should be maintained in all their Privileges, and that they should be kept upon the same Footing with the rest of my other Subjects.* And that he might be the better credited, he adds, *To that I am engaged by my Royal Word.* And, N. B. BY THE GRATEFUL SENSE I HAVE of the Testimonies of their Fidelity they have given me in the last Commotions; for they took up Arms for my Service, and vigorously as well as successfully opposed the wicked Designs which a Party of Rebels had formed in my State against my Authority, &c. What more glaring Evidence can we desire of the Innocence of the Reformed, than such a Testimony offer'd in their Behalf by their very Persecutor?

The Persecutions continued very severe in Poitou this Year and part of the next, many of their Churches were condemned and demolished, and a vast Number of Persons of every Rank and Sex were sent into several Prisons, where they were kept, some for several Months, others for several Years, without any regard for their Age, Sex, or Quality; amongst whom were the Ladies *De Forin*, and *De Regnié*; several were condemned to Death, and executed for having been present at some religious Assemblies.

1667.

Lewis 14.
 *666.
 Pope A-
 lexan.VII.

Lewi 14. Pope Alexander died this Year, and was
 1667. succeeded the 20th of June by Cardinal Ros-
 Pope Cle- pigliosi of Pistoia, who took the Name of Cle-
 ment IX. ment IX.

1668. This Year the Provinces sent a new Depu-
 A Deputa- tation to the King, to endeavour the Redress
 tion to of their manifold Grievances. The Reverend
 Court. Mr. Du Bose Minister at Caën, having been
 deputed by his Province, was, on account of
 his rare Talents, named by the Deputies of the
 other Provinces for setting down in Writing
 some Considerations upon their Grievances,
 which he did perfectly well. But another Af-
 fair of very great Importance for the Reform-
 ed happened, which afforded him an opportu-
 nity of displaying these Talents in a way which
 redounded much to his Honour. The Clergy
 were endeavouring to obtain the Suppression
 of the *Chambers of the Edict*, and of the *half-
 parted Chambers*. Every one may judge how
 deeply the Reformed were affected by that
 Piece of Injustice. The Court was upon the
 point of gratifying our Enemies in that re-
 spect, when the Deputies were first informed
 of it. They were sensible of the bad conse-
 quence such a Step of the Council might be
 attended with, preparing clandestinely such a
 Declaration against them, without giving them
 any notice of it; and they saw plainly, that
 if they suffered Things to go at random,
 it would be very easy to subvert the Edict
 piece by piece, and totally to destroy it. They
 found no better means for preventing it, than
 to cast themselves at his Majesty's Feet; but
 the Difficulty was, how to obtain Audience,
 which was soon removed; and *Du Bose* was
 their Prolocutor. He spoke, he pleased, he
 moved, he convinced; and the King, who
 was

was prepossessed against the Ministers, and who at first feigned not to take notice of this Orator, did no sooner hear him speaking, than he began to listen with great Attention to what he said; and at the end was pleased to own, that that Affair had not been represented unto him under that Shape. He conferred with *Du Bose* for some time upon that Subject, and told him, that he would consider of it. But, notwithstanding this and several other Conferences held with the Ministers of State, and their Petition and Remonstrances; all their Cares and Troubles hinder'd not the King from suppressing these Chambers in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Rouën*, by a Decree of *January* 1669. The Reformed were for the future referred to the Great Chamber, for all the verbal Appeals; all the Favour granted them was, that they may challenge two Counsellors Clerks without shewing Cause. As for the Writing-Suits, they were referred to the Chamber of Inquests, where they were not allowed to challenge any body; only the Counsellors Clerks were not to be admitted Rehearers of the Cases.

Lewis 14.
1668.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.

This was indeed a terrible Stroke to the Liberties and Privileges of the Reformed Churches, whereof the Clergy boasted as of a compleat Victory got over these Hereticks, whereby they expected to have crushed them. Nevertheless the Court thought proper to give the Reformed a sham Comfort, by revoking the Declaration of 1666. That Declaration was the Clergy's Work, and consequently framed as it could be expected from such Men; it suited very well their proud and cruel Genius. I have called this revocatory Declaration a *sham Comfort*, not but that there

1669.
Some Fa-
vour shew-
ed to the
Reformed.

was

Lewis 14. was in it many things which they could rest
 1669. satisfied with, but because it was not the
 Pope Cle- Court's Intention that it should be executed.
 ment IX. Two things above all were to be found in the
 Preamble, which much pleased their Fancies :
 1°. That the Decrees, whereupon the Decla-
 ration of 1666 was grounded, were repealed
 with the Declaration itself; so that the Clergy,
 by a single Stroke, lost all the vast Sums
 of Money and Trouble they had been at and
 paid for getting this Declaration. 2°. The
 King was made to say positively that this new
 Declaration would stand as A LAW FOR THE
 FUTURE, which caused the Reformed to be-
 lieve that, for the future, there would be some-
 thing sure and lasting, which should stand in-
 stead of a new Law, and would be no longer
 obnoxious to Cavils. But as that Declaration
 was grounded only upon some political Views,
 it was observed only so long as these Views
 subsisted, and did fall to the ground even be-
 fore they ceased.

Of Mar-
 cilli.

There was a Gentleman, namely *Marcilli*,
 professing the Reformed Religion, who being
 grieved to the very heart for the manifold In-
 justices done to those of his Profession in
France, and especially at *Rockelle* his own
 Country, took it in his head, of his own ac-
 cord, without any Adviser or Accomplice, to
 bring his Complaints into all the Protestant
 Courts of *Europe*, and to incite them to humble
 that formidable Power which was made an ill
 use of, to the utter Ruin of Religion. He suc-
 ceeded so far in the *North*, as to engage the
 King of *Sweden* to conclude the Triple Al-
 liance with *England* and the *United Provinces*.
 He had prevailed with King *Charles II.* hav-
 ing opened his Eyes upon several things,
 which

which were disguised unto him, either by the Agents of *France*, or thro' the Perfidiousness of his own Ministers. The Marquis of *Ruvigni* was then near this Prince; the King having sent him to remove the Jealousies, which *Charles* had but too justly conceived of his Designs, and of the Conduct of his Council; and he had been named for that Embassy not only on account of his great Capacity, but also on account of his Religion, whereby he was better enabled than another to persuade that his Master did intend no harm against Religion, and that he treated his Reformed Subjects with Equity. I don't know how to reconcile this Message with the general Character of the Marquis. How a Reformed, nay a Deputy-General of the Reformed, perfectly well acquainted with all the Wrongs, Injustices, &c. done every day to his Brethren, and no less acquainted with the wicked Designs of the Clergy; and the bad Dispositions of the King's Council against us, could with a safe Conscience endeavour to persuade His *Britannick* Majesty, that His Most Christian Majesty bore no ill-will to the Reformed; that he treated them with Equity like the rest of his Subjects? How could he endeavour to deter His *Britannick* Majesty from joining with the two other Protestant Powers, in order effectually to oppose the ambitious Designs of the *House of Bourbon*, which aimed already at an Universal Monarchy, and at the total Extirpation of the Protestant Religion? And how deeply must he have been concerned when he saw King *Charles*, (who was not otherwise well-inclined for that Alliance, wherein he had enter'd only for dazzling the Parliament's Eyes, and for obtaining larger Supplies,) not

Lewis 14.
1669.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.

only

Lewis 14
1669.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.

only renouncing unto it, but even entering upon a War against the United Provinces, which cost the Nation above five Millions Sterling? But the best of Men are subject to the Failures of human Nature*.

To return, *Ruvigni* being thoroughly satisfied that *Marcilli* was actually the Man, informed his Master of the Discoveries he had made upon that Subject; and let him know, that he was gone into *Switzerland*, where he continued his Practices. The King spoke of it to the Marshal of *Turenne*, who sent into that Country three Officers professing the Reformed Religion. These Gentlemen being become acquainted with *Marcilli*, allured him into a Place where he could receive no Assistance, carried him away by Force, and safely brought him to *Paris*; where he was tried, condemned to be broke alive upon a Wheel, and executed. He suffered the Torture and that cruel Death with Constancy. Now it is pretended, that in order to remove the Suspicions and Jealousies which the Protestant Powers entertained of the King's Designs against their Religion, at that poor Wretch's Instigations, *Lewis* issued forth the above-mentioned Declaration so favourable to his Reformed Subjects in the Month of *February* †.

Besides

* This Story of *Marcilli*, and of the Marquis of *Ruvigni*'s Message into *England*, is related in *Benoit's* Hist. de l'Edit de *Nantes*, Tom. 3. Liv. 12. I am surprized that *Rapin* should be perfectly silent upon either of these Facts; there is no mention made of *Marcilli*, nor even of *Ruvigni*. *D'Estrades* was Ambassador in *England* in the Years 1667, and 1668; and *Colbert* in 1668, 1669, and 1670; so that *Ruvigni* must have been Envoy Extraordinary. But as he came over upon such an important Errand, I wonder how *Rapin* has taken no notice of it; nevertheless *Benoit* is so particular upon this, as to leave us no room of questioning the Truth of his Relation.

† *Benoit*, *ibid.*

Besides that Declaration, it was thought proper to issue out another in *August* following, whereby the King forbids his Subjects to go out of his Dominions and to settle themselves in Foreign Countries, and commands all those who were already settled to come back in six Months time after Notice given unto them of the said Declaration, under several Penalties against the Delinquents: The Prince of *Tarente*, Son to the Duke of *La Tremouille*, had lived for several Years in the *United Provinces* with the King's Licence, and had obtained very fine Employments in those Countries; nevertheless he resigned them all, and the Dutchess his Mother being dead, he turned Papist, and was followed by all his Children, his Daughter excepted; who persever'd in the Reformed Religion, and was married with the Duke of *Oldenburgh*, a near Relation to the King of *Denmark*. The Marshal of *Turenne* soon after followed the same bad Example, and turned Papist. It is remarkable, that for many Years together he had been Proof against the most ensnaring Temptations: Cardinal *Mazarini* and the King himself had oftentimes tried to shake off his Constancy, but all in vain. Which was ascribed to the good Example of his own Sisters, especially of the Dutchess of *La Tremouille*, and of his youngest Sisters; and above all to the Princess of *Turenne*, his Consort: She was only Daughter to the Duke of *La Force*, a Lady of great Learning, and of an exquisite Piety. As long as she and her two Sisters-in-Law (for whom the Marshal had a great regard) lived, he was stedfast and unmoveable in his Principles; but the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* being concluded,

and

Lewis 14.
1669.
Pope Clement IX.

A Declaration forbidding to go out of the Kingdom without Leave.
Tarente and Turenne turn Catholics.

Lewis 14. and his Wife dead, he turned of his own accord:
1669.

Pope Clement IX.

Of the Reverend Dr. Charles Drelin-court.

But amongst the greatest Losses which the Reformed Churches had to sustain this Year; the Death of that Reverend Divine CHARLES DRELINCOURT, one of the Ministers of the Church of *Paris*; which resorted to *Charenton* for their publick Worship, was one of the most considerable. He was born at *Sedan* the 10th of *July* 1695. His Father *Peter Drelin-court* had been chief Secretary to *Henry Robert de la Mark* Duke of *Bouillon*, and Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*; &c. then he was made Master of the Rolls or Register in the Sovereign Council of that Principality. His Mother was *Anna Buyrette* Daughter to *Nic. Buyrette* Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; her two Brothers were Ministers, the oldest *Thomas Buyrette* was barbarously murdered at *Paris* the third Day of the Massacre in 1572. As to our Reverend Divine, having finished his Studies, he was received Minister in *June* 1618, and exercised his Function at *Langres* and the adjacent Countries, tho' there was no Church settled there. He was called for to serve the Church of *Paris* in *March* 1620; and preached for the first time in that Church the 15th of the same Month.

His Character.

He was endowed with so many Graces, that it is hardly possible to mention his Name without raising such Ideas of the most glaring Perfections that human Nature is capable of, and which being joined with an uncommon Strength of Body, enabled him to become a shining Light to all the Reformed Churches abroad, as well as at home. His Sermons were extremely edifying; he was peerless in comforting the Sick, and other afflicted Persons:

sons. He busied himself with Success upon Lewis 14.
 the Affairs not only of his own Church, but 1669.
 of several others, who consulted him upon Pope Cle-
 any important Emergency. It is not possible ment IX.
 deservedly enough to recite the Services he
 has done the Church by his pious Labours,
 either by his Books of Devotion, or by his
 Polemical Works. There is such a Gracefulness
 in the first, they are so full of the Spirit and
 Expressions of the Holy Scripture, that every
 pious Soul has found and finds still in them a
 delightful spiritual Food. As to the others,
 they were of a wonderful Use to the Reform-
 ed; it has been, and is still owned by every
 one, that most part of them were so well a-
 dapted to the meanest Capacities, that the
 most clownish Peasant, and even little Chil-
 dren who had learnt them, were able to con-
 found any Missionary, and put him to a *non-*
plus. He has been considered, on account of
 his Writings, as the Scourge of all the *Roman*
 Controvertists; but for all that, he was well
 beloved by every Party. He had a free ac-
 cess to the Secretaries of State, to the first Pre-
 sident, the King's Attorney-General, and the
 Lieutenants Civil and Criminal; but he made
 use of his Interest with them only for reliev-
 ing several afflicted Churches, or for serving
 private Persons; some of whom he advanced
 in the World, others he redeemed from
 Whipping, or from the Gallows or Galleys.
 He was beloved and respected by the greatest
 Lords of our Religion, the Duke of *La Force*,
 the Marshals of *Chatillon*, *Gassion*, *Turenne*, the
 Dutchess of *La Trimouille* had a singular Ve-
 neration for him; and not only they did send
 for him to their own Hotels, but they went
 oftentimes to pay him Visits. The Foreign
 Princes

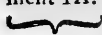
Lewis 14.
1669.
Pope Cle-
men; IX.

Princes and Lords had the same regard for him. At last, after a most troublesome career, he went the 3d of *November* to receive at the hands of his most gracious Lord the Recompence of his pious Labours, dying, as he had lived, in the Sentiments of an humble Submission to the Will of the Almighty; his Virtues supported his Faith, and his Faith enliven'd his Virtues. His bodily Constitution was so good and healthy, that he never excused himself whenever occasion was offer'd to perform some Function of his pastoral Office. That was a time when Persons of all Ranks, in their Afflictions; were very glad to receive the Instructions and Consolations of their Ministers; and were not so brutish as to rebuke them, when they charitably came to perform near them any of the Functions of their Ministry. Our godly Divine took a peculiar delight in the Performance of this; and very few have ever attained even to his Abilities in that respect, which cannot be parallell'd but by his Zeal and Activity. As to his Preaching, it is observable, that upon an extraordinary occasion he preached seven times in a day; he was so much delighted in his Study, especially when he was opposing Error, and asserting the Truth; that he could wish to die Pen-in-hand against the Enemies of the true Church. He preached for the last time the 27th of *October*, upon the 9th and 10th Verses of the 51st Psalm; and on the 28th of *September*, being a Fasting-Day, he had preached twice in the Church-Yard of *Charenton*. I shall give here a Catalogue of his Works to the best of my knowledge, before I speak of his Descent.

His devotional Books are, *A Preparation to the Holy Supper*; that was the first Book he ever published. *A Catechism*; *An Abridgment of Controversies*; *Consolations against the Dreads of Death*; *Charitable Visits of the Sick, &c.* 5 vol. 8°. and 3 vol. of *Sermons*. His Polemical Works are, *The Jubilee*; *The Roman Fight*; *The Owl of Jesuits*; *The Triumph of the Church under the Cross*; *An Answer to Father Caussin*; *Of the Honour due to the blessed Virgin, a Disputation with the Bishop of Bellay*; *Of the Honour due to the Sacrament*; *An Answer to La Milletiere*; *Dialogues against the Missionaries*, in 4 vol. *The sham Pastor convicted*; *The sham Face of Antiquity*; *The pretended Nullities of the Reformation*; *An Answer to Prince Ernest of Heflia*; *An Answer to the Speech of the Clergy, uttered by the Archbishop of Sens*. This last was burnt by the common Hangman; the Reverend Author went under the Name of *Philaethes*; *A Defence of Calvin*. I don't speak of several Letters, nor of several Prayers of his, that have been published; nor of his *Manuscripts*, which have not been printed as yet.

He married a very rich Heiress, Daughter to a Merchant of *Paris*; with whom he had sixteen Children, thirteen Sons and three Daughters; but only five Sons and a Daughter survived him. The eldest of the Family was the Reverend Mr. *Laurent Drelincourt*, Minister first at *Rochelle*, and then at *Niort*; where he was in great Esteem and Veneration: He lost his Sight about 6 Months before his Death, which happened in *June 1680*, aged 56 Years. Several of his excellent Sermons have been published, and a Collection of *Christian Sonnets* upon several Subjects,

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Pope Cle-
ment IX.



which are much valued by all Persons who have any taste for Piety and Virtue. Besides, he was a solid Divine, a fine Preacher, a great Scholar in *Hebrew*, this was peculiar to himself at that time, that having made a particular Study of the *French* Language, he was become such a perfect Master in it, as to be consulted even by the celebrated Mr. *Conrard*, Secretary of the *French* Academy, upon the nicest Difficulties of that Language. He had no Son, but he left two Daughters; the eldest was married to the Reverend Mr. *Baignoux*, Minister of *Poitiers*, both dead in *London*; the youngest to Mr. *Barbot* Merchant, and Author of the *Voyages to Guinea*, inserted in *Churchill's* Collection of *Voyages*: She is my Wife's Mother.

The second Son was the Reverend Mr. *Henry Drelincourt*, Minister first at *Gien*, and then at *Fontainbleau*, where he died unmarried long before the Revocation of the *Edict*.

The third, was *Charles Drelincourt*, Professor in *Physick* at *Leyden*. He had no sooner received his Degrees at *Montpelier* in 1654, than he was named first Physician of the King's Armies in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Marshal of *Turenne*. At his return, he was married at *Paris*; and in 1668 he was called to be Professor in *Physick* at *Leyden*. He was first Physician to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, before their Accession to the Crown of *England*. He was Dean of the University, and died in *May* 1697, in the 65th Year of his Age, generally lamented by all those who had any value for true and real Merit. He left a Son who was Doctor in *Physick*.

The fourth was *Anthony Drelincourt*, Doctor in Physick. He retired into *Switzerland*, and was honoured with the Title of Physician Extraordinary to the Lords of *Berne*: He practised his Art with very great Applause, and died in 1730, leaving no Issue.

Lewis 14.
1669.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.

The fifth, was the Reverend Doctor *Peter Drelincourt*. He came over to *England* before the Death of his Father, entered into holy Orders, and by his Learning, Capacity, and great Merit, no less than by the Interest of his Friends, he was promoted to the Dignity of Dean of *Armagh*. He distinguished himself in that Station by several good Works, but more especially by an extraordinary Zeal for the Propagation of the true Protestant Religion in *Ireland*, and his extensive Charity to the Poor, erecting and endowing Schools and Alms-houses. His Inclinations to Beneficence were mightily supported by the generous Dispositions of his Lady *Anne Drelincourt*, who has not relented in well-doing, but still continues the same Marks of her Zeal for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, and of her Tendernefs and Compassion for the Sufferings and Miseries of the Poor. The Reverend Dean died in *London* in 1722; he left behind him an only Daughter, at present Relict of the Right Honourable *Francis* Lord Viscount *Primrose*. I hope that the Reader will easily forgive me this long Digression, in consideration of that most excellent Divine *Charles Drelincourt*, whose Name and Memory is and will be blessed through all the Ages of the Church.

To resume the Thread of this History. One of the worst Effects of the Marshal of *Turenne's* Change, was, that he renewed the

1670.
Projects of
Re-union.

Lewis 14. Projects of a Re-union between the Protestants
 1670. and the Catholicks, which had been so many
 Pope Cle- times attempted before him, and had only
 ment IX. served to create Troubles and Confusions in
 the Churches. The Marshal knowing not
 how to spend his time during Peace, took it in
 his head to resume that Work, and was so
 self-conceited as to expect a better Success
 than those who had entered the Barrier before
 him. He fancied himself to be as great a
 Master in Divinity, as he was in the military
 Art; and that it would be as easy for him to
 manage the Motions of the Divines, as it was
 to range his Battalions and Squadrons. True
 it is, that he was supported by some Apostate
 Ministers, who being tired with playing the
 Truant at *Paris*, where they expended the
 Pension allowed them by the Clergy, sought
 to enter upon Business, that they might de-
 serve some Benefice or something like. The
 Court entered into that Project. They de-
 signed to engage in it as many Ministers as
 possible, according to the Scheme ascribed to
 Cardinal *De Richelieu*, and thought proper to
 begin by those whose Churches were in the
 Neighbourhood of the Court. All that was
 required of them, was to leave off their pre-
 judicate Opinions; not to exasperate the Spi-
 rits by their Animosities and Heats; to smooth
 or even to remove the Difficulties in the con-
 troverted Points; to study chiefly, clearly to lay
 down the Case, avoiding all Cavils upon
 Words and Expressions, conciliating the op-
 posite Opinions, precisely explaining in what
 consisted the Mistake. Nay, they did not
 insist too much with those who did not care
 to engage so far; they were only required not
 to oppose, thro' Infatuation, so good a Work,
 and

and modestly to deliver their Opinion there-
 upon in the Synod, when occasion should be
 offered. The King consented to have his
 Name set down at the head of these Proposi-
 tions, and to assure all those who should con-
 cur to the good Success of that Project, of
 being well rewarded for their Trouble.

Lewis 14.
 1670.
 Pope Cle-
 ment IX.

Indeed such an Undertaking is a thing very
 laudable in itself; nay, 'tis a Duty incumbent
 on every Christian, and more especially to those
 who are established in the Church for teaching
 others, to procure, to the utmost of their Abi-
 lities and Power, the Advancement of that
 pious Work; but then certain Dispositions are
 absolutely requisite, in order to obtain the de-
 sired Success; and above all, a great Humi-
 lity of Mind, which disposes us to believe
 that others may be in the right, and we in
 the wrong, remembering always the Apostle's
 Precepts, *Hast thou Faith? Have it to thyself*
before God, &c. In Lowliness of Mind, let each
Man esteem others better than himself: In Ho-
nour prefer one another. A perfect Charity
 which disposes us to bear with the feeble-
 minded, to bear with their tolerable Errors,
 which don't affect the great Principles of Chri-
 stianity, and not to break the Union for things
 merely indifferent in themselves. *For the*
Kingdom of God is neither Meat nor Drink, but
Justice, Peace and Joy, by the Holy Ghost. A
 sincere Love for Truth, which disposes us not
 only to seek eagerly after it, but to own it
 when discerned; to embrace and follow it
 constantly, howsoever contrary it may be and
 prove to our prejudicate Opinions and tem-
 poral Welfare. *Buy the Truth, and don't sell*
it, says the wise Man. When these inward
 Dispositions are in the two contending Parties,

Reflections
upon that
Project.

Rom. xiv.

Phil. ii. 3.

Rom. xii.

10.

Rom. xiv.

17.

Prov.

xxiii. 23.

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1670.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.

then they may proceed to the Examination of the controverted Points; that cannot be done without agreeing upon a Rule, which might serve as the Standard, for trying whether such Article of Doctrine or Discipline is sound or not. But now the Difficulty lies about the Rule, which shall we take to be our Standard? There is a great Disagrément between the two Parties about that Point. The one will have the Scripture only for a Rule, and they are grounded upon several plain Passages of that holy Book, which expressly forbids them not to recede from the sound Words taught them by the *Prophets* and the *Apostles*, but also upon the Method established in the Church during the three first Centuries, for determining Controversies about any Point of Doctrine. The others are not contented with this, but they will have the Church, that is to say, an human Authority, either the Councils or the Popes, or both together, whereby the Controversies about Matters of Faith should be determined. In order to compose these Differences, it had been proposed sometimes under *Henry IV.* by *Du Plessis, Chamier*, and some others, to restore every thing in the Church, as they stood in the middle of the fifth Century; but *Du Perron* and others did not think proper to stand by that Rule, how reasonable soever it was, for they saw plainly that by that means they must give over the most essential Points, which have occasioned our Separation, and which were utterly unknown to that Antiquity, or had been condemned by the Fathers and the Councils. We read in *Socrates, Hist. lib. v. ch. 10.* and in *Sozomen's Hist. lib. vii. cap. xii.* That *Theodosius the Great*, by the Advice of *Nestarius, Patriarch*

of *Constantinople*, who had consulted *Sisennius*,
 made a Proposition much like to that to the
 Bishops of each Sect, which he had conven'd
 in that Capital in the Year 383, in order to
 find out means of re-uniting all the Christian
 Churches together in the same Faith. He
 asked them, *Whether they would refer them-*
selves to the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors, who
had lived before the beginning of these Disputes?
 They durst not accept the Challenge, being
 conscious that their Condemnation was writ-
 ten in Capital Letters in those Books. The
 same it is with those of the *Roman Church*.
 They have too much of that carnal Pru-
 dence, ever to accept such a Challenge; they
 are sensible that whenever they shall accept it,
 they must at the same time irrevocably part
 with *Transubstantiation*, and other Errors con-
 comitant to that *Monster*, with the *Worship of*
Images, with the *Purgatory*, such as it has
 been taught in that Church these five or six
 last Centuries, with their *Service in an unknown*
Tongue, with the *Infallibility* of the Councils,
 with the *Celibacy* of Priests, with the *Invo-*
cation of the Virgin and Saints, with the
Indulgences, and a great Number of others
 their Tenets. Nay, I dare say, that they
 would not accept the Challenge, were they of-
 fered to restore things in the Church as they
 were, even in the time of *Charlemaign*. No,
 there was still too much *Purity* for them,
 either in the *Doctrine* or in the *Discipline*.
 Nothing will satisfy them but what the Dark-
 ness and gross Ignorance of the tenth, eleventh
 and twelfth Centuries have brought forth.
 To that they will refer us. So that when they
 propos'd in *France* a Re-union with the Re-
 formed, it was only in order to ensnare them,

Lewis 14. and then to force them to comply with every
 1670. thing. For it has been, and it is still too well
 Pope Cle- known by many sad Experiences, that the
 ment IX. *West* is no more opposite to the *East*, than that
 Spirit of Humility, of Charity and a sincere
 Love for Truth, is to the Spirit of the Church
 of *Rome*, and to the Dispositions of her Sup-
 porters.

In order to be fully convinced of this, we need but to look back upon the Scheme laid in the Year 1631, when Cardinal *De Richelieu* attempted the same Work. The first Article of the Scheme was, that the *Roman Church* should not yield a tittle, either as to her Doctrine or Worship; no, not so much as to the Articles of the smallest Importance, or as to such as had been the first occasion of Schisms, *viz.* Indulgences. How then could they expect to succeed in the Attempt, and to overcome the strong Reluctancy the Reformed had for their monstrous Tenets? They were to make choice of such soft Words in expressing their Doctrines, which should remove the Harshness thereof, and to make use of the best Pens who by their Sophistry could be able to dazzle the common People's Eyes, and make them believe, that the *Catholick Religion* was not so different from the Reformed as vulgarly it was believed; and that the Difference was so slight, that it could be no lawful Cause of Separation. (And such a piece of Work *Bossuet* Bishop of *Condom*, and then of *Meaux*, published afterwards, much to the liking of the Clergy, and of the Pope himself, under the Title of *An Exposition of the Catholick Doctrine*; but also to the Scandal of all true and sincere Christians.) Furthermore, in order to preserve entire the Honour of the *Roman Church*, they were

were to bring it so about, that the Reformed should be the Solicitors, to the end that in the Re-union they might appear as penitent Children that make the first step towards their Mother to regain her Favour; and that the *Roman Church* might look like a Mother that held forth her Arms to embrace her Children returning to their Duty.

Lewis 14.
1670.
Pope Cle-
ment X.

To bring this to pass, they designed to make use of the Synods themselves, and they were to propose the Scheme in the Provincial ones, that they might more easily influence the Elections of Deputies to the National, and the Deputies themselves who should have been at their devotion. The first Step, was to send a Deputation to the King, setting forth, that certain ill-affected Persons went about to persuade him, that the *Reformed Religion* infused into its Professors, Sentiments contrary to the good of his Service; but that they were resolved to shew the contrary by a faithful and plain Explanation of theirs: for which purpose they besought his Majesty to grant them a free Conference with such Doctors as he should please to name; and that if they could be satisfied that they might be saved in the *Catholick Religion*, they would readily re-unite themselves. They were to be taken at their words. The King was to grant a Conference as long and as free as they could desire, and be himself present at it. Then they were to force all the Provinces to stand by the Treaty, which the Ministers, their Deputies, (many of whom were already bribed) should conclude. Edicts, Proscriptions, Banishments, military Executions, &c. were the Arguments to be made use of with the obstinate. Such was the Scheme proposed in *Richelieu's* time, and there

Lewis 14. there wanted not a good Number of Ministers,
 1670. not only those who were corrupted in their
 Pope Cle- Morals, or who gave way to their Ambition
 ment IX. and Avarice, but even good sober Men, and
 otherwise well-minded, but short-sighted and
 mistaken, who supported the same with all
 their Might, thinking thereby to do Service
 to God and the Church. But the Plague
 raging then in several Provinces, the Provin-
 cial Synods could not be assembled; and o-
 ther Accidents happening, the Project re-
 mained in suspense; and tho' from time to
 time it had been resumed, it had never been
 carried so far as this Year 1670. Several Mi-
 nisters of the Synod of the *Isle of France*, of
Anjou and *Berry*, &c. were bewitched with
 the Scheme. So that the Court thinking now
 to have a sure Game, was for forwarding the
 Work; for which purpose, tho' she had for-
 merly shewed forth such a great Reluctancy
 to grant the Reformed Liberty for holding
 any National Synod, now she of her own ac-
 cord offered a Licence without being request-
 ed: nay, she took certain Steps on this occa-
 sion, which gave suspicion that if that Offer
 of hers was refused, she would force the Re-
 formed to hold the said Synod. However,
 these extraordinary Offers awaken'd most part
 of those who were enter'd in the Scheme
 without minding any harm in it. And the
 good and wholesome Advices of the Marquis
 of *Ruvigni* Deputy-General coming very rea-
 sonably, all that Plot came to nothing.

*Vacancies
 at Cha-
 renton.*

During these Transactions, the Church of
Charenton was in a great perplexity. They
 having lost their two oldest Ministers, *Charles
 Drelincourt* in November, and *John Daillé*
 the 15th of April 1670, whereas they knew not
 very

very well how to supply their Places, being afraid lest the Court should impose upon them some Persons more at her devotion than the Church's.

Lewis 14.
1670.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.

I have spoken of the first: I must say something of the second. He was born at *Chatelberaud* the 6th of *January* 1594. He began his Studies very late, because his Father who was a Proctor (*Sequester*, in *Latin*; *Receveur des Consignations*, in *French*) at *Poitiers*, designed him for his Successor in his Business; but seeing his Son's Inclinations quite bent another way, he yielded: so that, being already eleven Years old, he was sent to *St. Maixant* to learn the first Rudiments. He was past eighteen Years old, when he commenced Student in Divinity at *Saumur*; and the same Year 1612, the great *Du Plessis* took him into his House to be Tutor to two of his Grandsons, with whom he went to travel seven Years after. Being returned into *France* in 1621, he was received Minister in 1623, and was Chaplain to that Lord (whom he assisted to his last Moment) the same Year in *November*. In 1625, he was named to be Minister at *Saumur*; and the next Year he was called to serve the Church of *Paris*, as one of her Pastors, and continued in that Service for the remaining part of his Life. He was one of the learnedest Divines of his time, and one of the Controvertists whom the Catholics valued most. He was of a very strong Constitution as to his Body; which enabled him to attend constantly his Study, wherein he was exceedingly delighted. Besides 20 Vol. in 8°. of Sermons upon several Subjects, being extremely laborious and endowed with the Gift of an easy Conception and Production, he

Of the Re-
verend Mr.
Dailé.

Lewis 14.
1670.
Pope Cle-
ment IX.



he enriched the Publick with many other Works. The first which he published in 1631, was about the Use of the Ancient Fathers in *Latin*, much valued at that time by the *Presbyterians*, but little by the Divines of the established Church here in *England*. He left but one Son, who had been his Colleague in the Church of *Charenton* for about twelve Years, and who died at *Zurich* in 1690.

Now, while the Church of *Paris* was afraid lest the Court should take exception against the Ministers which they might nominate, in order to oblige them to take some of her own choice, they luckily were delivered from their Fears by Mr. *Caillard*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, who had done some considerable Service to some of the chief Ministers of State, who promised him that the Church should not be opposed in her Election; and accordingly the Reverend Messieurs *Allix* and *Ménard* were elected: they both died in *England*, the first Canon of *Sarum*, the second Chaplain to the King, and Canon of *Windsor*. He was no sooner arrived in *England* after the Revocation of the Edict, but King *William* took him for one of his domestick Chaplains on account of his great Merit. Pope *Clement IX.* was dead since *December* 1669, and was succeeded by Cardinal *Altieri* elected the 29th of *April* 1670; he took the Name of *Clement X.*

Clement
IX. dies.

Transla-
tion of the
Chamber
of Castres.

Amongst other Injustices or Vexations done this Year to the Reformed, we may reckon the transferring of one of their half-parted Chambers from *Castres* to *Castelnaudary*. The King had so positively told *Du Bosc* a Year before, that these Chambers were so necessary to the Reformed, that by no means they ought

to be deprived thereof; that in honour they could not be so soon suppress'd, but in order to prepare them to that Suppression, it was requisite to begin by giving more trouble to the Officers thereof, which was easily done by such a Translation.

Lewis 14.
1670.
Pope Cle-
ment X.

All this while the Deputies of the Churches were at Court, soliciting an Answer to their Petitions, and a Redress to their Grievances; and being tired with the tedious and affected Delays of the Council, who had not as yet reported their general Petitions to the King, they resolv'd to have it published in Print. Heretofore it had been observ'd, That, upon occasions like this, such a Method had been successful, because the Council was more sensible to Complaints that became publick, than to private Sollicitations, these remaining secret, they could elude them without Danger; but they found themselves oblig'd to pronounce something or other upon others, when they saw that all *Europe* was inform'd of them. Nevertheless the Deputies miss'd their aim for this time; for tho' their Petition was as modest and submissive as could be desired, the Council was offend'd at it. The Marquis of *Chateauneuf* sent for them to his own House, ask'd their Names, and pick'd out *Verdier* Deputy of *Montauban*, and *Chabot* Deputy of *Poitou*, whom he sent to the *Bastile*. The rest of the Deputies, far from being dismay'd by such a Violence, affect'd to take no notice of it, and went on with their Business. Two Days after they desired to be admitted to the King's Audience; they tender'd him another Petition, beseeching that his Majesty would be pleas'd to order, that the former Petition and Bill of Grievances should be read before him.

1671.
Deputies of
the Re-
formed
sent to the
Bastile.

Lewis 14. him. In the mean while the Council released
 1671. the two Prisoners, who had been Captives for a
 Pope Cle- Month. The King referred to the Duke of
 ment X. *Villeroi*, and *Le Tellier* Secretary of State, the
 Cognizance of the Matter of the Petition, and
 of the Bill of Grievances. But tho' they
 were pretty well intention'd, their Labours
 were fruitless, because the Petition could not
 be reported, the King being at this time in-
 tirely bent on his Expedition against *Holland*.

Amongst the great Number of Churches,
 the Titles whereof were examined by the Com-
 missioners, some few were preserved, tho' they
 had no better Title than those which were
 condemned.

1672. The War being kindled between *France*
War a- and the *United Provinces*, the Affairs of the
gainst the Churches were kept in a kind of Suspense.
Dutch. The King took the Field in *May*, while his
 Fleet, joined with that of *Charles II.* was to
 attack the *Dutch* by Sea. He was not sorry
 that this War should be thought to be a War
 of Religion, either that he really intended it
 to be so, or that he had a mind to dazzle
 the Eyes of the foreign Catholick Princes, lest
 they should oppose his ambitious Designs.

Though the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, con-
 cluded in *May* 1668, had considerably increas-
 ed the Power of *France*, the *States-General*
 took it to be a great Advantage to have stop-
 ped the Progress of the *French* Arms. They
 ascribed to themselves the whole Glory of it,
 though, indeed, the *Triple Alliance* would ne-
 ver have been thought of by them, had it not
 been first propos'd by the King of *England*.
 In order to immortalize their Glory, they
 struck a Medal, on one side of which was
 seen *Holland* leaning against a Trophy, and on

the Reverse, an Inscription to this Effect: *That they had secured the Laws, and the Reformed Religion; assisted, defended, and reconciled Kings; restored Freedom to the Ocean; procured by their Arms a glorious Peace, and established the Tranquillity of all Europe.* On the other hand, *Joshuab van Beuninghen*, who had been employed in negotiating this Peace, struck a Medal, and compared himself to *Joshua* stopping the Course of the Sun. As the King of *France* had taken the Sun for his Device, the Meaning of this Medal could not be mistaken. But the States immediately suppressed it. As for the first, and some others which discovered too great Presumption, they were not broke till two Years after*. But *Lewis* very highly resented that Affront, which likely roused his natural Ambition, and prompted him to attempt what was seen in the Year 1672. But from that Evil arose a great Good. The *Dutch* had at last their Eyes opened upon the Conduct of their chief Officers. The Prince of *Orange, William III.* of glorious and immortal Memory, was restored to all his Birth-rights, &c.

Lewis 14.
1672.
Pope Cle-
ment X.

In the while, the Provincial Synods in *France* having resolved to continue the publick Exercises of Religion in the interdicted Places, several Ministers in *Guienne* were put to trouble upon that Account. They preached either in the Church-Yards, or upon the Ruins of Temples, which had been demolished. That Attempt was represented to the King with such odious Colours, that *Daguesseau*, Intendant of the Generality of *Bordeaux*, received Orders to try, without Appeal, the Prisoners, 35 in Number, amongst whom were five Ministers,

Ministers,
&c. prosecuted in
Guienne.

* *Rapin's Hist.* Tom. II. ook 23.

Lewis 14.

1672.
Pope Cle-
ment X.

nisters, who had been arrested. The *Syndics* of the Dioceses of *Sarlat*, *Aire*, and *Agen*, were Party against them. Sentence was passed upon the Prisoners the 22d of *June*. The Reverend Messieurs *Royere* Minister of *Issigeac*, *Canole* Minister of *Gours*, and *Malide* Minister of *La Bastide*, were fined at three thousand *Livres* in the whole for the King, and to make *Amende Honorable*. This last Part of the Sentence was executed the same day; and besides that, they were to pay one thousand *Livres* each for a civil Reparation towards the *Syndics* of their respective Dioceses, and thirty *Livres* each for the Poor; the others were severally mulcted. That Persecution cooled the Zeal of the Ministers in that Province; they ceased to assemble in forbidden Places.

Pelisson's
Barbarity.

But I must not pass over an Event which fully evinces what I have several times observed, *viz.* That the *Roman Religion* destroys even the natural Affection of Parents for their Children. *PAUL PELISSON*, born at *Loudun*, Attorney in the Parliament of *Paris*, who formerly had professed the Reformed Religion, and had turned Catholick in order to get his Place, had a mind to engage his Son *James* in the Ecclesiastical Orders, and had him shaved when he was thirteen Years old. That Child was born a Reformed, and had been educated in that Religion by his Mother. He did not forget the Instructions he had received in his Childhood; and tho' he was shaveling, he returned to his first Religion. Thereupon the barbarous Father accused his Son as a Relapse, prosecuted him to his utmost, and after having had him transferred from one Goal into another, he had him condemned to a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, under the Penalty of Death if ever ^{Lewis 14.} he returned, and all Goods and Estates which ^{1672.} he might pretend to; forfeited. That Sen- ^{Pope Cle-} tence was given in the Parliament of *Paris*, ^{ment. X.} the 29th of *August*, 1672.

They went on in the Suppression of Churches, and it is almost incredible to what a small Number they were now reduced; I dare say, that there was hardly half the Number of those that subsisted in 1659. The Clergy had found ^{1673.} out a very noble method for getting Profelytes, ^{Ways for} which was to release them from the Obliga- ^{making} tion of paying their Debts for three Years to- ^{Profelytes.} gether. Tho' they had obtained a Decree upon that Subject on the 21st of *January* 1668; nevertheless it had not been executed before this Time, when' one *John de Verffe*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, being incumbered with Debts, thought proper to turn Papi- st, and obtained the King's Declaration, purporting the same as the Decree of 1668. The Projects of Re-union were still on foot this Year, and went very far, but proved abortive by the Care and Diligence of the Church of *Paris*, and of the Provincial Synod of the *Ile of France*, assembled this Year at *Charenton*.

A Plot was discovered, whereof the Che- ^{1674.} valier of *Roban* was principal, and ^{Chevalier} *Leautremont*, the Chevalier *De Preaux*, the Marchio- ^{Rohan's} nefs of *Villars*, and a School-master their ^{Plot.} Agent, were Accomplices. They had promised the *Dutch* to procure an Insurrection in *Normandy*, and to deliver *Quillebeuf* into their hands. *Leautremont* was killed resisting to the Archers that came to seize him; the four others were apprehended, they confessed the Fact, the two Chevaliers and the Lady were

Lewis 14. beheaded, and the School-master hanged.

1674. The Clergy always ready to render the Re-
 Pope Cle- formed odious, missed not this Opportunity
 ment. X. to raise Suspicions against them, especially against those of *Normandy*. The *Dutch Fleet*, which for a long while threatened that Coast, seemed to authorize these Mistrusts. The Governors of *Lower Normandy* received Orders to watch narrowly the Reformed of their District. The Duke of *Roquelaure* was sent into that Province for securing the Coasts against a Descent. But all these Measures served only to set forth the Fidelity of the Reformed in a brighter Light; for after the strictest Examination, nothing could be found out but what much redounded to their Honour and Glory. The Duke of *Montausier*, Governor of that Province, was not believed at Court when he spoke in their behalf, because he had been formerly a Reformed. But the Marquis of *Beuvron* confirmed his Testimony, and the Marquis of *Matignon* went further still; for of his own accord, and without being sollicitated, he made their Apology in a Letter he wrote to the Council; wherein he sayeth, that those who endeavoured to raise Suspicions against the Reformed, were bad Subjects to the King. The Duke of *Roquelaure* himself confirmed all these glorious Testimonies.

This Year offers nothing very remarkable as to what concerns Religion. The Affairs of the War took up all the Time of the Court, so that it had none to bestow upon other Things.

The Marshal of *Turenne* was killed in *Alsatia*,
 killed, and in the Month of *July*, being in the 64th Year
 the Count of his Age or thereabouts, he was buried at
 of Schom- *St. Dennis*, by the King's Orders; but that
 berg made *St. Dennis*, by the King's Orders; but that
 Marshal. high Mark of Distinction was not sufficient

to

to blot out the Remembrance of the unheard-^{Lewis 14.}
of Barbarities his Troops had perpetrated in ^{1675.}
the Palatinate the Year before, and which the ^{Pope Cle-}
Elector *Palatine* resented so highly, that he ^{ment. X.}
sent him a Challenge.

There was in the same Month of *July*, a
Creation of seven Marshals of *France*, amongst
whom was the Count of *Schomberg*. His Re-
ligion had till then been an Obstruction to his
being raised to that high Dignity; the King
himself had offered it unto him before, if he
would turn Catholick; but that Lord was so
generous as to answer, that his Religion
was dearer to him than any thing else, and if it
proved an Obstruction to his Advancement, it
was enough for him that his Majesty should
think him worthy of it, tho' he should never
attain it. The Necessity of State was for this
Time stronger than the Catholick Zeal, and
the Count was presented with the Staff when
he little thought of it. He commanded in *Ca-*
talonia when he received it; he had been de-
sired to hear some Divines about the contro-
verted Points, he had complied with that Re-
quest; but after the Conference, he openly
declared that he was not satisfied with their So-
lutions. I have spoken of that Lord, and of
his Ancestors and Descent, in the 7th Book, to
which Place I refer the Reader.

The War continuing this Year, the Affairs ^{1676.}
of Religion were almost superseded at Court, ^{Pope Cle-}
and the Deputies of the Provinces made fruit- ^{ment dies,}
less Instances with the Council, to obtain a ^{and is suc-}
Redress of their Grievances; nothing was al- ^{ceeded by}
tered, except as to the Residence of Mini- ^{Innocent}
sters, who were allowed to reside where they ^{X.}
should think it more convenient. *Clement X.*
died the 2^{ist} of *July*, being 86 Years old, and

Lewis 14. was succeeded on the 21st of *September* by
 1677. Cardinal *Odescalchi*, who took the Name of
 Pope Innocent XI. *Innocent XI.*

Several Injustices. The King having very early taken the Field
 (he set out from *St. Germain* the 24th of *February*) the Deputies succeeded no better this
 Year, than they had done the last, tho' their
 Grievances amounted to thirty-four Articles,
 besides ten or twelve more which regarded
 only the Province of *Aulnix*. It is almost in-
 credible how far the Parliaments, the other
 inferior Courts, the Intendants, nay every
 petty Officer of Justice, carried their Injustice
 and Violence in the Provinces. The Parlia-
 ments of *Pau*, in *Bearn*; of *Bourdeaux*, in
Guienne; of *Rennes*, in *Britany*; of *Rouën*, in
Normandy; DE MUIN, Intendant of *Sain-
 tonge*, *Aulnix*, &c. the Bailif of *Rouën*, the
 Judge of *Caudebec*, and several others signa-
 lized themselves by their Wickedness, which
 prompted them to a thousand Acts of Injustice
 and Violence. I shall single out only two In-
 stances: A Woman was forcibly stopt at
Rouën as she was running away to avoid the
 meeting of the POPISH GOD, and con-
 demned to 20 Livres Fine, because she refused
 to kneel down before it. Another Woman at
Caudebec was condemned to the like Fine, for
 having refused to kneel down at the tinkling of
 the Bell, tho' that PASTRY GOD was out
 of her Sight, passing in a Street very distant
 from the Place she was in. Nevertheless, the
 last Declarations and Decrees did not oblige
 Women to do any thing in these Circumstan-
 ces. But the Parliament of *Rouën* exceeded
 even these unjust Proceedings; for tho' these
 Decrees required of Men only, that they
 should pull off their Hat whenever they met
 that

that BAK'D DIVINITY; they condemned one *John Fourgon* to twenty Livres Fine, to all the Expences, &c. tho' he had pulled off his Hat on that Occasion, for avoiding the Insults of the Mob; and they approved of the Rudeness of the Priest, who, not satisfied with that Mark of Respect, assaulted the poor Man, and dragged him to the Audience. Many other like Vexations, Injustices, Violences, &c. may be added to these, which I forbear, for Brevity's sake.

Lewis 14.
1677.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

The War between *France, Spain,* and the *United Provinces* ended this Year, by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; concluded the 17th of *September*. About the same time, the Mar-

1678.

quis of *Ruwigni*, Deputy-General of the Reformed, desired to resign his Charge in behalf of his Son, so well known in the World by the Name and Title of Lord Viscount *Galway*. He was very agreeable to his Majesty, well beloved at Court, and in great Consideration with the Ministers. He discharged that important Office in a Way much redounding to his Honour; tho' on account of the Wickedness of the Times, his Endeavours were not attended with the desired Success.

Change of
the Depu-
ty-Gener-
ral.

But while the Patience of the Reformed was tried by numberless Cavils and Vexations, their implacable Enemies were forwarding their utter Ruin. Two things disposed the Court to indulge the Clergy in that respect. Peace was made, and the Council, free from the Distractions of the War, was ready, wholly to sit upon that business. Besides that, the Execution of five *Jesuits* and some Laymen here at *Tyburn*, on account of their horrible Plot, made a great Noise every-where, but exasperated the Brotherhood, especially in

1679.
Destruction
of the Re-
formed re-
solved.

Lewis 14.
1679.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

France, (Father *La Chaise* being deeply engaged in that Piece of Villany) to such a degree, that they resolved to be revenged at any rate: and whereas it was not in their power to do so upon the Protestants in *England*, they fell with Fury upon the poor defenceless Reformed in *France*. They endeavoured to raise the Mob against them, by exposing in several Places the Pictures of these Traitors, their dearest Brethren, suffering Martyrdom, as they called the just Punishment they had undergone for their Crimes; and would have brought things even to a Massacre, so well were the People prepared by their Insinuations, had not their devilish Designs been prevented by the Court's Directions. But if they had not this Year their Belly-full of Heretick Blood, at least they had the pleasure to see the Reformed losing their Rights and Privileges through the Perfidiousness of the King and his Council.

Several
Injustices
and Perse-
cutions.

For, not to mention here the Persecutions against the Sick, who were not allowed to die in Peace without being vexed by the Priests and Monks, who came without being called, attended by some Officers of Justice; nor the Persecutions against the Relapsers, who were condemned to make *Amende Honorable*, to the Forfeiture of their Goods, and perpetual Banishment; nor the stealing of Children, who were carried away from their Parents in order to be brought up in Popery; nor the Suppression of several Churches without the least Shadow of Justice; nor numberless other unjust Vexations of less Importance: They struck this Year and the next at the very Vitals of the Safety of our Churches, by several Decrees, which their Hearts, inclined to all Mischiefs, and useless to any good, prompted them

them to issue forth. So in the Month of ^{Lewis 14.} *July*, the half-parted Chambers, the only ^{1679.} Means which the Reformed had for skreening ^{Pope Inno-} themselves from the Violence of the Parlia- ^{cent. XI.} ments, were suppressed by an Edict, on pre- ^{Half par-} tence of incorporating them with the Parlia- ^{ted Cham-} ments. LEWIS supposed as falsely in this as ^{bers sup-} in most part of his other Transactions, that ^{pressed.} these Courts were become needless, and was not ashamed to refer the Affairs of the Reformed to the Cognizance and Judgment of their merciless Enemies, the Clergy, who had a right to sit in the great Chamber of the Parliaments, and who thereby became their Judges and Parties.

Mafs was publickly restored at *Geneva* this ^{Mafs re-} Year in the Chapel of *Chauvigni*, Resident of ^{stored at} *France*. The Citizens were not a little sur- ^{Geneva.} prized at this Proceeding of his, and a Riot ensued, and some Papists were ill used; but by the Diligence of the Magistrate, it was suppressed, and some of the Ringleaders were sent to Jail.

It would be not only a tedious, but a difficult Matter to give in an exact and particular Account of all the Decrees issued forth, of all the Methods which had been already put in use for about fifteen Years together, and were still continued, till they had utterly compassed our Ruin, by the Revocation of the Edict. I shall then instance but in a few. I. Law-Suits ^{Eight} in Courts of Justice. II. Deprivation of all ^{Heads of} Civil Office, nay, of all Means of getting a ^{Persecu-} Livelihood. III. Missionaries. IV. Persecution against Children, and against their Parents, or Tutors. V. Persecution against Churches. VI. Against Ministers. VII. Against Books. VIII. Military Executions. I

Lewis 14. will single out one or two Instances only upon
 1680. each of these Articles, and then conclude.
 Pope Inno-
 cent XI.

First Me-
 thod.

I. LAW-SUITS IN COURTS OF JUSTICE, either Parliaments or others. I do question much, whether the Reader will believe what I have to say upon this Article, tho' it is real Fact, but of so shocking a Nature, that the *Hottentots* themselves would be ashamed of it. And indeed the Laws of Nature are so unalterable and inviolable, that God himself hath had such a Regard for them, as to leave them whole and intire, and require nothing from Men, but what is most agreeable to these pure and primitive Rules of our Duties. But the *Popish Religion*, treading under foot whatever is sacred amongst Men, even Nature it self, prompts its Votaries to the wickedest Actions, without any regard to Justice, Equity, Probitity. This is very plain in the present Case we have now under our Consideration. In common civil Matters, as about a piece of Land, an House, a Debt between a Reformed and a Papist; Religion was always taken as a just Pretence for depriving the first of his clearest and most just Pretensions and Rights: The Clergy, the Missionaries, and the whole Crew of those wicked and shameless MISCREANTS, immediately took part in the Affair, and set all their Engines to work, to have the poor Reformed cast off. And what is more scandalous, the King's Council, the Parliament of *Paris*, not only tolerated, but even countenanced to their utmost, these unheard-of Oppressions. Nothing was more common, especially for ten Years before the repealing of the Edict, than to hear the Attorneys and Advocates bauling out in the Courts,

I PLEAD AGAINST AN HERETICK : I HAVE
 TO DO WITH A MAN PROFESSING A RELI-
 GION ODIOUS TO THE STATE, AND WHICH
 THE KING WILL HAVE EXTIRPATED.

Lewis 14-
 1680.
 Pope Inno-
 cent XI.

Mr. *Lieutaud*, a Surgeon, living at *Aix* in *Provence*, having got a Warrant for apprehending a Nurse of one of his Children, who had robbed him, and was fled from his House, that Wretch carried her Impudence so far, as to come and assault him in his Shop; she flew at his Face, scratched him, pulled off his Hair, and did him several other Outrages. He complained thereof to the Magistrates, but that wicked Woman covered her Violence and Villany with this false Supposition, that as she was attending the Sacrament that went by at that Instant, she had perceived *Lieutaud* threatning her from his Shop; at which, being not able to refrain her Zeal, because he shewed so much Disregard for that holy Ceremony, she fell upon him on that account. Tho' that impudent Creature was already noted for her Lewdness, and charged with a domestic Robbery, nevertheless her Excuse was admitted, and upon her Evidence, her Master was sent to Jail, and criminally prosecuted at her Instance for Irreverence to the Sacrament, which Charge however was intirely false. In vain did he challenge the Parliament of *Aix*, and required to be tried by the Chamber of *Grenoble*, as the Edict directed: the Parliament obstinately insisted to keep that Affair in their own hands, they tried him, he was condemned, and sentenced both he and his Wife, to be brought by the Constables of the ordinary Seat, from Jail to their own House, and there at the Door of their Shop, upon their Knees, and

Lieutaud

Lewis 14. *Lieutaud* bareheaded, holding each a lighted
 1680. Taper in their Hands, while the Host. should
 Pope Inno- pass, they should ask its pardon in Presence of
 cent XI. two Ushers of the Court. That Sentence was
 forcibly executed in *May 1660*. That kind of
Amende Honorable was unheard-of before :
 Till then, the most that the legally convicted of Irreverence for that idolatrous Ceremony were sentenced to, was to pay some small Fine, and be forbidden to do the like for the future. Nevertheless, the Fury of his Persecutors was not fully satisfied with that Ignominy, but for nine Years together he was continually harrassed by some new Law-Suits upon sundry false Pretences, 'till in *May 1669* he was arraigned for the supposed like Fault as in 1660, and would have been sentenced to some corporal Punishment, had he not appealed to the King's Council, where he was still solliciting in the Year 1671. *N. B.* That in the Year 1650, when the Plague raged at *Aix*, this very same Man had had courage enough to shut up himself in the Infirmary, to attend the Sick and take care of them, for which, as by an Agreement made before, the Parliament of *Provence* admitted him to the Mastership.

We have related above the most cruel and barbarous Injustice of the Parliament of *Rennes* against a Gentleman of worth, namely *La Touche*, sentenced to be broken alive and burnt, tho' he was perfectly innocent of the Fact for which he suffered; and whose good Name and Fame they obstinately refused to restore, only on account of his Religion, tho' his Innocence was fully evinced by the Confession of the Guilty. I shall not mention here numberless Actions entered against private Per-

sons, for what they are pleased to call Blasphemy, that is to say, to speak of the *blessed Virgin*, or of other Saints, of the Lord's Supper, &c. according to the Notions of the Reformed; or for Irreverence to their *Pastry Idol*, that is to say, for not bowing to it: Nor of the Persons that were admitted as Evidences against us, Lewd Women, Pick-pockets, other such like People, who got their Livelihood by turning Informers, were admitted; nay Children of seven Years old were bribed and brought as proper Evidences in Matters relating to these two pretended Crimes. And tho' the former were fully convicted of Perjury, nevertheless, very seldom the Persons accused could obtain any Redress or Satisfaction for a long Imprisonment, and the vast Charges they had been at during the trial; **TURN CATHOLICK**, were they told in full Court, **AND YOU SHALL BE RIGHTED, OR ELSE DEPEND UPON IT, THAT YOU COME OFF VERY CHEAP.** We have already observed, that by a Decree of the Council in *November 1680*, a Creditor could not sue for three Years together the Recovery of his Debt, if his Debtor turned Papist.

Lewis 14.
1680.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

II. A Second sort of Persecutions whereby they had a mind to tire the Patience of the Reformed, was *The depriving them of all Civil and Military Offices, and of profitable Employments, nay, of the Mastership in Trades even the most Mechanicks and of all Ways and Means of getting their Livelihood.* For several Years before the Reformed had already felt, that the Jurisdiction of the Chambers settled in their Behalf by *Henry the Great*, for the Administration of Justice, was in a declining Condition. The sending of Commissioners in the Provinces,

Second Head.

Lewis 14. 1680. *Pope Innocent XI.* Provinces, outwardly for executing the Edict, but in reality for infringing, or at least for countenancing the Infringement thereof in its most essential Points. The referring the Cognizance of Cases of *Relapses, Apostates* and *Blasphemers*, to the Parliaments, exclusively of the Chambers of the Edict, to which such Affairs did properly belong. The Declaration of the fifty-nine Articles issued forth the same Year 1666. It was not enough for our Enemies to have struck at the Jurisdiction of these Chambers, but they must have them suppressed: accordingly in the Year 1669, as already observed, those of *Paris* and *Rouën* were suppressed. There remained three more, in *Languedoc, Guienne* and *Dauphiné*; but notwithstanding the King's positive Promises to let them subsist, they shared the same Fate as the two former, by his Decree of 1679. The Officers of the Reformed Religion, who had served in these three last Chambers, were dispersed in the Parliaments of *Bordeaux, Toulouse* and *Grenoble*, but were purposely excluded from sitting in the great Chambers; and for carrying the Injustice to the utmost, LEWIS issued forth a Decree, whereby it was enacted, That all the Affairs wherein a Reformed should be concerned, ought to be tried by these great Chambers, wherein none but Papists, and even Clergymen could sit.

The Rapaciousness of these Wolves was not as yet satiated, but they must deprive us of all means of obtaining Justice; consequently, in the Year 1665, the Parliament of *Toulouse* issued forth a Decree, forbidding the Lords, in the extent of their Jurisdiction, to employ for the future any Officer of our Religion in their Lands and Lordships; they were followed

followed by several other Parliaments. And Lewis 14. in 1682, LEWIS went further still: for he ordered these Lords to deprive the Reformed Officers, that actually served, and put Catholics in their stead. The Judges-Royal had been already deprived by a Decree of 1679; and in 1682, the Provosts, Lieutenants, Exempts, and Archers of the Marshalseas, Vice-Seneschals; Vice-Bailiffs, Lieutenants-Criminal of the short Gown, were likewise deprived by a Decree of the Council, on account of their Religion. By another, of about the same Date, the Officers of the Courts of Aids, of the Chambers of Accounts, of the Seneschals, and Presidial-Sees were likewise deprived. Nay, LEWIS forbid the Judges to take for Assessors and Voters in the Judgment of the Causes, any Advocate or other Persons of our Religion, not so much as for being Juryman or Umpire. Lastly, in 1685, all these Officers of the Chambers of the Edict, who had been transplanted in the Chambers of Parliaments, received orders to dispose instantly of their Offices, or else they should be deprived. So were we left to the Mercy of our merciless Enemies, by an ungrateful Prince, whose tottering Crown we had settled upon his Head.

He deprived us not only of all Offices of Judicature, but even of all Civil Offices in Cities, Towns, Boroughs, &c. such as Consulships, Registers, Notaries, Tabellions, Watch-makers, Door-keepers; in a word, of all manner of Offices, from the first to the last, belonging to the Town-Houses, Council-Houses, &c. The Officers of the Army and of the Navy were not much more favourably treated than those of Justice and Police. True it is, that there was no publick Decree against them

Lewis 14. them before the Year 1685. But for several
 1682. Years before that Time, they could hardly at-
 Pope Inno- cent XI. tain the least Charges in the Armies, and when-
 ever they obtained a Company after very long Services, they were sure to be deprived of any further Advancement, unless they were extraordinary well supported at Court, or that they should turn Catholicks.

The Reformed were likewise deprived of all other Charges, Offices, Employments either honourable or profitable, or both together, of whatsoever Denomination, either at Court or at the Bar. They could be no longer admitted after the Year 1680, to be Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Midwife-Men, or Women; and those who had practised for several Years before, were forbid to continue upon very severe Penalties. Traders and Artificers were in the same manner excluded from Masterships; and to make it short, it was plain that our Enemies aimed at starving us, if they could, by depriving us of all Ways and Means of getting our Livelihood.

Third Head.

III. A third Method of vexing and tormenting us, was by sending Missionaries all over the Kingdom, that boldly came to vex us in our own Houses. That nasty Vermin had plagued the Provinces for a great many Years before. *Lewis XIII.* after the taking of *Rochelle*, renewed that Establishment which was fallen into decay, and settled in several Provinces *Capucines* and *Recollets* Houses for that very purpose; whose chief Business was to imagine Means to intice as many Reformed as they could into the Pale of the *Roman Church*. At the same time, the Clergy charged with the like Commission, some secular Priests, and even some Laymen, who, for the
 most

most part were decayed or lazy Traders and Artificers ; and in order to encourage them to enter upon that Business, they allowed them so much for every Convert, or rather Pervert, according to the Quality or Merit of the Profelyte. These new Apostles over-ran the Kingdom, assuming the Name of *Propagators of Faith*, their Houses were called *Houses of Propagation*, or more commonly, *Houses of Missions*, and they *Fathers of Mission*. Some of them were constantly residing in the same Place ; but others, especially the Laymen, ran from one Province to another, sowing, wherever they went, Seeds of Sedition and Injustice. They all agreed in one and the same Character of Impudence and Cavillation. Whenever any one had the misfortune to fall into their hands, he ought to resolve either to hear him patiently without Interruption, or to be sued for Blasphemy, if he was bold enough to offer to speak plainly his Mind, as to the Doctrines and Worship of the Church of *Rome*. The weakest and simplest among us fell most commonly into that Snare, dreading the Consequences of a Prosecution, they chose to abjure ; but their Dread was no sooner over, than commonly they resumed their former Profession. They went to hear the Sermons of a Minister, and immediately after they went up upon the Stage of a Mountebank to confute the Minister ; and oftentimes either thro' Malice, or for want of Memory, they made him say what he had never thought of, or clipt the most essential part of a Proposition to make it appear false or ridiculous. The People was extremely well pleased with them, because they diverted them with their Buffoonries, but the most sensible and rational Part amongst the

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Pope Inno-
cent XI.

Catholicks

Lewis 14.
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cent XI.

Catholicks themselves could not bear with them. They were impudent enough to endeavour to intrude themselves into the synodical Assemblies, and whenever that Honour was denied them, they challenged the chief Members thereof either personally, or by Writing, or by Placards. Sometimes they interrupted the Minister that preached before the Synod, and gave him the lye to his Face, in order to oblige him to a Conference; at other times they informed against some Polemick Book, and charged it with being full of Blasphemies and Impieties, and caused it to be notified to a Synod by a Serjeant, to know whether they did or did not approve such a book. In short, nothing was more noxious than these mischievous Creatures, especially in the last Times of our Subsistence in *France*. They enticed Children of eight Years of Age, and even under, by giving them some Sugar-Plumbs, or little Images, or some *Agnus Dei*, &c. to come to their Church; they asked them, whether they did not like these Fineries; and upon the Child's Approbation, they carried him away, put him to board in some Monastery, or in some Catholick House, and forced the Parents to pay large Pensions. In vain did the Parents reclaim Justice, the Courts, Superiour and Inferiour, were deaf to their Complaints, insensible at their bitter Grievs.

And as there was Settlements made for such Men-snatchers, so there was for another kind of Female-Missionaries, who went by the Name of *Ladies of Mercy, and of the Propagation*; several Ladies of the first Quality supported that Establishment with all their Credit, and did not account it below themselves to turn Converters, and to make use of

foul and forcible means, when the fair ones, that is to say, Flatteries and Promises or some Money, proved ineffectual. There were Houses of Propagation in most part of the best Towns of the Kingdom, where there was any Reformed, especially since the Year 1666. They did the same with the Female Children, with young Girls, with the Servant-Maids, &c. as the Missionaries did with the Boys, &c. they inticed them out of their Parents or Masters Houses, they carried them away into their own Houses, if there were any in the Place; and having them once in their Possession, they used them very barbarously whenever they proved refractory: See the Appendix. But more of this in the next Article.

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1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

A fourth Method of vexing the Reformed, was by depriving them of their Children, carrying them away into Monasteries, or Nunneries, or some other like Place, according to their Sex, and in several ways persecuting the Parents on account of their Children.

Fourth Method.

For several Years before this time, the Court and the Parliaments, at the Instigation of the Clergy, had given many cruel Strokes to the natural and civil Rights of Parents over their Children, confirmed unto them by the Edict of Nantz. Long ago the Reformed had observed with the greatest Concern, that their Enemies aimed at depriving them of all means of giving a Protestant Education to their Children, in order to keep them in a gross Ignorance of the Truths of our Religion, and that they might the more easily induce them to turn Catholicks. By a Decree of 1670, the Reformed School-Masters were forbidden to teach any thing else besides Reading, Writing,

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1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

ting, and Casting of Accompts. By another of the same Year, we were forbidden to have more than one School in every Place allowed for the publick Exercise of our Religion, and to have more than one School-Master for every School, who could not be paid neither with the Monies of the Commonalties, nor by the Contribution of other Churches. Which unjust Decree was confirmed by another of 1671. To which, a greater Severity was added by that of 1683, whereby it was ordered, that the Schools should be situated as near to the Churches as possible; and the School-Masters were expressly forbid to keep any Boarders; the Ministers were allowed, to keep two together, and no more. The Malice and Wickedness of our Adversaries is plainly evinced by all these Decrees. 1°. We were forbidden to keep Schools in Places where the publick Exercise of our Religion was not allowed. And several hundred of our Churches had been suppress'd by manifold unjust, fraudulent and violent Methods. 2°. Our School-Masters could not be paid out of the Moneys of the Commonalty, or collected in other Churches; to the end, that the small Churches, who had a right to have a School, should be deprived of that Benefit, they being not able, on account of their Poverty, to maintain a School-Master. 3°. A single School, and a single Master in that School was allowed for Places that had a Right; to the end, that the most populous Churches, in some whereof there were three and even four thousand Children to be educated, should be almost put upon the same level as those that were deprived of a School. 4°. The Schools ought to be situated near the Temples; to the end, that

that they should prové needless for the Churches, whose Temples were situated several Miles far from the Place of their abode. 5°. Our School-Masters were allowed only to teach Reading, Writing and Arithmetick; lest some of them understanding Latin, they should be able to teach the Children the first Elements of Sciences; for the same reason, they were forbidden to keep Boarders; and the Ministers could have but two; and lastly, upon the same account it was, that our Colleges and Academies were suppress'd one after another.

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1683.
Pope In-
nocent XI.



In the Year 1647, the Reformed of *Messe* were quite deprived of their Rights to the College of that Place, which had been built and endowed by the means of a Legacy left for that purpose, by *Desfontaines* Esq; a Gentleman of our Profession. That of *Nerac* was suppress'd in 1648; and those of *Bergerac*, were denied to have one. Those of *Loudun*, lost their own in 1635. In 1661, the Academy of *Montauban* was transferred to *Puy-laurens*, which last was suppress'd in *March* 1685. In 1663, by a Decree of the Council, none but Popish Professors and Regents could be admitted to teach in the College of *Montpellier*. That of *Anduze* was put upon the same footing with the small Schools, in the same Year. In 1664, *Castres* lost its College, which was fraudulently taken from them, and given to the Jesuits: And a few Months after, *Nimes* shared the very same Fate; no Reformed Professors or Regent could be admitted into it, without the Approbation of the Jesuits, and they were in every thing submitted to their Government. To be short, the Academy of *Sedan* was suppress'd in 1681, notwithstand-

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Pope Inno-
cent XI.


ing the most solemn Promises to the contrary, when that Province fell into the hands of LEWIS. The Academy of *Die* in *Dauphiné* had the same Fate in *September* 1684, and that of *Saumur* in *January* 1685. Nay, they went so far as not to suffer us to have any Riding-Master of our Profession. That was not all, but for absolutely depriving the Parents and Tutors of all means of giving their Children or Pupils a Protestant Education; they were expressly forbidden by a Decree of 1681, to send them abroad without the King's Licence, till they were 16 Years old. On the other hand, they forgot nothing to force the Reformed to entrust Papist Tutors and Masters with the Education of their Children and Pupils. So a Decree was issued forth in 1666, forbidding the Ministers and Consistories to censure, rebuke, or any otherwise to obstruct those who had a mind to send their Children or Pupils to Papist Schools: which Decree was confirmed by another in 1669.

That was not all; but in order to make themselves sure of the Children's Education, it was enacted by these two Declarations just now mentioned, that the Children of those, which they stiled *Relapses*, (that is, who, out of dread, had turned Catholicks, but, the danger being over, resumed their former Profession) should be christened and brought up in the Roman Church. And by another Declaration of the Year 1683, it was ordered, that the Children of those who had turned Catholicks, should be brought up in the Roman Religion, under the Penalty of an Arbitrary Fine, and nine Years Banishment for the Parents, forbidding the Ministers and Elders to suffer these Children in their Churches and

and Assemblies, under the Penalty of a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom, Forfeiture of their Goods and Estates, and a perpetual Interdiction of the Church, wherein the Child should have been admitted.

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Innocent XI.

But the more terrible Stroke against Children, was the Declaration of the Year 1681, whereby LEWIS, shaking off all manner of Shame, enacted, that the Children of the Reformed were, at seven Years of Age, capable of Reason and Discernment, in an Affair of such great Importance, as that of their Salvation. Upon which ground, he commanded, that whenever they should be of that Age, they might be admitted into the Pale of the Roman Church, abjuring the Reformed Religion; and their Parents were strictly forbidden to obstruct them upon any Pretence soever. By the same, these Children were left at liberty, either to remain in their Parents Houses, or to force their said Parents to pay them a Pension without, rated according to their Rank and their Wealth. It was likewise forbidden to send our Children abroad to be educated, till they be 16 Years old. By a Declaration of 1665, the same thing had been already enacted, as to the Pensions to be paid to Children by their Parents, if they did chuse to leave the paternal House; but then they ought to be more advanced in Years, viz. 14 Years for Males, and 12 for Females: That was the Age prescribed by Charles IX; but this last Act goes beyond all Rules of Equity, against all natural Notions, that a Child should be declared capable to determine for himself, as to the Choice of his Religion, at an Age when the human Laws disculp him of all manner of Crime, whatever his moral Actions might

Lewis 14. be. It must be owned, none, but a Popish
 1683. Stomach, could ever be able to digest such
 Pope Inno- a monstrous Morsel. I need not to show here,
 cent XI.  the Injustice of such a Declaration: Every
 sober Reader must be sensible of the Falsity,
 Ridiculousness and Impiety of its Principle;
 that it was destructive of all paternal Authority,
 that it subverted the most inviolable Laws
 of Nature and of Religion. But no Consideration
 at all was able to mollify the CANNIBALIANS;
 and in the dreadful Persecution carried on the
 same Year 1681, against the Reformed in *Poitou*, it was
 observed, that Children were no more spared
 than those who were more advanced in Years,
 they unmercifully beat and bruised them with
 Sticks, or with the Flat of their Swords, or
 even with the But-end of their Muskets; so the
 Child of *Susanna Thomas* at *St. Catherine's*, and
 that of *Peter Marsault* at *Exoudun*, shared the
 like Fate; this last by a Lieutenant of Horse.
 After the same manner were they treated in
 the *Lower Lauguedoc*, in the Year 1683, *Catherine*
Raventel, being in Labour, was found out by
 the Dragoons, they killed her, they cut the
 Face of one of her Children, who was eight
 Years old, and the Hand of another, who was
 but five Years old. I might very easily swell
 up this Catalogue with several other Instances
 of the like Cruelties used against Children
 to force them to turn Catholicks, since that
 cursed Declaration of 1681, to the repealing
 of the Edict.

The Parents and Tutors were likewise cruelly
 persecuted on account of their Children and
 Pupils. Whenever it happened, that these
 Children, &c. unknown to their Parents, &c.
 ran away, to avoid Persecution, their Parents,
 &c. were sent close Prisoners to a Dungeon

geon for a long time, condemned to large Fines, till they had re-presented them again, though they knew not where to find them. We have had a great many Instances of such inhuman Usages. We need not to say, that whenever wicked and disobedient Children had a mind, they might ruin their Parents, for which purpose, they needed but to charge them before a Magistrate, or a Priest, with obstructing their Conversion with Threats, &c. and their Business was done; Parents and Tutors were instantly condemned without any regard to Truth and Justice.

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Inno-
cent. XI.

A fifth Method for ruining the Reformed Religion in France, was the Persecution against the Ministers. Every one may easily guess, that while the Reformed were so unjustly dealt with, their Ministers were not spared, more than the Laymen. Contrary-wise, they were more exposed than others to the Persecutions of our Enemies, either on account of the Hatred against their Persons and Character, or because it was a shorter way to involve their Churches in the Persecutions raised against them, and destroy one with the other. This Article treats only of the Persecutions against the Persons of Ministers.

Fifth Method.
Persecutions against Ministers.

First of all, they were molested in a thousand ways, about the Place of their Residence. By the 6th Article of the Edict of Nantz, the Reformed, without distinction, were allowed to live in any Place of the King's Dominion, without being molested on account of their Religion, or obliged to do any thing against their Conscience. And in the private Articles, the first explained plainly the meaning of that 6th in the general. It imports expressly, that that 6th Article, concerning

Liberty

Levis 14. Liberty of Conscience, throughout all his Ma-
 1683. jesty's Dominions, shall be strictly observed,
 Pope In- even in regard to the Ministers, Tutors, Pro-
 nocent XI. fessors, School-Masters, &c. which may re-
 side wherever they please, provided, that in
 other respects, they do behave themselves ac-
 cording to the Edict.

But little by little, the Ministers were de-
 prived of that Advantage. The Declaration
 of 1666, gave the first Stroke to that Liber-
 ty. It imported, that the Synods should not
 allow the Minister to preach or reside alter-
 natively in several Places, but that they should
 be ordered to preach and reside in the Place
 appointed for them by the said Synods. The
 Declaration of 1669, altered something in
 the former, and instead of *to preach and to*
reside, they inserted, *to preach, OR to reside*.
 But by a Decree of the Council in 1674,
 things were restored, as they were in 1666,
 and the Ministers were expressly forbidden to
 reside without the Place, where they had been
 sent by the Synods to preach. What was
 the meaning of all this? To destroy the An-
 nexes, which being not able to maintain a
 Minister of their own, on account of their
 Poverty, had joined themselves with some
 other neighbouring Church more considerable,
 whose Minister was thereby charged to ad-
 minister the Sacraments and to preach unto
 them, as he did in the Place of his Residence.

But the Injustice was carried much fur-
 ther afterwards; for by a Decree of the Council
 in 1682, they were forbidden to reside in the
 Places where the Exercise of our Religion had
 been interdicted, and the Church pulled down,
 under the Penalty of Disobedience, of 3000
 Livres Fine, of Deposition from the Ministry,
 and

and of proceeding extraordinarily against them. Lewis 14-1683. Pope Innocent XI.
 The next Year, 1683, another Decree forbiddeth them to reside nearer than six Leagues from the abovesaid Places under the same Penalties.

Thereby they were hindered from residing in Places, where they had not only their Relations, Friends and Acquaintances, but also their Houses, Estates, and all their Affairs; which consequently absolutely required their Presence. But that was not all. In 1684, LEWIS issued forth a Declaration, whereby they were forbidden, 1^o. To preach more than three Years in the same Place; 2^o. To preach nearer than twenty Leagues distant from the Place where they had been Ministers for the said three Years: 3^o. To live as private Men any nearer than six Leagues distant from the said Places, or from any other where the publick Exercise of our Religion had been suppress; 4^o. To return before full twelve in the Places where once they had been Ministers. I leave to the judicious and impartial Reader, to make what Reflections he thinks proper upon that monstrous Decree.

Secondly, nothing was omitted for molesting the Ministers in the Exercise of their Ministerial Functions, and for depriving them of all means of subsisting.

The Prohibition of serving Annexes aimed chiefly at the reducing their Salary so low, that they were not sufficient for their Maintenance. By the same motive it was, that the Declarations of 1666 and 1669, forbid the Synods and Consistories to afford any Assistance to the Churches, and Ministers, besides those where the said Consistories were settled. And by another of 1683, they were expressly forbidden to raise any Contribution for their

History of the Reformation, and of the
their mutual Assistance, upon Penalty of Dis-
obedience, and the Suppression of the Church,
who should offend after that way.

Besides that, most part of the Edicts, De-
clarations and Decrees of the Council and of
the Parliaments, were as many Snares, where-
in they unavoidably must fall and be undone :
for instance, in the Year 1666 and 1669, the
Synods were forbidden to allow the Ministers
to preach, or reside alternately in several Places.
That was a Snare to intrap the Ministers, if
they did preach in other Places than in their
own Churches, though that was not express-
ly forbidden unto them by the said Decla-
rations. And accordingly, the Chamber of
the GREAT DAYS in *Languedoc*, took
that Pretence for sending several Ministers of
Cevennes Prisoners, and fining them at 500
Livres each, because they had preached in a
Church destitute of a Minister. Afterwards
that of *Thoulouse*, openly forbid the Ministers of
its Jurisdiction, to preach in any other Place
besides their own Churches; and in 1682,
LEWIS following that Example, issued forth
a Declaration to the very same purpose; and
which besides imported, that the Reformed
could not meet together for Divine Service,
unless in the Presence of a Minister appointed
for them by a Synod or by a Colloque.

Another Snare laid for the Ministers, was
the Prohibition made unto them, *to use in
the Pulpit or elsewhere, any harsh Expressions
against the Catholick Religion, or the State,
and enjoined them to speak with the utmost Re-
verence of the Roman Religion; and by an-
other Article, they were forbidden to speak
irreverently of the sacred Things, and of the
Ceremonies of the Church.* Now whenever

a Minister, either in his Sermons, or in his Books, or in Companies, impugned the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome, that was enough, though he did it with all possible Modesty and Moderation; he was accused for having not spoken of the *Roman Religion* with the Lewis 14. 1683. Pope Innocent XI. **UTMOST RESPECT.** And indeed, to say simply, that there were Errors in the *Roman Church*, was reputed a Crime. If a Minister spoke of the Persecutions whereunder the Reformed laboured, he was accused for having spoken against the State; or, if in order to show, that the Church of God has been always persecuted, he mentioned the Names of *Pharaoh*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nero*, or *Julian*, or some other Persecutor, that was a Crime of High-Treason, that was to have spoken against the King's Person. It was upon such like Charges, that every day some Minister or other was summoned, sent to Goal, &c. This was the Reason of *Lewis's* Declaration in 1683, wherein, after having forbidden us to admit any Roman Catholick in our Assemblies, he enjoined us however, to appoint a particular Pew for them in our Churches, that they might hinder the Ministers from preaching any thing against the Reverence due to the Roman Religion, or prejudicial to the State, and to the Service of his Majesty. These Papists were usually Priests or Monks, who turned Informers, and did not scruple to swear falsely; as we shall see presently in some few Instances.

Furthermore, the Ministers were forbidden by the Declaration of 1666 *to suborn*, as they call'd it, the Roman Catholicks, and to persuade them to turn Reformed; and by another of 1681, they were forbidden to hinder the

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cent XI.

CONVERSION of the Reformed, who had a mind to turn Catholicks. So that a Minister was almost put to silence, daring not to speak his Mind, or to discharge one of the most essential Parts of his Duty, without seeing himself put to great Trouble, and exposed to publick Shame.

By the Declaration of 1679, against the *Relapses*, the Ministers were forbidden to admit them to a Recantation, under the Penalty of Disobedience, and of Interdiction. By the Edict of 1680, which forbids the *Roman Catholicks* to turn Protestants, the Ministers were likewise forbidden to admit them to profess our Religion, or to suffer them in our Churches, and Assemblies, under Penalty of Deprivation for ever: Till then the Ministers only were Sufferers, whenever they received a *Relapse* or a *Profelyte*. But in the Year 1683, LEWIS not content with that unjust Severity, carried it much further, for he condemned the Ministers for the said pretended Offence to make *Amende Honorable*, to a *perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom*, and to the *Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates*. They were forbidden by a Declaration of 1682, to oppose in any wise the bringing up of *Bastard-Children* in the Roman Religion, upon the Penalty of four thousand Livres Fine, and others Arbitrary. And by that of 1683, against *Jews, Mahometants, and Pagans*, the Ministers were forbidden to suffer them in their Churches, and Assemblies, upon the Penalty of an Arbitrary Fine, which could not be less than 500 Livres, and a perpetual Deprivation of their Ministry in the Kingdom. They were forbidden, by a Declaration of the same Year, to suffer in their Churches, Children

dren of 14 Years old and under, whose Fa-
 thers had turned Catholicks, because he or-
 dered, that they should be brought up in the
 Popish Religion; and the Ministers, who
 should offend against the said Declaration, was
 sentenced *ipso facto* to make *Amende Honorable*,
 to a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom,
 and to the Forfeiture of all their Goods and
 Estates. I shan't mention here the Declaration
 of the same Year 1683, whereby they were for-
 bidden upon 1000 Livres Fine and Interdiction
 of their Ministry, to keep more than two Boarders
 together, nor of several others of the Years
 82 and 83 of the same Stamp. But every
 one must acknowledge, that nothing can be
 more unjust, unrighteous and wicked, than
 these Prohibitions made to the Ministers. If
 they were honest enough, to be willing to
 perform their Duty, as they were in Honour
 and Conscience obliged to do, how could they
 refuse to admit into the PALE OF THE
 CHRISTIAN CHURCH, those who
 desired to become CHRISTIANS, whether
 they were Bastards or Legitimate, whether
 they were *Relapses*, or Children of perverted
 Parents; whether they were *Jews*, *Pagans*,
Mahometans, or worse than all these? PA-
 PIST-BORN. Is not a good Pastor oblig-
 ed to admit them all whenever they come?
 Nay, is he not obliged to go after them,
 and to endeavour to persuade them to come
 in? And how can he, in good Conscience,
 shut up the Kingdom of Heaven to those
 unto whom God Almighty was pleased to
 open it! Has not *Jesus Christ* our Master com-
 manded us to teach all Men in the World?
 But these Packs of Villains, supported by the
 Authority of a lewd Tyrant, were not con-
 tent to exclude themselves from the Kingdom of
 Heaven,

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1152 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. *Heaven, but even they would not suffer others*
1683. *to enter into it.*

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cent XI.

The Impossibility of ever being able to observe what was enjoined to them by these Edicts, Decrees and Declarations, whereby they were forbidden to suffer in their Churches and Congregations, any Children of perverted Parents, any Relapse, any *Jew, Mahometan* or *Pagan, &c.* that Impossibility, I say, evinces plainly the Injustice and Wickedness of the Authors of these Edicts, &c. And indeed how could a poor Minister in the Pulpit, who was wholly intent upon his Sermon, take notice of all his Auditors, and observe those who were specified by the said Edicts; especially in some numerous Churches composed of five, six, seven or even ten thousand Auditors? and more especially, when their devilish Enemies carried their Wickedness so far, as to send clandestinely into our Churches, some of those excepted by the said Edicts, &c. and sometimes obliged a Woman to receive the Sacrament, which she could easily do, because usually Women received it having their Faces covered with a Hood. How could a Minister be aware of such Cheats? Nevertheless, upon these Accounts, as well as upon the Perjury of Informers, it was, that they were cruelly prosecuted, imprisoned, fettered, branded with Ignominy, immoderately fined, banished out of the Realm. Some particular Instances I will single out for to evince the Truth of these Narrations.

Ministers
persecuted. In 1666, the Reverend Mr. *Bobineau*, Minister of *Pouzauges* in *Poitou*, a Gentleman every way qualified for his Profession, well known, beloved and respected on account of his extraordinary Prudence and Moderation, being

ing charged by an *Augustine* Fryar, and a Priest, Lewis 14. 1683. Pope Innocent XI. with having preached a Seditious Sermon, was sent Prisoner to *Poitiers*, where he was detained for two Months; and though the Calumny was fully evinced to the Satisfaction of the Judges, nevertheless, he was only released upon Bail. The Reverend Mr. *Borie*, Minister of *Turenne*, being accused of having spoken against the Blessed Virgin, was sent Prisoner to *Bordeaux*, put in Irons into a Dungeon, where he remained for a full Year, and at last sentenced to a perpetual Banishment out of the Realm; nevertheless, the most that could be made out was, that he had said, that *Jesus Christ* was the only one born without Sin. Another Reverend Clergyman of the same Name, Minister of *Layrac*, was sentenced in 1672, to a Fine of 500 Livres and all the Expences of the Process, only because he had preached in another Church, because his own was suppressd. The Reverend Mr. *Majendie*, Minister in *Bearn*, a Gentleman of an excellent Character, and much esteemed without as well as within his Province, was sentenced in 1667, to be brought by the Jailor, attended by the Ushers or Serjeants, or Bailiffs, for it is the same, to the Hall of Audience in the Parliament of *Pau*, while the Courts were hearing Causes, his Legs fettered, and there kneeling down, to declare, that he was sorry for what he had uttered in his Sermon before the Synod held at *Nay* in *Bearn*, and in his Books, (*A Defence of the Union*, and *the Child floating*) [I never have seen the Books] that he found himself convicted of diffamatory and sacrilegious Expressions, for which he begged pardon of God, the King and Justice; and he was interdicted for ever of his Ministry.

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ment. X.

stry. Nevertheless, all his Crime consisted in this, that in his Sermon, he had spoken the Truth concerning the *Franciscan* Fryars. In the Year 1672, the Provincial Synods of *Lower Guienne*, having resolved, that the Ministers should continue to preach upon the Ruins of the Churches which had been interdicted; the Ministers obeyed that Order. Our Enemies failed not to magnify the Object; they represented, that Attempt as an Insurrection; and accordingly, *Daguesseau*, Intendant of the Generality of *Bourdeaux*, together with the Prefidial of *Libourne*, were appointed to try without Appeal, those who were already apprehended, amongst whom were five Ministers, the Reverend Messieurs *Royere*, Minister of *Issigeac*; *Canole*, Minister of *Gours*; *Malide*, Minister of *La Bastide*; *Baylen*, Minister of *Languirais*; *Laurets*, Minister of *St. Foy*. The three first were sentenced to make *Amende Honorable* *, to pay four thousand and thirty Livres Fines, and to a perpetual Banishment. The first part of the Sentence was executed the very same Day.

In 1679, the Reverend Dr. *Elias Merlat*, Minister of *Saintes*, a Man of a great Reputation, much respected within and without his Province, was sentenced by the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, to be brought in Fetters by two Ushers to the Audience, and there to declare upon his Knees, That rashly, inconsiderately and maliciously he had published his *General Answer to the Book of Mr. Arnaud*, intituled, *The Subversion of the Moral of Jesus Christ*,

* I have already observed, that to make *Amende Honorable*, is to walk from one Place to another, bare-headed, and bare-footed, in one's Shirt, an Halter round the Neck, the Hangman behind, and a lighted Taper in one's Hands.

Christ, by the Doctrine of the Calvinists concerning Justification; and uttered such Expressions in his Sermons, as are contrary to the Edicts, for which he was very sorry, and begged Pardon of God, of the King, and of Justice; to pay 1600 Livers Fine, and be for ever banished out of the Realm. His Book was publickly to be burnt by the Executioner. Nevertheless, he had said or written nothing but what a judicious and sober Man could and would have said. True it is, that he had said, speaking of the Persecutions and Oppressions, that *Kings ought not to treat their Subjects like Brutes.* But is not that plain Truth, and where is the Harm? The Sentence was executed; but as to his Recantation, he protested against, and declared, that what he did, was only in obedience to the Court. He retired into *Switzerland*, and was most honourably received at *Lausanne*, where he died first Minister of the Church, and Professor of Divinity in that Academy. I might enlarge myself upon this melancholy Subject, for very few escaped the Fury of our Enemies; but as the Ministers were the chief Object of their Hatred, so they were the chief Mark at which they aimed, and consequently most part of them had their share in their cruel Injustice: nay, some of them in the Year 1683, and before the Revocation of the Edict, ended their Days by the Executioner's hands, and saw themselves exposed to the same shameful and painful Death, as the most vile and profligate of all the Criminals, without any regard for their Birth, Education, Parentage, Character and Age, though they were guilty of no other Crime, than for having discharged their Duty

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cent XI.



Lewis, 14. according to their Conscience; such was the
 1683. Reverend Mr. *Homel*, broken alive upon the
 Pope Inno- Wheel, being above 72 Years old, and tor-
 cent XI. mented with the Stone. But more of this in
 the Appendix.

*Sixth
 Head.
 Persecu-
 tions a-
 gainst
 Churches.*

In order to extirpate the Reformed, they rightly judged, that they ought to be deprived of the free publick Exercise of their Religion; and consequently, that they ought to be deprived of the Sums granted by *Henry IV.* for the Maintenance of their Ministers; that the Liberty of their Synods, Colloquies and Consistories ought to be restrained; and lastly, that they ought to improve the least Pretence, right or wrong, for suppressing their Churches one after another.

In order to deprive the Churches, if they could, of the Ministry, they thought proper to deprive them of the Assistance granted them by a Brief of *Henry IV.* as a kind of Compensation for the Tythes they were obliged to pay to the Popish Clergy; which accordingly was done a little after the Edict of *Nimes*, in 1629, and the Churches were left to themselves to provide for the Maintenance of their Ministers, Academies, Colleges, &c. But as their Zeal for their Religion, their Respect and Love for their Ministers was well known, ways must be devised to deprive them of means of exerting their Generosity towards their Teachers: for that purpose, they were DEFRAUDED of the Funds designed to the Maintenance of their Poor, and of their Pastors, and which they had acquired either by Legacies or other free Gifts; they were put to vast Expences, either for keeping their particular Deputies at Court for prosecuting the Redress of their manifold Grievances, or
 for

for rebuilding new Churches, the old ones being fancied too near the Popish Churches or Chapels, or on account of some other like Cavil. That was not all, but in order absolutely to disable a Church to afford a sufficient Maintenance to their Pastors, by several Decrees and Declarations, the Reformed were deprived, as observed above, of all sorts of Offices, Charges, Employments, of Master-ships, even of the most Mechanick Arts and Professions. Nay, to complete the Misery, the Synods and Consistories were forbidden to assist the Churches which could not afford to maintain a Minister; and lest they should do it privately, by two Decrees of the Council, the one of 1670, and the other of 1680, the Consistories were ordered to bring before the Commissioners in their respective Provinces a full Account of their Receipts and of their Expences, of the several Sums assessed upon the Members of their respective Churches.

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Pope Inno-
cent XI.

With the same view it was, that nothing was omitted for depriving the Churches of Ministers; they suppressed, as above said, Schools, Colleges and Academies, which were as so many Nurseries of Ministers; and at the same time, the Reformed were forbidden to send their Children out of the Kingdom to be educated, till they were full 16 Years old. From the same Principle proceeded the Oppression and Restraint put upon our Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and at last their Suppression. We have already observed, in the Preface of the Fourth Volume, or the Second Part of the Third, that these Assemblies were of four sorts, the Consistories, the Colloquies, the Provincial and the National Synods. To these Assemblies belonged, not only the Reception

Lewis 14. of Students into the holy Ministry, and to
 1683. provide the Churches with Ministers, but al-
 Pope Inno- so to exercise the Discipline, and to regu-
 cent XI. late every thing that had any relation to it.

It was enacted by the National Synod held at *Montpellier* in 1598, that these National Assemblies should be held once every three Years. But as they could not meet without the King's special Licence, the difficulty of obtaining that, occasioned oftentimes a much longer delay, and we have seen that there had been above 14 Years interval between the two last, to wit, from the Year 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ to 16 $\frac{5}{6}$. But for all that, by the Declarations of 1666 and 1669, the Provinces were forbidden to keep any Correspondence one with another upon any account soever. The Provincial Synods were to be assembled once a Year. From the Year 1623, the National and Provincial Synods could not meet together without a King's Commissary, who was to be of the Reformed Religion. But in 1679, it was ordered, that for the future, there should be two Commissaries, one Reformed and the other Papist. This last Business was chiefly to puzzle and perplex these Assemblies, and to create Trouble unto them. At last, from the Year 1682, it was not possible to obtain the King's Licence for convening them any more. The Colloquies ought to meet four times, or at least twice in the Year. In 1657 these Assemblies were prohibited by a Decree of the Council, which Prohibition was renewed by another of 1661; and by the Declaration of 1666. But that of 1669 modified it; these Assemblies were allowed to meet in the Presence of a Commissioner from the King; but that only upon two particular Occasions, the one for supplying a Church with

with a Minister ; the other for exercising the Discipline against scandalous Sinners which could not be reclaimed otherwise. But it must be observed, that that Licence was but illusory, because they usually refused to name a Commissioner, without which they could not hold their Colloquies ; so that the Reformed were deprived of that Advantage, and were strictly forbidden to hold any other Assembly in the interval of one Synod to another, either for admitting Students in Divinity into the Holy Order, or for any other Business, how urgent soever the Occasion might be. Moreover, they were strictly forbidden to communicate and take advice by circular Letters upon any Emergency. The Consistories were to meet together once a Week, or oftner if there was Occasion ; they had ever been at full liberty to do it without being restrained by any Commissioner. But in 1684, they were strictly forbidden to meet more than once in a Fortnight, and that too before a Commissioner named by the King, upon the Penalty of Interdiction for ever, and the Demolition of the Church, wherein that Assembly should have been held ; Deprivation for ever, as to the Minister who had presided in it, of his Ministerial Functions, and other Arbitrary Penalties for the Elders and others who had assisted in it.

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Pope Innocent XI.

I need not to insist upon the Inconveniences arising from the Restraint, Oppression, and Suppression of all these Ecclesiastical Assemblies, which had been established in order to be the support of the Discipline, the Knot of the Union of our Churches, and the Source of their Edification. It is obvious enough, that the main Drift thereof was to deprive the Churches of Pastors. The Colloquies,

Lewis 14. who were charged to examine and admit in-
 1683. to the Holy Ministry the Students in Divi-
 Pope Inno- nity during the interval of one Provincial Sy-
 cent XI. nod to another, having been suppress'd: there
 remained the Provincial Synods where they
 might be admitted; but it was very difficult
 to obtain a Licence for holding them, even
 before they were wholly suppress'd: so that the
 Churches, the Ministers whereof were either
 dead, or sick, or absent, or suspended up-
 on any account soever, were left without any
 manner of Instruction and Comfort for whole
 Years together, waiting till the meeting of the
 Synod.

I shall not insist here upon the Prohibition
 made to the Reformed to meet together in
 their Churches for Divine Service in Places
 where the Bishops were upon their Visitation;
 nor upon that made to the Ministers and
 Elders to enter in the Day or Night-time
 into any House of the Reformed, unless it
 should be for visiting the Sick, or perform-
 ing some other Function of their Ministry,
 on pain of Corporal Punishment. But the
 Ways and Means put in use for having a
 Pretence of proscribing a Church, and for ever
 depriving the Members thereof of the pub-
 lick Exercise of their Religion, are indeed
 some of the most odious, and deserve to be
 here mentioned.

It must be observed, that the Churches
 were oftentimes involved in the same Cases
 which served as a Pretence for depriving a
 Minister, and incurring the same Penalty with
 him. So the Case of *Relapse*, which accord-
 ing to the Declaration of 1679 ought not to
 be admitted again into the Pale of the Prote-
 stant Church, was sufficient for interdicting not
 only

only a Minister, but it had the same effect upon his Church, which was likewise interdicted. We have already observed what Tricks and Cheats the Clergy put in use for compassing their Ends in that respect. They were sensible enough, that it was impossible for a Minister to distinguish amidst a numerous Assembly a Relapse from another Person: (*For it was not requisite in those doleful Times, as it had been in the former, that a Man should recant his Errors, nor to make any publick or private Acknowledgment and Reparation of his Fault, for his being reputed a Relapse; it was enough for that, that he should be found once in a Church, hearing Prayers or a Sermon.*)

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

Therefore in order to make a sure Game of the Churches, not only they had required such an unjust Decree of the Council, but to dispatch the Business they employed Fraud and Imposture; not only they bribed People who had never been Protestant, and who coming from some remote Place, were perfectly unknown to the Church wherein they entered, by the means of a false Certificate; but they appointed false Witnesses always ready to swear any thing against a Person whom they had a mind to undo.

Such was the Case of the Church of *Mont-*
pellier: The Constancy of Miss *Paulet*, Daugh-
ter to an Apostate Minister, was the Occa-
sion of its Ruin. She was forcibly taken in
1674, out of her Father's House, and closely
shut up in a Nunnery, wherein nothing was
omitted for a whole Year, to oblige her to
turn Papist; but though she was not as yet
eleven Years old, she persisted stedfast in
her own Religion: She was released, and from
that time to the Year 1682, she publicly
professed

The
Church of
Montpel-
lier.

Lewis 14.
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cent XI.

professed our Religion, going openly to Church, and receiving the Sacrament, though she had several Persecutions to undergo for it; and amongst others, that which she was exposed to in *Montpellier*, in the Nunnery of *St. Charles*.

In the Year 1680, it was pretended that she had abjured her Religion, nay, a Deed of her Abjuration in the first Nunnery was produced, supposed to be signed with her own hand. Thereupon her Mother was obliged to bring her to the Bishop of *Montpellier*, who examined her; she denied the Fact, and convinced the Bishop himself by several Signatures which she made in his Presence, and which were all alike, that the Hand of the Instrument was far different from her's, and consequently could not be her own. But for all that, her Name was inserted in a List of several Persons supposed to have turned Papists, which was delivered to the Consistory of the Church of *Montpellier*; but that hindered her not from openly professing our Religion as before. Whereupon the Parliament of *Toulouse* gave a Warrant in 1682, to seize her, together with the Rev. Mr. *Isaac Dubourdieu*, one of the Ministers of *Montpellier*, falsely charged with having administered the Sacrament unto her, (for it was the Rev. Mr. *Sartre*, who had done her that Office.) The Consistory had Notice, that a Design was laid to involve their Church in the Affair of that Damsel: For warding off the threatening Blow, they sent Post two Deputies to *Toulouse*, for to decline the Jurisdiction of the Parliament, as incompetent Judges in all Matters relating to their Church; and to protest against any thing that might affect their

their Privileges. The two Deputies arrived Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Innocent XI. time enough, and had the Protest served on the Attorney-General, by an Usher the 16th of *November* 1682, at seven of the Clock in the Morning. He took it, and put it in his Pocket, but instead of notifying it to the Court, he pursued the Affair to a definitive Sentence; then he caused the Execution of the Usher to be post-dated, at twelve of the Clock, instead of seven, when he had received it; to be sure, in order to make the People believe, that he knew nothing of the Challenge and Protest, when the Sentence had passed. However the Doom was, that Miss *Paullet* and the Rev. Mr. *Dubourdieu* should undergo the Penalties ordered by the King's Decrees against Relapses, and against the Ministers who suffered them in their Churches*. And though the Church of *Montpellier* was in no-wise concerned in the matter, and had never been heard, nor so much as summoned, nevertheless, by the same Sentence, it was interdicted for ever, and the Temple to be pulled down a Fortnight after Notice given of the present Sentence.

The last part of the Sentence was soon executed, the Duke of *Noailles*, Governor of the Province, received it at *Montpellier* the 20th of *November*; by an Express from *Toulouse*; the same Day he had it notified to the Rev. Mr. *Gaultier*, one of the Ministers of the Place, who entered a Protest against it, in his own, in the Consistory's, and in the whole Congregation's Name; but that availed nothing. The Governor sent for the Ministers, that

he
* They were sentenced to make *Amende Honourable*. to perpetual Banishment out of the Realm, and the Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates, by the King's Declaration in 1679.

Lewis 14. he might secure them more easily. They re-
 1683- spectfully persisted in their Opposition to the
 Pope Inno- Sentence of the Parliament, and desired to
 cent XI. have time to send to Court; he told them,
 that they might, but that he was thoroughly
 informed of the King's Sentiments upon the
 matter. The Ministers refusing to submit,
 were sent instantly Prisoners to the Citadel;
 Mr. *Isaac Dubourdieu* had absconded, Mr.
Berthauld, Senior, surrendered himself in the
 Evening; so that the Church was absolutely
 deprived of their Ministers, five of them be-
 ing Prisoners, and the sixth obliged to ab-
 sent himself. The Consistory sent instantly a
 Deputy to Court; but he was prevented by
 the Governor's, and found that the King had
 already sent his Orders for demolishing the
 Church. Nay, he was sent to the *Bastile*, as
 a State-Prisoner.

The 1st of *December*, the Duke of *Noailles*
 received his Orders from Court for the de-
 molishing of the Temple, and without wait-
 ing any longer, (not even till the end of the
 Fortnight granted by the Parliament of *Tbou-*
louse, after the Notification of their Decree)
 and notwithstanding that the Damsel; being
 imprudently advised, had surrendered herself
 Prisoner at *Tboulouse*, by which Step, all the
 Sentences and the Decrees passed upon that
 Affair of course were reversed, because she had
 been condemned unheard, as well as the Mi-
 nisters, and the Consistory. Nevertheless upon
 the very same Day, 1st of *December*, having
 gathered together all the Masons of the City,
 he went himself to the Temple, set the Ma-
 sons to work, and in three Days it was le-
 velled to the ground. The Ministers were
 released after 18 Days Imprisonment, but not
 suffered

suffered to live in the City. As to Miss *Pau-Lewis* 14.
let, the innocent Occasion of all these In- 1683.
 justices and Troubles, having surrendered her- *Pope Ino-*
 self, as abovesaid, after many Vexations and cent XI.
 Injustices, too tedious to be here related, these
 unrighteous Judges, deserving rather to sit
 upon a Scaffold, than upon a Tribunal of Jus-
 tice, confirmed the former Sentence, passed
 upon her. But taking notice, that far from
 being dejected by the Thoughts of the Ig-
 nominy attending the *Amende Honorable*, and
 of the Misery of an Exile into a foreign Coun-
 try for a Person of her Sex and Age, she was
 ready to submit herself with Joy to the one and
 to the other; they thought proper to try her
 Constancy by another way. They let her know,
 that the King had commuted the Punishment,
 into a perpetual Captivity. Thereupon her
 Constancy began to be shaken, she could not
 bear with the dreadful Thoughts of spend-
 ing all her Days confined in such a horrid
 Place, conversing only with People of the
 worst Character, being every day teased with
 Disputes and Sollicitations of Priests and
 Monks. To this her Enemies opposed the
 most agreeable Prospect in this World, if she
 would but turn Papist, and own what she
 had for several Years so constantly denied;
 full Liberty, a large Dowry, great Pension,
 an honourable Settlement. They had had the
 Malice to let into the Prison a young Gen-
 tleman, whose fine Parts, either of Body
 or Mind, were more than sufficient to pre-
 vail over a young and tender Heart. She
 yielded, after several Struggles, to the Temp-
 tation, (she was not above 19 Years old at
 this time) she was released, but not before she
 had turned Papist, owned what she had denied,
 and

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Pope Inno-
cent XI.

and wrote to the King to petition his gracious Pardon for her pretended Crime; she had a Pension, a Dowry, and the fair Seducer for her Husband. Three things are worthy to be taken notice of in this Affair; 1°. That it was demonstrated upon the Trial, that the Hand of the Instrument was not the Hand of the Damsel, and that she knew not how to write at the time when it was forged. 2°. That even though the Hand of the Instrument should have been her own, nevertheless it could not be obligatory; it was of no force, seeing that, at that time, she was not of the Age required by the King's Declaration, then and several Years after subsisting, for young People to chuse a Religion, which was 12 Years for a Girl, and 14 for a Boy. 3°. That the Trial, together with the Sentence, were grounded only upon the Depositions of false Witnessess, of those very infamous Persons who had forged the above-said Instrument, without any regard to her Defence; no, not so much as for hearing or reading them, when humbly offered in due time. Consequently, that nothing was more unrighteous and heinous than the said Sentence, and much more so in respect to the Church of *Montpellier*.

Several of the Courts of Justice, either Superiour or Inferiour, having shaken off all manner of Shame, admitted as good Evidences, the Testimony of People notoriously known for being intirely void of all Sense of Honour and Probity, and without Conscience: nay, what will hardly be believed, though certainly true, they admitted Fools, and such Persons, which being deprived of their right Senses, were actually under Tutors and Curators;

rators; Churches were interdicted, Pastors were deprived upon the Testimony of such People.

A seventh Kind of Persecution, was that against Books, whereby the Reformed were deprived of an easy means of Instruction and Comfort, when either through the great Distance of Places, or through Interdiction, either of Ministers or Churches, &c. they could not enjoy the Benefit of Schools, or of publick Prayers and Sermons.

By the 21st Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, it was allowed to print and sell publickly Books concerning our Religion, in Cities, Towns, &c. where the publick Exercise thereof was settled; and as to the Books printed elsewhere, they ought to be first reviewed and examined by the Magistrates and Divines.

Such a Liberty had long ago provoked the Jealousy of our Enemies. Ever since the Year 1663, when the Council condemned a little Book, published in behalf of the singing of Psalms, to be burnt by the common Hangman; the same Decree forbiddeth the Printers and Booksellers to print any Book wrote by a Reformed, without the Approbation of some Ministers, and the Licence of a royal Magistrate. By another Decree of the Council in the Year 1664, we were forbidden to publish any Book without the Attestation and Certificate of some approved Ministers, the Licence of the Magistrates, and the Consent of the King's Attorneys. That Prohibition was inserted in the Declaration of 1666, suppressed by that of 1669, but renewed and confirmed by that of 1679; with this Difference only, that instead of the word, *Approbation* of the Ministers, this last had, *Attestation* and *Certificate*: because they pretended, that Ministers had no Right

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

Seventh
Head.
Persecuti-
ons against
Books.

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

Right to approve, but only to certify. By such Means they made void the Liberty granted us by the Edict, inasmuch as it was almost impossible for us to obtain the Licence, either of the Magistrates, or of the King's Attorneys. And for hindering us from getting Books of Divinity from *Holland, Geneva, &c.* it was forbidden under great Penalties to introduce into *France*, Books printed in Foreign Countries; Inquisitors were appointed upon the Frontiers, diligently to search and examine Books that were imported, and those who were convicted of any Offence in that respect, were punished with the utmost Severity. In the Year 1644, the Attorney General prosecuted in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, a Book intitled, *MARSEILLES without Miracles*, published with Approbation of several Ministers, by the Rev. Mr. *Robin*, Minister of *Veines*, and had it condemned to be burnt by the Hangman; the Author and Printer were to be imprisoned. In the Year 1646, *D'Argenson*, Intendant of *Poitou*, issued forth a Prohibition to sell a small Book for Children, intitled *A, B, C, of the Christians*, to teach them their Letters; he forbid the School-Masters to make use of it. The Carriers of it were condemned (*for the first time*) at 500 Livres Fine, and the Forfeiture of their Merchandize, (they were brought to the Fairs of *Niort*, and a vast Quantity of them was usually sold there;) and for the second time, to a corporal Punishment. The Reason the Intendant gave for such a great Severity, was, *that the Book was full of Heresies*. And nevertheless, every one knows, that after the first Pages, which contained the Alphabet, and the Syllables, nothing was to be

be found in the rest, but the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, a short Catechism, some Texts of the Scripture, some short Prayers fit for Children, and some Stanzas, upon the Difference between a good Child and a naughty one. Nay, there was so little of Controversy in it, that the Catholicks themselves were used to buy it, and pleased with the reading of it. In 1653, the Magistrate of *Dieppe* condemned a Book of the Rev. Mr. *Fauquemberge*, Minister of that Place, intituled, *The great Evangelical Jubilee, procuring full Indulgence of all Sins*, printed at *Haerlem*, to be burnt; the Author and Printer were summoned to appear, but the Author chose to abscond. In 1657, a Book of the Rev. Mr. *Bochard*, Minister of *Alençon*, concerning the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images, was proscribed, and the Author fined at 50 Livres, because he styled himself, *Minister of the Holy Gospel*, and that he had spoken of these Points, contrary to the Notions of the Church of *Rome*. Some of the Books of the Rev. Dr. *Drelincourt* had the same Fate, especially his *Abridgment of Controversies*, burnt at *Vitri-le-François* in 1665. I might name several others treated after the same manner; which I do forbear for brevity sake.

But the Edict which the Clergy obtained in August 1685, exceeded far beyond whatever we have seen. It imported amongst other things, a total Suppression of all Books published against the Roman Catholick Religion by those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, forbidding to print or sell them for the future under very severe Penalties. That Edict was no sooner published, but the Parliament of *Paris* issued forth

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope 83.
cent XI.

Lewis 14. forth a Decree, appointing the Archbishop of
 1683. *Paris* to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius* of
 Pope In- all Books which he should think proper to
 nocent XI. suppress. The Prelate obeyed without Re-
 luctancy, and made such diligence, that, in
 very few days, he had done an Index of a-
 bove 500 Authors, which he thought proper
 to proscribe. Amongst the Books of the Re-
 formed, he inserted those of the *Lutherans*,
Socinians, *Arminians*, those of the *Greek Com-*
munion, even some of the *Roman Catholicks*,
 and amongst others, the *History of the Council*
of Trent, done in *French* by *Amelot de la*
Houffaye. And what was the more scanda-
 lous, he proscribed all the Versions of the
Old and New Testament done by the Mini-
 sters, as *scandalous Books*, composed against the
Roman Religion. He published that Index
 with a *Mandate* at the head, forbidding the
 selling or keeping of these Books in his Dio-
 cese; and on the 6th of *September* the Par-
 liament of *Paris* issued forth a Decree infor-
 cing the said Prohibition, and commanding a
 strict Search to be made of these Books, not
 only at the Booksellers, and Printers, but also
 at the Ministers, Elders and other private Per-
 sons. Several other Parliaments followed that
 Example. The Decree was strictly obeyed, a
 Search was made, many Books were burnt,
 but their Fury fell especially upon the Bibles
 and New Testaments, which became the Prey
 of their Sacrilegious Flames.

I think proper here to observe, that while
 we were forbidden to set forth the Truth
 of our Religion, and to expose the Errors of
 the Church of *Rome*, or to vindicate our
 Innocence against the Aspersions of our Ene-
 mies, these were at full liberty to say, and

to write whatever they pleased, though never so unjust, impudent, and scandalously false, it was admitted without controul. Of that number were *the Catholick Decisions of* FIL-
LEAU. It was a general Collection of the Decrees issued forth in all the Sovereign Courts of *France*, in Execution or Interpretation of the Edicts concerning the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion. The Author was Ancient Advocate of the King at *Poitiers*, and Dean of the Doctors in Law of that University: He was one of the hottest Persecutors of the Reformed; he was fully persuaded, that the highest Pitch of Justice and Godliness, was to have no regard to Justice, common Honesty, or Humanity with Hereticks. Upon these Principles he had framed his COLLECTION. Far from relating the Decrees only of the Superiour Courts, he mixed together those of the most Inferiour; nay, those of the pettiest Judges, his own, which he pretended must serve as a Rule in all Decrees relating to the Reformed. And although the Decrees of the former Kings before *Henry IV.* were made void by the Edict of *Nantz*, he pretended, that the said Edict ought to be explained by the former Edicts and Decrees. A Madman may be slighted as long as his Madness is of no consequence: But our misfortune was, that the Pranks of this were too well relished at Court, and served as a Rule for the Decrees issued forth from the Council. That Book was published in the Year 1661.

The next Year 1662, the Jesuit *Meynier* published a Book with this Title, *Of the Execution of the Edict of Nantz*, printed at *Pezenas*. He pretended to prove, that the Re-

Lewis 14. formed had made so many Usurpations in
 1683. *Languedoc*, that in the sole Diocese of *Nimes*,
 Pope Inno- they had a greater number of Churches in
 cent XI. the Year 1661, than they had had in the
 three Provinces together of *Lower Languedoc*,
Cevennes, and *Vivarais*, at the time of the
 Publication of the Edict. That was such a
 gross Falshood, that every one who was not
 prepossessed were convinced of the Author's
 Imposture. And indeed, that Jesuit was so
 richly endowed with the Gift of Cavilling,
 that it is not possible to go beyond. He had
 no regard for Truth. Impudence, Knavery,
 Equivocation, Calumny, were his favourite
 Virtues; he never blushed for any thing. For
 several Years together, he attended the Com-
 missioners, that were sent into the Provinces
 for executing the Edict of *Nantz*; he bent
 all his Faculties for to find out, in the clearest
 and most authentick Titles and Instruments,
 something or other which he might strike at.
 He signalized himself first in *Languedoc*; then
 he went into *Guienne*; and wherever he passed,
 he left Marks of his Malice and Wickedness.
 But before he set out from *Guienne*, he gave
 his Instructions to the Syndicks of the Clergy,
 and to *Bernard* Advocate in the Presidial See
 of *Beziers*, for enabling them to complete the
 Work which he had begun. *Meynier* came
 into *Poitou* in the Year 1665; he publish-
 ed another Book with this Title only, THE
 TRUTHS. Wherein he pretended to make
 pass for a Rule and Law, certain Principles
 quite opposite, not only to Justice, but even
 to common Sense. He pretended, that the
 Edict of *Nantz* granted nothing to the Re-
 formed, besides what had been granted unto
 them by the former Edicts of the late Kings,
 Predecessors

Predecessors of *Henry IV.* that they were left in the same Condition; they had been in before; that their Religion was not permitted by the said Edict, but only tolerated; and such other like Stuff, which he impudently set up as the most glaring Truths.

Lewis 14th
1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

As to *Bernard*, treading in the same Steps as his Master *Meynier*, he published, in 1666, *An Explanation of the Edict of Nantz*; much of the same Stamp as the former Books which I have mentioned; the Edicts of *Charles IX.* and of *Henry III.* were to be the standing Rule for explaining that of *Henry IV.* and the Declarations and Decrees of the Council subsequent to the Reign of that great Prince, especially those of *Lewis XIV.* were to serve as the Basis of the true meaning of the said Edict. I might mention several more, most part of whom were starving Fellows, who, for a bit of Bread, did not scruple to sacrifice Truth, Honesty, and every thing else, and to prostitute their Heads and their Hands to all manner of Iniquity in order to please the Clergy. Such was the Character of these Men, on the Decisions of whom, the Fate of our Churches intirely depended.

All that I have above said, was very proper to create a dislike of our Religion in those who postponed the Concerns of the Soul to their worldly Concerns. Several yielded to the Temptation; one turned Catholick for getting an Employment, another for a Pension, &c. Nevertheless, our Enemies thinking that they went on too slowly in their Work, betook themselves of a speedier Method. The Quartering of Soldiers upon the Reformed, and the cruel Executions of these Beastly Guests, seemed unto them a readier way of

*Eighth
Head.
Military
Executi-
ons.*

Lewis 14. Conquering. Accordingly, in the Year 1681,
 1683. they began by the *Poitou*. *Marillac*, Intendant
 Pope Inno- of the Province, notorious for his infamous
 cent XI. Practices and Means, was the first who put
 such ones in use. I have made in my Ap-
 pendix a separate Article of these Military Exe-
 cutions, to which I refer the Reader.

The Province sent Deputies to Court, with a most humble and moving Petition, to beg the Redress of their intolerable Grievances: But either that *Louvois* was the vile Slave of the *Jesuits*, or that *Lewis*, trusting the whole Management of his Affairs, and the Government of his Kingdom to his Ministers, did not care to be disturbed in his Endearments; howbeit, the said Deputies received an Order from *Lewis*, to leave *Paris* in 24 Hours, with a Prohibition not to come thither again. The like Storm blew up in *Xaintonge*. *Carnavalet*, Governor of *Broiige*, was so proud to follow the glorious Feats of *Marillac*, that he put in use the like Violences against the Reformed. *Bergerac* in *Guienne* was treated after the same manner, in the Year 1682. The next Year the like Executions begun and continued till the Revocation of the Edict in 1685, in *Dauphiné*, *Languedoc*, &c. The Occasion whereof was as follows:

The last Provincial Synod of the *Lower Languedoc*, held at *Uzez* in 1682, being sensible of the Impossibility they were in of providing for their common Concerns, on account of the Constraint they were kept in by the Presence of the Popish Commissioner, had thought proper to alter their Measures, and to take some others more agreeable to the times, more speedy, and more secret. Till then the Churches of that Province had been divided

divided into three Colloques, whereof the Churches of *Nimes*, of *Ufèz*, and of *Montpellier* had been the Heads: each of these Churches was charged with the particular Direction of the Affairs of its Colloque, or *Classis*, during the Intervals of the Synods; and when these Affairs were of such Importance, that the whole Province was concerned therein, these three Churches, conjointly with some Ministers of their Colloque, met together by their Deputies, at an appointed Place to take Cognizance of the Matter, and resolve upon it. But whereas these Deputations, Commissions, and Directions of Affairs were severely forbidden, and that the Behaviour of Ministers was so narrowly watched over, that they could not almost make a Step without exposing themselves to some criminal Prosecution, they agreed to charge six Persons of known Capacity, Experience, and Probity, with the Direction of their Affairs, without being obliged to consult the principal Churches about them. They made almost the same Regulation in *Dauphiné*, *Vivarais*, and the *Cevennes*; and each of these Provinces had its own Directors, who kept a secret Correspondence one with another. When these new Directors saw that their Petitions to the King's Council were not regarded, and that the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, without any respect to Justice, had passed Sentence upon the Church of *Montpellier*, they met together at Mr. *Brousson's* House in the former City; and though that Assembly was composed of 28 Deputies of *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Vivarais* and *Dauphiné*, nevertheless, it was kept so secret, that our Enemies had not the least Suspicion thereof. They

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Pope Inno-
cent XI.



considered what was to be done in their melancholy Circumstances, and agreed upon a Scheme containing eighteen Articles; the main Scope whereof was, to maintain the Liberty of Conscience, and the publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion; for which purpose all the proscribed Churches were to resume their Exercises, and the 27th of *June* 1683 was appointed for that purpose; all the Churches were to assemble upon that Day, with such a Modesty, that the Catholicks should not take Offence at them, but yet in so open a manner as that they should take notice of them. The 4th of *July* was appointed for a general Fast-Day. They were to draw up a Petition, to be sent to the Lord Chancellor and the Ministers of State, the very first day that the Churches should begin again their Exercises. The Doors of the standing Churches were to be opened to every one who had a mind to come in, Priests and Monks excepted, who should be desired to withdraw whenever their Presence should be thought noxious. The rest of the Project contained several Regulations about the singing of Psalms; the holding of Colloques for admitting Students into the Holy Ministry, &c. Certainly had that Scheme been executed as it had been agreed, very likely our Enemies would have found it a Task too hard for them to destroy us, as they did; nay, very likely they would have been forced, not only to desist from their Violences, but even to restore unto us most part of our Privileges, had the Reformed of that time been animated with the same Spirit as their generous Ancestors. And indeed, if the Cause so strenuously supported by the Prince of *Condé*, Admiral of

Coligni,

Coligni, and other like Christian Heroes of the 16th Century, was just, that of the Reformed, of the Time which we are speaking of, was much more so. But, who will believe it? The Reformed had no worse Enemies than themselves! Jealousy crept and raged among them. Those who had been in the former Direction, could not bear to see the new Directors taking more vigorous Measures than they had done themselves for obtaining a just Redress of their Grievances; they cried out against them as rash and imprudent People, who had a mind, by their preposterous Zeal, to bring the whole Party to certain Ruin. On the other hand, the new Directors upbraided the others with betraying the Common Cause by an unseasonable Prudence; nay, they charged them with Treason: and indeed there were Traitors enough amongst the Reformed, who intruded themselves into their most secret Assemblies, pretended an extraordinary Zeal for the Cause, and then disclosed to the Court, whatever they knew of the Measures taken for their Preservation. Amongst others, I shall name two Ministers of *Nimes*, *Cheiron* and *Paubhan*, who both revolted a little before the Revocation of the Edict. Upon these Jealousies, a Division ensued; so that nothing of what had been resolved at *Thoulouse* was done with that Harmony and Concert, so much recommended as absolutely requisite in order to succeed in their laudable Undertaking; they did not meet upon one and the same day, as it had been agreed. Those of *St. Hypolite* met together to the Number of above three thousand, on the 11th of *July*; several Churches in *Vivarais*, did the same on the 18th of

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

Lewis 14. the same Month ; and in *Dauphiné* they met
 1683. at *Chateaudouble* the 22d. How inconsiderable
 Pope Inno- foever in itself that Difference seem-
 cent XI. ed to be, nevertheless, our Enemies failed
 not to draw from it a certain Argument of
 the Disagreement that reigned amongst the
 Reformed, and consequently, that it would
 not be a difficult Matter to destroy them.
 These Assemblies afforded the Catholicks a
 Pretence to rise in Arms in their own De-
 fence, as they said : They likewise occasioned
 one of the most dreadful Persecutions that
 had ever been heard of before, which contin-
 ued till after the repealing of the Edict.

The Catholicks being in Arms, the Re-
 formed did not think proper to remain un-
 armed ; however, they unanimously agreed not
 to attack, but to be only upon the Defen-
 sive : and certain it is, that the Catholicks
 were the first Aggressors, and that the Re-
 formed began Hostilities only when some of
 them had been murdered in cool Blood by
 their Enemies.

When the News of these Insurrections had
 reached *Paris*, the Church of that City was
 terribly frightned ; being sensible of their own
 Weakness, they were afraid lest they should
 fall the first Victim to the Court's Resent-
 ment. These Fears soon caught the neigh-
 bouring Provinces, they strove who should
 be the first in disowning the Conduct of the
Southern Provinces. They wrote to their
 Friends ; the Deputy General wrote a pathet-
 tick Letter to the Churches of *Languedoc, &c.*
 publick Good was postponed to private Con-
 cerns, the new Directors saw themselves for-
 saken by almost all those who had some Mea-
 sures to keep ; but for all that, they were

not disheartned. They drew up a new Pe-^{Lewis, 14.}
 titution, which they sent to the Marquess of ^{1683.}
Louvois; it was framed after such a manner, ^{Pope Inno-}
 that that State-Minister's Heart would have cent XI.
 been softned, had it not been harder than a
 Diamond. Notwithstanding these Disappoint-
 ments, the Assemblies continued; the Catho-
 licks, not thinking themselves strong enough
 to cope with the Reformed, made use of Ar-
 tifice and Fraud, in order to decoy them
 more surely; the Intendants, and the Bishop
 of *Valence*, promised them the Release of
 their Prisoners, and a full Amnesty from the
 King for what had been done, if they would
 retire quietly into their own Houses, and lay
 down their Arms. The poor People obeyed;
 but their Enemies waited only for the Dra-
 goons and other Troops that were daily ex-
 pected. They arrived, and made their Exe-
 cutions first in *Dauphiné*, then in *Vivarais*,
 then in the *Cevennes*, where they committed
 such Barbarities upon the Reformed, that I
 cannot forbear to shudder at the only Thought
 thereof. True it is, that in these three Pro-
 vinces, the Amnesty had been published, but
 after a most fraudulent manner; for in order
 to decoy these poor People, the Count *du*
Roure, the Intendant, nay, the Duke of *No-*
ailles himself, instead of publishing the Ori-
 ginal, issued out a false Copy thereof, which
 did not mention the Exceptions and Restric-
 tions of the Original, and which indeed ren-
 dered needless and void that pretended Act
 of Grace; for Women and Children excepted,
 it was impossible for any Man, that he should
 not be included in some one or other of the
 Cases against which there was an Exception.

These

Lewis 14.

1684.

Pope In-
nocent XI.

These Executions continued all the Year 1684; and the next, they reached *Langue-
doc, Guienne and Bearn*. One may judge to what vast Sums the Plunder made by the Dragoons amounted, by the strict Accounts of what they had pillaged in the only Borough of *St. Hypolite*, the Inhabitants whereof were forced to pay 244,400 Livres. And as to their Cruelties, we may assert, that upon the lowest Computation, no less than seven thousand Reformed, Men, Women and Children, perished in all these *Southern Provinces*, in one Year and a half's time, most part were murdered in cool Blood by the Soldiery, a great Number were executed by the Hangman, some broken alive upon the Wheel, some beheaded, and others hanged, besides several thousands sent either to the Gallies, or into the Dungeons, or into Nunneries, and other Places mentioned in the Appendix. And it is observable, that these Cruelties were exercised against poor People guilty of no other Crime but for praying to God after their own way, and for constantly refusing to worship *Baal*. And indeed, a hundred and twenty excepted, who chose to sell dearly their Lives near *Bourdeaux* in *Dauphiné* in *August* 1683, all the rest offered no Resistance.

Our Condition was indeed so sad as not to be parallel'd in History. In the former Persecutions every one was at liberty, either to remain in the Place by yielding to the Temptation, or to go out of his Native Country, if his Conscience prompted him to it; and even the Princes themselves granted them such a Liberty. We know that the Kings of *Spain* chose to impoverish their own Country

by

by the Expulsion of the *Moors*, rather than to force them into a Religion, for which their Conscience had the greatest Reluctancy. And in the time of the League, *Henry III.* allowed the Reformed a certain Term to dispose of their Effects, and to quit the Kingdom, by his Edict of 1585. But such Methods, how unjust soever they were in themselves, were too mild for LEWIS THE PROUD; every one must submit to his Will, and as if he had truly been equal to God upon Earth, he would have his Subjects to pay him the same Homages which they owed only to God, the Sacrifice of their own Understanding. And as if he had thought that it was not enough for the poor Reformed, once to atone by their Death, for the pretended Crime of going out of the Kingdom without his Licence, (*which they were sure never to obtain*) for freeing themselves from his tyrannical Government, he condemn'd them to die as many times as there were Days in the Year, by condemning Men of what Quality soever to the Gallies, and branding Women with a perpetual Infamy and Prison. That was done in *May 1685.* For compassing his Ends, he ordered the Guards upon the Frontiers to be doubled, and those who were apprehended upon the Attempt, underwent without Remission the Punishment ordered by the Declaration.

Lewis 14.
1685.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

So then the Condition of the Reformed in *France* could not be more dismal than it was in the Year 1685. They were persecuted, in their Birth, and in their Lives, and at the Point of their Deaths, and after their Deaths. They were forced to be sprinkled as soon as they were born by Midwives or Men-
Midwives,

Lewis 14. Midwives, and thereby to receive the Sign
 1685. of Superstition. They were persecuted and
 Pope Inno- oppressed during their Lives, in their Goods,
 cent XI. Honour, Conscience, Bodies, and in their
 Children. In their Agonies, they were left
 to the furious Zeal of Priests and Monks,
 who tormented them in several ways, to force
 them mortally to wound their Conscience.
 After their Death, their Corpſes were inhu-
 manly expoſed to Shame, without any regard
 either to Age, Sex, or Quality. The Sacred-
 neſs of the Graves, reſpectable even by the
 Pagans, was violated with a Fury ſuitable to
 a Popiſh Zeal.

These diſmal Circumſtances, theſe open
 Violations, called loudly for the Aſſiſtance of
 the Proteſtant Powers. But *England* was
 then the only Power capable of obtaining a
 Redreſs for us, and *James II.* ſat at that time
 on the *Britiſh* Throne. *Lewis* was very ſenſible
 of that great Advantage, and reſolved to im-
 prove it. Therefore without any regard, I
 will not ſay to Juſtice, Truth, Fidelity, Gra-
 titude, &c. but to his own Honour and Re-
 putation, after having three times ſolemnly
 ſworn the ſtrict Execution of the Ediſt of
Nantz, &c. after having more than two hun-
 dred times publicly declared, that he would
 maintain his Reformed Subjects according to
 the Ediſts, he, on the 22d of *October*. N. S.
 1685. repealed the Ediſt of *Nantz*, and all
 other Conceſſions and Privileges granted unto
 the Reformed by his Grandfather, his Fa-
 ther, and confirmed by himſelf; he repealed
 all, by an Ediſt, which in Twelve Articles
 contained ſo many Impoſtures, falſe Suppo-
 ſitions, &c. that it is impoſſible for a Man
 well informed to read it without Indignation.

I shall insert it here with some Annotations, and then I have done with my Work.

Lewis 14.
1685.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

EDICT of FONTAINBLEAU, of
the 22d of *October* 1685. N. S. RE-
PEALING that of NANTZ, &c.

LEWIS, *by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, To all present and to come,* GREETING. Whereas King *Henry the Great*, our Grandfather, having procured Peace for his Subjects, after those great Losses they had sustained during the Civil and Foreign Wars, desiring to remove whatever might disturb it, especially on account of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as it had fallen out in the Reigns of the Kings his Predecessors, had therefore by his Edict given at *Nantz*, in the Month of *April* 1598, enacted certain Rules to be observed with reference to those of the said Religion, the Places wherein they might exercise it, and had established extraordinary Judges for the administering Justice unto them; and finally, had provided also by special Articles whatsoever he thought needful to maintain Tranquillity in his Kingdom, and to diminish that Aversion which had arisen between his Subjects, of the one and the other Religion, that so he might be the better enabled to carry on his Design of reuniting them unto the Church, who had been too easily estranged from it: And forasmuch as this Intention of the aforesaid King, our Grandfather, could not by reason of his sudden Death be accomplished, and the Execution of the said Edict was also interrupted, during the Minority of the late
King

Lewis 14.
1685.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

King our most Honoured Lord and Father of Glorious Memory, by the new Enterprizes of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, which gave Occasion to deprive them of divers Privileges granted them by the said Edict : Nevertheless, the said King, our late Lord and Father, using his wonted Clemency, did vouchsafe them a new Edict at *Nimes*, in *July* 1629, by means whereof, Peace being again restored, the said late King, animated with the same Spirit and Zeal for Religion, as the King our Grandfather, had resolved to improve to the utmost this Peace, by endeavouring to bring his godly Design to an Issue ; but the Foreign Wars falling out a few Years after, so that from the Year 1635 to 1684, the Kingdom has had but little rest : It was hardly possible to do any thing for the Advancement of Religion, unless it were the diminishing the Number of Churches belonging to the Pretended Reformed, by interdicting such as had been built contrary to the said Edict *, and by suppressing the Mixt Chambers

* (*Built contrary to the Edict.*). It was a notable Saying of *Henry* the Great, that was Truth and Veracity banished out of the World, it ought to be found out again in the Mouth of a Prince. Had *Lewis* XIV. had any regard to that royal Virtue, he would not have so boldly affirmed, that the Churches which he had suppress had been built contrary to the Edict. How could he say that the Churches of *St. Hypolite*, of *Montpellier*, and of about three hundred other Places, which had been interdicted before the Year 1684, which he speaks of, had been settled contrary to the Edict ? Was he afraid to expose to the publick View, the base and shameful Pretences made use of to compass their Ruin ? Or did he chuse to pass for a confounded Lyar, rather than for a Dunce, who suffered himself to be imposed on by his Confessor, even at the Peril of his own Honour and Reputation ?

Chambers; which had been only provisionally erected *.

Lewis. 14.
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Pope Innocent XI.

God having at last granted to our People the Enjoyment of a perfect Peace, and we also, being no longer incumbered with the Cares of protecting them against our Enemies, have been able to improve the present Truce, which we effected for this very end, that we might wholly apply ourselves to seek out such Means, whereby we might successfully accomplish the Design of the said Kings our Father and Grandfather, upon which also we entered as soon as we came unto the Crown †. We now see, and, according to our Duty, thank God for it, that our Cares have at last obtained that End which we aimed at, inasmuch as the far greater and better part of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick ‡. And inasmuch

* (*By suppressing, &c.*) Indeed they had been provisionally erected, but the Reasons, for which such a Provision had been made, still subsisting; nay, having got a much greater Strength than ever they had, nothing was more unjust than that Suppression.

† (*Upon which also—as soon,—to the Crown.*) If what Lewis XIV. is made to say here, is true, then he owns himself a Perjurer, for he had twice most solemnly sworn to the strict Observation of the Edict. Besides, it is utterly false, that his Father and his Grandfather had ever thought of such means of Re-union as those which he made use of; they understood better their true Interest.

‡ (*Far greater, and better part, &c. have embraced the Catholick.*) If Lewis says Truth, what a vast Number of Reformed must have been in France at that time? It is reckoned, that above 600,000 have left their Native Country, during his Reign, of all Ranks and Conditions, from the Marshal of France to the Drummer, and from the Duke to the Shepherd. It is reckoned, that there were in France, after the Year 1685, above 400,000 at the least, who never bent their Knees before Baal. Therefore, if the far greater and better part

Lewis 14. inasmuch as hereby the Execution of the E-
 1685. dict of *Nantz*, and of whatsoever has been
 Pope Inno- ordered in favour of the said Pretended Re-
 cent XI. formed Religion, is become usefess, we have
 judged, that we could do nothing better to-
 wards the total rooting out of the Mind the
 Remembrance of those Troubles, Confusions
 and Mischiefs which the Progress of that
 false Religion had caused in our Kingdom*,
 and which occasioned that Edict, and sever-
 al other Edicts and Declarations which had
 preceded it, or had been in consequence
 thereof enacted, than totally to revoke the
 said Edict of *Nantz*, and the particular At-
 ticles, which in pursuance of it had been con-
 ceded, and whatsoever else had been done
 in favour of that said Religion.

I.

part of the Reformed had turned Catholics when *Lewis* issued forth his revocatory Edict, we must infer, that before he employed those base and barbarous Methods, which he made use of to force their Consciences, the Number of the Reformed in *France* must have amounted very near to 2,500,000. But though our Number was certainly very great, nevertheless, we must take what *Lewis* has signed, to be of the same Stamp as several other Falshoods, which he has been obliged to subscribe to.

* (*Rooting out, &c. — our Kingdom.*) Who would not think, that the Reformed had been Leaguers or Supporters of Leaguers? *Lewis* upbraids us, because we have been the Protectors and Defenders of the Queen of *Navarre*, Mother to *Henry IV.* because we have been the Protectors of that great and brave Prince, and have settled him upon the Throne of *France*. What then? Would he have liked better to be a petty Prince of *Bearn*, with the almost empty Title of King of *Navarre*, rather than to be King of *France* and *Navarre*? Or had he a mind to convince the World, that he was rather the Son of an *Italian* Cardinal, than the Grandson of *Henry the Great*, as the Prince of *Condé* and his Party published it during his Minority; and that he could not make good his false Title to the Crown, but by the Means of what he calls here, *A false Religion*?

I. We therefore make known, that for these Causes, and others thereunto moving us, and of our certain Knowledge, full Power, and Royal Authority, we have by this present perpetual and irrevocable Edict, suppressed and revoked; and we do suppress and revoke the Edict of the King our Grand-father, given at *Nantz* in the Month of *April* 1598, in its whole extent; together with those particular Articles granted the 2d of *May* following; and the Letters Patent expedited thereupon, and the Edict given at *Nimes* in *July* 1629; we declare them void, and as if they had never been; together with all Grants made, as well by them as by other Edicts, Declarations and Decrees, to those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, of what kind soever they may be, which shall in like manner be reputed as if they had never been: And in consequence hereof, we will, and it is our Pleasure, that all the Churches of those of the said Religion, situated within our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lordships of our Dominions, should be out of hand demolish'd.

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cent XI.

II. We forbid our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, any more to meet together in any Place or private House; for performing any part of their said Religion; under any Pretence soever; yea, and all real Exercises, or such as were in Lord's Houses; though the said Exercises had been maintained by the Decrees of our Council.

III. In like manner, we forbid all Lords, of what Rank and Quality soever, the Exercise of their Religion in their own Houses and Manors, whatsoever be the Quality of their said Manors; and that upon Pain of Forfeiture of Bodies and Goods for those of

Lewis 14. our said Subjects, who shall offend in that
1685. way.

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cent XI.

IV. We command all Ministers of the Pre-
tended Reformed Religion, who will not turn
from it, and embrace the Catholick Aposto-
lick Roman Religion, to depart the Kingdom
and the Lands of our Dominions, within a
Fortnight after the Publication of this our pre-
sent Edict, and not to tarry beyond that time,
nor during that said Fortnight to preach, ex-
hort, or perform any other Function of their
Ministry, upon Pain of the Gallies.

V. Our Will is, that such of the said Mi-
nisters, who will turn Catholick, shall, during
their whole Life, enjoy, and their Widows
also after them, as long as they continue un-
married, the same Exemption from Taxes,
and Quartering of Soldiers, which they en-
joyed during the Time of their Ministry; and
farther, we will pay unto the said Ministers,
as long as they live, a Pension, which shall
exceed by one third the Stipend they receiv-
ed for their Ministry; and their Wives also,
as long as they continue Widows, shall enjoy
one half of the said Pension.

VI. If any of the said Ministers desire to
become Advocates, or will proceed Doctors
in Laws, it is our Will, that they shall be
dispensed, as to the three Years Study, pre-
scribed by our Declarations, and having un-
dergone the usual Examination, and thereby
being judged capable, they shall be admitted
Doctors, paying one half only of those Fees,
customarily paid on this account in the Uni-
versities.

VII. We forbid all private Schools for the
Instruction of Children of those of the said
Pretended Reformed Religion, and generally

all other things whatsoever, that may bear the Sign of Privilege or Favour to the said Religion.

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VIII. And as to Children that shall be born of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, our Will is, that, for the time to come, they be baptized by the Curates of the Parishes, enjoining their Parents to send them for that purpose to their Parochial Church, on the Penalty of 500 Livres Fine, or a greater Sum; and those Children shall henceforth be brought up in the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion. And we most strictly enjoin all Judges, in their respective Districts, to see that this be executed.

IX. And that we may show our Clemency towards those of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who were gone out of our Dominions before the Publication of our present Edict, we do declare, that in case they return within the space of four Months, from the Day of its Publication, they may, and it shall be lawful for them to enter into the Possession of their Estates, and to enjoy them even as they might have done, if they had been always at home; whereas, such as within that term of four Months shall not return into our Dominions, their Estates forsaken by them, shall be and remain forfeited, according to our Declarations of the 20th of *August* last.

X. And we do more strictly renew our Prohibitions unto all our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, that neither they, nor their Wives, nor Children, do depart our said Kingdom and Dominions, nor transport their Goods and Effects, on pain, for Men so offending, of their being sent to

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the Gallies ; and Confiscation of Bodies and Goods for the Women.

XI. We will and declare unto them, that all Declarations published against *Relapses*, shall be executed according to their Form and Tenour.

XII. And furthermore, Those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, till such time as it shall please God to illuminate them, as others have been, may abide in the Towns, and Places of our Kingdom, Countries and Lands of our Dominion, and continue their Traffick, and enjoy their Goods, without being molested or hindred, on account of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, provided as before, that they do not exercise it, nor assemble together on pretence of Prayers, or of any Act of Devotion, according to the Rules of the said Religion, on the Penalties before-mentioned, of Confiscation of Bodies and Goods (z). We command all our Trusty and Well-

(z) Every time that I read this Article, or that I think of it, I am quite confounded, for that Prince's Deceit and Perfidioufness. With the same Hand he signs this Edict, he signs likewise an Order for his Troops to march against those, whom, as he declares here, he takes under his Protection upon certain Conditions; and though they had submitted, and kept themselves within the Words of that Article, nevertheless, far from being able to continue their Traffick, to enjoy their Goods without being molested, or hindred on account of their Religion, they were left to the Mercy of about eighty thousand merciless Dragoons and other Troops, that covered the Kingdom, and who plundered and wasted their Goods, and tortured their Bodies, to force them to wound their Consciences, and to turn *Papists*. What sort of a King was that? Supposing that that Prince had let them know, that though he had at several times sworn to the strict Observation of the Edicts and Declarations made in their Behalf, nevertheless, that was so much against his Conscience, that he could not enjoy any Rest,

Well-beloved Counsellors in our Court of Par-
 liament, and Chamber of Accounts, and Court
 of Aids at *Paris*, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts,
 and other our Justices and Officers to whom it
 shall belong, and to their Deputies, that they
 cause this present Edict to be read, publish-
 ed and registered in their Courts, and Juris-
 dictions, yea, in the Vacation time; and to
 entertain it, and cause it to be entertained,
 kept and observed in every Particular, without
 swerving, or in any wise permitting the least
 swerving from it. For such is our WILL and
 PLEASURE. And that this may be for ever
 firm and stable, we have caused these Pre-
 sents to be sealed with our Seal. Given at
Fontainbleau, in the Month of *October*, in
 the Year of Grace 1685, and of our Reign
 the 43d. Signed

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 cent XI.

LEWIS.

With all the usual Formalities.

The same Day that this Edict was regis-
 tered, which was the 23d, N. S. they began
 to pull down the Church of *Charenton*, and

H h h h 3 at

Rest, that therefore in order to quell his Agita-
 tions, he declared unto them, that he allowed a certain
 time, after which they must either turn Catholick, or
 quit the Kingdom with their Families and Effects, or
 else they should be exposed to such and such Treat-
 ment. That indeed would have been an arbitrary, but
 at the same time, it would have been a plain and hon-
 est Dealing. But that a Prince in order to gratify a
 Confessor, and a Society of Men, born for the Subver-
 sion of whatever is true, just, and honest, should set
 his hand to such a Cheat and Perfidiousness, know-
 ing it to be so, for deceiving and insnaring his poor
 Subjects, that is such a heinous Act, that had he been
 guilty of this single one only, it would have imprinted such
 a Spot upon his Reputation, that all the Waters of
Swine were not sufficient to wash it away.

Lewis 14. at the same time, the Heads of Families were
 1685- summoned to appear before the Marquis of
 Pope Inno- *Segnelai*, the Attorney-General, and *La Rey-*
 cent XI. *nie*, Lieutenant of Police, to give in their
 Answer, whether in three Days they would
 embrace the *Roman Catholick Religion*, or not,
 and sign an Act of Re-union. Very fine
 Promises were made unto them if they would
 comply, especially to work out a Reforma-
 tion, as to the principal Abuses they com-
 plained of; chiefly, to restore the Cup unto
 them in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.
 On the other hand, Threats were not spared a-
 gainst those who should persist in their Obstina-
 cy. Notwithstanding that, most part of them
 stood unmoveable to those Arguments. But
 when they saw that they were not at liberty
 to go out as they had a mind, they all signed.
 But afterwards the greatest part of them gave
 the most signal Proofs of their Repentance,
 as soon as they were in a free Country. As
 to the Elders of *Charenton*, the greatest Num-
 ber withstood the Trial, and chose to suffer
 Persecution, rather than to do any thing a-
 gainst their Conscience. The Rev. Mr. *Claude*,
 eldest Minister of that Church, was command-
 ed to leave *Paris* in 24 Hours, and imme-
 diately to quit the Kingdom; and lest he should
 stay any where, one of the King's Footmen
 had Orders to see him safe out of the King's
 Dominions. His Colleagues had 48 Hours
 given them for to quit *Paris*, and upon their
 Parole, they were left to shift for themselves.
 Accordingly, the Rev. Messieurs *Maynard*,
Alix, and *Bertaud*, came over to *England*.
 The Rev. Mr. *Alix* was much puzzled on
 account of his Lady, which they mistook, or
 feigned to mistake, either for his youngest
 Sister,

Sister, or for his eldest Daughter, because she looked much younger than really she was; and made a difficulty to let her come with him, upon that account.

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The other Churches subsisting still in the Provinces, very few in number, were soon pulled down, or turned unto the use of the *Papists*, after some superstitious Ceremonies. As to the Ministers, they were allowed fifteen Days for to depart; but it can hardly be believed, what Vexations and ill Treatment many of them were exposed to. Some Years before this, the King's Council was very well pleased whenever any Minister desired to leave the Kingdom, either that his Church had been suppressed, or because he was himself suspended on account of some Offence, real or pretended, against the new Laws; he freely obtained liberty of disposing of his Effects and Goods, of taking along with him his Wife, Children, and all his Relations, who had a mind to follow him; but little by little they were deprived of that liberty. And now they had no time allowed for disposing of their Estates, and were not permitted to carry away any of their Moveables; yea, they questioned their very Books, and private Papers, on pretence that they must prove, that they did not belong to the Consistories of their Churches. Moreover, they would not allow them to take along with them either Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, or any of their Relations or Kindred, though many of them could not in any wise subsist without their Assistance. Yea, they went so far as to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years old. They refused them Nurses for their new-born Infants,

Lewis 14. 1685. Pope Innocent XI.
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 fants, though their own Mothers could not suckle them. In some Frontier Places, they stopped and imprisoned them upon trifling and ridiculous Pretences. They must immediately prove, that they were the same Persons which their Certificates mentioned. And they would know, whether there were no Criminal Processes or Informations out against them. They must presently justify, that they carried away nothing with them that belonged unto their respective Churches. Sometimes having thus amused and detained them, they would tell them, the Space of fifteen Days was expired, and that they were no longer at liberty to leave the Kingdom, but must go to the Gallies. There was hardly any kind of Deceit, Injustice, and Troubles, wherein the Ministers were not involved. And yet through God's Mercy, very few revolted, the far greatest number took refuge in all the Protestant Countries of *Europe*.

As for the Residue of the Reformed, whom the Violence of Persecution, and the cruel Usages they met with, had necessitated to forsake their Estates, Families, Relations, and native Country, it is hardly to be imagined the Dangers they were exposed to. Never were Orders more rigorous and severe, nor more strictly executed, than those which were issued forth against them. They doubled Guards at every Post, in all Cities, Towns, Highways, Fords, and Ferries. The Country was covered with Soldiers, they armed the very Peasants, that they might stop the Travellers, or kill them upon the spot. They forbade all Officers of the Customs to suffer any Goods, Moveables, Merchandizes, or other Effects of theirs to be exported out of the King-

Kingdom. They omitted nothing that might hinder the Escape of these poor Persecuted; insomuch that there was an Interruption of Trade with the neighbouring Nations. By this means, they quickly filled all the Prisons of the Kingdom. For the Terrour of the Dragoons, the Horrour of seeing their Consciences forced, and their Children taken away from them, for being brought up in Anti-Christian Superstition and cursed Idolatry, and of living for the future, in a Land, where there was neither Justice nor Humanity to be expected for them, obliged every one to think within himself, and to consult with others, in whom they could confide, how to get out of *France*; and provided they could but escape without polluting their Consciences, they were ready to forsake all. As for the poor Prisoners, they have been since treated with unheard-of Barbarities, shut up in Dungeons, loaded with Fetters, almost starved with Hunger, deprived of all Converse, but that of their inhuman Persecutors. Many of both Sexes were thrust into Monasteries and Nunneries, wherein several were cruelly scourged and disciplined. See the APPENDIX.

The Length of that Persecution, is one of the things which distinguishes it from all others; even that which the Jews endured under *Antiochus* and others, and the Christians under the *Roman Emperors*. For it has continued, not only for the 34 last Years of the last Reign, but during the whole Reign of this present King, as we observe in our Appendix. *To this very hour, they hunger and thirst, and are naked and buffeted, in several Dungeons, and in the Gallies. To this very hour, they are lifting up their Voice with weeping, in the*

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Words

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Words of Job, when he was in the depth of his Misery and Anguish: *Have pity on us, have pity on us, O ye our Friends, for the band of God hath touched us. MAY the Shepherd of Israel awake, as a Man out of sleep, and raise a Man to stand in the gap, girding him with Strength unto the Battle, and putting his own Sword into his band, to smite his Enemies in the hinder parts; and put them to a perpetual Reproach. Return, O God, how long? and let it repent thee concerning thy Servants. Preserve these Kingdoms from Popery, and if any thing is worse, from Irreligion and Impiety, the Mother of Sedition, Rebellion, and of all kind of Mischief. Preserve this Church under the Protection of our most Gracious Lord, King GEORGE. Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness unto the King's Son. Let him judge thy People with Righteousness, and thy Poor with Judgment. As to us, we were glad when we were told, let us go into the House of the Lord. Our Feet shall stand within thy Gate, O Jerusalem. For there are set Thrones of Judgment, the Thrones of the House of David. We pray for the Peace of Jerusalem: They shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy Walls, and Prosperity within thy Palaces. For my Brethren and Companions sake, I will now say, PEACE BE WITHIN THEE. Because of the House of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good. AMEN.*

F I N I S.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

Seven several Ways put in use under Lewis XIV. to force the Reformed in his Dominions to renounce their Religion.

V I Z.

The Dragoonade, the Prisons, the Hospital of Valence, the Gallies, Transportation, divers Kinds of Death, and the Dragging of the Corpses after Death.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Dragoonade.

EVERY one may easily believe that such ^{1. Of the} People must of course live licentiously, ^{Dragoon-} who know no other God besides their King: ^{ade.} such were the DRAGOONS in *France*, who made no scruple to use with Inhumanity those left at their Discretion, 'till they had forced them to abjure their Principles. It is impossible for any Man to execute such Orders so fully and strictly as they did, every day they invented some new Kind of Torture never thought of before by any of the subtlest and cruellest Tyrants (a).

They entered into Places with frightful and threatening Countenances, and with all the Marks of the most violent Fury; they took Posses-

(a) Si quis ante Oculos ponere velit subitum Militum Accursum, convulsa Januæ Claustra, Minacem Vocem, truces Vultus; Fulgentia Arma; rem vera Æstimatione prosequetur. Val. Max. Lib. VI. cap. viii. Art. 6. Francof. 1627.

*A

fion

sion of the Gates, and stopp'd up all the Avenues, lest any of the Victims devoted to their Cruelty should escape; then they entered into the Houses like Mad-men, they began their Executions with tearing to pieces the household Furniture, sparing nothing, throwing out at the Window all the Corn or other Grain, staving in the Cellars what Wine-vessels they found; if they spared any thing, it was to sell it to the highest Bidder for their own Profit. Notwithstanding this Desolation, whereby most of the best Families were reduced to Beggary, they obliged them to find out those Things that were nice, to entertain themselves delicately, and in several Houses they laid a Tax of several Crowns a Day on each Family.

What would the illustrious Mr. *Languet* have said, had he lived to see the *French Troops* become the Executioners of a bloody Clergy? who so bitterly inveighed against the Cardinal of *Lorraine* for making use of them to attend the Execution of the blessed Martyr *Annas Du Bourg* (b).

Deut.
xxviii. 49,
50, 51.

In short, never before such Oppressions as these had been seen, nor which better answered the Threats which God denounced by *Moses*, *The Lord shall bring a Nation against thee from afar as swift as the Eagle flieth, a Nation of fierce Countenance, which shall not regard the Person of the Old, nor shew favour to the Young, and he shall eat the Fruit of thy Cattle, and the Fruit of thy Land, until thou be destroyed; which also shall not leave thee either Corn, Wine, or Oil, or the Increase of thy Kine, or Flocks of thy Sheep, until he hath destroyed thee.*

When they had plundered, and wasted all the Goods, they bent all their Wit to tire the
Patience

(b) *Langueti Epist. Lib. II. Epist. xiii.*

Patience of the People, by the most exquisite Tortures and Pains: I shall give a few Instances of this.

At *Villeneuve le Berg* in *Vivarais*, after many Violences and Excesses they had committed, being unable to overcome one Mr. *Young's* Constancy, they tied him by the Arms to the outside of the Windows of his House, they shook and tossed him one to the other; then they took him down and carried him out of town to a common Well, wherein they dipp'd him several times. This second Trial proving as ineffectual as the former, they brought him back to his House, where they kindled a great Fire and forc'd him to turn a Spit, with his Legs bare; and as if he was not tortured enough by that scorching Heat, they took the hot Dripping out of the Pan, and poured it on his Legs: having withstood all these Trials, they carried him to Goal, and he was condemned to be transported to *America*, from whence he found means to escape and came to *London*, where he died.

Mr. *De la Magdelaine*, a Gentleman of *Poitou*, was dipp'd into a Well, and Mrs. *Charles*, Relict of a Minister of *Chatelberaud*, underwent the like Trial.

Samuel Guery of the same Province, was put before a large Fire 'till his Legs were roasted; when he was released, his Blood being over-heated, thinking to ease his Pains, he threw himself into Water; but when he had his Stockings pull'd off, the Skin of his Legs came off with them from the Knees to the Feet.

Many others were tortured after the same manner; Mrs. *Fiefontaine* of *Ghantaunay* was forced to sit naked, in her Shift, by a large Fire, and to turn a Spit with a live Hen tied to it, which by the violent and continual

Motion of her Wings, threw the Coals every minute upon her, so that she was miserably burnt in several Parts of her Body, without being able to avoid it.

At a Place called *Rufec* in *Angoumois*, when they had wasted and destroyed *Mr. Charpentier's* Goods, they began to torture him, and made him dance round a number of lighted Candles, till he lost his Breath; then they kept him from Sleep, whereby his Blood was so much overheated, that he was seized with a malignant Fever, whereupon they left the town, and he was carried to a Relation's House; but another Party being arrived in the Place, they soon found him out and went to him. At first they kept him awake in his Bed, frightening him with their continual Blasphemies, Curses and Threatnings; this not prevailing, two Jesuits came to their Assistance, who forced him to drink twenty full Glasses of Water, then they took lighted Candles and dropt the Tallow in his Eyes, which deprived him of his Sight, and a few Days after of his Life, without shewing any Sign of Weakness.

Sometimes they tied these Victims of their Cruelty naked on their Backs to Pieces of Timber, and kept them in that uneasy Posture four or five Days together. A poor Man in the Parish of *Montaillon*, was tied in that manner with a Cat along with him; that Beast growing furious, by continual whipping, strove with all its might to disintangle it self, and mangled and tore the poor Man's Skin most miserably.

At other times they hang'd them by the Feet, and left them in that Posture till they promised to abjure, or till they were almost suffocated: So they served one *Renaud* till his
Face

Face and Stomach swell'd up to such a Degree that he was just expiring.

Sometimes they made use of their Stomachs and Bellies for Mangers to feed their Horses upon; Mr. *Tristan* of *Niort* in *Poitou* was served after that manner, then carried thro' the Town on horseback with his Face turned to the Tail.

But one of the most effectual Means they made use of to tire their Patience, was to keep them from Sleep. Thus they treated Mr. *Daniel Milaud* of *Chatelberaud*, and his Wife; for finding they were grown heavy and drowsy thro' the Torments they had already endured, they set Kettles over their Heads, which they beat upon, without Intermission, for several Days and Nights together, releasing one another by turns, 'till having lost the right use of their Senses and Reason, they promised to do whatsoever they would.

Mrs. *Tanon*, of the County of *Trieves* in *Dau-* Of Mrs.
phiné, a Widow, had twelve Dragoons quar- Tanon.
ter'd in her House, who tied a Drum round her Neck, whereon they beat without Intermission, 'till she fainted away; but far from pitying her Condition, they kick'd her, threatening to expose her stark-naked in the Streets. She recover'd her Spirits, but the right Use of her Senses she never enjoy'd, to her Death.

The *Roman* Clergy were sometimes more eager than the Dragoons themselves, for if these relented a little (which very seldom happened) thro' Weariness, or for some other Cause, they were sure to be chid for it by the first.

Mr. *Palmentier* of *Poitou* was much troubled Of Mr.
with the Gout, which oblig'd him to keep his Palmen-
Bed; which hinder'd not the Dragoons from tier,

tormenting him a whole Night, without Intermission ; being themselves weary, they ceas'd a while in the Day-time. The Archbishop of *Bordeaux* chancing to pass thro' the Place, was informed of the Dragoons being in Mr. *Palmentier's* House, and taking notice of their Inactivity, he sent for the Officer who commanded in the House, and chid him for Neglect of Duty and Disobedience to the King's Orders. That was enough to incense him and his Men with a new Fury, they went to their Patient's Bed, took him by the Feet, threw him on the Floor, dragg'd him about the Chamber, put him in a Sheet tied by the four Corners, tossed him to and fro, crying, Wilt thou change? No, says he, as long as he was able to speak ; two Days after, the Lord was pleas'd to receive his Soul into his Glory.

Of James Ryau. Four Dragoons were quarter'd on one *James Ryau*, a Farmer near *Talmond*, he was much troubled with the Gout in his Hands, nevertheless they tied his Fingers with Packthread, thrust Pins under his Nails, burnt Gun-powder in his Ears, pierced his Thighs in several Places, and pour'd Vinegar and Salt into his Wounds.

They did not use the Fair Sex with more Humanity ; on the contrary, they abus'd their Modesty in the most shameful manner ; sometimes they turn'd up their Coats over their Heads, and flung several Pails of Water upon them ; at other times they stripp'd them to their Shifts, and oblig'd them to dance with them in that Condition ; at *Calais* they turn'd out in the Street, at Mid-Day, two young Maids stark-naked.

Of several Ladies and Gentlewomen abus'd. The Lady of *Vesançay* was tied to a Bedpost, and they spit in her Face whenever she offered to speak or complain. The

The Lady of *Cerisy* was forced in her Bed, by one of the Dragoons who quarter'd in her Castle.

Mrs. *De la Valade* having patiently suffered several exquisite Pains, had at last her Coats turn'd up, and was laid bare on a Chaffing-dish of burning Coals.

Mrs. *L'Epineaux*, tho' almost at the point of Death by Sicknefs, was put stark-naked in a Wheel-barrow and exposed to the Mob; they murder'd her afterwards with several Blows of a Stick.

They had a Way of tormenting Mothers who had sucking Children, no less barbarous than singular in itself; they tied them to their Bed-posts, and plac'd the Infants on a Chair or a Table, at some distance from her; they kept her in that Situation for twenty-four Hours together, without allowing her Liberty of easing herself of her Milk, much less of relieving the Infant, who by its Cries, for Want of Food, pierc'd the poor Mother's Heart: and so they saw themselves reduced to this sad Dilemma, either to see their Children starv'd to Death, or to sign an Abjuration.

Mrs *Cheneu*, Widow of an Attorney in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, lived in Retirement at *Chalezac* in *Xaintonge*; the Dragoons came there at the latter End of 1685, who plundered and wasted all her Goods, they put her Constancy to several hard Tryals, they tied her Hands and Feet, the Soles of which they burnt with hot Irons, they did the same to the Palms of her Hands, then they pinched her Arms with such Violence that they were black and blue three Months after. This availing not, they stopp'd up the Chimney, shut up the Doors and Windows of her Chamber, and set fire to some wet

Straw, which almost suffocated her; besides all this, Drums were beating day and night without ceasing, as if the Smoak was not sufficient to keep her awake; then they put her in a Sheet and tossed her to and fro, 'till she was quite bereft of her Senses. Her Constancy remaining unshaken, they had a mind to starve her, which would have been effected had it not been for her Daughter, a Child of about eight years old, to whom the Dragoons had taken a fancy; for as they offered her Victuals, she said, that she neither could, nor would eat any thing while she knew her dear Mamma was starving; whereupon they gave her leave to share her Allowance with her Mother. Finally, when they were past hopes of ever overcoming her Constancy, a Peasant, who knew Mrs. *Cheneu* could not bear the sight of Vipers without swooning, told them this Secret, and shew'd them a Place where they found some, which they brought into her Room; at that Sight she fainted away and was bereft of her Senses, during which time they carried her to a Church, and made the People believe she had abjured her Religion: by which Falshood they were in hopes to pervert those who had been much edified and strengthened by her Constancy. However, the Dragoons having wasted and plundered every thing in that House, went to another Place, and Mrs. *Cheneu* made her escape some time after into *Germany*; where Mr. *De Chalezac*, one of her Sons, who had been Governour to the Prince of *Anbalt-Dessau*, had obtained a very good Preferment; but her Sufferings in *France* had so much alter'd her Constitution, that after having continued, for about three Years, in a lingering Condition, she died.

Mr. *Peter Lambert de Beauregard*, a Gentleman of *St. Anthony* in *Dauphiné*, had a whole Troop of thirty-six Dragoons, besides the Officers, quarter'd in his House, in the latter End of *September*, 1685. The next Day after their Arrival, they separated the Family, they shut up Mr. *Lambert* and his Son in a Room, Mrs. *Lambert* in another, and their four Daughters in another; each Room was guarded by two Dragoons, with strict Orders to keep them from sleeping. They were visited by Monks and other such People, who solicited them to change; Mr. *Lambert* stood unmoveable, but his Wife, having been for a time tormented by four Dragoons, yielded, at last to the Temptation; their Daughters having been transferr'd from one Nunnery to another, were sent finally to *Valence*, and committed to the Care of that merciless Monster *d'Herapine* (of whom I shall give an Account in one of the next Articles:) they could not bear the inhuman Treatment they received in that House, they dissembled for a time, in hopes to find Means to quit the Kingdom and glorify their God.

As to Mr. *Lambert* and his Son, they were brought to *St. Marcellin*, before the Intendant, who with Mr. *De la Trouffe* used both their Endeavours, by Promises and Threats, to win them over; but not succeeding, remanded them back to his own House, from whence he and his Son were brought to *Grenoble*, and then back again to *St. Anthony*; where, a Fortnight after, a Lieutenant of Horse, with six Troopers came, and having gather'd the Remains of his scattered Goods, they brought him with his Son to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*.

The Archbishop of the Place gave them the City for a Prison, ordering them however to be

be lodged separately, and not to converse one with another, and to suffer themselves to be instructed. Mr. *Lambert* was visited by a Priest, with whom he had several Conferences; but at last, he desired him to acquaint the Archbishop with his final Resolution, that he had such a Veneration for the Scriptures, and found so great a Conformity between it and his Religion, that it was impossible for him to put it out of his Heart, and humbly besought his Grace to excuse him, that it would be very hard for a Man of Honour to do any thing against his Conscience, God alone having the Power to change the Heart.

These few Words drew upon him a most terrible Persecution, Mr. *Du Plessis Bellievre*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot quarter'd at *Vienne*, came in a Passion to Mr. *Lambert's* Lodging, chid him for his pretended Obstinacy, searched his Papers and took from him a Prayer of his own Composition, adapted to his Circumstances; he committed him to the Care of some Grenadiers, with strict Orders to keep him close Prisoner in his Chamber, to hinder him from sleeping, and to let no body speak to him or see him. These Orders were rigorously obeyed, he was tormented 'till Mid-night, they pull'd him about, pinch'd him most cruelly, flung him upon the Floor, hauled him by the Arms backwards and forwards, forced him to turn round 'till he was giddy, then they let him fall against the Wall, or upon the Floor. When they themselves were tir'd with this Exercise, they tried to oblige him to kneel down before a Crucifix, but he constantly denied to comply; which drew upon him many fresh Imprecations and Tortures.

The next Day the Number of Grenadiers was augmented to eighteen, by the Captain's
Orders,

Orders, three of them to be constant Centinels upon him, and were chang'd every three Hours; which was observ'd in the Day-time, but at Night they were not changed, and five remained with him in his Room; so that for a whole Fortnight he was continually tormented, more or less, according to the Degree of their Wick- edness. As they found all they had done here- tofore ineffectual, they took him one Day to a great Fire, pull'd off his Shoes and Stockings, forc'd him to sit down on the Floor, within four Inches of the burning Coals, one sitting upon his Stomach, others holding him fast by the Arms and Knees, lest he should pull back his Feet, and if he did, they took hold of them and laid them in the Fire. Not satisfied with all this, they took a red-hot Shovel and rubbed the Soles of his Feet with it, 'till they saw he could endure no longer without dying, then they forced on his Stockings and Shoes, and kick'd him to his Bed; he was not long in it before two of them took him up again and tossed him to and fro, 'till they were quite spent, but they told him, that if he would not invoke the *Vir- gin Mary* they would flee him next Morning.

The next Day his Guards were relieved by others, who found him on his Bed with his Shoes and Stockings on, in the most exquisite Pain; but as there was positive Orders, that no one should be admitted to see him 'till such a time, he was eight and forty Hours without any Care taken of his Sores, so that his Flesh began to mortify. Mr. *Du Plessis Bellievre* being told of what had been done to him, was very angry with the Officer, and reprimanded him for the same, and sent instantly his Serjeant Major with a Surgeon of the Town to dress his Wounds, which he found very frightful and almost desperate;

desperate ; they carried him to the Hospital-General, where he had a very good Bed, but very poor Diet ; there he was persecuted by the Monks, who endeavoured to extort an Abjuration from him : he was told that he was not to expect any Rest after his Wounds were cured, that the King willed all his Subjects to be of his own Religion, and was powerful enough to force Obedience from them.

As he wanted necessary Food, he fell into a Delirium, which seized him every Night ; reduced to this dismal Condition, one Night that his Fit returned upon him, he took the sinful Resolution to dissemble and to sign an Abjuration, which he did accordingly. A little after, the Provost's Lieutenant came with an Order from the Intendant to carry him to Jail, which was executed while he was in one of his Fits. The next Day, being recovered thereof, he was much surprized to find himself in such a Place, not knowing how he came thither. The Archbishop came to visit him, treated him with great Civility, he gave leave to young *Lambert* to visit his Father and to take care of him, ordered the Jayler to give him every thing necessary, sent his own Physician and Surgeon to attend him, and at last, obtained their Liberty from the Intendant. Three Months after, being threaten'd with a new Persecution, tho' he was not able to stir any farther than from his Bed to the Fire, or Table, he resolved to quit the Kingdom; which he effected, and went to *Geneva*, whither part of his Family follow'd him soon after : there he publicly acknowledgeg his Fault, and went to settle in *Yverdun*, in the Country of *Vaux*, where he died without having recovered the Use of his Limbs. As to his Son, he was arrested as he was conducting three
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of his Sisters out of *France*, and brought Prisoner to *Grenoble*, where he died in Jail of the Bloody-Flux, without having done any thing against his Conscience, for which Cause his Corpse was thrown into the River *Isere*.

The Sufferings, Fall and Repentance of the *Of the* noble and reverend Divine, *James Pineton of reverend* *Chambrun*, one of the Ministers of the Church *Dr. James* of *Orange*, Chaplain to his Royal Highness the *Pineton,* Prince of that Name, and Professor of Divinity *of Cham-* *brun.* in the College of that Place, made him so conspicuous in *Europe* in the last Century, that they deserve to be taken notice of here.

He was born of a noble Family in that Country, in the Year 1637; his Father, of the very same Name, was likewise Minister of the same Church, and his Grand-father had been ordained Minister by *Calvin* himself, and had been the Founder of the Church of *Nimes* and *Marvejols*. As to himself, he was ordained Minister of *Orange* in 1658, being but twenty-one Years of Age; he was a Man of great Learning, especially in *Church-History*, and in Languages, *Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.* a great Orator, and his great Capacity made him very useful to his Prince in the most critical Junctures; but he was very unhealthy, he was not thirty-six Years old before the Gout had rendered him quite crippled, so that he was unable to stand upon his Legs, and was carried by Porters in a Chair from Place to Place, even in the Pulpit, which occasioned a Misfortune that befel him a few Days before the sad Catastrophe of *Orange*, wherein he had himself so great a share; for as they were carrying him in the Streets, they let him fall and broke his Thigh; in that sad Condition he was when the Dragoons came to *Orange*, in the Month of *October*, 1685.

Tho'

Tho' LEWIS XIV. had no Manner of Right to that Principality, especially since it had been restored to its natural Prince by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, concluded in the Month of *February* 1679; nevertheless LEWIS, who built his Greatness upon Treacheries, Infidelities, and the shamefullest Breach of his most solemn Promises ratified by Oath, as well as upon the Blood and Misery of his own Subjects, had no sooner repeal'd the Edict of *Nantz*, but he began to force the Subjects of the Principality of *Orange*, by the same Means he made use of to force his own Subjects, to abjure their Religion.

For a few Months before, *Orange* had been an Asylum for the Reformed of the neighbouring Provinces, groaning under the dreadful Yoke of the Dragoons, they flocked thither in great Numbers. The Reception of these unfortunate People kindled the Fury of the King of *France's* Commandants that were at *Montelimar*, namely, the Marquis of *La Trouffe*, *St. Ruth* and the Count of *Tessé*; they wrote to Court abundance of Falshoods, whereby they exasperated the King's Council, at least they made use of that Pretence to cover the unjust Design they had long ago formed against that Principality. The Threatnings of these Officers cast the Inhabitants of *Orange* into the greatest Consternation; from that time the Consistory was assembled almost every day in Mr. *De Cbambrun's* Bed-chamber, to consult together about Means to avoid the threatenng Danger, they sent a Memoir to the Prince of *Orange* concerning the sad Condition they were in; they wrote likewise to Mr. *De Staremburg*, Ambassador of their High Mightinesses to the Court of *France*, and to the Baron of *Spanheim*, Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector
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of *Brandenburg* to the same Court, intreating their good Offices towards the Ministry in their Behalf; but that perfidious Court dissembled so cunningly, that even when the Dragoons were arrived at *Orange*, the Marquis of *Croissy*, Minister for the foreign Affairs, positively told Mr. *Spanheim* that not a Word concerning the Principality had been spoken in the King's Council.

However, the Parliament of *Orange*, in order to avert that Storm, if it was possible, issued out a Proclamation, whereby all Foreigners were enjoin'd to quit the Principality in three Days time; and sent, at the same time, two Deputies to the Duke of *Noüailles*, and two others to the Commandants above-mentioned, with a Copy of the said Proclamation. The Duke received them very civilly, and told them that he would write to Court, and in the meanwhile they ought to fear nothing, the Parliament having done all that the Court of *France* could have desired from them; but the Commandants were not so kind: The Marquis of *La Troussé* continued his Violences, and told the Deputies, that the Ministers of *Orange* ought to be hang'd, &c. Very likely he was privy to the Court's Design, or else he would not have spoken so at random. The Deputies were no sooner come back but the News arrived, that the Count of *Grignan* was coming Post from Court, with Orders concerning *Orange*. He alighted at *Tarascon* to take along with him the Intendant of *Provence*, with two Companies of Dragoons to escort him; he arrived at *Orange* with that Company on the 23d of *October* 1685, but before he entered the City he stopp'd at *Bedarides*, a Place not far distant, from whence he sent the Captain of his Guards to Mr. *De Beaufain*,

Beaufain; to desire him to certify to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of *Orange* that he did not come to hurt them in any respect. The Count arrived at three in the Afternoon; he, with the Intendant, went to lodge at the Bishop's Palace, and the Dragoons were lodged in the Inns and Taverns. After having conferred together with the Bishop, the Count summoned the Council of the Demefn, and notified unto them the King's Intention, promising in his Name not to vex them in any thing, provided that they should expel out of the Principality, his rebellious Subjects. He was answered, that the Parliament had already provided to the Satisfaction of his Majesty, in the Manner above-said; and that they were going to issue out a new Proclamation, ordering the few Refugees that remained in their Jurisdiction to quit the same in three Days. The Count and the Intendant were so well pleased with the Proceeding of that Council, that they thought proper to allow the Refugees eight Days instead of three; every thing was transacted in that Conference with such mutual Civility and Kindness, that a perfect Correspondence was thought to be restored between the Prince and the King's Minister; but alas! all this was but a Trap to insnare the Inhabitants of *Orange* and the other Subjects of the Principality. True it is, that the reverend Dr. *De Chembrun* clears the Count of *Grignan* from having had any hand at all in this base Treachery, and tells us that the Count was very sorry, and highly resented the affront put upon him, to have been made use of as a Tool to deceive that miserable People and to work their Destruction.

For at the very Hour when the Count gave his Word, in the King's Name, to the People
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of *Orange* not to molest them in any thing, the Count of *Tessé*, having received his Orders from Court, commanded the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons and a Regiment of Foot to march secretly to *Orange*, where they arrived about two in the Morning, and surrounded the City; some Companies were sent to invest the Towns of *Courthefon* and *Jonquieres*; what Desolation and Lamentation amongst the poor affrighted and disconsolate Inhabitants! At break of day *Tessé* entered *Orange*, attended by several Officers swearing, cursing, blaspheming, threatening Fire and Sword; and having run through all the Streets like a Fury, he alighted at the Bishop's Palace; the Dragoons which had been sent into the two other Towns caused there unspeakable Damage. At *Courthefon* they took Prisoner the Reverend Mr. *Aunet*, Minister of the Place, and caused him to walk at the Head of a Party of Dragoons to *Orange*; being brought before the Count of *Tessé*, he sent him instantly to Prison. The reverend Messieurs *Gondrand*, *Chion*, *Petit*, three of the Ministers of *Orange*, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to escape, understanding that *Tessé* threatened to pull down the Temples and destroy the whole City, if they did not instantly make their Appearance before him, came unto him of their own accord; that Tiger, with horrid Cursing, threatened them with the Gallows, particularly the reverend Mr. *Petit*, to whom he said, that the next Day he should be hung; then, without vouchsafing so much as to hear what they had to say, he sent them to Jail.

As to the reverend Dr. *De Chambrun*, as soon as his Colleagues were imprisoned, *Tessé* sent an Officer with two Dragoons to his House, who set one of them a Centinel at his Bed-side, and

other at the Door of his House, to hinder People from coming to visit him. It is almost impossible to imagine what Plunder and Devastation the Dragoons made, what cruel and barbarous Usage they put upon the poor, defenceless Inhabitants, especially the Reformed, without Distinction of Age, or Sex, or Quality. Having levelled the Ground the two Churches, on the 10th of *November* it was published, that *Tessé* had received an Order from Court to persecute and torment the Reformed Inhabitants, without mercy, 'till they had renounced their Religion. He began to execute his Commission by quartering upon the Reformed, only these two Regiments of Dragoons and Foot that were before quartered a third Part upon the Roman-Catholicks, and the two other thirds upon the Reformed, who not being able to endure any longer the cruel and barbarous Usage they received of them, yielded at last to the Temptation, and in a publick Assembly consented to adhere to the Catholick Religion, on certain Conditions agreed to and granted, but never executed.

Dr. De Chambrun was visited by the Count of *Tessé* and the Bishop of *Orange*, who endeavoured, by Promises and Threats, to oblige him to change; but he stood firm in his Resolution, so that after a long Conference they went out, the Count telling him to mind what he had to do, to obey the King, or else it would be very bad for him. They went to the Jayl upon the same Errand, but they had no better Success with *Mr. De Chambrun's* Colleagues than they had had with him, they chose rather to bear the Cross than to betray their Duty.

When the reformed Inhabitants had signed their Re-union, the Dragoons received Orders

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not to torment those who had turned Catholics, but only those who remained obstinate, as they term'd it. The Count, in less than two Hours, sent forty-two Dragoons to Dr. *De Chambrun's* House, with four Drums that beat night and day about his Room to hinder him from Sleep. they lived at Discretion, and soon devoured whatever Provisions were in the House; which not being sufficient to satisfy their Gluttony, Mrs. *De Chambrun* was obliged to send to the Taverns to get whatever they asked, at any rate; they abus'd that Lady with ill Language, her Husband fearing they would carry their Brutishness to a further Degree, prevail'd with her at last to retire to her own Father's House.

The next Day *Tessé* sent an Officer to the Doctor to know whether he would obey the King or no? he answered, that he would obey his God. Whereupon the whole Regiment was quarter'd upon him, they tormented him more cruelly than before, the Drums were incessantly beating at his Bed-side, the Room was continually full of Tobacco-smoak, which was very offensive to him; nay, they smoak'd under his very Nose, so that he grew almost distracted through the bitter Pains of his broken Thigh, and of the Gout, and for want of Food, and of Rest. He was summoned again to obey the King, but he said that God was his King. Whereat his Persecutors grew fiercer, and tormented him with such Violence, that on the thirteenth of *November* he fell into a Swoon, which lasted four Hours; it was thought that he could not recover from it, and the rumour of his Death was soon spread through the City. Whereupon *Tessé* sent Orders to the Dragoons to retire, and only four remained to keep him; he was no sooner recovered, but he received Orders to

be ready the next day to be transported to *Pierrecise*, a Castle near *Lyons*, where Prisoners of State were kept; he said, that he was ready that very Instant to go where-ever they would carry him. At that News his Lady was disconsolate, she went to the Count of *Tessé*, she kneeled before him, beseeching him in the most moving manner to permit him to be transported to his Country-house, and she would pay the Guards that should be set to keep him, or at least, to send him to the same Jail with his Colleagues; but all her Intreaties were in vain, that hard-hearted Man stood unmoveable, and was very rude to that poor, distressed Lady; he told her that her Husband had been the Pope of the *Hugonots* but that his Reign was at an end, &c.

The next Morning he sent Mr. *De Chambrun* word that he must set out; his Servants took him out of his Bed and dressed him with great Difficulty, for he endured the most exquisite Pain all over his Body whenever they touched him; then he was brought down stairs by six Men, who carried him and put him in a kind of * Litter made on purpose for him. Nothing more dismal could be seen than that poor Gentleman, unable to stand or move, exhausted by the exquisite Pains of his Body, the Perplexities of his Soul, and the cruel Usage he had met with from the Dragoons, carried now like a Criminal into an obscure Dungeon. At that Sight, the whole City who had crouded into his Court and in the Streets, cried out pitifully, all at once, MERCY, MERCY, MERCY! the Catholics as well as the Reformed, (for he was universally beloved for his amiable Qualifications, and his readiness to do any good Office that lay in his power to every one indifferently) were melting in Tears. He saw by his side two
Citizens

* *Bran-*
card.

Citizens who had been at variance for several Years together, and said to them, *Dear Children why do you cry for me? cry rather for your selves, for your Enmities which have drawn the Wrath of Heaven upon you. If you do truly love and regret me, do give me the Comfort of seeing you embrace one another, and let your sincere Reconciliation be the last Fruit of my Ministry amongst you.* Whereupon they both fell upon the Ground, embracing and colling one another, and begging pardon of one another. In a word, every one strove to shew his great Concern in different Ways, and the Sight must of course have been exceedingly dismal, since Pity found Admittance even into the merciless Breasts of the Dragoons that escorted him, and who were seen shedding Tears. The Croud followed him for half a League out of the City, and at last desisted, at his earnest Intreaties. Very likely some well-disposed Person gave notice to the Count of *Tessé* that our illustrious Prisoner was in danger of his Life, and would certainly die upon the Road, was he carried to *Pierre-cise* without stopping at some Place, because of his weak Condition and great Sufferings. Howbeit, as he was unwilling that he should die almost in his own Hands, he altered his Orders, and sent word to the Officer that commanded the Prisoner's Guard, to bring him to the Bridge of *St. Esprit*, and to put him into the Hands of the Chevalier of *Montanegues* who commanded in the Place, which was executed; and whereas that Commander was related to the Prisoner's Wife, he was very kind to him, and treated him with great Humanity; he lodged him in a private House and not in the Citadel, as he should have done had he executed his Orders, he was visited every day by several Persons of Quality.

While he was in that Town he received News from *Orange*, that his Wife having been found in her own Father's House, where she lay concealed, and refusing to do any thing against her Conscience, the Count of *Tessé* ordered the Dragoons to bring her back to her own House, and that she should serve the whole Regiment which he quartered there, without being assisted by any body. The poor Lady fell into the greatest Agonies when she heard of that Doom, no less cruel than unjust in itself; but a good Fryar, whose Family had received many good Offices from Dr. *De Chambrun*, released her from her Fears; he went instantly to see her at her Father's House, and without requiring any thing at all of her, he sent word to the Count that she had done her duty, as they used to term an Abjuration; whereupon the Count ordered the Dragoons to retreat, and she went to meet her Husband at *St. Esprit*.

After twenty Days stay in that Town, the Provost of *Valentinois* with an Exempt and his Archers came to transport Dr. *De Chambrun* to *Pierre-cise*; tho' the Provost was one of the civilest Men in the World, and that he used the Prisoner extremely well, nevertheless he had a great deal to suffer from the stormy Weather in the midst of the Winter, he was carried by Water to *Anconne*, and being seized with the Cold which occasioned a Fit of the Gout, he became as stiff as an Iron-bar; the Provost fearing he would die, if he continued his Journey by Water, caused a Litter to be made for him, and had it carried to *Vaience* by twelve Peatants, at the Prisoner's Cost. He arrived in that City on the 10th of *December*, the Provost had been before him to prepare a Lodging, whereby his coming was published throughout the

the City; when he arrived he found the Suburbs crouded with People of all ranks, and in the Yard of the Inn, a vast Number of Gentlemen and Ladies that were come for Curiosity's sake. Some said, Lo! the Devil of a Minister of *Orange*; others added, he is the Prince of *Orange's* Spy; so he was reviled by these bigotted People. The Difficulty was to take him out of the Litter, having quite lost the Use of his Limbs, they tried in vain for half an Hour together; he desired the Provost to grant him a little time to breathe; at last he was carried from his Litter upon a Bed, and undress'd, that he might refresh himself after so many Days Fatigue and lying awake. But being tormented with the Gout and the exquisite Pains of his Thigh, the Bandage whereof had loosen'd itself in the Carriage and the Motion of the Litter, he could not find any rest at all; the Anxieties of his Mind increased his Pains, for he could not speak freely his Mind, being watched by the Exempt who lay in his Room and the Archers that were at the Door, The next Day he was visited by the Provost, who told him that he would prepare every thing for setting out the next Day; nevertheless, it is likely that he was unwilling to let him go out of *Valence*, for the same Day he was visited by two Doctors of Physick in the University and two Surgeons, who no sooner saw his Body, but they turn'd their Eyes away, pitying his dismal Condition; he told them that he was also troubled with the Stone; they answered, that as to that they could not judge without probing, but that they had seen enough to judge that he was in a very bad way. Nevertheless he was very impatient to be upon the Road for *Pierre-cise*, he insisted on it again to the Provost, who promis'd him

to set out the next Morning; instead of which, the Bishop of *Valence* came to visit him, and after some Compliments exchange'd, he endeavoured, by Promises and Threats, to engage him to turn *Roman-Catholick*; he answered, that had he thought that he could be saved in that Religion, he would not have suffered himself to be tormented as he had been for about two Months, that he was ready to suffer every thing rather than to comply; and as to the Pensions, he had no need of them, being rich enough, &c. He intreated the Bishop to procure for him a Pass, that he might safely retire whither Providence should call him. To which, the Bishop reply'd, that he ought not to flatter himself with such Hopes, that he was a State-Prisoner, that the Court had great Hopes of converting him to the Catholick Religion, that he would never be suffered to go near the Prince of *Orange*. Several other Discourses passed between them, amongst the rest, the Bishop told him, that the King of *France* was resolv'd not only to oblige his Subjects to turn Catholicks, but also to endeavour to bring all Nations all over *Europe* to do the like; and that the Prince of *Orange* was about to be instructed, in order to be received in the Pale of the *Roman Catholick Church*, &c. The Bishop being not able to prevail with Dr. *De Chambrun*, left him, and ordered that he should stay at *Valence* till he knew what the Marquis *De la Trouffe*, Commander of *Dauphiné* intended to do with him: In the mean time he caused him to be removed from the Inn, into a little paltry House in the City. Not satisfied with this, and being fully resolv'd to overcome, at any Rate, the Constancy of our Confessor, he ordered that his Wife, his Nephew, and his Servant-Men should

should be removed from him; (these last were absolutely necessary to him, as the only persons who knew how to handle him, and turn him in his Bed, for they were obliged to manage him just like an Infant) and that he should be served by Dragoons or Archers. That Doom was a Thunder-bolt to that poor Gentleman, he put up his earnest Prayers to God humbly beseeching his Assistance. But when he came to be dress'd by these new Attendants, he was put to such exquisite Pains, that, not being able to bear with them any longer, he cried out, THEN I WILL RE-UNITE MYSELF. No sooner had he uttered these Words, but the Exempt that was by him ran to the Bishop's Palace to acquaint him with it. That Prelate, who sat himself up for a great Converter, and spared, for that purpose, no kind of Torments to overcome the Constancy of the poor Wretches that fell into his Hands, was overjoyed when he heard the Exempt: He came instantly to Mr. *De Chambran*, with the Provost and some other Persons, and tender'd him a Paper to sign it, but he refused constantly. Whereupon the Bishop asked him, Whether he had not said that he would re-unite himself? True it is, says he, I have utter'd the Words; but the violent Pains I underwent, have forced them out of my Mouth: But, if I did, what Advantage for you in the Condition I am in, uncapable of Reasoning? For all that, the Bishop did not desist from his Pretensions; he sent an Express to Court to notify his sham Victory, and thereupon received the Congratulations of the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, of Father *La Chaise*, and of the Marquis of *Louvois*. Nay, he was so ungenerous, as to publish, as a matter of Fact, Mr. *De Chambrun's* Recantation, and to propose

pose him as an Example, to seduce others in his own Diocese, even at *Valence* itself, where the Falshood thereof was perfectly well known. As to the poor Patient, he fell into the greatest Agonies, when he came to himself, after he had uttered the few Words above-mentioned; the Pains of his Body were nothing in comparison of the Troubles of his Soul, and if ever there has been any true and godly Penitent, certainly he must be ranked among the first; all the Characters of a deep and sincere Repentance are to be found in his.

CONTRITION. He was affected with such a deep Sense of the Heinousness of his Crime, that he would not admit of any Excuse, much less of any Comfort. He looked upon himself as an Apostate, who had betrayed the Interest of his dearest Master; which would be the occasion of the Fall of many others that would take him for a Pattern. He ran almost distracted when he considered the Glory of his Ancestors, the Dignity of his own Character, the Duties incumbent on him in consequence thereof, the many excellent Gifts which God Almighty had imparted unto him; and such other like Things. He recollected sometimes the Fall of so many great Men, who afterwards had glorified God by their Penitence, such as *St. Peter*, *Hosius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Berengarius*, *Jerome* of *Prague*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several others; but he found that their Cases admitted of some Excuse, and his own none. In a word, never Sorrow had been seen, upon such an Occasion, greater than his, nor which lasted so long.

CONFESSION. *Out of the Fulness of the Heart the Mouth shall speak*, is a common Saying.

Our

Our Penitent was no sooner recovered from the violent Fit of Pains, during which he had rashly said, that he would re-unite himself, but he detested what he had done, acknowledged the Greatness of his Sin, not only before Friends, but before Foes; before the Bishop himself, not only at *Valence*, but every where, in *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and wherever his Voice could be heard, or his Letters could reach; not only in private, but in the most publick manner in the Pulpit, and in Print, as soon as he came out of the Kingdom, aggravating the least Circumstance, firmly persuaded that the more he humbled himself before God and Men, the more he should be exalted.

RESOLUTION. Our Penitent was so far sensible of the Obligation he was in, not only to do nothing that might hurt his Conscience any further, but to do every thing for the future to make amends for his Fault, to glorify God, and edify his Brethren; that he resolved from that time to expose himself to the worst, and to suffer every thing, even the most cruel Martyrdom, rather than, not only to do or say any Thing against his Conscience, but not to dissemble any longer, and conceal his real Sentiments.

EXECUTION. Accordingly, at the very first Visit that the Bishop of *Valence* paid him after his Fall, he let him know, that he had acted against his Conscience; that what he had said in his Fit was only the Effect of the Violence of his Pains, and not of any real Intention to perform what he had promised at that time; and at the six or seven Visits which that Prelate paid him afterwards while he was at *Valence*; and at another in the place of his Exile, he not only refused to ratify that pretended
 Promise,

Promise, but at several times he disputed with him about the controverted Points, and evinced the Falshood of the *Roman* Religion; and the Truth of his own, without being moved at all by his Threats, or by his Promises. That was not enough; but he endeavoured by his Exhortations, and warm Remonstrances, to reclaim those who were fallen; such as one Mr. *Vigné*, an Apostate Minister; who visited him at *Valence*, whom he rebuked with Indignation. Lastly, He neglected nothing, and improved every Opportunity to deliver himself out of that sad Situation, even to the danger of his Life, that he might give Glory to God, as we shall say presently. So that having so exactly fulfilled the Duties of that godly Repentance, which *St. Paul* describes in his 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. vii. it may be said, that he was greater after his Fall than before, and that through the Mercy of God, his Faith and Love for him received a new Strength from his own Weakness.

He stayed at *Valence* till the latter end of *February* 1686, when he was transferred to *Romeyer*, near *Die*, a frightful Desert, surrounded every where with high steep Hills. The Bishop of *Valence*, who was the vainest of all Men, having boasted of this pretended Victory, durst not recant, though he might be fully convinc'd that he had too much reason for it, but he would not expose himself to be laugh'd at at Court: Therefore, as *Dr. De Chambrun* had many times insisted with him, either to procure a Pass for him, or to send him back to *Orange*, he asked him in his last Visit, whether he had a mind to live without any Exercise of Religion? that thereby he would put himself in greater Trouble than

than ever ; that he would be sorry for it, but that he was answerable for him ; and that he had obtained Leave for him to go to *Romeyer*, where the Air was wholesome, and might contribute, as he said, to the Recovery of his Health. He arrived in that Place, on the 2d of *March*, and lived there for five Months together in a very dismal Condition, not only as to his Body, but especially as to his Mind. Having been seized with a violent Fit of Gravel, and voided a Stone as big as a large *French Bean*, every one thought, as well as himself, that he had the Stone. Thereupon he wrote to the Bishop of *Valence*, desiring him to intercede for him with the Court, that he might obtain leave to go to *Lyons*, there to be cut. His Answer was very civil ; nevertheless, as his Lordship delayed to perform his Promise, Dr. *De Chambrun* wrote to him again upon the same account. The Bishop was not in haste ; but, on the contrary, mov'd very slowly, being in hopes that he should tire him, and oblige him to sign an Abjuration. At last, about the Beginning of *July*, he came into his Diocese of *Die*, in order to force the Reformed to confess, and receive the Sacrament ; he had been preceded by some Regiments of Dragoons and Foot to torment those who should refuse to comply. The Intendant of *Dauphiné* arrived at *Die* about the same time, to assist the Bishop in that glorious Exploit. This last preached through the Mouth of the Dragoons ; and they first tried and condemned those who refused to obey. The Bishop visited his whole Diocese, wherein he exercised a thousand Cruelties. The poor People flocked to the Desarts and Woods like Sheep, and were pursued and kill'd, or bound with Ropes and cast
into

into Dungeons when overtaken. However, as soon as the Bishop was arrived at *Die*, he let Mr. *De Chamburn* know, by one of his Friends, that he had obtain'd Leave for him to go to *Lyons*; but that he expected to find him more complaisant to what he desired of him, than he had been heretofore. When the Dr. had received this News, he prepared himself to withstand all the Attacks of his Adversary; and understanding that he made Use of his Name to seduce the People, saying unto them, *How so! are you more learned than Mr. De Chambrun, who has done whatever we have required of him, why don't you follow his Example?* he was deeply concern'd at it; and without the least hesitation, he answered those that wrote to him to know the Truth of the Matter, that they ought not to give credit to any such idle Story; that tho' he had the Misfortune to say, when in a Fit of his violent Pains, *That he would re-unite himself*, nevertheless, he had constantly refused to ratify in any-wise that rash Promise, and was fully resolved to die, rather than to give them such a Scandal. By such an Answer he defeated mostly his Enemies Designs; for several Commonalties chose rather to be expos'd to the Fury of the Dragoons, than to confess and receive the Sacrament.

When the Bishop had made his Circuit, he came to *Romeyer*, and visited Dr. *De Chambrun*; he enter'd alone in his Room, and told him, that he had obtained for him the Licence which he so eagerly pursued, but that before he would deliver it into his hands, he ought first to sign, to confess, and to receive the Sacrament. The Doctor thanked him for his Trouble, but desired him withal not to insist any further upon

upon that; that very likely he would die in the Operation of cutting, and then he should give him no more trouble. To which the Bishop replied, *What, Sir! the King shall not be baffled in this manner. I have wrote to Court that you was converted in earnest; and what will they say of me, if I don't oblige you to perform your Duty? I have obliged the Ministers that are at Die to confess and receive. What! will you be the only Hugonot in France? My Lord, saith the Doctor, I don't live after Example. I don't intend to baffle any body, you are too reasonable to force me to any thing against my Conscience. I beseech you to let me go to Lyons.* Then they entred upon a Conference about the controverted Points, at the end of which, seeing that he could not prevail, he advised him friendly, as he pretended, to obey the King, and avoid by that means any further Mischiefe. That very Evening he sent Dragoons and Foot to force the Inhabitants of *Romeyer* to a Compliance; they committed unspeakable Disorders in the Place, to no other purpose than to gratify their bloody Cruelty. *Dr. De Chambrun* expected to be treated after the same way; instead of which, a *Jesuit* came the next Morning from the Bishop, who spared neither Flattery, Promises, nor Threats, in order to seduce him, if he could, but all to no purpose. The next Day he came again upon the same Errand, but had no better Success; whereat the Bishop was in a terrible Passion when the *Jesuit* told him his bad Success. Very likely he would have dealt with *Dr. De Chambrun* as he did with others who resisted his Will, had it not been that he was afraid to lose his Reputation, and to be taken for a Lyar, after having so positively and confidently affirmed at Court, and in the Publick, that that Gentleman had done

done whatever had been required of him. However, he let him know, that he might set out for *Lyons* whenever he pleased; but that he might expect not to fare better than before, being strongly recommended to the Archbishop, who would take care of him, 'till he had done his Duty.

* *Bran-*
card.

Accordingly he set out on the 1st of *August*, being carried in a * Litter by twelve Peasants, and arrived at *Lyons* on the 5th, and went into the best Inn; in order to impose the better upon People, and make them believe, that he really designed to go through the Operation. The next Morning he sent for the most expert Lithotomist, feigning a Desire to know when he could be cut. He examined his Body, and told him that in the Condition he was in, it would be very difficult and dangerous to make the Operation; nevertheless, that he would consider how he could do it safely. But whereas he had insisted so much upon his Journey to *Lyons*, only in expectation to meet there with some more favourable Opportunity for making his Escape, he found, that the Inn where he lodged was not so proper for executing his Design, therefore his Friends procured for him a more commodious House. When he was settled in it, he sent for the Archbishop's Physician, to whom he gave an account of his imaginary Disease; whereupon the Physician concluded that he had the Stone, and that he must be probed in order to a greater Certainty. The Doctor failed not to tell the Archbishop, that he had under his Care a Gentleman whom he knew not, but who was in a very bad Way! *Sure*, says that Prelate, *it must be that Minister of Orange, which has been recommended to me.* And he shewed him the Orders he had received

received from Court upon his account, and which were notified to Mr. *De Chambrun* in the Archbishop's Name. Whereby he was made sensible that all his Steps were narrowly observed, and that if he did not provide for himself in good time, he would be very soon shut up in the Castle of *Pierre-Cise*.

Therefore he resolved to make his Escape without Delay, for which end he feigned to be worse than ever, and sent for the Physician and the Lithotomist; they probed him, but could find no Stone. The Lithotomist said, that as he lay upon his Back he could not be probed so well as if he was upon a Chair; but he desired the Physician to put off to another time this second Probing, because he had suffered so much in the first, that he could not bear so soon with this. That was approv'd of, and having dismissed them, he disposed himself the best he could for his Journey, the Difficulty was to find out a Disguise, and a Carriage proper for a Man in his Circumstances, crippled and unable to move himself. He insisted, notwithstanding the contrary Opinion of his Friends, to disguise himself in an Officer's Dress, and to be carried in a Calash, wherein he was tied fast with a Leather String, he set out from *Lyons* on the 8th of *September*, which was a *Sunday* in the Evening, went through the whole City, amidst a Croud of People of all sorts that were coming from walking; and having met his Servants and Horses that waited for him without the City, he travelled Night and Day, and arrived safe at *Geneva* on the 11th of *September*. It is observable, that he passed through several Garrisons, without being stopp'd, except in one place upon the Frontiers of *Savoy*, where there was a *Corps de*

Garde of seven Men, who stopp'd him ; but he counterfeited so well the Officer of Importance, by his Speech and Threats, that being frighten'd out of their Wits, they most humbly crav'd his Pardon. Another Thing very observable, methinks, is, that at the last Step that the Horses made in the Yard of the Inn at *Geneva*, the Calash broke of itself. Had such an Accident happened upon the Road, Mr. *De Chambrun* had been undone, for being not capable either to walk or to stand, he would certainly have been known.

He was received at *Geneva*, as he so justly deserved ; he insisted to acknowledge his Fault publicly, in order to be admitted to the Lord's Supper ; which was done as he desired. At his most earnest Instances he was likewise restor'd to his Ministerial Functions, by an Assembly of eighteen Ministers, *Refugées*, tho' they represent'd unto him, that having never signed any Abjuration, or done any Action that might prejudice his Character, such a Ceremony was superfluous ; but his Humility and his Repentance were such, that he could not rest satisfied without it. He waited for his Wife at *Geneva*, where she arrived, when little expected, on the last Day of the Year 1686, after having been expos'd to many great Dangers, and having undergone many Hardships ; for she was forced to travel on foot, with two other young Gentlewomen, from *Lyons* to *Geneva*, in the midst of the Winter, and in the Night-time, for avoiding the Archers and Peasants that had Orders to pursue them ; and had no other Guide but Providence. He set out with his Lady for *Holland* on the Beginning of *February* ; he arriv'd in *March* at the *Hague*, and was received by the Prince of *Orange*, and the

the Princess with the greatest demonstration of Joy and Satisfaction. He came over to *England* with *Queen Mary*, when King *William* had been acknowledged by the Parliament, and a Canonship at *Windsor* becoming vacant, that Princess bestowed it upon him, with this Compliment, *That it was only till a better Preference should offer*. But he died six Months after at *London*, in 1689. *

Besides the Soldiers and Dragoons, the ordinary Ministers of Popish Cruelty, the Spirit of Persecution met every where some new Instruments to exercise its Cruelty, who delighted exceedingly in forwarding its Designs. And it is very observable, that a few excepted, in whose Breasts Principles of Humanity had a greater Influence than those of their bloody Religion, all the rest were always devoted to Persecution, and that too in the most cruel and barbarous manner. The Ties of Consanguinity and Friendship were easily loosed by the nearest Relations, and the Commonalties were at all times ready to supply the place of Dragoons, nay even to exceed them. This I shall evince by the following Narration, well attested by several Witnesses here in *England*, of an undoubted Veracity.

Mr. *Belly*, Chaplain to the Princess of *Ta-Of Mrs. rente*, having been obliged to depart the King-Belly. dom, by virtue of the repealing Edict, which expelled for ever all Ministers out of *France*, left his Wife with the Princess to settle some private Affairs. She had a Brother, named *Moissan*, brought up in the Popish Religion, who knew no sooner that his Brother-in-law was gone for *Guernsey*, but he wrote to the Bishop of *Rennes*, and to Father *Brian Superior*

* C 2

* *Voyez Les Larmes de J. P. de Chambrun.*

rior of the Jesuits in that Town, desiring them to procure for him a Letter of the Signet, with Orders to take away by Force his Sister from the Place where she lived; (which, on any other Occasion would have been sacred) such a Request was easily granted. As soon as he received the Letter, he sent an Usher of the Parliament of *Rennes*, named *Marcadier*, who went to *Vitré*, with four inferiour Officers of Justice, enter'd the Princess's Castle, and before her Highness's Face, took away Mrs. *Belly*, and brought her to the Usher's House at *Rennes*.

When he had Notice of the Execution, he wrote again to the Bishop and Jesuits, to beseech them, to make use of all the Means they could devise, (the Rape only excepted) to convert his Sister.

The Bishop ordered, that, in Conformity to Mr. *Moissan*'s earnest Request, all means should be made use of to force or persuade that Gentlewoman to renounce her Heresy. To obey the Prelate's Orders, they stretch'd her on her Back, eight Porters relieving each other by Turns, held her in that violent Situation, forcing her to swallow vast quantities of Brandy, 'till they bereft her of her Senses: At another time they oblig'd her to jump from the Table down to the Floor, and from the Floor up to the Table, and to dance for three hours together; 'till quite spent with such violent Exercise, she fainted away. Thus they abused that venerable Gentlewoman for eight Days and Nights without Intermiſſion.

This Trial proving ineffectual, they took another Course, no less insufferable, though less violent. They sent for Trumpets and Drums, which, for six other Days and Nights together,

together, ceased not to trouble her with their hideous Noise. This also proving unsuccessful, they sent for a Kettle, put it over her Head, the eight Porters beating on it continually. They kept her in that Condition three Days, without being able to overcome her Constancy. Several other indecent Actions they did commit, which Modesty forbids me to mention. At last the Usher, in whose House these Tragedies were acted, being tir'd with so much Cruelty, went to the Attorney-General, and told him, he could bear no longer to see his House made a Place of Torture; whereupon that Magistrate ordered that Mrs. *Belly* should be let out. But it was only a Commutation of Torments; and instead of a private, they inflicted on her a publick one: They ordered, that she should walk bare-footed, all in Rags, through all the Streets of the Town, exposed to the publick View of the Mob; who, being some of the most superstitious of the Kingdom, abused her in the most outrageous manner. All this being done, she was dragg'd to St. *Peter's* Church, where she was forc'd to subscribe a Form of Abjuration; which done, she was set at liberty.

She then returned to the Princess of *Tarente* at *Vitré*, but her unnatural Brother's Anti-christian Zeal suffered him not to let her enjoy long her Liberty; he caused her again to be taken by Force, and by the Bishop's Orders shut her up in a Nunnery of *Benedictines*, whence she found means to escape some time after to *Guernsey*, where she met with her Husband.

'Tis not a new Thing to see People forsaking all natural Affections to gratify a furious Zeal. *Sleidan* speaks of one *Alphonsus Diaz*, who came from *Rome* to *Newburgh*, to assassinate his

Brother *John*, which he perpetrated in the most treacherous and inhuman manner. (a)

Varillas relates, that one *Robert*, the King's Attorney at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, caused his own Son to be hang'd, for no other Reason, than his being a *Calvinist*. (b) And we have related in our first Volume two Instances of the cruel Effects of the blind Zeal of a Father against his own Son, and of a Brother against his own Sister.

Mr. *Benôit* takes Notice, that in the late Persecution a Gentleman of *Picardy*, in order to shew his Zeal for Popery, was so base as to let his own Wife down into a Well, holding her by the Hair of the Head, in the midst of Winter.

These Things are more than sufficient to make it appear, that the Spirit of Popery is dipt in Cruelty; and that whoever gives himself up to it, degrades himself from human Nature, and becomes the most fierce, wild and cruel of all other living Creatures.

A R T I C L E II.

Of the cruel Usage the Reformed met with in the several Prisons in which they were confin'd.

ONE would imagine, that no Prisons could be more dreadful than the Reformed's Houses, whilst the Dragoons were quarter'd in them, since (by a Hardship all other Prisons are exempted from) they were altogether Captives,

(a) *Shidan Comment Lib. 17. ad ann. 1546.* (b) *Varillas Hist. de Charles IX. Liv. 3. pag. 430.*

tives, and continually tormented by those People, destitute of all Humanity. Yet they were shut up close Prisoners in several Goals of different kinds. The strong Holds, Citadels, nay even Convents, were turned into Prisons for them; and besides those Places, a great Number of Reformed were buried, as one may say, in several frightful Dungeons, which, by their Darknes and their Stench, were sufficient to make Men lose their Senses, or to throw them into Despair. Let us consider a little those various Prisons, and let us see what Usage our Brethren met with in those Places.

Those who had overcome the Dragoon's Fury, were condemn'd to pass the Remainder of their Days in Captivity and Slavery. In that Condition, the Husbands were not allowed to be with their Wives, nor Parents with their Children, nor the nearest Relations to be together, but were all separated one from the other in different Prisons and Cells, so that it was difficult for them to hear from each other; if they did, it was commonly something to perplex them. The Children were told, that their Parents had acknowledged the Truth of the Catholick Religion, and had publickly abjur'd *Calvin's* Heresy before such Bishops or Curates; Husbands, Wives, and others, were told the same Thing of their Children or other Relations, in order to shock them. Though these unfortunate Prisoners had reason enough to question the Truth of these Relations, nevertheless, as there was no possibility to find out the Deceit, it must needs grieve them to the Heart.

The Goalers, generally speaking, used them most severely, the Principles of Popery inspiring them with greater Hatred against those

poor People, than in Honour or Conscience they could have had for the most wicked Criminals under their Care; the Criminals themselves joining with the Goalers, to render these poor People's Confinement more intolerable, by their Outrages, but above all by their scandalous Discourses and Blasphemies.

Among the many Instances which I might offer my Reader, I shall single out only one, which will be sufficient to justify my Observation. That shall be a Relation of Mr. *Jortin's* (a Doctor of Physick at *Saumur*) Sufferings, written by himself at a Friend's Request, but never before published.

Of Doctor
Jortin.

I shall not take notice of many Trials, Perils, Fatigues, and ill Usages which he underwent, before he was brought to Mr. *Foucault*, Intendant of *Poitou*. I shall only give an Abstract of his own Relation of his Prison and ill Usages there, which are as follow.

* Hoque-
tons.

‘ I having been in Confinement in *Poitou*,
‘ Mr. *Foucault* the Intendant discharged me;
‘ but I was kept, contrary to Orders, under a
‘ Guard of two * Wardens, arm'd with Mus-
‘ quetoons, who conducted me through a
‘ Gate, where was a *Corps de Garde*; there we
‘ were stopp'd, but a little after dismiss'd.

‘ Upon the Road from *Poitiers* to *Saumur*,
‘ I could find neither Victuals nor Lodging, as
‘ soon as they knew that I was a *Hugonot*.
‘ When I arrived at *Saumur*, I found my House
‘ laid waste during my Absence, and was
‘ oblig'd to borrow a Bed from one of my
‘ Friends.

‘ Some Days after, I was sent back again to
‘ Jail; when I was brought thither I was
‘ searched as usual. I could not obtain the
‘ King's Bread, though they deny it not even

‘ to

‘ to Criminals under Sentence of Death. My
 ‘ Bed was an Iron Cage full of Lice, Bugs,
 ‘ Mice, and several other Vermin, the Door
 ‘ thereof was so low, that one must creep into
 ‘ it. I desired they would give me some Straw
 ‘ to lie on, but was denied.

‘ A Fortnight after, some Friends, who had
 ‘ provided Food for me, sent me a little fold-
 ‘ ing Bedstead, with a good Feather-Bed and
 ‘ Bolster, with some good Blankets. I laid no
 ‘ longer in my Cage, but when my Persecu-
 ‘ tors were out of humour.

‘ The next Week, Mr. *Foger*, Deputy to
 ‘ Mr. *Du Hamel*, Intendant of the Province of
 ‘ *Anjou*, came to visit me, who at first used me
 ‘ civilly, took me to walk with him in the
 ‘ Prison Gardens, was very earnest with me to
 ‘ renounce my Religion, though he was un-
 ‘ willing to enter into any Dispute about it.

‘ But when he found he could not prevail
 ‘ with me, he told me, I am very sorry to
 ‘ see you so obstinate, you are utterly undone;
 ‘ (for a Paper of my own Hand-writing a-
 ‘ gainst the Church of *Rome*, and the *Roman*
 ‘ Clergy had been found upon me). Do you
 ‘ see that Heap of Stones before you? under
 ‘ them lies buried an Attorney of *Loudun*;
 ‘ he had been here but a Fortnight; the Death
 ‘ which you are to suffer will not be so mild
 ‘ as his. (He did not tell me that he was poi-
 ‘ son’d, but the Prisoners had acquainted me
 ‘ with it before, his Name was Mr. *La Loge*
 ‘ *Guerin*.) The Intendant arrived in Town
 ‘ two or three Days after, I had notice of it
 ‘ by Mr. *Foger*’s Care, who let me know
 ‘ that I was arraign’d. I sent him my Thanks,
 ‘ and inform’d him, that I would die his very
 ‘ humble Servant.

‘ It

' It is hardly to be believed with what Zeal
 ' my Enemies pursued my Death, they expected
 ' to see me burning alive; my Friends came
 ' from the Country to lament my Fate, and
 ' several Persons of Distinction in the Town
 ' came to the Jayl to see me, and to give me
 ' the same warning. At last, I was so well per-
 ' suaded that I was to suffer that cruel Death,
 ' that I desired some of them to come and be
 ' Witnesses of the Mercies and Blessings Al-
 ' mighty God granted those who suffered Mar-
 ' tyrdom for his sake.

' All this while, the Intendant being not so
 ' bloody-minded, thought not proper to follow
 ' the Opinion of my Persecutors; after he had
 ' examin'd my Papers, finding nothing worthy of
 ' Death, he left me in the same Condition, always
 ' expos'd to the Persecution of my Enemies.

' A little after the Intendant had left *Sau-*
 ' *mur*, a Woman who was a Prisoner in the same
 ' Jayl, came to acquaint me, in private, of a
 ' Plot laid against my Life, by the Jaylor and
 ' his Wife, and at their Instigation, by several
 ' Prisoners. One of them offer'd, one Day, to
 ' burn one of my Fingers, another to burn
 ' some other Part of my Body, each of them
 ' delighting in some way or other to torture
 ' me. Though the Weather was exceeding
 ' cold, they hindered me from Fire, and inter-
 ' rupted me when I pray'd to God, or sung to
 ' his Glory; I was obliged to go into the Green
 ' before the Prison, in the Frost and Snow, to
 ' pray, and was, even there, often interrupted
 ' in my Devotions.

' They brought their Fury to that pitch,
 ' that they one day took the Resolution to crucify
 ' me, which was to be executed in the great
 ' Green; they were first to gag me, then to
 ' nail

‘ nail me up against the Wall. As that Death
 ‘ was very extraordinary in itself, they durst not
 ‘ come to the Execution.

‘ They thought the Iron Cage wherein I was
 ‘ shut up close from time to time, would be a
 ‘ properer Place, because there are several little
 ‘ holes, through which they might put Cords,
 ‘ and then he would have published that I had
 ‘ strangled myself through Despair.

‘ I had notice of this Plot by one of their
 ‘ Accomplices, who, very happily for me,
 ‘ fell out with his Comrades, and discovered
 ‘ every thing to me. We went down together,
 ‘ to the Place where the Cage stood, and there
 ‘ found the Cords tied with running Knots, all
 ‘ ready for the Execution; Mr. *Bouësteaux*
 ‘ Counsellor, and Mr. *De la Motte* Provost of
 ‘ *Saumur*, saw these Things, who being my
 ‘ Friends, very much pitied my Fate.

‘ That Danger being over, I soon found
 ‘ myself exposed to another. A Gentleman,
 ‘ who had been wounded in the Army, by a
 ‘ Shot in the Leg, came to ask my advice about
 ‘ his Wound, which was again open’d, when
 ‘ he had done with me, he took his leave; I
 ‘ went to accompany him to the Gate of the
 ‘ Jayl, where a Servant of the Prison was cruelly
 ‘ beating a Prisoner, who had been a Collector;
 ‘ I intreated the Servant in a few Words to be
 ‘ milder; this was enough for the Jayler’s
 ‘ Wife, who overhearing me, flew into a Pas-
 ‘ sion, crying out to the Servant, *Strangle that*
 ‘ *Dog, that Hugonot*; DICTUM, FACTUM:
 ‘ the Servant took me by the Throat, and en-
 ‘ deavoured to execute his Orders; but I not
 ‘ thinking fit to let him do it without Opposi-
 ‘ tion, though he was stronger than I, yet I
 ‘ was happy enough to disentangle myself out
 ‘ of

‘ of his Hands. In the Scuffle I lost my Hat,
 ‘ Wig, and one of my Slippers, and was going
 ‘ down into the Green, which was just by, not
 ‘ perceiving the Servant behind me, holding up
 ‘ a Stick, with which he would certainly have
 ‘ cleft my Skull, had not the Prisoners laid hold
 ‘ of him. I then went into a Room, he still
 ‘ pursuing me with Stones.

‘ That Evening they invented a strange
 ‘ Contrivance to undo me, if possible ; they
 ‘ rubb’d that Man’s Face all over with Blood,
 ‘ and in that Condition they brought him be-
 ‘ fore the Judge Criminal, who, being much
 ‘ surpris’d at the Sight, ask’d him who had
 ‘ done it ? The *Hugonot*, said they, who will
 ‘ kill us all, if you don’t come and take some
 ‘ Course with him. He came to the Jayl ;
 ‘ they endeavoured all they could to bribe some
 ‘ of the Prisoners to give Evidence against
 ‘ me : But, what is very strange, those very
 ‘ People who had offer’d to burn me, would
 ‘ not on this occasion speak against their Con-
 ‘ sciences, but chose rather to suffer than to en-
 ‘ ter into my Enemies wicked Measures. They
 ‘ told the Judge, We have nothing to say, but
 ‘ what will turn to Mr. *Jortin*’s Advantage ; he
 ‘ took Compassion of one of our Fellow-Pri-
 ‘ soners, who was cruelly abus’d by the Servant,
 ‘ entreating him to be more mild, for which
 ‘ the Jayler’s Wife ordered him to strangle
 ‘ him, and he was about to do it in our Pre-
 ‘ sence. Mr. *Jortin* stood only in his own De-
 ‘ fence, and who would not do the same ? He
 ‘ is an honest Man ; whom we should not perfe-
 ‘ cute were it not for the Orders we have re-
 ‘ ceived.

‘ For all this, the Judge came up to the
 ‘ Room where I was, and finding me without a
 ‘ Wig,

' Wig, and but one Slipper, You are, says he, a
 ' fine Man indeed in that Dress ! Was not your
 ' Case bad enough before, that you must thus
 ' make it worse by your Violence in the Prison ?
 ' I told him, if I had thought that he would
 ' have taken Cognizance of my Affairs, I would
 ' have acquainted him with my Case sooner ;
 ' that I had address'd myself to the Intendant's
 ' Subdelegate for Justice, but, since he was there,
 ' I beseech'd him to hear me in my own De-
 ' fence. No, Sir, said he, get you down to the
 ' Cage. I shall obey, Sir, without Reluctancy ;
 ' Cages, Dungeons, or any thing please me,
 ' my Conscience bears witness for me : But there
 ' is a supreme Judge above, who hears us, and
 ' (turning to the Jayler and his Wife) these
 ' People shall give him an Account for the
 ' Wrongs I have suffered : As for you, Sir, I am
 ' your humble Servant. So I went down to the
 ' Cage, where I found the two Prisoners, who
 ' had refused to give false Evidence against
 ' me.

' One Day they mix'd human Excrements
 ' with the Victuals prepared for my Dinner.
 ' One of the Prisoners who us'd to take share
 ' of my Dinner, had no sooner tasted of the
 ' Sauce, but he complain'd of the ill Taste, and
 ' of the Cook. I told him, that I knew not the
 ' Cook, my Victuals being always brought
 ' ready dress'd from the Tavern. It is true,
 ' says I, it is ill tasted, but Prisoners must not
 ' be so dainty ; if you are hungry, you may
 ' eat some, as I have done. He said, he was
 ' half starv'd, and so took some again out of
 ' the Dish : Very likely he dipp'd in a Place
 ' where the Drug was not spar'd, for he threw
 ' the Dish and Sauce upon the Floor, his
 ' Heart rising against it ; he vomited : That
 ' done,

‘ done, he began again to curse the Cook, and to
 ‘ swear. We soon after found out the Authors
 ‘ of this Piece of Villany.

‘ The Day when the Collector, who was
 ‘ abus’d by the Jayler’s Servant as above-said,
 ‘ was brought to the Jayl, his Friends came to
 ‘ see him. As they were sitting and drinking
 ‘ at the Fire-side, and often looking towards
 ‘ me, they could not forbear laughing; they
 ‘ told me the Reason of it; Sir, says one of
 ‘ them, you see us laughing, but you don’t
 ‘ know how far you are concern’d in it; we
 ‘ sincerely confess, if we had known you to be
 ‘ so honest, as we now find you to be, you
 ‘ should not have fed upon our Excrements as
 ‘ you have done often: for several had plotted
 ‘ to feed you as they do their Hogs; but we
 ‘ do promise you that it shall never be so for
 ‘ the future; which indeed never happened
 ‘ since, and the Cook of the Tavern discharg’d
 ‘ his Duty faithfully.

‘ I was for a long time the only Prisoner in
 ‘ that Jayl for Religion; but now Mr. *Camin*,
 ‘ an Inhabitant of *Saumur*, was sent to the
 ‘ same Place in a very languishing Condition,
 ‘ and ill State of Health. Frighten’d by the
 ‘ Tortures they had threaten’d him with, he
 ‘ had been so weak as to sign an Abjura-
 ‘ tion; but some time after, being taken ill,
 ‘ and thinking himself to be in Danger of Life,
 ‘ he had Courage enough to recant. His Re-
 ‘ pentance was publicly known, refusing to
 ‘ receive the Sacrament, which was his only
 ‘ Crime. His Examination was very severe,
 ‘ attended with Vollies of ill Language, the
 ‘ Judge calling him a great Number of ill
 ‘ Names, telling him, he had abused the King.
 ‘ He often affirmed, that he was full of Duty
 ‘ and

and Respect for his King, but that his Con-
 science would not permit him to persist any
 longer in the State he was in ; that he crav'd
 Pardon from God for his Unfaithfulness,
 and that he desired him to consider, 'twas
 better for him to obey God, than Men.
 They were deaf to all his Reasons, and con-
 demn'd him to the Gallies. He earnestly de-
 sired to suffer Death rather than that, but his
 Entreaties were not regarded. He was put
 in Irons, tied with a Chain, and sent to the
 Gallies, where he died some time after. Be-
 fore that, he was ordered to undergo a Pe-
 nance called *Amende Honorable*.

I have been expos'd to another Trial, on
 account of a young *German*, a Soldier in the
 Regiment of *Alsace*, then in Garrison at *Sau-*
mur ; that unfortunate young Man had killed
 an Inhabitant of the Town, and was sent
 Prisoner to our Jayl. The Account he gave
 me of the Insult he received from the De-
 ceas'd, made me think his Crime not unpar-
 donable ; therefore I wrote to Mr. *Riche*, a
 Gentleman of *Germany*, married in that Town,
 and one of my Acquaintance, who had three of
 his Relations Captains in the same Regiment ;
 he sent me word, he would take as much Care
 of the young Man, as if he was his own Son. I
 wrote also to Mr. *De Ris*, the King's Lieutenant
 in the Castle of *Saumur* ; but Mr. *De Louvois*,
 who had heard the Cause, had decided it, where-
 by he was condemned to be shot. The Day
 of his Execution, a Priest, who came to pre-
 pare him for Death, endeavoured to oblige
 him to renounce his Religion, (he was a *Lu-*
theran) he was promised Pardon, if he com-
 plied. The promised Life had many Charms,
 but Religion had taken a deep Root in his
 Heart ;

art; in this Conflict, he left the Priest,
 ‘ came to me, just as I was at Dinner, to be
 ‘ advised; I exhorted him to withstand the
 ‘ Temptation, to be faithful to his God, and
 ‘ expect Assistance from him alone. I told him,
 ‘ that all the Promises of this World were sus-
 ‘ picious and deceitful. He listen’d to what I
 ‘ said to him, went cheerfully to the Place of
 ‘ Execution, and died faithful in his own Re-
 ‘ ligion.

‘ The Priest having followed him, unper-
 ‘ ceived, when he came to consult me, heard
 ‘ all our Discourse, and soon after made his
 ‘ Declaration of it, which occasion’d me fresh
 ‘ Troubles. Whilst they were tying that un-
 ‘ happy young Man with Matches, the Major
 ‘ of the Castle came on Horseback into the
 ‘ little Green, and seeing me at the Grate, drew
 ‘ out one of his Pistols several times, and very
 ‘ likely would have shot at me, if I had not a-
 ‘ voided the Danger every time he threaten’d
 ‘ me with it.

‘ The next Day I was brought to the Door of
 ‘ the Place where they torture Criminals. As
 ‘ soon as I was come thither, they said unto
 ‘ me, Come in, Sir, you will here find the At-
 ‘ tire you deserve: This Attire was a Gibbet, and
 ‘ just by were the Instruments of Torture all
 ‘ ready. I own that my Flesh trembled at that
 ‘ sight. They talk’d as if they designed to shut
 ‘ me up in that frightful Place; but I laid that
 ‘ Night in my Cage, uncertain whether, or no,
 ‘ they would put their Threats in execution:
 ‘ But in the Morning, I was let out of the
 ‘ Cage, and never more shut in it afterwards.

‘ I have said nothing of our religious Dis-
 ‘ putes, they were perpetual; the *Fathers of*
 ‘ *the Oratory* were those I had most to deal with.

‘ That

‘ That Society consists of Persons of Quality
 ‘ and others who have received liberal Educa-
 ‘ tion ; they always us’d me civilly ; disputed
 ‘ without any Moroseness in their Temper, and
 ‘ perceiving in our Disputes, that they knew
 ‘ the Truth, I several times told them, that I
 ‘ prayed to God to strengthen their Hearts to
 ‘ confess that Truth without Fear. Far from
 ‘ being angry at it, they civilly thank’d me
 ‘ for it, and even desired me to be persuaded,
 ‘ that they and their Society abhorred the Per-
 ‘ secutions to which I was expos’d, and that
 ‘ they were carried on against their Consent.

‘ There was a *Capuchin*, who was not so ci-
 ‘ vil and meek, he had come already fourteen or
 ‘ fifteen times to dispute with me : He preached
 ‘ Controversy, but had no manner of Rule in
 ‘ his Disputes. He begun with an Argument,
 ‘ but never came to a Conclusion upon any Sub-
 ‘ ject whatever.

‘ ‘Tis impossible to give a full Description
 ‘ of all the Miseries and Afflictions which I
 ‘ have undergonè in my Imprisonments, which
 ‘ lasted several Years, during which time, I
 ‘ may affirm, in good Conscience, that scarce a
 ‘ Day went over, but that I expected to end
 ‘ my Life by some violent Death or other.’

This Account of Dr. *Jortin*’s Sufferings comes near to the Particulars of all the Miseries and Hardships the poor Reformed were expos’d to in their Prisons. I shall add only, that *France* has not been the only Country where Prisons have been made Places of Torture for Protestants. In the last Persecution of the Duke of *Savoy*’s Reformed Subjects, in the Valleys of *Piémont*, we have an Account of 12000 of those poor People, Men, Women and Children, dispers’d in 14 Prisons, Castles, or Strong-Holds, where they suffer’d cruel Hardships.

In some of these Places they had nothing to feed on but the coarsest of Bread bak'd with muddy Water, taken out of the Common-Sewers, in which they often found Pieces of Glass and other Nastiness. In other Places they had nothing to drink but stinking Water; in others, they were forced to fetch their Water out of a Trough; and at some Places they had Water only at certain times, being not allowed to drink any without Leave, though they were ready to choak. This occasion'd several poor sick People's Death, for want of a Glass of Water to quench their Thirst. They lay almost every where upon Bricks without Straw; but if they had Straw, it was not much better than Dung. They were so crouded in some of these Prisons, that they were scarce able to stir; and when any of them died, which happened almost every day, others were sent to supply their Places, that they might always be crouded and choak'd up. In the Heat of Summer this caus'd a Sickness, which produced a great quantity of Lice in the Rooms. There were some large Worms which gnawed their Skins, and bit them to that degree, that their Skins dropt from them by Pieces; so that several of the Sick have (as one may say) been the Food of Worms whilst yet alive; and they were left in this dismal condition, till Death put an end to their Miseries. In the midst of Winter, tho' the Cold is most severe in that Country, they were denied Fire; they had neither Lamp nor Candle to light them in the Night, though they often petitioned for them, that they might succour the Sick, which occasion'd several to die for want of Help; a great Number of Women died in Labour in the dark for Want of Assistance, their Infants also dying with them. The Sick, who had been separated from the

Healthy,

Healthy, were often exposed in the open Air, Rain, or other bad Weather. In some Prisons, Children in the Small-pox have been exposed in wet Yards, and laid under Gutters, where the Rain dropt upon them. These Tygers were not satisfied with refusing those poor People their Assistance, but they also hindered those who were well disposed to afford them any Relief. There was such a quantity of sick among them, that sometimes there were 75 in one Room, at one time. Finally, these poor Prisoners have received such inhuman Usage in their Prisons, as would hardly be believed, were it not well known to what a Pitch of Cruelty the Enemies of the *Waldenses* have carried their Hatred and Fury against them. Out of 12000 sent Prisoners as above, 8000 of them died under these Hardships.

All *Europe* knows what cruel Persecutions the Church of *Rome* hath excited against the Reformed of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Transylvania*, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, and other Countries under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* in the last Century. Let us survey *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*; let us go from *East* to *West*, and from *North* to *South*, every where, you will find the Spirit of Popery always the same, constantly cruel and unjust. COELUM NON ANIMUM MUTANT, QUI PAPÆ SERVIUNT.

But, to return: The Persecutions in *France* afford us too many Instances of that Spirit of Cruelty and Injustice, without fetching them from other Countries. Transporting Prisoners from one Jail to another, was a Secret the Persecutors found to tire the Persecuted's Patience, whose free Conversation with the Debtors, or other Prisoners sent to those Jails, they thought, might make some Impressions on their

hearts to convert them, or at least to excite in them some Compassion and Esteem; the Jailors themselves might be moved to Pity, seeing those harmless People's Constancy, and their meek and humble Carriage.

But, to deprive them of that Comfort, they judg'd there was no surer Way than to remove them from one Prison to another; every fresh Prison being a new Torment to them, the Jailors pretending at least to be unmov'd at the Constancy of those who were gone, strove to expose the new Comers to the severest Trials they could think of; the Prisoners also, unacquainted with those poor People's Goodness and Virtue in the greatest Misery, and being strongly prejudic'd against their Religion, did their Endeavours to back the Jailors Intentions, either to ingratiate themselves into their Favour, or to gratify their own natural Hatred against them. For these and some other Considerations, the Persecutors joined with the Severity of the Captivity, the Number and Variety of Punishments in their Prisons.

Of the
Marquis of
Roche-
gude.

The Marquis of *Roche-gude*, that charitable and zealous Promoter of the poor Reformed's Relief while they suffered in Prisons, Dungeons, or the Galleys, was himself sent Prisoner first to *Landscroon*; three Months after, he was removed to *Fort St. Andrew*, where he underwent great Hardships, with bad Food and Bedding, being confined in a Place where the Light of the Sun came in only through little Holes, and where, for fourteen Days together, he could not once obtain leave to be shaved. His eldest Brother being banished to *Viviers* in *Vivarais*, as there were several Missionaries in that little Town, who were unable to shake that Gentleman's Faith, they obtained an Order

der from Court to remove him to the *Tower of Constance*. His Relations having heard of the ill Usage he received in that frightful Prison, his Body being all over swell'd, they had Friends enough to have him transported to the Citadel of *Montpelier*; but his Enemies thinking that Place too good for him, had him removed to *Pierre-Cise*, where they commonly confine State-Prisoners. These two illustrious Brothers being thus separated, could not give each other notice of the Place or Condition they were in.

The eldest Brother's Children knew nothing of what happened to their Father; his two Daughters being confin'd in a Nunnery at *Bagnols*, and his two Sons sent to the *Jesuits* at *Beaucaire*. His Lady, who was Granddaughter to the Chancellor *De Calignon*, disguis'd herself in a Shepherdess's Dress to conceal herself from her Persecutors, and went to keep some Sheep, but was soon discovered and brought to *Nismes*, and shut up in a Nunnery, the Abbess of which fearing lest she should communicate her Sentiments to those under her Care, imparted her Fears to the Bishop, who being of the same Opinion, obtained an Order to set her at Liberty; so that her Piety, which occasion'd her Confinement, was also the occasion of her Liberty.

Mr. *James Morineau*, Apothecary of *Vielle Vigne*, and his Wife, having been removed from one Prison to another eleven times, were at last sent, the Husband to *Pierre-Cise*, and his Wife to a Nunnery.

Besides the *Tower of Constance*, where the Reformed Prisoners were treated with Inhumanity, being lodged in dark and damp Places, full of all sorts of Nastiness, suffering Hunger, Thirst and Cold, having from time to time a small Portion of Food and Drink, and that bad,
Of La Flaffeliere, a Prison.

being often abused by the Soldiers, and even by the Officers themselves; besides that Place, I say, there was another more frightful, called *La Flasseliere* in *Low Poitu*, kept by one *Jonas*, a cruel Monster, pitch'd upon on purpose to torment the poor Prisoners for Religion who were committed to his Care. This Man, omitting nothing to execute the Commission he was entrusted with, thought a Dungeon which was in that Prison not frightful enough of itself, therefore he made it one of the most intolerable Places one could think of for its Stench and Nastiness. He caus'd all the Filth, Dung, and Excrements of the Shambles to be thrown into it, with all the Carcasses of dead Sheep, Dogs, and Cats that could be found. The noisome Smell of such a Place being sufficient to kill or poison the strongest, or make the most resolute loose their Senses. Not satisfied with shutting up those poor People in that horrid Place, he invented a particular Way to duck them in that stinking Mire, tying their Hands and one of their Feet behind them with small Cords, and by the help of a Pulley, which he had fix'd to the Beams of the Prison, he drew them up with their Faces downward, then let them fall into it, they not being able to stop their Mouths or Noses, or to help themselves any other way; and in this Situation they were kept as long as that merciless Fellow thought they had any Life remaining. *Abraham Bernardin*, *Peter Roy*, *Daniel Roy*, *John Poing*, *James Fradin*, and one *Montasser*, all of the Borough of *Moncaustan*, underwent this dismal Torture; the small Cords which tied their Wrists were sunk so deep into their Flesh, that they were with Difficulty untied. I will not swell up this Article with any more Instances, but shall close it with this Observation. There

There are two Things which plainly shew that this late Persecution exceeded any of the Heathen Persecutions in the first Ages of the Church.

The first is, That under the Reign of the most cruel Tyrants, the Ministers of the Church were admitted to visit those confin'd for Religion's Sake, and to administer to them those Comforts they mostly stood in need of, as it appears by *St. Cyprian* *. We also find in the *Acts of the Antient Martyrs* (published by *Father Ruinart*) that sometimes they administred the Sacrament of Baptism. But the Prisons and Dungeons where our Brethren the Reformed were shut up, have been opened only to the Ministers of the *Popish Religion*, who, by their pernicious Endeavours to seduce them, afflicted their Souls more than the Burden of their Fetters, or any other Hardships their Bodies endur'd. As for their own Pastors they were strictly forbidden, under severe Penalties, even Death, or the Gallies, to approach any of them; which Penalties were immediately inflicted upon those who, not dreading their Enemies Threats, were generous enough to discharge their Duty at the Peril of Life and Liberty.

The second runs upon that rigorous Prohibition of comforting each other, nay even themselves, by singing of Psalms or Canticles. We read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that at Mid-Acts xvi. night those faithful Ministers of *Christ lifted up* ^{25.} *their Hearts and Voices to God, with Hymns and Prayers.* And the *Acts of Ancient Martyrs* afford us many Instances of the same kind.

* D 4

Even

* *St. Cyprian Epist. Lib. iii. Epist. 15.* At least he says plainly, that such Liberty had been formerly allowed to Priests and Deacons, to visit the Prisoners, and to instruct and comfort them.

Even that Comfort was denied our Brethren the Reformed, by those who call themselves the *Catholick* and *Apostolick Church*. The Jaylors, who never interrupted those who sang profane, wicked, and impious Songs, would never allow these to sing Psalms, and often severely punished those that did it contrary to their Prohibitions.

I shall here put an End to this, and proceed to the third Article.

A R T I C L E III.

Of the Indignities, Hardships, and barbarous Usages offered the Reformed in several Places, commonly known by the Names of the HOUSE OF PROPAGATION at Ufex, the MANUFACTORY at Bourdeaux, and the HOSPITAL of Valence, &c.

I Am now going to offer my Reader an Account of other Barbarities, together with a Scene of such Cruelties, and inhuman Usages, unheard of, even among the *Cannibals*, or *Hot-tentots*, and which the Eye cannot behold, or the Tongue utter, without Horror; but shall first begin with the Hardships and Indignities offered the Reformed in the *House of Propagation* at *Ufex*, and the *Manufactory* of *Bourdeaux*.

*The House
of Propagation
at
Ufex.*

There was, at *Ufex* in *Languedoc*, a House commonly known by the Name of the PROPAGATION-HOUSE, under the Care and Direction of four Women, who were likewise known by the Names of PROPAGATION-MAIDS. This
was

was the Place where the Women and Maids who withstood the *Dragoonade* were confin'd in, and here they were daily persecuted. It happened that one of these *Propagation-Maids* went one Day to the Intendant, to complain of the rough Answers she received from some poor persecuted Girls, and to let him know how ill-disposed they were to be converted. The Intendant, who was M. *De Berville*, well known for his Behaviour towards the Reformed of *Languedoc*, ordered immediately that those Maids (the eldest of whom was not above twenty-two Years of Age, and the youngest about twelve) should be whipt like Children; (they were ten in Number :) For the Execution of which Orders, there were Soldiers placed Centinels at the Doors; two Priests came in with the Major of the Regiment of *Vivonne*, and the Judge, whose Name was *Larnac*, Subdelegate to the Intendant. These poor Victims were brought before them, the *Propagation-Maids* turned up their Cloaths, even their Shifts, and whipt them severely with a Cat-of-nine-Tails, with small Bullets tied to the end of the Cords, 'till their Cries were heard in the Streets; nevertheless they encouraged each other in the Name of Christ, to undergo this shameful Punishment with Patience. After this they were all shut up in a dark Dungeon.

Of the MANUFACTORY of Bourdeaux.

This *Manufactory* was another Place where Women were shut up, when they could not be brought to abjure their Religion by any other Methods, or those who were taken up as they were making their Escape out of the Kingdom; for in such a Case the Men were all sent to the Galleys, and this Place may properly be called the

Of the Manufactory at Bourdeaux.

the

the Gallies for Women. Much Work they had here to do, and very little Food; besides other Hardships, the perpetual Endeavours made use of to seduce them to renounce their Religion, was an ordinary Torture to them in itself. Their Labours must needs be very hard, and their Troubles and Vexations very great, since, to get rid of them, several amongst them attempted Things far above the Weakness of their Constitutions, and Timorousness of their Sex. Sixteen or seventeen of them made their Escape into *England*; some charitable Persons, moved with their sad Conditions, which had lasted already seven Years, furnished them with Ropes and Pullies to let themselves out of the Windows; neither the Darkness of the Night, nor the Height of the Place which they were to come down at, which was fifteen Fathoms deep, nor the Foresight of many Dangers which they must needs expose themselves to, nor the Consequences which might have attended their Escape, were able to deter or dishearten them; so great were the hard Usage and ill Treatments they received in their Captivity.

The Resolution taken by one of their Fellow-Sufferers, namely, Mrs. *Frances Pastre*, of the Province of *Bearn*, is a further Evidence that their Sufferings were intolerable. As she went to draw Water in a Jarr, out of a Well which lay at the Bottom of a very large Garden belonging to that House, she resolved to make use of the Opportunity this vile Employment offered her; she betook herself to force a Hedge twelve Foot high; and very thick, which was thought impenetrable to the strongest Man. Having no Instrument, she struggled with her Head and Hands, without being disheartened with her Fatigue, or the Blood which ran down
her

her Face, Arms and Breast, till she forced herself a Passage through this strong twisted Hedge. She was so overjoyed to see herself at Liberty, that neither the Darknes of the Night, nor the heavy Rains that fell upon her, nor the unknown Ways through which she past, not knowing where she went, nor the deep Ditch, full of Water and Mud wherein she fell, and sunk almost to her Neck, nor the Hunger with which she was tormented, nor the Hard-heartedness of the Papists, who refused her Bread to eat, and a little Straw to lie upon, no, nothing could stop her, or oblige her to return back to the *Manufactory*, out of which she so happily made her Escape, at the Peril of her Life. At last Almighty God afforded her Assistance to get out of *France*. A Gentleman, who had been a Prisoner with her in the City of *Bordeaux* for the same Cause, having Notice of the sad Condition she was in, sent for her to his House, some Leagues distant from the Place where she lodged. When she was arrived, nothing was omitted for her Comfort, and the Recovery of Health, which was much impaired. Three Weeks after, that Gentleman sent her to *Bordeaux*, paid for all the Charges and Expences she was at during the time she was there concealed, and till she found a Ship which brought her over to *England*, where she had the Good Fortune to meet a Sister, who received her with Joy, and took constant Care of her afterwards.

When they were condemned to hard Labour in this Prison, their Food was only Bread and Water, and that too distributed to them sparingly; every day they were treated like Persons who deserved the publick Hatred and utmost Contempt. Mrs. *Martha* and *Rebecca Treu-* Of several
peau, and *Isabeau Gorin*, being seized aboard other Wo-
men.

a ship, as they were endeavouring to make their Escape, were brought to *Bourdeaux*, and refusing to go to *Mals*, they were there confin'd, with a Child of nine Years old, and separated from each other; from thence they were removed to a Dungeon, then from that Dungeon to another, where they remained, lying upon Straw for two Months; they were afterwards condemned for Life to Hard-Labour in the *Manufactory*. An old Aunt of those two Sisters, notwithstanding her Years, had been condemned to the same Place, after having performed a Penance in the Town of *St. Foy*, only for having said to the Curate of that Place, That she wish'd, and hoped to die in the Communion of the Reformed Church. She soon died after her Confinement.

Mrs. *Mary Lavé* of the same Town, was treated in the very same manner, for having spoken the same Words. Mrs. *Jenny Albert* of *La Rochefoucault* in *Xaintonge*, with her Daughter, were both arrested at *Tournay*, as they were endeavouring to escape out of *France*, and sent into a Dungeon, where they were confined for three Months, afterwards condemned to have their Heads shaved by the common Hangman, then to be sent to *Bourdeaux* to spend the Remainder of their Days in Hard-Labour at the *Manufactory*. Several other Gentlewomen shared the same Fate.

Tho' these ways of dealing with honest People might seem very strange, and even provoke the Indignation of those who had not quite shaken off all Humanity; yet 'tis but a Trifle compared with the horrible and scandalous Abuses for a long while committed in the HOSPITAL OF VALENCE in *Dauphiné*, where that Monster LA RAPINE, or more properly D'HERA-

PINE, had the Direction, who was as much renowned for Cruelty, as the Tyrant *Pbalaris*. He us'd the Reformed committed to his Care with such Inhumanity, that his very Name fills every one's Mind with Horrour even to this very Day.

The HOSPITAL of Valence.

The first Object which presented it self to any one, that had the Misfortune to be condemned to this Place, was that unmerciful Fellow *D'Herapine*; his fierce Countenance, incensed Looks, threatning Gestures, and passionate Expressions, fill'd their very Souls with Horrour, and forebode them what they were to expect from a Man of such a Temper.

Of the Hospital of Valence.

Some Gentlewomen being sent thither from different Places, where their Constancy could not be shaken, sometimes he spoke to them to this Effect: *Ladies, you are to chuse either Death or Life; if you will be present at our religious Exercises, I promise you Life. I do not ask you to hear Mass, no, no, but only to be present at our other Exercises, designed for the Edification of the Poor, for whose Benefit this House was erected; If you do it willingly (which you had best do, or you will be forced to do it) you shall be well us'd; but if you are obstinate, we shall deal with you as Reprobates, who deserve neither Pity nor Mercy. There are no Pains nor Tortures which we shall not inflict upon you, if you do not comply with our Church.*

Mrs. *De La Farrelle*, one of these Ladies, answered him, and proved by good Arguments, that she nor her Companions could not, without wounding their Consciences, join in any part of their religious Worship. Do not, replied *D'Herapine*, make so many Words, you must

Of Mrs. La Farrelle.

must without Delay chuse either Life or Death. The same Lady answered, We do not value our Lives, when our Salvation and the Glory of God lies at stake. Let the Dungeons be open'd, cried *D'Herapine*, and their Clothes stripp'd from off their Backs; you shall be cudgel'd 'till you are cloy'd, said he, calling them a thousand ill Names. He therefore order'd them to be shut up, two by two, in different Dungeons, where they had only a little Straw to lie upon, and a dirty, ragged Quilt to cover them; in these Dungeons were several Bundles of Sticks laid all ready at his hands to beat them. The first Day that *Mrs. De La Farrelle* and her Companions were confin'd in this Place, they had some Bread and an Apple, with some Raisins; this was good Living, considering how they fared afterwards; for Drink they had only some Dregs, and that sparingly, of which they could not drink. They desired the Woman who waited on them to bring them some Water, which she did; but such as she took up out of the Sink where all the Filth and Nastiness of the House ran into.

The said Lady, whose Memoirs have been graciously communicated to me, says, That one Day, being tormented with hunger, she transgressed, and went beyond her Orders, which were, not to come near the Windows, or speak to any one that Way; being very much pressed with hunger, and regardless of their terrible Threats, she called out to a Boy, who was going by, desiring him to beg a Piece of Bread for her, for which she paid dearly afterwards; one of the Women Attendants in a Passion nailed up the Windows, which deprived them of all means of seeing what sort of Provision was brought them. The Bread was so bad,
that

that it took them more time in cleaning than eating. Their Food was a few Tares, with some Greens, boil'd in Water and Salt, which they eat with this dirty Bread, without Butter, or any thing else. This poor sort of Victuals were carried them by a dirty, lousy Boy of the Hospital, all over scabby, and continually scratching himself whilst he carried it. What Provision could this be for a Lady of Fortune and Quality, who had been us'd to live delicately, and always waited on with Respect.

Let our Condition be never so miserable, the Conversation of good Men our Fellow-Sufferers, and good Examples, are great Helps, not only to allay our Pains, but even to lessen the Sense of them. *D'Herapine* knew this very well; being not contented with separating those who were there confin'd for Religion one from the other, he chose to shut them up with most profligate Wretches, Women, who were condemned to this Place for their Lewdness: By these means the Reformed Prisoners found themselves not only expos'd to their scandalous Conversation, and loose Behaviour, but also every Day in Danger of being assaulted by them. Mrs. *De La Farrelle* underwent all these Hardships, an Account of which I shall give you in her own Words.

‘ I was carried, very much dishearten'd, into
 ‘ a little dirty, muddy Place called the Closet,
 ‘ there were in it three small Beds, upon which
 ‘ lay six leud Women, two by two; I ask'd
 ‘ where I was to lie, but they took to their
 ‘ Beds without giving me any Answer. *Claudia*,
 ‘ one of the Servants, call'd to me, in a Passion,
 ‘ not to disturb them, and to be silent; they
 ‘ undressed themselves, said their Litany and
 ‘ lay down; I was oblig'd to lie upon the
 2 Floor,

‘ Floor, without any thing to cover me ; one
 ‘ of these Women, being mov’d with Com-
 ‘ passion, threw me a Quilt to cover me, which
 ‘ was both ragged and nasty, nevertheless, I
 ‘ made use of it, as well as I could. As the
 ‘ Clofet was very little, I lay in such a Posture
 ‘ that part of my Body was under the Bed of
 ‘ an old Woman who had been there several
 ‘ Years, who, besides a Quartan-Ague, was
 ‘ afflicted with the Bloody-Flux, that obliged
 ‘ her to get up very often in the Night; and
 ‘ which was still more disagreeable, her Cham-
 ‘ ber-pot was close to my Nose. This poor
 ‘ Creature’s Weakness and Distemper hinder’d
 ‘ not the Governess, who was another *D’He-*
 ‘ *rapine*, from forcing her to get up to work
 ‘ as early as the rest ; she could not get out of
 ‘ her Bed and Clofet without crossing over me,
 ‘ as I lay, the Lice dropping from her upon
 ‘ me in abundance as she mov’d. Over my
 ‘ Head was a continual Noise, and every day
 ‘ I heard somebody reading with a loud Voice,
 ‘ (that I might hear them,) these Words of the
 ‘ Prophet *Jeremiah*, *I intended to cure Babylon,*
 ‘ *but she was unwilling to be cured ; let her alone.*
 ‘ Lord, says I to my self, if they take us to be
 ‘ that *Babylon*, why do they not let us alone,
 ‘ as the *Holy-Ghost* commands them, instead of
 ‘ tormenting us to the utmost ?

‘ They imagin’d that I lay, in this Place, too
 ‘ near my poor Sisters, (I mean in Sufferings,)
 ‘ so they remov’d me from the Clofet into the
 ‘ Prison, where I had been before, where they
 ‘ confin’d me with two Lewd Women, which
 ‘ they thought I should reckon a Shame and
 ‘ Dishonour; but far from that, I rejoiced at
 ‘ it, since my dear and glorious Redeemer
 ‘ thought me worthy to partake, for his Name’s
 ‘ sake

' fake, of the same Disgrace which he underwent
 ' for my Salvation, having been ranked a-
 ' mongst Malefactors. The Difference between
 ' these poor Wretches and my self was only this;
 ' they had Straw for their Beds, and I had only
 ' the bare Floor, with a very poor Coverlet;
 ' one of these Women having her Head shaved,
 ' *D'Herapine* broke four Cudgels upon her
 ' Head in my Presence, telling me at the same
 ' time, that if for eight Days, I continued ob-
 ' stinate, he would serve me in the same Manner,
 ' for the Corruption of my Doctrine, as he did
 ' her for the Corruption of her Morals. I an-
 ' swered, Sir, you may beat me, or kill me, if
 ' you please, but 'tis out of your power to alter
 ' my Mind, or force me to change my Reli-
 ' gion, which I hope, with the Assistance of
 ' God Almighty, to preserve pure and undefiled
 ' to the last Moment of Life; that I was sur-
 ' prized to find Men of Understanding endea-
 ' vouring to convert People by such Methods,
 ' so very opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel;
 ' and that he ought to be persuaded, that, were
 ' it not for any other Reason, such a Spirit of
 ' Persecution would be always sufficient to breed
 ' in every Breast an ill Opinion of the *Roman*
 ' Religion. This Answer drew upon me nothing
 ' else but ill Names and Threatnings, which
 ' he continued daily. One day especially, *Clau-*
 ' *dia*, the Servant came to me and said, that
 ' they were about bringing me a Pan full of
 ' burning Coals to put the Soles of my Feet in,
 ' that I might know and feel how pleasant it
 ' would be to burn in *Hell*.'

The same Lady relates in her Memoirs,
 that they heard from every side, the Cries of
 those who were tortured for remaining stedfast
 in their Religion.

‘ The very Day we came to this Hospital,
 ‘ *says she*, we heard the Cries of several Persons
 ‘ whom they endeavoured to force with Sticks,
 ‘ into the Chapel, and to kneel down before the
 ‘ Host; these Persons were a Gentlewoman of Qua-
 ‘ lity and the Daughters of that glorious Martyr
 ‘ Mr. *Ducros*, an Attorney in the City of *Nimes*,
 ‘ and four of my own Kinwomen. If the hearing
 ‘ of their Bastinadoes and Cries pierc’d our Hearts,
 ‘ when unknown, how great was our Grief when
 ‘ we understood who they were and how they
 ‘ suffered? Above our Dungeon was a Woman of
 ‘ *Nimes*, who was most inhumanly beat, for only
 ‘ making a wry Mouth at their Mass, which
 ‘ displeas’d them; this poor Woman’s Cries
 ‘ went to my Heart: but these things were or-
 ‘ dinary, every day affording some new In-
 ‘ stances. They did not much mind what Parts
 ‘ of the Body their Blows fell upon, the Face,
 ‘ Nose, Eyes or any other, always aiming at
 ‘ the tenderest Parts, which they cruelly bruis’d;
 ‘ if any one spoke a Word in behalf of our Re-
 ‘ ligion, or did not immediately learn a Cate-
 ‘ chism which *D’Herapine* ordered to be learnt
 ‘ by heart, they were sure to be cudgel’d; or if
 ‘ they had Courage enough to say they never
 ‘ would forsake their Religion, or refus’d to
 ‘ go to Chapel, they were sure to receive the
 ‘ same Punishment under which several of them
 ‘ lost their Lives.’

The Spirit of Cruelty spread itself from
 the Director down to all the Servants, Men
 and Women; all Meekness or good Usage,
 nay common Decency was banish’d from
 amongst them; nothing was to be seen or
 heard but outrageous Violences. As a poor
 Woman, a Prisoner, was advising *Claudia* not

to

to use Mrs. *De la Farelle* in such a rude Manner, for praying to her God in her own Way: She prays to the Devil, said the Maid; and at that, ran to the said Lady, and struck her on the Face with a Bunch of Keys; which Blow, two Days after, occasioned her to lose two of her Teeth. Here is another Particular which plainly shows the Character of *D'Herapine*, and how much those who were put under his Care ought to be upon their guard, to avoid Snares continually laid for them: ' I know, says Mrs. *La Farelle*, ' he wanted only a Pretence to abuse me; one ' day, as we were disputing, he lifted up his ' Hand to box me, but went no further, for ' indeed, he did me no other harm, himself, than ' pinching me severely; the Hospital-Boys used ' to beat me by his Orders, but they were so ' young that I felt it very little. Once he ' made me fast for twenty-four Hours, and late ' in the Evening, he sent *Claudia* with a bit of ' Bread, she stay'd a while with me, abusing ' me and thrusting me against the Door; I was ' not at all moved at that ill Usage, but I desired ' *Claudia* to tell Mr. *D'Herapine*, that I earnestly ' desired him, since he allow'd me no other ' Food than Bread, that he would be pleased to ' order me some Butter with it; upon which, ' she gave me a volley of ill Language, and ' said, *Dost thou think it belongs to thee to eat ' white Bread? thou, who dost not deserve to eat ' even of what is given to the Dogs; if we could ' feed thee with Straw, as Mules, we would do ' it.* I returned no Answer, nor spoke any ' more about the Bread, but desired her to tell ' the Governess that she would find in my ' Purse some Needles and Thread, which she ' gave me to work for her; she left me in a

‘Passion, saying, *You may go to the D—l.*
 ‘When she opened the Door, I saw *D’Herapine*
 ‘with a Stick in his Hand, and heard him
 ‘very inquisitive about what I had said, but
 ‘finding that he had no plausible Pretence for
 ‘abusing me, he went away.’

Besides all these hard Usages, their Patience was tried likewise by hard Labour, Gentlewomen of Quality not being exempted from it. Among the rest were some young Gentlewomen of *Vivarais*, one of which, was Daughter to the Marquis of *St. Florent*, who were obliged to work from Morning till Night, and to do all the Drudgery of the House; in the Evening, they were employed in other Works ’till late at Night, without having any time allowed to rest themselves, or scarce to wipe off their Sweat.

They were also obliged to hold Disputes with several Monks and Priests, particularly with an Apostate Minister, who by his Sophistry, endeavoured to make them Followers of his Infidelity. After about six Months Slavery in this Place, she was set at liberty. She underwent these severe Trials in this and five other Prisons, where she had been confined before, without ever doing the least Thing against her own Conscience. Her Son was obliged to pay her Pension to the Bishop of *Valence*, after the rate of ten Crowns per Month, tho’ she had been entertained in the Manner above-mentioned.

I shall subjoin here another Instance of *D’Herapine’s* cruel and inhuman Disposition.

Of Mr. *Menuret*. Mr. *Menuret*, an Attorney at *Montelimar*, had distinguished himself by his exemplary Life, and when the Dragoons were sent into *Dauphiné*, he strengthened his Brethren by his Exhortations

tions and Examples. The Governour of *Montelimar* caused him to be arrested, and shut up for three Months in a Chamber, with only a poor Mattress to lie upon ; then he threw him into a frightful Dungeon, where he went joyfully, comforting his Friends, saying that they ought to rejoice for their being call'd to suffer for God's sake. He was confined in this Dungeon for three Months, 'till his Body was swelled with the Dampness of the Place ; from thence he was removed to the Hospital of *Valence*. He was no sooner arrived, but *D'Herapine*, with a fiery Countenance, told him, that he would soon see whether he should be so obstinate with him as he had been with others ; he shut him up in a little dark Closet over the Sink of the Hospital, with only some Pieces of Board to lie on ; there was in the Closet a Hole that went into the Chapel, thro' which they would force him to hear Mass, but being of an undaunted Resolution, his Tormentor made use of his last Remedies ; he bid him come down in the Yard, he ordered his Clothes and Shirt to be torn off, had him tied by his Arms to a Mulberry-Tree, so high that his Feet could not touch the Ground, then he had him cudgell'd by his Servants with a Bull's Pizzle ; thus he serv'd him every day for a Fortnight, 'till his Blood gush'd out thro' all the Passages of his Body. All this time, in the midst of these dreadful Torments, our blessed Martyr prayed to God, that out of his Mercy, he would forgive his Tormentors, he intreated them to pity his great Sufferings : at last, at the Instance of two Capuchins, *D'Herapine* ceased, for a time, to torment him after that manner, and employ'd him to carry Stones.

But on the first of *April* the Bishop of *Valence* came to visit him, and being not able to pervert him, either by Promises or Threats, *D'Herapine* was so much enraged at it, that he ordered two of his Servants to cudgel him with the same Instrument, which they did with such Violence, and so long, that he was heard from the Streets adjacent to the Hospital. He was removed into another Dungeon, which was under the Place where *Mrs. De La Farelle* was, and so near, that they could hear one another. About two in the Morning he ask'd her who she was, and of what Province? When his Curiosity was satisfied, he exhorted her to Constancy and Perseverance, acquainted her with his own Sufferings, that he was in such low Condition that he could not live long, and that they were going to carry him into the Infirmary.

It is to be supposed, that *D'Herapine* had ordered his Servants to let him know when this good Man should lie at the Point of Death, for he came about that time with a Crucifix in his Hand, and would oblige him to kiss it; which refusing constantly to do, he, in a Rage, pulled him out of his Bed, dragged him upon the Floor, and threw him against the Wall with such a Violence, that he fractured his Skull, and so expired upon the Spot. Then he had his Corps tied to a Horse's Tail, and dragg'd three times round about the Garden, and threw it away without any Form of Burial. A Person who was an Eye witness of these Barbarities, and whose Testimony may be depended on, hath certified this.

I shall subjoin here the Case of a Gentlewoman, who was my near Relation; she was about twenty Years of Age, married to an Advocate

Advocate in the Parliament of *Orange*; she was mistaken for the Reverend Dr. *De Chambrun's* Wife, brought to *Valence*, and put into the Hands of the merciless *D'Herapine*, who, at the first sight, broke all her Teeth with a Stroke of a Bunch of Keys. The next day he stripp'd her stark naked, and hang'd her up by the Arm-pits, then whipt her till she was all over Blood. He continued this cruel Usage for three Weeks together, till she had lost the right Use of her Senses, which she never recovered fully afterwards. She was for six or seven Weeks in that House. When her Husband had found out where she was confined, he solicited for her Deliverance, which he obtained. She was brought back to *Orange*, from which she went out a little after the Peace of *Ryfwick*, and retired to *Geneva*, where she died suddenly about eight Years after.

I believe, indeed, that *D'Herapine* went in some respects further than his Commission. I don't think, for Instance, that he had Orders to use the Sex with such Immodesty, as well as Inhumanity. Nevertheless, it was publickly known that he did. The Parliament of *Grenoble*, other inferiour Courts, the Bishop of *Valence*, &c. had at several times received bitter Complaints upon that Subject; nay, these Complaints were brought to Court, and reached even the Ears of the most Christian King. Why then did they not put a stop to it? Are we unreasonable or unjust when we conclude, according to the Maxim, *That he who can in any wise stop the Evil, and does not do it, is guilty of the same*; that the King, the Court, the Parliament, the Bishops, &c. were as much guilty as *D'Herapine* of all the Excesses he committed against those put under

his Care. This does not require any further Proof: Let us proceed to another Instance of the inhuman and cruel Spirit of Popery.

A R T I C L E IV.

Of the barbarous Usage the Reformed met with in the Gallies.

* **I**F a Man who keeps no Bounds in the Punishments he inflicts, even upon Criminals, deserves to be deemed INHUMAN, what Name shall we bestow upon those who have inflicted the most cruel and barbarous Punishments on Men of Honour and Probity? Men, who have exposed themselves to all manner of Hardships, and forsaken all worldly Advantages, rather than to sin against God, or do any thing against their Conscience.

Criminals who have broke through all the Laws of God and Men, and deserved the severest Punishments the Law can inflict, have sometimes found Mercy from the Tribunals of Justice, but the poor Reformed of *France*, far from receiving either Favour or Mercy from their Judges or Jailors, or any other that had Power over them, have met with the dreadfulest Effects of Hatred, and of the most bigotted and furious Zeal of their Enemies, who made it their daily Study to invent new Tortures to torment them.

To

* Illos ego crudeles vocabo, qui puniendi causam habent, sicut in *Phalari*, quem aiunt non quidem in homines innocentes, sed super humanum ac probabilem modum sœvisse. *Seneca De Clem. Lib. ii. Cap. 4. Edit. Par. apud Gramoisy.*

To give the Publick some Notion of the Justice of these Complaints, we shall begin with those Persons of Quality, who have been condemned to the cruel and infamous Punishment of the Gallies. It is not without Reason that I call it infamous, since, according to the Laws, none are condemned to it, but such as have rendred themselves unworthy to live in the Society of honest Men. The Supreme Tribunals would not suffer the inferiour Courts to condemn any of another Character to them; those Courts durst not commit an Injustice so contrary, not only to Laws, but also to Decency. But what Laws, Honour or Conscience do not allow, the Catholick Zeal has boldly authoriz'd, justify'd and practis'd.

The Gallies of *France* have not only been fill'd up with honest Commoners, (charg'd with no other Crime, than strictly adhering to Principles they were born and bred up in, and which appeared to them pure and holy, and agreeable to the Word of God) but even with many Persons, distinguished by their Birth, Merit, Character and Station in Society; such were the illustrious Messieurs *De Marolles* and *Le Fevre*, the first one of the King's Council, the second an Advocate at *Chatel-Chinon*, both deserving Place among the most glorious Martyrs; the *Baron de Mont-beton*, and Mr. *De Salgas*, &c. whose Quality and Age commanded Respect from every one. Grey Hairs, which ought to have been exempted from such Punishments, were not at all regarded; their Hatred against Truth prevailed above all other Considerations; they loaded with Chains Persons sinking under the Burthen of Years, Men of sixty and seventy Years of Age have been condemned to such Pains and Labours, under
which

Isaiah
xlvi. 6.

which the young, healthy, and strong have often sunk. We may indeed say of the new *Babylon*, what *Isaiah* said of the old, *Thou didst shew my People no Mercy; upon the Ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy Yoke.* The Ministers of the Gospel were not exempted from the Gallies, tho' their Education and Profession rendered them incapable of performing the part of Slaves. Mr. *Grimaudet*, formerly Minister in *Vivarais*, was forced to wear the Chain, notwithstanding the Weakness of his Constitution and old Age; and had it not been for his Infirmities, which render'd him incapable of plying the Oar, he had, as well as others, groan'd and died under the unmerciful hands of the Comites.

It was some time before, that all *Europe* saw with Horror a Company of Divines sent from *Hungary* to the Gallies of *Naples*, for preferring the Commands of the *King of Kings* before those of any earthly Prince, and the Generosity of Admiral *Ruyter* in releasing them will always be remembered with Gratitude.

When our Confessors arrived at *Marseilles*, they were stripp'd of their own Clothes, and had others given them, which were called the King's Coats. They are a red Surcoat of coarse Cloath, with a great Coat of the same, two Shirts, and two Pair of Breeches of very bad Linnen, a red Cap, and a Pair of coarse Stockings, the Chain making also a Part of their sad Accoutrements. Their Food was equal to their Dress: When in Port, they had coarse Bread, Water, and a few Beans; but, when on a Cruize, they had better Bread, a small Quantity of Wine in the Morning, and the same at Noon, or in the Evening. To render these blessed Sufferers Condition worse than that of Criminals,

Criminals, they were used with some Severities which others were exempted from; and to expose them the more to the Insults of the Publick, they wore blue Caps, instead of red, as a Mark of Distinction; they were forced to fetch Water for the whole Crew. Thus these Men of Honour were obliged to serve Fellows, whom they hardly would have admitted among their Servants. They were likewise obliged to work daily in the King's Store-houses, chain'd together two and two, but generally a Reformed and a Turk, every one devising new Methods to draw upon them the publick Scorn and Hatred, which succeeded so well, that there were few that did not abuse them one way or other. The wickedest and lewdest of the whole Crew were associated with them; these, by their Cursing, Swearing, Blaspheming, and other Discourse, continually afflicted them. The * *Argousins* * An Under-Officer of the Galley. were more averse to them than any of the rest. The † *Comites* looked on them as proper Objects for their Cruelties; a few Captains and † Another Officer somewhat superior. Commanders, who had Honour enough not to follow blindly the Church's bloody Maxims, were mov'd with Pity at these guiltless People's Sufferings; all the rest took a Delight to incense the Under-Officers Cruelty: The Major himself not being ashamed to do a Comite's Function, and to cane these honest Men. The Missionaries and Chaplains of the Gallies signalized themselves by their inhuman Zeal, by provoking other People's Hatred, and heightning their Cruelty against the Confessors; and by several other Methods which they found out to torture them. Let us hear what one of these blessed Sufferers says upon this Subject.

‘ The Missionaries of *Marseilles*, who, very likely, had received full Power over us from
 ‘ the

' the King, behaved like Foxes for the first
 ' Year, but soon after took it in their Heads
 ' to fight against us like Lions. To cover their
 ' Malice, they pretended an Order had been
 ' sent them to preach on board several Gallies ;
 ' I happened at that time to be on board
 ' a Galley called the *Old Reale*, which had no
 ' Captain ; the Missionaries performed the Of-
 ' fice of Chaplains by Turns ; they not only
 ' became Captains, but even Commanders by
 ' the Authority they usurped and exercised over
 ' the Reformed Slaves: Their Mission lasted
 ' about a Month. I shall not here relate their
 ' silly Discourses, nor their abusive Language
 ' against the Reformed in general, during which
 ' Time we were us'd civiller than ordinarily,
 ' thinking, to be sure, by their Sophistry, and
 ' feign'd Moderation, to ensnare us ; but find-
 ' ing themselves deceived, they fell upon us
 ' like Lions. Among the rest was one *Mi-*
 ' *rouër*, who said aloud, he would find Means
 ' to bring us to Compliance ; he began with an
 ' Order to put us in Chains, separated one from
 ' another, forbidding to admit any one not be-
 ' longing to the Galley to speak to us. One
 ' Evening whilst we were at Prayers, this Man
 ' walking through the Coursey, looking on
 ' every side, saw me standing in my great Coat
 ' at the Oar's Ring, he ask'd, (as if he did
 ' not know me) who is that Man? sure he is
 ' one of the Reformed ; ah ! how well he de-
 ' serves to be cudgel'd. Not satisfied with
 ' having us all in Chains, in order to vex us
 ' the more, he, of his own Authority, order'd
 ' some of the inferiour Officers to shut us up
 ' every Night in a Place where they kept Sheep
 ' and Turkeys, through which all the Filth and
 ' Nastiness of the Galley run out. This Or-
 ' der was immediately executed, and all our
 ' Fellow-

‘ Fellow-Slaves, old and young, were obliged
 ‘ to lie in this Filth and Dung.

‘ The same Missionary return’d some Weeks
 ‘ after, and began to vex and torment us, or-
 ‘ dering, that if we did not alter our Thoughts,
 ‘ we should be shut up at Night in some other
 ‘ like Places. Finally, he, with some other
 ‘ Missionaries, and the Chaplains of the Gal-
 ‘ leys, sent their Complaints to Court about our
 ‘ Obstinacy, and petitioned for an Order to
 ‘ force us by all means imaginable to do what
 ‘ they called *our Duty*. The Order was granted,
 ‘ and sent to Mr. *De Monteaulieu*, chief Flag-
 ‘ Officer of the Gallies; which run thus, *That*
 ‘ *all pretended Reformed in the Gallies should*
 ‘ *be kneeling and uncover’d during Mass, with*
 ‘ *their Faces turn’d to the Stem, where their Di-*
 ‘ *vine Service was performed; and if they dis-*
 ‘ *obeyed, they should be bastinado’d to death.*
 ‘ This Order was notified to each of us, and
 ‘ executed by Mr. *De Bombet*, Major of the Gal-
 ‘ leys, with all imaginable Cruelty and Inhu-
 ‘ manity; which forc’d several to comply, and
 ‘ had not God inspired others with an undaun-
 ‘ ted Courage, as he did in the time of *Shadrach*,
 ‘ *Mesbach* and *Abednego*, I do not know what
 ‘ would become of our poor floating Church.
 ‘ Where is the Man that would not tremble at
 ‘ the Sight of such a Torture, let him be ever so
 ‘ stedfast, or resigned to God’s Will, seeing him-
 ‘ self stark naked in the Hands of four Turks,
 ‘ who stretch him upon the Canon of the *Cour-*
 ‘ *sey*, and hold him so fast that he cannot stir,
 ‘ a mournful Silence being at this time obser-
 ‘ ved through the whole Galley? the Scene is
 ‘ so dismal and cruel, that the most profligate,
 ‘ obdurate Wretches cannot bear the Sight
 ‘ thereof. The Victim thus prepared, a Turk,
 ‘ who

' who is pitch'd upon for the Execution, with a
 ' tough Wand, or a knotted Rope's End dipt
 ' in the Sea beats his Body, till the Flesh
 ' swells some Inches, he performing his Of-
 ' fice the more willingly as he thinks it accept-
 ' able to his Prophet *Mabomet*, the Major look-
 ' ing on all the while without the least Con-
 ' cern. The most barbarous of all is, that after
 ' the Skin, and often the Flesh itself is tore
 ' off, the only Remedy they apply, is a little
 ' Vinegar and Salt mix'd together. Criminals
 ' who deserve the utmost Severity of the Law
 ' receive no more than 50 or 60 Lashes at one
 ' time; whereas our poor Confessors have re-
 ' ceived 100, nay 150, which Punishment was
 ' to be repeated every Day, till they were dead,
 ' or had promised to pull off their Cap. Mr. *De*
 ' *Bombet* said, this was the King's Order,
 ' which however was never executed in its full
 ' Extent; I can't tell why, for no body died
 ' under the Punishment, tho' often brought to
 ' the Brink of Death. What a dreadful Mission
 ' was this! Sometimes the Blows which I recei-
 ' ved raised a little Scurf on my Back, and
 ' then others fetch'd out the Matter, which
 ' being turned to Corruption, and expos'd to
 ' the scorching Heat of the Sun, run down to
 ' my Thighs, and caus'd a great Number of
 ' large purulent Boils; these often broke thro'
 ' the violent Motion of tugging at the Oar,
 ' which Fatigue must of course be very great;
 ' for one must rise to fetch his Strokes, then
 ' fall back again almost on his Back: So that
 ' in all Seasons, through the continual and vio-
 ' lent Motion of his Body, the Sweat trickling
 ' down his harass'd Limbs; these Boils are
 ' likewise digesting, running down his Legs to
 ' his Feet, and to the Ground on which he
 ' stands

stands. But lest I should be thought to magnify, I shall forbear speaking any further on this Subject. If I am asked, Whether my Sores were bath'd, or otherwise taken care of? I answer, that this is never done, unless it be to those who receive the Bastinado on the Coursey, &c.'

I shall now subjoin to this Account the Names of some of those blessed Confessors who suffered the Bastinado in the Gallies, for refusing to kneel down before *Baal*.

UPON THE DAUPHINE GALLEY.

Messieurs *Anthony Talon*, *Peter Sauset*, *Abel* and *Stephen D'Amoin*, Lord of *Bousquet*, two Brothers, *James Fausset*, *John Bera* a *Piemontese*, *Frederic Bonnet*, and *Thomas Bernard*; some of them underwent that cruel Punishment several Times.

UPON THE AMAZON.

Messieurs *James Dufour* 120 Blows, *James Gagneux*, *Bartolomew Rossignol*, *John Sesmene*, *John Daudet*, and *John Flosse*.

UPON THE QUEEN.

Messieurs *Bertrand Aurd*, *Peter Tromperan*, *Peter Gay*, *David Vole*, *Peter Richard* twice.

UPON THE GALLEY MADAM.

Messieurs *David Comte* and *Moses Renaud*.

UPON THE PEARL.

Messieurs *Francis Augier*, twice, *James Piedmarin* twice; and they would have undergone a third, had not the Surgeon affirmed, that certainly they would die under the Punishment.

UPON THE HEROINE.

Messieurs *Nicholas Robline* and *Stephen Cros*.

UPON

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UPON THE FAME.

Messieurs *Israël Bouchet*, four times; *Lewis Iffoire*, *John Viaud*, and *Peter Sawvet*. This last died of it.

UPON THE MAGNANIME.

Messieurs *Alexander Astier*, *Simon Pineau*, *Peter Rommezon*, *Anthony Cadpur*, *John Martin*, *William Bon-hote*, each of them twice in one Day. *Cadpur* and *Astier* underwent it a third time. *Daniel Arfac* and *Gabriel Lauron* underwent the same Punishment.

UPON THE SUPERBE.

Messieurs *James Vignes*, and *Francis Serres*.

UPON THE GALANTE.

Messieurs *John Soulage* twice, *John Durand* and *Elias Pichot*.

UPON THE FAVOURITE.

Messieurs *Elias Francis Le Doux*, twice, *Elias Maurin*, thrice in two Days, whereby his Flesh was quite mangled, and his Strength wholly exhausted.

UPON THE FORTUNE.

Messieurs *Peter Serres*, now living at *Paddington*, *Anthony Grange*, *Andrew Pelouquier*, they three twice in two Days; *Michael Chabert*, tho' he lately had one of his Legs broke at the Siege of *Tangier*, underwent a cruel Bastinado before he was cured, and *Clement Patonnier*.

UPON THE WARRIOR.

Messieurs *Peter Carriere*, twice in two Days, *John Cardan*, — *L'Hostalet*, twice in two Days.

UPON THE FAIR.

Messieurs *Peter Quet*, *Abel Commeau*, *John Cazalet*, 110 Blows; *James Rowland*, 120, — *Espace*, the same.

I may very easily increase this Catalogue; but I shall end it with the cruel and barbarous Usage Mr. *Sabbatier* met with from Mr. *De Montfort*, Intendant of *Marseilles*. There was a brotherly Correspondence carried on between Messieurs *De Salgas*, *Sabbatier*, *John Serres*, and some other Protestant Slaves, to and from the Hospital of *Marseilles* and the Gallies, they sent to one another Letters of Comfort, Foreign Gazettes, Money, Linnen, &c. which they conveyed sewed up in a Cushion. It happened one Day, that Mr. *Serres* had forgot to take away the Needle; and as it was hanging to the Cushion, the Secret was thereby discovered. Mr. *De Montfort* being informed thereof, sent for Mr. *Sabbatier*, and threatned him with Death if he did not confess who had written the Letters. *Sabbatier* modestly answered, That he should be very ungrateful did he bring his Friends into trouble by his Confession; that his Person was at his Disposal, but he desired to be excused as to the rest. Whereupon the Intendant told him, he would find a Way to make him confess; whereupon he sent for some *Turks*, and having Mr. *Sabbatier* stripp'd stark naked, they beat him unmercifully with Cudgels and Ropes-ends dipt in the Sea; they continued to torment him in that manner for three Days together, and at last *Montfort* himself turned Executioner, and beat him cruelly with his Cane; and seeing that he was near expiring, he sent him into a Dungeon; he served Mr. *De Lansoniere* after the same manner, and upon the same Account, who died soon after of his Bruises in an Hospital.

I shall end this Article with these four Observations:

*F

1. That

1. That these cruel Usages were quite against all sort of Laws Divine and Human; the Reformed were condemned to the Gallies for refusing to comply with the *Roman Religion*; the Gallies was their Punishment; they ought to have been treated like other Slaves, and not worse, only for Neglect of Duty, or doing any other thing contrary to the Discipline of the Gallies; but it was against all Rules of Equity to abuse them so barbarously for declining to join with them in any part of their idolatrous Worship, since that was the very thing for which they were sent there: Nevertheless they were ordered, on pain of the Bastinado, to bow before the Host, and to hear Mass; so they received a double, treble, &c. Punishment for one and the same Fault, if it had been one; whereas the *Turks* were allowed Liberty whilst Mass was saying, to go into the Caique or Long-Boat, to divert themselves, and were never molested on account of Religion.

2. That nothing has been done against the Reformed in the Gallies, but what was by the Court's Orders. I don't say that *Lewis XIV.* was personally informed of these things, but I mean his Council, and the Officers of his Court, as appears plainly by Major *Bombet's* own Confession. No doubt but the Disappointments of the *Papists* in *England*, who at that time were always plotting against the Government, being backed by the Court of *France*, (whose Endeavours for King *James's* Restoration are too well known to be here mentioned) were a great Incentive to molest and persecute the poor *Reformed* groaning under their Tyranny.

3. I do not know how it came to pass, but it is certain that, from the Year 1701, the *Reformed* condemned to the Gallies for Religion, have

have not been so severely treated as they were before.

Lastly, We most gratefully remember the gracious Intercession of several Princes and States in behalf of those generous Assertors of the Truth, but more especially of the most Glorious Queen ANNE and Queen CAROLINE, at whose Instances a great Number of them have been set at Liberty from time to time, *viz.* 136 in 1713, 70 in 1714, and about 120 at several times during the Reign of King GEORGE I. &c.

A R T I C L E V.

Of TRANSPORTATION:

THE ancient *Romans* condemned to Transportation into some Island, or other remote Country, those who had embezled the publick Treasure, or the Gold of the Temples. Under the Christian Emperors they condemned to the same Punishment the Hereticks, or those that were deemed such. That Custom had been out of Use for several Ages; but our Persecutors renewed it in the last Century, and condemned to Transportation abundance of People, without any regard for their Age, Sex, or Condition, who were guilty of no other Crime but of Steadiness and Perseverance in their Religion, which they thought to be conformable to the Holy Word of God. After having been exposed to a severe Trial, when their Constancy could not be overcome by the Tedioufness of a long Captivity, nor by the Tortures of the Dragoons, they were condemned

to be transported to the *French Plantations in America*, and accordingly sent to *Marseilles*.

I have observed above, that they had no Regard for Age, Sex, or Condition. Not for Age, for in the Ship called the *CONCORD*, which sailed from *Provence* on the 17th of *September 1687*, Captain *Guigue* Commander, there were Women eighty Years old, one of whom died in the Passage; not for Sex, for in the same Ship the Number of Women was equal to the Men, which made up in all 90 Prisoners; not for Condition or Quality, for, besides several Freemen, there were Attorneys, Gentlemen, and even Noblemen, amongst whom was the Baron of *Verliac*.

They had many great Hardships to undergo in their Voyage. First of all, they were so crowded, that they could hardly stir, and were almost stifled. In the Ship called *OUR LADY OF GOOD HOPE*, there was 100 Reformed Prisoners, as many Popish Slaves out of Service, 35 Men of the Crew, 23 Soldiers, and 6 Passengers, she sailed from *Marseilles* on the 12th of *March 1687*, Captain *Peissonnet* Commander. Secondly, The Voyage was long, which much increased the Nuisance, and the Danger of being so crowded, which could hardly be born for a whole Day on any other Occasion; for this last Ship was ten Weeks before they could put in to *Martinico*, and the *CONCORD* was four Months in her Voyage. Thirdly, Amidst so many Troubles, Fears and Dangers, they were not allowed to comfort themselves with singing of Psalms, for Captain *Guigue* threatned them with Death, if they did not desist.

Deprived of all manner of Comfort, on the 17th of *May*, about two in the Morning, the

LADY OF GOOD HOPE was split against the Rocks, about two Leagues off Land, and 20 Leagues from the Place where they were to land, thro' the Carelessness or Ignorance of the Captain and the Pilot; 120 Persons were drowned, amongst whom there were 37 Reformed, viz. 16 Men and 21 Women that underwent the same Fate. When the rest were landed, the Reformed Captives were brought before the Count of *Blenac* Governour of the Island, they were quartered by his Orders upon the Natives, who entertained them as kindly as they could. Happy would they have been, had they been suffered to live quietly amongst those harmless *Americans*; but the Planters, the Governour and the Officers were *French* Papiſts, and the Spirit of Popery was no less fierce and furious here than in *Europe*. The *Jesuits* dispersed every where, that they might settle their Tyranny in all Parts of the World, came to visit Messieurs *Serres* of *Montpellier*, *De Lerpiniere* of *Saumur* and *Pellat* of *Sommieres* that were lodged in a Barn; they endeavoured to seduce them, but being not able to prevail, they caused them to be shut up in a Dungeon, which was made as an Oven, wherein they could not enter but by creeping upon their Hands and Feet, and were obliged to lie down in it amidst their own Filth, having no other Place to ease themselves in, the Chimnies of the *Corps de Guard* closing the Bottom of that Oven, the Heat was so excessive, that jointly with the Stench and Infection, it rendered the Place intolerable; so that after two Days, being not able to bear any longer, they yielded to the Temptation, and subscribed a kind of an Abjuration. Few Days after two of them were transported to *St. Domingo*, where

they had Liberty to work for their Bread; they improved this Opportunity for making their Escape, which after many Accidents, and great Troubles, they perfected about the latter End of the Year 1687. Several others have had the like good Fortune of making their Escape, but many more have perished in those Countries; so that, out of 3000 that were transported, not above 200 have escaped. It is true, that those who have arrived in those Islands after the three Gentlemen above-named, were not treated so severely as they had been, their Consciencés were at Liberty; tho', as to their Bodies, they were obliged to work hard, to till the Ground, &c. to earn their Bread, and had not the Comfort to be together in the same Place, but they parted the Father from his Son, the Husband from his Wife, &c. and sent them into Places far distant one from the other.

A R T I C L E VI.

Of those that have been put to Death.

THOUGH it seem'd that at first our Persecutors aimed at the Destruction of our Souls rather than of our Bodies, nevertheless even that kind of Moderation was but of a short Continuance; provok'd at our Steadiness, they carried things to the last Extremities. True it is, there was no general Massacre ordered against us, as in the former Times, * but several private

* What I say here is but a Judgment of Charity, for if we are to credit Father *La Chaise's Biographer*, that profligate Jesuit had so far prevailed with Lewis XIV. that he

private ones have been perpetrated in several Places by the Court's Orders, and several Persons of every Age, Sex and Quality, have been condemned to Death, and executed juridically.

Let us begin with the private Massacres. The King's Declaration of the 1st of July 1686, forbidding all Religious Assemblies, besides the *Roman Catholicks*, on pain of Death, occasion'd many such ones, especially in *Poitou*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and other Southern Provinces; for, tho' that Declaration ordered not to fire upon those who were met assembled, nevertheless the Marquis of *La Trousse*, the Intendant of *Béville*, and others who were charged to see the King's Edicts and Declarations executed in those Provinces, exceeding their Orders, commanded the Troops which they sent in quest of these Assemblies, to fire upon them, if it was necessary, and to hang upon the spot five or six of the most guilty, and to bring the rest Prisoners. And, lest I should be thought to impose upon the Reader, I shall here insert a Circular Letter of the said Marquis to the Officers of the Troops quarter'd in *Languedoc*, dated at *Montpelier*, the 29th of *March* 1686.

‘ Whatever Care has been taken hitherto to
 ‘ disperse the Assemblies which the Fugitive
 *F 4 ‘ Reformed,

he had persuaded him to consent to a general Massacre, which was to be executed on a certain Day of the Year 1684. The Monarch had been so far bewitched by the Villain, that he had already subscribed the necessary Orders for that barbarous Execution, when the Prince of *Condé* having received Information thereof by the Duke of *Montausier*, came Post from *Chantilly*, where he us'd to live, and cast himself at the King's Feet, and by his Remonstrances and Intreaties, obliged that Prince to revoke his bloody Orders. *Hist du Pere la Chaise, Jesuite & Confesseur du Roy Louis XIV. pag. 228.*

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‘ Reformed, and some new Converts have held
 ‘ in this Province, it hath not yet been possible
 ‘ to effect it. And as it is of Consequence for
 ‘ the King’s Service entirely to extirpate them,
 ‘ I desire you would leave no Stone unturn’d
 ‘ for that Purpose. You may promise as far as
 ‘ an hundred Pistoles to whoever will give you
 ‘ notice of an Assembly, time enough for you
 ‘ to fall upon them with the Troops under
 ‘ your Command. One thing you must take
 ‘ great Notice of is, that they take care to
 ‘ place Centinels about a League from the
 ‘ Place of their Meeting; so that it will be pru-
 ‘ dent for you to take the necessary Precau-
 ‘ tions to seize those Centinels; and when you
 ‘ shall have reached the Place of the Assembly,
 ‘ it will be proper to *knock down some of them,*
 ‘ *and to apprehend as many as possible, out of*
 ‘ *which Number you shall cause five or six of the*
 ‘ *guiltiest to be banged, and the rest you shall*
 ‘ *send to Prison.* Observe, that you must not
 ‘ *fire without Necessity, &c.* Then he promises
 ‘ 100 *Louisd’ors* for a Preacher, and 200 for a
 ‘ Minister; he commands them to be strict,
 ‘ diligent and watchful, lest any Body should
 ‘ escape, and subscribes himself their most obe-
 ‘ dient humble Servant,’ LA TROUSSE.

Tho’ they were not to fire without Necessity,
 nevertheless the Officers, to whom these Or-
 ders were directed, were not over-scrupulous to
 stick to the latter, they gave the greatest Ex-
 tension to these Cases of Necessity prescribed
 unto them, and never failed to begin their Exe-
 cution, by firing upon the Assemblies as soon
 as they were at the Musket-Shot’s Distance,
 whereby several hundreds were destroyed with-
 out Resistance in a short time: But, if they
 were

were so furious before the Court own'd their Proceedings, it is easy to imagine to what Excesses they carried their Rage after the King's Declaration issued out in 1689, whereby he ordered, not only the Troops, but the Peasants, and every one to fire upon them which they should meet assembled for their religious Worship. I dare say, that, by these means, they have massacred, at several Times and Places, from the Year 1685, to the Year 1715, when *Lewis XIV.* died, above 8000 People in that manner: But the greatest Slaughter has been in the Provinces of the high and low *Languedoc*, especially after the Year 1589. Besides those unfortunate Persons who suffered after that Way for their Religion, a great Number of all Ranks, Sex and Age, suffered Death by the Hand of the common Executioner upon the same Account. I shall but just name some of the most remarkable.

Mr. *Chamier*, Advocate at *Montelimar*, was broken alive upon the Wheel before his own House. He was Great-Grandson to the Reverend and Celebrated Dr. *Chamier*, whereof mention has been made under the Reign of *Henry IV.*

The Reverend Mr. *Homel*, Minister of *Soyon* in *Dauphiné*, was broken alive upon the Wheel, in the 72d Year of his Age at *Tournon*.

Mr. *Teissier*, † *Viguiier* of *Durfort*, was † *A Magistrate.* hang'd at *La Salle*.

The Reverend Mr. *Rey*, hang'd at *Beaucair*. As the Provincial Synods had been interdicted in low *Languedoc* from the Year 1681, he could not receive in Form the Imposition of Hands. He was but 24 Years of Age when he suffered Martyrdom.

— *De Tommeirolles*, of the House of *St. Julien* Esq; a young Gentleman of 17 Years of Age, beheaded at *Vigan*.

On the same Day, and at the same Place, Messieurs *Anterieu* and *Hilaire*, being not above 17 Years old, *Daudé*, *Portalez* and *Coste*, were hang'd; as were likewise Mistresses *Balzine*, *Delon* and *Gaches*.

Few Months after Messieurs *Barbut* Merchant at *Nimes*, and *Mibassé* his Factor, received the Crown of Martyrdom in that City, where they were hanged.

Messieurs *Meirieu*, and *Sallendre* of *La Salle*, were made Partakers of the same Glory few Days after at *Ledignan*. Mr. *Emmanuel D'Algue* and *Roques De Cardelles* Esq; received the same Crown at *Nimes*.

Mr. *Guizard* of *Nerac*, aged 70 Years, was burnt alive at that Place for having spit out the Host which the Priest had forced into his Mouth. A Woman was condemned to the same Death for the same Fact; but having appealed to the Parliament of *Toulouse*, the Sentence was mitigated, and she was hanged.

Mr. *Guerin*, a Child of about 12 Years old, and no more, born at *Anduze*, was condemned by the Intendant, namely, Mr. *De Basville*, to be hanged and executed, for no other Crime, than for having been to say Prayers from House to House.

— *D'Helis* Esq; a Gentleman of *Trièves* in *Dauphiné*, was taken upon the Road as he endeavoured to make his Escape out of the Kingdom with Mrs. *D'Helis* his own Daughter. Mrs. *De la Chatre*, Mr. *De la Baume*, a young Gentleman, Son to Mr. *De Vilette*; Mr. *Perachon*, Mr. *Galeau*, and an old Woman, Wife to a Farmer of Mr. *Du Collet*. They were brought

brought back to *Grenoble*, Mr. *Perachon* excepted, who had the good Luck to escape. All Means were put in use to oblige them to change; but their Promises and Threats availing not, Mr. *D'Helis* was condemned by the Parliament of *Grenoble* to be beheaded, and was executed in that City. Mr. *De La Baume*, *Galeau* and the Farmer's Wife were condemn'd to be hanged. This last was executed at the same Time and Place with Mr. *D'Helis*, and the two first were brought and executed at *Mens*, a Borough seven Leagues distant from *Grenoble*. The two young Ladies were sentenc'd to be shut up with Mr. *D'Helis's* Daughter in the Nunnery of *St. Ursula*, and Mrs. *De La Chatre* in the Tower called *Dauphine*.

I might record here several hundreds more that were put to Death upon the same account, only from the Year 1683 to 1687, throughout all the Provinces of *France*; for those above-mentioned were only of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, besides thousands of others that were executed for Religion's sake from that time to *Lewis XIV's* Death: And, amongst others, the Reverend Mr. *Brousson* broken alive upon the Wheel at *Montpelier*, in the Year 1698. But these Examples are sufficient for my Purpose, not designing to go much further than the Year of the Revocation of the Edict, and much less to write our own Martyrology. I shall observe only, that all those who suffered Death, were left to their Choice to redeem their Life and Liberty, at the Cost of their Conscience, if they would but renounce their Religion: Nay, great Rewards and Preferments were offered to them, if they would but outwardly renounce their Religion; but they stood unmoveable, *esteeming the Reproach* Heb. xii.

of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt: For they had Respe \ddot{c} t unto the Recompence of the Reward. Another thing much worthy of our Attention, is not only their Constancy, but their Submission and Resignation to the Will of God, Rejoicing that they were counted

Acts v. 41. worthy to suffer Shame for his Name, but their Humility and Meekness towards their Judges and Executioners, which commanded the Admiration even of their Persecutors, and oftentimes drew Tears from their very Eyes; being Imitators of their godly Master, They were

Isa. liii. 7. led as Sheep to the Slaughter, and like Lambs dumb before their Shearer, so opened they not their Mouths, only for praising God, and blessing Men, even their Enemies. True it is, that they were not gagged, as in the former times, to hinder them from speaking, but they devised another means for hindering their Voice from being heard by the People; they caused them to march to the Place of Execution amidst the Drums of a whole Regiment, and sometimes of two; and when they were arrived at the Place, the Drums surrounded the Scaffold or the Gibbet, and were continually beating during the time of the Execution. Must we not own that this Proceeding betrayed in the *Papists* a great Mistrust of the Goodness of their Cause, since they were afraid lest the dying Speeches of those blessed Martyrs should make too deep an Impression upon the Minds of the People?

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Dragging of Corpses after Death.

WHEN our Persecutors had not been able to overcome the Constancy of our dear Brethren and Sisters during their Life, they revenged themselves upon their Corpses after Death. The Priests, provoked to the highest Degree at the Resistance they had met with in the Habitations of the sick Reformed, when they had been to force them to receive the Sacrament, went to make their Declarations before the Judges or the Magistrates of the Place, who went into the House of the Deceased, seized their Corpse, and had it conveyed to Jail, where they were tried, and sentenced to be drawn upon a Hurdle by the common Executioner, and to be thrown in the Highway, or in a Field, there to be devoured by Dogs or Birds of Prey, in Consequence of the King's Declaration issued out the 29th of *April* 1686.

Accordingly Mr. *Maison-neuve Gobron* was brought into Jail after his Death, with Mrs. *Duval*, and Mrs. *Boisette*, who died about the same time at *Vitré*; their Corpses were open'd, and thrown into the City Ditches, where Dogs and Birds of Prey fed upon them.

— *De Rocher Ravcnel* Esq; being dead at his Country House, aged 77 Years, was brought in a Cart to *Vitré*, his Corpse was opened and salted, and put into a Dungeon, but for all that it putrified, and the Stench was such, that the Jaylor complained thereof; whereupon a Gentleman, one of his Friends, obtained Leave to bury him in his Garden.

Madam

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Madam *Du Rouillé*, a Gentlewoman of *Alençon*, who had abjured for avoiding Persecution, having sincerely repented on her Death-bed, and refused to receive the Sacrament, her Corpse was thrown out at the Window into the Street stark naked, and put a-cross upon a Horse, and carried in that Condition without the City, amidst the Insults of a brutish Mob, and thrown upon a Dunghill.

Mrs. *Ramé*, an elderly Widow of 60 Years, being dead at *Soubize* in *November* 1686, her Corpse was seized, and before Sentence had passed upon it, they plucked out the Eyes and Tongue, cut off her Nose, and Fingers off her Hands, and Toes off her Feet, also her Lips and Ears, and committed upon it several other Villanies which cannot be named.

The Lord *Robert D'Ully*, Viscount of *Novion*, who had been Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, being dead in the Profession of the Reformed Religion, was drawn upon a Hurdle by the common Executioner, and thrown in the Highway, without any Regard to his Quality, nor to his great and long Services.

Paul Chenevix Esq; Dean of the Counsellors in the Parliament of *Metz*, being dead in the 81st Year of his Age, and having recanted the *Roman* Religion, which he had embraced thro' Fear some Months before, was, by positive Orders of the Court, drawn upon a Hurdle stark naked: At that Sight, the whole City was in an Uproar, for that venerable Magistrate had made himself so conspicuous for his Probity and Integrity, that he was respected and beloved by every one; nevertheless he was carried to the Place where he was to remain exposed to the wild Beasts and Birds of Prey.

But

But two of the chief Magistrates of the Province having upbraided the Deceased's Gardener with Ungratefulness to his Master, for that he suffered his Corpse to lie in that Condition, without being buried; he told them he could not do otherwise without exposing himself to some great Mischiefe, but that, if they would take him under their Protection, and give him a Licence under their Hands, he would perform his duty; whereupon, having consulted together, they granted him his Request, and he went at the Head of about 400 Men which he had gathered together, took away the Corpse and buried it decently, singing the 79th Psalm.

These few Instances which I have pick'd out of a vast Number of others of the like kind, are sufficient to show to what a pitch of Inhumanity, as well as Indecency, the Spirit of Popery may carry Men prepossessed with it. The same Declaration was renewed by another of the same Prince, issued out on the eighth of *March*, 1715. N. S.

Tho' the Facts contained in this Appendix have been called in question, during *Lewis XIV's* Life, by a certain Set of mercenary Scribblers; nay, tho' some of them have carried their Impudence so far as to deny that there had been any Persecution at all in *France* (1); or that any other but fair means had been put

(1) *The Bishop of Meaux, in his Pastoral Letter of the 24th of March, 1686, to the New Catholics of his Diocese; 'None of you, says he, has suffered any Violence, either in his Person, or in his Goods . . . Far from having suffered any Torture, you were not so much as threatened with it. The other Bishops tell me the same Thing upon that Subject: but as to you, my Brethren, I say nothing but what you know as well as my self. You are come peaceably unto us, you know that.'*

in use to convert the Reformed, (2) Or that any Reformed had suffered on Account of his Religion, but only for being rebellious to the King (3). We have had, since the Death of

(2) Maimbourg *Hist. of the Pontific. of St. Leon. in the Epist. Dedic.* says to the King, ' That he has the Soul, not only of a great King, but likewise of a great Pontiff. And goes on so, ' Who can question that, after having seen with what Ardour, with what Means equally meek and efficacious, you yourself have taken care, with a Zeal worthy the holiest of all the Bishops, to bring back to the Catholick Church, your Reformed Subjects? But is it not what the whole World admire at this Day, when they consider what wonderful Means you have put in use for extirpating Heresy out of the Most Catholick Kingdom, IN SO LITTLE A TIME, WITHOUT NOISE, WITHOUT VIOLENCE, WITHOUT SHEDDING OF BLOOD, tho' it was established and maintained for above 170 Years.

(3) But the Impudence of the most infamous BRUEIS goes beyond all Imagination, he was an Apostate of some Learning, a great deal of Wit, but of bad Morals, and of no Religion. He, in his Answer to the Complaints of the Protestants, published by the reverend Mr. *Claude*, calls in question whether the Reformed of *France* have undergone any Persecution at all, or no, and boldly asserts the Negative; that is to say, they have not suffered on Account of their Religion, but for not obeying the King's Orders, who commanded them to turn Catholicks. In the first Place, he supposes that the Word PERSECUTION includes in itself Tortures and Death, that they, both together, are the only true Characters of a Persecution; for so he speaks, p. 182 of his Answer. ' Let one take the trouble to read all the Places of the Gospel, where mention is made of Persecution, he will find the true Characters which the Holy-Ghost gives us thereof; he will find that it is always represented unto us under the Notion of Death and Tortures, and never under that of Deprivation of Honours, Goods, Estates, Commodities, &c. and p. 185; J. Christ, says he, has not included, under the Word Persecution, even Injuries, Reproaches, and the Deprivation of Goods, &c.' Then, having related a Text of the Gospel where J. Christ had foretold that his Disciples should be delivered unto Death, ' Lo! says he, the Character of Persecution. But if we read Mat. v. 11. x. 17. &c. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9, &c. Luke xxi. 12. &c. Heb. xi. 36, &c.

and

of that Prince, the Satisfaction to see the Truth of these Matters of Fact fully acknowledged, even by those who had an Interest to deny it. The Duke of Orleans had no sooner taken upon him the Administration of the Government, but the Court's Sentiments were quite altered, and even the Clergy themselves, *who commonly are not the most zealous Assertors of Toleration*, blamed the Conduct of the late Ministry, and owned, *that considering every thing only in a political View, the late Persecution was directly opposite to the true Interest of the State*: and at this time, whoever should deny, even in France, that the late King has violently persecuted, without any just Cause, his Reformed Subjects, would be deemed a Lunatick. Nevertheless, tho' the Court and all the Kingdom were very sensible that the Loss which the said Kingdom had suffered by the last Persecution, was the greatest it could ever sustain; the Duke Regent was no sooner dead, but the Jesuits prevailing in the King's Council, they obliged

and 600 other Places, we shall find that the Word is of a much larger Extent than this Man pretends. In the second place, the Author affirms, in p. 103, 104, 153, 154, 180, 181, &c. That the King's Declarations and Edicts inflicted no corporal Punishment, &c. on the Reformed, only on account of their Religion; and that what some of them have suffered were only wholesome Corrections, inflicted on them because of their Rebellion, &c. I vow that it is almost impossible for me to refrain my Indignation against such a profligate Wretch; by the same Rule, *Jeremiab, Daniel*, and many other Prophets and godly Men under the Old Testament, the Apostles and the first Christians were then so many Rebels against their Sovereigns, and their Martyrdom must be considered as a wholesome and seasonable Correction for restraining others from following their Example. Well and good! But let it be our constant Rule to be their Imitators, and *to be*, as they have been, *stedfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord, knowing certainly that our Labour is not in vain in the Lord.*

that Prince to issue out a new Declaration; which, under the show of Mitigation, contains in itself whatever was the most severe in all the late King's Edicts, Declarations, &c. It bears Date the 14th of May 1724, and is as follows.

The KING'S Declaration concerning Religion.

Given at Versailles, May the 14th, 1724.

LEWIS, by the Grace of GOD, King of France and Navarre; To all who these Presents shall see, Greeting. Of all the great Designs which the late King, our most Honour'd Lord, and Great Grandfather, hath formed during the Course of his Reign, we have had none more at heart, than that which he had form'd entirely to extirpate Heresy throughout his Kingdom, to which he hath indefatigably applied himself to the very last Moment of his Life. That we might be enabled to carry on an Undertaking so worthy his Zeal and Piety, as soon as we have reached the Years of our Majority, our first Care has been to order all the Edicts, Declarations, and Decrees of Council given on this Subject, to be laid before us, to renew all their Dispositions, and to enjoin all our Officers to have them observed with the greatest Punctuality: But we have been informed that the Execution thereof has been neglected, many Years since, especially in the Provinces which have been afflicted with the Plague, and in which are found a greater Number of our Subjects, who have hitherto professed the pretended Reformed Religion, by the false and dangerous Impressions which some
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of them, not sincerely re-united to the *Catholick, Apostolical* and *Roman Church*, and encouraged by foreign Persuasions, have been willing secretly to insinuate under our Minority; which has obliged us to renew our Attention on so important an Object. We have found out, that the principal Abuses which have crept in, and which require a speedy Remedy, chiefly consist in unlawful Assemblies, the Education of Children, and the Obligation all those are under, who have any publick Employment, to profess the *Catholick, Apostolical* and *Roman Religion*, the Punishments inflicted on those who relapse, and the Celebration of Marriages, on which we have resolved plainly to declare our Intentions. For which Reasons, by the Advice of our Council, and of our own special Grace, full Power and Regal Authority, we have said and ordained, and by these Presents sign'd with our own Hand, do say and ordain, and such is our Will and Pleasure:

Article i. That the *Catholick, Apostolical* and *Roman Religion* be alone professed in our Kingdom, Countries and Territories under our Obedience; forbidding all our Subjects, of what Estate, Quality or Condition soever, to profess any other Religion besides the said *Catholick*, and to assemble for that purpose in any Place, and under any Pretence whatever, on pain, for Men, of the Gallies for ever; and for Women, of being shorn and shut up for ever in such Places as our Judges shall think proper; with Confiscation of the Goods of either, and even on pain of Death for such as shall meet in Arms.

2. Being inform'd that several Preachers have, and do daily arise in our Kingdom, whose only Employment is to stir up the People

to Rebellion, and to turn them from the Exercise of the *Catholick, Apostolick* and *Roman Religion*, we order, that all such Preachers, as shall have made Assemblies, as shall have preach'd or discharg'd any other Function therein, shall be punished with Death, as the Declaration of the Month of *July* 1686 orders it, for the Ministers of the pretended Reformed Religion; and the said Penalty of Death shall not for the future be deemed comminatory. We forbid all our Subjects to receive the said Ministers or Preachers, to give them any Retreat, Succour and Assistance, and to have any Communication, either directly or indirectly with them. We order those who shall have any Notice thereof, immediately to discover them to the Officers of those Places; the whole on pain, in case of Failure, of the Gallies for ever for Men; and for Women, on pain of being shorn, and shut up for Life in such Places as our Judges shall think most proper, and the Goods of both to be confiscated.

3. We order all our Subjects, and especially those who have heretofore professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents who professed it, to have all their Children baptized in the Parish Churches wherein they dwell, within twenty-four Hours after their Birth, unless they obtain Leave from the Archbishops or Bishops of their Diocese to put off the Ceremony of Baptism for Reasons of Consequence. We enjoin the Midwives, and others who assist the Women in their Delivery, to inform the Curates of the Places of the Childrens Birth, and to our Officers, and Justices to take care of this, and to punish the Delinquents with Fines, or greater Penalties, according to the Exigency of the Case.

4. As to the Education of Children of Persons who formerly professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents professing it, we will, that the Edict of the Month of *January* 1686, and the Declarations of the 13th of *December* 1698, and 16th of *October* 1700, be executed in all their Extent. And adding to them, we forbid all our said Subjects to send their Children to be educated out of the Kingdom, unless they have first receiv'd Leave from us by writing, sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, which we shall not grant without being sufficiently informed of the Parents being good Catholicks; and in case of Failure in this Article, they shall be subject to a Fine which shall be proportioned to the said Childrens Father and Mother's Abilities: And nevertheless it shall be no less than the Sum of 6000 Livres, and shall be continued yearly during the said Childrens Stay in foreign Countries, notwithstanding our Prohibitions; to which we order our Judges constantly to have an eye.

5. We will, that School-masters and Mistresses, as much as possible, be established in all Parishes where there are none, for the Instruction of the Children of both Sexes in the principal Mysteries and Duties of the *Catholick, Apostolick and Roman* Church, to bring them to Mass every working Day as much as possible, giving them all the necessary Instructions on that Subject, and to take care that they be present at Divine Service on *Sundays and Holidays*; as also, that they may learn to read, and even to write, to such as shall have occasion for it, the whole as it shall be ordained by the Archbishops and Bishops, conformable to the 25th Article of the Edict of 1695, concerning

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. To that End we order, that in those Places where there are no other Funds, the Sum necessary for the said Masters and Mistresses Establishment may be raised on the Inhabitants to the Amount of 150 Livres for the Masters, and 100 Livres for the Mistresses, and that the Letters requisite for that Purpose be delivered out without any Charges, on Notice given us by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Diocese, and the Commissioners stationed in our Provinces for the Execution of our Orders.

6. We command all Fathers, Mothers, Guardians and others, entrusted with the Education of Children, especially of those whose Parents professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or were born of pretended Reformed Parents, to send them to the Schools and Catechisms till the Age of 14 ; and even for those who are above that Age to 20, to the Instructions which are given every *Sunday* and *Holiday*, except it be Persons in a Condition to be able or obliged to have them instructed at home, or send them to the College, or to put them in Monasteries, or regular Commonalties. We enjoin the Curates to watch with the greatest Attention on the said Children's Instruction in their Parishes, even with regard to those who shall not go to the Schools. We exhort and command the Archbishops and Bishops diligently to enquire about it ; ordering the Persons the most remarkable for their Birth or Offices, to present them the Children which they have at their Houses, when the Archbishops and Bishops shall require it in the Course of their Visitations, to give them an account of the Instruction which they shall have received, in matters of Religion. And we enjoin our Judges, Attorneys, and Justices, to make all the

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the necessary Diligences, Perquisitions and Ordinances for the Execution of our Will as to this, and to punish those who shall neglect to observe it, or shall be so rash as to fail in it in any manner whatever, by Fines, which shall be executed by *Proviso*, notwithstanding all Appeal, to whatever Sum they amount.

7. For to make the Execution of the foregoing Article more sure, we will, that our Attorneys and Lords Justices cause the Curates, Vicars, School-Masters and Mistresses, or others to whose Care they shall commit it, to give them every month an exact List of all the Children who shall not go to the Schools, or Catechisms and Instructions, of their Names, Ages, and their Parents Names, for to make the necessary Processes against the Fathers and Mothers, Tutors and Guardians, or others entrusted with their Education; and that they take care, at least every six months, to inform our Attorney-General, each in their own Districts, of the Steps they shall have taken on this Subject, to receive the necessary Orders and Instructions from them.

8. Spiritual Assistance being at no time more necessary, especially for such of our Subjects as have been lately re-united to the Church, than in occasions of Sickness, wherein their Life and Salvation are equally in danger, we will, that the Physicians, and on their Default the Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, who shall be called to visit the Sick, be obliged to give Notice thereof to the Curates or Vicars of the Parishes in which the said sick People dwell, as soon as they shall find the Distemper dangerous, if they find they have not already been sent for by others, that the said sick People, and especially our Subjects lately re-united to

the Church, may from them receive the Advices and spiritual Comforts which they want, and the Assistance of the Sacraments when the said Curates or Vicars shall find the said sick People in a fit Condition to receive them. We enjoin the Relations, Servants, and others who shall be with the said sick People, to make them come in, and to receive them with all the Regard due to their Character ; and we order, that those of the said Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries, who shall have neglected their Duty in this matter, and likewise the Relations, Servants, and others who are near the said sick People, who shall have refused to let the said Curates, or Vicars, or Priests, (by them sent) see the said sick People, be condemned to such a Fine as shall seem good ; even the said Physicians, Apothecaries and Surgeons, shall, in case of Recidivation, be suspended, the whole according to the Exigency of the Case,

9. We also enjoin all Curates, Vicars, and others who have the Care of Souls, carefully to visit the Sick, of what State or Condition soever, especially those who have formerly professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents who professed it, to exhort them privately, and without Witnesses, to receive the Sacraments of the Church to that purpose, giving them all the necessary Instructions, with all the Prudence and Charity which becomes their Ministry ; and in case that through Contempt of their salutary Exhortations and Advice, the said sick People should refuse to receive the Sacraments which shall be presented them, and afterwards declare that they will die in the pretended Reformed Religion, and that they persist in the said Declaration

ration all the time of their Illness, we order, that if they recover their Health, they be tried and examined by our Bailiffs and Seneschals at our Attorney's Suit, and that they be condemned to perpetual Banishment, and their Goods confiscated. And in those Countries where Confiscation does not take place, they shall be condemned to a Fine, which may not be less than half of their Estate. If, on the contrary, they die in that wretched Disposition, we order, that their Memory shall be tried by our said Bailiffs and Seneschals, at the Suit of our Attorneys, in the manner specified by the Articles of the 22d Title of our Ordinance of the Month of *August* 1670, that their said Memory may be condemned, and their Estates confiscated, derogating from the other Penalties prescribed by the Declaration of *April* the 29th 1686, and *March* the 8th 1715, which shall for the rest be executed in every Point not contrary to this Article. And in case there is no Royal Bailywick in the Place where this shall have happened, our Provosts and Royal Judges, and if there be none, the Lords Justices shall inform thereof, and shall send the Informations by them made, to the Register-Offices of our Bailywicks, and Seneschalships, in whose District the said Judges are, or who take Cognizance of the King's Causes within the Extent of the said Jurisdictions, for to proceed to the Instructions and Trial of the Suit, provided there be an Appeal to our Courts of Parliament.

10. We will have the foregoing Article executed without Need of any further Evidence to prove them guilty of relapsing, than their Refusal to receive the Sacraments of the Church offered them by the Curates, Vicars, or others
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who have the Care of Souls, and the Declaration which he shall have made publickly as above; and the Proof of the said Refusal and publick Declaration shall be established by the Depositions of the said Curates, Vicars, or others who shall have been present at the said Declaration; and it shall not be necessary for the Judges of the said Place to go to the said sick People's Houses, to draw out their Report of the Refusal and Declaration; and the said Curates or Vicars, who shall have visited the said sick Persons, shall not be obliged to require that the said Officers transport themselves thither, nor to denounce to them the Refusal and Declaration made to them, in this respect derogating from the Declarations of the 29th of *April* 1686, and 8th of *March* 1715, in what may be contrary to the present Article, and to the foregoing one.

II. And as we are informed, that what contributes most of all to confirm the said sick Persons, or make them fall into their former Errors, is the Presence and Exhortations of some hidden Reformed, who secretly assist them in that Condition, and Abuse of the Preventions of their Childhood, and of the Weakness which they are reduced to by their Illness, to make them die out of the Pale of the Church; we order, that they who are guilty of this Crime, immediately take their Trial before our Bailiffs and Seneschals, as above, of which our Provosts, or Judges Royal may inform, and even the Lords Justices of the Places wherein the Fact was committed, if there be no Bailiwick or Royal Seneschalship in the said Places; provided they send the Informations to the Royal Bailiwick, as above, that the Trial may be continued by our Bailiffs and Seneschals; and
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the Guilty shall be condemned, to wit, the Men to the Gallies for ever, or for a Time, as the Judges shall think fit; and the Women to be shorn and shut up in the Places which our Judges shall order, for ever, or for a Time; which we likewise leave to their Prudence.

12. We order, that according to the ancient Ordinances of the Kings, our Predecessors, and the Custom observed in our Kingdom, none of our Subjects may be admitted into any Place of Judicature in our Courts, Bailywicks, Seneschalships, Provostships, and Jurisdictions, nor in that of High Justiciary, even in the Places of Mayor and Sheriff, and other Offices of the Town-Houses, whether they be erected in the Title of Office, or whether they be provided for by Election, or otherwise, also in those of Registers, Attorneys, Notaries, Ushers and Serjeants, of whatever Jurisdiction they may be, and generally in any publick Office or Function, whether it be by Title or Commission, even in the Offices of our Royal Palace, and Palaces, without an Affidavit of the Curate, or, in his Absence, of the Vicar of the Parish wherein they dwell; of their good Life and Manners; as likewise that they actually profess the *Catholick, Apostolical and Roman* Religion.

13. It is also our Pleasure, that no Licences may be granted in the Universities of the Kingdom, to such as shall have studied either in Law or Physick, without the like Affidavits, which the Curates shall give them, and which by them shall be presented to those who are to give them the said Licences; of which Affidavits mention shall be made in the Letters of Licence, given out to them, on pain of Invalidity. We mean
not,

not, nevertheless, to confine within these Rules the Foreigners who shall come to study and take up their Degrees in the Universities of our Kingdom, provided that according to the Declaration of *February 26. 1680.* and the Edict of *March 1707.* the Degrees by them taken up shall be of no service to them in our Kingdom.

14. The Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Midwives, likewise the Booksellers and Printers, may not be admitted to practise their Art and Calling in any Place of our Kingdom without producing a like Affidavit, of which mention shall be made in the Letters which shall be deliver'd to them, and even in the Judge's Sentence, as to those who are to make Oath before them; the whole on Pain of Invalidity.

15. We order also, that all the Ordinances, Edicts and Declarations of the Kings our Predecessors on the Article of Marriages, and especially the Edict of *March 1697,* and the Declaration of the 15th of *June* of the same Year, shall be executed according to their Form, and Contents, by our Subjects lately re-united to the *Catholick* Faith, as well as by all our other Subjects; we enjoin them to observe in the Marriages which they shall make, all the Solemnities prescribed by the holy Canons received and observ'd in this Kingdom, as well as by the said Ordinances, Edicts and Declarations; the whole under the Penalties therein expressed, and even of exemplary Punishments, according to the Exigency of the Case.

16. The Children under Age, whose Fathers or Mothers, Guardians or Tutors, have left our Kingdom, and have retired into Foreign Countries on account of their Religion, may contract Marriage, without waiting for or
requiring

requiring the Consent of their said Fathers and Mothers, Tutors or Guardians then absent, on condition that they shall take the Consent and Advice of their Tutors and Guardians, if they have any in the Kingdom; if not, they shall have some appointed for that purpose; and also of their Kindred, if they have any; if they have none, of their Friends and Neighbours: For that End, we order, that before they proceed to the Contract and Celebration of their Marriage, there shall be called (before the Judge Royal of their Dwelling-place, and in the Presence of our Attorney, and if there be no Judge Royal, before the ordinary Judge of the Place, and in the Presence of the Fiscal Attorney) an Assembly of six of the nearest Relations on the Father and Mother's Side, professing the *Catholick, Apostolick and Roman* Religion, besides the Pupils' Tutors or Guardians; and for want of Relations and Kinsfolks, the Assembly shall be of six Friends or Neighbours of the same Quality, to give their Advice or Consent, if it fall out so; and the Acts requisite for this shall be dispatched without any Charges, as well of Justice, as of Sealing, Registering, Examining, &c. And in case there be only the Father or Mother of the said Pupils out of the Kingdom, it will be sufficient to assemble three Relations or Kinsfolks on the side of that Person that shall be out of the Kingdom; or, on their Default, three Neighbours or Friends, which, with the Father or Mother then present, and the Tutor or Guardian, if there be any besides the Father or Mother, shall give their Advice or Consent, if the Case so fall out, for the proposed Marriage: of which Consent, in all the Cases above specified, a short mention shall be
made

made in the Marriage-Contract, which shall be sign'd by the said Father or Mother, Tutor or Guardian, Relations, Kinsfolks, Neighbours or Friends, as also in the Register of the Parish where the Marriage shall be celebrated; the whole, so that the said Children in the said case may not be liable to the Punishments specified in the Ordinances against the Children of good Descent who marry without their Parents Consent: To which purpose we have derogated, and do derogate for this Regard only from the said Ordinances, which shall be, as to the rest, put in execution according to their Form and Contents.

17. We forbid all our Subjects, of what Quality and Condition soever, to consent or approve that their Children or Pupils marry in Foreign Countries, either by signing the Contracts which may have been passed to obtain the said Marriages, either by a former or latter Act, for any Reason, or any Pretence whatsoever, without our express Leave by Writing, sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, and of our Commands, on pain of the Gallies for ever for Men, and of perpetual Banishment for Women, and moreover of forfeiting the Estates of either; and where Forfeiture does not take place, they shall be condemned to a Fine, not amounting to less than one half of their Estate.

18. We ordain, that in all Decrees and Judgments which order the Estates of those who are under them to be forfeited, according to the different Dispositions of our present Declaration, our Courts, and other our Judges give Orders, that on the Estates situated in Countries where Forfeitures do not take place, or on those which cannot be forfeited, or shall

not

not be forfeited to our Profit, a Fine shall be raised not less than one half of the Value of the said Estates; which Fine, as well as the forfeited Estates, shall fall in the Administration of the Estates of the pretended Reformed who are absent, to be employed with the Revenue of the said Estates for the Subsistence of such of our Subjects lately re-united as shall want that Succour, which shall also take place as to the other Fines, of what Nature soever, which shall be imposed on the Delinquents of this present Declaration; neither may the Receivers or Farmers of our Crown-Lands lay any Claim to them. *And we give Command* to all our trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, and to all others our Officers and Justiciaries whom it may concern, that they cause these Presents to be read, published and register'd, and their Contents they take care to keep and observe in every Point, according to their Form, and Contents. For such is our Good Pleasure. Given at *Versailles*, May the 4th, 1724, and of our Reign the ninth. Sign'd LEWIS.

And lower, by the KING, *Dauphin, Count of Provence, Phelypeaux*. And sealed with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax.

This Edict is the standing Law whereby the Reformed Regnicoles are tried. The least Transgression against any of the Articles is punished with all the Severity of the Law, and not one Year passes, without some Instances either of some that have been hang'd, or others sent to the Gallies, or others shut up for their Lives in noisome Places, or others that are obliged to pay large Fines for the least Offence; and even last Year we had
no

no less than 35 Men and Women, some where-
of were hang'd, others sent to the Gallies,
and others shut up in the Tower of *Constance*
near *Aiguemortes*, only on account of Reli-
gion.

I cannot forbear taking notice here, how
the King's Ministers abuse the Credulity of
their Master: Thirty-nine Years, or there-
abouts, before this Declaration, *Lewis XIV.*
was made to say in his Edict of Revocation,
that the Reason why he revoked that of *Nantz*
was, because it was become useless, the greatest
Part of his reformed Subjects having re-united
themselves to the *Catholick, Apostolick and Ro-*
man Church; but in this, *Lewis XV.* is made
to say, that the Reason why he issues out this
his Declaration is, because of the Number of
the Reformed, which has increased itself thro'
the Non-execution of the Edicts made against
them in the last Reign. But this is no Wonder;
for we see several Edicts contradictory of
Lewis XIV. himself.

A Learned and Judicious Author published
in 1725 ten Letters, the six first thereof are
designed to examine the above-said Declara-
tion Article by Article; and he makes it ap-
pear as plain as the Sun at Mid-day, that it not
only contains whatever was the most severe
against the Reformed in all the Edicts and De-
clarations issued out under the late King's
Reign, but even that in several Articles it ex-
ceeds far beyond the Severity of the former
Edicts. He begins with the Preamble, and
observes, that *Lewis XIV.* never made use of
such harsh Words in his Edicts and Declara-
tions as these of his Great Grandson, *Of all*
the great Designs which the late King, &c.
hath formed during the whole Course of his
Reign,

Reign, we have had none more at heart, than that which he had formed, entirely to extirpate Heresy throughout his Kingdom, &c. Which is indeed to say as much as young *Rehoboam* saith on another Occasion, *My little Finger shall be thicker than my Father's Loins: For whereas my* II. Chron. x. 10, 11. *Father put a heavy Yoke upon you, I will put more to your Yoke: My Father chastised you with Whips, but I will chastise you with Scorpions.* Then coming down to the Articles themselves, he observes in general, 1. That tho' it seems that there is some Moderation in two Articles, nevertheless, a Spirit of Rigour and Severity is very easily discovered in the whole Body of the said Declaration. 2. That the History of the Church affords us several Instances of Mitigations, which have been usefully practised by the most dangerous Persecutors. III. That *Lewis XIV.* himself has followed the same Method, with great Success, in order to quiet the Minds of his Reformed Subjects, which were put to a terrible Fright, through the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*. IV. That if, notwithstanding so many just Occasions for a prudent Mistrust, People have a mind to flatter themselves, at least they ought to be undeceived by the reading of the Preamble of the Declaration; wherein the Council's Intention is so plainly discovered; to wit, to extirpate Heresy out of the Kingdom.

After these general Observations, the Author comes to the Examination of the first Mitigation, which consists in commuting the Punishment of Death into that of the Gallies, for the Reformed who shall make any Exercise of their own Religion; and he shows, 1. That under the former Reign, they had been sensible that it was necessary to moderate the Severity

of the former Declarations, which was done accordingly, tho' certainly it was not out of a Spirit of Meekness. 2. That, considering every thing, the Punishment of the Gallies is worse than Death itself, to those who are thoroughly persuaded that they suffer Death for God's sake. 3. That the Church-History evinces that the long Sufferings have occasioned many more Apostacies than the most dreadful kinds of Death, which the Persecutors having taken notice of, they failed not to improve that Opportunity for increasing the Number of Apostates. 4. Lastly, that as the Persecutors of the first Christians did not design to spare them, whenever they relented from the Severity of the Punishments; so our modern Persecutors aim at nothing else, in their Commutation of Punishments, but the conquering of our Constancy. *We have found*, it is said, in one of the late King's Declarations, *that tho' the Punishment of the Gallies is less severe than Death, nevertheless, it keeps them more in awe.*

After that, our Author undertakes the Discussion of the Mitigations of the ninth Article, which directs the Judges how to punish those who shall refuse the Sacraments, in the time of their Illness. And he shows, that the first, which consists in the Commutation of the Gallies into a Banishment, with Forfeiture of their Goods and Estate, as to those who shall recover from their Sickness, is so small a Favour, that it doth not deserve to be so much magnified; besides that it includes in itself a downright Injustice, since innocent Children are punish'd for their Parents Guilt. [But, with Submission to the learned Author, if he condemns Forfeiture in this Case, he must condemn it in all other; for in all Cases, a Forfeiture of
Goods

Goods and Estate includes a Punishment of innocent Children for their Parents Guilt. But let this only be said by the way:] As to the second Mitigation, whereby it is derogated to the former Declarations, which ordained to draw the Corpse of the Recusants upon a Sledge, &c. he shows that that Alteration is but a Consequence of the Method which they were resolved to follow, had *Lewis XIV.* lived any longer, lest the Sufferings of the Reformed should look too much like a Martyrdom. That is all the Mitigation to be found in *Lewis XV's* Declaration; for as to the other Articles, our Author plainly evinces that they are either the Substance of the former Edicts and Declarations, or more severe.

I shall conclude this Article, and my whole Work, with two or three Remarks more.

1. It is plain, that there are many more Reformed in *France* than it is commonly thought, or else, to what purpose would the present King have issued out this Declaration, those of the late King being not revoked? Was it not sufficient to give orders to the Governors and others, to whom it belongs, to put them in execution?

2. Is it not strange, that after 39 Years Persecution, from 1685 to 1724, the Number of the Reformed should be so great as to deserve the King's Attention, and oblige him to issue out a new Declaration against them? Is not that a clear Evidence that Oppression and Violence are of little Use for making sincere Profelytes, and that such Means are not sufficient for the Extirpation of a Religion? This has been the Sense of all the soberest and wisest Men, at all times: We have seen what *Marillac*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, and *Montluc*, Bishop of

Valence, said upon that Subject, in the Assembly held at *Fontainebleau* in 1560, under *Francis II.* * and what Chancellor *De l'Hospital* thought upon the same, in his Speech to the States General, held at *Orleans* under *Charles IX.* the 13th of *December* the same Year †. The great *Thuanus* was of the same Mind; he thought that it was in vain to endeavour to repress, by Tortures, the Zeal of those who undertake to introduce Novelties in Religion, &c. || And, if our Reader has only slightly perused this our History, he might be fully convinced of the Truth of those great Men's Assertion. But it is set in the fullest Light by the Events of the last Reign. We have seen what Treatment the Reformed have met with in *France*, since the Year 1685; nothing at all has been omitted in order to compleat their Destruction. Was Persecution a proper Means for extirpating a Religion, certainly the Reformed Religion would have been totally extirpated out of *France*. Nevertheless, in 1724, the King's Council is obliged to renew the former Severities, and even to add some new ones. Is not this a full Evidence that these Conversions, which have been so loudly bragg'd of, were but sham Abjurations, and that those whom they called **PRETENDED REFORMED** would have been more properly named **PRETENDED CONVERTED**?

3. Let us conclude from all this, that had the Reformation of the Church been the Work of Men, it would have come to nought, considering the mighty Oppositions which the Reformers and their Followers have had to with-

* See this Hist. Vol. I. Book ii. Art. 72 and 73.
 † Idem, Book iii. Art. 10. || *Thuan.* his Epist. Dedicat. to Henry IV.

stand, the cruel and bloody Persecutions which the Enemies of Truth have excited against them, the numberless Plots and Conspiracies laid for their Destruction: but because it was the Work of God, Men have not been able to overthrow it; nay, the very Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. This we may say with Assurance, because we are certain that we profess the same Doctrine with *St. Peter*, and to which our Lord Jesus has made the Promise; we defend the same Cause for which that Apostle was expos'd to the Hatred of the Synagogue. Oh! that the Persecutors of the Church would be mindful lest they should be found even fighting against God! Oh! that all who call themselves Christians would have the Spirit of Wisdom, and the Eyes of their Understanding enlightened, that they henceforth be no more like Children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Sleight and cunning Craftiness of Men, who lie in wait to deceive; but follow the Truth with Love, and grow up, in all things, into him which is the Head, even Christ, whose Kingdom is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost. Which that God, in his Mercy, would grant unto us all, is the earnest Prayer of all true Lovers of Mankind.

G L O R Y B E T O G O D.



